

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iii no iii Summer 2006

AWAKENING

RAMSGATE AND GORTON

Peter Blundell Jones:
Propriety

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In this number, as previously, terminology has been standardised by the Editor in accordance with the conventions of the Society's publications. A style guide can be provided.

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Quotations from contemporary texts are rendered as they appear in the original, avoiding the frequent use of 'sic'. Transcriptions from A.W.N. Pugin's letters are always reproduced in the form in which they appear in Margaret Belcher's definitive Collected letters of A.W.N. Pugin.

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AWAKENING

One of the problems that serious Pugin-family enthusiasts have faced from the start is how to promote the work of this remarkable family in a vigorous and lively way without appearing to be unworldly obsessives. To some extent, however, the results of our campaigning are beginning to speak for themselves. This year saw the reopening of A.W.N. Pugin's house in Ramsgate, the building he seems to have called 'St Augustine's' but which is known to posterity as the 'Grange'. This historic event became possible thanks to the vision and the determination of the Landmark Trust to do the job well; but it also came about because there is now a substantial body of Pugin experts who can readily advise on both the whole picture and the small details of Pugin's work. Furthermore, the large sum of Heritage Lottery Fund money that was made available to complete the work reflects – in a society that rates political appeal well ahead of aesthetics – the fact that this revolutionary architecture can and should attract wide public support.

Just as this number of *True principles* was going to press we heard the welcome news that Pugin Hall, formerly the rectory, at Rampisham in Dorset has now been upgraded from Grade II* to Grade I. This has come about as a result of a campaign by The Pugin Society to afford maximum protection for an unusually beautiful and important house which has recently been threatened by unsympathetic alterations made to the adjacent property (see 'Building news'). The house has been lucky so far in having such a conscientious owner who has fought hard for its preservation in its near-perfect original state. Now she has the full force of conservation law behind her. The campaign to save and restore E.W. Pugin's monastery of St Francis of Assisi, Gorton, enjoys the full commitment of a dedicated and resourceful team; they have, remarkably, won almost £4 million of heritage funding – £3.5 million from the Heritage Lottery Fund and £270,000 from English Heritage, as well as further urban regeneration funding of £1.8 million. And Brian Andrews reports from Australia that a part of A.W.N. Pugin's church at Colebrook in Tasmania is now to be rebuilt, not merely repaired, and according to the original designs.

All this has involved real money, real investment, and real dedication; it is thus all good news for The Pugin Society and its members, for it shows that many share the belief that the true Gothic Revival of the 1840s was a significant event in western architecture, quite distinct from the stylistic revivals of the past or for that matter from the sentimental historicism of recent decades. A short reminder of what was special about the Grange can illustrate quite how significant this phase of English architecture was.

Looking back at the domestic architecture of the early nineteenth century, it soon becomes apparent how repetitive house design had become – even at the time of the variety of styles such as the Chinese, and the 'Hindoo' that Pugin lampooned in *The true principles*. The layout of almost every house of the size of the Grange had become paralysed: a corridor ran between two rooms arranged symmetrically on the entrance or garden front, with a staircase buried at the rear. An architect would take this plan for granted, and then try to make the elevations more or less fancy as his



Figure 1: The Grange from the south west, June 2006

Paul Barker/Landmark Trust.

client's taste dictated. Pugin rejected all of this. It now looks as if he designed individual rooms around their particular needs and then grouped them in a coherent form; at the Grange, he first settled on the 'pinwheel' plan, where the long axis of each of the principal rooms rotates around a central stair hall placed between them, creating a dynamic and lively arrangement. There are no stair halls of this type before the Grange. As these pinwheel house types developed, from the Grange to Oswaldcroft, from Lanteglos to Rampisham, and finally at Wilburton in 1848, the architect balanced the narrative forms of the gables and windows with a ridge kept at constant height and with a logical and consistent language of detailing. This would have had more of a broad appeal at the time than is obvious today, because in the 1840s architects in general were being urged both to understand the technical elements of building and also to be much more exact when specifying for them. With rational and demonstrative solutions, such as those mortice and tenon details at the junctions between the eaves and the bargeboards, Pugin was showing a whole generation how to create a new type of architecture. The result is a remarkable type of house that has no precedent but many, many offspring.

But the restoration of the Grange is important too because the decision to return the house to its 1843–4 state marked a significant deviation from general conservation policy. By and large conservationists will oppose the demolition of subsequent phases of the development of a house in the name of returning a building to its origi-



Figure 2: The restored stair hall at the Grange, May 2006
John Miller/Landmark Trust.

nal state; that is particularly true if, as at the Grange, those additions themselves testified to significant phases in the house's life. In this case E.W. Pugin's conservatory, bathroom, french window and drawing-room extensions were not unimportant. But the authorities were asked to see the house as that elusive thing, the 'special case', one where subsequent work could be demolished because the original house had an importance that was on quite a different plane from that of the extensions made to it. A 'special case' is to a planning authority the thin end of the wedge and its acceptance means that it becomes difficult for it to refuse similar demolitions in future: a plea like this will not be accepted lightly. The fact that English Heritage were persuaded to accept that the Grange was indeed a 'special case', and permitted the restoration of the 1843–4 house, is thus tremendously significant. Our public in-

stitutions seem to have conceded that there is a distinction between architectural conservation for the usual expedient political and 'heritage' purposes, and where it is done because of the inherent value, which is eternal, of the building itself.

Architectural criticism is passing through an interesting phase at present, with a powerful rewriting of history by the pro-classicists and the anti-Modernists. It is likely that architectural debate will become increasingly politicised, and arguments for and against reconstruction and demolition will likewise become matters of principle. If this comes about, it is important for The Pugin Society to protect the work of the Pugins as the single most critical episode in English architectural history. We 'Pugin nuts' as Jonathan Glancey – himself of course a Pugin nut of the first order – has called us, must continue to fight our corner and make it clear that we are talking now not about a 'style', but a 'principle'.

A.W.N. Pugin's concept of 'propriety' – and what might lie behind it

by Peter Blundell Jones

That A.W.N. Pugin made a strong and frequent connection between style and society could hardly be denied, and surely nobody could miss the point when looking at the strip-cartoon-like presentations in *Contrasts*, where the lives of the mediaeval and modern poor are illustrated comparatively and exaggeratedly in relation to diet, discipline, and even funerary arrangements [figure 3].¹ Again, in *The true principles*, after extolling the virtues of Magdalen College, Oxford, Pugin makes an unflattering comparison with modern collegiate buildings, his eye doubtless on the new London University buildings, and concludes indignantly:

How is it possible to expect that the race of men who proceed from these factories of learning will possess the same feelings as those who anciently went forth from the Catholic structures of Oxford and Winchester! [figure 4]²

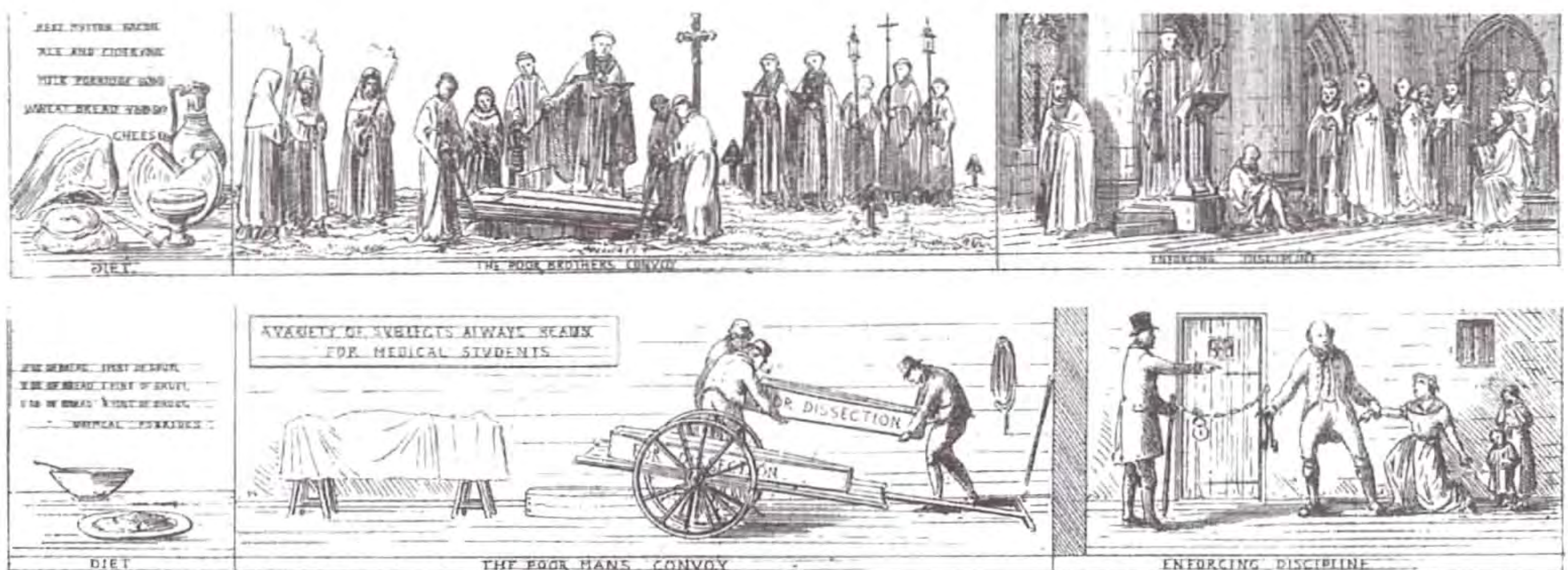


Figure 3: Contrasted residences for the poor (details)
From Pugin 1841b.



Figure 4: Contrasted collegiate buildings
From Pugin 1841a.

1 *Style and society* (London, 1969) was the title of a book by Robert Maguire which marked something of a Pugin revival; Pugin 1841b (*Contrasts*, 2nd ed), 'contrasted residences for the poor'.
2 Pugin 1841a (*The true principles*), p 54.

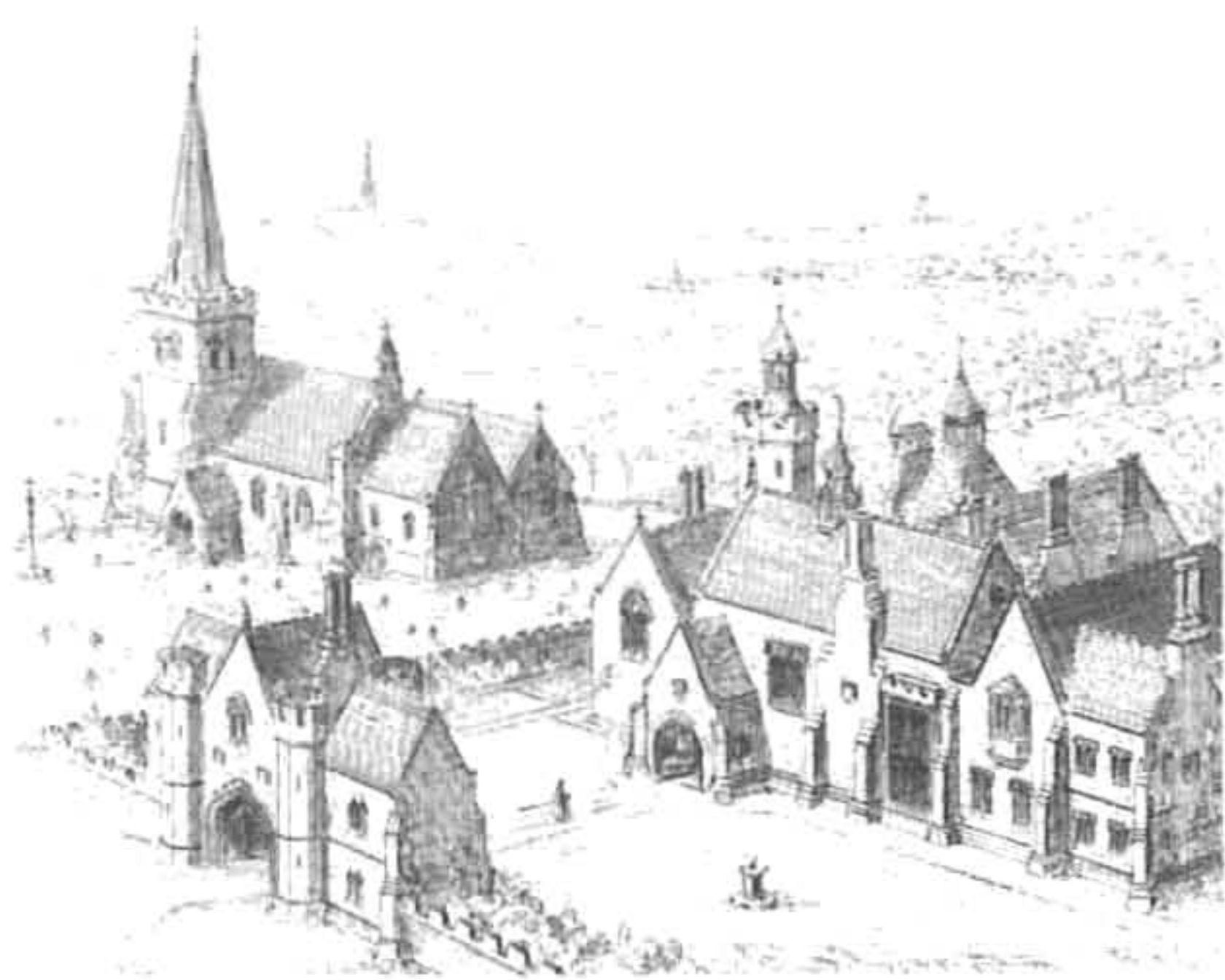


Figure 5: Old English mansion
From Pugin 1841a.

Pugin would doubtless have agreed with Churchill that ‘we shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us’,³ but his definition of propriety actually gets no further than:

‘What I mean by propriety is this, that the external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is destined’.⁴

Reading between the lines though, much more is implied in his descriptions, which offer the mediaeval manor house and Magdalen College as ideal models [figure 5]. Both are seen as groups of buildings, not single entities, and Pugin claims that they show an articulation of parts that visibly identifies social

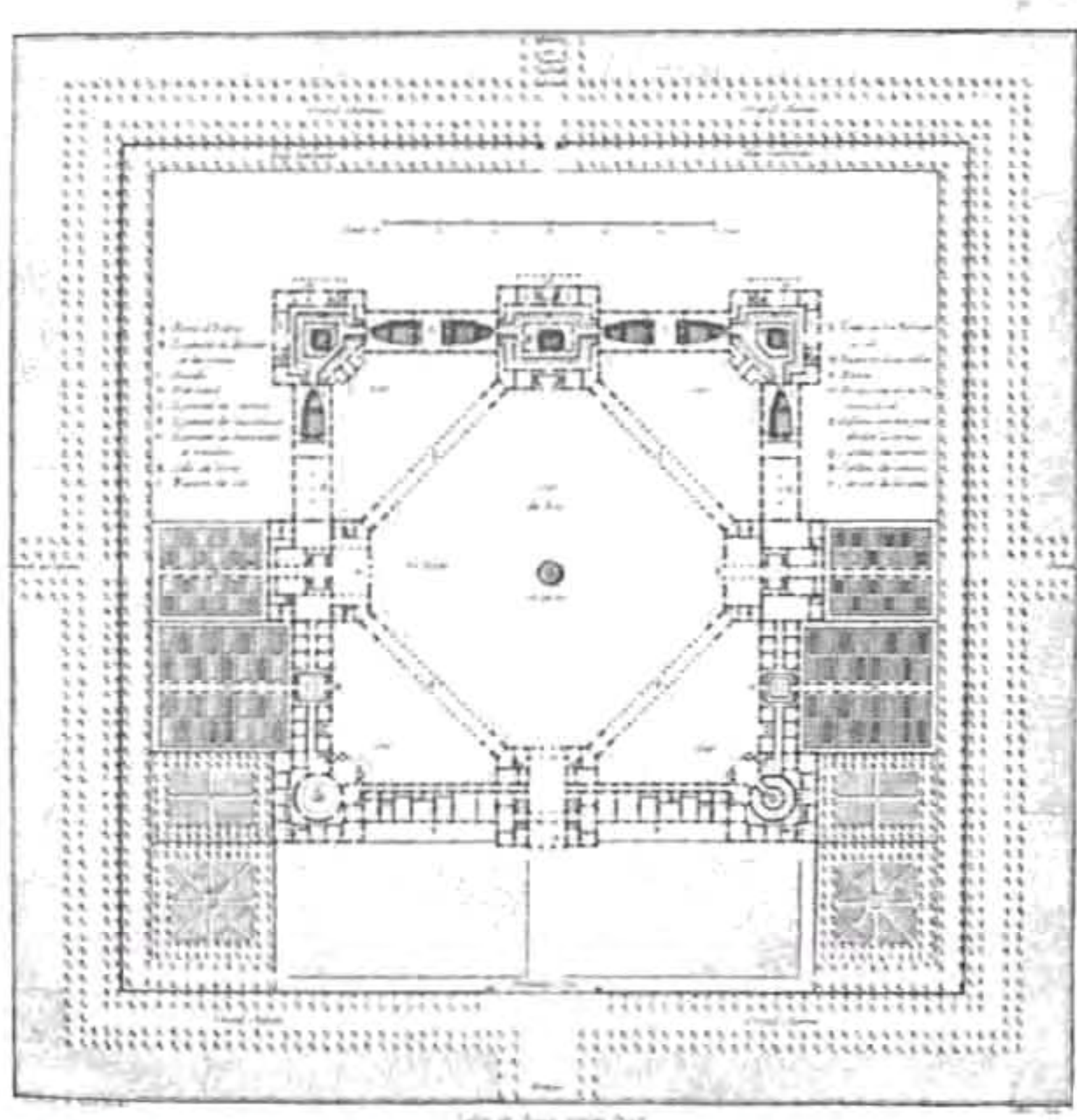


Figure 6: Ledoux’s first plan for Saline de Chaux

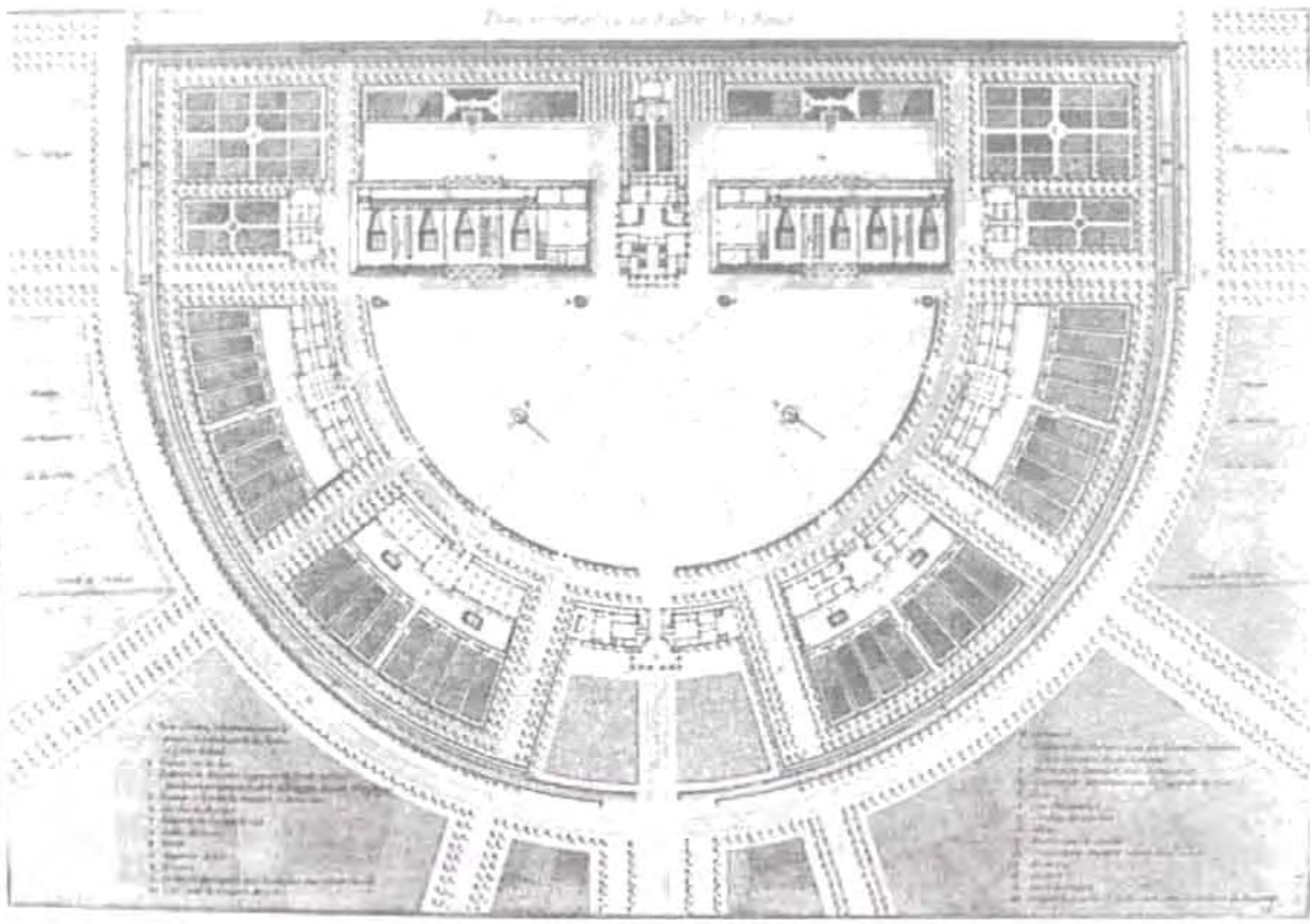


Figure 7: Ledoux’s final plan for Saline de Chaux

content. Such articulation is supposedly truthful, irregular and hierarchical, and it should reflect the dominance of the ‘convenient’ plan over the elevations, the latter being made in response to the former.⁵ The same attitude informs Pugin’s comparisons with his classical opponents when he criticises a lack of propriety due to anachronisms of style and forced symmetry of organisation. Although he clearly shared an interest in the idea of *architecture parlante* with French architects such as Claude Nicolas Ledoux, Pugin ridicules the idea that a college might be given a second chapel on the other side merely for the sake of symmetry.⁶ His criticism is not far off the mark, for in the first version of the famous Saline de Chaux, Ledoux gave identical front corners to chapel and bakehouse [figure 6]. Even in the final version

3 Said in the House of Commons concerning the rebuilding of parliament after the Second World War: Hansard, ser 5 ccclxxxiii, 1943, col 403.
4 Pugin 1841a (*The true principles*), p 42.
5 Pugin 1841a (*The true principles*), pp 44–5; 49–51; 63.
6 Pugin 1841a (*The true principles*), p 62.



Figure 8: Saline de Chaux

Photograph: Peter Blundell Jones.

[figure 7], the overwhelming semicircular geometry of the masterplan unifies the peripheral buildings so much that their purposes are hard to identify, though Ledoux combined manager's house and chapel in an unholy alliance of power to create the focus [figure 8]. The new and inventive symbolism of carved salt spouts [figure 9] helped express the special purpose, but most of the architectural rhetoric depended on Roman precedents.

Both of Pugin's chosen examples were ancient and cumulatively grown models around a thousand years old. The manor house had grown from the hall, a formal hierarchical building with raised high-table at one end, central open fireplace, and the three service doors of buttery, pantry and kitchen at the other end. The adjuncts grew first at the ends, encompassing the solar and private apartments at the head and guest apartments at the tail [figure 10]. Then it expanded to surround one or more courtyards, but the hall always retained pride of place and greatest elaboration. The college derived from a monastic model dating back to at least 800.⁷ The linear, orientated, and progressively sacred space of the church was combined with the static and centralised cloister to create a fulcrum around which the increasingly large institution could grow, the void of the cloister forming both a protective enclave and a perfectly square paradise garden as its heart. The implied formal hierarchy was constantly present: typically the chapter house as political centre was placed on the more sacred eastern axis of the cloister, while the refectory as social centre occupied the southern [figure 11]. The need for daylight and the limitations of building technology, particularly of wooden trussed roofs, tended to dictate a linear form for large spaces, and the widest rooms were



Figure 9: Salt spout, Saline de Chaux

Photograph: Peter Blundell Jones.

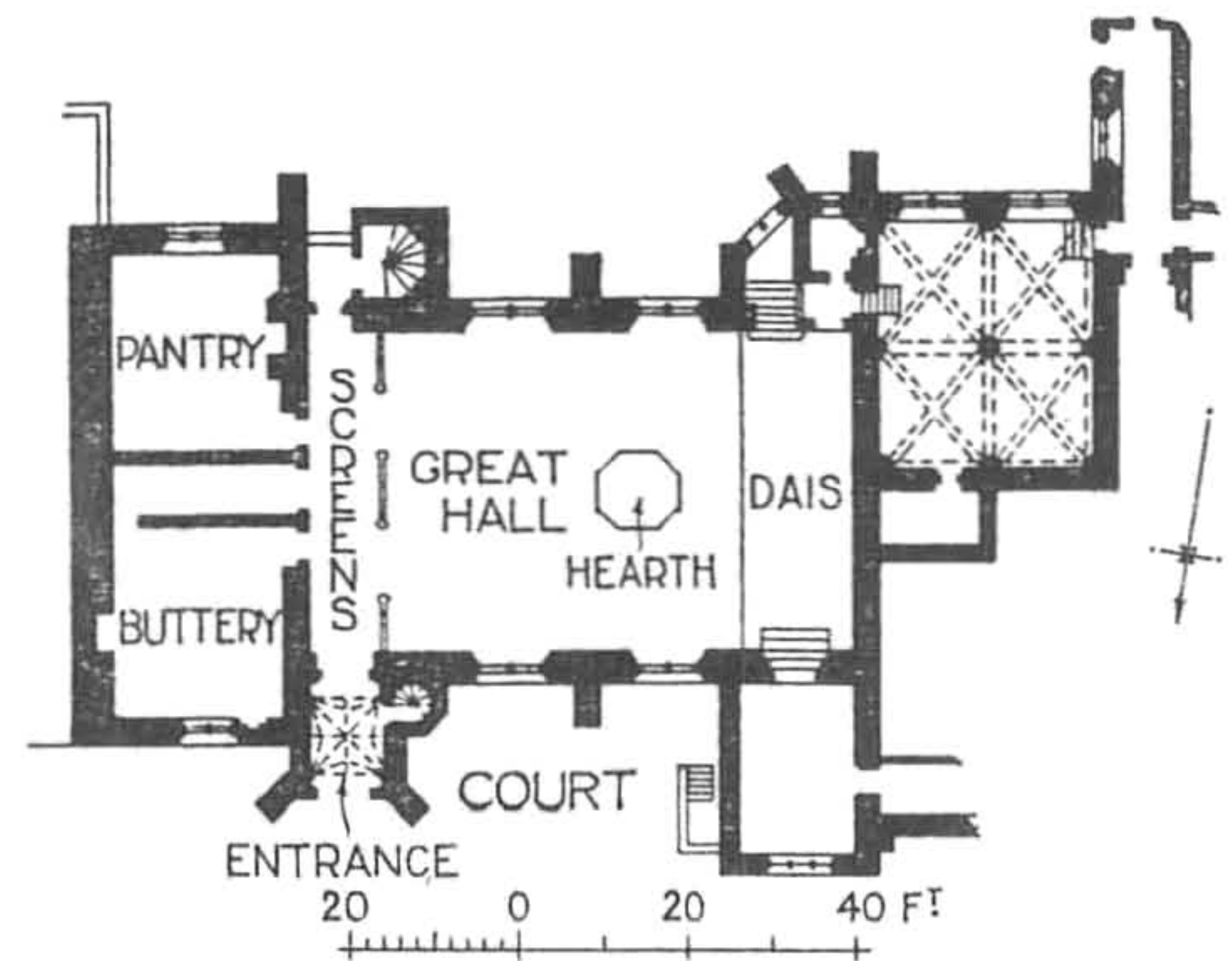


Figure 10: Penshurst Place, 1341–8: a hall house plan

From Fletcher 1896.

⁷ Dating back at least to the Carolingian St Gall, whose plan was miraculously preserved on the back of a younger document; see Horn & Born 1979.

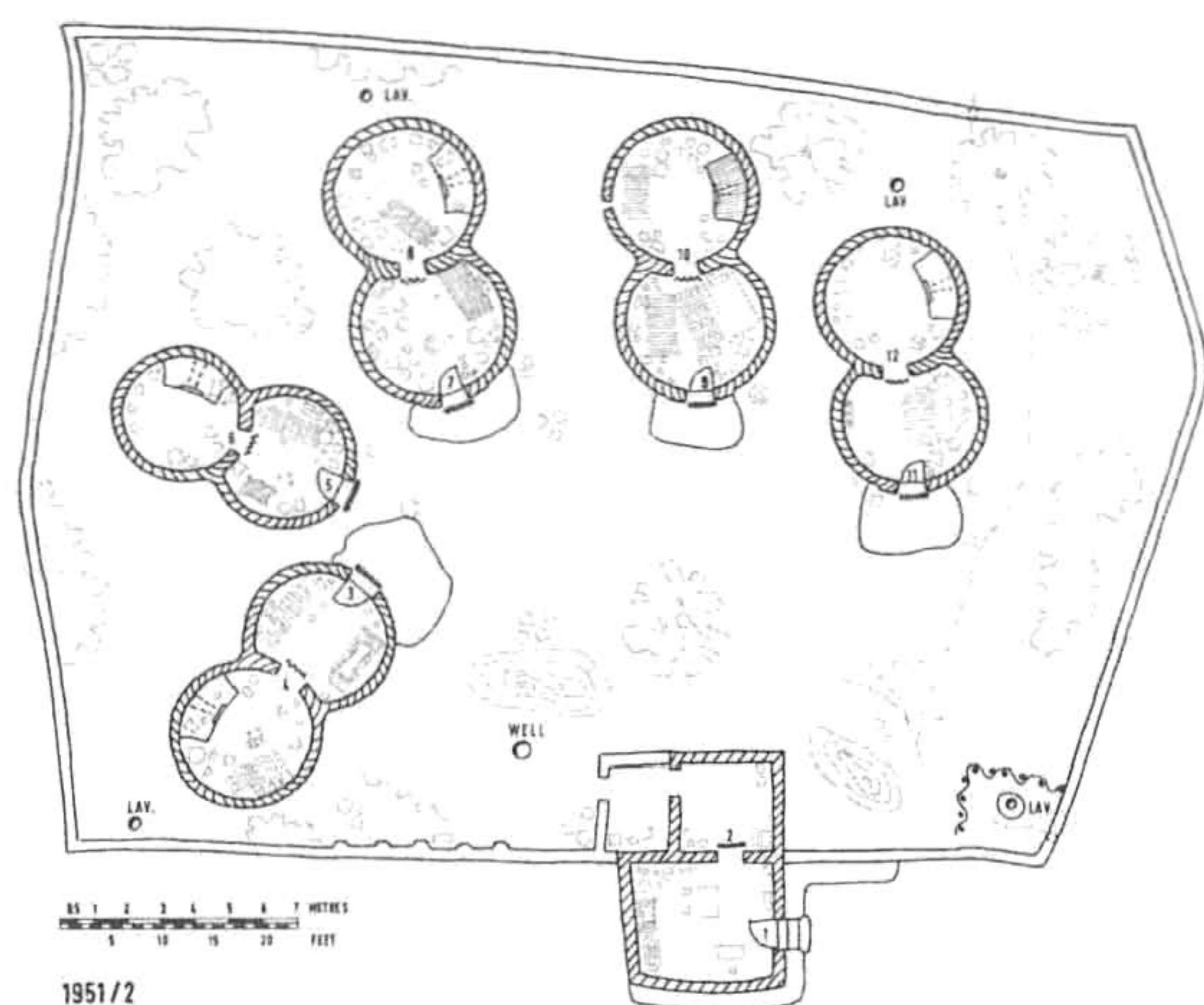


Figure 13: Hausa domestic compound
From Schwerdtfeger 1982, p 51.

a strict routine, for there is order in time as well as space, and the cloister mediates the movements between them. There is a special place – the *statio* – for lining up the procession before entering the church in an orderly manner, thus articulating social roles.

If we return now to the idea of the interior being displayed in the exterior, we see that for those in the know, recognition of a building’s layout and parts serves to confirm the nature of the institution and its inner order. It also helps to differentiate it from other institutions, and when placed in a city as Magdalen College is, it helps make the whole place more coherent by providing a landmark and by contrasting with other colleges. Visible differences between institutions reflect differences of internal arrangement due to differences of habit or procedure: an authentic correspondence.

What works for the 1000-year old monastery also works for the simpler buildings documented worldwide by anthropologists. Potential examples are legion, so only a couple need be given. Clan and family organisation can be strongly articulated, as for example in the polygamous Hausa family compound reported by Schwerdtfeger [figure 13], where each wife has a separate hut and the shared husband occupies the one that serves as the gate to the outside world, keeping a tight hold of his wives as well as his territory.⁹ If a wife dies, she is buried under her hut and it is allowed to decay, while if the man marries again a new hut is added. Seen from the air, the complex not only reflects the social structure but changes in time along with its inhabitants. A more surprising example is the circular village of the Amazonian Bororo as reported by Claude Levi-Strauss [figure 14].¹⁰ In a clearing in the jungle they built a ring of huts to define their protected social space, adding a larger men’s house near the centre. The central axis divided the village into two intermarrying halves or moieties, hut ownership being carried in the female line. A boy born in the right half of the village would live with his mother until initiated, when

9 Schwerdtfeger 1982.

10 See Levi-Strauss 1973; Levi-Strauss 1970.

he moved into the central men's house. Obligated to marry a woman from the left half, he would join her in her hut for the rest of his life, but his funeral would be conducted by the people of his birth. Levi-Strauss went on to report that when missionaries persuaded the people to change the plan of the village to a grid, their reciprocating social structure fell apart. The village layout, it seems, did not merely 'express', 'follow', or 'symbolise' the social structure but actually embodied it. Where you lived defined who you were.

The mediaeval monastery and the 'primitive' village seem far removed from

the conditions of today and even from the twentieth century, but the late nineteenth century was a time when institutions were elaborated in buildings as never before. This time of 'invented traditions' included, with Pugin's help, the rebuilding of parliament, with high regard for ritual processes and social decorum.¹¹ It also saw the building of the Law Courts in the Strand by George Edmund Street, which not only redefined Gothic in another dignified role, but also separated and defined more clearly than ever before the roles of all the participants in the legal process. The building of specialised law courts for assizes and quarter sessions across the country, and the specialisation of new types like the coroners' courts, consolidated the ritual and architectural presence of the law in an unprecedented manner.¹² More recent law courts have lost much of the decorative elaboration but they retain the spatial structure. It persists both in the theatre of the courtroom, wood-panelled and compartmented to define roles with the judge inevitably on axis in the highest seat – and also in the elaborate circulation arrangements needed to keep the players apart. We take it for granted, barely recognising its presence, yet to conduct serious legal cases in the open air, as happened as recently as the beginning of the nineteenth century, would be unthinkable.

The ritual role of architecture is thus alive and well in many places, and if it is nowadays less marked in the church, it has become more developed in other buildings, like the airport, the television studio or the operating theatre. We still

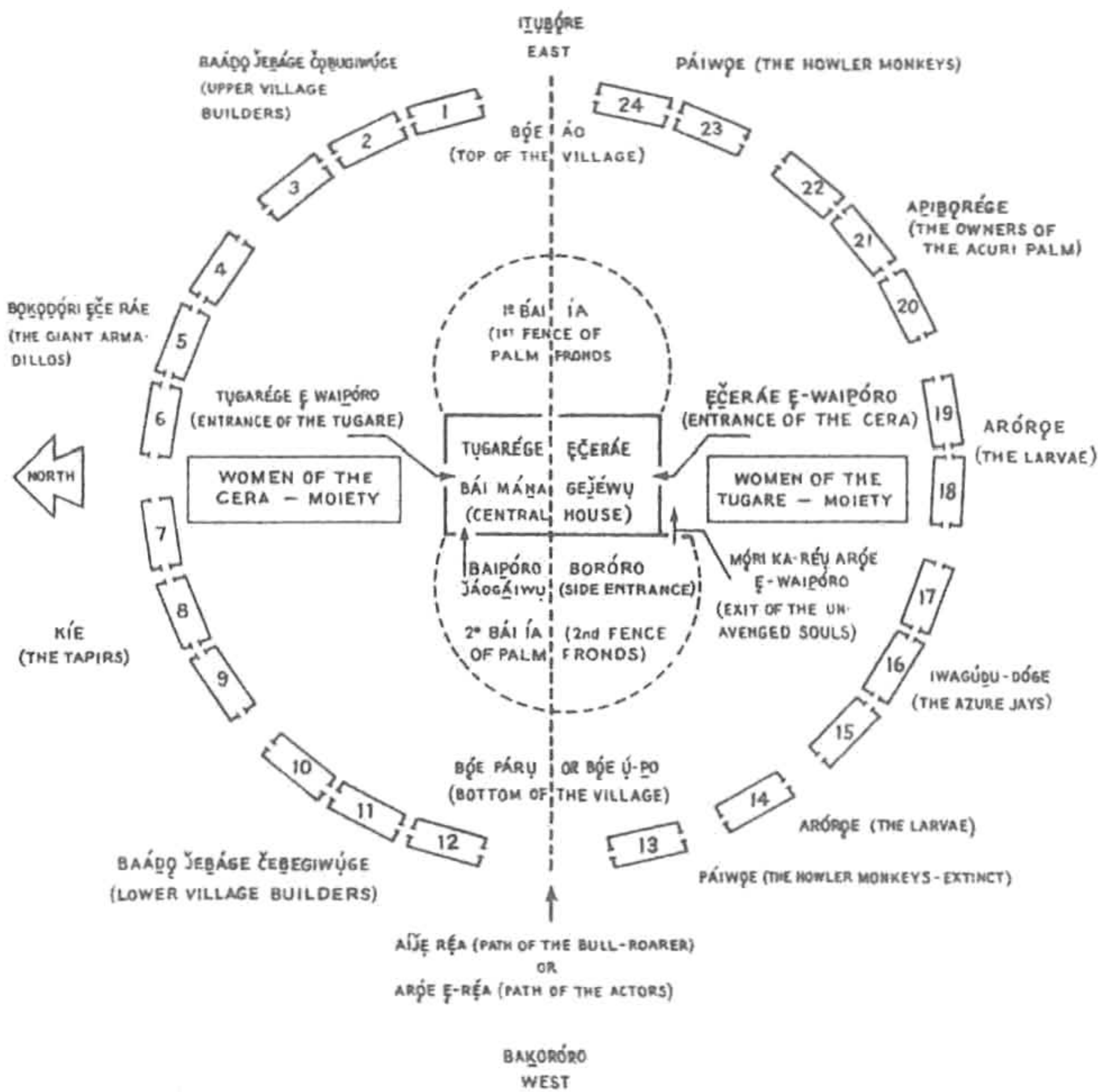


Figure 14: Bororo village
From Levi-Strauss 1970, p 41.

11 Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983.
12 Graham 2003 (based on a PhD at the University of Sheffield supervised by this author).



Figure 15: the Bauhaus, Dessau, by Walter Gropius, 1925–26. The photograph shows the corner of the classroom block with workshops behind

Photograph: Peter Blundell Jones.

scrupulously observe gender segregation of lavatories in all public buildings but happily ignore it at home, and we know when we are violating the privacy of other people's houses – straying into bedrooms, for example – just from the layout, even if we have never been there before. The application of the concepts 'frontstage' and 'backstage' as suggested by Erving Goffman in the 1950s, to shops, restaurants or garages, remains as valid as ever, but this does not seem to be a topic much discussed nowadays by architects or their clients.¹³

The switch in the 1970s from the excessively deterministic 'form follows function' of the modernists to the excessively open 'anything goes' of the postmodernists resulted in a widespread suspicion about all such concerns that has muddied the waters ever since.

The idea that the outside should express internal organisation was a serious concern of Modern Movement functionalism, but it was not often consistently applied. Claims were made in this direction for the Bauhaus building, for example. Giedion pointed out that the main blocks, used respectively for classrooms, workshops and residential studios were appropriately articulated; but the theatre space, arguably the social heart of the building, was suppressed as a low link, while an unnecessary bridge was strongly celebrated [figure 15]. The library, arguably the institution's brain and memory, was lost among the classrooms. The identities of the very different types of workshop were also concealed within the general workshop block.¹⁴

Rather than the social content, the geometry of the plan expressed more powerfully the rationality of the concrete frame and of repetitive systematic construction. Such rationalism was even more marked in the case of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, who eschewed specific design of spaces on the basis of flexibility and unpredictability of use, and who eventually went to the extreme of building as an art gallery in Berlin a structure first designed as an office HQ in Cuba [figure 16].¹⁵ This was clear anti-functionalism, a total refusal of content in the shaping of space.

Adolf Behne, the leading Berlin critic of the 1920s, made a useful distinction between functionalism and rationalism, and he counted among the rationalists both



Figure 16: the neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin, by Ludwig Mies van de Rohe, 1965–8

Photograph: Peter Blundell Jones.

¹³ Goffman 1956.

¹⁴ Giedion 1941 (and all editions). I have commented in detail: see Blundell Jones 2001, ch 3, pp 61–72.

¹⁵ Blundell Jones 2002, ch 14, pp 203–14.

Gropius and Mies. For him the leading functionalists were Hugo Häring, Hans Scharoun and Adolf Rading, whose experimental designs sought that buildings be shaped by uses and flows of people. Häring's famous farm at Garkau near Lübeck in northern Germany of 1925 [figure 17] was much more seriously articulated than the Bauhaus, its aggregate of specialised forms developed directly around farming procedures.¹⁶ With its unity of practical efficiency and celebration of the rituals of animal husbandry, it certainly presented a radical and highly rhetorical

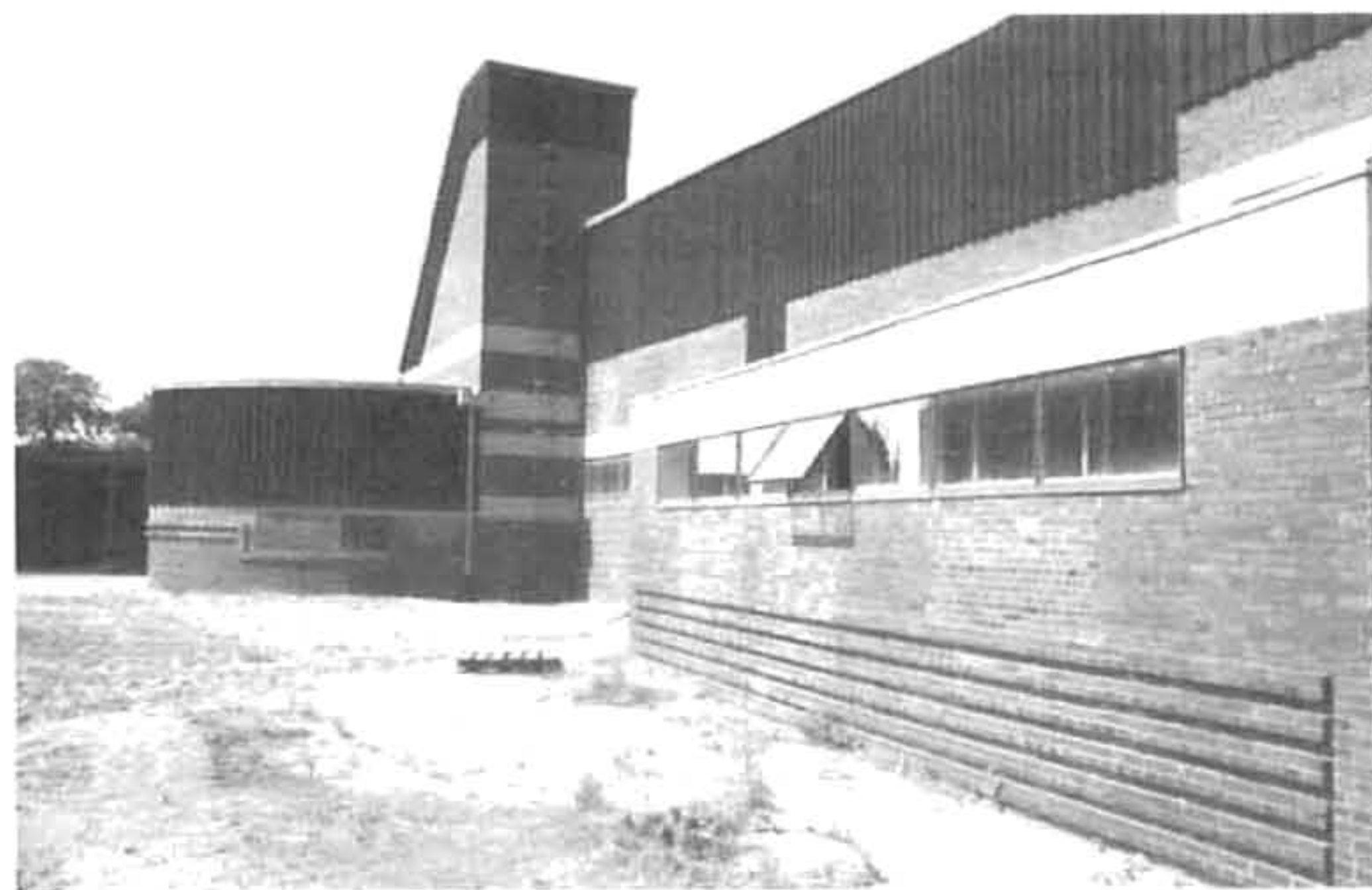


Figure 17: Garkau farm, near Lübeck, by Hugo Häring, 1922–5

Photograph: Peter Blundell Jones.

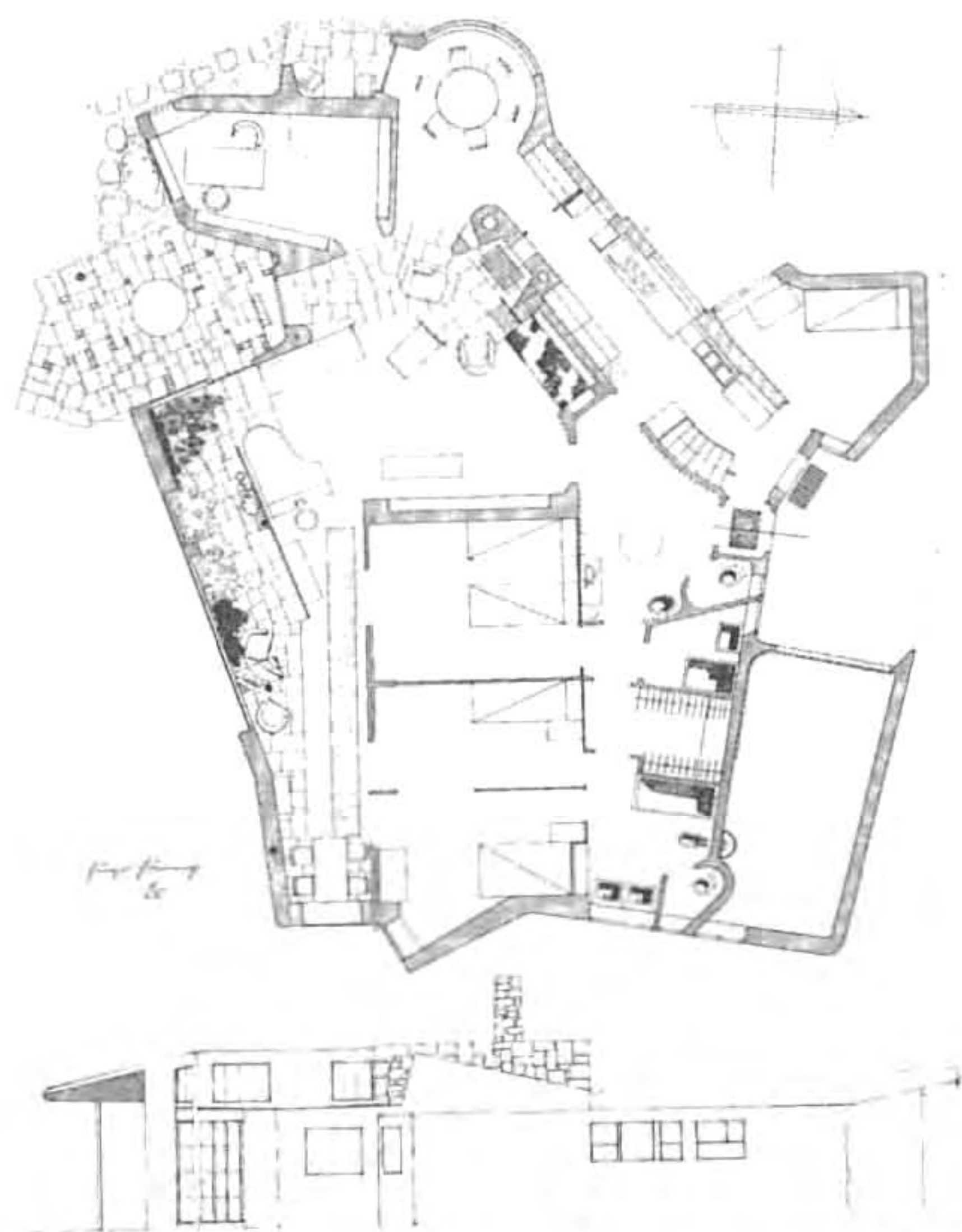


Figure 18: House plan by Hugo Häring, 1946
Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

alternative to the neutral agricultural shed, while also reiterating some principles of traditional agricultural buildings. It was among the most direct twentieth-century reiterations of Pugin's Gothic articulation. Häring's conviction that the organisation of spaces in the floor plan was the key to architectural form and identity led to later designs in which a whole way of life can be read in the specialisation and contrast of rooms, in their shapes, transitions, adjacencies and polarities, and this is the whole basis of the architecture [figure 18]. The building's exterior as a visible object was expected to emerge as the result of this internal development, justified on the basis that appearance authentically reflected content, arguably in the Puginian manner.

In the post-war period Hans Scharoun developed Häring's design philosophy to produce some of the clearest and most convincing examples of social articulation seen in modern architecture. His school at Marl, north of Essen, of 1960 for example [figures 19 and 20], articulates classrooms singly with their own roofs and external teaching spaces, then groups them into grades which share a common hall. These halls connect with a larger internal street, and the whole complex centres on a theatre as place of communal assembly and celebration. It is no longer a single building but many combined, almost like a small town, and the territories are as clearly differentiated inside as the forms outside.¹⁷ A similar example from the same period, though more hampered by the constraints of a prefabricated construction system, is Aldo van Eyck's orphanage in Amsterdam of 1959 [figure 21]. Here the social family-like

¹⁶ For more detail see Blundell Jones 1999.

¹⁷ For more detail see Blundell Jones 1995, ch 8, pp 136–51.



Figure 19: Marl School, plan by Hans Scharoun, 1960
Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

principle should now be clear, and plenty of further twentieth century examples could be cited, if few of them are as consistent as those by Scharoun. But we should perhaps ask why this appealing idea did not get more universally accepted and why functionalism got such a bad name. There were essentially two problems: the domination of 'rationalism' as defined above, which put the emphasis on the logic of construction, and the lure of quantification which appeared scientific and objective. Hannes Meyer, whom Gropius appointed to lead the building section at the Bauhaus, and who became his successor as head, at first looks like a good functionalist. His proposal for the League of Nations Competition of 1927 articulated the offices in a tower and the meeting hall under a great dome, supposedly justified on acoustic grounds [figure 22]. The glazed tower was even supposed to encourage 'transparent' politics.¹⁸ But this was not all.

Meyer also produced, in his Bauhaus manifesto *bauen*, the key statement for a scientifically based and quantitative functionalism, which dares to claim that there are 12 and only 12 functions to be considered in designing a dwelling.¹⁹ Everything was to be measured and nothing was considered to lie beyond the range of analysis, aesthetic questions shifted into the province of psychology. Despite numerous attempts over more than fifty years, this programme has never satisfactorily been fulfilled, and whenever its implementation is attempted, unmeasurable aspects tend to

units in which the children lived were articulated in the overall form, and the insistence on a very small repeated unit or aedicule throughout assured that the large complex was experienced locally through elements set at the children's scale. Van Eyck was directly influenced by anthropological examples, particularly the artefacts of the Dogon of Mali, and he was among the first to bring such material to architects' attention.

The exemplification of the



Figure 20: Marl School auditorium, by Hans Scharoun, 1960
Photograph: Peter Blundell Jones.

18 See Schnaidt 1965, where arguments and diagrams are reproduced. The acoustics evidently would not have worked because he was not taking reflections into account.

19 Meyer's essay *bauen* is reproduced in Conrads 1970.

be downgraded or omitted.²⁰ It is easy enough to calculate how much hot water you can get through a tap, but not the value of a view from the window, let alone the 'atmosphere' of a room.²¹ However, such mechanistic functionalism works only at a rather primitive level. The hammer has a hard heavy head and a soft graspable handle, for example: unity of use and expression. But progressing even to something as simple as a door handle, we see that a vital part of its function is not just to let the door be opened but to signal how this should be done, to indicate and to invite the hand. The significance of this is sharpened by considering it negatively: instead of being inviting, the door handle could be made repulsive to discourage entry – imagine a prickly or a phallic one. It is no mere pragmatic issue, for memory, meaning, taste and expectation are engaged even before the building is entered. Human beings are not automatons fulfilling a mechanical role but sentient beings seeking to make sense of the world around them, constructing

narratives about where they are and what to do next, and expecting help from buildings.

Naive functionalism is probably at its purest in industrial buildings, where relatively straightforward physical processes like smelting and baking necessitate particular forms, and loading and unloading are driven by the competing disciplines

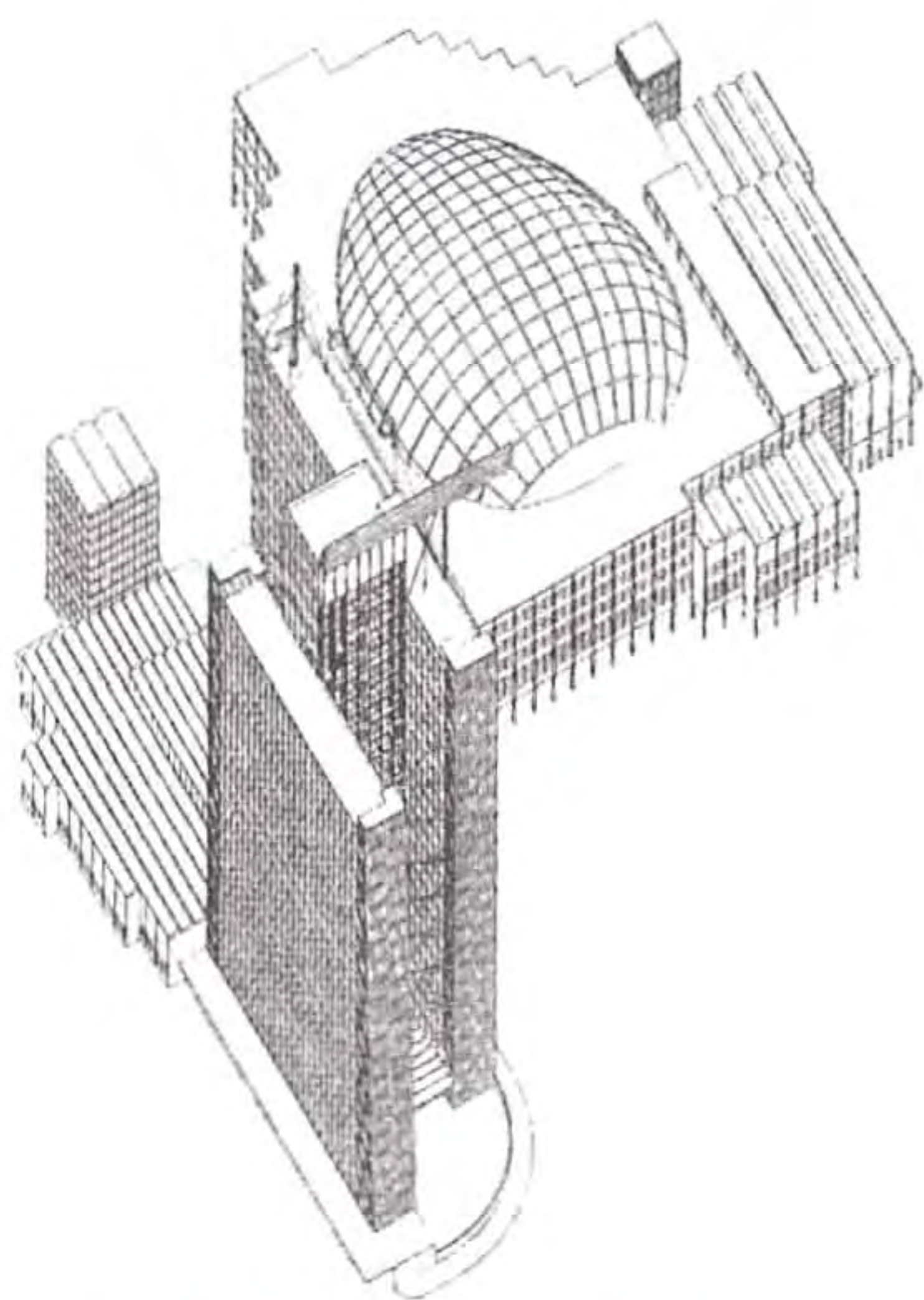


Figure 22: Competition design for the League of Nations building, by Hannes Meyer, 1927
From Blundell Jones 2002.

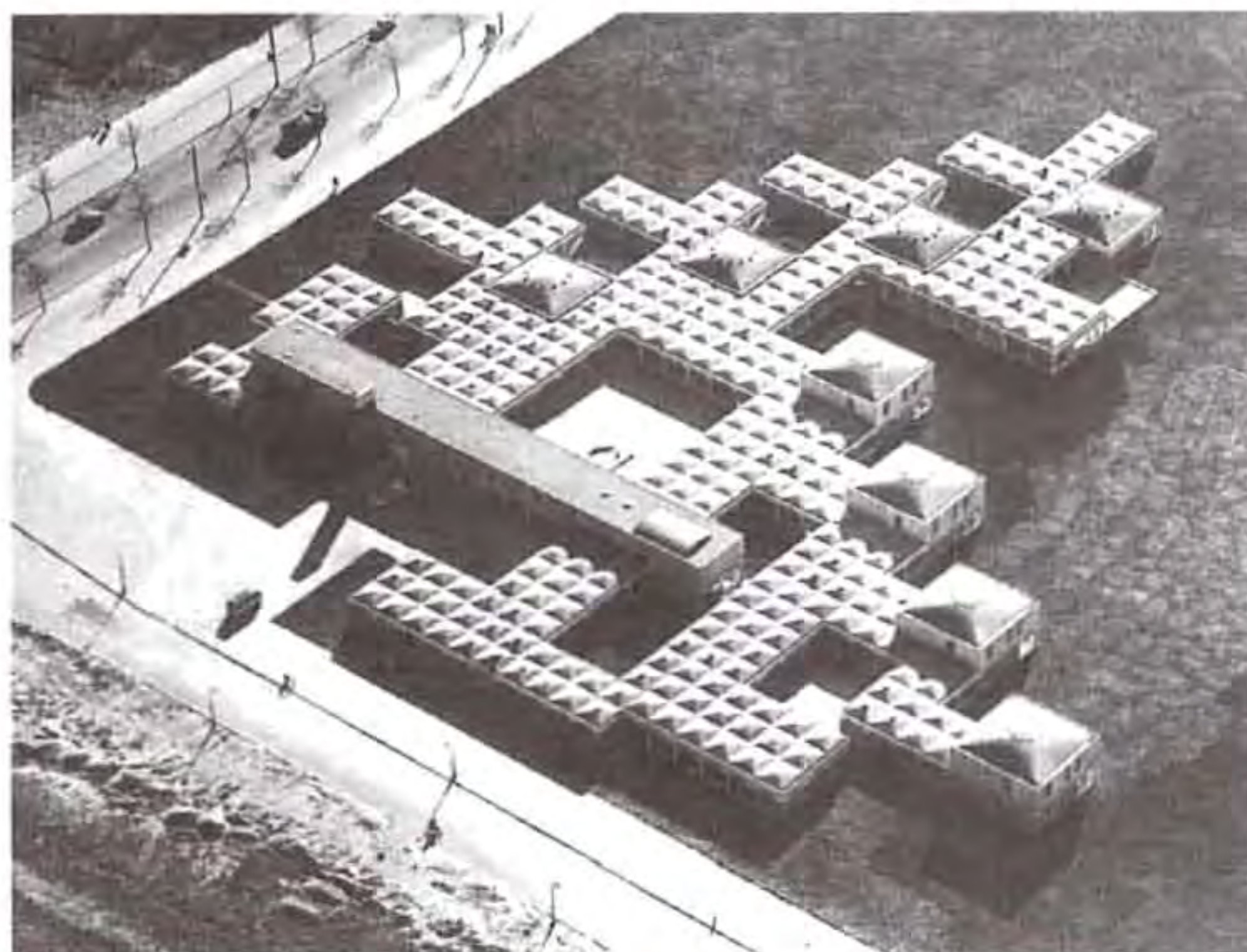


Figure 21: Orphanage, Amsterdam, by Aldo van Eyck, 1959
Aldo van Eyck.



Figure 23: The steelworks in Attercliffe, Sheffield, of Benjamin Huntsman, inventor of the crucible process, as it would have been in 1826
Reconstructed by Dr Alan Williams.

²⁰ See for example Friedman 1975.

²¹ A recent breakthrough is the work of Roger Ulrich in the United States, who measured a series of parameters relating to hospital rooms identical in everything but view, one looking at a nearby brick wall and the other onto a garden. He found that the patients with the view went home on average a day earlier. Hospitals are an ideal vehicle for this kind of study as they provide a highly disciplined environment with a large repetitive throughput.



Figure 24: Laboratory of sleep project, By Konstantin Melnikov, 1929

From Blundell Jones 2002.

of rail track and travelling crane [figure 23]. But when it comes to social buildings the practical functions are often not definitive enough to enforce one kind of behaviour. Apart from prisons, very few buildings are coercive; most can only suggest and assist uses, and depend on the complicity of users. Konstantin Melnikov's revolutionary project for a dormitory building of 1929 [figure 24] would have required, for example, that men and women break away from their bourgeois family habits to come and sleep in his great dormitories, whose only evident architectural advantage was sloping floors to avoid the need for pillows. There was to be soothing music and coloured lights to help them drift off, but it is hard to imagine any kind of environmental engineering that by itself would clinch a social change of this magnitude. The subjects would have to be willing or even eager to go along with it.

With the anthropological examples cited earlier and presumably with the monastery and hall house, the buildings were built by, or at the behest of, the users. They were therefore more or less bound to reflect the accumulated beliefs and values of the users (and also their power structures), so the complicity of persons and building was more or less reciprocal and automatic. Building technology was limited to local materials and techniques, and repetition of the same types assured consistency of meaning. In oral cultures the forms and organisation of buildings provided in addition a valuable reference point for ideas about society and world structure.²² It was arguably this close complicity of society and its buildings that Pugin recognised in his concept of 'propriety'.

In modern life, users are to a greater extent precluded from making decisions about their surroundings, for the building process has been taken over by specialists and bureaucrats, facilities managers and finance initiatives. Even given the money and the land, nobody can build their own house without the mediation of architects or similar agents, and increasingly labyrinthine building regulations and planning controls have come to determine both where money is spent and what buildings 'ought to look like', not only preventing the consequential operation of 'propriety', but displacing the taste of the owner with the expectations of the planning committee. Large-scale international construction techniques have turned building

²² This implication of the Puginian position was explored imaginatively in *Lethaby 1892*, a book way ahead of its time.

into a kind of autistic packaging unrelated to specific place or purpose, and if the image is taken into account at all, it tends to be bent to the purposes of advertising and branding. When taken seriously, the image can also become the tail that wags the dog, buildings being built more for the sake of a printed image to be disseminated worldwide than for what is actually experienced in place. Either way, the users are forgotten and the needs of 'propriety' neglected. Society loses not only the comforting confirmation of buildings which embrace and encourage existing practices, but also the possibility of new and Utopian proposals which, by manipulating 'propriety', suggest new habits to be confirmed by complicity, redefining the institution.²³ When people lose the opportunity to make decisions about their environment, they become numb and indifferent but they simply put up with it.²⁴ This depressing situation can be reversed by involving people in the building process through strategies of participation: the energy and enthusiasm released in some recent examples is surprising.²⁵ The whole discussion about propriety and the essential complicity that makes it possible deserves to be reopened.

23 A good example is Hans Scharoun's Berlin Philharmonie of 1956–63, which pioneered the 'in the round' concert hall and so established a new type which has been repeated worldwide.

24 In an interview of the 1990s, the late Giancarlo De Carlo told me that many people no longer look at a flat before renting it in Milan: they consider only the number of square metres available.

25 See for example Blundell Jones, *Peter Hübner: building as a social process*, Stuttgart (forthcoming). Hübner's intensively participative work has also been covered in numerous issues of the *Architectural review*.

‘I will write and exhort and denounce’:
A.W.N. Pugin and *An earnest address, on the
establishment of the hierarchy* (1851)

by David Meara

Ever since the bill to emancipate Roman Catholics from their civil disabilities had been passed by Parliament in 1829 the Roman Catholic church had been slowly acclimatising to its new-found freedoms and shaking off the hesitancies of the penal years. The Catholic population was growing rapidly, swelled by Irish immigration, and the influential centres of worship were moving from the country houses of the nobility to the embassy chapels in London. There was a pressing need both for more churches and more priests, and a growing distrust between the old English Catholics and the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome. One solution to this tension was to change England from being a mission church to becoming a fully-fledged province with its own hierarchy of bishops. This article examines the influence which A.W.N. Pugin tried to bring to bear on the restoration of the hierarchy, and his own understanding of the relationship between the Roman Catholic church and the Church of England at this critical time. Pugin’s own views had developed considerably since his publication of *Contrasts* in 1836, and a small leather-bound notebook in the Victoria and Albert Museum reveals that he was more aware of the possibility of a greater rapprochement between the two churches than most of his contemporaries.

Following the election of Pope Pius IX in 1846 Nicholas Wiseman (1802–65) felt it was the right moment to raise the question of the restoration of the hierarchy in England. While the system of vicars apostolic had served its purpose, a new arrangement was now needed that would bring England within the Roman establishment. Accordingly Wiseman went to Rome in July 1847 to petition the pope and was received sympathetically. In the same year Lord Minto, Lord Privy Seal in the British government, also travelled to Italy in order to see the pope and discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations. In London in 1848 the prime minister, Lord John Russell, told parliament that papal authority over the Roman Catholic church in England was not subject to any control. He did not believe that the pope’s power could be limited and appeared to give tacit approval for the establishment of the Catholic episcopate.

In 1848 Lord Lansdowne’s Diplomatic Relations Bill was introduced. This was aimed at furthering political relations with the Vatican, though the issue of spiritual relations was deliberately kept in a very low key. In August 1848 Lansdowne’s bill received the royal assent, though not before it had caused considerable dissension among the British and Irish Catholics. The editor of the *Tablet*, Frederick Lucas, summoned a meeting at which many of the Catholic laity expressed strong disapproval of the possible effect in Ireland of Lansdowne’s proposals. Wiseman’s pamphlet, *Words of peace and justice addressed to the Catholic clergy and laity of the London District*, helped to win over the support of the majority. As early as 11 November 1847

the English Catholic bishops had met at Golden Square in London, the home of the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, and settled many of the details of the restoration of an English hierarchy. After this, William Ullathorne, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District with the title of Bishop of Hetalona, set out to visit Rome, arriving there in May 1848, and by June a complete scheme had been worked out and approved in principle.

Wiseman had been appointed Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District in 1847 and, in his first year of office had been busy setting up new religious communities, and organising missions and retreats. He was rewarded by being informed in May 1850 that he was to be made a cardinal. When he went to Rome Pius IX told him that he was also to be archbishop and head of the newly reestablished hierarchy. On the 29 September 1850 the pope issued letters apostolic replacing eight vicars apostolic with an archbishop and twelve bishops.

It was perhaps an inauspicious moment in English history for the Vatican to assert in a formal way the revival of Catholic authority. The increasing numbers of Catholics, swelled by Irish immigration, the recent spate of conversions from Anglicanism, and the historic feeling that Roman Catholicism involved a foreign allegiance incompatible with English political institutions, all combined to cause disquiet amongst the population. J.H. Newman wrote in 1851 that 'we Catholics are so despised and hated by our own countrymen... that they are prompt to believe any story, however extravagant, that is told to our disadvantage.'

It has been argued that Roman Catholic expansion in the nineteenth century was the result neither of an act of Parliament nor an act of Rome, but of the internal expansion of English congregations and the rapid urbanisation of Catholic adherents.¹ But it seems clear that the increasing professionalism and coherence of Catholicism, coupled with the actions of the pope and Wiseman, made mid-century Catholicism a much more significant force than before.

Wiseman played a crucial role in all this. During the autumn of 1850 the *Times* published a series of articles on 'papal aggression', in which it was stated that although it was no surprise that Wiseman had been made a cardinal because of his learning and ability, to link this with the archiepiscopal see of Westminster was an act of stupidity and arrogance. Although Wiseman wrote to the prime minister in conciliatory terms, all this was undone by his pastoral letter written from Rome on 7 October 1850, *Out of the Flaminian Gate*. On 20 October it was read out in all Catholic churches, and on 29 October it was published in full in the *Times*. Wiseman, by nature exuberant and tactless, had written in pompous and proprietorial Roman language that was bound to inflame national feeling. It seemed to some that the pope was claiming exclusive right and jurisdiction over England, a direct challenge to the monarchy and parliament. Queen Victoria could well inquire, "Am I Queen of England or am I not?"²

While Anglican Bishops deplored the papal decision as an unwarrantable insult, and effigies of Pope Pius IX and Wiseman were publicly burned, Ullathorne, now appointed Bishop of Birmingham, sought to pour oil on troubled waters. He wrote

1 Bossy 1975.

2 *Letters of Queen Victoria 1837–1867* vol ii (London, 1907), pp 325–37.

to the *Times* on 22 October and claimed that the papal bull concerned an internal matter of church administration and that there was no intention of wanting to rule the people of England. Wiseman too sought to dampen down the disturbance by publishing his *An appeal to the reason and good feeling of the English people on the subject of Catholic hierarchy*.³ In this pamphlet he denied that Roman Catholics were disloyal and argued that a proper episcopal administration was essential for the effective government of the Catholic church in England. The pamphlet was well received and over 30,000 copies were sold. Gradually the crisis abated although there were some within the Catholic body who were reluctant to accept the new arrangements.⁴

Meanwhile, Pugin felt that he could contribute something to the debate and help to explain and pacify. Accordingly, early in 1851, he published *An earnest address, on the establishment of the hierarchy*,⁵ which he seems to have intended to develop into a substantial work entitled 'The English schism'. He says that he cannot:

refrain from offering some observations, which by the blessing of God may be the means of infusing great zeal and encouragement into the English Catholics, and at the same time, by removing some misconceptions, may restore reciprocal charity between us and our separated countrymen.⁶

Pugin's reconsideration of the post-Reformation Church in England leads him to be critical not of Protestantism, but of 'a Catholic nation betrayed by a corrupted Catholic hierarchy'. And he points out that while the sixteenth-century Catholic hierarchy was responsible for the loss of faith in England, the reformed church had preserved a considerable amount of Catholic doctrine during the period since the Reformation.

The people were much better than their clergy, and had it not been that the latter were so fettered and bound by the state power as to act like machines in the hand of the civil magistrate, the English nation never would have submitted to these alterations in divine service and articles of faith. But it is very easy to conceive what difficulties attend even a faithful people when betrayed by their own clergy and is a most striking example of the necessity of free action for the ecclesiastical powers advocated in this tract...⁷

In a separate pamphlet to the inhabitants of Ramsgate Pugin had pursued the same theme: 'The day has utterly gone by for state religions, and the greatest curse that can befall the church is to be linked to the state'.⁸

Here Pugin puts forward the model of a 'free church in a free state', an idea similar to the views of Montalembert.⁹ He had already been accused of crypto-Anglicanism in an article in the *Rambler*, which stated that 'the terms in which he speaks of the living church are such as we might have expected from a follower of

3 Published 19.11.1850.

4 Priests such as John Lingard and Daniel Rock and some of the 'Old Catholic' families were resistant to change. Even Newman, who was sympathetic to Wiseman, remarked 'We are not ripe ourselves for a Hierarchy. Now they have one, they can't fill up the sees...'; *Letters and diaries* xiv (18.2.1851) p 213.

5 Published by Dolman, London.

6 Pugin 1851 (*An earnest address*), p 1.

7 Pugin 1851 (*An earnest address*), p 5.

8 Pugin 1850 (*An address*), p 6.

9 Count Charles-Forbes-René de Montalembert (1810–70), French historian and liberal Catholic apologist, who encouraged the appreciation of Gothic art on the Continent and was sympathetic to Pugin.

Dr Pusey'.¹⁰ Now Pugin implies that the Church of England contains within itself elements of Catholicity, and in his *Defence of his earnest address* published in 1851, he quotes approvingly words of Bishop John Milner:

If they will not be good Catholics, I am desirous that they should remain good Church of England men, being convinced that thereby the sacred code of revelation will be much less violated, and the public peace and happiness much more effectually secured.

Pugin was immediately attacked in the Catholic press, both in the *Tablet* and the *Rambler*. 'We have been shocked at Mr Pugin's sympathy with the Anglican heresy...we have ever regarded Puginism as identical with Puseyism.'¹¹ Pugin now felt it prudent to write at length to Wiseman to explain his motives and answer points of detail. In this letter he says how pained he is 'that any act of mine should have been the cause of uneasiness to your eminence', and expresses willingness to retract any heretical views that could be found in the pamphlet.

There can be no doubt that English people were betrayed by the old clergy who had become state tools and the Church of England since the accession of Elizabeth has been only a Protestant edition as regards the abuses long antecedent to the 16th century and which caused the same murmurs among the people in the Old Catholic times as their perpetration does at this very day against the established church. And it is most important to show the nation that these abuses no longer exist among the Catholic body and that the constitution of the present hierarchy is perfectly free even from the causes which produced them. Surely it is no offence to set forth these truths across the country? No one could be more explicit than I have been in laying down the grand catholic principle of unity and authority in the Holy See.....

The whole address is full of similar expressions and I am just at a loss to imagine how any reasonable reader could for one moment attribute an unorthodox meaning to my words. Will any man dare to affirm that I would defend a person convinced of Catholic truth remaining separate from uniting and the obedience of their pastors holding jurisdiction from the Holy See for a single hour surely not? But I do maintain that the greatest charity and encouragement should be exhibited by us towards those who by realising the ordinances and practices of their own communion are advancing rapidly towards the Old faith and whose present separated position may certainly not be traced to the unworthy conduct of the Old ecclesiastical authorities. Ought we not to be thankful that in such a wreck so much of the old principle has been retained that sincere men of that communion are continually led to embrace catholic truth in all its fullness simply by carrying out the principles in which they have been educated as Church of England men to their legitimate conclusion?¹²

In a letter to the *Tablet*, written early in 1851 to explain his views, Pugin, in combative mood concludes:

But while I submit in the most absolute manner to the dogmas of faith as proposed by the church, I claim on the other hand a legitimate right of exercising the faculties with which I have been blessed by God, in the consideration of the temporal causes

¹⁰ *Rambler* iv (2.1850), p 126.

¹¹ *Rambler* viii (1851), pp 45–6.

¹² Letter of 2.1851, Westminster Diocesan Archives (MS W3/43: 9a), also quoted in Pugin 1875. See Belcher 1987, p 120.

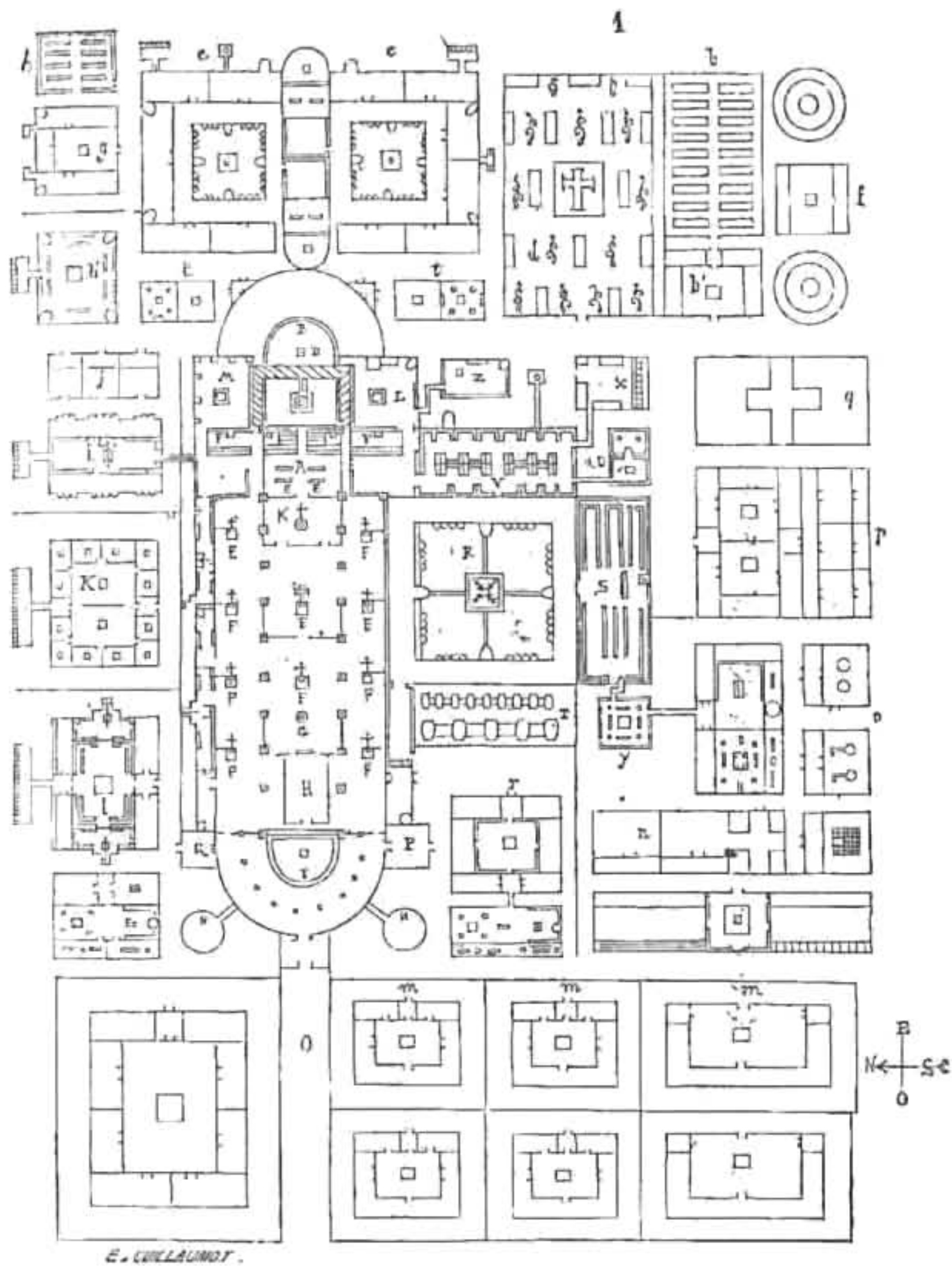


Figure 11: St Gall, c820: an ideal Cistercian monastic plan

From Viollet-le-duc 1867–8.

who have passed many times in and out, used the rooms repeatedly for their respective purposes, and come to associate them with specific memories. Do we not all seek to interrelate the experiences of inside and out by identifying our hotel room window on a holiday postcard and do not children of four or five already identify which rooms lie behind which windows at home? Much more remarkable, when you pause to reflect, is the speed with which we learn foreign cities and foreign buildings, routinely retracing our steps out of the labyrinth during a first visit. The experience of buildings is not merely visual but also haptic, learned through bodily movement, as we are reminded when descending a familiar staircase in the dark. We may never have counted how many steps there are, but our bodies know when we have reached the bottom.

Once we take the whole interior experience into account, as I think Pugin implies we must, the discussion no longer revolves around the building's role as mere external symbol or sign, but must concern the way it frames a way of life. To return to the monastic example, it may be possible to say prayers, to discuss politics and to eat meals in the same room, but having separate and contrasting spaces for these purposes frames their separate rituals very effectively. An orientated church progress-

automatically the highest and most important. Thus a complex like a monastery was built of linear parallel-sided elements around protected courts, with identifiable rooms in a visible hierarchical order.

The extent to which the internal arrangements were legible on the exterior – the apparent focus of Pugin's interest – is perhaps less than he wished to believe. The Oxfordshire peasant passing to market or the Japanese tourist of today – those yet to set foot inside and unfamiliar with the building type – might find it very difficult to identify externally any of the rooms at Magdalen College. Besides, if making them identifiable was what was really wanted, would it not be easier simply to write the room names on the outside avoiding all ambiguity, as James Gowan once ironically suggested?⁸ The experience is very different for regular users,

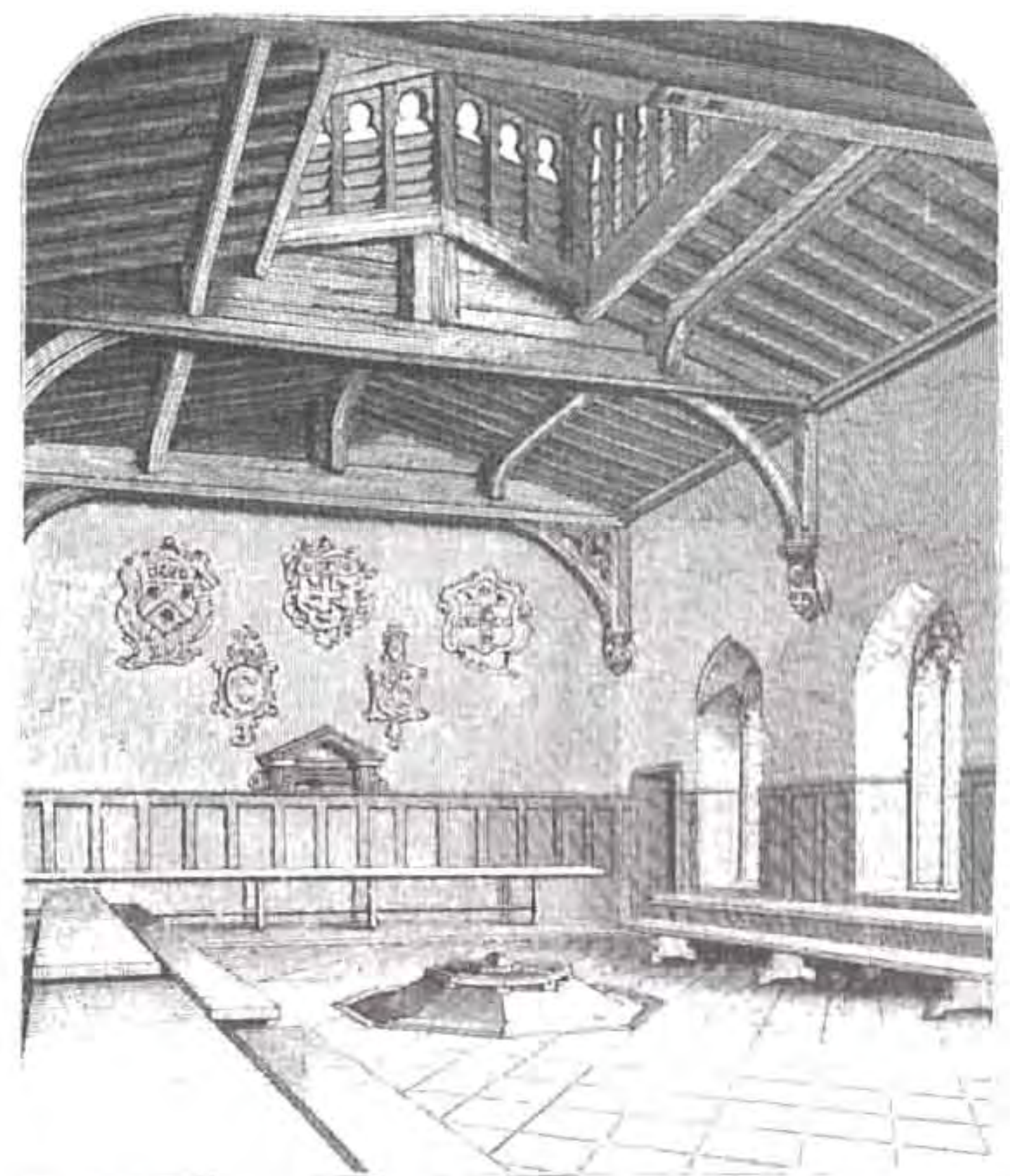


Figure 12: Abbot's hall, Westminster, roofed 1375–6

From Parker 1859.

⁸ Personal memory of a conversation at the Architectural Association, London c1972.

that have exercised so fatal an influence on religion, and, above all, denouncing the important element of modern Paganism, which has corrupted and debased the externals of religion to a lamentable extent. On these points I am not to be silenced by cowards or bigots, or those who work by expediency, instead of the broad basis of truth. And while I have a pen, life, and hand to wield it, I will write, and exhort, and denounce the destructive influence of modern and debased taste in the externals of religion.¹³

In his various letters and pamphlets concerning the restoration of the hierarchy Pugin appears to be doing two things. The first is to try to educate local opinion about the real nature of his church and to dispel ignorance and prejudice: but the second is to give expression to his views on the relationship between the Church of England and the Church of Rome which had been forming over the course of his adult life. This second purpose has the polemical intent of educating the hierarchy about both the weaknesses of Catholic ecclesiology and the latent Catholicity within the Church of England.

In the first edition of his *Earnest address* there is a reference to another work, 'A new view of an old subject; or the English schism impartially considered by A Welby Pugin'. Ferrey refers to this work as 'An Apology for the Church of England',¹⁴ and in the appendix by E.S. Purcell to Ferrey's biography, on the Catholic aspects of Pugin's life, this book is called 'An Apology for the separated Church of England since the reign of the Eighth Henry, written with every feeling of Christian charity for her children, and honour of the glorious men she continued to produce in evil times. By A. Welby Pugin. Many years a Catholic-minded son of the Anglican Church, and still an affectionate and loving brother and servant of the true sons of England's Church'.¹⁵

Purcell does not give details about the manuscript from which he drew his summary, but there is in the V and A Museum library a small leather-bound notebook which the Museum acquired in 1969, which contains what appears to be a rough draft of this work.¹⁶

Pugin had already written early in 1851 about this to his friend Herbert Minton (1793–1858) the Staffordshire pottery manufacturer:

I am almost distracted, for in addition to all other labours, I have a most important work on the real cause of the change of religion in the 16th century, which will place matters in a totally new light, overthrow the present opinions on both sides, and may be the means of tending to much mutual charity on both sides, and a better understanding.¹⁷

At the beginning of the V and A notebook Pugin sets out his view of the schism:

I feel certain that the real authors of change were among the Catholics and not the Protestants. Protestantism is an effect not a cause: I therefore maintain that one should look to the cause and I believe if we take the fourteenth or even the

¹³ *Tablet*, 15.3.1851.

¹⁴ Ferrey 1861, footnote to p 266.

¹⁵ Ferrey 1861, appendix chapter 3, p 430.

¹⁶ Wedgwood 1985, cat no 97; Belcher 1987, pp 115–21.

¹⁷ Ferrey 1861, p 265.

thirteenth century, we shall find a more satisfactory means of explaining this great movement than in the more evident actions of the sixteenth century.¹⁸

Pugin then proceeds on historical ground to chart the gradual corruption of the mediaeval church, blaming bishops who were more concerned to amass money than to care for their people, the absenteeism of the clergy and the jealousy between monastic and secular clergy.

He then refers approvingly to John Wycliffe as someone who took a stand against corruption, although adding, 'unfortunately he passed on from action to principles, attacked the fundamentals of religion and ended by heresy'.¹⁹ He lists three serious errors in the generally held view of the Reformation:

- i) The belief that England separated from Rome on matters of faith.
- ii) The view that Protestants and Catholics were two distinct classes of people, the former driving out the latter.
- iii) The belief that the people took an active part in the change and in expelling "the antient clergy".²⁰

Pugin argues that for some time during the sixteenth century ordinary people would have noticed little change and maintained their local devotional and liturgical practices. It was only when there was a concerted programme of destruction of images and preaching against the power of the pope that people became alarmed, and there were some risings and protests.

Pugin is scornful of the way Henry VIII played off the jealousies of bishops and abbots against each other, in order to effect the dissolution of the monasteries, and comments, 'indeed such is the contemptible state in to which the old church men had fallen that some of the so-called reformers almost shine by their sides'.²¹

He views the Reformation as a movement to dispel dissatisfaction and corruption, and to re-establish holiness of life, and his most important objection to the changes is not a doctrinal one, but the view that they created a sense of isolation and exclusivity within the English church. Overall the blame for corruption, decay and the gradual 'descent' into Protestantism is laid firmly at the door of the monarchs and bishops who over the succeeding centuries never allowed a settled system of religious belief and practice to establish itself. It was late mediaeval Catholicism which had failed to keep its house in order; Protestantism was the result of this and could only be overcome by tackling the causes of decay. Pugin believed that if the Catholic church were to do this, 'we shall do much to heal, if not to remove altogether, the sad, the sickening divisions that now afflict this land'.²²

In an undated letter to his friend John Hardman in Birmingham Pugin sums up his position and refuses to give in:

18 Wedgwood 1985, cat no 97, f 68.

19 *Ibid*, leaf 58. John Wycliffe (c1330–84), the theologian and reformer, was critical of the church of his time.

20 Wedgwood 1985, cat no 97, f 54.

21 Wedgwood 1985, cat no 97, ff 46–5.

22 Pugin 1851 (*An earnest address*), pp 1–2.

My dear Hardman

How can you allow yourself to be deluded by that quibble about the English not be Catholics after Henry's assumption – they were no party to it – but they kept on with the old faith and practises – in every respect. No man can reliably call them Protestants for they were a subsequent creation in England. The monks became secular priests and abbots bishops and so on. There was nothing like a Protestant system started – when all this destruction went on – it is a quibble. Why not acknowledge the truth – it does not affect us – you can hardly answer the opposition letters. I get some quite abusive from our clergy. others quite enthusiastic from priests also. One friar told me any common schoolboy was a better judge of catholic history than I am – and so on – but I care little or nothing for all this for I am quite satisfied that it is the only system on which religion can revive in this country if not in any other. Religion had to contend during the Middle ages with the barbarism of the temporal system. When civilization improved paganism came in and destroyed all externals. Now the point is to revive religion under a peaceful and civilized system and to restore all the ecclesiastical glories of the olden time with a state of freedom.²³

There is no doubt that aspects of Pugin's reading of history have been verified by modern revisionist Reformation scholarship.²⁴ It was a reading which Pugin had been developing over many years of historical research, reinforced by his knowledge of continental ecclesiastical thought and his acquaintance with those such as J.R. Bloxam within the Church of England whom he regarded as holding Catholic principles.²⁵ Although Pugin immediately attracted strong censure from his own church and was only narrowly saved from the ignominy of having his *Earnest address* being placed on the Index at Rome, he remained unrepentant. In his letter to the *Tablet* he emphasises his belief that Catholics should be sympathetic to the Church of England:

...much more good is to be effected by proving to the English people how much they would hold in common with Catholic truth, by merely acting up to the ordinances and rubrics of their own Church, which have happily been retained as links of antient and better times; when I say there is much which deserves our respect, I refer to the manner in which the great collegiate foundations in the universities, the Catholic character of the liturgy; the preservation of so many ancient institutions of olden piety, and above all the noble efforts that have been made of late, within her pale, to restore the beauty and reverence of sacred edifices, and the general revival of Catholic principles and practices. Indeed, when we find so much practical Protestantism among many of those who profess the Catholic faith, we may hail the resuscitation of Catholic feelings and ideas among those who are nominally Protestant, with joy and thankfulness. But of course this is a comparative view, while the denial of one iota of Catholic doctrine would cut off a soul who had once admitted it in all its fullness; the reception of any one Catholic truth is a grace and blessing in those who are emerging from error, and should be to us a cause of thankfulness.

Let no one misrepresent my principles, or dare to affirm that I defend any one convinced of Catholic truth remaining separated one hour from unity, or the

²³ House of Lords Record Office, Pugin/Hardman correspondence, PUG/1/467.

²⁴ Duffy 1992; Rex 1993.

²⁵ John Rouse Bloxam (1807–91) was a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford and enthusiast for ecclesiastical antiquity.

obediences of those pastors holding jurisdiction from the Holy See. But at the same time we should exhibit great charity and sympathy towards those who, by realising the practices and ordinances of their own communion are advancing rapidly towards the old faith and the desire of unity: ought we not to be thankful, that in such a schism as that of the 16th century, so much of the old principle has been retained, that sincere men are continually led to embrace Catholic truth in all its fullness, simply by carrying out the principles in which they have been educated as Church of England men, to their legitimate conclusion? *This was my own case*, and it has been the case of hundreds, who would probably have remained utterly ignorant of Catholic principles, had their lot fallen *among ordinary Protestant sects*. And I am certain that if the English nation was prepared to receive its real doctrines, and act up to its discipline, their reconciliation to Catholic unity would soon be accomplished.²⁶

This reply did not satisfy those who still maintained that Protestants had taken Pugin's pamphlet as a defence of the Anglican establishment. Indeed one prominent Anglican, A.J.B. Beresford-Hope, in a letter in the *Morning post*, congratulated Pugin on not only recognising Anglican orders but also the genuine Catholicity of Anglican canons and liturgy, and concluded that 'it is not impossible he may again lapse (from the Church of Rome) into that of England.'²⁷

Pugin seems to have reached a point where he wanted to assert both the inherent Catholicity of the Church of England and the claims of the Church of Rome. He was being pulled in two directions at once, and wished to resolve this inner conflict by imagining the reunion of both churches. At the time of his last illness Pugin spent a day in London visiting churches and public buildings in the belief that he was effecting the union of the Roman and Anglican churches.²⁸ The inner conflicts, tribulations and overwork of his later years had finally begun to take their toll.

Even if Pugin's health had not given way, the growing professionalism of the Catholic establishment by now left little room for the amateur efforts of a layman like Pugin, who was increasingly viewed as a meddler and the discredited mouthpiece of Lord Shrewsbury's circle. This meant that Pugin became a marginal figure, as he himself was not unaware. His idealism continued unabated but he could only express it through publishing pamphlets rather than by exercising direct influence upon the new hierarchy. It is clear that his *Earnest address* contains some of the elements of a new historical work which he had begun drafting in late 1850 but never completed, and which would have marked a significant shift in his thought towards greater rapprochement with the Church of England. His last battle, to defend the establishment of the hierarchy while remaining loyal to his historical and architectural instincts and therefore claim more validity for the Church of England than was considered proper, may well have been one of the causes of his breakdown into insanity.

²⁶ *Tablet*, 15.3.1851.

²⁷ *Morning post* 5.3.1851, p 4, quoted in Belcher 1987, p 271.

²⁸ *Builder* x (25.9.1852), pp 605–6.

‘To revive, not invent’¹: A.W.N. Pugin and conservation at the Palace of Westminster

By Mark Collins

On the 14 September, 1852, A.W.N. Pugin died at his home at the Grange at Ramsgate in Kent. Later that same day, about ten miles southwards along the coast, the most illustrious man in Europe, the Duke of Wellington, also died, thereby beginning symbolically the eclipse of Pugin which was to last for over one hundred years. During those years, many of the buildings which Pugin designed, or to which he contributed, suffered demolition, mutilation or simply neglect, and where they did survive, he received little or no credit for his work. The original guidebooks to the Palace of Westminster, for example, produced by W. Warrington and Son² from 1847 until after the Second World War, do not contain his name on a single occasion, although they mention the architect Charles Barry together with various artists and sculptors. In this article, I should like to describe the fall and rise of Pugin, the ways in which the Pugin revival has manifested itself at the Palace of Westminster, and how attitudes have changed in the presentation of the splendid interiors.

The House of Lords’ chamber was opened by Queen Victoria in April 1847, and immediately became the masterpiece of both Pugin and Barry, much admired by contemporaries. The *Illustrated London news* described it as ‘without doubt, the finest specimen of Gothic civil architecture in Europe: its proportions, arrangement and decoration, being perfect.’³ Pugin’s writings had captured the public imagination too, and he had by now become a national figure. Such success was to be short-lived.

From 1849 onwards, the writings of John Ruskin (1819–1900) quickly stole the limelight from those of Pugin.⁴ Furthermore, after the 1870s, the Gothic idiom was generally confined to churches, and by the 1880s, the teachings on architectural conservation by William Morris (1834–96) began to place the architects of the Gothic Revival in a bad light. The fortnightly meetings of Morris’ Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings monitored unrestored churches in the hope of protecting them from attempts to ‘scrape’ away their mediaeval details. The First World War and the arrival of Modernism supplanted the principles which had maintained a spirit in architecture for over 60 years, and reduced to its lowest common denominator Pugin’s rule ‘that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety’.⁵ The new idiom placed a puritanical and overriding emphasis upon ‘no features’. The Goths, including both Pugin and Ruskin, were derided and then almost forgotten.⁶ Morris, whose socialist convictions and

1 from Pugin’s letter to his Oxford friend JR Bloxam, 13.9.1840: Belcher 2001, p 144.

2 Later known as Warrington & Co, London.

3 *Illustrated London news*, 17.4.1847, p 245.

4 From *The seven lamps of architecture*, 1849, onwards.

5 Pugin 1841a (*The true principles*), p 1.

6 The two-dimensional designs of the period, particularly wallpapers and textiles, lasted beyond the architecture: Cole & Son bought Pugin’s wallpaper patterns; Morris & Co was continued by Sanderson; and Bodley, Garner and GG Scott jnr’s Watts & Co never ceased production.

theories on conservation commended him to the modern age, survived into the twentieth century. Only a handful of books between the wars promoted the idea that Pugin was worthy of study, and that at the Palace there was to be found the largest collection of his secular work in existence. The most important of these works were Kenneth Clark's sympathetic essay on Pugin and the Houses of Parliament in *The Gothic Revival*, of 1928, and Michael Trappes-Lomax's biography *Pugin, a mediaeval Victorian*, of 1932, which recounted his life and work with a human touch. Sir Bryan Fell's guide to the Palace of 1930 mentioned Pugin's contribution on two occasions.⁷ A photographic record of the building with text by James Pope-Hennessy, written in the last months of the Second World War, also helped to redress the balance.⁸

A brief survey of the decoration of the Palace of Westminster, followed by an account of two refurbished rooms, may help to understand how the Pugin revival began and how its development was maintained. The old palace burnt down in a disastrous fire in 1834, and Charles Barry (1795–1860) won the competition to build a new one on a magnificent scale in 'either Gothic or Elizabethan' style.⁹ Although Pugin prepared the plans and drawings for Barry to enter the competition, and then the Estimates Drawings, ready by the beginning of 1837, he was not requested to return to provide designs for the interiors until 1844. By the time of the formal opening of the House of Commons' chamber in February 1852, only part of the detail inside the rest of the building had been executed, and so metalwork, stained glass, furniture, fabrics and wallpapers were needed for the bare rooms.¹⁰ All the encaustic tiles for the floors may have been produced by this date. Partly because of his feverish overwork on such a demanding project, Pugin began to lose control of his mental faculties at the end of 1851, and Barry died in the spring of 1860. Between these two dates, the remainder of the decorative scheme was established inside the building by employing the fine coterie of manufacturers, craftsmen and suppliers with whom Pugin had been so closely associated.¹¹ An annotated wallpaper sample book made up by Crace and Company which runs from December 1851 to October 1859 contains the papers used to decorate many of the principal and lesser areas of the Palace such as the committee rooms, the dining rooms, the residences and even the House of Commons' prison rooms.¹² The manufacture and use of Pugin wallpapers was therefore continued by Charles Barry after Pugin's death, along with his designs for metalwork, fabrics, woodwork and furniture. No new designs for fittings appear to have been attempted. For ten years following Barry's death, his third son, Edward (1830–80) – also an architect – was given the task of completing the Palace, but he worked in his own, High Victorian, style and did not finish any

7 Fell 1930, pp 22; 88.

8 Wild & Pope-Hennessy 1945, pp 3; 13–6; 30; 36. Even so, his name continued to be omitted from guide books, see, for example Dunnico 1951.

9 'Specification for New Accommodation', PP 1835 (262) xviii.

10 The House of Lords chamber, its lobby and the ante room known as the Prince's chamber had been completed and opened in 1847.

11 JG Crace and his son JD Crace for painted decoration, wallpapers, fabrics and carpets; John Hardman for metalwork and stained glass, and Herbert Minton for the encaustic floor tiles and ceramic tiles for the fireplaces. Another acquaintance, John Webb of Bond Street, made the early furniture.

12 V&A, E137 – 1939.

incomplete schemes using Pugin designs.¹³ From 1870 onwards, decorative schemes were under the control of the Office of Works which was charged by the Treasury to economise; some obliteration of patterns and colour took place in the form of painting over the wallpapers – even the flocks in some of the committee rooms. Corridors and offices were also painted with pale green during the aesthetic movement of the 1880s and 1890s, followed through the years by several coats of ‘ministry magnolia’. In addition, the replacement of patterned carpets by plain ones and the whitening of stencilled ceilings further denuded the original schemes. Elsewhere, an ‘off-the-shelf’ commercial brocade pattern was sometimes adopted, but many original papers were kept *in situ*, or reproduced.

The only major conservation of the decorative schemes in the early years of the twentieth century was the prolific repair or replacement over a protracted period after 1928 of any exterior stonework and statuary which had become loose or decayed. Such decay was brought about by both the poorly selected supply of the Anston limestone, and the atmospheric damage caused by decades of heavy pollution. Sir Philip Sassoon (1888–1939), First Commissioner of Works as well as a renowned aesthete, in 1937–8 decided to lighten the oak panelling which may have been darkened by the later Victorians.¹⁴ In the 1920s, Pugin’s flock paper *Tapestry* was hung in the royal gallery, where in the nineteenth century a further group of frescoes was to have been located. The new paper replaced a mixture of patterns, and matched its similar employment in the robing room. The pattern was, and still is, used in these rooms, as well as in the Norman porch and Prince Consort’s room, thereby uniting the first four of the royal rooms. Otherwise, between the wars, money was not released for major changes, and the building was set in aspic. The stained glass and the encaustic tiles and woodwork were left *in situ* and repaired – generally in keeping – where necessary. The sense of inertia was indicated, even as late as 1942, the year Tom Driberg became an MP, when he recalled that in the Commons library, spirit lamps still flickered on the desks in case members wished to seal a letter with wax.¹⁵

Bombing during the Second World War accounted for the loss of much in the Commons: the chamber itself, and the Commons’ lobby with its Pugin encaustic tiles and stained glass. A worthy replacement chamber and offices by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott (1880–1960) and a team of excellent craftsmen provided some consolation for much that disappeared. An exact copy of the nineteenth-century work was never proposed; a member of the body responsible for the interior design of the new chamber commented:

Any mere attempt to reproduce the Pugin-Gothic would, in my opinion, be an admission that the House of Commons of the 20th century is incapable of doing more than imitate the worst of the Age of No-taste.¹⁶

¹³ With regard to the interiors, Edward Barry was responsible for the decoration of the undercroft chapel, and for completing the Queen’s robing room.

¹⁴ It is difficult now to establish which areas were so treated, because of over-zealous restraining and polishing since.

¹⁵ Driberg 1950, p 176.

¹⁶ Somerset de Chair MP, in Select Committee on House of Commons (Rebuilding), 25.10.1944, p 143.

Perhaps the greatest loss in the years after the war was the replacement of most of the Pugin/Hardman gas-lights throughout the building – only three of the grandest chandeliers in the public areas remain – in the Prince’s chamber, peers’ lobby and central lobby.

The turn-around in the fortunes of Victorian studies, together with a move towards a greater understanding of Pugin, took place in the 1950s. Encouraged by Nikolaus Pevsner and John Summerson, the thorough researches of Phoebe Stanton (1915–2003) provided pioneering scholarly articles about Pugin.¹⁷ The publication in 1954, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, of *Early Victorian architecture in Britain* gave a visual survey of Pugin’s architecture, including the Palace, together with a brief critical analysis of his principles. The Houses of Parliament authorities instituted in 1956 the advisory committee on works of art with the purpose of looking after the important collection of paintings, fresco schemes, drawings, prints and sculpture. A catalogue of these works was begun in 1959 by the art adviser to the Ministry of Works, R.J.B. Walker, with supplementary lists added until 1977.¹⁸ On a national level, the Victorian Society, founded in 1959, began to question so much needless destruction of nineteenth-century architecture and decoration.

It was not until the 1970s that Pugin’s achievement was to be opened to a wider audience. Phoebe Stanton gave the first overall account of Pugin’s work in 1971 and *Victorian church art*, an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1971–2, gave a taste of the riches to be found amongst his decorative designs.¹⁹ Under the editorship of Michael Port, *The Houses of Parliament* of 1976 brought together several experts to write on various aspects of the design and decoration of the building, resulting in a remarkably complete work of reference.

In the field of architectural conservation, the demise of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in 1970 and the establishment two years later of the Property Services Agency within the newly created Department of the Environment led to a renewed interest in the Palace. Not only was a study initiated into how the exterior stonework could be cleaned – a pioneering report in this field – but also investigations were made into how the interiors might be refurbished. The Victoria and Albert Museum was asked by the Lord Great Chamberlain to advise on plans to redecorate the Moses room, a handsome committee room of the House of Lords. The reproduction of a Pugin double-flock wallpaper for this room in 1972 marked the beginning of a comprehensive and historically accurate revival of the interior decorative schemes throughout the Palace. Over the next two years, the members’ tea room and the Salisbury room were treated with a similarly careful approach to their decoration. In order to create extra space in the peers’ dining room, an ‘L’ shaped extension was made to the north-west of the original room recreating exactly every detail of the joinery and stencilling, and a Pugin pattern was reprinted for the

¹⁷ For example Stanton 1952; Stanton 1954.

¹⁸ Unpublished; copies throughout the Palace of Westminster. Today, a computer database is used by the curators to continually expand this extraordinarily comprehensive work. Curators of art have been allocated by the Ministry of Works and the Department of the Environment since the 1950s. A permanent curator for the Palace of Westminster collection was appointed in 1989.

¹⁹ Stanton 1971.

wallpaper. A complementary article in *Country life* by John Cornforth in 1976 explained and supported the recent conservation work at the Palace.²⁰

In 1974 the House of Lords published a report into the furniture in the House of Lords which was prepared by the department of furniture and woodwork at the V and A, or in particular by one of its curators, Clive Wainwright (1942–99).²¹ Wainwright, a lecturer and writer on nineteenth-century decorative arts, was amongst the most dedicated contributors to Pugin studies from the 1970s to the 1990s and he gathered a substantial amount of material relating to Pugin at the Palace, as well as publishing a new edition of Benjamin Ferrey's *Recollections* in 1978. Another principal expert on Pugin at this time, Alexandra Wedgwood, published her *Catalogue of the RIBA Drawings Collection: the Pugin family* in 1977.

A particular effort in the revival of Pugin and the reintroduction of the original schemes came from within the Houses of Parliament itself. Robert Cooke (1930–87), Conservative MP for Bristol West from 1957 until he retired after a busy career in May 1979, was a keen supporter of Pugin's work, and devoted to the recreation of his interiors.²² As a member of the Speaker's committee on accommodation in the Palace of Westminster 1960, of the select committee on the Palace of Westminster 1964, and of the House of Commons administration committee 1974–9, Cooke was well placed to influence the decoration. At the forefront of decision-making, his knowledge and energy brought about many changes to the attitude within, and to the physical appearance of, the Palace, which he regarded as 'probably the best loved building in the western world'.²³ Michael Heseltine made him special adviser to the Secretary of State for the Environment on the Palace of Westminster, the Parliamentary Estate and other government buildings in December 1979.²⁴ Cooke is credited with the discovery in the 1960s of the wood blocks which had been used to print the wallpaper at the Houses of Parliament and elsewhere. The blocks were owned by Cole and Son who had bought John Perry and Company, the firm once used by Crace. Pugin drew his patterns full size, and sent them to Crace to cut the blocks in highly durable fruit-wood. The same blocks are often still in use today. Parliament was now ideally placed to create the new decorative schemes which would transform the interior which had 'dull cream paint and brown linoleum almost everywhere'.²⁵ Between 1975 and 2005, 75 rooms or corridors were repapered using about 20 different blocks.

Two rooms in the Palace which were redecorated by Robert Cooke represent widely different examples of the Pugin revival. The first room to which I shall refer, situated in the annexe of Westminster Hall and used for conference purposes, is known as the Jubilee room, and has an ambiguous place in the Pugin revival. The annexe was designed by John Loughborough Pearson (1817–97) and completed in 1888, but a bomb planted by the Irish Republican Army in 1974 caused a serious fire

²⁰ *Country life* 11.11.1976, pp 1368–71.

²¹ *Furniture in the House of Lords*, HMSO, London, 1974.

²² Cooke was knighted in 6.1979.

²³ Cooke papers, parliamentary archives.

²⁴ Heseltine was Minister at the Department of the Environment, 1979–83. Cooke praised him for promoting the work carried out at the Palace.

²⁵ Cooke's own description on his arrival as an MP, Cooke papers, parliamentary archives.

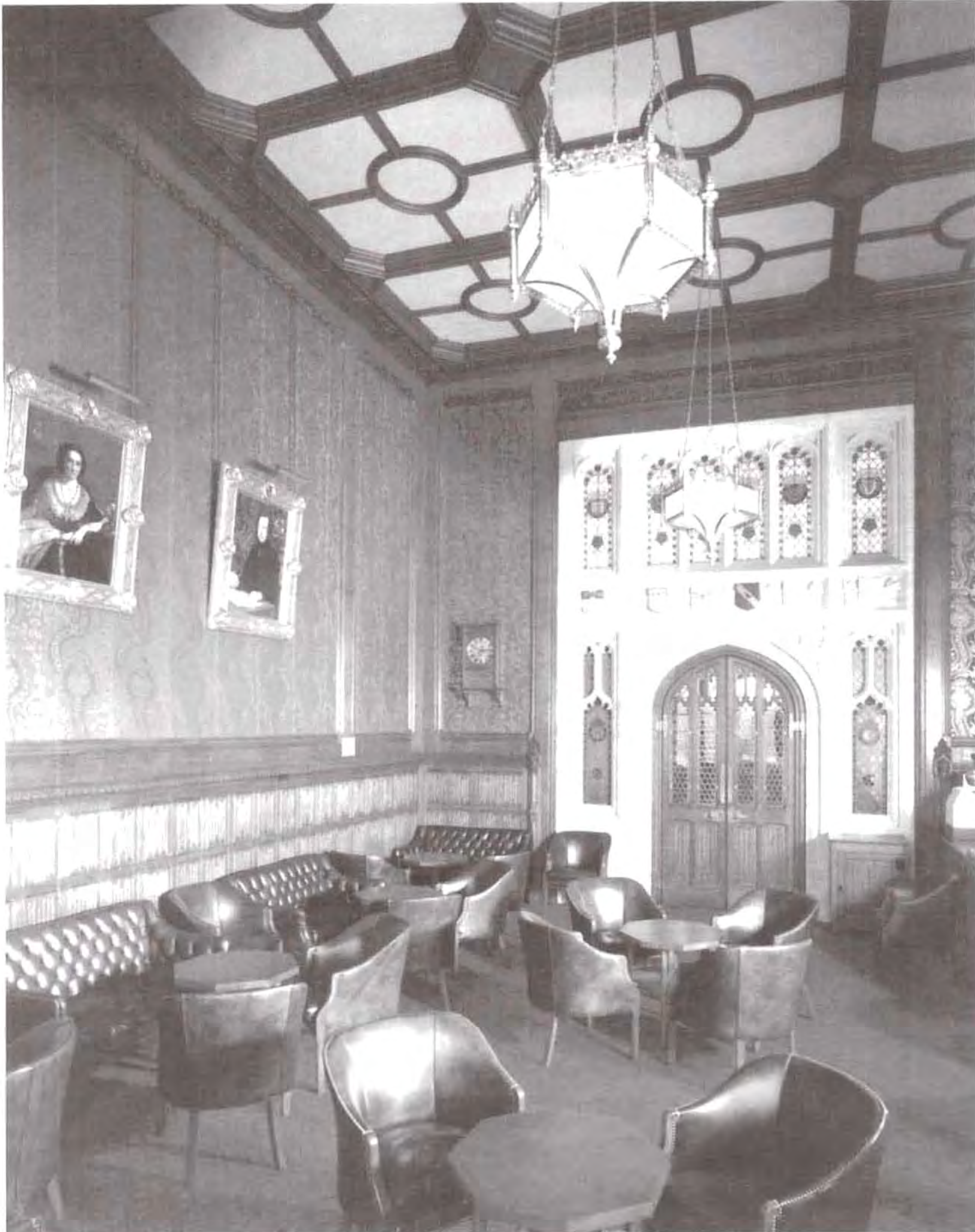


Figure 25: The Pugin room in 1979 before the addition of a chandelier. Notice the Tapestry wallpaper, portraits of A.W.N. and Jane Pugin, and the coats of arms above the door

Palace of Westminster collection.

leaving the northern section of the building burnt out. Slow progress meant that the room was not completely refurbished until 1977, but instead of producing a Pearson imitation, or even a Modernist interior, a Pugin pastiche was created instead. It appears that Pearson's plain teak panelling and richly carved doors in renaissance Gothic with an arts and crafts touch were not even considered for reproduction, but that an overenthusiastic use of Pugin now took precedence. The overall result does work tolerably well, but it remains Pugin where Pugin never was, or could have been. For an architect who condemned 'unworthy deception' and 'abominable sham', the methods applied here are too far removed from his principles even for today's highly developed sense of irony.



Figure 26: The Speaker's state bed in Speaker's house. Reproduction hangings were made for the bed, and it was returned to the Palace of Westminster in 1981

Palace of Westminster collection.

The formation of the Pugin room was quite different in spirit to the Jubilee room, and represents more truly the move towards an authentic approach to conservation at the time [figure 25]. The room was planned by Robert Cooke and opened by George Thomas, then the Speaker of the House of Commons.²⁶ Cooke later wrote that it had been 'dedicated to the memory of Augustus Welby Pugin'.²⁷ The room, completed in the first flush of the Conservative landslide of May, 1979, may indeed be a homage to Pugin, but it is also a time capsule reflecting a potent aspect of the late 1970s. The treatment of the room was a foretaste of the changes that were about to alter the mood of the country; the attempt to return to perceived 'Victorian values' after the

²⁶ Speaker, 1976–83.

²⁷ Cooke 1987, p 385.

political and social upheavals of the 1970s, the desire to conserve and revive historic buildings and monuments after decades of damage and neglect, and to restore a sense of national pride.²⁸ Modernism had faltered, and if we tend to look back in times of crisis, then the oil shortage, three-day week and the 1978 'winter of discontent' may be said to have inadvertently advanced the practical idea that Victorian traditions were once again trustworthy.

The room had been used as a peers' committee room up to this point, but now it was turned into a reception room and bar for MPs and officers of the House and their guests, and it was imbued by Cooke with a sense of luxury and relaxation associated with a gentleman's club. The room was redecorated in two phases: the first, in 1978, saw the introduction of new furniture and a specially woven carpet, and portraits of Barry, Pugin, and Pugin's wife Jane. The second phase, in 1979, was concerned with the painting of the ceiling and the installation of a chandelier.

The wallpaper chosen for the room was the aforementioned *Tapestry*, dating from about 1850, one of the richest flock papers designed by Pugin, and one based on Italian figured velvet of the renaissance. The design is, in fact, close to the fabric woven for a cope made for St. Augustine's abbey, Ramsgate. 'Flock papers are admirable substitutes for the ancient hangings' he had written in *The true principles*, and it represents one of three types of pattern typically produced by Pugin including brocades, and geometrical patterns sometimes combined with heraldry. The size of the pattern depended on the size of the room for which it was intended. The Pugin Room had originally a simple grained ceiling, but its matching room in the Commons' library further north along the river front, also with a bay window and known as the Oriel room, had original ceiling stencil-patterns by Pugin. The Oriel room patterns of roses surrounded by leaves and small flowers which had been applied by the firm of J.G. Crace were traced and reproduced on the Pugin room ceiling.²⁹ A large gilt brass and crystal chandelier which had once hung in the great dining room at Alton Towers in Staffordshire was hung in the centre of the ceiling.³⁰ The furniture was of the late Victorian style, whilst a niche was created in the bay window with seating raised on a dais. The portrait by John Herbert of Pugin,³¹ dated 1845, hangs side-by-side with the painting of his third wife, Jane Knill, by George Freezor, and dated 1859.³² The frame made by Crace which still surrounds the Pugin portrait was copied in the 1850s for the portrait of Jane, so that they could be hung as a pair, as once they had been in the drawing room at the Grange. On the opposite wall, the 1849 full-length Henry Pickersgill portrait of Charles Barry smiles benignly across the room at his brilliant assistant.³³ In a further act of commemoration, three

28 The quotation is from the prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, during the election campaign of 1983.

29 Wedgwood 1985, cat no 454. It would appear that no further ceiling patterns were employed after Pugin's death, except those in Speaker's house.

30 Commissioned for the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury and made by Hardman, c1846. It was removed when most of the fixtures and fittings were taken out of Alton Towers in 1951. It is similar to the chandelier still *in situ* at Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire.

31 WOA 2586, acquired for the Palace in 1982 with financial aid from the National Heritage Memorial Fund. The painting had been on loan by the family to the RIBA since the 1940s until brought to the Palace by Cooke.

32 WOA L116, on loan from a private collection. The painting had joined Pugin's portrait at the RIBA in the 1970s.

33 WOA 2729, exhibited at the RA 1849; stayed in the possession of the Barry family until 1937, although it was bequeathed to the Palace collection in 1918 by Barry's son, Sir John Wolfe-Barry, subject to the life interest of his widow who died in 1937.



Figure 27: The interior of the former workshop of Cole and Son, Islington, in 1991 during the blocking of the wallpaper for the Prime Minister's room. To the left, ink is prepared before being applied to the blocks (shown behind). To the right, a block is applied to part of a roll of paper using suspended callipers and then pressed down by hand

Palace of Westminster collection.

of the six blank stone shields above the door were painted with the coats of arms of Pugin, Barry, and Giles Gilbert Scott. Speaker Thomas was also given this honour, and in addition his crest – a miner's lamp – was painted above the side door. Following his death, the coat of arms of Sir Robert Cooke was added on another of the remaining blank shields.

Flanking the doorway in the corridor outside were placed a pair of tall brass fourteen-light candelabra, about two metres high, and in 'Hardman Gothic'. The items were a typical acquisition by Cooke. Recent research into the engraved inscription has shown that the candelabra were originally commissioned and given in 1903 by the congregation to their church (probably Christ Church, Bournemouth), run by the Society of Jesus, in memory of Sir William Perceval Heathcoat (1826–1903), a Catholic convert.³⁴

Altogether the Pugin room is a success; the chandelier may be a little overscaled, but the room imitates closely the spirit of the times, and this is usually a mark of success; the creators of the *décor* could be justly proud.³⁵

Cooke was also instrumental in founding the architectural archive at the Palace in 1980, and, with the judicious appointment of Alexandra Wedgwood as its archivist

³⁴ 6th baronet, JP for Hampshire, and father of Rev William Arthur Heathcote, a priest of the Society of Jesus at St Wilfrid's church, Preston, Lancashire.

³⁵ The Pugin revival coincided with the Morris revival. Not only did Morris & Co fabrics become popular again in many households across the country, but in 1978, a silk damask was rewoven for state rooms at St James's Palace in order to return them to an original scheme conceived by Morris in 1881. The Victorian Society's 20th anniversary was held there in 1979 in order to enjoy the new scheme.

in charge, all the known information on the building was collected or copied, and catalogued until her retirement 18 years later.³⁶ In addition to her exceptional contribution to the understanding of both Pugin and the Palace, she also produced at this time *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family*, one of a series in *Catalogues of architectural drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1985). The momentum of the revival at the Palace continued, and further work was undertaken at a pace. Michael Heseltine, as Secretary of State for the Environment, ordered the cleaning and repair of the exterior stonework at a total cost of £4 million.³⁷ The House of Lords chamber ceiling was given an excellent albeit necessarily fundamental restoration by Donald W. Insall & Associates in 1981–4 because of serious damage by heat from the former gas lighting, and the throne canopy was regilded. The Speaker's state bed was discovered in south Wales and returned to the Palace in 1981 for display in a room specially redecorated for it on the principal floor of Speaker's house [figure 26]. In the following year, also in Speaker's house, an original painted ceiling in one of the state rooms was rediscovered under hardboard panelling, and subsequently cleaned. Corridors were also papered, but this is now seen to be historically inaccurate, because the corridors were simply painted – the rooms in the Palace followed a strict hierarchy of decoration (see News and comment).

Sir Robert Cooke died from motor neurone disease in January 1987, but the drive and initiative for the continuing programme was then provided by the accommodation and works committee, together with the works of art committees of the Houses of Commons and Lords. The House of Commons committee was continued for many years under the enthusiastic chairmanship of Sir Patrick Cormack, ably assisted by Malcolm Hay as curator.³⁸ In April 1992 the Department of the Environment and the Property Services Agency were dissolved, and the care of the Palace was handed over to the Parliamentary Works Directorate serving both Houses, but directly under the jurisdiction of the Serjeant at Arms department.³⁹ A report by Sir Robin Ibbs on the House of Commons' services in November 1991 recommended a ten to fifteen-year phased programme of work to upgrade the accommodation and standards of Members' services, including rudimentary matters such as mechanical and electrical installations, kitchens and lavatories. A conservation architect was appointed to maintain good standards. Terry Jardine was the first to assume this role, and made a special study of the Minton tiles throughout the building which had suffered from 150 years of wear. The current conservation architect, Adam Watrobski, has supervised the reproduction of replacement tiles for part of St. Stephen's Hall. A controversial project was the redecoration of the Lord Chancellor's residence in 1997. Much political mileage was made from the lavish expense of the wallpapers, although omitting them or the hand-block technique which created their unique texture would have been simply a false economy [figure 27]. An organ in the chapel was built in 1999 employing a plate by Pugin from Sir John Sutton's *A short account of organs* of 1847 (the organ shown in the plate had been

³⁶ The architectural archive is maintained by the parliamentary archives.

³⁷ The phased work was undertaken between 1981 and 1994.

³⁸ Chairman from 1987–2001; author of *Westminster: Palace and Parliament*, 1981.

³⁹ Parliamentary Corporate Bodies Act, 1992, ch 27. In 2002 the Directorate was split into the Parliamentary Works Services, and the Parliamentary Estates Directorates.

originally left as a design concept only). The 16 first-floor committee rooms were refurbished between 1998 and 2005, and new flock papers made for them followed careful research into the originals; the papers which they replaced had been chosen by Cooke in the early 1980s. Stonework cleaning is continuing today on the inner courtyards.

The production in 2005 of the Palace of Westminster Conservation Plan attempts to raise further the standards which have been so successfully developed over the last 35 years, and enhances the approach taken to the significance and vulnerability of the fabric. It warns of over-Puginisation:

In the later 20th century, a lot of Pugin inspired design was carried out which, while reflecting the style, was not designed by him.⁴⁰

This criticism refers to misplaced Puginisation; for example, modernist office suites with flush doors have been in the past embellished with Pugin pastiche door furniture! As time and funds permit, lost decorations and fittings will continue to be copied and installed, but only in appropriate areas of the building.

A high-point of the Pugin revival came with two exhibitions on Pugin: one at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and one at the Bard Graduate Center for the Decorative Arts in New York, during 1994 and 1995 respectively. Both were coorganised by Clive Wainwright and Paul Atterbury. The foundation of the Pugin Society in 1995 by Catriona Blaker and Judith Crocker at Ramsgate, concentrates the resources of specialists and enthusiasts in the study of the Pugin family and close associates, in the study of their work, and in the protection of their work. The meticulous restoration of his home, the Grange, completed in 2006, further enhances Pugin's reputation as one of the most celebrated architects, designers – and Roman Catholics – of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁰ 'Palace of Westminster conservation plan', vol 1, 2.2.2. (2005, unpublished; copy in Parliamentary Estates Directorate archive).

The Church of St. Francis of Assisi, (1866–1885), Gorton, Manchester

by Roderick O'Donnell

E.W. Pugin (1834–1875) succeeded to A.W.N. Pugin's architectural practice aged 18 in 1852. Most of his work was for the Roman Catholic Church in these islands.¹ He was responsible for the design of four massive churches: one in Belgium; two in Ireland; and St Francis of Assisi at Gorton in Manchester. The pilgrimage church at Dadizele, Belgium (1856–1894), St Colman's cathedral, Cove, Ireland (1859–1916), and SS John and Augustine, Dublin (1862–1896) were all completed by other hands: the two latter by his brother-in-law George Coppinger Ashlin.² Gorton and the Augustinian church were both built in two campaigns, starting at the west or entrance end, and concluding with apsed east ends; the apparently seamless completions were by E.W. Pugin's successor practices, run by Ashlin after 1869 and, after Pugin's death in 1875, by his brothers P.P and C. Pugin. At Gorton, as at Belmont Abbey, the younger brothers worked with Ashlin and faithfully continued E.W. Pugin's intentions: an engraving of the completed church at Gorton is prominently labelled 'Pugin, Ashlin and Pugin, architects'.

St Francis of Assisi, Gorton, was built in two campaigns: from the west end (1863–6), and from the east (1875–85). Churches of this type were built for orders of friars who required large, cheap, city-centre churches. At Gorton, Pugin built in the late geometric Gothic style of c1250: of all the English Gothic styles, it was the closest to that of the continent; and the use of brick and the design of the apse at the east end suggest the great brick churches of northern Europe, particularly the Low Countries. Indeed, this branch of the Franciscans, the Recollects, came to Manchester from Belgium via Cornwall, as Michael Egan has shown.³ This would seem to explain the friars' choice of E.W. Pugin as architect: his reputation in Catholic England, and especially locally with the de Trafford family at Barton (for whom he began a mausoleum in 1863) was at its height. Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Bart, married Annette Talbot, the sister of the seventeenth Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1855⁴ and E.W. Pugin went on to build local churches for both husband and wife.

The friars arrived in Manchester in 1860 and occupied firstly the monastery around three sides of a courtyard of which the fourth, the church, was built 1863–6.⁵ The local red brick is relieved by stone bands; and the windows and doors are also of stone, so that the building declares its structural forms in a typical high Victorian fashion. Pugin carefully emphasised the structural logic of the building, particularly its buttressed west front: its crowning achievement was the great bellcote of the west

1 See O'Donnell 2004.

2 On EW Pugin's links with Belgium, see de Maeyer & Verpoest 2000, especially O'Donnell 2000. For Ireland, see O'Donnell 1995.

3 Egan 2005.

4 *Illustrated London news*, (1855), pp 92–3.

5 The friars' arrival is recorded in the *Tablet*, 1860, pp. 117. For the monastery, see the *Builder*, 1863, p 776; *Building news*, 11, 1863, p 785. The church is described in the *Builder*, 1863, pp 365, 416, 645–6; 1864, pp 372–3; *Building News*, 13, 1866, p 402.



Figure 28: St Francis of Assisi, Gorton, from the north west
 Photograph: Len Grant. By kind permission of the Trustees of the Monastery of St Francis and Gorton Trust.

gable (of which the current bellcote and copper-clad finial are a reduced version) [figure 28]. Height and attenuation were also emphasised by the steep pitch of the roofs and the use of metalwork brattishing, finials, and crosses. The massing of the pentagonal east end is equally striking: a two-storey elevation, its clerestory varied by the insertion of a pair of dormers to give increased lateral lighting to the sanctuary.⁶

The essence of the building can be defined internally as a massive, single-cell nave-and-chancel under one roof height, dramatically lit from large west-end and east-end apse windows and from the clerestory. The plan is a nave, with shallow aisles; the chancel arch is almost at full height; there is a high altar with

two side altars. An important pastoral role of the church was that of providing confessions, and confession rooms were housed in a distinct outer aisle where priests would sit for hours; the scale of this provision in the church is lavish.

The dizzy attenuation of scale is also characteristic of the architect: slim piers rest on massive bases, supporting simplified capitals. Massively overexpressed 'double backed' roof trusses disappear into the apex, over 100 feet above the nave floor. At this scale the roof of the church literally appeared to sail over the mean housing and workshops that surrounded it. Appropriately, the Latin root of the word nave, *navicella*, means a ship; Gorton was veritably to be an ark of succour and salvation for the local Roman Catholics. Some have compared it to the great mills of Manchester, and O.H.J. Pearcey of English Heritage has dubbed it 'a mill for souls'. This was certainly its role until the friars left in 1972.⁷

Although these Franciscans called their house a monastery, the plan of the church is not really monastic. The friars are not strictly monks, and their vocation was active rather than contemplative, with an emphasis on preaching and pastoral work rather than the singing of the mass and the office in choir. The church therefore has no deep monastic choir such as we are familiar with in English cathedrals, but is finished by the shallow apse, which, screened by an enormous altar, forms the cli-

⁶ For the completion of the east end of the church by the architects Pugin, Ashlin and Pugin see the *Builder* 1875, pp 239 and 241; 1878, pp 364 and 393.

⁷ For a visual history of the church see *Gorton monastery* 2004.

max of the great preaching nave [figure 29]. The enormous and lavishly carved high altar and reredos is of the 'benediction altar' type, and stylistically can be attributed to P.P. Pugin.⁸ Easy and dramatic visual access to the sanctuary was an essential aspect of E.W. Pugin's church interiors, derived from counter-Reformation and baroque practice. He had evolved the single-cell, apsed plan at the church of La Salette, Liverpool (1859–1860); and here at Gorton and, on the other side of Manchester, in the Church of All Saints, Barton-upon-Irwell, (1863–6) for the de Traffords, he elaborated on this form. He thus solved the conundrum of the 'rood screen controversy' – the insistence on rood screens to divide the sanctuary from the nave – that broke out in 1848

between his father and those Catholic commentators and clergy who were baffled by the strictly neo-mediaeval sub-divided interiors of A.W.N. Pugin's churches, and particularly his rood screens.⁹

Gorton must contain the essence of what E.W. Pugin intended to achieve in large church buildings. Probably more than any other of his churches, Gorton established its architect as a figure quite independent of any tutelage to his more famous father, and as a high Victorian Gothic revival architect of singular personality and originality. While working to his father's structural principles, particularly as explained in the latter's *The true principles of pointed or Christian architecture* of 1841, his independence of mind in planning, form, scale, and in the pairing down of Gothic mouldings – particularly his arcade piers – remind us that he spoke of himself as designing in 'Modern Gothic' and being 'against copyism'. It is thus vitally important that the physical conservation of the fabric, and search for an acceptable and new use, is now found for this, one of E.W. Pugin's most original church buildings.



Figure 29: The east end of St Francis of Assisi, Gorton, c1960
Private collection.

⁸ P.P. Pugin's altars are summarised in Anson 1965; Gorton is illustrated on p 196.

⁹ See O'Donnell 2005.

Aspects of Hardman's Glass Studio practice in the late 1860s

by Brian Andrews

As stained glass designers and manufacturers Hardman's are real stayers. Entering the field in 1845 at A.W.N. Pugin's urging, following his progressive dissatisfaction with Warrington, Willement and Wailes, the famous Birmingham firm has outlasted virtually all the great nineteenth-century trade firms, most of which came after it.¹ With an outstanding tradition of excellence it still flourishes, after more than 160 years, as John Hardman Studios, at Lightwoods House, off Hagley Road, Birmingham, under current director Neil Phillips.²

After Pugin's death in 1852 Hardman's stained glass business continued to expand under the guidance of his son-in-law J.H. Powell as chief designer. Powell was instrumental in the firm's relocation from 166 Great Charles Street to 43 Newhall Hill.³ Here glass-related work increased steadily to 95 jobs in 1858, 116 in 1859, and – a decade later – a total of 183 jobs in the 1868–9 financial year, for a total turnover in that year of £13,655.17s.4d.⁴ In 1868–9 the firm was averaging a remarkable one completed order every couple of days. These ranged from small jobs, like repairing breakage or altering the date inscription on a window at no charge, to several commissions for four and five-light windows with traceried heads, each costing around £300 to £400.⁵

The overwhelming bulk of this 1868–9 output was destined for customers in the British Isles, but a few windows were for clients further afield. Two went to Calcutta; one to Montevideo; one to Dresden; one to California; and one to Tasmania.⁶ This last was a five-light chancel east window [figure 30] for St Mary's cathedral, Hobart, the first section of this building having been opened on 4 July 1866.⁷ The window was commissioned as a joint memorial to Robert William Willson (1794–1866), first Bishop of Hobart Town, and his vicar general, Fr William Hall (1807–1866).⁸ As a local newspaper noted at the time of its installation in late September 1869: 'An additional interest is attached to the window from the fact of the various subjects having been originally suggested by the late Bishop Willson; for amongst His

I am grateful to the St Mary's Cathedral Restoration Commission for permission to reproduce images which first appeared in the conservators' final report, 'Restoration of John Hardman chancel window, St Mary's cathedral, Hobart', April 2005, and to Gerry Cummins, a leading Australian stained glass conservator, for many illuminating discussions about the Hardman production methods revealed during the conservation process. I salute his detective skills.

1 These later firms include Ward & Nixon (later Ward & Hughes), 1836 to late 1920s; James Powell & Sons, 1844–1973; Clayton & Bell, 1855–1993; Heaton, Butler & Bayne, 1855–1953; Lavers, Barraud & Westlake, 1855–1921; Morris, Marshall & Faulkner (later Morris & Co.), 1861–1940; Burlison & Grylls, 1868–1953; and C.E. Kempe, 1869–1934.

2 In the aftermath of the serious fire at its Newhall Hill studios on 13.2.1970, which gutted the core of the building, the firm moved to Lightwoods House in 1972, where it continues in the design, manufacture and conservation of stained glass. See Doolan 2004, p 31.

3 Doolan 2004, p 22.

4 Birmingham City Archives (BCA), Hardman archive, Hardman collection indexes and glass day book, 1.1863–6.1870.

5 *Idem.*

6 *Idem.*

7 To the designs of William Wilkinson Wardell.

8 A close friend of Pugin and, insofar as the meagre resources of his diocese would permit, a prolific patron of Hardman's. See Andrews 2002 (exhibition catalogue).

Lordship’s papers was found a sketch of the window, with the names written by his own hand, of the sacred mysteries he wished to see represented.’⁹

The main lights depicted the annunciation, the nativity, the crucifixion, the resurrection and the ascension. Made at a time when – some would argue – the brilliance and transparency of Hardman’s stained glass reached its apogee of technical perfection, the window revealed in its impeccable composition and dramatically posed figures the hallmarks of Powell’s maturity as a glass designer.¹⁰ The cost to the Diocese of Hobart of the window itself was £280, with a further £16 for 22 copper wire guards and 40 galvanised wrought iron saddle bars, which, with an additional £10.15s.0d for cases, packing and shipping expenses, brought the total of Hardman’s bill to £306.15s.¹¹

Hardman’s costs to produce this window are revealing of the cost breakdown between the various production departments and also the firm’s mark-up on stained glass:¹²

	£	s	d
Measure of glass 158 [square] ft at 4s	31	12	0
Cutting	6	6	10½
Painting	52	14	2
Leading	13	2	4½
Burning	5	5	4
Cementing	1	6	4
Expenses	11	0	8½
Cartoons	19	16	11½
	£141	4	9
Copper Wire Guards 22 pieces			
Weight 92 lbs at ¼	6	2	8
Making 166½ [square] ft at 3d	2	1	7½
Expenses	8	2½	
	£8	12	6

The total cost to Hardman’s was thus £149.17s.3d, with the result that the price to its Tasmanian customer represented a mark-up of some 100%.¹³ Interestingly, the actual glass was costed purely by the total area of the window, without taking into account variances between the different types of glass used in its production.¹⁴ Aside from the cost of the glass itself, the biggest expenses were not unexpectedly incurred in the

9 Tasmanian Catholic standard, vol iii no 27, 9.1969, p 41.
10 The emotional impact of the distraught Mary Magdalene wrapped around the foot of the cross in the crucifixion light succinctly illustrates Powell’s view that: ‘Glass drawing ... actually requires exaggeration of action, ...the meaning you could convey to a friend a few inches off by a look, requires at a few yards the movement of a finger, and at still greater distance the violent gesture of an arm’: Builder, 29.8.1857, p 493, quoted in Shepherd 2002, p 26.
11 BCA, Hardman archive, glass day book, 1.1863–6.1870, 24.4.[1869].
12 BCA, Hardman archive, stained glass costs 1869, glass cost no 121, 1869: ‘To Catholic Cathedral Hobart Town East Window of 5 lights & tracery’.
13 Clearly stained glass was a very profitable business. A limited analysis by the author of Hardman metalwork production costs in the 1840s has revealed a mark-up of around 45% (Andrews 2002, pp 222–3).
14 This is still studio practice: information provided by Gerry Cummins. As distinct from the average costs per square foot for the ‘raw’ glass, Victorian stained glass makers might quote different figures per square foot for the over-all product based on its quality and complexity. See Cheshire 2004, pp 44; 62–4.

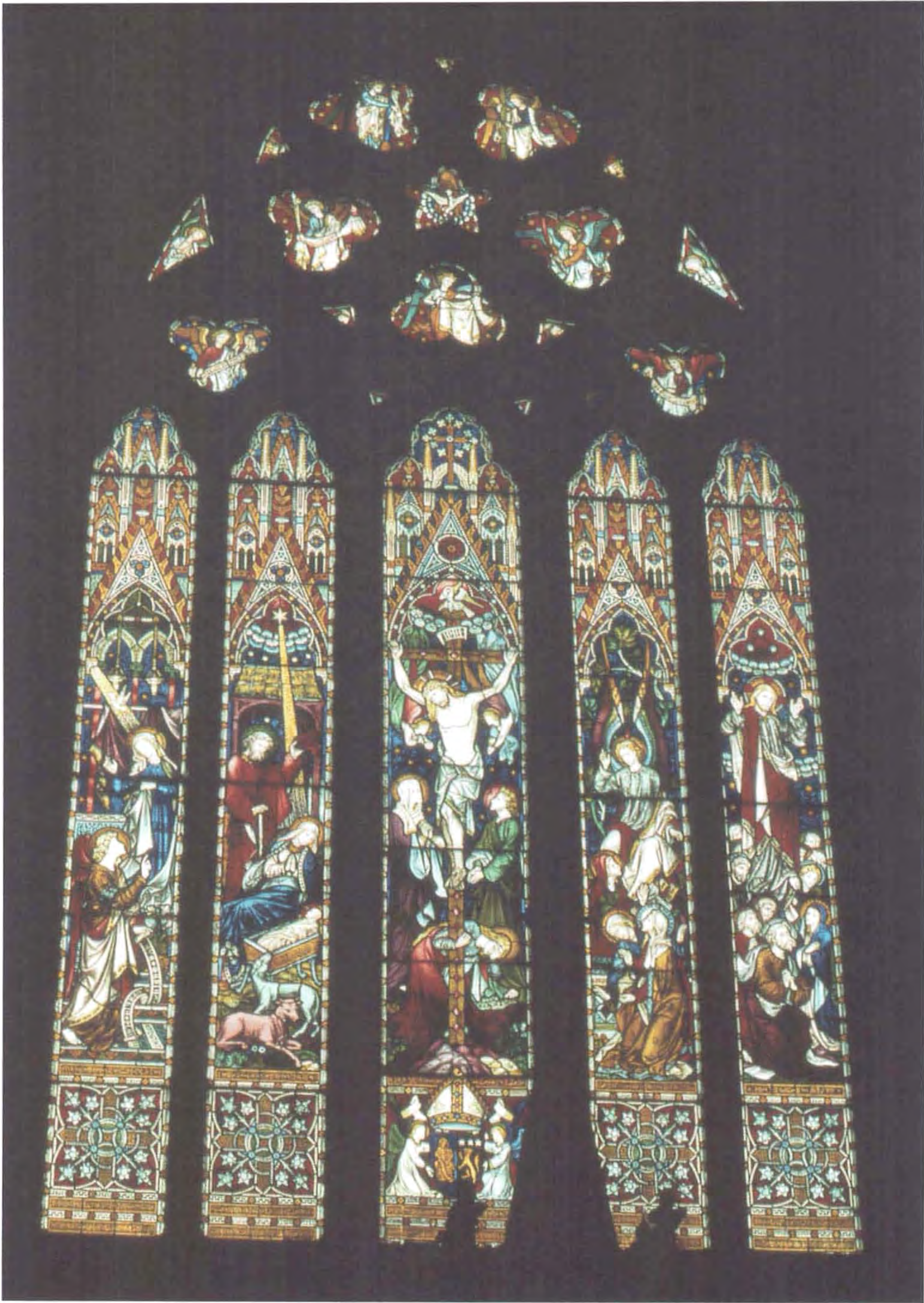


Figure 30: Hardman's 1869 chancel east window, St Mary's cathedral, Hobart
Photograph: Brian Andrews, November 1997.



Figure 31: A piece of cloud with a defect caused during the blowing of the glass



Figure 32: A large gas bubble that caused the glass subsequently to crack



Figure 33: A 'stone' or impurity in the angel's forehead



Figure 34: Glass scribed for a complex shape but used for a simpler piece because of a large bubble, through which it later cracked



Figure 35: Off-cuts of mustard glass used for daisies in the sacrificial border



Figure 36: Selection of different shades of mustard glass to give depth to Mary Magdalene's robe

All photographs: Gerry Cummins & Jill Stehn Pty Ltd.



Figure 37: A fragile detail achieved solely by grozing



Figure 38: A complex piece of glass cutting by grozing



Figure 39: Ill-fitting adjacent pieces of glass



Figure 41: Under-fired glass showing paint not fully adhered



Figure 40: Poorly cut glass, its edge not completely covered by the lead calme

All photographs: Gerry Cummins & Jill Stehn Pty Ltd.



Figure 42: Heavily over-fired glass



Figure 45: Glass that failed to snap along the score line



Figure 48: Two angel spandrels painted as left-hand pieces, rather than left and right-hand ones. The one at right had to be inserted back to front in Hobart



Figure 43: Severely buckled glass



Figure 44: A glass painter's error: 'MONUMENTUS' instead of 'MONUMENTUM'



Figure 46: The wrong quatrefoil flower (upper left-hand) initially scratched out, and then corrected



Figure 47: An incomplete star (lower right-hand)

All photographs: Gerry Cummins & Jill Stehn Pty Ltd.

production of the cartoons and in the glass painting, the two activities requiring painstaking and critical artistic input.

With regard to expenses, Hardman's were not untypical of studios right down to the present time in wringing maximum usage from existing cartoons so as to minimise costs. Thus, the crucified Christ design in the central light had been used at least once before, in the east window of St Botolph's, Bradenham, Buckinghamshire, a commission completed in December 1864.¹⁵ And the border to the lights, a wavy trail interspersed with daisies, was a Hardman standard one, and can be seen for example in the chancel south window of Charles Hansom's St George's Church, Buckland, Oxfordshire (1846–7).

In October 2004, direly in need of immediate attention, this window was removed from St Mary's cathedral for conservation. The work was undertaken by noted Queensland stained glass conservators Gerry Cummins and Jill Stehn, assisted by Tasmanian conservator Gavin Merrington, and reinstalled by Easter 2005. The very detailed attention paid to the window in the process of its condition reporting, dismantling, cleaning and relighting yielded many interesting insights into Hardman's glass studio practice in the late 1860s.

Hardman's Glass Studio

By the time that the Hobart window came to be manufactured, the Hardman facility at Newhall Hill had become a substantial industrial enterprise that, already by the mid 1860s, was employing 'from 80 to 100 hands'.¹⁶ Inevitably, given the firm's large throughput, many workers were being employed on different aspects of a job – glass cutting, glass painting, assembly – at any one time. With no one person likely to have detailed oversight of the whole process, by contrast with small contemporary stained glass studios, variations in the quality of workmanship had to occur, as between the painting of hands and faces by the top craftsmen and the repetitive painting of sacrificial borders by 'apprentices'.¹⁷ Likewise, adjacent areas of glass in a design might not necessarily be cut by the same worker, leading to ill fitting of glass pieces and the consequent need to resort to *ad hoc* patching in the leading phase of the window's assembly. These and other illustrations of the impact of Hardman's transition in little over two decades from a smallish enterprise to a large and highly successful trade firm are to be found in the Hobart window. They are discussed below.

Glass quality and usage

If a term were being sought to best characterise Hardman's usage of glass in its production processes during the 1860s it could well be frugality.¹⁸ One aspect of this can be seen in the inclusion of glass with defects that might later trigger a fracture. A piece from a cloud in the crucifixion light has a substantial defect, made during the blowing of the glass [figure 31]. Prudent contemporary studio practice is to cut around and discard such pieces, but Hardman's did not. Amazingly the piece is still intact, probably because of its small size.

¹⁵ BCA, Hardman archive, glass day book, 1.1863–6.1870, 13.12.[1864], p 263.

¹⁶ Powell 1866.

¹⁷ Sacrificial borders on stained glass windows are just that: areas that can be 'sacrificed' without prejudicing the integrity of the overall design, and can be easily replaced, in the fitting and/or removal of windows.

¹⁸ I am grateful to Gerry Cummins for pointing out this common thread in much of Hardman's choice and use of glass.

Not so successful was the decision to use another defective piece of glass – containing a large trapped air bubble – for an angel’s face in one of the tracery lights. In the middle years of the nineteenth century some stained glass designers and glass manufacturers were trying to recapture the essential qualities of mediaeval glass. These desirable qualities included not merely richness and brilliance of colour but also something of the imperfections and unevenness in the glass texture, such as streakiness and small trapped bubbles.¹⁹ In modern ‘antique’ glass the bubbles are obtained by ‘withdrawing the blowpipe from the ‘pot’ before the mixture of silica, sand and borax, and colouring matter has boiled itself free of sulphurous gases formed in the heat of the chemical combination in the pot’.²⁰ The angel’s face has small bubbles distributed throughout it, a desired property, but also the very large bubble. This latter assisted in the piece of glass breaking across the neck and chin of the angel [figure 32].

Another angel has a ‘stone’ embedded in the forehead [figure 33]. ‘Stones’ are pieces of foreign material – for example, clay, a piece of stone or a metal fragment – embedded in the glass during its manufacture. Such ‘stones’ are ‘notorious for starting fractures’, in this case, luckily, not so.²¹ Use of such glass was a risky, if economical, strategy.

Figure 34 illustrates an interesting instance of where Hardman’s glass cutters recognised a defect in a piece of rose flashed glass but chose to use it regardless, albeit not for its original purpose. Conservator Gerry Cummins explains the result:

The flash had a large bubble in it, and the glass would have been very weak at that point. Close inspection shows that the glass had been destined for a more complex shape, as score lines still visible on the glass testify. These would have been the original intended shape. Realising that the glass would probably not survive such a complex intended cutting, it was made into a simple triangular shape. It was relegated to a background piece high in the tracery where no-one would see it, and where it broke right through the centre of the defect anyway.²²

Frugality in usage is evident too in the cutting of mustard-coloured glass for use in the bands of dedications. Selection was made from similar toned areas of sheets of glass to provide consistency in colour across the text, the darker and lighter offcuts being then used for the daisies in the sacrificial border and for the finials atop the tabernacle work [figure 35].

Frugality was, however, by no means the sole criterion for glass choice. Variations in glass colour were also superbly exploited by the glass cutters to impart modulation and vibrancy to the design, independent of the glass paint. An excellent example is the robe of Mary Magdalene, the lowest figure in the resurrection light, again in mustard glass, where darker toned glass was chosen to provide the receding colours in the garment [figure 36]. Writing some 15 years after the Hobart window was produced, a visitor to Hardman’s Newhall Hill works succinctly described this approach:

¹⁹ For a discussion of Pugin’s efforts in this regard see Shepherd 1997.

²⁰ Reyntiens 1977, p. 30.

²¹ Cummins & Stehn 2005, p 19.

²² *Idem*.

He [the cutter] takes out a sheet of ruby or other glass, and sees perhaps that it is too uniform in hue for a robe hanging in folds, to be afterwards painted in. The cutter knows that a darker shade of colour in one place and a brighter one in another will give great life and brilliancy, and he selects a sheet with a great wave of hue in it.²³

Glass cutting

Although the steel wheel cutter, a tool that enabled complex curved shapes to be cut, was developed during the 1860s, the glass for the St Mary's cathedral window was entirely cut by more traditional methods.²⁴ Firstly, the selected piece of glass was laid over the relevant section of the cartoon and scored with a steel point, rather like an engraver's tool, to make a scribed line with a characteristic burred edge [figure 34].²⁵ Then the glass cutter nibbled away the unwanted glass, up to the score line, with a grozing iron. In the hands of an experienced cutter extraordinarily complex and delicate shapes could be 'cut' with the grozer, such as the fine point next to a deeply indented cut in Mary's garment in the nativity light [figure 37] and the remarkable piece for the 'pelican in its piety'—all but its left wing—at the top of the crucifixion light [figure 38].

By contrast with the above examples of virtuoso glass cutting, the window contains many instances of poor cutting, particularly in the bases and heads of the main lights and in the decorative borders. This work was probably done by apprentices.²⁶ One recurring fault came about as a result of Hardman's running a 'production line' studio, where familiarity by one person with all the pieces and processes was lost. This is illustrated in figure 39, taken during the process of releading the conserved glass on top of a rubbing of the unconserved light. It shows two pieces of glass meant to fit snugly together. However, the grozing did not accurately come up to the original scribed lines and the foreground piece, cut to a point, had to go into the piece with a curve. The point can break the curve. Clearly, the cutter did not have the full panel in front of him and therefore could not see how all the pieces fitted together.

Figure 40 shows a hole between the edge of a piece of glass, painted with leaves, and the lead calme, resulting from the glass having been cut too small.²⁷ Many such holes were covered during the original assembly of the window with large plugs of lead and solder, or large plugs of putty. Gerry Cummins' estimate of perhaps 200 such patch-ups done by the studio in the five main lights alone is a telling comment on the poor glass cutting rife in a big studio like Hardman's.

Glass painting and firing

The window was painted by a team of craftsmen, the important parts – faces, hands, drapery – superbly executed by the most experienced painters and the routine and repetitive parts most likely done by apprentices. Two layers of paint were applied to the inner surface of the glass and one layer of silver stain to the outer. The first paint

²³ Becker 1883.

²⁴ Raguin 2003, p 44.

²⁵ Diamond cutters, in use since the Middle Ages, were also used by Hardman's but were more or less limited in application to straight lines because of they were 'extremely limited in manoeuvrability' See Reyntiens 1977, p 49.

²⁶ Information provided by Gerry Cummins.

²⁷ Also spelt 'came', the calme is an H-shaped lead strip used for assembling glass pieces into a panel.

layer, in black or earth red, was for the ‘trace-lines’, the beautifully modulated heaviest lines that gave the composition its form and structure. The second layer was a very fine ‘shade’ or ‘matte’, applied over either a fired or an unfired trace layer. Requiring a remarkably delicate and skilled painting method it allowed ‘the subtlest modelling of textures and forms, and the inclusion of shadows—hence the name shade firing’.²⁸ The silver stain imparted areas of radiant yellow to the fired glass, for example, the angels’ hair in the tracery lights.

The glass was fired on trays in a kiln at around 600°C, at which temperature the paint – ideally – firmly fused into the slightly melted upper surface of the glass and the silver stain was absorbed by molecular exchange with sodium into the glass itself. Correctly fired paint should last for 500 years. However, gauging this exact point was more of an art than a science, complicated by a number of factors including having glass pieces of slightly differing colours and hence melting points.²⁹ The results of incorrect firing are to be seen in the Hobart window.

Hardman’s kiln firers had a difficult task, sometimes removing the glass too soon, at other times not firing the glass at a high enough temperature. The result was underfired glass, often prodigiously so, recognisable by its gritty surface [figure 41]. Dirt and moisture can readily penetrate this surface, leading to paint breakdown and subsequent paint loss. This gritty, bubbly surface should have been visible to the kiln operator and the glass should probably have been fired ten to fifteen degrees centigrade higher.³⁰

On other occasions the glass was heavily overfired. In their efforts to get the paint to fuse the kiln operators took the temperature to a point where the glass was near molten, the edges were rounding and the pieces slumping to pick up every lump and dip in the tray [figure 42]. Such pieces lost much of their sparkling clarity due to the pitted surface of the glass.

A number of the pieces of glass in the window were badly buckled, an indicator that the kiln trays on which they lay to be fired were dished. Normal contemporary practice is to fill such dips in the tray with a substance such as whiting powder to level the surface upon which the glass is fired.³¹ The extent of such buckling of a large piece is evident in figure 43. Here, the furthest corner is being held down on a table and the closest edge is high enough for two pencils and a finger to be slid underneath. It is clear from this evidence that some pieces of the assembled window had buckles built in before the job even left Hardman’s studio.

Studio errors

There are a number of fascinating examples of human error in the making of the window. Most were associated with the glass painting.

One of them [figure 44] occurred when the dedicatory inscription to Bishop Willson and his vicar-general William Hall, across the base of the five lights, was being executed. The Latin word for memorial takes the neuter form ‘monumentum’. It is likely that the artist was looking ahead, anticipating the next word to paint,

²⁸ Cummins & Stehn 2004, p 10.

²⁹ By contrast, modern electric kilns can be controlled in temperature to 1°C, permitting precise firing of glass paints.

³⁰ Cummins & Stehn 2005, p 22.

³¹ Information from Gerry Cummins.

namely 'CLERUS', and absent-mindedly placed its ending on the word he was working on. So 'MONUMENTUS' resulted.

This same inscription shows the frugal way in which Hardman's dealt with a recalcitrant section of glass that refused to crack along a scored line. The glass painters evidently preferred to work on long sections of the inscription, which were then fired. After firing, the long strips were scored across their width, snapped and leaded, the result presumably giving more of a mediaeval feel to the finished article. But it was also for structural reasons, as long thin pieces break readily. In one instance [figure 45] the glass snapped at an angle to the score, the intended line of fracture being still visible beside the actual leaded crack. This expedient saved the complete length of inscription having to be cut and repainted.

Other painting errors are perhaps indicative of a loss of concentration resulting from the tedium of reproducing simple repetitive patterns, work probably given to apprentices. The first example [figure 46] is of quatrefoil motifs 'sticked back' through the glass paint to the raw glass, a technique much used by Hardman's. Gerry Cummins explains the error and its rectification as follows:

The brush marks in the surface of the glass paint, which were made during its application, are clearly visible. At top left the artist has lost concentration and has started to put a four pointed leaf where there should have been four rounded leaves. He has recovered the mistake by painting out the error with a much blacker paint, and then cutting back the circles through it. That this technique is exactly what has been used is confirmed by the darker paint fragments left behind in the area.³²

In the second example the artist was painting twelve-pointed stars, of which four are illustrated [figure 47]. The technique used was to scratch twelve fine lines, like the hour marks on a clock, through the surface of the unfired glass paint. Six alternate lines were scratched back to form the front star, then the other six were partly scratched back to form the background star. In the case of the lower righthand star the artist forgot to scratch out the second set of points.

The most extraordinary glass painting error occurred with one of the two angel spandrels in the tracery head of the window. Throughout the window there are examples where the cutting department delivered pieces of glass to the painters upside down and the painters painted an irregular part of a canopy, for example, with the paint on the wrong side. When the leading department came to lead up such a piece it could only possibly fit the wrong way round and was therefore incorporated into the window as such. In the case of the angel spandrel, the whole spandrel was apparently given to the painters upside down.³³ They would not have noticed that it was inside out; nor would the leading department. This would only have become apparent when the spandrel was being fitted in Hobart. It is an excellent example of loss of control of detail in a large manufacturing studio [figure 48]. As a result, the painted surface of this panel has been exposed to the weather for more than 136 years. The presence of this 'joker in the pack' turned out to be critical in interpreting aspects of the window's overall condition and in the choice of some conservation measures.

³² Cummins & Stehn 2005, p 23.

³³ To compound the error the painters omitted the silver stain for the angel's hair on its reverse side.

The old adage about beauty being only skin deep certainly applies to the splendid Hardman window in St Mary's cathedral, Hobart. The detailed examination and resulting detective work involved in its conservation have yielded a host of examples of little blemishes and human errors that shed interesting light on Hardman's practices of the era. Perhaps such small-scale imperfections were inevitable given the company's success in what had become a highly competitive industry, with the resultant large workload and its accompanying pressures.

Special thanks to Neil Phillips, director of John Hardman Studios, for generously subsidising the cost of reproducing the illustrations in colour.

News and comment

Time team in Pugin-Land

from Brendan Hughes

I love diaries. I love reading them. For me they give the best insight into someone's life. The minutiae are the things that are really important, because the small things illustrate the really big important ones.

You can tell a lot about someone from what is said in a diary. Augustus Pugin came alive to me one day sitting in the reading room of the British Library. I had gone there with my assistant producer, Karen Kirk. We had just been commissioned by Channel Four to make a film following the transformation of the Grange in Ramsgate. It was the beginning of a journey for both of us into the world of a man we came to hugely respect.

I was ploughing through paperwork when Karen handed a couple of thick books to me: the Ferrey volumes – Benjamin Ferrey's work on the life of Augustus Pugin. In there I discovered a magical world. A world of the man as I would never manage to see him through his buildings. A side of him I was unable to get across in the film we were making because we simply would never have the space or the time in an hour long film to do it justice.

But here was a man who loved life and who lived it to the full. I sat in the library devouring those books, annoyed that I had so little time to read them whilst there. But to me they gave me a starting point. This man was a family man. A man who loved his wife and his children. Who was restless, travelling all of the time in pursuit of excellence. A man who had the same worries we all have; he was short of cash, thought himself a failure, doubted his abilities. But he had a confidence in the rightness of his thought, a sureness of foot in the way he knew what he wanted to look at in a building. He knew what worked and how to make it work.

Over the course of the next year or so Karen and I worked periodically on the film. The idea was simple. It was to follow the restoration, and in the course of doing that, to look at some of his other works and put the Grange and Pugin into some sort of perspective. But it wasn't that simple. The building work was difficult to film. It was a gradual process, with small changes being made across long periods of time. Every time we went to Ramsgate it seemed like little progress had actually been made. What had changed since our last visit? Sometimes it was difficult to tell. Things were changing, but not in a way that would light up a film.

In parallel we were also looking at other buildings of his. But the problem was twofold. One: he had a huge body of work. Two: it was literally all over the country. We realised, like anyone who wants to study Pugin, that we just had to bite our tongues and get on with it. It meant travelling and travelling and travelling. On one trip we went from London to York, left there at 3pm and headed for Dorset. The saving grace at the end of it was a fantastic home-cooked lunch by Paul Atterbury's wonderful wife Chrissie in their home in Dorset.

Karen and I had our own shorthand. Oscott. Scarisbrick. Cheadle. St Marie's Grange. All of these became places we just knew. We knew what they meant. We knew what we wanted.

We filmed in many of them. We visited many more. It felt like an enormous privilege. After many months the owners of St Marie's agreed to let us film the exterior. They are gorgeous people who deserve to be left in peace with their magnificent house. Michael Fisher turned up and opened doors for us at Alton Towers and in St Giles'. Fr Brian Doolan is a saint. After travelling for three hours, exhausted, we finally arrived with him one evening at about 5.30pm, thinking to ourselves that we would spend an hour (maybe) at St Chad's cathedral and then head to the hotel for a bath and some food. Three hours later we were still there, and happy to be so. I found his tour absolutely enthralling. The vestments defy description. I left with my head in a spin wondering how I would ever manage to do justice to the place in a film.

This is the privilege we have as filmmakers: the best part of the job. When someone opens a door and lets you into a world you know little about, but which completely blows you away. And one of those days happened the day before my father turned 70 when I turned up at the Palace of Westminster to meet Alexandra Wedgwood. I was on my way to Belfast to my

father's party and slotted the meeting in just before heading to Heathrow. So I ended up lugging a suitcase around the Palace whilst Sandra talked Karen and me through Pugin's work there. I was dizzy when I left – a mixture of being overwhelmed and excited. All along, in the back of my mind, was the Grange. How would it turn out? I feel like I know every nook and cranny of the place. I feel very close to it. But I really wasn't sure what I would think of it once it was finished.

Then early in January I went down again, for a last recce before my final bit of filming. The place threw me once more. I hadn't expected it to feel like it does. I sort of knew what to expect: I had seen the stonemason working on the windows; the lead guy on the roof, the carpenters, brickies, the paint restorers. I had seen the remnants of the original wallpaper. But there is something completely magical about the whole once you see it. The sum of the parts is much greater than any individual bit.

16 months after we started and the film is almost finished.

I still want to go back to the library. I am not tired of Augustus yet.

Brendan Hughes' *Time team* programme 'Pugin: the god of Gothic', starring Tony Robinson and featuring various Pugin Society members, will be broadcast this autumn on Channel Four television.

The Dayes connection...and the Welbys

from Alexandra Wedgwood

We wished Michael Egan a happy sabbatical in 2005 as you will remember, but he was unable to resist the urge to continue with more research into the Pugin family.¹ Using information generously provided by Wendy Cloughley (*née* Dayes) and Tim Marshall, he has helped to clarify the true link between the Pugin and Dayes families.

Pugin wrote in his mss autobiography, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, that in 1827 'June 26....While at Mr. Morels I became acquainted with a person called George Dayes, son of the celebrated artist of that name...'.² He goes on to explain that George sometimes worked at Covent Garden Theatre and introduced him, then 15 years old, to the delights of stage machinery and scenery painting. Then our good but inaccurate friend, Benjamin Ferrey, tells us 'It was about this time [1831] that he met Miss Garnet, a grand-niece of Dayes the artist'.³

'Dayes the artist' was Edward Dayes (1763–1804), a interesting topographical water colourist who also wrote several essays on painting and painters.⁴ On 11 November 1786 he married Sarah Parker at St Mary's church, Lambeth, and their son George was born in 1790. However Edward, who was perhaps depressed at the early successes of Girtin and Turner, killed himself at the end of May 1804. This event clearly left his widow in a most difficult financial position, but we learn from the edition of her late husband's works made by E.W. Brayley for her benefit that she married Joseph Garnett. This ties up with the information that Michael gave us last year when he found the record of the marriage of Joseph Garnett and Sarah Deays (sic) on 18 December 1806 in St George the Martyr, Queen's Square, Holborn. Sarah Ann was born on 26 August 1809 and baptised in the same church, again as Michael told us last year. Mrs Garnett subsequently gave birth to Henry (1811), Helen (1815) and Mary (1819). George Dayes was therefore the half-brother of the first Mrs A.W.N. Pugin, but Pugin's life was too busy to acknowledge in-laws!

Following research by Michael Egan, Lady Wedgwood then adds

Catherine Welby of the parish of St Mary, Islington, married A.C. Pugin at the church of St Marylebone, Marylebone Road, London, on 2 February 1802.⁵ Her sister Selina was a witness. Her father was William Welby (1724–1809), a member of the Middle Temple, who retired to Islington. His wife Elizabeth (*née* Caesar, 1732–1815) and their children, Adlard, Selina and Catherine are mentioned in William's will which proves that he was a man of some substance.⁶ Selina's will of 1834 states that she lived in Great Russell Street, and therefore near, or perhaps with, the Pugins, after Islington and before moving to Ramsgate.⁷ Her nephew, A.W.N. Pugin, was the principal beneficiary and an executor.

William was from a cadet line of the ancient Welby family in Lincolnshire, who were landed gentry with a seat at Denton Manor and several monuments in the parish church



Figure 49: The arms of the Welbys in the stained glass of the dining room at the Grange
Copyright Keith & Judy Hill, The Stained Glass Workshop.



Figure 50: The arms of the Towers in the stained glass of the dining room at the Grange
Copyright Keith & Judy Hill, The Stained Glass Workshop.

which is southwest of Grantham. It is amusing that Debrett gives the first member of the family as Rannulf de Welleby mentioned in 1086 at Welby, a village northeast of Grantham, whereas Ferrey, quoting Catherine quoting the young Pugin, says 'that Roger de Welby died fighting at the battle of Hastings, which proves the family Saxon'.⁸ The first baronet, Sir William Earle Welby (c1734–1815) created in 1801, was MP for Grantham from 1802 to 1806 as were the second and third. The cadet line seems to have held land in South Rauceby which is near Sleaford. Anyway, a Catherine Welby was baptised at Denton on 8 February 1774. This most probably was Pugin's mother but the information, which comes from the website of the Latter Day Saints (www.familysearch.org), needs to be confirmed from the church registers held in the Lincolnshire archives. But baptism at the ancient family home does fit well with what we know of this branch who wished to emphasise their distinguished connections.

The grandfather of the first baronet, Richard Welby, married Mary Towers on 26 June 1706 in Canterbury. Her parents were Thomas Towers and Selina (*née* Welby). It was perhaps the memory of his dear Aunt Selina and the ease with which he could invent a shield for such a family (who were not armigerous) that led to Pugin designing the 'Towers' shield in the dining room and the inscription in the library at the Grange.

There is clearly much to add about the Welbys, including their now demolished almshouses of 1653 which Pevsner described as 'what may well be the most delightful almshouses in England'. There are also the extraordinary exploits of Pugin's Uncle Adlard, several of whose letters to Selina survive in the Yale Center of British Art.

To this the editor adds: on the subject of the Welbys, readers may be interested to know that the journal of Adlard Welby from June 1843–December 1855 can be found in the Lincolnshire archives (catalogue no MISC DON 969).

1 Wedgwood 2005, p 68.

2 Wedgwood 1985, cat no 1, p 27.

3 Ferrey 1861, p 68.

4 From the *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, 2004.

5 London Metropolitan Archives, microfilm XO23/051.

6 Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) will, PROB 11/1498, 1809.

7 PCC will, PROB 11/1838, 1834.

8 Ferrey 1861, p 40.

More about Gorton

from Catriona Blaker

As an additional note to Roderick O'Donnell's article on Gorton elsewhere in this number of *True principles*, I would like to report briefly on a recent visit I made to the monastery site, where I was most kindly given a tour by Tony Hurley. Tony is one of the Trustees of the

Monastery of St Francis and Gorton Trust, and his official role is Training and Enterprise Director (that is, training in the construction and heritage skills that will play an increasingly important role in local Gorton-directed activities). Close association with E.W. Pugin's remarkable building has, however, inspired him to probe as deeply as possible into its history, construction and original plan. He has now come up with some new and interesting theories, particularly relating to the layout of the site and the precise use of the friary buildings, and he enjoys showing many people and parties round the monastery. We hope that he will share some of his insights with us at a later date. He also told me that now sufficient funding for the £6 million restoration of the monastery is in place and that the church should be ready for use for various functions by the middle of 2007, although conservation of various fittings, altars, etc, will continue thereafter.

And now for an unofficial book review – when I was in Gorton I purchased the excellent *Gorton monastery* (Tempus Publishing, Images of England series, 2004, £12.99), compiled by the trust, with research by Jill Cronin and Frank Rhodes. There is a great deal of interest here, including a photograph which shows Fr Emmanuel Kenners, referred to by Michael Egan in the last *True principles*, as being, through Sclerder in Cornwall, the connecting link between E.W. Pugin and Gorton. There is too a photo of Br Patrick Dalton, a fine characterful-looking figure, who became clerk of works when construction at Gorton commenced in 1863. The lengthy caption describes how much money this brother saved the project by insisting on the use of local bricks, locating them and also overseeing the making of them. It would appear that he was also a stone carver, with a sculpting workshop on site, and that he worked on various details in the church himself. We hope that Tony Hurley will at a later date be able to give us further information on this remarkable friar whose life he is researching.

The most revealing quotation (within a quotation) from this same caption, referring to the opening of the Church of St Francis on 26 September 1872, reads: 'At the opening dinner, Edward Welby Pugin described him [Patrick Dalton] "not as a clerk of works (and this he had been magnificently) but as joint architect."' When one thinks how quintessentially E.W. Puginesque most of us would consider the church and friary to be, this throws new light on its creation. It is good to know that this seems to have been a happy working relationship, and is also perhaps an unusually generous tribute from E.W.P. I was also pleased to see in the book a contemporary watercolour of the church, given to E.W.P., and it was – to me, at any rate – surprising too to find that the belfry tower and spirelet were not added until 1911. End notes and a bibliography, for further substantiation, would have been even more useful, but this was not really the style of the publication.

Architecturally, the Church of St Francis of Assisi was characterised by the immense local effort and skills that to a considerable extent underpinned and made possible the designs of E.W, and later P.P., Pugin. The 12 six-foot-high stone Franciscan saints, for example, who graced the upper storeys of the nave and who famously went walkabout after the monastery closed in 1989 but have now been returned, were designed by one of the friars named Fr Cuthbert Wood. The largest windows in the apse contain stained glass not, as we might expect, from Hardman but from Edmundson and Son of Manchester. I was interested to see that 'Casalini' was mentioned, and said to be working in the town of St Helen's at the time. Surely this might be Henry Casolani, one-time temporary worker for A.W.N. Pugin in the cartoon room at Ramsgate? Of course other non-local names well known to those interested in the work of E.W.P., such as the ecclesiastical stone carvers R.C. Boulton of Cheltenham, also appear in this great church-building saga. Altogether, this book does a fine job, with copious numbers of photographs, in describing both the architectural history of the monastery and also the very important community role played by the Franciscans of Gorton for many years. Help the trust and buy the book!

Now the trust is able, after all its intense effort, to instigate building works on site. At the time of writing, the friary (the residential cloister-based section of the site) is being stabilised and restored, and conservation of the stained glass in the apse of the church itself will be the next phase of work. There is a huge amount to be done, but the members of the trust are dedicated and optimistic. To visit them in 'The angels', their headquarters in a redundant primary school opposite the monastery, makes one appreciate how much work they do and how the saving of Gorton has in a way become their life. The sense of community, so sadly lost after the demolition of housing locally and the closure of the monastery, and which is so evocatively portrayed in the book *Gorton monastery*, is now slowly and imaginatively being

re-created by the trust which is expanding to involve the local people in various activities including a community choir, dance and exercise classes, information technology courses and much else besides. Although the function of this great Pugin/Franciscan building has changed over time, it is surely finding a new and exciting role. Not only will it be restored to much of its former splendour but it will also become just as socially important within the community as it was originally. It is an inspiring project.

Since writing this short piece, an article by Peter Drummond of the project architects Austin-Smith:Lord, which appeared in AHSS (Magazine of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland) no 19 (Spring 2006), has been brought to my attention for which I am grateful to Grace Ellis. There is useful information here, plus further reference to the Gorton site on the firm's website, <http://www.austinsmithlord.com>

A newly identified portrait of the Countess of Shrewsbury

from Roderick O'Donnell



Figure 52: Maria-Theresa, Countess of Shrewsbury, 1829

Private collection;
photograph courtesy
Charles Plante Fine Art.

A portrait in watercolour of Maria-Theresa, Countess of Shrewsbury, wife of the sixteenth earl, has recently been identified [figure 52]. She was born in 1797, a Miss Talbot of Talbot Hall, Co Wexford, and she married in 1814; following the earl's death in 1852 she continued to live at Alton Towers, hearing mass there daily, and died in 1856. The portrait, in an early nineteenth-century rococo-revival gilt wood frame, is inscribed and dated 1829, two years after her husband succeeded to his title. It shows a very attractive and worldly looking Regency lady of fashion, dressed in a style ultimately inspired by the antique: a high waisted gown, belted under the bodice, with frilly shoulder sleeves, all in white. She has a gold chain gathered and pinned at her breast. A fashionable cashmere shawl is gathered round her arms and hands; she holds a flower, echoed by a bowl of summer flowers at the right. The lightheartedness of the portrait contrasts with the sobriety of those of her husband, especially that c1851 by Blaas which reflects his reportedly austere life style. Perhaps there is a matching miniature of the earl to be found? He was

Painted in his coronation robes in 1830 (the portrait is in the possession of Sandwell Borough Council); she was also portrayed by John Julius Hamburger in elaborate costume in 1832.¹ Both



Figure 54: Wax seal, 'Earl of Shrewsbury arranged by AW Pugin'

Private Collection; photograph
courtesy Charles Plante Fine
Art.

appear as kneeling donors with their patron saints and in mediaeval-style heraldic dress in the Alton Towers altarpiece (c1840, now at Bromsgrove Roman Catholic church).²

A funeral hatchment, with the shield with a pair of Talbot lions, both facing the same way, signifying the 'impaling' of the two Talbot names, was sold at the Spring 2004 Olympia Fine Arts and Antiques show. It can be identified as the countess', since her motto *ad finem fidelis* appears, and must date from 1856. Two such hatchments were provided by Hardman and Company for the earl's funeral, for which E.W. Pugin and J.H. Powell provided the designs [figure 53].³ That A.W.N. Pugin may have had a hand in the

redesign of these Shrewsbury arms is suggested by a seal in a collection including other Talbot, Arundell and other 'old Catholic' families, dateable from internal evidence to the 1840s. It is inscribed, by the collector, as 'Earl of Shrewsbury arranged by AW Pugin' [figure 54]. The seal again shows the impaled Talbot lions on the shield, with the Talbot dog supporters, under an earl's coronet, with a cap of maintenance and a dog, all set on field



Figure 53: Funeral hatchment, Maria-Theresa, Countess of Shrewsbury, 1856, Hardman and Company (?), formerly at St John the Baptist Catholic church, Alton, Staffs, shown at the Olympia Fine Art and Antiques Show, June 2004

Photograph courtesy Charles
Plante Fine Art.

defined by a quatrefoil gothic label moulding, surrounded by the label in gothic script + *sigillum domini johannis comitis Salopie*. The use of the cross sign and the mediaevalising of the title as 'Lord John, count of Shrewsbury' would also seem to point to Pugin's influence. An opposed pair of lions also appear on the west doors of St Giles', Cheadle, perhaps signifying therefore the joint involvement of both earl and countess in this work?

These redesigned arms are related to other designs by Pugin and drawn by J.H. Powell as heraldry for Cardinal Wiseman.⁴ The redesigned Shrewsbury achievement of arms illustrates not only Pugin's interest in heraldry but also his skill as a decorative arts designer.

1 Her portrait is at Ingestre Hall, Staffs: see Fisher 2002, pl xii between pp 102–3.

2 *Ibid*, pls ii & iv.

3 See O'Donnell 2002; Gray 2004.

4 See O'Donnell 2001.

Redecoration of the law lords' corridor at the Palace of Westminster

from Mark Collins

During the summer recess in 2005, it became necessary to remove the wallpaper from the law lords' corridor. The paper was applied in 1979 during an early phase of conservation of the decorative fabric of the building, but it had become shabby and further damaged with the removal of an annunciator monitor. The removal of the paper revealed a mostly original lime plaster wall scored to imitate large ashlar blocks, and it became clear that the walls were never intended to have been papered (see note on grading of rooms, below). The paint on the walls was sampled to reveal 12 layers, including the original colour, ochre – a neutral colour to unify the circulation spaces. Barry's classical sensibilities provided order and harmony to the varied schemes of Pugin's highly patterned and colourful papers. The ochre harmonises with the stonework: Caen and Painswick limestones, with the buff background to the encaustic tiles, and with the natural oak woodwork. In many areas, the doors and panelling have no doubt darkened with age and over-polishing with a dark, red staining. Barry had simply specified two coats of a clear varnish called copal, and this probably left the oak with a mid-tone, honey-coloured appearance. The Pugin ceiling which had been stencilled in 1979 was left *in situ*, although originally the corridor had simply been grained. The graining was caramel coloured and would also have matched the ochre paint on the walls.

If, as we expect, the rest of the corridors and minor spaces are found to be decorated in the same colour, it will be a steady job to restore the overall scheme to the Palace, and bring back a sense of control which has been lost over the years.

The rooms of the Palace were originally graded to conform to a hierarchy; here is a general guide:

1. The 'fine rooms', including the royal rooms, the lords' and commons' chambers and St Stephen's hall. There was to be no wallpaper in these rooms except temporarily, as a scheme of frescoes had been planned.
2. Private fine areas on the principal floor: the dining rooms, the libraries, Speaker's house. A paper pattern book survives for these areas.
3. Public and private secondary spaces; corridors and minor offices were painted.
4. Back stairs: grained below the dado, painted above.
5. Basement and store rooms: painted.

Building news

edited by James Jago, with contributions from Brian Andrews, Catriona Blaker, Nick Dermott and Roderick O'Donnell

Pugin Hall (the former rectory), Rampisham, Dorset (A.W.N. Pugin, 1846–7)

The setting of this complete A.W.N. Pugin building, unquestionably his most important house to survive intact and certainly one of the most beautiful of its period, has been severely comprised by alterations and extensions to the adjacent former laundry building – which is on land severed from the main structure before the building was listed. These works, carried out after the listing of Pugin Hall, have been undertaken without planning

or listed building consent and include the liberal use of plastic conservatories, windows and rainwater goods.

Following representations from The Pugin Society, amongst others, the local authority, West Dorset District Council, contemplated seeking expert legal opinion as to whether the laundry building was listed since, although it is under different ownership, it is contemporaneous with Pugin Hall. They later abandoned this approach and instead moved to begin enforcement action to have the plastic windows and gutters removed from a part of the property which is built up against a section of Pugin Hall. However, this particular extension has never received listed building consent and the opportunity still exists for the Society to make an application for this in order to bring the matter out in to the open. The Society has also led the successful campaign to upgrade the listing of the building from II* to I. ND.

Abbey & Church of St Michael and All Angels, Belmont, Herefordshire (E.W. Pugin, 1854 and 1865)

The community has been successful in securing a Heritage Lottery Fund Grant for the proposed construction of a foyer to the church and monastery; an application for this has been made to the Wales and Herefordshire Roman Catholic Historic Churches Committee, upon which The Pugin Society is hoping to comment. After members of the Society visited the Abbey, and undertook thorough research, no direct evidence of A.W. N. Pugin's involvement here was found, but rather of that of William Wardell, and definitely of E.W. Pugin. RO'D, CB.

Church of St Patrick, Colebrook, Tasmania, Australia (A.W.N. Pugin, 1855–7)

This extraordinarily pared-down church, designed by Pugin in 1843 and erected from a detailed scale model made by George Myers' men, is undergoing a comprehensive two-year conservation program. Believed to be his last building constructed, and the only one completely built after his death, its form – with aisled clerestoried nave and triple bellcote astride the nave east gable – was typologically unique in Pugin's oeuvre.

The works are being undertaken by the recently established Pugin Foundation, whose principal aim is to assist in the conservation of Pugin's Australian heritage. (Further information about the Foundation and its activities is available from: judeandrews@puginfoundation.org)

A series of baseline consultancies have been undertaken to define the nature and scope of the conservation works. They include a structural survey, design of new internal and external lighting, investigation of the historic decorative finishes, and a landscape architecture consultancy that will advise on reinstatement of the historic environment.

A major task has been the reverse engineering of the triple bellcote drawings as a prelude to reconstruction of the bellcote, wrecked by a mini tornado in September 1895 and never reinstated. This has been made possible because of the existence of two excellent photographs of the church dating from the early 1890s, which, combined as large digital files with current photogrammetric and survey data of the building, have yielded the required elevations and sections of the bellcote. Construction is planned for late 2007, an exciting project that will see part of a Pugin building being erected – as opposed to undergoing fabric remedial work – for the first time in a century and a half. A peal of three bells is to be installed in the bellcote. A crucial aspect of the reinstatement will be reinforcement of the structure, both church and bellcote, to ensure its ability to survive future extreme weather events. The necessary analysis has been undertaken by a leading Australian structural engineer, and his recommended stiffening elements will be concealed within the stonework and between the ceiling boards and roof coverings of nave, aisles and chancel so as not to compromise the aesthetic integrity of the building. BA

Roman Catholic Cathedral of St Coleman, Cove, Co Cork, Republic of Ireland (E.W. Pugin and G.C. Ashlin, 1869–1916)

Consent was granted, in very short order, in the summer of 2005 for the reordering proposed by Prof Cathal O'Neill Associates. This was appealed by a third party, the Department of Environment (Dublin) under the Irish Planning and Development Act 2000. In England, such an option would have been uniquely available in the English ecclesiastical exemption field against the decision of the Roman Catholic historic churches committees, not those of the other church bodies; and not elsewhere in English planning law.

This allowed others to reenter the debate; alas the Pugin Society did not respond in time to join in. 211 objections were received to the scheme and three in support. A long and ruminative inquiry took place in February 2006. The Pugin Society's original letter of 15.8.05 rejected the specious plea that the scheme returned the church to E.W. Pugin's original intentions. This was important because the latter's contract drawings of 1869 were modified in two further contracts by his former partner, G.C. Ashlin (later of Ashlin and Coleman), before the church was finally completed in 1916.

This significant point has pride of place in the Inspector's report, on p 15, and our involvement was cited in defence by An Taisce (the Irish national trust) and in contention by the applicant, but, strangely, not by the Friends of St Colman's Cathedral, despite the warm cooperation between them and The Pugin Society, and in particular Dr O'Donnell, as our E.W. Pugin expert. The Inspector, in his 91-page report, refused the appeal and granted consent with conditions, in particular disallowing the controversial lifting of the 1900s mosaics by Oppenheimer & Co of Manchester. However An Bord Pleanála (the planning board) unanimously disagreed with the Inspector's conclusion with regard to the consideration of liturgical requirements in places of worship in use, which should be given under Section 57(6) of the act, and decided 6 to 2 against this scheme. While the days of quoting the latest Irish reordering nostrums in debates in England are long over, we wonder whether this total rejection of the ethos of reordering in historic buildings will have implications not just in these islands, but also in Europe and America. No doubt the Bishop of Cloyne will have views! RO'D.

Roman Catholic Cathedral of St Mary, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (A.W.N. Pugin, 1838–44)

The initial phase of redecoration to the cathedral has been described in the last edition of *True principles*, and also in *Church building* (vol 89) by the architect Kevin Doonan himself. Funding is now in place for the realisation of the second phase of redecorating and reordering the cathedral's interior. This includes new underfloor heating to replace the incongruous radiators; the installation of new floor tiles in Pugin's manner; and the complete restoration of the lady chapel. The latter would involve placing the reredos (at present brought forward to accommodate the confessional) back against the wall, and the resiting of E.W. Pugin's statue of the madonna in close proximity to this, so that the area will, once more, actually be a lady chapel. Funds have also been secured to glaze the great west window, which is at present filled with clear quarries.

The plans also include the installation of a new organ in a more acoustically favourable position; the creation of a more substantial western narthex; and the moving of the font from the sanctuary to a position within the body of the church (presumably near to the west end and on axis with the central aisle). The details of these proposals have been sent to The Pugin Society and English Heritage for further comment.

The insertion of a western gallery, which will no doubt serve as a choir loft, with the clichéd arrangement of a pair of organs on either side of the window, is entirely unsympathetic as a resolution for the west end of the cathedral, since most of the new window would be obscured from ground level. The window is now the primary source of natural light to the dark interior, and any obstruction to it could be nothing but aesthetically detrimental. JJ.

The Pugin chantry and tomb, St Augustine's, Ramsgate (A.W.N. Pugin, c1847–52 and E.W. Pugin, c1861)

The Society has applied for a Heritage Lottery Fund Grant for conservation work on the tomb and surround, and awaits the outcome of this. We would like to thank all those who have contributed towards this project. Work on the mullions of the window above the tomb has yet to start owing to a delay in sourcing suitable stone from Whitby quarries. This should be resolved shortly, hopefully before the end of July. This work is being funded by the parish and not by the Society. We are also very grateful to the Ramsgate chamber choir, *Cantate*, who have given us much pleasure musically, for performing *gratis* on more than one occasion. CB.

Former convent and chapel of the Holy Child Jesus, St Leonards, Hastings (A.W.N. Pugin, c1848, and E.W. Pugin, c1865–76)

An application has been made to English Heritage to upgrade the listing of the chapel, begun by A.W. N. Pugin, but built to a different scheme by E.W. Pugin. Philip Masters, a researcher and historian, produced an elaborate report in December 2005. He is working with the

architects, Adams Johns Kennard Ltd, who have been asked by the owner to assess the site with a view to possible alternative uses. Significantly, no firm evidence of any work by A. W. N. Pugin has so far been found here, despite rumour, but the Society is strongly of the opinion that the remarkable, and definitely E.W. Pugin, chapel should be preserved exactly as it is, should there be developments on this extensive stretch of land. RO'D, CB.

Abbey of Our Lady of Consolation, Stanbrook, Powick, Worcestershire (E.W. Pugin, 1868–71, and P.P. Pugin, 1878)

Planning permission was granted last summer for the building of a new monastery in the North Yorkshire National Park, for which the community must raise funds; the Stanbrook site is on the market for £9 million. Whatever *tristesse* we may feel about the nuns leaving, the commissioning of the excellent conservation plan by Michael Hill, which laid out very clearly the historic and conservation constraints which any purchaser must address, must be commended. English Heritage is looking at the grading and other proposed listings. RO'D.

Articles on members of the Pugin family published this year

The Editor of *True principles* appeals to members to let him know details of new articles about the Pugin family and their work, or substantial references in new books, so that these can be included each year.

This year saw considerable newspaper coverage of buildings by the Pugin family. In particular, the restoration of the Grange in Ramsgate attracted special attention. An article by Pugin enthusiast **Jonathan Glancey**, architecture correspondent of the London *Guardian*, appeared in the G2 section of that newspaper on 5 June 2006 ('In bed with Pugin', pp 22–3). A lengthy and beautifully illustrated article in *Country life*, by former editor and Ramsgate resident Clive Aslet, entitled 'The Grange, Ramsgate, Kent', appeared on 15 June 2006 (vol cc no 24, pp 114–8). An excellent piece by **Kenneth Powell** appeared in the *Architects' Journal* (13 July 2006).

Stanbrook Abbey in Worcestershire, described in our 'Building news' section above, was discussed at the beginning of this year in both the *Guardian* (**Mian Ridge**, 'Get thee to a converted nunnery', G2 section, p 3, 31 January 2006) and the *Times* (**Richard Morrison**, 'Nuns, Pugin, and a grotesque redevelopment', Times 2 section, p 7, 17 January 2006). The abbey was also mentioned in reports in *Apollo*, the *Tablet*, and the *Victorian*, the magazine of the Victorian Society (no 22, July 2006, p 19).

Anyone with an interest in the broad cultural, social, and political history of the period in which A.W.N. Pugin lived and worked will welcome the latest volume in the New Oxford History of England: *A mad, bad, & dangerous people? England 1783–1846*, by Cambridge historian **Boyd Hilton**. Written with a stylish and engagingly light touch by a leading scholar and drawn from the latest research across an impressive array of fields, this book provides hours of fascinating reading with many memorable character sketches and useful summaries; it is unlikely to be bettered for decades to come. A.W.N. Pugin himself is described in detail at pages 479–81.

An article entitled 'Pugin's churches' by **Rosemary Hill** has been published in this year's *Architectural history* (vol 49); and 'A.W.N. Pugin's English convent plans' by **Timothy Brittain-Catlin** appeared in the September 2006 number of the *American Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*.

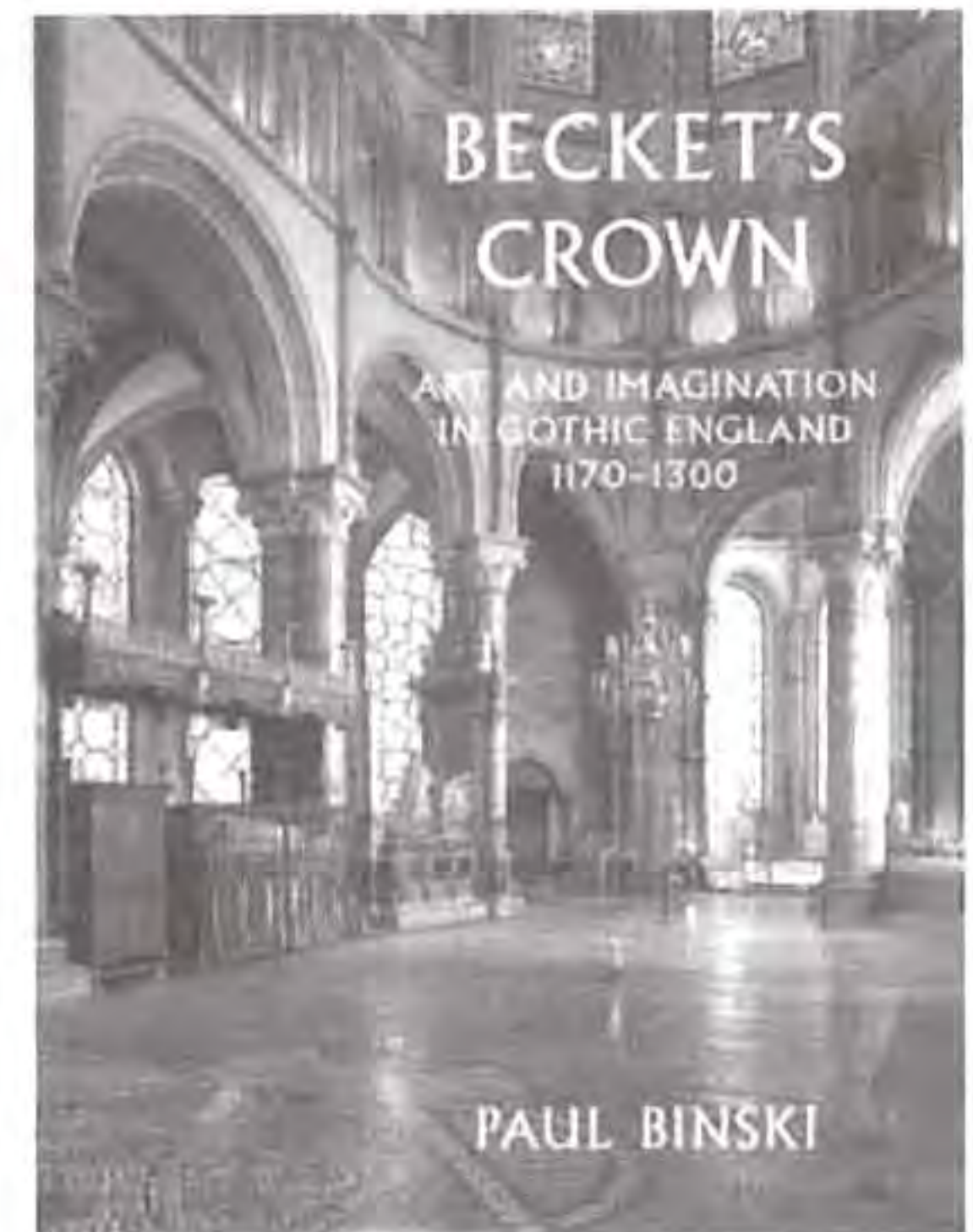
Book and exhibition reviews

Architecture and allegory in Gothic times

Becket's crown: art and imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300. By Paul Binski. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004. ISBN 0-300-10509-6. RRP £40.00.

reviewed by Zoë Opačić

Arguably, few events in English mediaeval history have changed its cultural and architectural landscape as profoundly as the grizzly murder of Thomas Becket in 1171, and the fire that consumed his church three years later. Nevertheless, no solitary event, however powerful, can alter the course of a century. In England, as on the continent, the changes that followed Becket's death were underpinned by a radical church reform which had roots in the papal councils of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries as well as the new thinking emerging from theological schools in Paris. In a deeply religious society the effect of ecclesiastical reform was both cultural and social, and influential at every level: from episcopal and legislative circles to the local parish. The thirteenth-century church became much more socially engaged in the way that the secluded monastic communities of the earlier Middle Ages never could be or had been. Churches and their religious imagery reflected this growing interaction with the public sphere as their size and proliferation show.



That pioneering age is the subject of Paul Binski's latest and boldest book which takes – suitably one might say – an ambitious, engaging and multi-faceted approach to the 'long thirteenth century'. Binski's central premise is that a true understanding of the establishment of Gothic in England can only be surmised in all its evolved complexity by exploring the 'webs of significance' which are threaded through it. These threads are woven into an imaginative universe of thirteenth-century England and should not be confused with the Hegelian wheel whose spokes connect all aspects of human activity in a given period and move it along a common trajectory.¹ Binski does not seek tidy connections and linearity but accepts disorder and diversity, especially aesthetic diversity, as being equally meaningful for his investigation of the relationship between the appearances, or the 'form', and social, moral and political 'existence'. Thus the study of styles becomes the study of the 'styles of being', or *habitus*. Gothic *habitus* is explored and constructed through four major themes of the book, each subdivided into three chapters where the discourse moves from the analysis of buildings toward the nexus of 'affective' art, theatre and music.

The first concept to be explored – edification – centres on allegorical reception of church building in the ecclesiastical and erudite circles of England and France. The main premise, that architecture was used to propagate ideas of the reformist church, is tested on pioneering building projects in Canterbury, Lincoln and Salisbury. Because of its focus on architecture, and on the origins of Gothic in England, this section deserves more detailed consideration. Canterbury is a pivotal monument in every respect – not only as the *Schöpfungsbau* of English Gothic, but as the site of a particularly gruesome murder and subsequently of a hugely popular (inter)national cult. Many of the issues discussed here are by no means new; the importance of the colour symbolism, for example, where the pink and the white columns in the Trinity chapel are directly associated with the blood and brains spilled at Becket's martyrdom, is a much-discussed aspect of Canterbury's choir.² However, through association with the contemporary Parisian-inspired theological writing, the author takes the significance of this tectonic metaphor to the level of a 'spiritual allegory derived from the historical circumstances of a great martyrdom [which] became, through the built stones, something rhetorically 'present', with humanly recognisable weight'. The columns are therefore not only abstractly 'illustrative' of Becket's martyrdom but part of its humane, living presence.

In contrast to the modernity of its forward-looking architecture, Canterbury is for Binski a monument to twelfth-century humanism, classical in inspiration, and 'a paradigm of most

erudite, allegorically rich patronage'. An obvious parallel to this theological reading of architecture is to be found in the abbey of St Denis, on the outskirts of Paris, whose innovative, light-infused choir has been linked by Erwin Panofsky and others after him with the mystical writing on the symbolism of light attributed to the sixth-century Denis the Pseudo-Aeropagite, who was in turn identified, wrongly, with the abbey's patron saint.³ Panofsky's attempt to establish a causal relation between contemporary theology, especially scholastic and neoplatonic thinking, and the origins of Gothic was criticised for its lack of consideration for the way buildings were produced and for largely ignoring the critical agency of the architect/mason.⁴ Binski warns against allying too readily concepts and forms, and suggests that the Dionysian theology may not have determined what the two buildings looked like but that it directed patrons where to look for sources. Nevertheless, this kind of elevated thinking at Canterbury was reserved for the 'well-informed coterie on the matters French' and not necessarily for the monks with whom William of Sens, the first (French) architect, had to negotiate, prompting the obvious question of how precisely these ideas did find their way into architecture.

In the absence of evidence, it is difficult to gauge the church's official response to the outburst of creative energy which followed the rebuilding of Canterbury. Gothic, a term never precisely defined in Binski's broadly-conceived work, emerges as a style of opposition – 'a strategic response to the earlier formulation of aesthetic ideals'. This argument has been used in the past to explain the dialectics of Suger's opulent aesthetic choices at St Denis and the austerity advocated by the Cistercians, but the reform certainly need not always imply asceticism. The scholars of St Victor in Paris as well as the reformist clergy in England, with their keen interest in liturgical symbolism, church organisation and pastoral work, became, it is argued, directly influential on patrons of great church architecture. Still, the contemporary discourse on architecture appears limited. Peter Chanter's attack on the lust for building of the Bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully, was part of a common admonition against excesses in religious life. Nor can Alexander Nequam's moralising diatribe against expensive building in general, and vaults in particular, be seen as a sustained contemporary critique of Gothic.

The interface between cathedral lodges and the highly erudite thinking emanating from cathedral cloisters remains tantalisingly elusive, but is certainly worth the depth of consideration that Binski allows it. In Lincoln, the *Metric life of St Hugh of Lincoln* offers a highly vivid encomium of the new work on the cathedral. But its imaginative poetic simile, where vaults assume the shape of winged birds, do not extend beyond the allegorical, ekphrastic praise and bring us no closer to understanding the process which led to the invention of the triradial ribvaults in St Hugh's choir, for example. By contrast to Lincoln's creative fecundity, the choice of the restrained, virtually ornament-free architecture at Salisbury cannot be satisfactorily attributed either to its first patron Stephen Langdon or the presumed architect Elias of Dereham, both of whom were linked with more demonstrably sumptuous projects elsewhere. Here, as in much of the book, the author relies on the principles of the popular Aristotelian ethics with its emphasis on 'tempered magnificence' to explain Salisbury's aesthetic and moral position somewhere between meanness and opulence.

The tone of learned authority set in the first part of the book by the *eruditi*, the princes of the church who led by example of their ethical, courtly behaviour and patronage, is further explored in the next section – sanctification. A rapid growth in the number of episcopal saints since the death of Thomas Becket, combined with the costliness and complexity of official canonisation, meant that the power of sanctification shifted from monasteries to the better-equipped great cathedral chapters. The new kind of sainthood they promoted depended less on miracles and usually uneventful death but on the moral qualities and exemplary life of the saint. Using the examples of St Etheldreda at Ely and the canonised bishops at Wells, Binski persuasively demonstrates how Gothic art harmonised with local hagiographical discourses. At Ely the conspicuous blossoming of architecture framing the saint's shrine pointedly alludes to the incorruptibility of her body and spirit. Wells' written history (*Historiola*), its newly-commissioned bishop's tombs and the screen-like west facade promoted sainthood as a collective representation of a community anxious to restore its ancient episcopal rights. Through these large public statements, as well as the increasing number of lives of saints composed in the vernacular, the inner and outward virtues of the canonised churchmen became the focus for the propagation of a new affective style of belief and practice, initially among the privileged laity: 'lachrymose, eucharistic and emphatic, but also harsh, self-mortifying and cerebral'.

In the case of popular and fast-growing cults such as Thomas Becket and Francis of Assisi, this instructive style of devotion has led to new hagiographically-centred representations, with vita-type murals, altarpieces and altar frontals appearing after 1200 almost simultaneously in Italy, England and Scandinavia, where the survival rate is exceptionally high. The visual expansion of episcopal cults was part of the general proliferation of images and liturgical 'ornamenta', the theme of Paul Binski's third thematic section. Here the emphasis is on the legislative and didactic responses. The creeping tide of religious images painted on the piers of the nave of St Alban's cathedral, is used not only to demonstrate the vitality of 'public art' in a monastic context, but also the blurring of distinctions between devotional and liturgical spheres.

While complex religious and social factors – especially the greater involvement of the laity – required often equally complex internal organisation in churches, the overall legal position seems more ambiguous. The statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council are mostly concerned with the safety of relics and the storing of the host and remain silent on the doctrinal issues regarding church 'art'. Other evidence of legislation is equally scant, and where it exists it mostly deals with the pragmatic matters of maintenance and management of altars and shrines. Nevertheless, the power of images to move, excite and educate was clearly recognised and exploited. In some extreme instances the deviation from the norm led to censorship and removal, as in the case of the 'erroneously shaped' crucifix, probably with the Y-shaped or the so-called *Gabelkreuz* common on the Continent but virtually unseen in England. At the other end of the spectrum, the importance of moral theology for clergy and laity alike went hand in hand with the growing number of pastoral manuals and educational images, which often relied on secular visual metaphors – the castle of love or the shield of faith, for example – to give its layered allegorical messages a recognisable form. At the heart of this didactic approach was the desire to manage emotional responses and behaviour, 'to advise worshippers what to do and think', during mass, for instance.

In the final part of the book, interest in the relationship between the inner and outer conduct leads Binski to the discussion of the cognitive and emotional effects of images. The true power of images, argues the author, resides not only in mental recognition but in their capacity to move, their *affect*. Thus a depiction of a crucifixion is not only an identifiable historical representation of Christ's suffering, but an object which requires emotional response where – like the pink-white columns around the Becket's shrine – the idea of Christ's sacrifice becomes 'real'. The power of affect is not manifested only in empathy with suffering but also with joy, and artists responded by suffusing their creations with a range of expressions. At Reims (and subsequently Westminster and Lincoln) angels and saints openly smile, while wise and foolish virgins at Magdeburg and Strasbourg enact their joy and despair. Their demonstrative rhetoric was neither a purely formal development – driven by the artists' advanced technique of representation – nor merely a result of the growing incursion of the marginal and the grotesque into the public sphere of church art.⁵ Animated figures at Reims, Naumburg and elsewhere had an important moral dimension since they played a visible role in the ethical discourse of the reformed church. They conveyed the importance of ideals of conduct and belief – and conversely, their opposites – intended to be understood from their context.

The affective imagery, like the wonders of stone vaults, music and drama, were some of the progressive 'technologies' of expression tolerated, debated and ultimately harnessed by the reformist Church to its own pastoral ends. Binski's understanding of the intellectual processes involved is truly impressive and difficult to surpass, though often articulated in a highly abstract language. In the final analysis Gothic style is defined by its 'exegetical and textual density...ethical sophistication, urbanity and unconventional thinking'. But the thinking and imagination that is conspicuously missing at the heart of this work is that of the artists themselves. Reconciling the cultural and formalist aspects of Gothic still remains a challenge. Paul Binski's brilliant book has only raised the stakes.

1 Crossley 2000, especially pp 13–5.

2 Probably most succinctly by Wilson 1990.

3 Panofsky 1979.

4 See especially Kidson 1987 and Crossley 1988.

5 A position famously taken by Camille 1989.

The first and still the best

Holbein and England. By Susan Foister. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005. ISBN 0-300-10280-1. RRP £45.00

reviewed by Mark Bostridge

Hans Holbein was the first great painter to work in England, and his depiction of the court of Henry VIII, in a series of vivid paintings and drawings, has had a defining influence on the way posterity has viewed this tumultuous period in English history. Holbein's image of Henry VIII himself – massive, dominating and ruthless – has continued powerfully to shape our vision of the king down to the present day.

Holbein's artistic reputation as one of the few early northern European artists to achieve lasting fame has never fluctuated in the four-and-a-half centuries since his death. For the Victorians, Holbein's work was best known in the form of Francesco Bartolozzi's series of stipple engravings of the portrait drawings of Tudor courtiers at Windsor. Originally published in the final decade of the eighteenth century, and passing through a number of editions in the course of the nineteenth, Bartolozzi's prints of 36 portraits were displayed on the walls of many Victorian homes. The Tudor Exhibition at the New Gallery in 1890 was the first to bring the originals within sight of a select public. Meanwhile, another aspect of Holbein's output, his decorative designs for jewellery, had been successfully exploited on the commercial market. 'Holbeinesque' jewellery was one of the early manifestations of the 1870s renaissance revival style. Derived both from Holbein's surviving pen and ink designs, as well as from the elaborate jewels in the portraits themselves, these pieces were made by many British jewellers, including Hancocks, John Brogden, and Robert Phillips.

It seems appropriate that this seminal work on the artist's two periods working in England – 1526–8 and 1532–43 – should have been written by Susan Foister, the director of collections and curator of early Netherlandish, German, and British painting at the National Gallery in London. For it was Ralph Wornum, keeper of the Gallery from 1854–77, who wrote the first major study of Holbein in English, published in 1867, and dedicated to John Ruskin (*Some account of the life and works of Hans Holbein, painter of Augsburg*). Foister's book is a magnificent piece of scholarship, beautifully produced and illustrated with many colour plates. Its publication precedes the exhibition *Holbein in England*, opening at Tate Britain this September, which has secured many major loans, and will reunite for the first time in centuries Holbein's prime portrait of Henry VIII, the exquisite small painting from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Madrid, with the portraits of Henry's third wife Jane Seymour, from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and their son Edward, from the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

Foister's study is underpinned by a comprehensive use of contemporary documentation to illuminate the role that paintings and other works played at Henry VIII's court. Through widespread knowledge of domestic inventories and surviving wills she is able to explore the relationship between Holbein and those commissioning and acquiring work from him. She also looks, in an entirely innovative fashion, at the evidence for a Holbein workshop, and at the afterlife of many of his portraits, often copied in a workmanlike style in the years following Holbein's death from plague in 1543. Misattributions of works to Holbein flourished until the mid-nineteenth century: for centuries it was mistakenly believed that he had lived on through the reign of Edward VI, dying in 1554. Only the publication of his will in 1861 revealed the true year of his death. In addition to providing the firmest biographical foundation available for Holbein's years in London, first under the patronage of Sir Thomas, and subsequently, from 1537, as the King's painter (though Henry was his patron as early as 1535), Foister examines Holbein's work for the Protestant Reformation and its relation to traditional beliefs; she also highlights the artist's contribution to the revolution in English decorative design, examining the way in which Holbein's sophisticated understanding of a new classical vocabulary was applied to his spectacular and accomplished designs for goldsmiths – for instance, his table fountain design for Anne Boleyn, now at Basel – and to large-scale paintings like the lost Whitehall mural design celebrating the Tudor dynasty, destroyed in the fire of 1698.

Above all there are the portraits – of the monarch and his queens, and foreign princesses, humanists and doctors, merchants and courtiers, – to inspire wonder and awe, bringing history to life in a way no one else has ever managed to equal.

Art and the politics of religion

The old enemies: Catholic and Protestant in nineteenth-century English culture. By Michael Wheeler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. ISBN: 13-978-0-521-82810-9. RRP £45.00.

reviewed by Andrew Rudd

In the previous number of this journal I reviewed Susan M. Griffin's *Anti-Catholicism and nineteenth-century fiction* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). My feeling was that the book overemphasised what religious debate told us about Victorian attitudes to marriage, colonialism, the education system and so on, whilst declining to take seriously heartfelt disputes over Christian doctrine itself. Surely these latter were matters of conscience also? Although it is true that, for example, the virulently anti-Roman Catholic Charles Kingsley was motivated by sexual anxiety, it was conflict over the authority of church and state, papal infallibility and transubstantiation ('a species of spiritual cannibalism', in the words of one author featured in Michael Wheeler's new book) that took centre stage in Victorian religious debate.

The old enemies takes a more effective approach to a similar range of historical material. Above all, Professor Wheeler is a genial and authoritative guide to Victorian religion, society and literature. His book weaves effortlessly from church history to politics, from philosophy to fine art, from architecture to the historical novel. He makes us feel at home amidst the clamour of the 'war of tongues' (to borrow Cardinal Newman's famous phrase) as if we were at the breakfast table, harrumphing over tracts and newspaper reports for the first time. He is excellent on the Gorham Crisis, that appallingly complicated confrontation between the evangelical George Cornelius Gorham and the Tractarian Bishop Henry Phillpotts over the issue of baptismal regeneration. Essentially, the crux was whether baptism was a matter of individual choice (as evangelicals believed) or a divine sacrament (as high churchmen maintained). The lay judicial committee of the Privy Council eventually overruled the Church of England's court of arches, leading to Tractarian accusations that Britain had turned Erastian.

Typical of Wheeler's illuminating technique is his progression from here to a discussion of pre-Raphaelite images of sheep and shepherds. We are accustomed to recognising in William Holman Hunt's *The hireling shepherd* (1852) and *Strayed sheep* (1853) visual references to the lines from John's gospel, 'the hireling shepherd...careth not for the sheep' (10.13); but given that the Gorham Crisis was only resolved in 1850, and that Holman Hunt had voiced his exasperation with 'muddle-headed pastors' whose incessant wrangling left their congregations neglected, the paintings take on a more immediate and pointed significance. Likewise, Disraeli's apparently general comment in *Sybil; or, the two nations* (1845) that England had jettisoned its sense of community with the dissolution of the monasteries was a striking piece of pro-Romanism in the year of Newman's conversion and the foundation of St Patrick's Catholic College, Maynooth.

Wheeler shows that no form of art was exempt from the politics of religion. The Gothic additions to Arundel Castle, built between 1791 and 1815 under the eleventh duke, were an attempt to associate the family's long-standing Roman Catholicism with the British 'national style'. Herbert Gribble's Brompton Oratory (completed 1895), on the other hand, deliberately turned to ultramontane Italian baroque to signal its departure from Protestant architectural forms. This, of course, came at a time when Roman Catholics were finding new confidence and a new voice in poets such as Coventry Patmore, Gerard Manley Hopkins and Alice Meynell.

If the book has a serious weakness, it is its lack of analysis compared to its copious amount of exposition. Wheeler promises to 'consider' and 'discuss' various topics, but concludes his chapters with little in the way of commentary or even recapitulation. Only in the final paragraph does any clear sense emerge of where his narrative is going. He argues that as Roman Catholics found greater acceptance and moved closer to the mainstream of national life, 'cultural spaces' opened up in the midst of what was formerly impassioned debate. During the 'decadence', many outsiders were attracted to Roman Catholicism's more aesthetic aspects, for example. Figures such as Lionel Johnson, Aubrey Beardsley, Alfred Douglas and Oscar Wilde all crossed the great divide – the latter admittedly only on his deathbed.

By proposing that divisions between Protestants and Catholics eventually transcended questions of doctrine, Wheeler rejoins Griffin in inviting us to look beyond a straightforward succession of historical events to see broader cultural patterns at work. He ultimately gives a more useful panorama of an era in ferment, however, by first mapping out the historical and theological ground in abundant detail.

Exhibition review

The new *Sacred silver and stained glass gallery* at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

reviewed by Martin Harrison

Both casual and serious visitors to the newly refurbished gallery at the Victoria and Albert Museum will find some compelling stained glass on display. Arranged more or less chronologically, the display spans from the thirteenth century to the present day and includes some marvellous surprises. It is particularly strong on the renaissance period: a large and beautiful *Joanna (or Eleanor) of Castile with the virgin and child*, from Brabant, is the kind of art which resonated with A.W.N. Pugin when he designed the pivotal east window for Oscott in 1837; and two sixteenth-century panels from Rouen, depicting emblems of the church and the laity, are a miracle of glass cutting, though it is not necessary to recognise that in order to appreciate their smouldering colour and skilful design.

It is encouraging, too, to see that the indefensible but long-held prejudice against the early Gothic Revival has been overturned, and Georgian England is now represented by the work of William Peckitt, Joseph Hale Miller and William Collins. But the William Collins who painted *St Paul preaching at Athens* in enamels on a single piece of glass (from Raphael's tapestry cartoon, also in the V and A) should not be confused, as the writer of the wallcard has, with the landscape painter of that name – the father of Wilkie Collins. Indeed, as we move outside the Middle Ages we encounter the museum's narrowed scholarship base, partly the result of disastrous government cuts.

Either side of the Second World War, under the curators Bernard Rackham and Arthur Lane, stained glass was less the pariah medium at the V and A, although it was then still too early for a balanced reassessment of the nineteenth century. Art history has since been transformed – though this museum appears to have forgotten it. Puginists will note the irony, given the V and A mounted a major Pugin exhibition only 12 years ago, that Pugin is entirely absent from the new gallery. William Morris is represented by just one piece, of minor significance; while Kempe's small *St Lawrence* is shunted into a vitrine full of silverware and next to a catalogue for the ubiquitous 'church furnishers' Wippell and Co. The chance was spurned here to relate Kempe's idiosyncratic reformulation of late Gothic to an adjacent and fine sixteenth-century *Annunciation*, precisely the kind of object that provided his main inspiration.

The V and A holds probably the finest collection of stained glass in the world, and it would be unreasonable to expect it all to be on show. But an opportunity has been lost, and it is hard to comprehend the thinking behind pitching stained glass along the sides of a corridor otherwise stuffed with silver and brass. From the west one approaches through the huge and impressively restored silver gallery, full of metalwork: by comparison the lack of space accorded to stained glass seems to be an indication of its low status, as are the overbearing steel frames containing the partly daylight glass: appropriate, perhaps, for Romanesque art, these heavy armatures are anachronistic in the context of delicate, linear painting. Nonetheless, a visit may certainly be recommended. For those unfamiliar with the technique of stained glass an audiovisual display demonstrating the replication of a panel of fourteenth-century glass is clear and most instructive, and one seldom finds the medium represented by such variety and quality under one roof.

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Michael Fisher's books have been highly acclaimed by Pugin scholars including Margaret Belcher and Anthony Symondson SJ. This July Fr Fisher published his latest book, *Staffordshire and the Gothic Revival*, available from Landmark Publishing Ltd, £16.99, (£17.74 by post), +44 (0)1335 347349, www.landmarkpublishing.co.uk. Five architects of the Gothic Revival – A.W.N. Pugin, G.G. Scott, George Edmund Street, George Frederick Bodley, and Richard Norman Shaw – built their finest churches in Staffordshire, and each one is examined in detail. Other books available directly from Fr Fisher are as follows at 35 Newland Avenue, Stafford ST16 1NL, telephone +44 (0)1785 245069:

Alton Towers: a Gothic wonderland, foreword by Clive Wainwright, revised edition 2004: £15.95 (£16.95 by post);

Pugin-Land: A.W.N. Pugin, Lord Shrewsbury, and the Gothic Revival in Staffordshire, foreword by Alexandra Wedgwood, 2002: £14.95 (£15.95 by post).

Perfect Cheadle: St Giles' Catholic church, Cheadle, Staffordshire: £3.50 (£4.00 by post).

Pugin Society members will be interested to know that **Graham Parry's** latest book *The arts of the Anglican counter-Reformation: glory, laud and honour*, has recently been published by The Boydell Press (RRP £45.00 / \$80.00; telephone +44 (0)1394 610600). We hope to carry a review of this book in our next number.

Gracewing have continued their series of facsimiles of A.W.N. Pugin's works, with scholarly prefaces by leading authority **Roderick O'Donnell FSA**, in cheap and accessible editions that are recommended to all our readers. *The present state of ecclesiastical architecture in England* (of 1841–2) is a highly important book, containing as it does the only significant description by Pugin himself of his own architectural work. As Dr O'Donnell explains, the book was composed from two long articles written by Pugin for the *Dublin review*, richly illustrated by the architect himself. This edition is combined with a reprint of *Some remarks...relative to ecclesiastical architecture and decoration*, of 1850, a short but fascinating document which provides a rare insight into Pugin's theoretical ideas towards the end of his working career. Gracewing, Leominster, 2004. ISBN 0-85244-626-8; RRP £12.99. Telephone +44 (0)1568 616835.

Another reprint of an important late work is *A treatise on chancel screens and rood lofts: their antiquity, use and symbolic signification*, of 1851. Pugin's consistent championing of the rood screen came to be one of his lifelong obsessions, and this work reveals his extensive knowledge of the subject – both its historical appearance across Western Europe and its ritual significance. Gracewing, Leominster, 2005. ISBN 0-85244-660-8; RRP £12.99. Telephone +44 (0)1568 616835.

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Text without given authors' names

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We welcome new members of The Pugin Society who have joined since the last edition of *True principles* (at time of going to press):

Linda Booth; Richard Booth; Linda and Malcolm Cooper; Jennifer Darling; Fraser Donachie; Peter Goddard and Nadia Reif; Frank Hayward; Robert Holland; Tim Howson; A.C. Hunt; Dr Gerard J. and Mrs Mercedes Hyland; Edward Low; Jonathan Martin; Dr Rosemary Scott; David Thornton; Philip Savage; Owen and Josephine Williams; Ann and Rod Wood; and Mr and Mrs Christopher Wood

and our new corporate members, The Bard Center, New York; Erdington Abbey; the Landmark Trust; the University of Bath; and Oxford Brookes University.

Contributors to this number

Brian Andrews is an architectural historian specialising in nineteenth and early twentieth-century churches and their furnishings. He was visiting curator for the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery's 2002–3 touring exhibition *Creating a gothic paradise: Pugin at the Antipodes* and is Heritage Officer, Archdiocese of Hobart.

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* and of the *Ramsgate Pugin town trail*. She is now working part time in the building conservation section of Thanet District Council and is also employed by the Landmark Trust as a guide at The Grange, Ramsgate.

Peter Blundell Jones, a long-time contributor to the *Architectural review*, is professor of architecture at the University of Sheffield. His many publications include *Hans Scharoun* (1995), *Hugo Häring: the organic versus the geometric* (1999), *Günter Behnisch* (2000) and *Modern architecture through case studies* (2002). This year saw the publication of his long-awaited and highly acclaimed *Gunnar Asplund*.

Mark Bostridge's books include *Vera Brittain: a life*, shortlisted for the Whitbread Biography award, the NCR non-fiction prize, and the Fawcett prize; and *Letters from a lost generation*. He is writing a biography of Florence Nightingale.

Mark Collins is the archivist for the parliamentary estates directorate at the Palace of Westminster, and specialises in the history of nineteenth-century British architecture and decorative arts.

Martin Harrison is the author of *Victorian stained glass* (1980), and is currently editing the *catalogue raisonné* of the paintings of Francis Bacon.

Brendan Hughes has been making television programmes for almost 25 years. He directed some of the first series of *The worst jobs in history* for Channel Four, and has made almost a dozen *Time team* programmes.

David Meara, the author of *A.W.N. Pugin and the revival of memorial brasses*, is rector of St Bride's church, Fleet Street, London.

Roderick O'Donnell, inspector at English Heritage, has been advising on the forthcoming English Heritage book on Roman Catholic churches, *Glimpses of paradise*, opposing the reordering of Cove cathedral, and leading a Pugin Society tour to West Tofts church and Oxburgh Hall.

Zoë Opačić is lecturer in the history and theory of architecture at Birkbeck College, University of London. She specialises in the field of mediaeval architecture and art, particularly in central Europe.

Andrew Rudd is a literary critic and researcher living in London. He obtained a PhD from Cambridge in 2005.

Alexandra Wedgwood, the leading scholar of the work of A.W.N. Pugin as an architect and designer, 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
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