

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iii no i Summer 2004

PHOEBE STANTON

MICHAEL PORT • ALEXANDRA WEDGWOOD

Jack Hinton:
A.W.N. Pugin and Dürer

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J.A. HILTON • PETER HOWELL • JAMES JAGO • MICHAEL KERNEY
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The Legacy of Phoebe Stanton

The contribution made by Phoebe Stanton to the study of A.W.N. Pugin as an architect was so great that all other writing on the subject can naturally be classified as 'Before Stanton' or 'After Stanton'; and her death last December was an event which should be marked with respect by all those interested in Pugin and his role in the history and development of Western architecture.

This contribution came in a number of ways. In the first place, she completed a doctoral dissertation in 1950 which gave a broad outline of Pugin's astonishing career, at a time when it was extremely difficult to find any accurate facts about him. In a period when architectural history and architecture had until very recently been dominated by hedonism and aesthetics, she painted a picture of a driven man for whom the creation of buildings was a passion, an obsession, which went far beyond the simple pleasures of erecting attractive architecture as if it was a stage set or a mere construction project. The ideas she presented there were developed for a broader audience firstly in the form of a lecture published in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* in December 1952, and subsequently in an article for the *American Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* in October 1954. Drawing on her dissertation, she claimed that Pugin was 'the earliest critic to perceive that a new age cannot go on imitating the style of a former age, but must concentrate on the understanding of the best principles and thus find its own forms'; claiming that Pugin had discovered these principles, she put forward the contentious hypothesis (unfortunately without providing evidence) that he had been faced with a conscious choice between reviving gothic architecture, and designing in this new, style-less way. It was an exciting interpretation, and it suited the spirit of the times: this was the period, for example, when plans to build a gothic cathedral designed by Giles Gilbert Scott in Coventry were finally abandoned in favour of a competition eventually won by a modernist who convincingly evoked mediaeval feeling through modern methods. Alongside all this, Stanton kept her former doctoral supervisor Nikolaus Pevsner well supplied with information about Pugin's work for his *Buildings of England* series, and devotees of these will have found her name in many a footnote. In the twenty years between her dissertation and the publication of her monograph *Pugin* for Thames and Hudson in 1971, her subject began to take up his rightful place in architectural history as a remarkable innovator and a prolific designer without equal in English history.

Because the idea that architecture is relentlessly moving forward towards some ideal future ahistorical solution is one that is out of fashion nowadays – having most notably been shot down in flames by David Watkin's *Morality and architecture* in 1977 – there has been a tendency of late to throw out the baby with the bathwater and underestimate the novelty and the historical significance of Pugin's architectural work. Stanton's hypothesis was essentially right. The evidence was in fact there – all the more so, when the Bishop's House in Birmingham was still standing – and all that was missing was a thorough analysis of Pugin's residential architecture. We see today that it was not at all historical. With only a few exceptions, such as the lovely

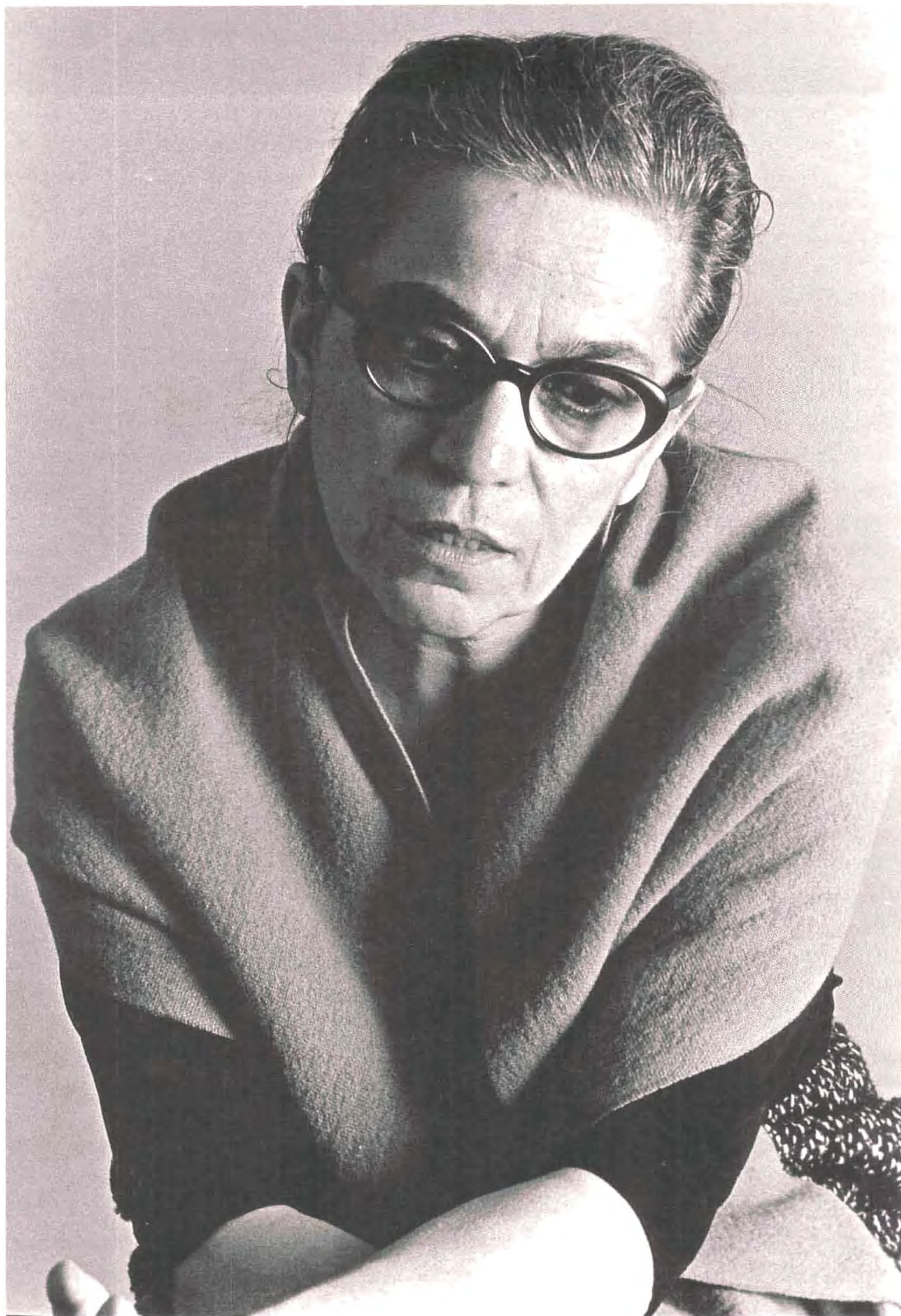


Figure 1: Phoebe Stanton, 1914–2003
By kind permission of Professor Michael Stanton

rectory at Rampisham, it is also neither actually 'gothic' nor indeed designed to be pretty: at Oswaldcroft, at Wilburton New Manor House, and at various convents, he produced functionalist, almost brutal, elevations that Stanton's contemporaries in the 1950s could, had they troubled to look, have been delighted by. His domestic planning was never in the least mediaeval, and whilst he may have claimed it was 'designed in accordance with [the buildings'] actual uses', it also often has an eccentric air which captured both his own restlessness and also the preoccupations of the society in which he lived, through the use of dynamic, spiralling plans and complex circulation routes. It is entirely different from anything the fashionable picturesque architects had been producing in terms of plan, form, materials, siting, and constructional practice, and as such it was very exciting. In advance of the modernists who followed seventy, eighty and ninety years later, he called for an overthrow of the entire architectural status quo. It is not surprising that his was the only name that the most distinguished later Victorian architects were to recall in their memoirs as an influence.

It sometimes seems that the best judgments of Pugin's work have been intuitive. That was, for example, the case with C.F.A. Voysey, who admired Pugin more than any other architect in spite of what might at first appear to be the irredeemable contrast between the relaxed white horizontality of his own buildings with the restless verticality of his mentor's. It is possible that Pugin is an architect's architect, someone only another architect can truly understand. Architects are strange people and their forms of communication are not necessarily rational or textual. In the 1950s Phoebe Stanton did not have at her disposal Alexandra Wedgwood's comprehensive catalogues of Pugin's drawings, nor indeed the work of the many Pugin scholars who have laboured over different aspects of his career for the last forty years, and yet she seems to have captured the essence of his originality. It was her greatest achievement, in so doing, to identify the figure that had so long lain at the back of the minds of those who created the architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and to bring him out at long last into the limelight of the international stage.

Marvellis results

Welcome to this new volume of *True principles*. We hope that readers will continue to send in their own work, in order that this journal can soon achieve its aim of providing the most comprehensive coverage in any annual journal of Victorian and gothic architecture and design, particularly (but not exclusively) centred on the work of the Pugin family.

We are especially delighted to include a piece on A.W.N. Pugin's chalices by Brian Andrews. Brian recently received the prestigious William M.B. Berger Prize for British Art History, awarded by the *British art journal* in association with the Berger Collection Educational Trust of Denver, Colorado, USA, to an outstanding book or exhibition catalogue. The prize was for his book *Creating a gothic paradise: Pugin at the Antipodes*, which was published by the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery of

Hobart in 2002. Pugin once wrote (in the context of Ireland) to J.R. Bloxam that with generous funds and a 'higher tone' imparted to ecclesiastical studies, the results would be 'marvellis'; and that is exactly what has been achieved here. The book is indeed a model publication, for not only is the writing crisp and effective, but also its whole concept was carried through to perfection. It is beautifully illustrated and designed as a catalogue of the exhibition it accompanied, and the introductory chapters are memorable and well judged. It must be one of the most impressive books of its type ever published, and for those happy people who bought it at the time it was also remarkably good value. The Pugin Society and *True principles* salute Brian – and Hobart – who have set a new standard for writing and publishing in our field.

A.W.N. Pugin and Dürer: print collecting and inspiration

by Jack Hinton

The range and diversity of A.W.N. Pugin's tastes as a collector, informed by the careful study of 'antiquities', has often been remarked upon, and was the subject of an important essay by Clive Wainwright.¹ Whilst a full description of the collection was never made, the post-mortem sale catalogues of his property and diverse written accounts offer some clues as to its extent. Pugin assembled a choice group of objects that decorated his several homes and provided inspiration for his designs. He began collecting prodigiously early, and the death of A.C. Pugin in 1832 would have added further goods.² It is easy to imagine an impressive group of objects assembled in A.W.N.'s first homes, after leaving Great Russell Street. Letters written to Edward James Willson from Ellington Cottage, Ramsgate, in 1834 tantalise with mention of objects displayed in such a way as to transport the viewer 'back to the fifteenth cent'.³ Purchasing and arranging such evocative groupings of artefacts surely required judicious use of Pugin's antiquarian skills, although one wonders if juxtapositions such as sixteenth-century Palissy ware with fourteenth-century ivories reflect an eclectic taste.

The creation of 'romantic interiors' in Britain and on the continent in the period no doubt formed models for Pugin to interpret and adapt.⁴ As Wainwright suggested, his knowledge surely developed through visits to antiquaries, scholars, private collections and museums.⁵ Certainly, the Pugin family's proximity to the British Museum afforded frequent access to its collections. Visits to the Print Room played their part in shaping his career as a designer and architect, and his knowledge of prints.⁶ A famous early success relates to Pugin's study in the Print Room; whilst drawing works by Dürer, the prodigy was accosted by a partner of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, the royal goldsmiths, and asked to produce designs for plate. Two silver-gilt standing cups in the Royal Collection are attributed to his designs, one of which (included in the recent 'Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy' exhibition) was clearly based on a drawing by Dürer in the Sloane collection.⁷ In later life, Pugin might have disavowed the cup's ahistorical elements as 'enormities' similar to those perpetrated

I am most grateful to Tim Brittain-Catlin for his enthusiasm, support and advice on the subject and content of this article. I would also like to thank Skye Jameson for her support and patience and Jane Wainwright for her kind help at an early stage.

1 Wainwright 1994b, pp 91–103. Wainwright describes the sources and identifies surviving objects from the collection.

2 *Ibid*, pp 91–2. Pugin's taste for 'antiquities' began at age 13. Although many of AC Pugin's books, prints, drawings and casts were sold in June 1833, certain items of furniture, artefacts and books were retained.

3 Quoted *ibid*, pp 92–3; Belcher 2001, p 43 (6.11.1834).

4 See Wainwright 1989.

5 Wainwright 1994b, p 103.

6 Wainwright 1994a, p 2. It is unlikely that Pugin found any interest in medieval artefacts from the British Museum – its collections of medieval and renaissance artefacts were mainly formed from the 1850s. As he complained in *Contrasts*: 'No price can be too great for a cameo or a heathen bust; but every object of Catholic and national art is rigidly excluded from the collection': Pugin 1841b (*Contrasts*, 2nd ed), p 16, n.

7 Eatwell & North 1994, p 173; Bartrum 2002, p 134, no 69.

in his furniture for Windsor and recanted of in *The true principles*.⁸ Nevertheless, the original source held important lessons for Pugin the designer and collector.

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) is today considered as the first northern artist to engage and compete with the aesthetic and intellectual achievements of Italian renaissance art. In the romantic period, however, the German master's art was lauded for its archaic, 'masculine' character, in contrast to 'artificial' or 'effete' classicist and rococo styles.⁹ Dürer was 'gothic', and his art was a touchstone for those working in a revivalist idiom. Groups like the Nazarenes, based in Rome and led by Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869), worshipped Dürer as their role model. The pious, honest characteristics of Dürer's life and art that appealed to the Nazarenes could easily have seemed to Pugin the perfect embodiment of the gothic artist. Given Dürer's place in Pugin's early life, it is relevant to ask whether Pugin felt an attachment to the sixteenth-century artist, and how Dürer was represented in his work and collecting.

In his memoir, J.H. Powell was clear as to Pugin's tastes, at least as far as it concerned the old masters:

Durer's masculine religious spirit in Mediaeval form was the "end of art". Holbien attracted him, despite his giving up the Gothic character for Naturalism. Rembrant astonished him. Michel Angelo and Raphael "were disguised pagans" and their art descendants "abomination".¹⁰

The title page for a group of designs made by Pugin for an early, unrealised, set of designs for silversmiths, dating to 1830–1, implies his veneration of the German artist. In an architectural frame, within one of two niches decorated with crockets and finials, is a fictive statue of 'Albertus Durer'; in the other is 'Benvenuto Chelini'.¹¹ As exemplars, Dürer, as a designer rather than maker of goldsmith's work, would surely have held most personal significance to Pugin. The figure of Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71) is intriguing; he probably represents the actual craft of the goldsmith. Cellini's *Autobiography* (written 1558–66) was well known in the early nineteenth century and works in gold and silver were often ascribed to his authorship by virtue of his fame.¹² Cellini's inclusion reveals Pugin's attitude towards 'pagan' Italian art, before the vehement dislike related by Powell. The pairing of these artists is interesting from the point of view of biography, as both had had their thoughts on art and their lives set out for posterity, in widely available published sources. Such examples may have inspired Pugin's own early autobiographical notes, written in 1831–2.

Drawing and sketching architecture and details of paintings and objects seen on his travels was an important means by which Pugin expanded his understanding of gothic style, providing a resource for consultation when back in England. One such tour taken around Germany and Belgium in the summer of 1834, recorded in a sketchbook, incorporated an important stop for any admirer of Dürer.¹³ Pugin visited

⁸ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 41.

⁹ Kuhlmann 2002, pp 40–1.

¹⁰ Wedgwood 1988, p 182.

¹¹ Wedgwood 1977, [15] p 45.

¹² An English translation of Cellini existed as early as 1771. Pugin may have read Thomas Roscoe's translation, published in 1822.

¹³ Wedgwood 1977, [26] p 51.

many places, including Strasbourg, Aachen, Cologne, Brussels, Bruges, Antwerp and Ghent, sketching along the way. Much of his time, however, was spent in Nuremberg, Dürer's city, where he made a number of studies of the city's walls and gates. Most significantly, Pugin made a careful drawing of Dürer's tomb and transcribed the epitaph. As Pugin related to Willson in a letter of 22 August 1834, it was 'the finest journey I ever took in my Life'. With tangible excitement, he describes seeing the tabernacles, gothic doors, locks, brass chandeliers, stained glass and fabrics in a Nuremberg church:

when I first entered the church & the Grandeur of the interior burst on me I could have repeated the song of Simeon without profanation.¹⁴

Pugin also breathlessly states that: 'I have seen the house of albert Durer, I have sketched his tomb'. The house, like the tomb, was a focus for homage and is now a museum. In the same letter, he revealed his purchase of a copy of the *Nuremberg chronicle* (published 1493) and other 'additions to my collection'. A lavishly illustrated history of the world from the creation, the *chronicle* was published by Anton Koberger, Dürer's godfather, and contained images designed by Michael Wolgemut, Dürer's master.¹⁵ The clarity, precision and subject matter of the 1,800 woodcut illustrations must have appealed to Pugin as a record of gothic style, but also represented a tangible link to Dürer. This purchase reinforces the notion of Pugin's familiarity with Dürer's life, knowledge that he could have gained from one of the biographies that appeared around the 300th anniversary of Dürer's death in 1828.¹⁶

Pugin's purchases of works by Dürer, either on the continent or in England, are not recorded, but he must have made regular 'additions'. It seems probable that he began collecting prints in his youth, inspired by the study of impressions in the British Museum. Pugin owned prints by Hollar by 1836 and it appears that he had acquired Dürers by this date.¹⁷ This can be surmised from designs by Pugin, which will be discussed below, along with the question of the display of his prints. Although there is evidence to show that the family retained items from Pugin's estate,¹⁸ the number of prints listed in the sale catalogue makes it apparent that most of the print collection was dispersed.

Sotheby and Wilkinson held the sale of paintings, drawings and prints at their premises at Wellington Street, London, on 7 April 1853.¹⁹ This was the last sale of three that had witnessed the dismemberment of Pugin's library (Sotheby's, 27 January 1853) and his collection of medieval carvings and other artefacts (Sotheby's, 12 February 1853). As has been noted elsewhere, it is hard to believe how the family, particularly E.W. Pugin, could have stood this disposal.²⁰ The sale comprised around

14 Belcher 2001, p 38. Whilst Wedgwood dated the sketchbook to 1834/5, Pugin's letter to Willson makes it clear that he had spent June, July and August of 1834 on this journey. The church he mentions is perhaps the St Lorenzkirche. Pugin praises the sculpted tabernacle (1493–6) in the church by Adam Kraft (c1460–1508/9) in his *Letter to Hakewill* (Pugin 1835), where he also cites Dürer's paintings as examples of the compatibility of art with pointed architecture. Nuremberg's lasting impression on Pugin is also described by Ferrey (Ferrey 1861, p 225).

15 Bartrum 2002, pp 93–4, nos 23–4.

16 Kuhlmann 2002, pp 45–9. Unfortunately, no such biography was listed in the auction catalogue of Pugin's books.

17 Stanton 1968, p 129.

18 Wainwright 1994b, p 96.

19 Sotheby & Wilkinson 1853. British Library Mic.B.740.Pt II. reel 5; SCS364.1. The Lugt number for the sale is 21309.

20 Watkin 1972, p 239. The sale catalogue of Pugin's library is published in facsimile in this volume.



Figure 2: Albrecht Dürer, *Satyr family*, engraving, 1505
Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Charles M. Lea Collection, 1928
(1928-42-1229).

tion of his understanding of human proportion and virtuoso engraving.²³ As an indication of its quality, the print was bought for eight guineas by Colnaghi and was the single most expensive print in the sale. Another rare engraving bought by the dealer for four guineas was lot 78, *Lovers surprised by Death*, c1498 (Hollstein 83), described in the catalogue as 'The Lady and Gentleman, with Death behind a tree'. The detail of the couple's fashionable clothing and 'dance of death' symbolism of the print must have greatly appealed to Pugin's scholarly and Romantic inclinations. Lots 75 and 77, fine, rare impressions of *Knight, Death and the Devil*, 1513 (Hollstein 74) and *Coat of arms with a skull*, 1503 (Hollstein 98) would also have held this attraction, notwithstanding their highly regarded place in Dürer's oeuvre.²⁴

As well as the major engravings sold individually, there were mixed lots of smaller

210 lots belonging to Pugin, including drawings by Pugin himself and old master paintings. There were around 125 lots of prints, some lots containing over twenty prints. Many were in glazed oak frames, presumably designed by Pugin. Although not extensive, the group of prints by Dürer warranted its own section in the sale, with a few other impressions offered loose in the 'portfolio'.²¹ Disposed of in twelve lots, not all of which are fully described, it is possible to identify at least thirty prints, either by Dürer, or historically attributed to him.²² Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify extant impressions formerly in the collection.

In terms of Dürer's finest, most rare and best-known prints, Pugin owned an excellent selection, suggesting a connoisseur's knowledge. The first Dürer to be offered, lot 72, was a 'very fine impression, rare' of *Adam and Eve* of 1504 (Hollstein 1), the German master's magisterial demonstra-

21 Sotheby & Wilkinson 1853, pp 6–7, 9. Lots 72–82 included prints by Dürer, as did lot 111 from the portfolio.

22 Although Wainwright 1994b, p 96, mentions eleven Dürer prints in the sale, he must have been referring to the number of lots in the 'Dürer'.

23 Sotheby & Wilkinson 1853, p 6. Reference numbers after each print are to Hollstein 1954–.

24 *Ibid*, p 7. The *Knight* was described as 'The Knight of Death', selling for £7 15s and the *Coat of arms* was 'Shield of Arms, on which is a skull', which sold for £4.



Figure 3: Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I*, engraving, 1514

Philadelphia Museum of Art: Purchased: Lisa Norris Elkins Fund (1951-96-5).

prints in frames, including works by other artists. Lot 73, for example, comprised nine prints in one oak frame, some by Sebald Beham (1500–50), with others undescribed. Three prints were Dürer's, the *Virgin and Child with a pear*, 1511 (Hollstein 33), *Virgin and Child on the crescent moon with a crown of stars*, 1508 (Hollstein 32) and the *Satyr Family*, 1505 (Hollstein 65) [figure 2].²⁵ The latter print, showing an Arcadian scene inspired by Italian and antique literary sources, flies close to accusations of 'paganism'. Pugin was evidently willing to give Dürer the benefit of the doubt, perhaps balancing out pagan 'abomination' with images of the Madonna. Pugin had acquired impressions of woodcuts, including lot 80, *St George killing the*

²⁵ *Ibid*, p 7. *The Satyr family* was described as 'Naked woman and child with a satyr, 1505, very fine'. The lot was knocked down to Colnaghi for £5.

dragon, c1504–05 (Hollstein 225), in an oak and gilt frame. Also in this lot, perhaps in separate frames, were a *St Barbara* and a *St Catherine*, at the time believed to be by Dürer, but now given to an erstwhile assistant, Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5–1545).²⁶ John Hardman, Pugin's former business associate, purchased them for 15 shillings. Among other lots bought by Hardman was a 'very fine' impression of 'Melancholy', or *Melencholia I*, of 1514 (Hollstein 75), for £5 [figure 3].²⁷ The explicit link between melancholy and artistic creation in this most written-about of prints was a fruitful source of inspiration to artists and writers in the romantic period. It is tempting to suggest that this lot held particular significance to the buyer as an object with a

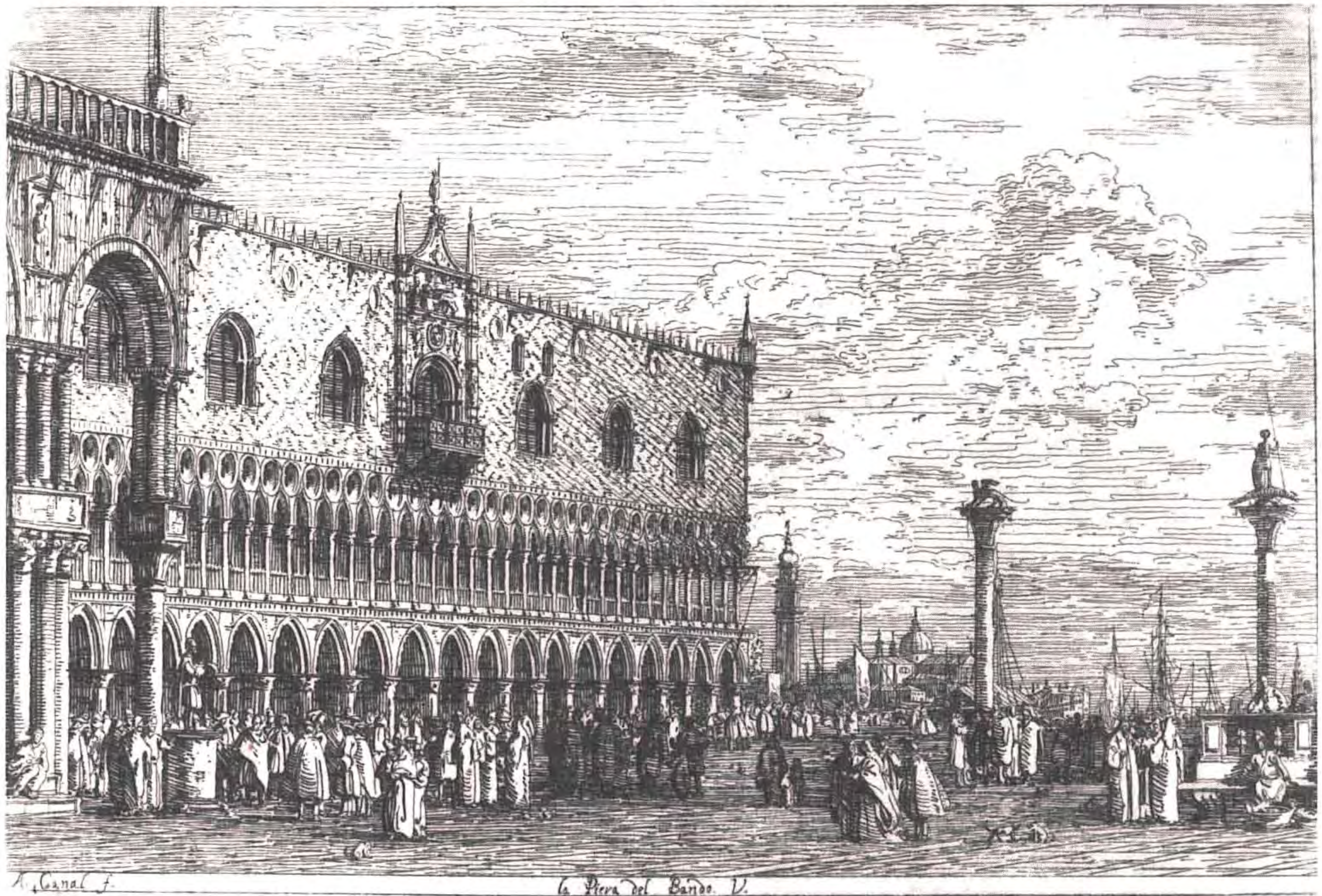


Figure 4: Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canal), *The Piazza del Bando*, etching, c1741–4

Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Muriel and Philip Berman Gift, acquired from the John F. Lewis Collection, given to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1933 by Mrs John F. Lewis, with funds contributed by Muriel and Philip Berman, gifts (by exchange) of Lisa Norris Elkins, Bryant W. Langston, Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White, with additional funds contributed by John Howard McFadden, Jr, Thomas Skelton Harrison and the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation (1985-52-13).

'meaningful' link to Pugin. Given Pugin's un-Saturnine temperament, however, Hardman more likely valued the print as a demonstration of skill in rendering line, texture, shade and form, as Pugin must have.

With the acquisition of the *Coat of arms with a skull* for £4, Hardman obtained a useful group of prints, either for his pleasure, or to use as teaching aids for his workers. Pugin had developed this practice by sending objects to Birmingham to educate Hardman's craftsmen. Dürer's assured drawing style must have impressed upon Pugin the importance of developing one's skills as a draughtsman. Despite

²⁶ *Ibid*, p 7. 'St Barbara and St Catherine, St George and the dragon &c., woodcuts, oak and gilt frames' (4).

²⁷ *Ibid*, p 7, lot 76.

their antipathy, the words of John Ruskin in *Elements of drawing* (1857) on copying Dürer prints suggest a subject on which even they could have shared an opinion:

provide yourself, if possible, with an engraving of Albert Dürer's. This you will not be able to copy; but you must keep it beside you, and refer to it as a standard of precision in line. If you can get one with a *wing* in it, it will be best. That crest with the cock, that with the skull and satyr [*Coat of arms with a skull*], and the *Melancholy*, are the best you can have.²⁸

Looking at the sale contents more widely, one can discern further examples of Dürer's influence on Pugin's collecting. Lot 12, 'Virgin with dead Christ' by Hendrick Goltzius, is probably the *Pietà* of 1596, composed and engraved in Dürer's style to show Goltzius' virtuosity.²⁹ There were many prints by the 'little master' Sebald Beham, who was born in Nuremberg, and produced works derived from Dürer. It is also interesting to note that Pugin also bought reproductions when originals were impossible to obtain. For example, he owned a lithograph after Martin Schöngauer's famous large engraving of *Christ carrying the cross*, and a reproduction by Carl Meyer of St John and St Peter, from Dürer's late painting, *Four holy men*.³⁰ A painting of the 'Death of the Blessed Virgin', attributed to 'Durer and pupils', should also be mentioned. Sold for £56 to Hardman towards the end of the auction, the painting has sadly not been traced. The sale of Pugin's library on 27 January 1853 offered other Dürer items. Lot 204 was a volume of early seventeenth-century editions of Dürer's books on human proportion, fortifications, and geometry as applied to architecture, engineering, perspective drawing and decoration, all bound together.³¹ Their influence may not have been as great as other books owned by Pugin, but they are surely proof of the depth of his interest in the German master.

Aside from Düreriana, other lots demonstrate the breadth of Pugin's print collection. He had twenty-seven prints by Wenceslaus Hollar, Callot's etchings of the *Miseries of war*, and a Rembrandt. A group of twenty-six out of thirty *Views of Venice* of c1741–4 by Antonio Canal (Canaletto), bought by Colnaghi for £7 10s, may seem incongruous. Their appeal, as with seventeenth and eighteenth-century illustrated books, may have been the depiction of medieval architecture in some of the images, for example the view of the Doge's Palace, seen from the 'Piera del Bando' [figure 4]. In addition, Canaletto's superb drawing and etching ability was surely instructive for Pugin's technique, an instruction also offered by Hollar's prints.³²

There is little evidence to suggest how the collection of prints was displayed in Pugin's homes. Stanton's recognition of Hollar's framed *View of Greenwich*, hung above the entrance to the chapel in St Marie's Grange, from a watercolour of 1835, is a singular example.³³ Powell's recollection of the later interior at the Grange in

28 Bialostocki 1986, p 249.

29 Sotheby & Wilkinson 1853, p 3.

30 *Ibid*, pp 3–4. The reproductions by Meyer were lot 11. See Bartrum 2002, p 313, no. 282, for a later preparatory sketch for reproductions of the same paintings for the Arundel Society.

31 Watkin 1972, p 256. Described as: 'Durer: Messung mit Zirkel, von der Befestigung, and von menschlicher proportion, Arnheim 1603', bought by Quaritch's for 5 shillings.

32 Stanton 1971, pp 155–9, discusses Hollar's influence on Pugin.

33 *Ibid*, p 155 and fig 3 (p 16). The lower framed picture on the viewer's left hand side of the door frame resembles Dürer's *Adam and Eve* in its disposition of dark and light areas, but in such a general way that one cannot propose a definite identification.

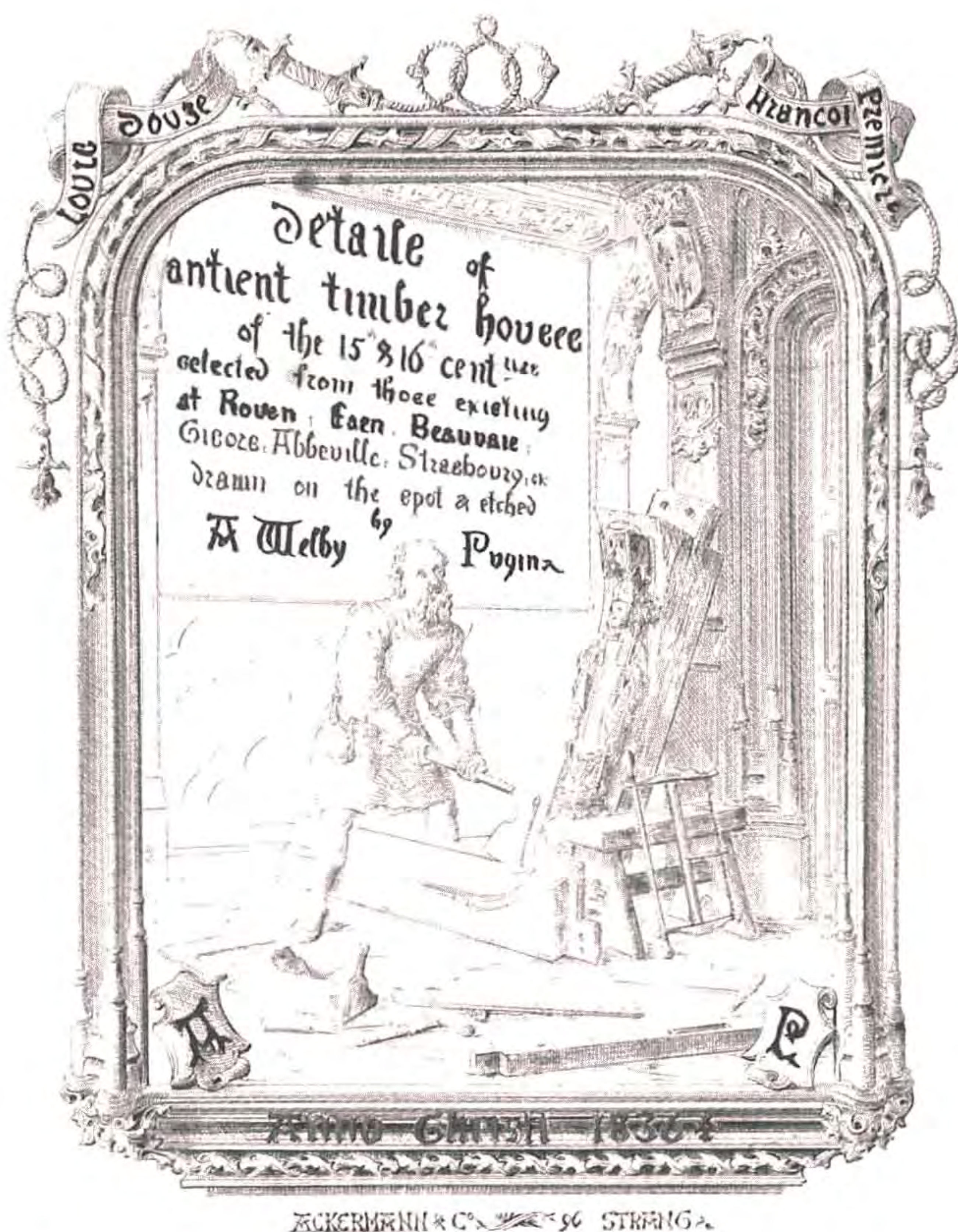


Figure 5: A.W.N. Pugin, title plate to *Details of antient timber houses*, etching and hand colouring, 1836 (published 1837)

By permission of The British Library (shelfmark 7815.cc.17).

of Pugin's Dürer prints.³⁶ One might guess at the sort of decoration Pugin executed between them. As described in the sale catalogue, the frames for prints were oak, of apparently simple design; a few were gilded and one, a large view of Bruges by Mark Gerard of 1562, was in an ebony and gilt frame.³⁷ Framing was an important part of Pugin's idea of interior decorum. As stated in a letter to Clarkson Stanfield of May 1843, regarding the use of painting for architectural decoration:

I revel in an *old mill & boats* (after Rembrant) as much as in a fine arched doorway – but then I maintain that these productions should always be considered as *Pictures* totally distinct from the Building. hang them up in a frame. shew that they are not part of the wall.³⁸

Pugin's liking for Dutch art would be an interesting theme to investigate. One of his own works listed in the sale, entitled 'Telling Fortunes', was a drawing of a kitchen interior that sounds like a Dutch genre work.³⁹ Against the stage of the Grange at

Ramsgate is evocative, if short on detail:

the differently coloured bedrooms, with their mullioned windows, quaintly carved fireplaces and furniture, all hung with old paintings, choice impressions of etchings and engravings, Durer being prominent, was a treat for Artists.³⁴

Given the meticulous care taken by Pugin in the construction and decoration of the Grange, the placement of the prints was probably planned carefully. A letter to J.G. Crace of September 1844 relating to the interior decoration of the Grange, tells him to 'Leave the panel between the Albert Durers *oak* for the present. I can decorate it at Ramsgate myself.'³⁵ This could refer to the panel paintings mentioned by Powell in the drawing room, or may indicate a grouping

34 Wedgwood 1988, p 175.

35 Belcher 2003, p 244.

36 See Wedgwood 1988, p 175.

37 Sotheby & Wilkinson 1853, p 6, lot 70.

38 Belcher 2003, p 47.

39 Sotheby & Wilkinson 1853, p 11, lot 194: 'Interior of a kitchen with figures, one of whom is telling fortunes, by A W Pugin, a chef d'oeuvre, highly finished'. The drawing sold for £7 to 'Anthony', but it has never been traced.

Ramsgate, the combination of such diverse pictures and decorative arts must indeed have been a treat for visitors.

Despite his enthusiasm for Dürer's works, the German master seems to have had a relatively limited impact on Pugin's designs. A preliminary drawing of c1835–6 for a projected book on the customs of the medieval Catholic church, illustrating an 'Allegory of the Rosary' is one of few known Dürer-related works by Pugin. Described by Wedgwood, the drawing is based on Dürer's woodcut frontispiece of 1511 for the series *The life of the Virgin* (Hollstein 188).⁴⁰ This print was not described in the sale catalogue, but one listed in the 'portfolio', the *Presentation of Christ* in the Temple of c1503–5 (Hollstein 200), is from the same set.⁴¹ The other sixteen unidentified Dürer woodcuts in the same lot may have been from this series.

A few published designs from the same period can be added to the list of images influenced by Dürer. *Designs for gold and silversmiths*, published by Ackermann in 1836, illustrated with etchings by Talbot Bury after Pugin's drawings, includes allusions to the German's work. The hourglass with fluted columns in plate 15 is based upon the hourglass above the figure of 'Melancholy' in the eponymous print, and the fluted cup on the right of plate 6 bears similarities to Dürer's drawings in the British Museum. Furthermore, plate 24, of a 'Thuribulum', is close to Martin Schongauer's famous engraving of *A censer*, which Pugin must have known and appreciated for its beauty, and as a document of medieval goldsmiths work.



Figure 6: Albrecht Dürer, *The Holy Family in Egypt*, woodcut, c1502
Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981 (1981-33-1).

⁴⁰ Wedgwood 1977, no [28] 23, pp 52–3.

⁴¹ Sotheby & Wilkinson 1853, p 9, lot 111.

The title-page print of *Details of antient timber houses*, also published by Ackermann in 1837 (although dated 1836), offers a striking example of Pugin's response to Dürer's stimulus in creating an original image [figure 5]. Pugin himself etched the plates. The elaborate frame, details of the timber house, doorway and post carved with a bishop saint are his own inventions. The sources for the tools in the foreground and the figure of the woodcarver, however, are not. Fascinatingly, the arrangement of the rules, bradawl and hammers refers to the foreground of *Melencholia I*; the chisel is lifted complete. The woodcarver is a direct quotation of the figure of St Joseph from Dürer's woodcut of the *Holy Family in Egypt*, c1502 (Hollstein 202), also from *The Life of the Virgin* series [figure 6]. Pugin was surely pleased to use a source showing a woodcarver at work that was contemporary to the subject of his book. His discomfort with drawing the human figure would also have been assuaged by Dürer's model. One should also note the prominence of the 'A' and 'P' on shields in either corner of the title-page, which must refer to Dürer's use of his initials on shields and plaques. Pugin's familiar 'AWP' monogram, present at the back left of the etching, is also clearly based on the nestled 'AD' of the German.

Further instances of quotation from Dürer are not obvious in Pugin's other printed works. In the field of furniture design, prints by Dürer may have had some influence as prototypes of chairs and tables. A print of an x-frame chair by Crispijn de Passe II has been cited as a possible source for a chair made to Pugin's design for the Prince's Chamber at Westminster.⁴² The woodcut of *St Catherine* in his collection, discussed above, shows the saint seated on a similar chair. The print could be another source, or an antecedent for Pugin's design. A table depicted by Dürer in a woodcut of the *Last supper* of 1510 (Hollstein 115) for the *Large passion*, has curved braces on either side of a central leg, with visible pegged joints. Pugin celebrated such features in three dimensions with his 'structural' tables, incorporating the curved bracing and revealed construction seen in the print.⁴³ Whilst the print was not listed in the sale, Pugin was surely aware of it; given the scarcity of surviving furniture, such images could provide much inspiration.

Dürer's influence was not absolute, despite his prominence in the collection and importance in Pugin's artistic life. Rather, Pugin informed himself with a diverse range of sources. Indeed, the limit of Dürer's direct influence may measure from Pugin's early studies in the British Museum until a few years after the trip to Nuremberg. For architectural work and the illustration of *Contrasts* and *The true principles*, Dürer offered little in the way of precedence. The prints by Hollar and Merian in Pugin's collection were better suited to this purpose and had greater influence on his architecture, and drawing and etching style.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the use of etched plates in Pugin's books, and in the case of *The true principles*, the printing of these plates within the letterpress, was founded on the model of seventeenth-century books in Pugin's library. By the time the *Glossary of ecclesiastical ornament* appeared, Pugin had embraced the new technology of chromolithography. Had the art of woodcut printing been of the standard of Dürer's day, things might have been

⁴² Wainwright 1994c, pp 131–2.

⁴³ See *ibid*, pp 134–6.

⁴⁴ See Stanton 1971, p 158.

different. As Wedgwood suggests, Dürer's greatest appeal was perhaps the evocation for Pugin of the late gothic spirit, before the rise of paganism and reformation.⁴⁵

In this light, it is tempting to see artistic quotations like the woodcutter as a form of homage. This much Pugin would have had in common with the Nazarenes, a bond suggested by his description of Overbeck as the 'prince of Christian painters' in *Contrasts*.⁴⁶ His part in introducing Overbeck to England and subsequent influence on the pre-Raphaelite movement is not well understood, but Pugin's appreciation of Dürer may also have influenced later revivalists.⁴⁷ Even the limited incorporation of Dürer's work into his designs makes clear Pugin's empathy with the prints as keys to understanding the art, life and history of a period in which he was most interested. The educational aspect of the collection as assembled at the Grange, Ramsgate, is attested to by Ferrey's description of it as 'forming a museum'.⁴⁸ Such thoughts on the instructional use of art were surely a further legacy of Pugin's visits and tours and perhaps the formative influence of his father's collection. The range of objects at the Grange reflected the idiosyncrasies of Pugin's taste, but the collection was not strictly limited to an illustration of the skills of medieval craftsmen. Enshrined as Dürer may have been, he shared wall space with Dutch genre scenes, seascapes and Italian renaissance paintings.⁴⁹ Pugin even had nice things to say about the 'disguised pagan' Raphael, describing him (with other famous Italian painters) as an 'illustrious ... Catholic artist' in a long footnote in *Contrasts*.⁵⁰

Taken together, these examples suggest a view that conflicts with characterisations of Pugin as a 'goth' or hater of post-gothic art.⁵¹ The wider picture of his artistic taste is in fact much more complicated. Clearly, more work must be done to study Pugin's library and collection of objects and prints, and to examine the extent to which they reflect his perceived interests. By piecing together the collection and his tours of Britain and the continent, it would be possible to take a great step towards understanding his use of sources for his texts, illustrations and buildings. Considering Pugin's collecting in relation to his other achievements, we might turn to one of his principles, that 'the smallest details should have a meaning or serve a purpose'. Each print by Dürer thus fulfilled a pertinent and useful purpose not only as decoration, but also in helping to inform and guide Pugin's genius.

⁴⁵ Wedgwood 1977, p 39.

⁴⁶ Pugin 1841b (*Contrasts*, 2nd ed), p 18.

⁴⁷ See Christian 1973, pp 56–83.

⁴⁸ Wainwright 1994b, p 93.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp 94–5. It is also interesting to note that many ceramic pieces in the collection were of sixteenth-century origin, including Palissy ware, Deruta dishes and istoriato maiolica, or 'Raffaella ware' (p 98).

⁵⁰ Pugin 1841b (*Contrasts*, 2nd ed), p 12 n.

⁵¹ For example Wedgwood 1988, p 180.

Some sources of A.W.N. Pugin's chalice designs

by Brian Andrews

St. Augustine's is part of one of the most extraordinary performances in English architecture—that subordination to a past style which Pugin alone achieved absolutely and which, far from stultifying his genius, enabled him to produce enormous quantities of enchantingly beautiful work, full of decorative grace and in fancy inexhaustible.¹

Sir John Summerson's assessment of St Augustine's church in Ramsgate – and more generally of A.W.N. Pugin's architecture – could be applied with equal merit to his huge corpus of metalwork. The astounding fertility of his creative genius lends extra interest to the investigation of the key sources that influenced his designs. In the case of his multitude of chalices a definitive picture will probably only emerge after an exhaustive correlative study has been made of his design drawings and the sketches made on his many trips to the Continent.

Meanwhile, evidence is available that enables at least some of the compositional and decorative elements of his chalices to be attributed to specific medieval exemplars.

Use of English sources

Because of Pugin's belief that the spiritual advance of English Catholicism and its corporate reunion with the Church of England – a cause he passionately shared with his close friend and fellow convert Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps – were to be achieved only by promoting a return to the plenitude of English medieval ecclesiological, liturgical, architectural and artistic usage, the sources of his creative lexicon *had* to be English.

Over the time when Pugin was engaged in designing chalices a mere handful of English medieval survivors were known to antiquarians.² Pugin was certainly familiar with several of them, but their small size and impractical shape rendered



Figure 7: 1850–51 chalice, St Barnabas' cathedral, Nottingham

Photograph: Brian Andrews.



Figure 8: Fourteenth-century Sienese chalice with a c1841 Pugin-designed bowl, Church of Our Blessed Lady and St Thomas of Canterbury, Dudley, West Midlands

Photograph: Brian Andrews.

¹ Summerson 1948, pp 163–6.

² Even when the first edition of Cripps' *Old English plate* (Cripps 1878) was published, barely a dozen English pre-Reformation chalices were known to exist.



Figure 9: 1848 chalice of Charles Henry Davis OSB, Bishop of Maitland, New South Wales, and coadjutor to Archbishop John Bede Polding OSB of Sydney

Photograph: Brian Andrews.

acquaintances. It was typically English in not having a calyx but was elongated to conform with Pugin's unalterable chalice proportions, namely that the height is twice the diameter of the bowl.⁶ This figure may have been deliberately chosen and adhered to by Pugin, but I am inclined to believe that it was the unconscious consequence of his brilliant 'eye'. His chalices don't just look right: they sit comfortably in the hand and are beautifully balanced, the hallmarks of a master designer.

The date of the design for this little chalice is estimated to be c1849–50, for the earliest example I have found – in Pugin's St Barnabas' Cathedral, Nottingham – is hallmarked 1850–51 [figure 7]. John Hardman Powell prepared the production drawings for Hardmans.⁷ Pugin's close friend Robert William Willson, Bishop of Hobart Town, acquired several of the chalices in 1854.⁸ It proved to be a particularly enduring product, possibly because its simple form and

them less than suitable for extensive emulation. Nevertheless he did produce – late in his career – several chalice designs based on English models. One of them, of 1849, was for an Anglican clergyman, Rev R. W. Sackville West.³ Its form and details coincided with a group of chalices made between 1490 and 1510 and it was, for Pugin, uncharacteristically literal.⁴ It seems possible that it was a precise copy of a specific chalice, perhaps at the clergyman's request.⁵ The engraved elements, for example, did not form part of Pugin's common repertoire, whereas the accompanying paten, while conforming broadly to medieval precedent, had wholly – and typically – Puginian engraved detail.

Another English essay, and apparently his only stock design based on such precedent, was probably derived from the 1518 chalice that belonged to Sir Henry Bedingfield of Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. Pugin and Bedingfield were



Figure 10: c1846 chalice, St Giles' church, Cheadle, Staffordshire

Photograph: Brian Andrews.

3 Bury 1972, pp 16–7.

4 See Oman 1957, pp 44–5, 301–2, pls 14–7.

5 More research is needed to validate this proposition. Such copies were not unknown in the Victorian era. In 1843 Henry Edward Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester (later Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster), had the London silversmiths Joseph and John Angel make a precise copy of the chalice that had been discovered in the tomb of Hilary, Bishop of Chichester (d 1148). The vessel finished up in Carrick, Tasmania.

6 My measurement of a large number of Pugin's chalices has shown that the height to diameter is always $2:1 \pm 10\%$.

7 Andrews 2002, pp 112–3.

8 *Ibid*, pp 110–1.

astrigent detail meant that it did not date like later more aggressive high Victorian designs. Indeed a chalice hallmarked 1899, at Oscott College, Birmingham, is to the same design.

This would perhaps seem to have been the limit of Pugin's English chalice essays. For the overwhelming majority of his chalice design sources he had no alternative but to turn to European models.

Italian sources

A major influence was the work of fourteenth-century Sienese goldsmiths, who produced chalices of practical form and great beauty. All had a capacious bowl with calyx, a hexagonal stem, an embossed knot with six prominent bosses, and a complex sexfoil foot. The more expensive and

elaborate models

had much enamelling, as well as interlaced strapwork to the foot.⁹ It is significant that Pugin's illustration for the 'chalice' entry in his highly influential *Glossary of ecclesiastical ornament and costume* was of a Sienese chalice.¹⁰

He was familiar with the cheaper Sienese chalices from at least 1840, for his inventory of the sacristy contents in his Church of Our Blessed Lady and St Thomas of Canterbury, Dudley, opened in that year, included 'a silver gilt chalice, with an enamelled foot of the thirteenth century' [figure 8].¹¹ In Pugin parlance 'foot' referred to all but the bowl of the chalice, the latter added by Hardmans – to his design – so as to return the incomplete Sienese chalice to serviceability. He did exactly the same for Bishop Willson in September 1847, again adding a bowl to a Sienese vessel.¹² The internal construction of this latter chalice, restored in 2001,



Figure 12: Undated chalice, Oscott College, Birmingham, West Midlands

Photograph: Brian Andrews.

provides irrefutable evidence of its fourteenth-century Italian origins.¹³ Also, the deeply recessed patterns on its stem betray long-gone *champlevé* enamel infill, characteristic of this class of Sienese chalices.



Figure 11: 1844-5 chalice, St Augustine's church, Ramsgate, Kent
Photograph: Brian Andrews.

⁹ Oman 1965, pp 279-81.

¹⁰ Pugin 1846 (*Glossary*), p 59.

¹¹ Pugin 1841c (*Present state*, pt 1), pp 329-30.

¹² Andrews 2002, pp 140-1.

¹³ The construction of such a chalice is clearly exposed in an exploded diagram in Burges 1858. Burges had access to a 'rickety' Sienese chalice belonging to AJB Beresford Hope, Chairman of the Ecclesiological Society, from which he was able to derive its construction.

Aside from the above incomplete examples, Pugin would also have undoubtedly been familiar with a Sienese chalice owned by his good friend Dr Daniel Rock, the Catholic priest and antiquarian, whom he had known since 1836.¹⁴ The forms and decorative vocabulary of such chalices were extensively used by Pugin during the 1840s. Typical examples are: the foot of an 1846 chalice for his St Peter's, Marlow; the knot and foot of a c1846 chalice for his St Giles' Cheadle; the foot of an 1844–5 chalice for his own Church of St Augustine, Ramsgate; and the knot and foot of his 1848 chalice [figure 9] for Bishop Charles Henry Davis OSB, Bishop of Maitland, New South Wales.¹⁵

Pugin also knew and admired the more elaborate and expensive Sienese chalices, one of which was owned by his friend, the London antique dealer and furniture maker, John Webb.¹⁶ This vessel, made for the Church of S. Paulo a Ripa d'Arno, Pisa,¹⁷ seems to have provided him with the basis for several splendid chalices, including one of c1846 for his St Giles', Cheadle [figure 10].¹⁸ The knot bosses and foot of Bishop Willson's own 1854 chalice came from the same model, being Pugin elements used in this piece by John Hardman Powell.¹⁹ These chalices, in addition to their strapwork, were enhanced by *champlevé* enamel in Pugin's typical bright heraldic colours.

Following his only visit to Italy in 1847, Pugin built on his observations there to produce a fine series of late chalices to what he called a 'Florentine pattern'.²⁰ Examples include those made for Bishop (later Cardinal) Nicholas Wiseman (1849), for the wealthy convert priest Fr Daniel Henry Haigh (1849–50) for his Ss Thomas and Edmund of Canterbury, Erdington, and for the Medieval Court at the 1851 Great Exhibition. They have been described as forming part of 'a small group of elaborate works made by Hardman to Pugin's design from about 1848 until the latter's death in 1852: they take full advantage of the expertise slowly and painfully learned by the firm'.²¹

Central European influence

His many voyages in Central Europe would also yield much material that would later fuel his creative drive. As early as 1834 he wrote to Edward James Willson, architect brother of Fr (later Bishop) Willson:

I am just returned from the finest journey I ever took in my Life. I have seen and Learnt more in the Last 3 months than in the 3 past years. such Glorious buildings ... only conceive entering a church at Nuremberg where I saw 13 Gothic Altars (even the Candlesticks original). a tabernacle for the holy Sacrament 50 feet high containing hundreds of images & all perfect. the ancient Sacristy with Iron doors, Gothic Locks & hinges old chests & Gothic panelled presses filled with antient Copes & chasubles.²²

¹⁴ *Idem*.

¹⁵ Andrews 2002, pp 187–8.

¹⁶ Webb made some of the most important pieces of Pugin's furniture for the Palace of Westminster.

¹⁷ Oman 1965, p 281. This chalice was acquired by the Victoria & Albert Museum from Webb's estate in 1878 (information from Ann Eatwell, Department of Metalwork, V&A).

¹⁸ This was identical with one, hallmarked 1844–5, given by William Leigh to St Peter's, Leamington.

¹⁹ Andrews 2002, pp 97–9.

²⁰ Bury 1967, p 30.

²¹ *Victorian church art exhibition* 1971, p 18.

²² Pugin to Edward James Willson, 22.8.1834; Belcher 2001, p 38.

A number of his chalice designs bore the typical features of central European exemplars, particularly a bowl of conical form and a highly compressed spherical knot having six elongated lozenge bosses often with *champlevé* enamel faces.²³ Such a chalice was one that Bishop Willson brought out to Hobart Town in 1844.²⁴ This vessel has much in common with Pugin's own slightly later chalice [figure 11], purchased for use in the chapel attached to the Grange, his Ramsgate residence, and later transferred to St Augustine's church.²⁵ In particular, the bowl, calyx and knot are nearly identical. Interestingly, the foot of this latter vessel is derived from the inexpensive Sienese exemplar.

One of Pugin's chalices at Oscott College has an interesting complex transition from the lower stem to the foot in the form of an interpenetrating six-pointed star [figure 12]. It is a reinterpretation of that feature on a chalice of 1510 in the Frankfurt *Dom Treasury*²⁶ Pugin had visited Frankfurt in 1834 or 1835, then again in early August 1838.

Conclusion

The singular combination of his vast documented and remembered store of accumulated details of medieval buildings and objects and his remarkable relationship with his industrial partners underpinned Pugin's extraordinary creativity in a brief working life. This is evident – as everywhere in his incomprehensibly prolific output – in the diversity and technical accomplishment of his chalice designs.

23 See, for example, Kotzur & Lütkenhaus 1994; Seifert 1992; Die Domschatzkammer zu Aachen 1990; and Lozinski 1992.

24 Andrews 2002, pp 59–60.

25 It is hallmarked 1844–5.

26 Kotzur & Lütkenhaus 1994, pp 57–60.

E.W. Pugin and the Grange: some reflections

by Catriona Blaker

Now that structural work at the Grange has at last commenced, the time has come to re-cap with regard to the final decisions that have been reached about the fate of E.W. Pugin's additions to the building. Even at the time of writing, (in early April 2004), the house has all but disappeared in scaffolding, and its appearance is fast becoming irrevocably altered. It is right that members of the Pugin Society should understand how the shape of the Grange will now change, what grounds there may be for justifying the removal of most of E.W.'s alterations, and how and why these decisions came about.

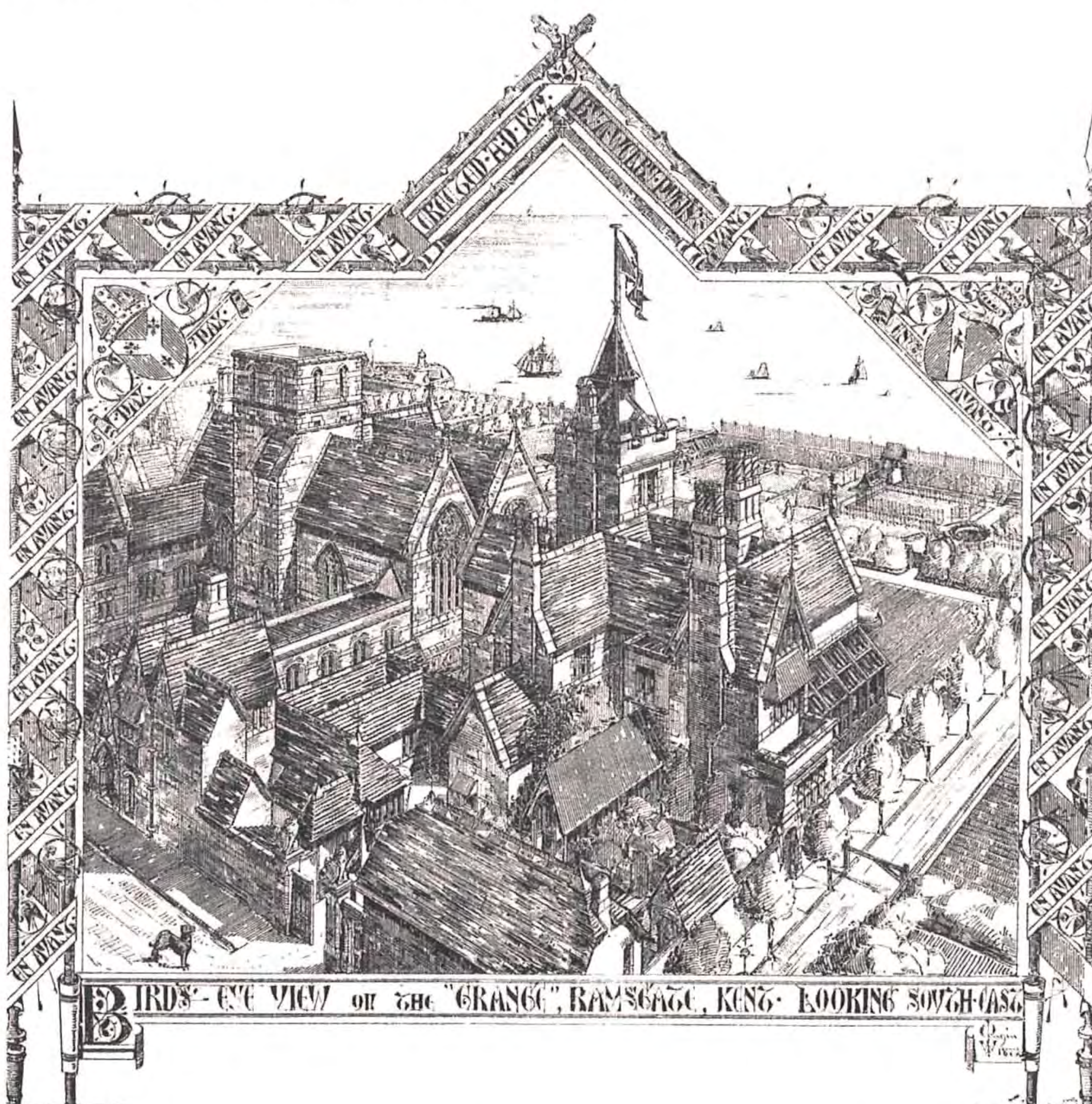


Figure 13: Bird's-eye view of the Grange by C.W. Pugin, 1872, published in the *Builder*, 1879. This shows E.W. Pugin's extension to the drawing room at the west end of the house; his conservatory (demolished c1951); his carriage gates and the covered way; the cartoon room as altered by him; the doghouse; and some further additions to the west of the courtyard. In 1872 this area was not of course obscured by the twentieth-century additions which, in particular, have since confused the appearance of the northern aspect of the site
Private collection.

I would like to thank Nick Dermott for his support and encouragement in the writing of this article.

What additions did E.W. make to his father's house? The family moved back to the house in 1861, and from that time the form, and to some extent the use, of the Grange began to change. In his first phase of alterations, initiated in order to make the house more appropriate for members of the Pugin family, whose needs after nine years had changed, and who therefore now had different living requirements, E.W. added an extension to the kitchen at the east end of the house and, by daringly removing a large section of the main east wall, created a much larger room on the first floor above; this was then partitioned to make two bedrooms, each with a barge-boarded gabled, part dormer, sash window to the east – reminiscent of those that he designed across the road for St Augustine's Monastery – and one with a new sash window to the north front, facing the courtyard. Internally, a corridor was constructed to lead to the northernmost bedroom, lit by an arch, with balustrading matching that of the main staircase, which was cut into the upstairs hall wall. He also built a bathroom above the sacristy, on the north side of the chapel.

Above the main entrance porch the younger Pugin constructed a flat-roofed extension adjoining what is thought to have become his own bedroom; this addition was probably a dressing-room, and later became a bathroom. Below, he put in a downstairs cloakroom to the side of the main entrance door, with an attractive three-light Gothic stone mullioned window looking out towards his father's west wall pedestrian entrance. Slightly later, c1870, he built the covered way in the courtyard, with its fine barge-boarded front entrance, the doghouse in the angle of the west boundary wall, and another wall that originally ran across the courtyard east-west, dividing the working area of the yard from the domestic, family, entrance. Both vehicular and pedestrian entrances had originally, during the lifetime of A.W.N. Pugin, been from the west, from what is now Screaming Alley.

To the north of the courtyard, E.W. constructed the impressive carriage gates and piers with their proud lions bearing the Pugin and Welby coat of arms on their shields. He converted the Cartoon Room on the north-west corner of the courtyard, where A.W.N. had famously overseen the designs for many of the windows of the House of Lords and other commissions, into a stable and carriage house, with accommodation for a groom over. In order to create more living space in this building, he added a dormer window and hipped the roof.

Inside the house he elaborated the woodwork on the ground floor, enlarging doors and doorcases, deepening wainscoting, and embellishing the fireplaces in the library and drawing room with surrounds and mantelpieces. To facilitate his pleasure in entertaining, he extended the dining room by removing the east wall, putting in an arch and creating a 'carvery', or buffet area, where, in the first phase of the existence of the house, there had been a water closet. He also changed the south window in this area, from a small round-headed one, similar to those above it, to a larger, square-headed one. Upstairs, he refitted his stepmother Jane's bedroom by embellishing the fireplace, elaborating the doorcase and putting a four-centred arch in the reveal to the west window (and probably also to the south), plus adding a decorative cornice.

At the far end of the drawing room – the west end – he built another flat-roofed extension, retaining and re-inserting his father's original windows in his own, new,



Figure 14: Looking towards the east end of the Grange, December 1989. Snow emphasises the rooflines and shows E.W. Pugin's bathroom extension over the sacristy, rising above the chapel roof
 Photograph: Michael Blaker.

west wall. On the garden side of this room he converted a window designed by his father into a French door, and constructed a conservatory leading out of it. He slightly enlarged the archway between the library – which had been A.W.N.'s studio and office – and the now extended drawing room, making a large L-shaped reception space, as opposed to the two more clearly defined rooms, with different uses, originally created by his father.

The additions made by E.W. demonstrate two things: one, his sense that as a young man of the coming generation a degree of modernisation was needed in the house (*i.e.*, more elaborate washing facilities, a bigger kitchen and dining room, and more bedrooms), and two, that in his position as a highly successful, able and established architect both in this country and beyond, a figure of consequence in local society and a generous host, he wished to demonstrate his status (as in the case of the carriage gates, alterations to the cartoon room, the drawing-room extension and the elaboration of internal fittings). Therefore, quite apart from any aesthetic considerations, the additions illustrated in an interesting way the difference in lifestyle and changing priorities of father and son, since A.W.N., a man who did not lack for friends in Ramsgate, but who had no desire for a public *persona* there, put Catholicism, family and work before anything, and lived, particularly for someone of his celebrity, an extremely simple life, giving as much as possible of his income to the building of his church.

The Landmark Trust bought the Grange in 1997, but their first application for listed building consent was not put in to Thanet District Council until spring 2001.

Backing up this first application was a consultation 'Conservation Plan' prepared for the Trust by their architects Donald Insall Associates, which additionally included an account of the history and background of the house by Susie Barson, of English Heritage. The position taken by Insalls in this initial plan, in close discussion with the Trust, was the touchstone from which all future debate sprung. The initial proposals put forward, although carefully considered, were, many might think – in view of this being an outstandingly significant house and listed Grade1 – surprisingly radical; they suggested a reversal of all E.W.'s work to the house, including the covered way in the north courtyard; the kitchen and first-floor extensions to the east; the cloakroom and bathroom, respectively adjacent to, and above, the porch; the bathroom over the sacristy; and the drawing-room extension to the west. It was considered that the main carriage gates, doghouse and cartoon room should remain, these last two with some alterations. They could see that the cartoon room clearly had possible uses, as an exhibition space, community hall, Pugin Society quarters, or all three. They felt however that the work of E.W., and certainly of his younger brother C.W. Pugin (1840–1928 – about the removal of whose alterations there has never been any debate), obscured A.W.N.'s original concept, and that the opportunity to recreate his own house was too important an opportunity to miss.

Because of the discussion that the first proposals had aroused in the conservationist bodies and societies consulted, it became clear that the Landmark Trust would need to go back to the drawing board – as one might well say – if listed building consent was to be forthcoming. It was for this reason that so long elapsed between the purchase of the house and the granting of the first consent. The Landmark Trust decided to commission Paul Drury, consultant in historic environment policy and practice, to analyse the Grange in greater depth, both archaeologically and theoretically. His extensive and probing scholarship has contributed much to everybody's understanding about the evolution of the house. As far as E.W. was concerned, Drury came to the conclusion that his additions to the house could be divided into two sections – the first (referred to chronologically as '2.1' in the conservation plan) being seen as his more 'expedient' work, and the second (or '2.2'), being his more 'considered', as it was thought, alterations of the early 1870s, the works of aggrandisement prior to his bankruptcy in 1872. Dividing E.W.'s work in this way, if a little arbitrary, meant that there was now more room for compromise or negotiation in the first listed building application.¹ After much consultation with various bodies, consent was finally granted on 12 December 2001. This meant that the drawing-room extension would be retained, since it was thought to be more carefully considered in terms of design (a 2.2. structure), and also that possibly the conservatory he had built (also 2.2) might even be reinstated. The covered way was to remain as well.

In an article in *True principles*, Nick Dermott gave an admirably clear account of the history of the house and the proposals by the Landmark Trust up to the date of the first application.² Slightly earlier, Roderick O'Donnell had already written a

1 Thanet District Council reference no L/TH 01/0196.

2 *True principles*, vol ii no 2, pp 3–6.

helpful article about E.W. and the Grange that highlighted the way in which the two generations of the Pugin family used the house, and commented on their differing lifestyles.³ He remarks that E.W.'s alterations to the house should be seen as 'a statement of family, professional and religious, rather than stylistic, continuity'. Indeed, in all the debate concerning the best way forward for the conservation and restoration of the Grange, there have throughout been three factors of particular importance to consider: aesthetic, sociological-historic, and practicality for a viable future as a house in which clients of the Landmark Trust could stay. These three elements are at times difficult to disentangle, and have by their nature tended to conflict.

In determining the future appearance of the Grange, aesthetic considerations were the most important of all for the Trust. E.W.'s earlier, more practical additions, such as bathroom, cloakroom and bedrooms, were felt not only to obscure the pure form of the house, but also to have actually been less well constructed. This was also thought to be true of the drawing-room extension, even though stylistically it was clearly respectful of the father's work. Also, the house was going to have to function successfully as a place where people could stay in the twenty-first century. This perhaps influenced the decision to reduce the size of the kitchen to a more manageable space, and to reinstate A.W.N.'s bay window in it, where E.W.'s extension had been. Perhaps too this need influenced the wish to fill in the buffet space in the dining room, and return this area to use as a bathroom (not dissimilar, indeed, to its original use). Many factors, therefore determined the result we are eventually going to see.

The government's *Planning policy guidance note 15* (1994), section C.5, 'Planning and the historic environment', states: 'Generally, later features of interest should not be removed merely to restore a building to an earlier form'. It has been suggested that current approaches to conservation policy might not support the kind of restoration that is going ahead. However, because of the fact that not all the additions at the Grange were considered to be thoroughly satisfactory stylistically, and because of the overwhelming amount of evidence regarding the original form of the house that has come to light, and the outstanding importance of A.W.N., there is a strong argument for the approach that has been taken.

The Landmark Trust did not submit their second application for listed building consent until summer 2003.⁴ Consent was granted on 9 December 2003. This was over two years since the first application had received consent, and during that time a great deal had occurred by way of further research. In particular, there was discovery of a fine piece of A.W.N.'s wallpaper, behind dado panelling, in the north-west bedroom; of the sacristy roof, with original covering, below the floor of E.W.'s bathroom; of the position of A.W.N.'s furnishings in the library; and of details relating to the evolution of the fireplaces and grates (although research is still going on here). The original fireplace in the hall was almost certainly placed in the billiard room, constructed outside, and adjoining, the kitchen, c1880 (after E.W.'s death). This

³ *True principles*, vol i no 8, pp 9–10.

⁴ Thanet District Council reference no L/TH 03/0747.

can be reinstated, although it may have to be replicated, in the hall. Much 'fine grain information' (to quote Drury in June 2003)⁵ was gleaned. The new material, considered in context with the plentiful letters of A.W.N. to John Gregory Crace and John Hardman about the furnishing of the house, and the memoir of J.H. Powell, *Pugin in his home*⁶, gave the Trust all the information they needed to press hard for proposals almost as far-reaching as their first ones had been. The Trust had also come upon a watercolour by A.W.N., showing the view into the drawing room before the addition of E.W.'s extension. In view of the hard evidence that had thus been uncovered, which meant that any reinstatement could now be thoroughly substantiated, and also because of the ongoing threat of damage to the building in the absence of any work proceeding on it, opposition in many quarters faded when the second application was proposed. A majority of the committee of the Pugin Society as well as the Ancient Monuments Society, English Heritage South East, and Thanet District Council (having consulted with the other statutory bodies), were prepared to permit the second application to go through. Only the Victorian Society continued at this point to object to the removal of E.W.'s drawing room extension.

How much, then, of E.W.'s contribution will remain? Out of all the additions and alterations described in this article, the main items to stay will be the covered way, the alterations to Jane Pugin's bedroom, the carriage gates, and – secondarily – the cartoon room and the doghouse. Much of his work referred to earlier in this article will vanish, and with it many built elements illustrative of the second-generation life and times of the Pugin family, and of E.W. in particular. With hindsight, it seems clear that the vision of the Landmark Trust and their architects was always, if permitted, to return to the primary form of the house, in so far as possible, and indeed this will be seen by many as a tempting concept. The Trust is the saviour of the Grange. No other body stepped in to save it, and they have. A.W.N. was a great architect, designer and theorist, and his house, and his concept of how it should appear, is of huge importance. However, those who will eventually be visiting the beautifully restored Grange – and no doubt it will be beautifully restored – should, when they wonder at the work and concepts of the father, say a prayer for the son, also an important architect and no mean benefactor to Ramsgate, whose contribution has been considerably reduced. Will the shade of 'Teddy' wander disconsolately through the house?

5 Drury 2003b, 1.3.

6 Published as Wedgwood 1988.

The Oscott College chapel *Sedes sapientiae* and the east window, Church of the Sacred Heart, Henley-on-Thames

by Roderick O'Donnell

The Pugin Society was one of the successful appellants (June 2003) against the proposal to dismantle the high altar in Henley church. Roderick O'Donnell was member of the Diocese of Birmingham Historic Churches Committee (2000–3) and of the Committee of the Pugin Society (2000–3).

Two works of art of unusual importance at opposite ends of the Birmingham Diocese attest to mid-nineteenth-century scriptural and solidly gothic revival iconography in the cult of the Virgin Mary at a time when so much of it was sentimental, unscriptural and cloyingly classical. Their related Mariology point to the involvement of Canon Northcote, President of Oscott College (1860–77), author of *Mary in the Gospels*, and *Celebrated sanctuaries of the Madonna*, who was later reputed to have bought one of them.¹ Certainly the second and perhaps the first were shown at the London International Exhibition of 1862.

Sedes sapientiae

In the Weedall chantry (1860–2) at Oscott College chapel the dominant object is neither a monument to Weedall, nor an altar, but a statue of the Virgin and Child. The statue is large, imposing, strikingly unsentimental, and strongly informed by the reassessment of medieval exemplars and iconography as taught by A.W.N. Pugin a generation beforehand. Its title *Sedes sapientiae*, 'seat of wisdom', is one of the many titles of the Virgin in the Litany of Loretto, familiar to pious Catholics until the liturgical *bouleversements* of the 1960s. It is also the dedication of the Catholic University of Louvain as re-founded in 1834 and that chosen by Newman for the Catholic University in Dublin (1854) as obviously appropriate for Catholic seats of learning.

A memorial to Henry Weedall (1788–1859), twice President of Oscott (1825–40; 1853–9) was proposed in a printed circular dated 5 December 1859. The architect E.W. Pugin, who was already responsible for the design of the Exhibition Room, designed the chantry in 1860. This was to be in the form of an extension beyond the existing chapel transept of 1838, which now became a narthex. The cost of the contract and extras was measured at £787.17s.² The work was evidently progressing in 1862 when Pugin acknowledged his first receipt for £25 for his architect's commission.³ A sum of £18.12s was still outstanding against the £772.17s spent by July 1863.⁴ He designed the north side of the chantry in the form of two chapels, one dedicated to the sacred heart, with brasses (of 1841) on the floor by A.W.N. Pugin to Bishop Milner, the other

1 According to Dr Judith Champ, St Mary's College, Oscott. I would like to thank Dr Champ for her comments on this paper (letter, 27.10.2003).

2 Oscott archives, contract as measured by SE Marples, surveyor, 17.4.1860.

3 *Ibid.* EW Pugin's receipt 25.3.1862.

4 *Ibid.* EW Pugin's receipt 5.7.1863; this also mentions 'rebenching' [?] and 'alteration of the church'.



Figure 15: The Oscott College chapel *Sedes sapientiae*
The Oscott Collection.

to the Virgin.⁵ Two further chapels were added on the south side in 1911, still very much in E.W. Pugin style, by S. P. Powell of the firm of Pugin and Pugin.

The chantry is top-lit through a gothic sky-light under which the statue is centrally placed, a striking device drawn not so much from gothic as from classical precedent. A beautifully coloured, detailed encaustic tile floor surrounds the statue, evidently by Minton; it is once again familiar as in the style of E.W. Pugin.

The form and plan of the chantry do not suggest that the statue is the afterthought but rather its *raison d'être*. It forms the main focus, raised on a stepped plinth, in three parts, on a four-sided plan with canted angles, all of stone. The central element of the statue is the enthroned Virgin, seated, holding the Christ child, in alabaster, part painted and gilded. The iconography of the statue is remarkably gender-conscious: in niches around the

dado are the prophets, queens, seers and women in other heroic roles from the Old Testament: facing the statue the series begins with Rebecca; she is followed by Sarah; Jephtha; Esther; Judith with the severed head of Holofernes; the Sunamite woman; Bathsheba as a crowned queen holding her son the crowned Solomon; Anna; Jahel, Deborah; Respa in mourning; Ruth; the Queen of Sheba; and Rachel.⁶

The throne has panelled dados with relief figures of God the Father with Adam and Eve; Adam and Eve in the garden (with a gothic castle or fountain-like structure behind); a naked Eve succumbing to the tempting serpent at the tree; St Michael with his sword; Adam and Eve expelled; St Michael or another angel barring the gate to the garden; a partially-clothed Eve spinning with her two children fighting at her feet (the one wielding the hefty club is evidently Cain); and finally a clothed Adam who tills the ground.

Around the base of the throne runs the Latin motto *si quis Diligit Sapientiam / Ad me declinet et eam Inveniet / et cum eam Invenerit / Beatus erit si Tenuerit eam*, loosely translated as 'if you would seek wisdom listen to me and you will find it; and having found it with me you will be blessed if you hold to it'.

5 Greaney 1880, pp 30–1.

6 Champ 2002, p 71.

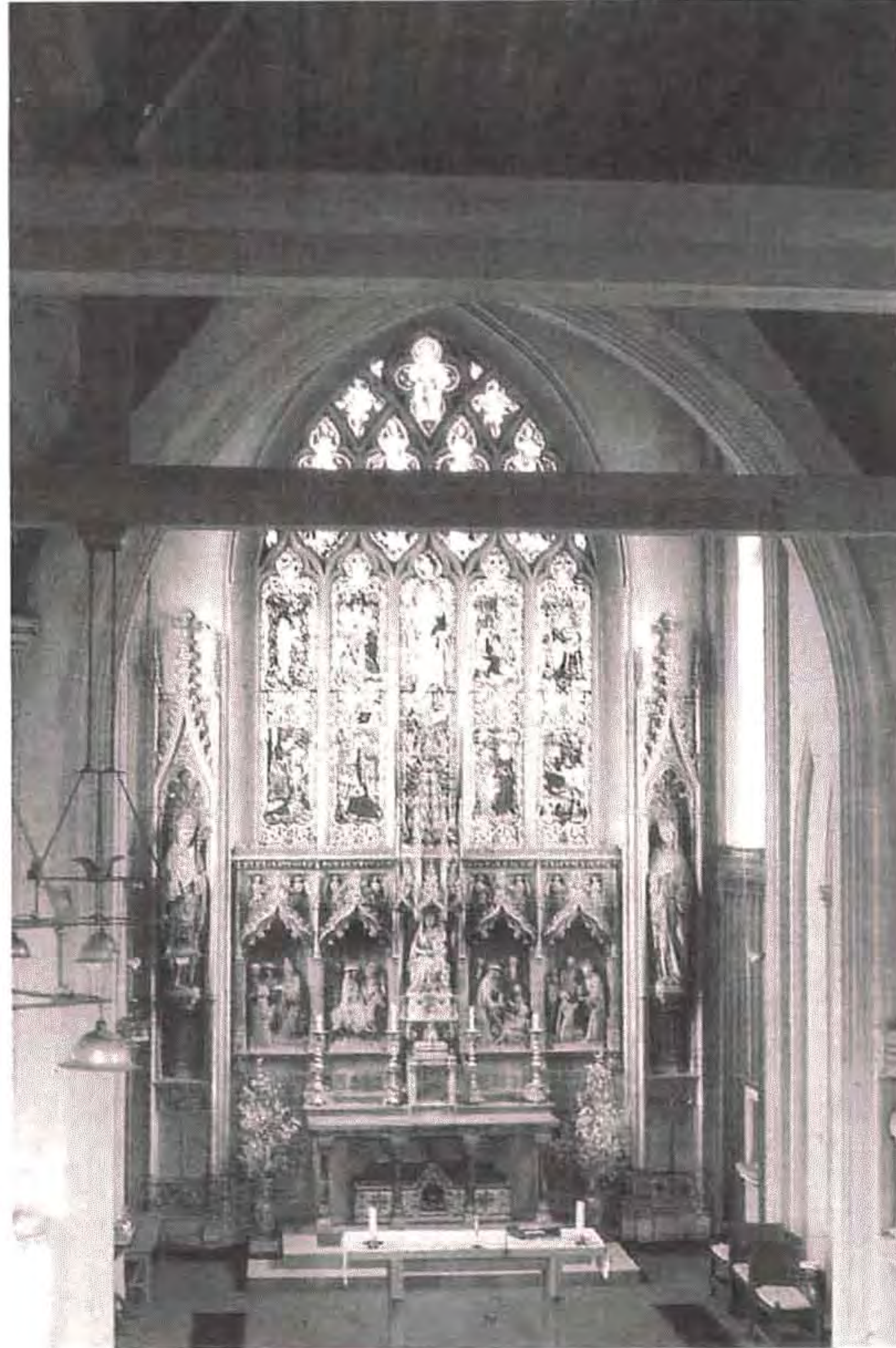


Figure 16: The east window, Church of the Sacred Heart, Henley on Thames

Photograph: Roderick O'Donnell.

The slightly less than life-size statue of the Virgin is regally seated forward on her throne, dressed and cloaked, with gilding to the hems, and a motto across the clasp on her cloak. The draped Child stands and holds in his hand an open book, presumably the gospels from which he will teach. The face of the Virgin is meditative: perhaps she listens to her son. She is veiled and crowned in alabaster, crudely gilded, rather than with a metal crown. The long tresses of her hair descend down her shoulders and back, a highly neo-medieval touch, and a reference to the central image of the Virgin in the east window above the high altar. W. Greaney's *Catalogue of pictures* of 1880 describes a metal canopy with a dependent curtain, so characteristic of these mid-Victorian altars and shrines, which he dates to 1864; equally characteristically, it is no longer here. On the wall behind the statue are placed many memorial brasses, all of which can be attributed to Hardman and Company, and which were formerly integrated by a wall-painting scheme, which indicated not a tree of life but a mortuary tree.⁷ This decorative scheme of 1867 is currently painted out. The brasses commemorate clergy and laity, both pupils and benefactors of the college, and prominent amongst them are brasses to Weedall and Cardinal Wiseman. That to William Stone shows the so-called 'Oscott lectern', the

⁷ Greaney 1880, p 29.

famous fifteenth-century lectern bought by Lord Shrewsbury from the church of St Peter, Louvain, presented first of all to St Chad's cathedral but later moved to Oscott.⁸ Another shows Dr Haigh, another of the Oscott alumni, who presented a lectern to Pugin and Hardman's design to St George's cathedral, Southwark, in 1848.

Behind the statue is currently placed Pugin's wooden 'hearse' or a Holy Week candlestand used in the Tenebrae service (another liturgical reform casualty), one of his earliest works for Oscott.

The college tradition that the statue was shown at the 1862 Exhibition occurs in Greaney's *Catalogue*: it was 'made by John Hardman & Co. for the [London international] Exhibition of 1862 and given by Dr Northcote, President'.⁹ An article by A.G Wall entitled 'The Oscott Madonnas' in the *Oscottian* identifies the sculptor as one 'Dicky' Phelan of the Early and Powell firm of Dublin.¹⁰ These traditions are however somewhat contradictory. I have been unable to find reference to the statue in the catalogues of the 1862 Exhibition, and it seems unlikely that a work of this scale would have missed the cataloguer's eye; and, in any case, if the statue does date from 1862, the reference to the Early and Powell firm must be mistaken. Although Hardman and Company established a church-furnishing practice in Dublin in 1853, this did not change its name (to reflect those of its principals, Thomas Early and William Powell) until 1866. However, a Dublin provenance is likely since the Birmingham branch of Hardman and Company was not prominent for its architectural sculpture: this in A.W.N. Pugin's lifetime and thereafter was catered for by the craftsmen of Pugin's builder George Myers, from whose works many independent sculptors later emerged. However, the gaze and features of the faces of the Virgin and Child are closely derived from an A.W.N. Pugin/Myers prototype, of which versions exist at Ramsgate, and at St Edmund's College, Ware. One plausible explanation is that the statue might have been exhibited at 1862 in model or drawn form rather than the completed full-scale object, which then might not have been completed in stone or alabaster until 1867.

We can probably take this problem no further than to say that the Weedall chantry of 1860–2 was evidently designed around the installation of this magnificent sculpture; that it derives closely from the A.W.N. Pugin/Hardman/Myers milieu, and that it involved the work of sculptors, including Dicky Phelan, who may have been based in or sent from Dublin, possibly as late as 1867, to complete the work in the form we now know it. Alas, since Canon Northcote's papers, said to have been removed with him to Stoke-on-Trent where he spent the last 30 years of his life, are no longer available, and because of the unsatisfactory condition of the Oscott archives as deposited at the Birmingham Diocesan archives, we are left speculating.

Sacred Heart, Henley, east window

The second work of art, the east window of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Henley-on-Thames, was definitely shown at the London International Exhibition of 1862,

⁸ It is typical of the failure of the nineteenth and twentieth-century clergy to understand the liturgical roots of Pugin's church furnishing programme that such lecterns were first of all sidelined and subsequently often abandoned. It is odder still that the Oscott lectern was sold by in 1967, just at the moment when the implementation of the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council were mandating a return of the use of the lectern for the mass and the office. It is now in the Cloisters branch of the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

⁹ Greaney 1880, p 29.

¹⁰ *Oscottian*, vol 3, no 3 (1911), pp 112–6.

where it was awarded a bronze medal.¹¹ Like the reredos and high altar below it, it was originally installed in the private chapel of Danesfield House, Buckinghamshire. Both were carefully integrated as the climax of the new church at Henley (1936) by its architect A.S.G. Butler.¹² It was restored in 1993.

The gazetteer entry on this church in *The Pugins in the Catholic Midlands* (2002) misreads the east window as 'scenes from the life of the BVM'.¹³ In fact its iconography is much more complex and is described on a card in the church sacristy as 'Our Lady conceived in the mind of God'.¹⁴ The reticulated lights of the window have many angels in attitudes of adoration of a Christ-like figure (but surely God the Father) holding the Virgin in a *mandorla* surrounded by three registers of angels. The top register has seraphs, the next range angels with swinging censers, the lower range with angels playing harps, violins, trumpets, etc.

The main five lights of the window are divided into upper and lower registers. Facing the altar, at the top left, is the temptation of Eve (Genesis 3 vv 1–6); the next shows Sarah, with her husband Abraham at her side, hearing the promise of a son from three angels (Genesis 18 vv 1–16). The central light running through both registers has the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception crowned and standing on a moon (Apocalypse 12), holding her son with the dove of the Spirit above her. Below the Virgin in the lower register centre is the Tree of Knowledge with serpents entwined (Genesis 3). Returning to the top register on the top right corner, Rebecca's kindness at the well (Genesis 24 vv 15–22), and to the right Rachel and her beloved son Joseph (Genesis 30 vv 22–5). On the lower register, lower left, Anna obtains a son by prayer (Kings I 1 vv, 19–20); the next light: the humility of Ruth (Ruth, 1 vv 15–7; 2, vv 2–18, 3 vv 8–14). At the lower right, Judith holds the head of Holofernes (Judith, 4.vv 1–15) and finally Esther's intercessions for her people (Esther, 7 vv 3–6).¹⁵

Conclusion

Although architectural and figurative sculpture form one of the least-appreciated aspects of the gothic revival, as the controversial application partially to demolish and dismantle the A.W.N. and E.W Pugin high altar at Henley in 2002 shows,¹⁶ the importance of the Oscott *Sedes* and the Henley east window have long been recognised. This is due both to the artists and craftsmen concerned, but also to the mind and devotion of the theologian, presumably Northcote, who must have evolved the iconography used.¹⁷ It is appropriate here to remember that it was often due to A.W.N. Pugin himself that the first statues or other images of the Virgin Mary appeared in Catholic churches as part of the devotional revolution of which he was a harbinger.

11 According to a Midlands source: Wallis 1862, pp 44–5.

12 *The Catholic Church in Henley-on-Thames 1275–1949*; Smeaton 2002.

13 O'Donnell 2002, p 94–5.

14 The card would seem to be 1930s; inspected at the church 3.6.2003.

15 The card gives chapter references only; the verses are added by this writer, following the Douai version.

16 See the report, 'Appeal Commission established by the Most Reverend Vincent Nichols Archbishop of Birmingham...against the decision of the Historic Churches Committee', 30.6.2003.

17 Another Marian window of equally complex iconography is the immaculate conception window in St Chad's cathedral (1867).

Seel's Building, Church Street, Liverpool

by Joseph Sharples

St George's Hall is sometimes said to have established classicism so firmly in Liverpool that the gothic revival made little impact. Nevertheless, a handful of gothic revival buildings are dotted around the commercial centre, and there were more before wartime bombing reduced their number. The Liverpool architect Thomas Mellard Reade, writing in a local journal in 1866, hoped that the main shopping thoroughfare of Church Street might be rebuilt in a variety of gothic styles, echoing the work of such architects as Deane and Woodward, Pugin, Street and Waterhouse.¹ Subsequently some gothic blocks were indeed erected here, but only



Figure 17: Seel's Building, at the corner of Church Street and Paradise Street, Liverpool

Photograph: Joseph Sharples, April 2004.

one survives, on a prominent site at the corner of Paradise Street. New research in connection with the recently published *Pevsner architectural guide* to Liverpool has identified it as Seel's Building, a shop and office block listed among E.W. Pugin's works in his obituary in the *Builder*, and one of very few commercial buildings he undertook.²

1 *Porcupine*, 24.2.1866, pp 464–5.

2 *Builder*, 12.6.1875, p 523.

E.W. Pugin designed numerous Roman Catholic churches and institutions in and around Liverpool from 1853 onwards.³ In Gore's street directories he is listed from 1864 as having an office in the town, and among his local patrons was the Catholic landowner Major Thomas Molyneux Seel (d1881) of Huyton Hey. According to the *Builder*, Pugin was responsible for some school buildings erected at Seel's expense at 'Houghton' (evidently a misprint for Huyton); he also designed Harrington House in Leamington Spa for the Major in 1869, in a style described by Pevsner as 'a dissolute Gothic-cum-Italian-cum-French'.⁴ The Church Street building has Seel's initial S worked into the tracery of the balconies, and over the corner entrance are the arms of his ancestors, the Unsworth and Harrington families, so there can be no doubt about the identity of the client.⁵ The *Building news* in 1868 reported that the site had long been empty but was about to be built on, to a gothic design by the builders Messrs Haigh and Co.⁶ When or why Pugin came on the scene as architect is not clear. Seel's lease on the site, bought for £19,220, was confirmed at a meeting of the Council's Finance and Estates Committee on 24 June 1870, and the same body approved the elevation of his proposed new building on 2 September 1870.⁷ It was apparently complete by May 1872, when the president of the Liverpool Architectural and Archaeological Society, H.H. Vale, described it at the society's annual meeting. It appears for the first time in Gore's directory in 1873, with Pugin himself listed among the occupants.

The ground floor is obscured by a modern shop front, and to judge from old photographs, the top floor has lost one of two gabled dormers that used to crown the Church Street elevation, but otherwise Pugin's facade is fairly well preserved. The materials are contrasting grey and yellow stone, rock-faced with ashlar dressings. Piers between the bays are corbelled out for the second-floor balconies, then recede, before coming forward again above the third floor windows. Shallow pointed arches span between the piers at this point, with the windows recessed below (a motif also found at Pugin's Carlton Towers, Yorkshire, 1873–7). Above the fourth floor a parapet projects slightly. The modelling of the facade was singled out for favourable comment by H.H. Vale: 'Mr. E.W. Pugin has given us much novelty in a recent building in Church Street ... I consider this edifice possesses much power and vigour, and a principle, which, I think, should mark all street architecture where the designer goes in for the picturesque, that is, an outward, rather than an inward sectional curve upwards in the façade ...'; but he tempered his praise with a note of criticism: '... Mr Pugin's work seems to me to want shadow at the eaves, where the eye may rest, after travelling up the vast façade'.⁸ There is some carved decoration, including a series of heads in oblong panels under the third-floor windows. The interior has been completely altered, but what appears to be a drawing of the original basement and ground-floor plans survives among the papers of Edmund Kirby and Sons in the

3 See Welsh 1975.

4 *Builder*, 26.1.1861, p 61; *PAG Warwickshire* 1966, p 338.

5 For the Unsworth and Harrington heraldry see Gregson 1869, pp 228; 250.

6 *Building news*, 11.12.1868, p 847.

7 Liverpool Record Office, 352 MIN/FIN II 1/17.

8 Proceedings of the *Liverpool Architectural and Archaeological Society*, twenty-fourth session, ninth and annual meetings, 3rd April and 1st May, 1872, p 100.

Liverpool Record Office.⁹ The inscription on the unsigned and undated drawing says 'Major Molyneux Seel – Shops and Offices', but confusingly gives the location as Lord Street, the westward continuation of Church Street. It shows the ground floor divided into five shops, with a separate entrance on Church Street (under the missing dormer) leading to the offices above. There is a second stair to the upper floors at the rear; coal storage and lavatories are in the basement.

H.H. Vale noted that Pugin, 'with an amount of originality ... characteristic of the name he bears, has placed his autograph upon the edifice'. He is said to have done the same at Croston Hall, Lancashire (demolished), where a plaque dated 1857 on the facade recorded his name and that of his then partner, James Murray.¹⁰ Perhaps after his recent battle to have his father recognised as the true 'art architect' of the Palace of Westminster, he was anxious to leave passers-by in no doubt about the identity of the designer of Seel's Building. When the present shop front was being installed in 2001, it seemed that Pugin's signature might be revealed, but though the original arched window heads were briefly exposed, much of the masonry lower down turned out to have been removed in previous alterations. Pugin's 'autograph', sadly, was nowhere to be seen.

⁹ Liverpool Record Office, 720 KIR 136. Edmund Kirby, 1838–1922, was a pupil of EW Pugin.

¹⁰ Welsh 1975, p 52.

St Joseph's, Ansdell

by James Jago

Whilst scholarly re-evaluation of the work of A.W.N. Pugin advances several-fold, precious little has been written concerning the work of his grandson, S. P. Powell. It was he who took over the Pugin and Pugin practice upon the death of his uncle, P. P. Pugin, in 1904, and who is remembered for his work at Douai Abbey and the St Edward chapel at St Chad's cathedral, Birmingham. His work demonstrates the undeniable influence of P.P. Pugin, and his innovative features emulate E.W. Pugin's style as well as being tempered by a drive to 'consciously set out to imitate his grandfather'.¹ Unifying all these influences is a perceptible refinement and clarity of detail which gestures to contemporary Anglican architects, though without either closely following their example or emulating any specific period of historical gothic. His designs perpetuate the 'basilican'² ground plan, with a spacious nave and shallow sanctuary, rather than the strict antiquarian arrangements insisted upon by his grandfather, and often adopted by Anglicans.

One of the most imposing and earliest examples of his work, described by John Sanders as 'spectacular',³ is the church of St Joseph, Lytham St Anne's, Lancashire. The generous provision of funds (£12,000 excluding furnishings) for this church was donated by Mgr Canon James Taylor, rector of St Peter's, Lytham. He was born locally, educated at Ushaw College, and ordained in 1858. Presumably the environment of Ushaw, and its Puginian connotations, had a lasting influence upon Mgr Taylor, as he contracted Pugin and Pugin to continue the work begun by his brother, Rev Roger Taylor, of embellishing his meagre church of 1839 with new altars, a new east end to the sanctuary, and an elaborate lychgate and sign. Mgr Taylor had previously been the mission priest to whom 'belongs all and every credit'⁴ for E.W. Pugin's superb church of the English Martyrs, Preston (1867), and later P. P. Pugin's Our Lady Star of the Sea, St Anne's (1890–91) and Sacred Heart at Thornton-le-Fylde (1898). By 1906 a large plot had been secured and a mission hall constructed in the expanding suburb of Ansdell, between Lytham and St Anne's. Powell prepared his plans in this year for a church to seat 800, with a presbytery joined to the church by a covered passageway.

The building work had reached such a stage that the foundation stone could be ceremonially blessed and laid on 22 August 1909. Photographs of the ceremony indicate that the brick core of the walls had by this point reached the height of the window cills. The inscribed silver trowel, used to make the sign of the cross upon the stone, had been presented by a 'Mr Pugin Powell'.⁵ The subject of the sermon, 'that

I am grateful to Frs A Turner and J Geoghegan of St Joseph's Ansdell; Fr F Flynn of St Peter's, Lytham; Fr S Cross of St Mary of Furness, Barrow-in-Furness; and Alan Ashton MBE, of the Lytham Heritage Group, for all their help and assistance in the writing of this article. My thanks also go to fellow Society members Catriona Blaker and Rory O'Donnell.

1 Sanders 1997, p 104.

2 The first truly successful application of this ground plan by a Pugin was EW Pugin's Our Lady of La Salette, Liverpool (1859–60); see O'Donnell 1994, pp 265–6.

3 Sanders 1997, *ibid.*

4 *The consecration of the English Martyrs church*, Preston, a souvenir.

5 Details of this ceremony extracted from an article in the *Lytham times*, c 1935.

the church was being built for the altar, and not the altar for the church', is one which we can imagine both Powell and his grandfather enthusiastically applauding. However, this event was not witnessed by the church's generous benefactor, who had died at Alston Hall outside Preston, early in the previous year, aged 78 and 'in the 50th year of his sacred priesthood'.⁶ The building work, contracted to the Blackpool firm of William Eaves and Co, continued for another five years under the auspices of the first incumbent Fr Formby,⁷ and the church's completion was marked with a pontifical high mass celebrated on 20 September 1914.

The plan of St Joseph's, with a wide nave, narrow aisles, polygonal baptistery and shallow sanctuary, demonstrates all the features endorsed by Catholic architects of the early twentieth century, and maintains the basilican model. The most recognisable 'Puginian' elements are the multiple cross-topped gables, with emphasised coping and kneelers, and the intersecting rooflines of the transept chapels. The structural carving is in red Runcorn sandstone, while the walls are clad in ruggedly finished yellow sandstone. The use of cladding on brick has definite precedents with both E.W. and P. P. Pugin's work, and the polychrome effect recalls E.W.'s experimentation with this high Victorian obsession at the lavish All Saints, Birton-upon-Irwell, Manchester.⁸

It is worth remembering that most architects of this date would not be ashamed to display brickwork, perhaps a symptom of the insularity that tempered second-generation Pugin architecture. The overall sense is that a town-church has been transplanted to a very open site, enabling Powell to be more innovative due to the awareness that so much more of his church would be exposed, rather than concealed by surrounding buildings. However, by doing this the possibilities of a low, wide church with a larger floor space, have been lost. Such churches, like those by Norman Shaw, often have a 'suburban' rather than merely urban appearance.

Powell's carved details reflect the influence of P.P. Pugin: a combination of curvilinear and rectilinear styles, but without either the archaeology of A.W.N. Pugin or the experimentation of contemporary Anglican architects, most notably J. D. Sedding. The aisle windows perpetuate the generalised use of late gothic forms.

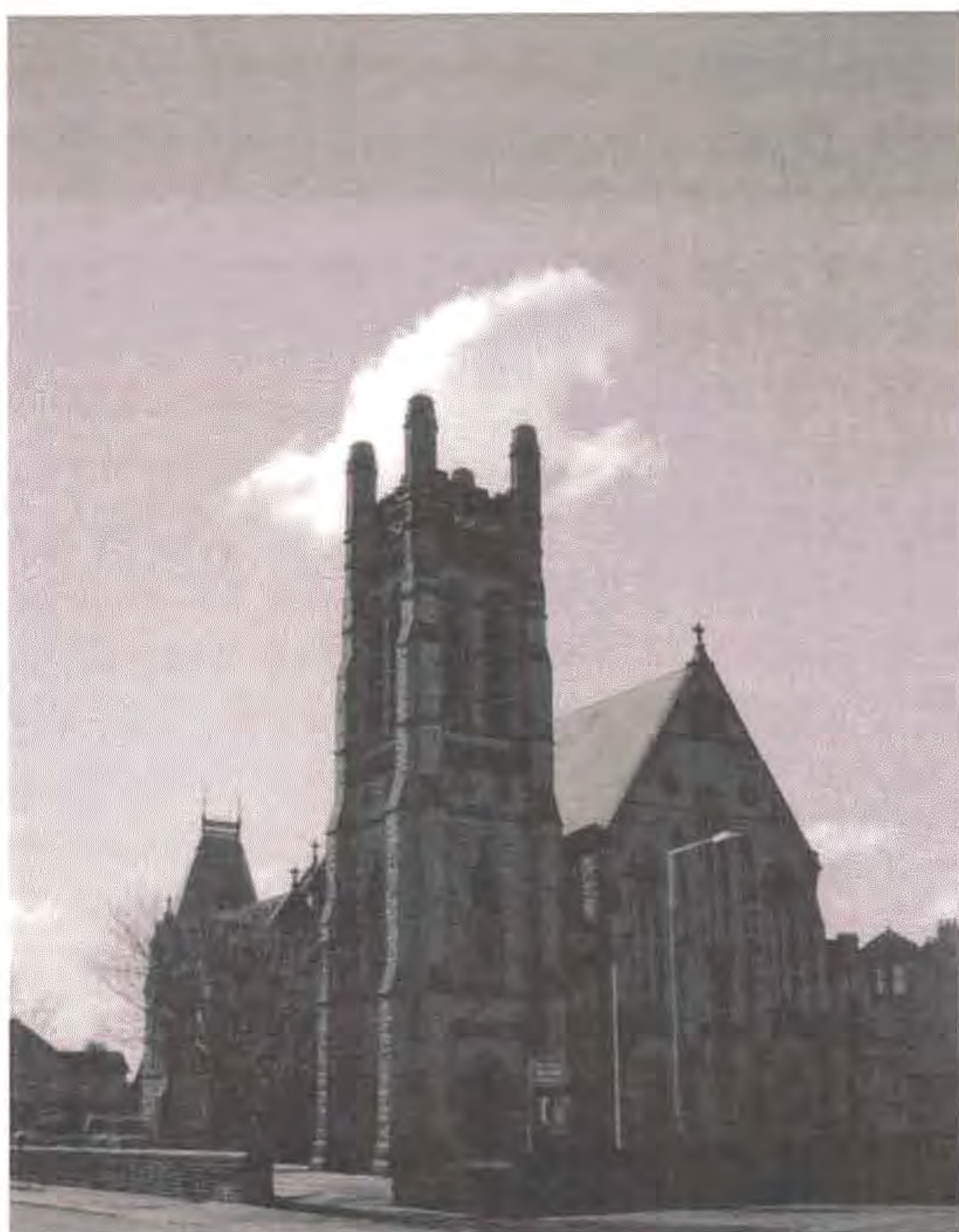


Figure 18: St Joseph's, Ansdell: west front

Photograph: James Jago, February 2004.

6 As recorded in the carved inscription commemorating the installation of the peal of bells (29.10.1914).

7 Before this position Fr Formby had been a professor of philosophy at St Joseph's College, Upholland.

8 O'Donnell 1994, pp 266–7.

Powell unifies the external wall surface by running a dripstone over the windows and across the buttresses. Above this, a simple parapet conceals the flat lead roofs. This enables the vertical emphasis to be carried upwards by the nave roof alone and leave the aisles wholly subservient, a feature used by Bodley at St Mary's, Eccleston,⁹ and which disregards the store A.W.N. Pugin put by exposing rooflines. The clerestory windows use segmental curved heads and are set between panelled buttresses, which erupt through the cornice into the roofline.

The western facade is an impressive ensemble. The elegant tower, with its large paired belfry windows, parapet and pinnacles, succeeds in maintaining its vertical drive against the high bulk of the west gable. The latter is divided by three two-light lancets, the central one set higher to accommodate a niche holding the image of St Joseph. The hood moulding for the central light continues as a stringcourse to the coping, creating the distinctive 'A'-shaped' gable¹⁰ of second-generation Pugin churches. The zeal for inscriptions, particular to all the Pugins, is maintained here by a horizontal band, broken by buttresses, recording the dedication of the church '*in honorem S Iosephi*', and commemorating the founder.

Internally, space cascades away from the west end and light floods the interior from all sides. The wall surface is reduced to a minimum and wainscoted with honey-coloured oak panelling with classic Pugin chamfered framework, which supports framed stations of the cross and statue-populated niches.¹¹ The nave is of seven bays with round Bath stone piers topped with heavily moulded octagonal capitals, a feature with precedents reaching back to A.W.N. Pugin. These support steeply pitched arches, whose mouldings meet the clerestory stringcourse. The narrow passage aisles, first used by E.W. Pugin at Barton, though no longer innovative within Catholic practice, were becoming more prevalent in Anglican churches of this era.¹² Powell springs moulded arches from the aisles into the back of the nave arcade, subdividing the aisles into bay compartments. Archive photographs show that each of these once contained a brass corona, heightening the theatrical effect. These arches enable the buttresses at clerestory level to transfer the load across the aisles and create an aesthetically pleasing feature, perhaps inspired from an example at E.W. Pugin's St Francis, Gorton.

The vast roof follows the designs of P.P. Pugin, based on fourteenth-century examples, and is constructed on 'double-backed' principles. It avoids the stark, skeletal effect that the scissor-braced roofs of A.W.N. Pugin sometimes created. However, the latter roof type is acknowledged by the elongated wall posts, running down the height of the clerestory. These meet supporting stone shafts with foliate capitals between the spandrels of the arcade, a feature of Powell's own creation. Along with the hood mouldings over the clerestory windows, this creates an integrated design, but

9 For a contemporaneous review of this church, and a detailed survey of church design of this period, see Nicholson & Spooner 1911, pp 158–63.

10 The term used by Sanders to describe the effect of a stringcourse running across a gable elevation to the copings, thereby creating the appearance of an 'A', a recurring motif in the work of PP Pugin. See Sanders 1997, pp 97–100.

11 A tradition in the parish records that the painted panels of the altars were executed by Adolphe Valet, professor at the Manchester School of Art, and teacher of LS Lowry. Whilst he may have executed them, the designs themselves bear the hallmarks of Hardman's late, refined style. It is likely that Valet also painted the stations of the cross, to his own designs; they have the feel of accomplished academic exercises in composition and colouring.

12 For further details on the development of passage aisles in Anglican churches of this period, see Thomas 2002.



Figure 19: St Joseph's Ansdell: the sanctuary from the nave
 Photograph: James Jago, February 2004.

Pugin is most strongly felt in the sacred heart altar, of generalised fourteenth-century details but without emulation of mediaeval precedents. The materials remain the same: Caen stone arcades with marble shafts, but the refined detailing indicates Powell's embellishment of his master's design. The statue of the sacred heart of Jesus is placed under an ogee-domed canopy, and set against a background of carved diaper stonework. The niche is balanced on either side by angels with scrolls and thuribles within large trefoil arches, painted in a linear late-mediaeval manner.

The altar, whilst dedicated to a counter-reformation devotion, is peppered with numerous features that eschew any classical connotations. The angels on the mensa hold symbols of the passion, the finial of the ogee canopy is a 'pelican in her piety', and patterned silk curtains are suspended from iron brackets. Powell pragmatically endows a post-mediaeval devotion with attributes rooted in mediaeval iconography, an act his rigidly antiquarian grandfather did only when compelled to.¹⁴ The lady altar, by comparison, is a far more inventive and original treatment by Powell, showing a readiness to break away from the monotonous forms of P.P. Pugin.

one which is more decorative than structurally necessary.

St Joseph's displays Powell's competent handling of his master's mature style but demonstrates more sensitive, subtle refinements by his own hand. His personality makes itself felt when he departs from second-generation Pugin precedents. The most startling example of this is the pair of apse roofs for the transept chapels, which take the form of steeply pitched octagonal spires, topped by cresting. It is difficult to find any precedent for them.¹³ They capture E.W. Pugin's drive for verticality, and create a novel 'picturesque' effect. Whilst emphasising the presence of the altars beneath, they also act as counterweights to the vast nave roof.

The three stone altars display the same concentration of ornament and details present in all Pugin altars. The influence of P. P.

13 One possible source for these is the similarly steep roof over an apse at the east end of the south quire aisle at Chester cathedral. This was designed by GG Scott Snr during his restoration of 1868.

14 As at St Giles, Cheadle, where there is a window to AWN Pugin's design, begrudgingly portraying the sacred heart of Jesus, with attendant angels.

Here the reredos curves out in a concave arc on either side of a niche holding a statue of the Virgin. Again, painted panels of angels are employed, the mensa displaying an annunciation, but marble is now used most sparingly; the beauty lies in the carving from a uniform stone. The reredos is crowned by a row of delicate trefoil arches topped by cresting, and rising behind the statue is a semi-circular traceried tympanum.

The overall effect Powell creates is one of grace and delicacy, markedly more feminine in demeanour than the sacred heart ensemble. Whilst both are backed by soaring windows, the latter altar displays a debt to P.P. Pugin, whereas the lady altar bids his influence an exuberant and daring farewell. It is his most clear reaction to P.P. Pugin's formulaic arcaded compositions; a tentative experiment which introduces a successful, youthful freshness into an atmosphere still scented with some second-generation Pugin awkwardness and irresolution.

At the easternmost part of St Joseph's Powell demonstrates his hand most clearly. He rejects outright an eastern apse, employed by both E.W. and P.P. Pugin, in favour of an east wall. The junction between nave and chancel is marked by a moulded arch received into piers with capitals and foliate label stops. Within this is suspended a rood, the sole remnant of A.W.N. Pugin's attempt to revive the rood screen as an indispensable furnishing in Catholic church design. Beyond this comes a revolutionary second arch, sprung direct from the masonry, marking the junction between the chancel and the narrower sanctuary, a feature without any precedent in the Pugin *oeuvre*. This is further emphasised by two elaborate niches containing statues of SS Peter and Paul below either side of the arch.

It is an ingenious treatment of form, creating an entirely new spatial atmosphere for the high altar, and it is debatable as to whether Powell is invoking his grandfather's emphasis on long chancels, or innovating to create a more self-contained space to counteract the lofty width of the nave. It is reminiscent, but independent of, the experimentation with internal space that so characterised



Figure 20: St Joseph's, Ansdell: the south aisle passage from the lady chapel

Photograph: James Jago, February 2004.

contemporary Anglican 'free gothic' churches, which derived impetus from G.G. Scott Junior. Temple Moore and Powell would, however, have found much that was unintelligible in each other's work.

The high altar is a *tour de force* of lavish carving. An arcade of five arches is topped by traceried arcs and two large niches, above which is the east window. Rather than seeking to fill the available space, Powell permits his sanctuary to embrace the reredos, not be dominated by it. The benediction canopy, by comparison with his master's soaring spires, is a severely understated fishscale-patterned gable, hardly noticeable from the nave. The whole sanctuary is a bold move by Powell, a rejection of his uncle's tried and tested formula, and a glance back to his grandfather's mediaeval model.

Powell here achieves a sensitivity to fine details, both of mouldings and ornament, with a certain, personal refinement and stylistic restraint used to soften familiar Pugin forms. This is undoubtedly an indication of Powell's own taste, but does it also pay homage to the flavour brought into Catholic churches by Anglican converts such as J.F. Bentley, who earlier scratched out a living by providing furnishings for established Catholic architects of more limited capabilities than himself? It indicates not only how well Powell had absorbed his master's style, but also the first awakening of his own architectural consciousness.

If certain elements seem repetitive, it must be remembered that he had been head of the Pugin and Pugin practice for only two years when he designed this church, and therefore cannot be blamed for reiterating what had gone before. He was, however, able to create an impressive church of vast and high proportions with a predilection for light, through which his own style and presence has begun to emerge. It is a credit to Powell at the start of his career and to the continuing Pugin family in Catholic architecture.

This commission proclaims Mgr Taylor's faith in the Pugin family practice to realise the churches that embodied his efforts in reaffirming the Catholic faith in a county which never wholly relinquished its allegiance to Rome. Both he and his brother are commemorated by Hardman windows in St Peter's, either side of the altar at which they officiated. Powell's work also makes a stand against the growing support for Lombardic romanesque amongst Catholics at this period. St Joseph's must have also had a deep personal significance to Powell, as the Hardman family originated in Lytham before it moved to Birmingham.¹⁵ The fruits of its union with A.W.N. Pugin are well enough known not to need retelling here.

St Joseph's bears witness to its continuing success; the sacristies still boast a full complement of Hardman metalwork, housed in cupboards to Powell's design. The wheel had come full circle. The church perpetuates the legacy of A.W.N. Pugin and his sons, but is by no means a complete evocation of his espoused mediaevalism; St Joseph's is a world away from the archaeologically correct church of St John (1843) in nearby Kirkham, by Powell's grandfather. The dream that a modern church could serve as a romantic evocation of a lost Catholic world, the shades of which A.W.N. Pugin pursued, had departed forever from the Pugin family practice.

¹⁵ The parents of John Hardman Snr, James and Lucy, moved from Lytham to Birmingham. For further details see Jeffrey 2003.

‘So very Anglo-Saxon’: cisalpines, goths, and Anglo-Saxons

by J.A. Hilton

The restoration of the English Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1850 was the central event in a struggle over the form of the English Catholic church, its government, architecture, and liturgy. The restoration was the culmination of agitation by the cisalpines, but they found they had won a pyrrhic victory, and that the real victors were the ultramontanes. In the process the cisalpines and their gothic allies appealed to the Anglo-Saxon church, and their Anglo-Saxonism formed the bedrock of their position.¹

Cisalpinism was an English Catholic school of thought similar to gallicanism on the Continent, which insisted on the supremacy of general councils, and on the liturgical and disciplinary rights of national churches. Cisalpinism was opposed to ultramontaniam, the idea that the papacy had absolute authority in faith and morals, and a universal immediate jurisdiction in discipline. The cisalpines had fought to achieve toleration for Catholics, a victory won by the Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791 and the Emancipation Act of 1829.²

In the mid nineteenth century the cisalpines turned their attention to achieving the restoration of the English hierarchy. Once English Catholics ceased to be a tiny persecuted minority there was no longer any logical reason for them to be governed by vicars apostolic, missionary bishops immediately subject to the Roman congregation of Propaganda Fide. In 1842 a group of clergy, led by Daniel Rock, urged the vicars apostolic to request the restoration of the hierarchy. Eventually in 1850 the English hierarchy was restored with Nicholas Wiseman as cardinal archbishop of Westminster.³

It was, however, a limited restoration. Diocesan bishops were created, but they remained subject to Propaganda, and the status of the clergy was left to the bishops. They appointed honorary canons and a few missionary rectors, but despite an appeal by Rock, the canons had no right to elect their own dean, never mind the bishop, and there were no parochial rectors with security of tenure. The English church was restored on the ultramontane model under the absolute authority of the pope with its bishops acting as his deputies and the clergy acting as the deputies of the bishops.⁴

In defending the autonomy of the English Catholic church, the cisalpines appealed to its history and especially to its Anglo-Saxon origins. Indeed their leaders, Lingard and Rock, specialised in Anglo-Saxon studies. Their Anglo-Saxonism included not only its manifest aspects, a body of knowledge and an academic discipline, but also its latent aspects,⁵ attitudes to ecclesiastical affairs, which involved insisting as against the established Church of England that the Anglo-Saxon

1 I am grateful for their help to the staffs of the Catholic Central Library, London, the Portico Library, Manchester, and the Talbot Library, Preston.

2 Duffy 1970; Ward 1909, vol i pp 139–44; Hilton 1999b; Cragg 1970, pp 21–5; 185–8; 219–26; Cobban 1961, vol i p 62.

3 Ward 1915, vol i pp 50–64; vol ii pp 205–35.

4 *Ibid*, vol ii, p 289.

5 Barry 1995, pp 191–201; Ryan 1999, pp 147–55; Ashcroft & Tiffin 1998, *passim*; Mongia 1996, *passim*.

church was founded by the pope and acknowledged papal supremacy, whilst maintaining against the ultramontane papacy that the Anglo-Saxon church had its own discipline and liturgy. The cisalpine position interlocked with that of the exponents of the gothic revival.

As English Catholics moved from persecution to emancipation, and as the English mission became the English church, they found themselves in a postcolonial situation, no longer oppressed by the English state and the established Church of England, but still marginalised by Protestant England and still subservient to the ultramontane attitudes of Rome. The cisalpines and goths, therefore, turned to Anglo-Saxonism to construct a hybrid English Catholicism, which would be authentically English and Catholic, and allow them to challenge Protestant superiority and Roman ultramontanism.

The leading figure among the cisalpines was John Lingard, priest at Hornby, near Lancaster. He had made his name as a historian with his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church*, published in 1806, and published again with revisions as *The history and antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church* in 1845. His *History of England*, first published between 1819 and 1830, went over the same ground in its first volume.⁶ Lingard asserted the primacy of the papacy and the national traditions of the English church. He argued that Roman Britain was ‘admitted within the pale of Christianity’⁷ by the pope, and recounted how Pope St Gregory the Great sent St Augustine to convert the English.⁸ He insisted that St Peter had the ‘precedency of honour and jurisdiction ... and the high prerogatives of Peter were believed to descend to the most remote of his successors ...[and] the Anglo-Saxons looked up to the pontiff with awe and reverence’.⁹ He dismissed the ultramontane insistence on uniformity as ‘petty’, and cited the authority of Pope Gregory the Great for the legitimacy of the Sarum use:

it might be expected that ... the pontiff would forbid them [the Roman missionaries] to admit any rites not sanctioned by the practice of that [Roman] see. But the mind of Gregory was above such petty considerations.¹⁰

He quoted Gregory’s instructions to Augustine:

Whatever practice you may discover which in your opinion will be more acceptable to God, you establish it in the new church of the Angles without considering its place of origin whether it be Roman or Gallican or any other church.¹¹

Lingard saw the Anglo-Saxon church as dependent on Rome, but possessed of its own national liturgy. Lingard was the friend and supporter of another cisalpine historian, the Rev Mark Tierney, chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk and a canon of Southwark.¹² In a footnote to the account of the first contact between the Celtic church and the Roman mission to the Anglo-Saxons, Tierney rejected the Anglican claims and carefully defined the cisalpine position:

⁶ Haile & Bonney 1911, *passim*.

⁷ Lingard 1845, vol i p 2.

⁸ *Ibid*, vol i pp 11–193.

⁹ *Ibid*, vol i pp 228–30.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, vol i p 293.

¹¹ *Ibid*, vol i p 294.

¹² Haile & Bonney, pp 273–7.

The latter [Anglicans] arguing from the rejection of Austin [St Augustine] by the British prelates, and forgetting or concealing the fact, that to resist the papal ordinances in matters of local discipline is by no means to deny the supremacy of the holy see, have hurried to the conclusion that the British church refused to acknowledge the authority claimed by the chief pastor. Now, that Austin himself must have acknowledged the jurisdiction of the pontiff is beyond controversy: that he must have been ready to assert it, as an essential term of communion, is as certain as that his own commission actually depended on it for its validity...It is evident from the whole tenor of these proceedings that neither the supremacy of the pontiff, nor any other article of Catholic *doctrine* could have been disputed. It was a question, not of faith, but of practice; not of dogmas, but of "ancient customs".¹³

Tierney's Anglo-Saxonism declines to oppose practice to faith, and ancient customs to dogmas, and insists that cisalpinism accepts papal supremacy.

Daniel Rock was not only a leading cisalpine but also an Anglo-Saxonist and the liturgical expert of the goths. He was chaplain successively to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Alton Towers, Staffordshire, and to Sir Robert Throckmorton at Buckland, Berkshire.¹⁴ Like Lingard and Tierney, Rock was concerned to defend the Roman origins of the English church against the Protestants. He claimed not only that St Gregory the Great sent St Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons but also that earlier Pope St Eleutherius had sent missionaries to Roman Britain: 'From Rome, therefore, and from a Pope of Rome, our early British forefathers first got their Christian belief, their first bishops, and their first liturgy'.¹⁵

At the same time, he was ambitious to restore 'our dear old Sarum rite, which, after all, was so very Anglo-Saxon in its leading features'.¹⁶ Although the Sarum rite was fixed by St Osmund after the Norman conquest, Rock argued that it merely codified the Anglo-Saxon rite: 'Between the Anglo-Saxon and the Sarum rite there was but small difference: this latter bore about it a strong sister likeness to the first, so that, while looking upon the one, we, after a way, behold both'.¹⁷ He cited the teaching of the church, including the Council of Trent, in defence of 'the lawfulness of keeping up local rites',¹⁸ such as the Ambrosian and Mozarabic. He hoped, therefore, not only for the restoration of the English hierarchy, but also for the restoration of England's ancient Sarum use:

Can these rites never again be witnessed in England? They may. Let us hope then – let us pray for their restoration, so that England may once more gaze upon her olden liturgy; let us hope and pray that her children, in looking upon, may all acknowledge their true mother, and love and heed the teaching, the while they study the ritual of the *Church of our Fathers*.¹⁹

13 Tierney 1971, vol i p 26 n 2.

14 *Catholic encyclopedia*, vol xiii p 105.

15 Rock 1849–53, vol i pp 11–5.

16 *Ibid*, vol iii (2), p 257.

17 *Ibid*, vol iii (2), p 259.

18 *Ibid*, vol iii (2), p 257.

19 *Ibid*, vol iii (2), p 259.

Rock wished to restore the Sarum use as the old, authentic rite of the English church, a liturgy he believed would be effective in converting England to Catholicism again.²⁰

A.W.N. Pugin, the apostle of the goths, declared himself the disciple of Rock, and they shared in the patronage of Lord Shrewsbury. In his *The true principles of pointed or Christian architecture*, originally delivered as lectures at Oscott, Pugin expressed his gratitude to 'my respected and revered friend Dr Rock, to whose learned researches and observations on Christian antiquities I am highly indebted, and to whom I feel it a bounden duty to make this public acknowledgement of the great benefit I have received from his advice'.²¹ Moreover, like Rock, he was intent on restoring the Sarum use, and regarded Gothic architecture as its proper setting:

We had in England, from Saxon times downwards, our own missals, rituals, benedictionals, offices and litanies, which included among the most ancient Catholic rites, some exclusively English, with vast privileges...²²

Like Rock, Pugin maintained that the Sarum rite was England's 'own'. With Rock's guidance and Shrewsbury's money, Pugin intended his churches, especially St Giles's, Cheadle, to be the perfect setting for the Sarum rite.²³

In his famous sermon 'The second spring', celebrating the restoration of the English Catholic hierarchy, Newman turned to its Anglo-Saxon origins. He listed its ancient sees and their Anglo-Saxon saints: St Augustine, St Dunstan, and St Elphege at Canterbury, St Paulinus, St John, and St Wilfred at York, St Ercenwald at London, St Cuthbert at Durham, St Swithun at Winchester, St Chad at Lichfield, St Oswald and St Wulfstan at Worcester, and St Osmund at Salisbury.²⁴ He drew the parallel between the synod of Oscott and the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England:

I listen and I hear the sound of voices, grave and musical, reviving the old chant, with which Augustine greeted Ethelbert in the free air upon the Kentish strand... and then there comes the vision of well-nigh twelve mitred heads; and last I see a Prince of the Church, in the royal dye of empire and martyrdom, a pledge to us from Rome of Rome's unwearied love, a token that that godly company is firm in Apostolic faith and hope.²⁵

Of course, it would be misleading, if not wrong, to label Newman as a cisalpine – he did not share the background of the old Catholic clergy like Lingard or Rock – for he was perhaps *sui generis*, but he had his own presuppositions.²⁶ As Manning, who was also a convert from Anglicanism but threw himself wholeheartedly into the ultramontane project,²⁷ later pointed out:

I see no danger of a Cisalpine Club rising again, but I see much danger of an English Catholicism of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone transplanted into the Church. It takes the line of

²⁰ Champ 1999.

²¹ A.W.N. Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 7.

²² A.W.N. Pugin 1841c (*Present state* pt i), pp 344–5.

²³ Fisher 2002, pp 93–4.

²⁴ Newman 1913, pp 169–71.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p 175.

²⁶ Holmes 1978, pp 111–53.

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp 155–98.

deprecating exaggerations, foreign devotions, Ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies.²⁸

Newman came from a Protestant church that had inherited the legal forms of the pre-Reformation Catholic church, and he assumed, with the cisalpines, that the restoration of the hierarchy would involve the restoration of those ancient forms. As he preached at the installation of Ullathorne as Bishop of Birmingham, in Pugin's new cathedral of St Chad's, Birmingham, in 1850:

I need not tell you, my Brethren, how suddenly the word of truth came to our ancestors in this island and subdued them to its heavenly rule ... till one and all, the Anglo-Saxon people were converted by it ... it had dogma, a mystery, a ritual of its own; it had an hierarchical form ... So it is now; the Church is coming out of prison as collected in her teaching, as precise in her action, as when she went into it. She comes out with pallium, and cope, and chasuble, and stole, and wonder-working relics, and holy images. Her bishops are again in their chairs, and her priests sit round, and the perfect vision of a majestic hierarchy rises before our eyes.²⁹

Newman seeks to connect the restored English Catholic church with its Anglo-Saxon predecessor, which had 'a ritual of its own', and not only the 'bishops are again in their chairs' but 'her priests sit round' to form 'the perfect vision of a majestic hierarchy'.

The bishops, however, had a different agenda. Wiseman feared lest

the revival of medieval studies should lead to the undermining of religious union, by the setting of nationalities in opposition to the universality of Christianity, points of the circumference in rivalry with the centre, admiration of the branches to the contempt of the trunk.³⁰

He was especially opposed, therefore, to the cisalpine leaders: 'The worst anti-Roman clergy in England are in Southwark – Tierney, Rock.... – they are either actively or passively opposed to all progress'.³¹

Meanwhile, death and ultramontanism were undoing the cisalpines and the goths. Lingard died in 1851, and Pugin and Shrewsbury in 1852. Tierney died in 1862. Rock retired in 1854, and died in 1871. The Sarum rite remained a dead letter (though it was revived within the Church of England),³² and the English church was subordinated to its ultramontane bishops. Rather than 'so very Anglo-Saxon' the English Catholic church became 'more Roman than Rome'.³³

28 *Ibid*, p 127.

29 *Ibid*, pp 127–8; 137.

30 *Ibid*, p 70.

31 Butler 1926, vol i pp 195–6.

32 Maskell 1880; Maskell 1882a; Maskell 1882b.

33 Holmes 1978, *passim*.

Gothic horror versus gothic revival: Protestant visions of Roman Catholic society

by Andrew Rudd

Looking at the plates depicting modern and medieval architecture in A.W.N. Pugin's 1841 edition of *Contrasts*, one would think that the vision of society based on the 'Protestant, or destructive principle' posed a far more frightening prospect than that based on the Catholic 'principle', with its charitable ethos and socially alert piety. In the Protestant town, with its stark, industrialised cityscapes, panoptical prisons and workhouses, iron railings guard the civic monuments while Mr Bumbleesque taskmasters, whips in hand, watch over the ranks of the poor and dispossessed, driving them finally to a pauper's burial where even their bodily organs are put up for sale. As is well known, Pugin toned down the specifically Protestant character of social degeneration for this edition of *Contrasts*, emphasising instead the secular nature of its modernity, but the fact remains that, in the first and second quarters of the nineteenth century, evangelical Protestantism and the utilitarianism that Pugin deplored held common cause against the kind of gothic ideal he was trying to promote.¹ What is so startling about *Contrasts* is that, coming 30 or 40 years after the heyday of the gothic novel in England, Pugin completely reverses the dichotomy traditionally established in the British imagination between a Protestant nation that is free, and a Catholic society that is superstitious, idolatrous, backward, and domineered over by the Inquisition and a corrupt priestly class; it is not a coincidence that this is the very stuff of the average gothic novel.

Kenneth Clark was unable to detect any meaningful interaction or parallel between the gothic architecture of the early nineteenth century and the gothic literature that preceded it other than a common 'reaction' against the corset-strings of the Augustan age.² Yet although their lines of thought may have been moving in opposite directions, parallel lines were there between the anti-Catholic discourse of the British gothic novelists and the 'pure gothic' ideas of the revivalists. Since the gothic novel's heyday in the age of Hugh Walpole, Anne Radcliffe and Clara Reeve, attacks on Catholic society and religion had reached a higher pitch of virulence once Catholic relief had got underway with the 1778 and 1791 English Catholic Relief Acts. Novelists, politicians, 'no popery' polemicists and pamphleteers used a far more lurid palate of wicked nuns and monks, catacombs, cloisters and social tyranny in the generation immediately before the publication of *Contrasts*, where Pugin tried to overturn it all. Thus we have the seeming paradox of the gothic *mode* of writing coming to perfection in early nineteenth-century Protestant evangelical attacks on Catholic 'superstition'. The spectre of Catholics in Britain regathering their strength and entering into secret confederacies with Irish dissidents, to take a common fear of the time, itself furnished enough matter for a gothic tale of gunpowder, treason and plot. John Joseph Stockdale's influential *History of the Inquisition* (1810) warned

1 Pugin 1841b (*Contrasts*, 2nd ed).

2 Clark 1928, pp 44–5.

that, alongside Catholic emancipation, 'the embryo of the Inquisition is actually established in every part of the United Kingdom', before enjoining the reader to 'Remember the massacre of St Bartholomew'.³ While admiring the decorousness of Catholic ceremonial, Robert Southey (himself sympathetic to the evangelical cause), declared in his *Book of the church* (1824) that the established church 'has rescued us, first from heathenism, then from papal idolatry and superstition; it has saved us from the temporal as well as spiritual despotism'.⁴

This can only be seen as a paradox because confusion has sprung up around the use of the term 'gothic'. What Clark failed to do was keep in mind the clear distinction between the sense in which the term is used to describe the British (largely anti-Catholic) tradition of writing, and to describe the (Catholic or pro-Catholic) apologists for the architecture and ideology of the middle ages. Simply put, used in the former sense gothic refers to a mode of *representation*, in the latter a mode of *expression*. Both approached the same subject matter, however, merely from a different perspective. Pugin and his followers were defending precisely the same vision of a society dominated by Catholicism that British gothic novelists had over the years continued to attack. The differences were historical, although both sides did not acknowledge this point. Pugin, on the one hand, renounced the influence of 'paganism' on the Catholic church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period in which many gothic horror novels were in fact set. The novelists, however, did not respect such stylistic caveats, so important to Pugin, instead swathing the whole Catholic past (and present) in the atmospherics of nightmarish medievalism. Similarly, geographical distinctions that were important to Pugin go unobserved; in the gothic novel, abuses taking place in the Catholic Europe of Italy, Portugal or Spain are taken as evidence of the intrinsic dangers of popery, all the more reason not to encourage their reappearance in England.

Matthew Lewis's 1796 novel *The monk* is a typical case in point, for the fact that Madrid does not even have a gothic cathedral did not prevent Lewis from using gothic architecture as a point of reference to attack Catholic society there. *The monk* shows Madrid under the tyranny of the Capuchins, where crowds of veiled penitents throng the streets together with rowdy, lascivious bravos. The cathedral building is a place of melancholy gloom rather than spiritual repose, whose 'gothic obscurity' and 'religious gloom' conduce the male protagonist to fall into a reverie, in which he receives a premonition of his lover being abducted, drugged and finally raped by the Capuchin abbot Ambrosio in a vaulted catacomb. Charles Maturin's hysterically anti-Catholic *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) begins in a superstitious, rural Ireland before going on to explore every possible scenario of Catholic iniquity, from forcible enclosure in a monastery, to imprisonment and torture by the inquisition. One unfortunate female is conducted by the Faust-like Wanderer in the dead of night to a ruined gothic chapel, the remains of its Catholic fixtures calculated to add to the air of menace:

³ Stockdale 1810, Preface.

⁴ Southey 1824, vol ii p 258.

A faint and watery moon-beam breaking at that moment through the heavy clouds, threw its light on the objects around her. There was a window, but the stained glass of its compartments, broken and discoloured, held rare and precarious place between the fluted shafts of stone. Ivy and moss darkened the fragments of glass, and clung round the clustered pillars. Beneath were the remains of an altar and crucifix, but they seemed like the rude work of the first hands that had ever been employed on such subjects. There was also a marble vessel, that seemed designed to contain holy water, but it was empty.⁵

A fitting venue, it turns out, for a satanic wedding!



Figure 21: 'Tortures of the inquisition'
From Stockdale's *The history of the Inquisitions* (plate facing page 191).

The gothic novel's obsession with the social evils attendant on a Catholic society sprang from and reinforced the manifest anti-Catholicism of the age. The gothic mode – as a way of writing – vilified Catholic society using the techniques and the same rhetorical tricks that Pugin used to attack, through architectural analysis, the modern correction house for the poor. Pugin's achievement in *Contrasts* reminds us that, given the strength of anti-Catholic sentiment in England at the time, gothic was not only undergoing a revival, but was also in a locked in a gruelling process of reclaiming its forms from a hostile tradition.⁶

⁵ Maturin 1989, p 393.

⁶ See *passim*: Haydon 1993; Norman 1968.

Book Reviews

A lion with three tails

The collected letters of A.W.N. Pugin, volume ii, 1843 to 1845. Edited by Margaret Belcher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. ISBN 0-19-925586-5. RRP £84.00.

reviewed by Catriona Blaker

Once again Margaret Belcher has brought before us another rich collection of A.W.N. Pugin's correspondence. Although this volume covers three years only, it is more extensive than the first book, which embraced a much longer period (1830 to 1842), and it thus demonstrates the continuing increase in Pugin's already substantial workload. As he says to Charles Scarisbrick: 'Things are very different with me than formerly. I have a great business & my time is very valuable....' The assurance (sometimes high-handedness) and unabashed forthrightness of many of his letters to clients in this volume surely reflect his confidence in his professional standing, and his faith in his mission as one who, as he says, bears 'nearly the whole weight of the revival on my shoulders'.

During the years 1843 to 1845 Pugin's multifarious commissions continue with work for, amongst others, Henry Drummond at Albury, in particular on the Drummond chantry in the church of St Peter and St Paul, and for Pugin's good friend J.R. Bloxam, both at Magdalen College, Oxford and at Tubney, Berkshire. Designs for the rebuilding of the Catholic seminary of the College of St Patrick's, Maynooth, have been completed. Work is going on for Lord Midleton at Peper Harow and Oxenford, Surrey, and for the Earl of Shrewsbury at St Giles', Cheadle and Alton Towers. Building is in progress at St George's cathedral, London, and at St Mary's cathedral, Newcastle. In Ireland, Killarney cathedral is under way, and designs have been made for St Aidan's cathedral, Enniscorthy. A scheme for major rebuilding at Balliol College, Oxford, is proposed, into which – characteristically – Pugin enters with enormous enthusiasm and speed, reporting to Bloxam that 'while arranging the Plan I got excited beyond my strength & could neither eat nor sleep'. Regrettably though, the scheme was only to be as quickly quashed; for Pugin, who did not fully grasp the sectarian reasons behind the decision to drop him, this was a particularly sad and perplexing incident.

On the publishing front he is buoyant during these years; in 1843 his *An apology for the revival of Christian architecture in England* appears, followed in 1844 by his most splendid publication, the *Glossary of ecclesiastical ornament and costume*, a lavishly illustrated and expensively produced book, using the new technique of chromolithography, and which deeply influenced the taste and fittings of both Catholic and Anglican churches alike.

Although Pugin was indeed already famous, from 1843 to 1845 many more significant events would befall him. In particular, the invitation from Charles Barry, of 3 September 1844, to assist him with work on the fittings of the House of Lords would surely shape the rest of his life. It is clear from the letters in this volume that

Pugin, at this period at any rate, wanted to be answerable to no one but Barry in his employment at Westminster, and that he saw himself as Barry's chief executant. However, even if Pugin himself was content that this should be his role, his celebrity was such that the fact that he had been officially appointed chief superintendent of woodcarving was soon nationally known, and commented upon in the press. It was then that he sent his disclaimer to the *Builder*, of 3 September 1845, stating: 'in fulfilling the duties of my office, I do not do anything whatever on my own responsibility ... my occupation is simply to assist in carrying out practically Mr Barry's own designs and views in all respects.' It would certainly seem that he was quite happy to write this letter. At any rate, whatever lay behind all this, 'Mr Barry' – as Pugin deferentially, and perhaps significantly, referred to him – had unleashed a tornado of energy and creativity, a man whom he knew would be indispensable to him, and who, as we can see from the many letters in this volume, now plunged into intense and committed activity on his behalf, with his colleagues John Hardman and J.G. Crace, the great interior decorator. Pugin, reflecting in his phraseology the times in which he lived, could, as he said, 'put on a great pressure of steam'. The young man who had worked for Barry in Birmingham in 1835 had in the interim turned into a genius. He had become a designer of such authority and individuality that however the relationship between the two men at Westminster worked, and however credit was later to be allotted, his style would be unmistakable throughout the interior.

Just before Barry's invitation to Pugin to work on the House of Lords, Pugin suffered a severe and unexpected blow with the death on 22 August 1844, after only a week's illness, of his second wife, Louisa. Until this time his business activities, travels and friendships had been proceeding with full, and usually cheerful, *élan* and vigour; now, though, the tone of the letters darkens. Pugin wrote to Lord Middleton on the same day as Louisa's death, 'I have 6 children & one only a few months old. God help me for I am in a sad position.' The letters to Hardman, a close and understanding friend, include such remarks as: 'I am often sunk to the Lowest depth of despondency – & can never get poor Louisa from my mind. The minutest circumstances connected with her illness and death recur to me continually with a force & reality that is dreadful & circumstances are continually recurring which bring them to my recollection.' These depressions were not helped by the fact that Mary Amherst, a member of the Warwickshire Catholic family for whom Pugin had built St Augustine's church in Kenilworth, and to whom he now turned in his loneliness – and indeed to whom he slightly later proposed – turned out to be capricious and unpredictable. In another letter to Hardman he comments: 'I believe the whole idea of domestic happiness is a delusion, & am only mad with myself that after all my experience I should be such an infernal fool as to run after it for a moment or to believe in a woman's promises.'

However, as always in Pugin's tempestuous existence, although there were downs, there were ups also, and despite being in some ways a vulnerable man, he was also a doughty fighter. 'If I had not the spirit of a Lion with 3 tails I never should get over all my troubles,' he wrote in 1845. Ramsgate, where he was now living, at the Grange, is prominent in this volume, and one project above all that was a great

consolation to him at this time was his intention to build the church of St Augustine's there: 'if God spares my Life & grants me means I will erect a church worthy of Kent in the old time. all my means and energies will be centred on This undertaking', he wrote in one of his letters to Bishop Griffiths of Southwark in March 1845, and commented to Lord Shrewsbury in another that 'it seems to me a disgrace to the catholics of England that so famous a spot as the Isle of Thanet where St Augustin himself Landed should be left without a true catholic church'.

This volume is full too of remarkable detail about the furnishing of the Grange and its chapel, usually in letters to Crace and to Hardman. Beds, the hall lamp, the library – in particular the bookcases and the inscriptions to go on them – the wallpapers, the organ for the chapel, the kitchen range, and many more items, are all referred to with Pugin's characteristic thoroughness, and their completion requested with his usual urgency. It is immensely satisfying that such a wealth of information should exist about this architecturally seminally important house, the hub of Pugin's activities from now on.

One of the particular joys of this volume of the *Letters* is the revealing glimpses it gives of Pugin's home and family life; his touching letters to his children after Louisa's death, for example. At this time, supervised by a Miss Greaves and a Miss Keats, they were in lodgings at Ramsgate, waiting to move into the Grange; Pugin, however, is obliged to continue to travel and work. The oldest of the children, Anne – 'you are a very good girl and a great comfort to your father' – aged 12 at the time of her stepmother's death, early has to assume responsibility on the home front. She becomes the recipient of many letters of directions from her father, such as: 'Tell Mr Beard that the Lead on the roofs [of the offices] must be done in a simple manner & not like the ridges on the house', and: 'Tell Miss Greaves to send my Boots to be mended. they want soleing.' Pugin is always direct and immediate, and as one reads through this wonderful collection of letters and comes ever closer to the man himself, one cannot but feel that his foibles and frustrations only help to make him the more human. We can surely sympathise with his feelings of exasperation, as when he complains of 'being called in & ordered out like a Pork Contractor in a workhouse', by the committee of St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle, or threatens, when there are problems with the bed that Hardman has made for him at the Grange, 'to buy a sledge hammer to break up the infernal thing'.

At times too, despite the intensity of Pugin's life, light relief is provided for the reader, as when, for example, Pugin reports with horror being sent a free sample in the form of a 'NEW CATHOLIC PEN ... with a pastoral staff pierced to *hold the ink!!!*'. In another letter, to Hardman, he writes: 'I went the other day to Craces & he shewed me a piece of lock furniture which of all productions of the vile period of the vile men was the vilest ... I said to him what a pity you do not Let J. Hardman make these things – when to my dismay and horror he told me they were made by you.' Another unfortunate moment, reported by Pugin, was when the resident priest, Dr Acquarone, whom he had acquired for the Grange, turned out to be not all he seemed; according to Pugin, 'he goes frequently to a public house for *spirits* & has a bottle under *his bed!!!*'

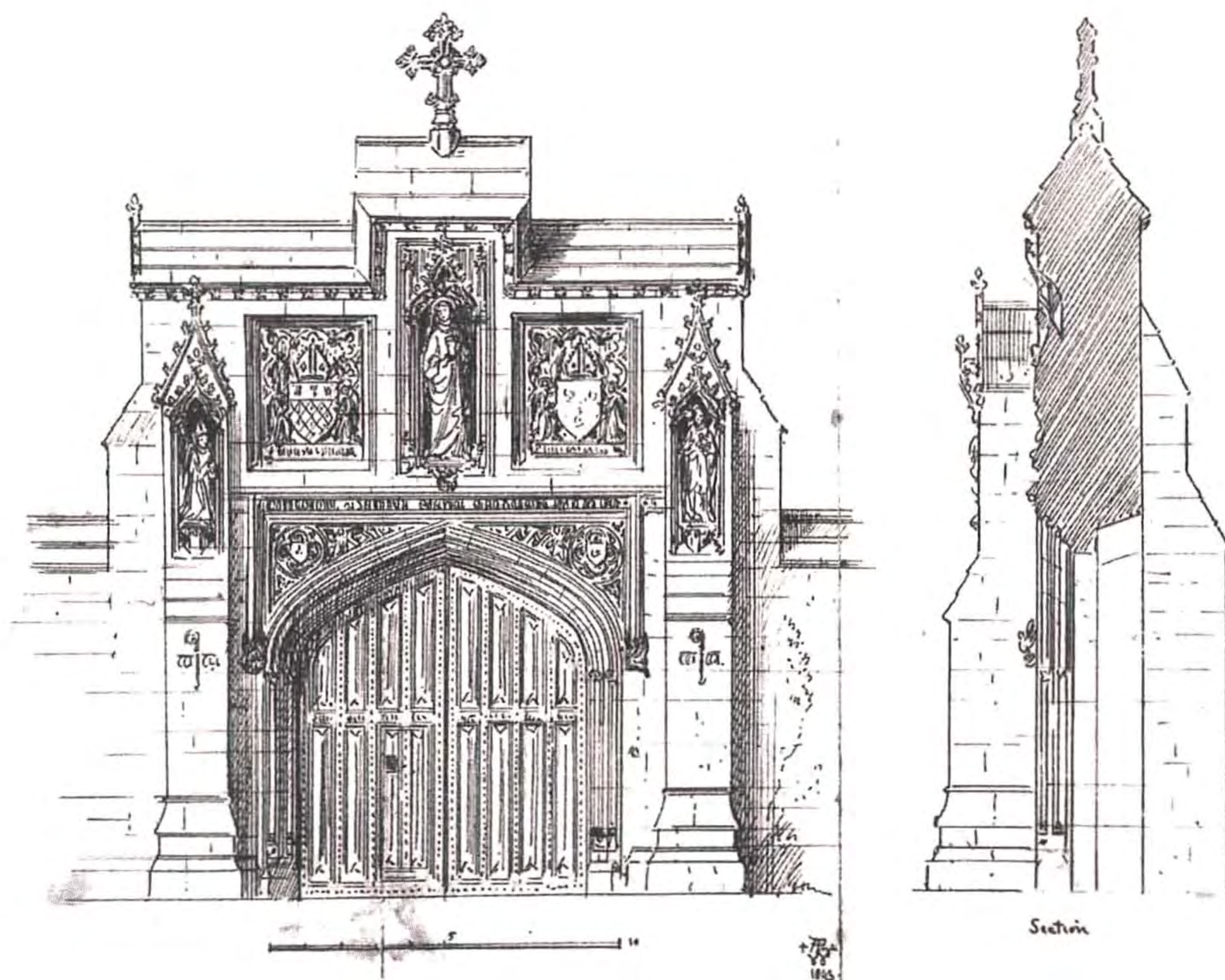


Figure 22: The gateway of Magdalen College, Oxford; a drawing of 1843 sent by Pugin to J.R. Bloxam, probably in September of that year. The gateway was demolished in 1883

Reproduced from The collected letters of A.W.N. Pugin, vol ii, by courtesy of the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.

If Pugin had not been an architect, designer and writer, he surely would have been an excellent courier, with his intimate knowledge of northern Europe. His letter to Bloxam, for example of July 1844, concerning a trip to be taken by Bloxam through Belgium, Germany, and Belgium again, starting from Dover to Ostend, informatively lists hotels at every significant town *en route*, plus all the most important antiquarian sights to see, and to Barry in another letter of August 1845, from Basle, he writes: 'You ought, as a positive duty, come to these countries now and then. I am so up to everything that I could give you such directions that would enable you to see a vast deal in two weeks.' Other remarkable lists come from Pugin's hand in this volume; one such is compiled to demonstrate his certainty that all churches of 'the good period' (*i.e.*, for him, pre-perpendicular) not only in England, but also in France and the Continent, were always crowned with spires. The extent of his knowledge in this context, both of place and of relevant published material, is astonishing. Then there is a proposed reading list for a young antiquarian, or possibly architect, in answer to a letter to Bishop Gillis of early 1845, and, finally, emphasising Pugin's continuing interest in furthering the revival beyond these shores, his enthusiastic letter of support to the French ecclesiologist Alphonse Didron, of January 1843, containing amongst other things an enumeration of all his own work, both completed and current. Didron can only have read this list with respect, if not amazement.

Relations with the leaders of the Oxford Movement and with fellow Catholics, family problems, Pugin's views on the 'National School of Design', the work at Westminster, the design of much church plate and other items, the advent at the Grange of the young J.H. Powell and the founding of the stained glass business with John Hardman, Powell's uncle – all these things, and so many more, are covered in this gripping collection of letters. Margaret Belcher's detailed footnotes clarify references to people, places and things in the main text helpfully, and are full of valuable additional nuggets of information. It was good, for example, to read Etty's warm-hearted letter to Pugin, also Herbert's, and to see the affection in which they held him, and to discover Thomas Wyse's letter reporting on Pugin's opinions on alterations to Wyse's house in Waterford, also his niece Winifrede's description of the Grange, a house which she felt showed Pugin's 'combination of practical good sense and high ideas which differentiated him from common men'.

All Pugin scholars and enthusiasts must be grateful for Margaret Belcher's fine work. It is she who has had the courage, commitment and vision to collate and edit these letters (there are three more volumes to come) and to share their many insights and pleasures with the public. They are characterised by idealism, singleness of purpose, raciness and frankness, and they are all the better for being written, as Crace's son John Diblee Crace remarked in 1894, in Pugin's 'plain fearless expressive English'. Pugin himself commented, in December 1844, on his recently acquired assistant (later to become his son-in-law) J.H. Powell: 'It is a great *pity* that he writes so much. instead of profiting by air & exercise or from the mass of books in my Library his evenings and Sundays are occupied in writing sheets of closely lined Letters.....' We can only be thankful that Pugin never applied these strictures to himself, or we should all have been denied a rare experience.

Northern lights

Stained glass from Shrigley and Hunt of Lancaster and London. By William Waters. Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 2003. ISBN 1-86220140-4. RRP £26.95.

reviewed by Michael Kerney

Few arts have suffered greater reverses in popular esteem than Victorian stained glass. In 1946 Myfanwy Piper could write: 'work that is at best excellent, at worst careful, disappears almost daily, unrecorded and unmourned...Church authorities, their aesthetic opinions collectively affected by those of mediaeval scholars and guide-book writers, are usually glad to witness and encourage the disappearance of Victorian glass. But its day will come again'. Today nineteenth-century stained glass is indeed rightly valued and the subject of scholarly research, even if threats to its survival are by no means past.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century one of the most successful of provincial firms was that of Shrigley and Hunt, founded by Arthur William Hunt (1849–1917). Hunt was the son of a prosperous Hertfordshire builder. After an apprenticeship in the London studio of Heaton, Butler and Bayne, he set up on his

own by purchasing an old-established Lancaster decorating firm in 1873. He was an efficient businessman rather than an artist. He is not known to have made designs for glass himself, but employed others to produce sketches and cartoons. He also supplied painted tiles and mural decoration. Hunt's two chief artists were Edward Holmes Jewitt (a nephew of the well-known wood engraver Orlando Jewitt, who had worked for A.W.N. Pugin) and a talented young Swede, Carl Almquist (1848–1924). Almquist had settled in England in 1870 to become a pupil of Henry Holiday. Like his master he was particularly attracted to the new style of figure drawing pioneered by Burne-Jones, based on Italian *quattrocento* painting rather than the art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that had inspired Pugin or Street. Jewitt, with his background in engraving, was rather more influenced by Netherlandish or German art, especially that of Dürer (there were attempts at the time to prove that the famous windows at St Mary's Fairford, Gloucestershire, were actually designed by Dürer).

The windows made by the firm during the 1870s and '80s, especially those for which Almquist was responsible, are of great charm. Botticellian angels or classically-draped figures are combined with a decorative repertoire in that eclectic style quickly dubbed 'Aesthetic'. The strong primaries of high Victorian glass give way to subtler tints, and gothic architectural detail is supplanted by dainty rectangular quarry work with stylised foliage, fruits and flowers, somewhat secular in feeling.

Like several other provincial firms, Shrigley and Hunt opened a London office. Their output nevertheless always remained concentrated in Lancashire and the north of England where commissions came plentifully for memorial windows, for the decoration and glazing of new churches, and for stained glass for public buildings and the houses of the wealthy. The progressive Lancaster architects Paley and Austin were important clients from the start. The 1890s were the boom years. Almquist continued to supply most of the better designs, which he sent up from his home in London. Shrigley and Hunt indeed operated as a typical 'trade' firm, based on the efficient subdivision of labour. The results were competent and assured, though with increasing commercial success something of the freshness and originality of their earliest work was undoubtedly lost. Commonly there is a lack of translucency caused by excessive painted detail, a failing frequent in English stained glass. The 'period' element becomes more marked, with elaborate perpendicular gothic canopy work and a closer attention to late gothic precedent – a taste shared by more conservative patrons and continuing well into the twentieth century. Almquist was sometimes unhappy at the way his work was adapted to suit this market and there could be friction with Hunt and Jewitt over particular commissions. When working for a sympathetic client, like his old friend and compatriot Axel Haig at Grayswood, Surrey, it is interesting to note that Almquist could produce fresher and less conventional work of impressive quality, even if still very much in the manner he had learnt from Holiday 30 years before.

The 'trade' system for supplying ecclesiastical art was coming under attack at this time. The author shows how Hunt was suspicious of the new Arts and Crafts movement and saw the work of Christopher Whall and his school as something of a threat. Hunt executed a few designs by Henry Wilson but in general showed little appreciation of the revolution now under way in progressive circles. The author

makes surprisingly large claims for the work of the firm in the years running up to 1914. He asserts that Shrigley and Hunt 'were almost alone...in continuing to develop a post-Victorian stained glass art form' and adds that national firms like Powell's and Burlison and Grylls 'were in decline by this time, and their output had become stereotyped'. Even disregarding the work of artists like Whall, such a view is impossible to maintain. The large trade firm of James Powell and Sons for example was making use of a galaxy of talent: W.B. Richmond, G. Woolliscroft Rhead, Selwyn Image, Byam Shaw, Heywood Sumner, Louis Davis and many others. Powell's were fully receptive to Arts and Crafts influences, as may be seen from the inventive glazing patterns and original decorative detail based on plant forms that appear in many of their superb windows early in the century. Burlison and Grylls were likewise extending the language of the northern Renaissance in novel ways. Much of the output of Shrigley and Hunt is pleasant enough, but the author's assessment of the significance of their work in national terms is surely altogether inflated.

This is nevertheless a valuable and welcome study, one of the first to research properly the history of a stained glass studio in the nineteenth century. The list of artists and craftsmen is especially useful. The photographs are of variable quality and sometimes spoilt by ugly converging verticals, but overall give a good picture of the stylistic development of the firm from its inception until its ultimate demise in 1982. There is a selective gazetteer, with an emphasis on earlier work.

An embarrassment of riches

Contrasts and The true principles of pointed or Christian architecture. By A.W.N. Pugin, with introductions by Timothy Brittain-Catlin. Reading: Spire Books, in association with the Pugin Society, 2003. ISBN 0-9543615-4-7. RRP £33.95.

The true principles of pointed or Christian architecture and An apology for the revival of Christian architecture. By A.W.N. Pugin, with an introduction by Roderick O'Donnell. Leominster: Gracewing, 2003. ISBN 0-85244-611-X. RRP £9.99.

'Temples worthy of His presence': the early publications of the Cambridge Camden Society. Edited by Christopher Webster. Reading: Spire Books, in association with the Ecclesiological Society, 2003. ISBN 0-9543615-2-0. RRP £22.95.

reviewed by Peter Howell

Just as with London buses, you wait over thirty years for reprints of Pugin's books, and then two come along at once. Welcome as this is, it is a pity that each of the two contains *The true principles*. Given the importance of that work for an appreciation of what A.W.N. Pugin was about, it is understandable that both publishers wanted to include it, but it is infuriating for the purchaser. The Pugin Society has sponsored the Spire Books reprint, which has the advantage of including Pugin's famous and eye-catching book *Contrasts*. Furthermore, it is a hardback, with the author's monogram blocked in gold on the cover, as on the original publication, and those parts which were originally printed in colour, including some of the lettering on the title pages

and the illustrations of tiles on page 26 of *The true principles* – are in colour here too. The Gracewing publication has *An apology for the revival of Christian architecture* instead of *Contrasts*. It has a slightly smaller format, and is a paperback, and there is no colour, but it is a good deal cheaper.

Otherwise the chief difference is in the introductions. The Spire book has two, each of six pages, by Timothy Brittain-Catlin, while the Gracewing one has eight pages by Roderick O'Donnell. All three are excellent. Brittain-Catlin claims that *Contrasts* was one of the 'very few books by architects that have changed architecture altogether', while O'Donnell admits that '*An apology* does not add significantly to Pugin's reputation, and it can be very frustrating to use'. However, Brittain-Catlin ends his introduction to *The true principles* with the hope that 'the reader will continue before too long with Pugin's *An apology...*', which looks like a generous recommendation of the other book.

The praeterpluperfect Puginian may feel the need to buy both, and will be pleased to hear that Gracewing intends to publish in July a reprint of *The present state of ecclesiastical architecture in England and Some remarks on the articles which have recently appeared in the 'Rambler' relative to ecclesiastical architecture and decoration* (1850) – a long title for a short work.

Spire Books have collaborated with the Ecclesiological Society to produce a follow-up to their recent collection of essays '*A Church as it should be*': *The Cambridge Camden Society and its influence* (Shaun Tyas, 2000): one of its editors, Christopher Webster, has put together a collection of eight short publications of the Society, with both general and individual introductions, and an interesting series of illustrations. The format is cramped, and some of the printing is rather grey, but it is useful to have these rare and inaccessible texts readily available. They give a fascinating insight into the erudition and enthusiasm of these young reformers. They were fighting the same architectural battles as Pugin, but fear of being suspected of popery made them wary of using his name. All the same, in *A few hints on the practical study of ecclesiastical antiquities* (1843), *The true principles* appear among 'works...especially recommended'.

If you would like to order a copy of The Pugin Society's edition of *Contrasts & The true Principles* please send a cheque made payable to Spire Books Ltd to the value of £33.95 plus £3.00 postage & packing. Please send your order, UK only to: Spire Books Ltd, PO Box 2336, Reading, RG4 5WJ. For orders outside the UK please contact Inch's Books, 6 Westgate, Pickering, North Yorkshire YO18 8BA Tel +44 (O)1751 474928.

A first-rate gothic woman

'Dearest Augustus and I': the journal of Jane Pugin.

Edited and with an introduction by Caroline Stanford; foreword by Alexandra Wedgwood. Reading: Spire Books, in association with the Landmark Trust. ISBN 0-953615-8-X. £19.95.

reviewed by David Crellin

Jane Pugin, born Jane Knill, was A.W.N. Pugin's third wife. Their marriage was tragically brief, lasting only from August 1848 until Pugin's premature end in

September 1852. Jane's journal, containing her account of the marriage, is similarly short – only 30 pages long, including copious footnotes. However, its very brevity makes it particularly affecting, dealing as it does with the sharp descent from their happy, early days together, through Pugin's increasing, mercury-induced physical ailments, to his eventual madness and death.

The journal has been edited by Caroline Stanford, historian for the Landmark Trust, who has been involved with the Trust's restoration of the Grange in Ramsgate. Like Catriona Blaker's recent *Edward Pugin and Kent* (Pugin Society, 2003), it helps to flesh out our knowledge of life in the Grange and of the Pugin family's place in Ramsgate society. More than this, though, the journal is a crucial source for understanding Pugin's last years and months, and the circumstances surrounding his death and its immediate aftermath. Pugin's letters have so far been published only up to 1845, while the last entry in his diary is for 30 December 1851, before the onset of lunacy. Jane's is not a day-by-day account, and it was clearly written after the event – perhaps at some distance, since the lines of verse inscribed by Jane after the last entry are dated 1876; it gives, nonetheless, the most immediate picture we have of life in the Pugin household in this difficult and important period.

Pugin famously declared that he had found in Jane 'a first-rate Gothic woman'. Her enthusiastic appreciation of his ideals, implied by this description, would in any case indicate a certain unusual individuality of taste. As the journal shows – and as is pointed out by Stanford in her introduction – difficult circumstances brought out a strength of character in her which amply justified her husband's admiration. This was in spite of the powerlessness of Victorian women, even in the domestic sphere. The journal scarcely hints at the torment Jane must have undergone in 1852, made worse by the insensitivity of Pugin's male friends and offspring. When he was taken into confinement in London that February, it was without Jane's knowledge, let alone her consent. She was not allowed to see him until the following July, and then only for three minutes. The journal's reticence makes its few intimations of emotion all the more telling – for example, the underlining of the words 'my birthday!!', recalling the day, 21 June, when Pugin was admitted to Bedlam.

Jane's devotion and fortitude is seen in her insistence on returning Pugin home, first to Hammersmith and then, less than a week before his death, to Ramsgate. The descriptions of his recognition of her on a return to relative sanity are moving. John Hardman comes out badly in her account: she names him among those who bought Pugin's treasures at knock-down prices when he died effectively intestate, and she baldly states that he aimed to split up the family to gain ascendancy over Pugin's eldest son. Understandably, his behaviour still rankled at the time she wrote her account.

After Pugin's death, Jane continued to be a much-loved mother not only to her own children but also to Pugin's offspring from his earlier marriages. It was she who made the decision to move the family to Birmingham after his death, her priority being to keep everyone together. They returned to Ramsgate only in 1861, when E.W. Pugin set himself up in independent architectural practice. In her long life – she did not die until 1909 – she acted as family matriarch, seeing the family through further periods of ill fortune including E.W.'s bankruptcy and his own premature death.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spire Books have produced a handsome, slim paperback, which includes generous colour illustrations. The presentation is worthy of this significant and poignant addition to the published information on Pugin's last love and sad end.

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True principles would like in future to include a list of every known publication or article about the members and works of the Pugin family published during the course of the preceding year. Readers are asked to let us know whenever they find such an article, including the title and author, the article name, the publication name, and the place and date of publication. Please notify the Editor at:

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Buildings at risk and other building news

contributed by Michael Fisher, James Jago, and Rory O'Donnell

St Mary of Furness, Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria, (E.W. Pugin, 1867).

Reordering work at this church was overseen by Francis Roberts Architects, of Preston. This included the incorporation of a pulpit and mensa from the now demolished St Augustine's, Preston. The stupendous paintwork scheme for the sanctuary was restored with authentic designs and colours by Bernard Watson Ltd, for which they gained a first class 'Special Interest Award' from Johnstone & Leyland Paints. This work was completed in November last year. The parish priest, Fr Stephen Cross, says "We are all delighted to see the church restored to its original design" and that following the restoration the number of requests for marriages at St Mary's has increased. Fr Cross states that people want "authenticity again" after the insensitive treatment of Victorian churches during the past few decades, an opinion the Society must surely applaud. This church also possesses a fine collection of vestment and plate. JJ.



Figure 23: St Mary of Furness, Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria: the recently repainted sanctuary

Photograph: James Jago, March 2003.

Cotton Hall, Staffs (A.W.N. Pugin, 1846–8).

The college buildings at Cotton have finally been sold, and the owners plan to restore the listed structures. MF.

Chirk Castle, Wrexham (A.W.N. Pugin, 1846–7; E.W. Pugin, 1854).

Just over the Welsh border, a huge sale of the contents of the east wing at Chirk Castle took place on 21.6.2004 (Christie's). A collection of 12 letters from A.W.N. Pugin and a large number of architectural drawings relating to additions and alterations made to the castle by A.W.N. and E.W. Pugin were sold to a private bidder for £5,500 and £32,000 respectively. MF.

Church of the Sacred Heart, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.

Having made representations over Christmas 2002, the Society was able to appeal (in June 2003) against the decision of the Historic Churches Committee of the Roman Catholic diocese of Birmingham to allow a scheme to part truncate and dismantle the A.W.N. and E.W. Pugin high altar and reredos that had been reassembled in the



Figure 24: Church of the Sacred Heart, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon: reredos
 Photograph: Graham Miller.

church by A.S.G. Butler, architect, in 1936 (see p 29 above). The appeal was upheld, and the scheme refused. A subsequent application made over Christmas 2003 left the altar ensemble, but proposed to remove one of its steps and the pulpit; now that these two aspects have now been withdrawn, the amended scheme has been granted permission. The controversy attracted considerable interest in the local and the Catholic press (*Catholic herald*, 6.2.2004, p 7); it demonstrated that the expertise of those outside the local parish – appellants included the local planning authority, English Heritage, the Victorian Society – is essential in assessing the implications of such schemes made under the Ecclesiastical Exemption Order 1994. ROD.

St Francis de Sales, Walton, Liverpool, Merseyside (P.P. Pugin, 1887–1917).

This church has been brought to the Society's attention by the organist, Richard Astridge. Whilst attributed in some editions of the *Pevsner architectural guides* series to the Sinnotts, it is undoubtedly the work of P.P. Pugin. Its most distinct features are the varied pitches of the aisle roofs and the alternating size of the arcade arches, as well as the hallmark west rose window and apsidal sanctuary with its enormous reredos. This church has suffered from an unsympathetic reordering carried out in the 1980s: this included the subsequent overpainting of not only the stencilled patterns and murals but also of the high altar reredos. The original font and pulpit have been removed and a new brass tabernacle has been forced into the sacred heart altar. St Francis has been visited by a representative of English Heritage and, in its present condition, is on the borderline of listability. Would the Society support an official letter clarifying our support for the



Figure 25: St Francis de Sales, Walton, Liverpool, Merseyside: view of the bare interior and whitewashed reredos
 Photograph: James Jago, September 2003.

recovery of as much of the original decoration as was possible? This could still be done in time for the 2008 *Capital of Culture* celebrations. JJ.

Wymeswold, Leics (A.W.N. Pugin, 1844–50).

The John Hardman Studio, Lightwoods Park, Birmingham, is about to begin restoring the windows at St Mary's, where Pugin carried out one of his most extensive Anglican commissions. Neil Phillips, the owner of the Studio, is enthusiastically developing it as a museum and a workshop where the Hardman metalworking tradition will be revived to complement the production of stained glass which has never ceased. The archive at Lightwoods contains a wealth of drawings by J.H. Powell and J.A. Pippet, and these are currently being catalogued. MF.

The editor particularly welcomes contributions for this section.

We welcome new members of The Pugin Society since the last edition of *Present state* (at time of going to press):

Roger Bail, T.W. Canty, J.B. Dearing, Andrew Fox, Mark Golding, Hugh Greenhalf, Alex and Susan Hamilton, Mr and Mrs Hanlon, Rosalind and Raymond James, Laura Probert, Sue Jones and Simon Steven, M.J. Roberts, Nicola and Mervyn Smith, Penelope Steane, Andrew Thomas, Paul Tindall, Mrs M.R. Whalley, Owen and Josephine Williams.

Obituary

Phoebe Stanton: an appreciation

by Michael Port

Phoebe B. Stanton, who died in November 2003, was born on 5 December 1914; her father was of an old New England family; her mother of Lebanese descent. Graduating from Mount Holyoake '*magna cum laude*' in 1937, she started graduate studies at Leland Stanford which were interrupted by wartime service with the Board of Economic Welfare and other agencies. Married to an American diplomatist serving in London after the second world war, she undertook a doctoral thesis on A.W.N. Pugin under the supervision of Nikolaus Pevsner (though against his advice) at the Courtauld Institute, which she completed in 1950, having found some 3,000 letters, 13 sketchbooks, much other material, and introduced Birmingham's invaluable Hardman archive to scholarship. She soon came into print with an article on 'Pugin at twenty-one' in the *Architectural review* (September 1951). Thereafter she published a number of articles on Pugin, notably 'The sources of Pugin's *Contrasts*' in the Pevsner *Festschrift* (1968), and critical biographies of both A.W.N. Pugin and his father in the *Macmillan encyclopaedia of architecture* (1982). Her authoritative Pugin, 'a new assessment', as Pevsner wrote, 'of which every paragraph is worth while', was published by Thames and Hudson in 1971. Subsequently she devoted enormous labours (and let it be said, considerable personal expenditure) to a comprehensive study of the Pugins, father and son, which would describe the environment of ideas and practice in which they worked. This study has long been looked forward to by all those interested in the Pugins.

Stanton, however, having returned to the United States, held from 1955 to 1982 a succession of academic posts at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, culminating in the William R. Kenan, jr, Professorial Chair (from 1971), awarded for distinguished teaching of undergraduates. (Similarly, in 1980 she received the College Art Association prize for distinguished teaching in the history of art.) 'I could not teach and write', she told me after retiring; 'Teaching was a full-time job for me. I seemed always to be spending my ideas in the classroom and not working on those required for writing'. She lectured extensively at colleges and universities throughout the States, and was also deeply involved in adult education. Nevertheless, in 1968 she published *The gothic revival & American church architecture. An episode in taste, 1840–1856*, which she wanted to call *Ecclesiology abroad* (2nd edition, 1997). This ground-breaking study explored the origins of American ecclesiology in its links with the Rev W.F. Hook (who rebuilt Leeds parish church) and the Cambridge Camden Society, pursuing its development into the 1850s and its catalytic effect on American architecture; this encouraged Americans 'to contemplate not mediaeval architecture but [the] architectural principles, which were the revival's most constructive and enduring contribution' (p 332).

Furthermore, Stanton felt a duty to engage in the civic debate. For nearly two decades, she was a member of the Architectural Review Board of Baltimore Inner

Harbor Management Corporation (the other three members were architects), and undoubtedly her energy and expertise greatly contributed to the remarkable regeneration of the decayed Inner Harbor district. For many years she was very active in historic preservation bodies in Maryland as well as Baltimore, and wrote regularly on architectural and planning issues for local newspapers. But as all those engaged in the conservationist struggle know, civic and governmental ineptitude and obstructiveness sometimes induce despondency.

Once having given up teaching, she would leave for her office in Baltimore's wonderful Peabody Library six days a week at 8 am, returning at 5 pm. That library's collection of English nineteenth-century periodical literature was a great resource which provided a foundation for her extraordinary knowledge of the periodicals of the day, which, augmented by research assistance in England, was fundamental in her mastering, as she did, the intellectual environment in which the Pugins lived. Stanton pondered deeply the problems of architecture and history, and especially their contextual setting. She was very concerned lest, in her close and detailed study, she should lose sight of the forest for the trees: the dilemma was that 'if I do not put everything I know in the account of Pugin everyone will say why did I not do so. If I do then I can hear the comment that we wanted to know about Pugin – but this much?' The result was a book that with its extensive appendices ran to about a million words, and that leading architectural publishers could not afford to publish. So Stanton set about re-writing it. Completed at half the length in 2002, it was still considered too long to be commercially viable as hard copy. Her executor has announced that her Pugins and W.H. Leeds archives will be made available through the RIBA Drawings Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Phoebe Stanton was a person of great kindness and generosity, whose range of interests far transcended the early nineteenth century. Herself a painter, she was also a discriminating collector of modern art, and was keen to share her enthusiasm with others. Full of stories drawn from her long experience, she was a highly entertaining host, and a life-enhancing spirit. Whatever she undertook was followed through with the utmost care and a scrupulous endeavour to tell the story in its utmost quality.

Alexandra Wedgwood adds a few words

The doctoral research that Phoebe Stanton carried out transformed the study of A.C. and A.W.N. Pugin in the second half of the 20th century. As Michael Port indicates, the discovery of a large number of their letters and her use of the Hardman archive gave a new, fascinating and firm basis for the documentation of their lives and works. She saw A.W.N. Pugin principally as an architect, as indeed did he, and her analysis of his architecture in her 1971 book is always sound. I think she was always less interested in his contribution to the decorative arts.

I met her on a number of occasions, in the RIBA Drawings Collection, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and finally in Ireland in the mid-1980s when she was collecting photographs for her great book and we found ourselves staying in the same little town, Cappoquin, a few miles away from Lismore Castle. Sadly, I never gained her confidence. After Pevsner, her principal colleagues in Britain were Shirley Bury, who worked in the Metalwork Department at the Victoria and Albert Museum,

and Michael Port, who persuaded her to write two important chapters in the splendid book, *The Houses of Parliament*, which he edited.

The news that her archive, including the text of her final book, will be available through the RIBA Drawings Collection is of the utmost significance. Her research began before any of the family collections had been dispersed, and I am certain that she saw all sorts of things which have subsequently disappeared from public view. I well remember her photographing all the Pugin drawings in the RIBA and I expect this was her practice everywhere. I think her legacy to Pugin studies will be of great and lasting importance.

Charles Hind, the Curator of the Drawings Collection, has asked me to point out that because of the move to the V and A which is taking place this autumn, it will not be possible to make the archive available for another two years.

Contributors to this number

Brian Andrews is an architectural historian specialising in nineteenth and early twentieth-century churches and their furnishings. He contributed to the Victoria and Albert Museum's exhibition 'Pugin: a gothic passion' in 1984 and was visiting curator for the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery's 2002–03 touring exhibition 'Creating a gothic paradise: Pugin at the Antipodes'.

Catriona Blaker is a founder member of the Pugin Society and was Hon Secretary of the Society from 1995–2000, and Editor of *True principles* from 2000–2003. She is the author of *Edward Pugin and Kent; his life and work within the county* (Pugin Society, 2003). Other interests include the life and work of J.H. Powell, and interconnections between the gothic revival and the novel in the nineteenth century.

David Crellin was formerly an architectural adviser at the Victorian Society, and now works for Alan Baxter & Associates.

John Anthony Hilton is an independent scholar and editor of *North West Catholic history*, an annual journal of research. His 'Lingard's Anglo-Saxonism: a postcolonial reading' will appear shortly in Peter Phillips, (ed), *Lingard anniversary essays 1851–2001* (Catholic Record Society, London, monograph 6).

Jack Hinton is an Andrew W. Mellon Curatorial Fellow in European Decorative Arts and Sculpture at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, where he is working on research projects related to the renaissance furniture collection. He has published articles on the sale of second-hand goods in sixteenth-century Venice and on a collection of wax models for medals in the British Museum.

Peter Howell is a former chairman of the Victorian Society and a historian of nineteenth-century architecture.

James Jago will be taking up a place to read history of art at the University of York this October. His prime areas of interest are late Victorian and Edwardian architecture.

Michael Kerney is a retired academic with an interest in the gothic and stained glass.

Rory O'Donnell has been an Inspector at English Heritage for 20 years. Like A.W.N. Pugin himself, he has been battling against clerical ignorance and prejudice in defending the church work of the Pugins for twice as long.

Michael Port is emeritus professor of modern history at Queen Mary, University of London.

Andrew Rudd is completing a PhD at Trinity College, Cambridge. His research interests include Romantic period writing, British India and gothic literature.

Joseph Sharples is the author of the new *Pevsner architectural guide* to Liverpool. He is a research associate in the school of history, University of Liverpool, investigating the building activities of Liverpool merchants from the late 18th to the early 20th century.

Alexandra Wedgwood is Patron of the Pugin Society.

The Pugin Society, Registered Charity No.1074766, was founded in 1995. It exists, to quote its Constitution, to further 'the advancement of the education of the public in the life and work of A.W.N. Pugin and the other architects and designers in his family', and to watch over, and if possible save, threatened buildings by members of the Pugin family, or near colleagues. The Society also aims to give advice on the conservation and restoration of relevant buildings or decorative schemes, and, in addition, organises events and outings to raise awareness of this great architect, designer and writer. It produces an annual journal – True principles – and also a separate newsletter – Present state – and is open to anyone interested in A.W.N. Pugin, his family, those he influenced, and the Gothic Revival.

To join The Pugin Society, please contact the Hon Membership Secretary (see inside front cover).