

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iii no iv Winter 2007–8

COMMEMORATION

GERARD HYLAND • GRAHAM PARRY

Margaret Belcher:
Rosemary Hill's 'Pugin'

NICK BEVERIDGE • CATRIONA BLAKER • MARK COLLINS
FRASER DONACHIE • MICHAEL EGAN • MICHAEL FISHER
CAROL JACOBI • DAVID MEARA • RODERICK O'DONNELL
ANDREW RUDD • PETER W. THOMAS

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iii no iv Winter 2007–8

True principles is a peer review journal published by The Pugin Society

Editorial Board

Peter Blundell Jones, University of Sheffield; Mosette Broderick, New York University
Jan de Maeyer, KADOC, Leuven University; Graham Parry, University of York; Andrew Saint
Alexandra Wedgwood, Patron of the Pugin Society

Edited by Timothy Brittain-Catlin

Kent School of Architecture, University of Kent, Marlowe Building, Canterbury CT2 7NR

Email: tjb33@kent.ac.uk

Building news editor: James Jago

Email: jsj500@york.ac.uk

Designed by Michael Pennamacoor

Email: michael@abgrundrisse.net Tel: 01304 617626

Printed by Thanet Press Ltd

Union Crescent, Margate, Kent CT9 1NU

www.thanet-press.co.uk

Published by The Pugin Society:

Patron: Alexandra Wedgwood

President: Mrs David Houle

Chairman: Nick Dermott RIBA

Pugin society members are reminded that the Editor will always welcome contributions on any aspect of Victorian or mediaeval art and architecture from readers. All illustrations must be captioned and all credits and permissions to reproduce must be cleared by the writer. It should be remembered that the views expressed in True principles are not necessarily those of the Editor or The Pugin Society, and that the Editor's decision is final.

A style guide can be provided.

Copy date for Summer 2008 issue: 1st May.

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.

All articles and reviews © the named authors 2008.

Other material © The Pugin Society 2008.

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iii no iv Winter 2007–8

Contents

Editorial

Commemoration	2
Puginworld	4

Articles

<i>A.W.N. Pugin</i> Sir Walter Scott and the Pugins: some reflections <i>by Catriona Blaker</i>	5
---	---

<i>E.W. Pugin</i> Burton Manor: the Staffordshire 'Grange' <i>by Michael Fisher</i>	16
---	----

God's architect

<i>God's architect: a review</i> <i>by Margaret Belcher</i>	25
Pugin remembered: then and now <i>by Graham Parry</i>	34

The E.W. Pugin church gazetteer

<i>by Gerard Hyland</i>	38
-------------------------	----

News and comment

from Mark Collins, Michael Egan, Nick Beveridge, Fraser Donachie, and the Editor	51
Building news , edited by James Jago, with contributions from Catriona Blaker, Nick Dermott, Michael Fisher, Peter Howell and Roderick O'Donnell	55

Book reviews

<i>Augustus Welby Pugin, designer of the British Houses of Parliament</i> reviewed by David Meara	61
<i>Pre-Raphaelite painting and nineteenth-century realism</i> reviewed by Carol Jacobi	62
<i>A glimpse of heaven</i> reviewed by Roderick O'Donnell	64
<i>No disentangling</i> reviewed by Peter W. Thomas	65
<i>The arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation</i> reviewed by Andrew Rudd	66

Bibliography	67
---------------------	----

New members 2006–8	68
---------------------------	----

Contributors to this number	inside back cover
------------------------------------	-------------------

COMMEMORATION

The hallmark of a genius, as opposed to a merely great artist, is that their work can be interpreted in many different ways. It is, for example, one thing to be a designer of memorable and influential buildings; it is quite another to have changed so much across so many different fields of culture that it becomes possible to examine their life and work from viewpoints or specialist fields that are entirely different from one another. It is also possible to be the subject of analyses that are conflicting – so that for example the architect C.F.A. Voysey can play the part in Pevsner's version of architectural history as a proto-Modernist whilst at the same time being revealed to a younger audience, for example in Wendy Hitchmough's accomplished monograph, as an arch-romantic and conservative.

The publication of Rosemary Hill's biography of Pugin last summer was an important stage for those campaigning for the recognition of A.W.N. Pugin's stature as a major cultural and historical figure. In the absence of a modern biography it has been hard to present him as rounded figure: now, thanks to more than ten years of research and dedication on the part of the biographer, everyone can see him as a genuine person rather than as the caricature that he has traditionally been portrayed. Many of those who long looked forward to this portrait have been delighted and enthralled by it. Perhaps most significantly, the aims of The Pugin Society have been magnificently served by it and by the attention that it has aroused: there is little doubt that the broad public perception of the man has been immeasurably changed, to the extent that even local television and radio news programmes carry items about him and his work. The book itself was promoted masterfully; it was reviewed across the whole spectrum of the press, from a laudatory notice by Peter Mandler in the *Times literary supplement* to a generous promotion by Gavin Stamp in a magazine called the *Oldie* aimed at elderly conservatives. It has been serialised on the wireless, and admired in the broadsheets. Its arrival and reception have been very good news for Pugin's reputation and members of the Society have much to be grateful for.

And yet of course for all its monumental size the biography treats only a single aspect of Pugin's career: his own life with its personal and professional vicissitudes. As Margaret Belcher points out in her authoritative review of the book in this journal – the only one written by an expert in the field of Pugin's personal history – the biography largely ignores architecture and design; it is a descendant, in its modern way, of the charming biography by Michael Trappes Lomax of 1932 written before professional architectural history had actually materialised in Britain. As that is just as well, because the current field of Pugin studies includes many specialists who are commemorating other aspects of his legacy in different ways which only together can present the full picture. First and foremost, Pugin was a designer of buildings and objects: exemplary and imaginative restoration work such as that carried out by the architect Martin Goalen at the church of St Thomas of Canterbury, in Rylston Road in Fulham, is itself a form of commemoration at least as important as a book. The accurate cataloguing of built and designed works is not so much an important stage but a *sine qua non* in establishing a designer's reputation; following the pioneering



Figure 1: Restoration work in progress at A.W.N. Pugin's church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Fulham.
See this number's Building news
Photograph: Richard Davies © AcademyProjects.com

work of Alexandra Wedgwood, who prepared the exemplary catalogues for the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Victoria and Albert Museum, Gerard Hyland, by profession a theoretical physicist, has created a gazetteer of the works of E.W. Pugin that will be invaluable for our members. Dr Hyland's full list, which he sees as work in progress, is available on the Society's website; we are reproducing here the lengthy section relating to church and cathedral design.

Other contributors also touch on the theme of commemoration: in particular, Graham Parry refers to the way in which the actual methods and tools of commemorative biography have themselves changed since the days of Benjamin Ferrey. All the members of The Pugin Society who attend a trip to visit work that was designed or influenced by one of the Pugin family are themselves engaged in an act of commemoration. Interestingly, as we all discover more, and more is seen, catalogued, and written about, or indeed authentically restored, the many contradictions in Pugin's work begin to emerge. Was he a proto-Modernist or was he not? Whatever your view of the answer, the important message here is almost certainly that the very fact that these arguments exist is a testament to his unrivalled significance as a cultural figure in British (and not just British) architectural history.

Puginworld

A new form of entertainment has opened in Chatham, Kent, called 'Dickensworld'. This takes the form of a large industrial shed which has been fitted out internally with recreations, of a sort, of scenes from Dickens' novels. It is possible to go on a mechanised boat ride through Fagin's London passing a graveyard out of *The old curiosity shop*; there is a music hall-type experience in which Dickens' characters appear electronically, robotically, acoustically, or acted out by performers. Artful Dodgers, Nancys, Peggottys, Quilps and so on accost one between the various attractions. There are also talking tombstones and simulated lightning. It is an amusing way to spend the afternoon if one is on one's way to the real attractions of the county which lie, of course, in Thanet at its north-eastern corner.

The title 'Pugin-Land' belongs to Nikolaus Pevsner and is currently on loan to Michael Fisher; but the name 'Puginworld' is still available for use. And what might Puginworld offer to the visiting public? There is certainly no shortage of colourful characters. The dwarfish, brilliant but blustering John Britton might show visitors in; at the same time he could usher out of the door the architect-cronies whose time was called by the Gothic Revival: James Wyatt, Robert Smirke, John Nash, John Soane, all reaching raucously for the exit at once. A very fine music hall performance might be got up to show mechanised squabbles between rival robots representing the opposite sides in the great rood screens controversy or the subsequent Palace of Westminster hullabaloo. Poor EW, ringed by lawyers, could be hinged at the waist, condemned to be perpetually reaching for his pocket book. Captain Hibbert from Bilton Grange might be throwing fisticuffs somewhere in the shadows, surrounded by other of AWN's odder clients: Ambrose Phillipps of Grace Dieu; Charles Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick Hall; the duelling mother-and-son combination of Lady Pell and Albert Pell of Wilburton New Manor House. Anguished cries ring from every corner. And that's without even mentioning some of the colourful participants in the present day battles for the Pugin family's reputation.

Sir Walter Scott and the Pugins: some reflections

by Catriona Blaker

Rosemary Hill's magisterial new biography of Pugin has much to say regarding the influence of Scott and mediaevalism in shaping the mindset of the 'romantic Catholics' of early Victorian Britain, and in particular of A.W.N. Pugin. His generation was steeped in the works of Walter Scott, as she shows, even if he himself was later to point the way towards the high Victorians. This short article adds a few broad thoughts to those raised in the biography.

In his book *Victorian taste* John Steegman comments that 'The swing towards Gothic [buildings] came simultaneously from two sources: from Augustus Welby Pugin's mediaevalism based on Christianity, and from the widespread, fashionable mediaevalism based perhaps on Sir Walter Scott, and having as its symptoms a fondness for Plantagenet pageants and *bal masqués* and dresses à la Marie Stuart.'¹

Perhaps particularly convincing though are the words of J.H. Powell, A.W.N. Pugin's chief assistant and son-in-law, who said of the latter in 1889: 'He came just at the right time. Sir Walter Scott had Mediaevalised poetic-story; Christian Archaeologists and Antiquarians were forming associations, articles and controversies in Periodicals kept the subject alive; and so his work rose on the crest of a wave of public interest'.² He had also mentioned Scott in *Some stray notes on art* (1888), three talks given to the students of the Birmingham Municipal School of Art, writing that 'Walter Scott had permeated the country through and through with the Romanticism of the middle ages [and] such a revival [of art] was welcomed gladly after the unsympathetic classicism that had so long held possession of artists' minds'.³ Interestingly, although the very word 'Waverley' conjures up mediaevalism (through *Ivanhoe* and *Quentin Durward*, for example), we have to remember that part of the glamour of these novels derived not only from chivalric times but also from the romance of Scottish history, sometimes in periods closer to Scott's own day.

Certainly Scott was obviously in many ways a romantic – particularly in his poetry, which is full of heightened scenic description, dramatic action and chivalric colour. However, this great chronicler of past times was also the product of his own upbringing and era, enjoying, for example, the use of gas lighting at Abbotsford as early as 1823, and even becoming Chairman of the Edinburgh Oil Gas Company. Pugin, likewise, although immersed in mediaevalism, was quick to take advantage of new technology for the creation of mediaeval objects and of contemporary inventions, as is evidenced in his use of the train for site visits and business purposes. Both men could not help being shaped as much by the present as the past. Edgar Johnson, in his 'Corners of Time', comments that 'Romanticism is a state of feeling, not a body of subject matter', adding: 'Certainly Scott, like almost all of us, had a romantic strain, but the fundamental nature of his mind and feeling, was realistic,

1 Steegman 1971, p 118.

2 Wedgwood 2006, p 18.

3 Powell 1888, p 42.

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART



Figure 2: The entrance to Abbotsford: an engraving by T. Dobbie, after a drawing by William Allan RA, 1832. Allan was a good friend of Scott's, and at J.G. Lockhart's request he made a special group of drawings of Abbotsford during Scott's last illness

rationalistic and stoic.⁴ In fact Scott, the pupil of enlightenment teachers of Edinburgh such as Professor Dugald Stuart – an heir to Adam Smith and David Hume – saw the past as something in flux; he realised, although with regret, that society must change and develop. In *Waverley* and *Redgauntlet*, for example, he saw that, despite his absorption in them, the old feudal ways of the Scottish Highlands after the Jacobite rising of the 'forty-five would inevitably have to yield to a more conventional and contemporary style of life. His romantic nostalgia was tinged with realism.

If Scott was perhaps less of a romantic than has sometimes been thought, the reverse was possibly true of Pugin. Clive Wainwright says of him: 'Certainly his love of all things medieval is not an intellectual one, but it has the passionate character of the Romantics. It is closer to the ethos of Keats's 'St Agnes Eve' and Scott's *Ivanhoe*, than Carlyle's *Past and Present* ... despite his protestations in *True Principles*, many of his buildings and his use of ornament look back to the Picturesque Movement, rather than forward to the sparseness of High Victorian Gothic'.⁵

However, in their letters, and sometimes in their prose, both men used a racy, sometimes earthy, style, purely contemporary, and somewhat removed stylistically from the concept of the blameless romances of the one or the high seriousness of some of the buildings of the other. J.D. Crace speaks of Pugin's 'vigorous, fearless and manly language' – a description which could apply equally well to Scott.⁶

Any comparison between these two men must take into account that they were not of the same generation; Scott was born in 1771 and died in 1832 when Pugin was twenty. Sadly, the autobiographical notes which Pugin commenced cease in 1831, probably because in that year his furniture-making business failed and in the following year both his wife and father died, changing his life completely. These disasters may account for the otherwise very surprising fact of Pugin's not apparently mentioning the death of Scott. A more direct connection between Scott and the Pugin family would be with Pugin's father, A.C. Pugin.

4 Johnson 1973, pp 26-7.

5 Wainwright 1994, p 6.

6 Quoted in Trappes-Lomax 1933, p 314.



Figure 3: The hall, Abbotsford: an engraving by W. Douglas, after a drawing by William Allan RA, 1832

Given the acknowledged significance of the influence of the theatre, and of his work in it, on A.W.N. Pugin, there is a curious link here with Scott. A close friend of Pugin's father was the celebrated comic actor Charles Matthews (died 1835) whose son Charles James was a pupil at the architectural drawing school of Pugin *père* in Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury. A.C. Pugin and Charles Matthews had met and worked in Wales, where Pugin senior had been employed by John Nash. Matthews was also acquainted with the actor-manager Daniel Terry – originally a pupil of Augustus Pugin's particular *bête noire*, the architect James Wyatt, but who had relinquished architecture for the stage. Through Terry, Scott also came to know Matthews. Terry was a long-term friend of Scott's, whom he, Terry, much admired. Scott became godfather to Terry's son; both he and Matthews stayed at Abbotsford, and socialised with Scott in London.

Terry also was a collector and connoisseur, and advised Scott on the furnishing of Abbotsford, buying for him and sending him gifts from London. A.C. Pugin assisted in designing a gallery to house Matthews' fine collection of theatrical paintings at his cottage in Kentish Town, a cottage 'frequented' according to Lionel Lambourne, 'by Byron, Scott, Moore, Coleridge, Lamb, Leigh Hunt and other eminent literary figures'.⁷ It is possible therefore that A.C. Pugin could have met Scott there. The Ballantyne brothers, Scott's printers, also relished the comedian's company at their convivial Edinburgh parties in Scott's heyday in the early 1820s,

⁷ Lambourne 1994, p 35.

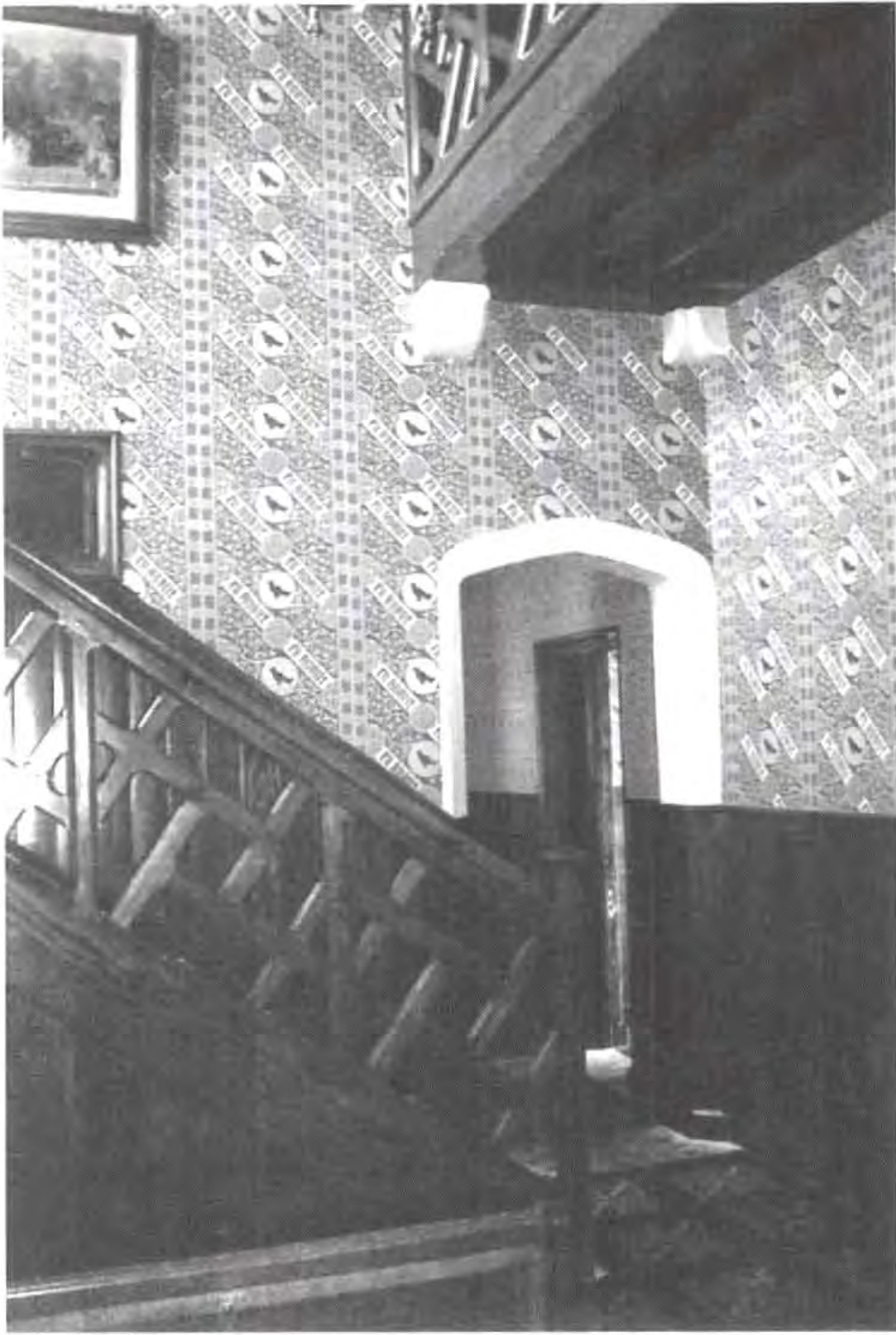


Figure 4: View of the hall, the Grange, Ramsgate. Although this room was still much influenced by mediaevalism, it illustrates how far Pugin, in his later years, had moved on in approach and style from that of Scott's hall at Abbotsford
 Photographed by Catriona Blaker in 2007.

and it seems quite probable that Matthews might well at some point there have mentioned the older Pugin, as a close companion and foremost Gothic architectural draughtsman, to Scott.

Pugin's first biographer Benjamin Ferrey relates that when the brilliant fifteen-year old A.W.N. Pugin was designing furniture at Morel and Seddon's for Windsor Castle in 1827 he fell in with 'a person of inferior position' who introduced him to the backstage world of Covent Garden Theatre.⁸ The young Pugin wrote: 'It was through him that I first imbibed the taste for stage machinery and scenic representations to which I afterwards applied myself so closely'.⁹ More importantly Pugin, who continued until 1833 to work in the theatre as a stage carpenter, super flyman, and most significantly set designer, created in 1831 two of the scenes for Deshayes' ballet adaptation of Scott's *Kenilworth* at the King's Theatre.

Pugin's activities regarding *Kenilworth* are also recorded, as a footnote, in a book named *Illustrations;*

landscape, historical and antiquarian, to the poetical works of Sir Walter Scott of 1834, the author, or editor, of which is not known. Pugin contributed a plate to this publication entitled 'Ancient Furniture' – another tantalising link in the Scott/Pugin connection.¹⁰ Additionally, Pugin's love for dramatic mediaeval or Tudor stage sets, and his ability in this field, may surely be paralleled with the sensational Gothic set pieces enacted at Astley's Amphitheatre, showing in 1838, and devised by Andrew Ducrow. Ian Anstruther writes of Ducrow that he was 'completely uneducated and can never have read a word of the Waverley Novels, but their fame was such ... that he knew their plots and dramatised many of them', including *Kenilworth*, *Rob Roy*, and *Ivanhoe*.¹¹

Of course Pugin read Scott's work. In The Pugin Society's recently published version of J.H. Powell's *Pugin in his home* Powell writes: 'There was an edition of the Waverley novels in the house, for he was very fond of Sir Walter Scott's writing...', and as Rosemary Hill has pointed out: 'Pugin grew up with Walter Scott's novels,

8 Ferrey 1978, p 57.

9 'Autobiography', Wedgwood 1985, p 27.

10 This information, a comment of the late Clive Wainwright, is quoted in Wedgwood 1985, p 31.

11 Anstruther 1963, p 121.

which were appearing throughout his childhood. He loved all such stories, as ... Benjamin Ferrey noted'.¹² It may be a coincidence, but still a fact, that in *Contrasts* Pugin satirically depicts, on an eighteenth-century memorial, a divine named 'The Right Reverend Father in God, John Clutterbuck.' Is it fanciful to suppose that the name of Clutterbuck had stayed in his memory after reading, say, Scott's *The monastery* – or at least, the introductory epistle to it, written by the fictitious Captain Clutterbuck? It is this Clutterbuck, incidentally, who gives such a convincing description of how a man may fall, quite by chance, into the role of local guide and antiquary, and whose account of doing so, and what happens, starts *The monastery* on its intriguing path.

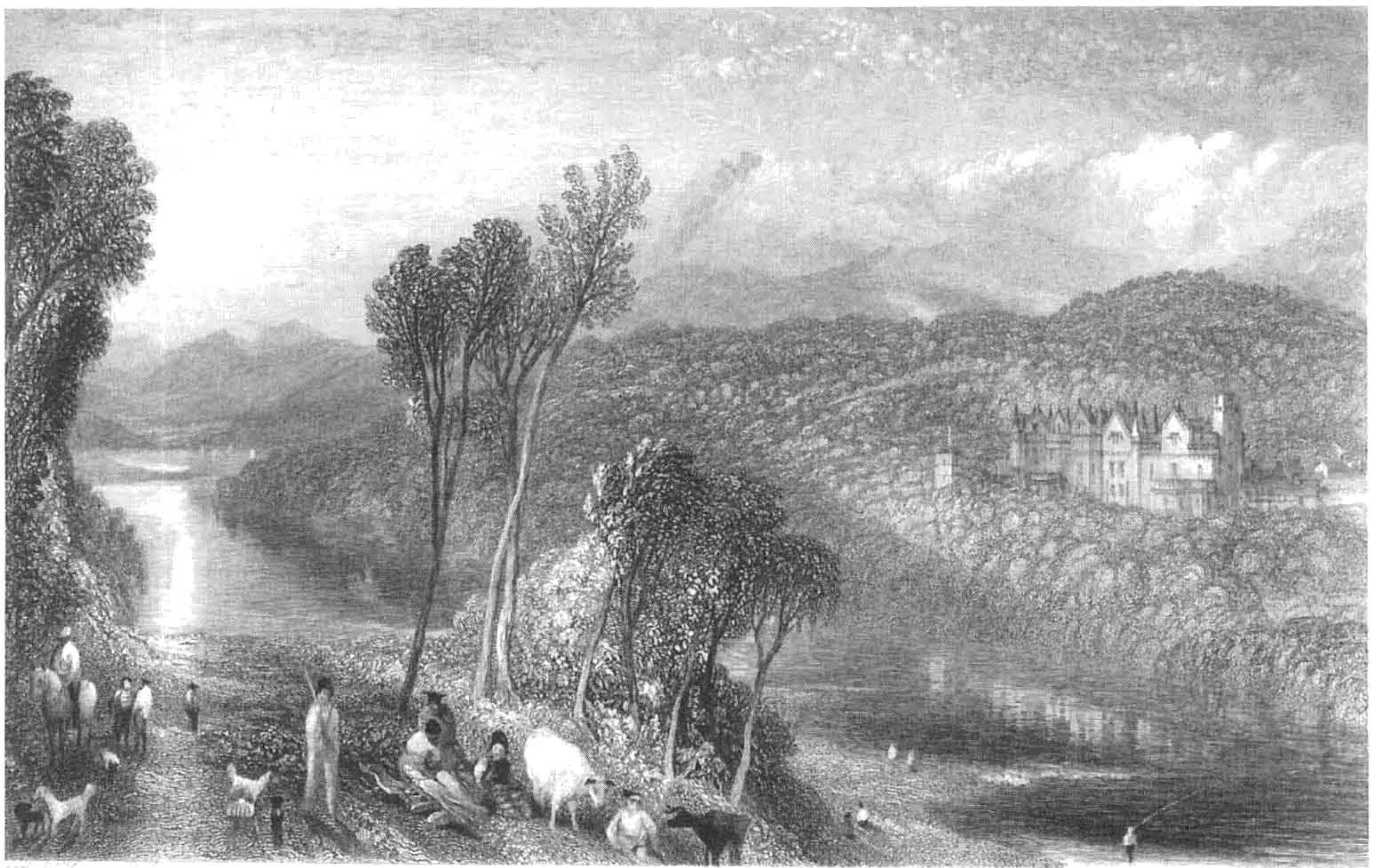


Figure 5: Abbotsford: an engraving by W. Miller after J.M.W. Turner, c1830

It is also reasonable to suggest that Pugin's own writing owed something not only to his experiences in the theatre, but also to Scott. In *The abbot* (1820), chapters xiv and xv, there is a description of the build-up to the attempted desecration of the Abbey of Kennaquhair and the mocking of the abbot, Ambrose, by the Abbot of Unreason, culminating:

They fumigated the church with burnt wool and feathers instead of incense, put foul water into the holy water basins ... they sung ludicrous and indecent parodies, to the tunes of church hymns; they violated whatever vestments or vessels belonging to the Abbey they could lay their hands on; and, playing every freak which the whim of the moment could suggest to their wild caprice, at length they fell to more lasting deeds of demolition, pulled down and destroyed some carved

¹² Hill 1997, p 10.

woodwork, dashed out the painted windows which had escaped former violence, and in their rigorous search after sculpture dedicated to idolatry, began to destroy what ornaments yet remained entire upon the tombs and around the cornices of the pillars.¹³

This passage bears comparison with a description in Pugin's *Treatise on chancel screens and rood lofts* (1851):

Against this gloomy background the rood and its attendant images stood out in red reflected light; but the Jews themselves that scoffed on Calvary's mount were not more bitter in their scorn than the New Gospellers, who uttered loud shouts and cries as they beheld the object of their sacrilegious vengeance. The sound of hollow blows echoes through the church, the lower door is forced: ascending footsteps are heard on the staircase; then the rebounding tread of heavy feet on the loft itself, torches appear – axes gleam – heavy blows fall thick; some cleave, some pierce, some shout, and with one great crash it totters and falls – images, cross – all lie a ruin on the ancient pavement.¹⁴

In 1824, when Scott was in Edinburgh, a massive fire broke out in the Old Town. He described the second night of fire, when Parliament Square was ablaze, writing

that there was no sight more grand or terrible than to see these lofty buildings on fire from top to bottom vomiting out flames like a volcano from every aperture and finally crashing down one after another into an abyss of fire which resembled nothing but hell.¹⁵

Pugin's famous account of the burning of the Westminster parliament, ten years later, has a similar sense of exhilaration to it, particularly since it is fuelled not only by flames, as it were, but also by his whole-hearted joy in seeing the enemy (architecturally speaking) overthrown:

a vast quantity of Soanes mixtures & Wyatts heresies have been effectually consigned to oblivion. oh it was a glorious sight to see his composition mullions & cement pinnacles & battlements flying & cracking While his 2.6 turrets were smoaking Like so many manufacturing chimnies till the heat shivered them into a thousand peices – the old walls stood triumphantly amidst this scene of ruin while brick walls & framed sashes slate roofs &c. fell faster than a pack of cards ... the effect of the fire behind the tracery &c was truly curious & awfully grand.¹⁶

The love of fire, with its dramatic, romantic and sensational quality, appealed to both Scott and Pugin. Perhaps what it came to mean in literary terms finds its apogee in *Jane Eyre* (1847), with the description of Mr Rochester's deranged wife as she plunges from the flaming rooftops of Thornfield Hall to her death, a scene surely derived from the dramatic death of Ulrica, in *Ivanhoe*.

Noone can attempt a comparison of Scott and Pugin without reference to their concept of themselves: how they perceived themselves in society, and how they wanted their houses to reflect this image. As Grierson says of Scott: 'On the one hand, his sympathies are feudal and aristocratic ... On the other hand, was his real

¹³ Scott 1969, p 142.

¹⁴ Pugin 1851, p 80.

¹⁵ Lockhart 1882, vol 7, p 282.

¹⁶ Letter to E.J. Willson of 6.11.1834: Belcher 2001, p 42.

sympathy with the poor'.¹⁷ His combination of high Toryism, fear of reform and uprisings, and yet his personal care and kindness for his own servants, is reflected in Pugin's approach, slightly later, to politics and the state of society. One of Pugin's letters to his stained glass maker and friend John Hardman remarks: 'Don't forget the muskets. We shall want them before long. What a horrible state of things in France ... What liberty. What scurrility. I would shoot any Chartist as I would a rat or mad dog. Send me muskets.'¹⁸ And yet this is the same man who would tend ill sailors, give to the poor whenever he could, and whose compassionate indictment of some aspects of early nineteenth-century society was clearly shown in his famous additional etchings in the second edition of *Contrasts* (1841).

There is, too, a comparison to be made between the sort of world Scott was trying to recreate at Abbotsford and Pugin's life at the Grange, Ramsgate, from 1843 until his death in 1852. This comparison reflects both a difference and a similarity between the two men; the central difference being that although Pugin in his youth evinced an undoubted love of the 'picturesque' and the theatrical, in his later life he was characterised exclusively by his great commitment to Roman Catholicism – the driving force behind him after his conversion in 1835. The Grange therefore must be considered in relation to this. The church of St Augustine's, which Pugin built and paid for, alongside his house, the little school which he hoped to initiate (and did, briefly), his dreams of a convent or monastery across the road, and the cartoon room in his courtyard, where his designs for stained glass were made – all these reflected his particularly Catholic slant.

Scott, however, did not have an overwhelming vision which drove him on in the same way, nor the kind of temperament to which religion was of overriding significance. His nature was not partisan; he had suffered from repressive presbyterian Sundays in Edinburgh as a child (as indeed had Pugin in London, listening with his mother to the interminable sermons of the famous Scottish presbyterian – and eventually Catholic Apostolic – preacher, Edward Irving). Pugin would perhaps have appreciated in later life Scott's view of Irving, whom Scott had met and described as 'A fine looking man (bating a diabolical squint) with talent on his brow and madness in his eye'.¹⁹ It is perhaps paradoxical that it should be Scott, no Roman Catholic himself, who, through the subject matter, historic periods and slant of various of his novels, should have helped to create in the nineteenth century a concept of what Catholicism was.²⁰

Abbotsford – mainly developed from 1818 onwards, renamed as such by Scott who relished its monastic associations with Melrose Abbey not far distant – did not really symbolise a religious view but rather its owner's status as a laird. Status and a sense of identity were important to both men: Scott because he was in love with his ancestry and the romance of the Borders; Pugin for similar reasons but also perhaps particularly because emblems of family and religious Catholic history lent him reassurance in his frenetic and often stressful life and helped to give him the strength

17 Grierson 1938, p 310.

18 House of Lords Record Office, PUG/1/17.

19 Quoted in Johnson 1970, vol 1, p 111.

20 See Hill 2000.

to continue in his great work of revival. Both the Grange and Abbotsford were much embellished with the heraldic devices of their owners. Abbotsford was also essentially Scottish – the precursor of Scottish baronial – both in elements of its appearance, with crowstep gables and turrets, and also in the way it paid tribute, through its appurtenances and the antiquities which Scott had collected, to the glorious and romantic past of Scotland. The house grew somewhat randomly, and was basically a product of the ‘picturesque’, architecturally speaking, rather than of the later Gothic Revival. Abbotsford can be related more readily to Pugin’s earlier work than to the Grange; for example to Scarisbrick Hall in Lancashire.

At Scarisbrick Pugin, in addition to major exterior alterations, contributed to the interior not only a wealth of his own designs but skilfully wove into his own work (as he would not have done later) the large collection of antique carving and figures of different periods which Charles Scarisbrick had assembled, frequently through the agency of the famous Edward Hull, antique dealer of Wardour Street in London. Mark Girouard has described Scarisbrick as ‘an antiquary’s hideout, a glorified junk box put together with jackdaw rather than connoisseur enthusiasm’ and compares it to ‘the armour-filled and relic-studded rooms of Scott’s Abbotsford’.²¹ Indeed, some of Scott’s less effective dialogue has been referred to as ‘slack Wardour Street’.²²

Scott filled his house and grounds with replicas, casts and some genuine antiquities. His letters to Daniel Terry on the subject of furnishing and decor are full of interest. He refers to Abbotsford as ‘the whimsical, gay, odd cabin’, an expression which has a ring of Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill about it.²³ In addition, he expresses himself as a true Goth in stating that he had ‘always had a private dislike to a regular shape of a house’, although adding, with a slight degree of uncertainty, ‘No doubt it would be wrong to set about building an irregular one from the beginning.’²⁴ He thought too that ‘Greek architecture doubtless has great beauties, but one is too often obliged to sacrifice the interior arrangements to regularity of plan’, and that ‘colonnades and Corinthian capitals require sunny skies, while towers and crenellations we feel go better with our cloudy climate.’²⁵ Both these statements would certainly have found favour with Pugin.

Three architects were connected with the creation of Abbotsford – William Stark, then Edward Blore, and finally William Atkinson, who, as Stark had been, was recommended by Terry. To Terry himself fell the task in London of choosing *objets de vertu*, armour and other items for Scott, and, in particular advising him on good furniture makers and dealers such as George Bullock whose designs are thought to have influenced the young Pugin.²⁶ Terry’s role was similar in one way to Pugin’s, at the Earl of Shrewsbury’s Alton Towers, a huge rambling accretion of buildings to which Pugin made significant additions and alterations. At Alton, Pugin, in addition to being Shrewsbury’s architect and interior designer, was also his buyer of

21 Girouard 1979, p 115.

22 Cockshutt 1969, p 95.

23 Quoted in Johnson 1970, vol 1, p 461.

24 *Ibid*, p 557.

25 *Ibid*, vol 2, p 1047.

26 Gere & Whiteway p 21, where Scott and Pugin are both mentioned.

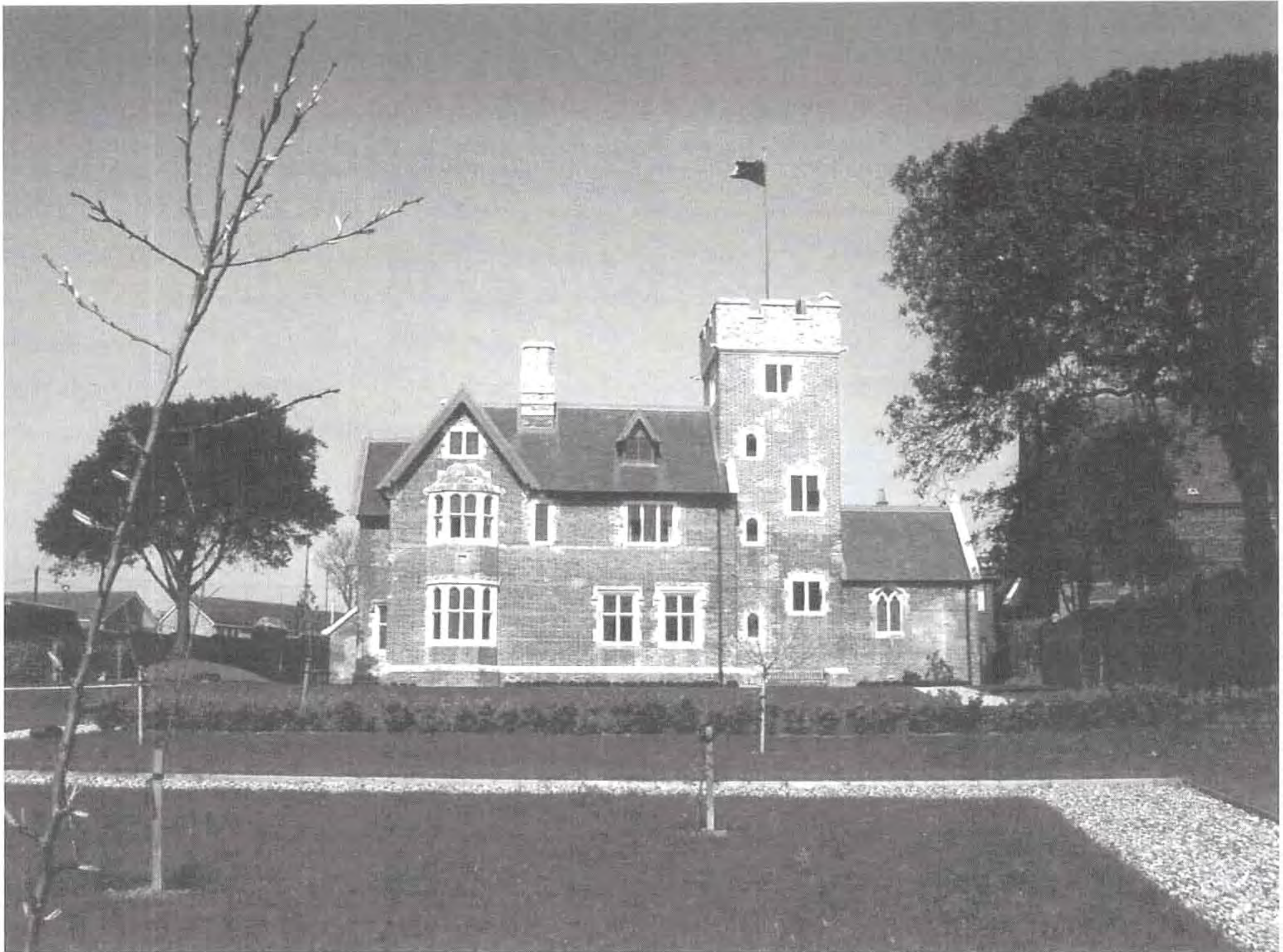


Figure 6: The Grange, Ramsgate, from the garden. This view of the house showing its clean-cut, almost austere, appearance is so different from the romantic, picturesque, character of Abbotsford as depicted by Turner in figure 5. By 1845, having built the Grange, Pugin had changed for ever the concept of what Gothic and the Gothic Revival meant.

Photographed by Catriona Blaker in 2007.

antiquities and furnishings – from the dealers Pratt’s (for armour), Edward Hull, John Webb and others, and also sometimes from sources on the continent.

Although Pugin’s work was not great in extent north of the border Scotland was very important to him, and his mood was surely coloured by Scott’s interpretation of Scottish history and in particular by the Jacobites. He was most excited, for example, when visiting Lord Lovat in the Highlands in 1842, to meet the Sobieski Stuart brothers, who lived, as he enthusiastically reported, ‘on a most romantic Island surrounded by waterfalls & rocks – in a vast glen between the mountains’.²⁷ This certainly sounds like the view of a man who has read *Waverley*, and *The lady of the lake*. Pugin was also employed in Scotland by the Scottish architect James Gillespie Graham, whom Scott knew, at Murthly New Castle, now demolished, and also at Taymouth Castle, both in Perthshire. Pugin worked in Scotland, between 1837 and 1842, designing eclectically in Louis XIV and Jacobean style at Murthly and, with Gillespie Graham, providing particularly sensational and dramatic interiors in the library and banner hall, somewhat in the manner of the Westminster interiors, at Taymouth.

²⁷ Letter to Shrewsbury of 6.8.1842; Belcher 2001, p 373.

On balance, it would seem that it is the young Pugin to whom Scott would have meant most. Pugin's early work and designs reflect particularly the flavour of the type of Gothic inspired by Scott where total accuracy or authenticity was not always demanded, but where a certain panache and dramatic flair were needed. This was reflected in literary terms as well: 'Lukács has ... observed that the same historical novelists who put their efforts into extreme accuracy of material detail are often those who fail most lamentably to create authentically historical human personalities for their characters.'²⁸ The novels of Scott can perhaps be said to echo the early architectural Gothic Revival in the sense that they, similarly, express the concept that conveying a mood and inspiring the onlooker with the wonders and associations of mediaevalism is, in a way, more important than accuracy of style and period.

In his ballad collecting, resulting in *The minstrelsy of the Scottish border* of 1802, Scott frequently altered verses and metre, in addition to writing new ballads. Matthew Hodgart remarks that Scott 'had little sense of editorial integrity; he could not resist the temptation to improve a ballad that came to him in an imperfect state'.²⁹ This patching and matching, as an approach to historicism in literature, also reminds us of Pugin's early work. Pugin himself in a footnote to *An apology*, looking back to his sinful past (as it were), writes: 'I designed and drew from a sort of intuitive feeling for Christian architecture, in consequence of the numerous examples I had seen. I entered into all the beauties of the style, but I did not apply them with the feelings and on the principles of the old architects. I was only an adapter, and often guilty of gross inconsistency'.³⁰

Despite these inconsistencies and anachronisms both men were committed antiquarians who continually made important scholarly book purchases in addition to collecting antiquities and historic objects. As one can see from the notes or 'Appendix' to *Contrasts*, Pugin's reading, in addition to his hands-on knowledge of mediaeval buildings, was extensive, albeit within a certain restricted area. 'The majority of his books' as David Meara remarks, 'related to the religious, social and architectural history of pre-Reformation Europe'.³¹ The notes supplied by both Scott and Pugin in their publications are remarkably thorough. Both Scott and the Pugins – father and son – built on the growing absorption in antiquarianism and related publications which had developed in the late eighteenth century, led by men such as John Carter and John Britton. Scott wrote the commentary for *Provincial antiquities and picturesque scenery of Scotland* (1818), and both Pugins produced invaluable source books for Gothic detail (particularly A.C. Pugin) such as *Specimens of Gothic architecture* (1821 and 1823), and *Designs for gold and silversmiths* (A.W.N. Pugin, 1836).

Despite the fact that Scott was living in William Cobbett's Britain, in the aftermath of the French Revolution and a major war which had resulted in a Tory peacetime which for many was far from acceptable, and that Pugin worked against a background of revolution on the continent, and unrest and Chartism at home, they both, despite their individual personal difficulties, moved at times in charmed circles.

²⁸ Brown 1979, p 177.

²⁹ Quoted Calder & Calder 1969, p 42.

³⁰ Pugin 1843, fn pp 15-6.

³¹ Meara 1991, p 21.

They relished the great and elite events of state; for them they were living history. Pugin masterminded the grand visit of Henri de Chambord (who afterwards visited Abbotsford), the Duke of Bordeaux and the grandson of Charles X of France, to Alton Towers in 1843; and Scott organised an even more remarkable event – George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822.³² To both men a sort of patriotism was of great significance. Pugin stressed the Englishness of Catholicism – ‘Catholicism is so interwoven with every thing sacred, honourable, or glorious in England that three centuries of puritanism ... have not been able effectually to separate it’; a page earlier he wrote: ‘An Englishman needs not controversial writings to lead him to the faith of his fathers’.³³ Scott, likewise, cared passionately for the past – and present – of Scotland.

Finally, the most potent visual legacy for which these two outstanding figures may be said to have been responsible, and in a sense linked, directly or indirectly, is arguably the Houses of Parliament and all that it represents. This iconic building demonstrates in perpetuity the inspired designs of Pugin under the direction of Charles Barry. The fact that the very competition rules for ‘The New Palace of Westminster’, as it was called, stipulated that the entries must be Gothic or Elizabethan, and that such styles were selected to symbolise the nation, surely shows how the past was viewed at that time. The person who to an enormous extent had helped shape this view was Walter Scott. Pugin and Barry’s designs, and indeed the whole concept of the building, were selected, and considered appropriate, largely because of the triumph and influence in the early nineteenth century of mediaevalism, of which Scott was one of the greatest – probably *the* greatest – begetters. Whilst Pugin was only one of countless people influenced by Scott, it is indeed interesting to attempt to consider, in a small way, their similarities, their differences, and the effect one may have had upon the other. A final thought: now that Pugin has been so splendidly reevaluated and honoured as he should be, what about a major reassessment of Sir Walter Scott?

32 See the excellent account of Pugin at Alton Towers in Fisher 1999, pp 92-5.

33 Pugin 1843, p 50; 49.

Burton Manor: the Staffordshire 'Grange'

by Michael Fisher

Burton Manor stands little more than 100 yards west of one of the busiest stretches of the M6 motorway, on the outskirts of Stafford. Views from the northbound carriageway are restricted by trees, but travellers on the southbound side near Junction 13 will catch sight of the high gables, tall chimney stacks and castellated turret of this impressive Gothic Revival house which has received surprisingly little notice or documentation, and carries no listed building status. It is a house filled with surprises. A description of the house was included in *Pugin-Land*, and it was also noted by Roderick O'Donnell in *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands*.¹ Since then, further discoveries have been made in the Hardman metalwork daybooks, and the restoration of the Grange has enabled more direct comparisons to be made between the two buildings; furthermore, additional biographical material about the Whitgreaves has been found.

The architect of Burton Manor was E.W. Pugin. That alone should make it worthy of attention, but the most striking feature of the house is its similarity to the Pugin family house at Ramsgate. Built in 1854–5, it was the architect's first major domestic commission following the death of his father in the autumn of 1852. Yet even at this early stage in his career, Pugin was expressing some innovative ideas of his own as well as following his father's established traditions of architecture and design.

Burton Manor was built on a mediaeval ancestral site for Francis Whitgreave (1819–96), a barrister, of Moseley Hall near Wolverhampton. In September 1853 he married Teresa Mostyn, sister of Sir Piers Mostyn of Talacre, Denbighshire, and the manor house was to become their new family home. Their initials are set out in polychrome brick on the south-east wall. Francis was a direct descendant of Thomas Whitgreave, 'the preserver' (1618–1702), who had played a key role in the escape of Charles II after the battle of Worcester in 1651. The Whitgreave home was then at Moseley Hall near Wolverhampton where the king found refuge; close by is Boscobel where he famously hid in the oak tree.

The Whitgreaves took their name from the small village to the north of Stafford where the family originated. By the mid-fifteenth century they had acquired properties on the south-west side of the borough including a moated manor house: Burton Manor, which had been home to Robert Whitgreave (d 1449) who represented Stafford borough in parliament, and who rose to fame as teller of the exchequer and treasurer to Henry V during the French wars. The manor house was demolished in 1606, and a century later the land passed out of the family.² Francis Whitgreave himself was a scholar and an antiquary with a keen interest in his family's history. He was also the last lay student to be admitted to the English College in Rome where English priests had been trained since the Reformation. By repurchasing the Burton

¹ Fisher 2002 p 150–3 (*etc*); O'Donnell 2002, p 116.

² Staffordshire County Record Office (SCRO), MS D(W)1734/3/4/102, and genealogical notes on the Whitgreaves, *ibid*, D260/M/F/5/49.

estate in about 1850 Whitgreave was returning to his roots; and who better to build his new home on an ancient site but the greatest 'mediaeval Victorian' of all: A.W.N. Pugin?

The Whitgreaves were staunchly Roman Catholic and Pugin may have encountered them as members of the wealthy Catholic coterie who supported the building of his new churches in the West Midlands including St Augustine's, Kenilworth, in Warwickshire³ and St Mary's, Brewood, in Staffordshire. Whitgreave and Pugin had a mutual friend in Francis Amherst, a future bishop of Northampton whose sister Mary had become the object of Pugin's affections. The three of them were together on a cross-Channel voyage in June 1844, and Whitgreave later recalled that Pugin was 'as usual most interesting and amusing during the voyage, full of life and spirit' – as well he might have been if, as has been plausibly suggested, the real reason for Pugin's journey was a tryst with Mary Amherst in the Rhineland.⁴ In the summer of 1845 Francis Whitgreave spent several weeks at Ramsgate where he saw much of Pugin and other members of the Pugin family.⁵ John Hardman Powell also remembered Whitgreave's visits to Ramsgate among those 'who were specially interested in the Medieval Revival'.⁶ By this time Pugin had finished building and furnishing St Augustine's Grange, shockingly Gothic in contrast to the Regency terraces of Ramsgate, and embodying Pugin's true principles of fitness for purpose, truth to materials, and honesty of design. It soon became 'a durable model, its sense of familiarity to us today a measure of its imitation by thousands of later Victorian vicarages and substantial family homes'.⁷ Burton Manor was one of the first of these, and was based on Whitgreave's own perceptions of the Grange.

The building of a true-principles house on a mediaeval moated site would have appealed to A.W.N. Pugin and it is quite likely that the project was discussed when Whitgreave acquired his land early in 1851. Pugin's subsequent illness and death left a considerable quantity of unfinished business to be picked up by his 18-year-old son E.W. Pugin and the latter moved for a time to Birmingham so as to be close to the Hardmans, his father's friends and business associates. It was while he was there that Burton Manor was built. At precisely the same time he designed an impressively large church and conventual buildings for a community of Benedictine nuns at Oulton, some six miles north of Stafford.

No original plans or drawings for Burton Manor appear to have survived, but the attribution to E.W. Pugin is not merely on grounds of style or of the known links between Francis Whitgreave and A.W.N. Pugin.⁸ The Hardman metalwork daybooks

3 A receipt signed by A.W.N. Pugin regarding payment for work completed on St Augustine's is among the Whitgreave Papers in SCRO, D718/5/11.

4 Roskell 1903, p 157. In 1847 Amherst and Whitgreave went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, first taking ship to Cairo and then travelling overland by camel. Pugin followed this expedition with some interest, and in a letter to Lord Shrewsbury he expressed some concern for the safety of his friends. Letter in a private collection; copy in the House of Lords Record Office, PUG/3/49; Hill 2007, pp 305-6.

5 So John Hardman wrote in a letter to James Powell, August 1845. Hardman metalwork letters, Birmingham City Archives.

6 Wedgwood 2006, p 35.

7 Stamford 2006, p 13.

8 The deeds and documents held by the present owners date only from the 1920s, while the Whitgreave papers in SCRO do not go beyond 1851. A descendant of the Whitgreaves tells the depressingly familiar tale of an elderly relative, in this case a daughter of Francis Whitgreave, having destroyed a quantity of family papers which she considered to be unimportant, including, it seems, those relating to Burton Manor.

in the Birmingham City Archives contain several entries noted 'E.W. Pugin Esq' in respect of Burton Manor. They include vanes and finials for the turrets and gables, a large wrought-iron cross for the tower, and internal metalwork such as door furniture, grates, and kitchen ranges.⁹ The entries also give the builder's name as W.T. Woollams of Stafford.

The plan and size of the new house were governed by the extent of the land



Figure 7: Burton Manor from the south west
Photographed by Michael Fisher in 2001.

available within the mediaeval dry moat which then still encircled the site. The house is built of red brick with stone dressings, and there are bands of polychrome brickwork including crosses, monograms, and geometrical patterns. The fenestration is irregular: stone-framed windows of two, three and four lights with trefoiled heads and transoms. There are canted bays – just as at Ramsgate – to the library, drawing room and principal bedroom.

The principal entrance is on the south-west side – the equivalent of the north side of the Grange but taller and rather more impressive on account of the fenestration which includes two three-light windows on the upper level of the hall and staircase [figure 7]. The front door is approached by way of a double-arched bridge over the moat, and this is covered by an elongated

glazed porch very similar to the one which E.W. Pugin added to the Grange [figures 8, 9]. It predates his alterations to the Grange, however, by almost a decade and so may be considered as the prototype. Set into the gable of the porch is a stone plaque carved with the Whitgreave coat of arms and the motto *regem defendere victum* ('to defend the vanquished king') – a direct reference to the family's role in the escape of Charles II.

At Ramsgate A.W.N. Pugin set the kitchen wing at right angles to



Figure 8: Burton Manor: the entrance porch
Photographed by Michael Fisher in 2001.

⁹ There are ten such entries to Francis Whitgreave in respect of Burton Manor between 2.1855 and 8.1856.



Figure 9: The Grange; the entrance porch
Photographed by Michael Fisher in 2006.

the north front of the house. This allowed his private chapel to be built immediately to the east of the principal rooms, separated from them by a large square staircase tower. Not needing to make the same provision at Burton Manor, E.W. Pugin placed the service rooms in the equivalent position to the chapel at the Grange. They are defined by lower roof levels and plainer windows. As at Rams-

gate there is a tower at the juncture, but here it is an octagonal one rising from a square base. It contains a staircase that gives access to the first-floor rooms and to the servants' quarters in the attics. The tower was originally crowned by an elaborate timber spirelet. Old photographs show that immediately to the north west of the



Figure 10: Burton Manor from the south east, photographed in the 1890s
Stafford Grammar School.

service wing there was once an octagonal pantry or game larder, with a steeply pitched roof and lantern [figure 10].¹⁰

¹⁰ An entry in the metalwork daybook at 13.12.1855 includes a wrought-iron meat corona with rings and hooks, possibly for this building.

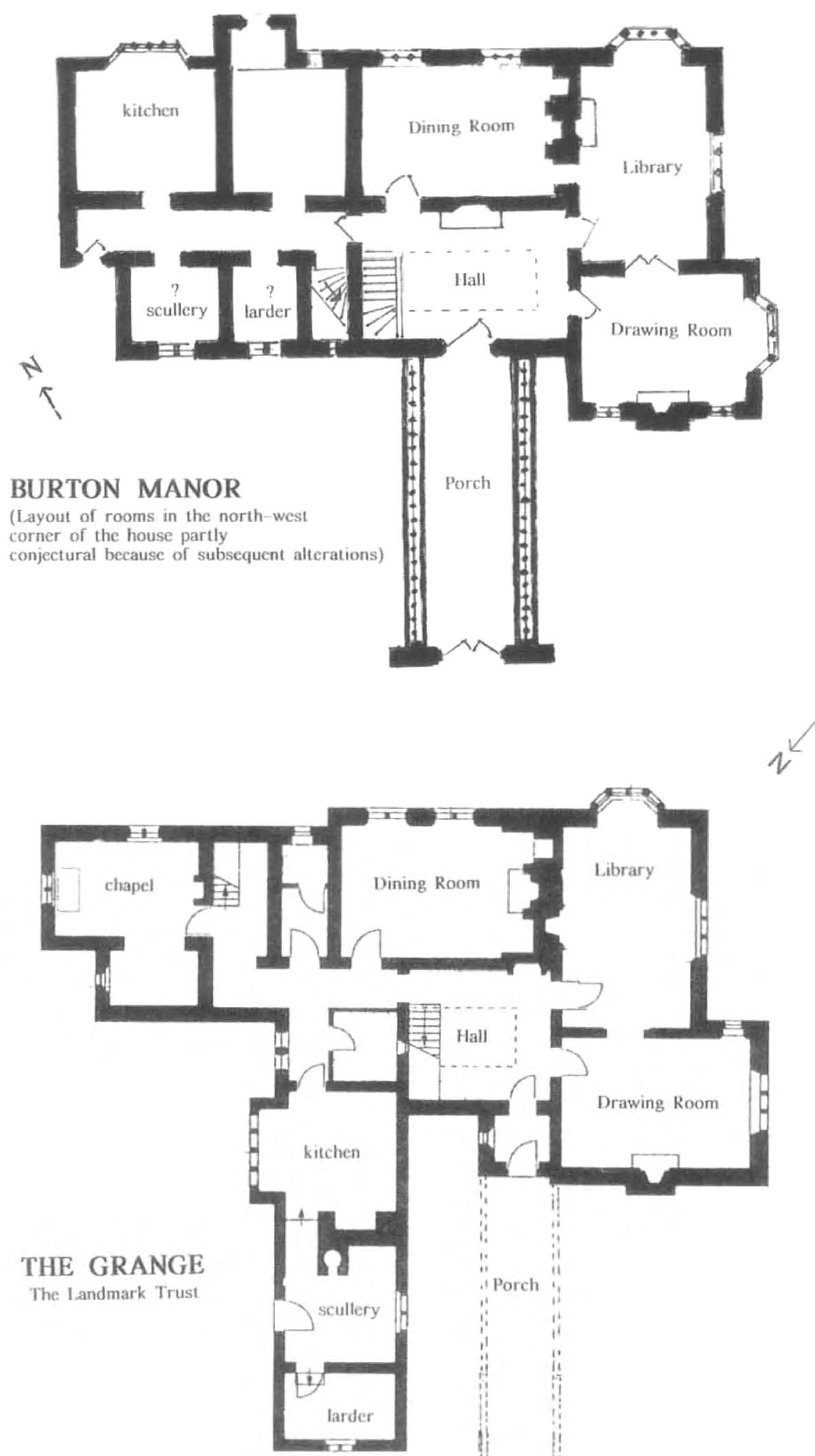


Figure 11: Burton Manor and the Grange; comparative ground-floor plans
Drawn by Michael Fisher, based on drawings from the Landmark Trust.

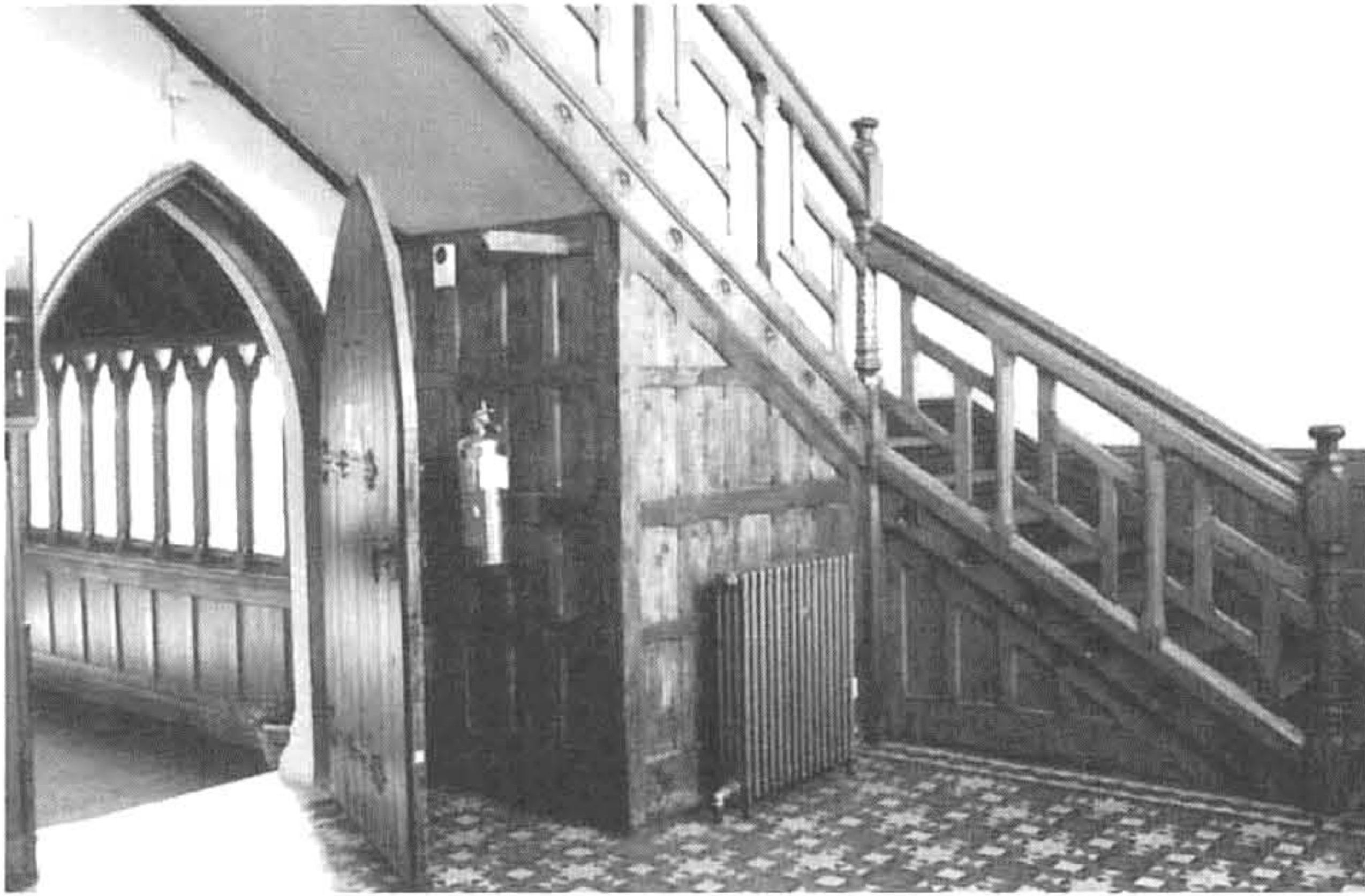


Figure 12: Burton Manor: the hall and staircase. Compare with figure 4, p 8.

Photographed by Michael Fisher in 2001.

the Grange [figure 11]. This may reflect the mind of the young E.W. Pugin who knew his own home better than any other domestic building, and the conscious intention of Francis Whitgreave to model his new residence on a house that he knew and admired. First of all there is the entrance hall, rising through both storeys, with big windows on the north side and a panelled dado [figure 12; compare figure 4, p 8]. It is the pivotal point of the house; all the principal rooms are accessed from it, so that the traditionally 'alien communities' of family, servants, children and guests would constantly pass through it. All of this mirrors the Grange, not only in its structures but also in its function as 'a modest and practical adaptation of the medieval great hall'.¹¹ The staircase with its intriguing openwork balustrade is also copied from the Grange, though the hall itself is somewhat larger in area. The newels once carried brass antelopes (from the Whitgreave crest), but these have been removed for reasons of safety and are now displayed on the upper walls. The ceiling of the stairwell retains its original, though recently restored, stencil patterns.¹² The most original feature of the entrance hall is the stone chimneypiece which is more elaborate than the A.W.N. Pugin one at the Grange. It has a gabled mantel carried forward on slender detached columns. Like all the others in the

Subsequent extensions have obscured the central part of the north-east front, but old photographs show how strikingly similar it was originally to the south elevation of the Grange. The south-eastern exteriors, comprising the library, drawing room and part of the dining room, remain near-replicas in both plan and elevation.

Internally, the layout of Burton Manor and the treatment of the rooms matches



Figure 13: Burton Manor: the dining-room fireplace

Photographed by Michael Fisher in 2001.

¹¹ Hitchcock 1954, p 232.

¹² Mr REL Button of Stafford, who knew the house before it became a school, remembers that in the early 1980s there was still much patterned wallpaper, as at Ramsgate, in various rooms.



Figure 14: The Grange: the dining room fireplace
Photographed by Michael Fisher in 2006.

house it has richly patterned Minton tiles in the reveals and hearth. It was all strikingly different from the Regency house which Francis' father, George Thomas Whitgreave (1787–1863) had built for himself and his first wife at Moseley Court some 40 years earlier.¹³

13 Having become a widower George Whitgreave married again in the summer of 1849, provoking AWN Pugin to write to Jane 'Old Mr Whitgreave (age 70) has married a 19 year old girl in Ireland'. Letter in a private collection; copy in the House of Lords Record Office, PUG/3/289. He was actually 63.

The disposition of the principal ground-floor rooms – dining room, drawing room, and adjacent library – is copied from Ramsgate, and there is a close similarity in details. Chief of these is the dining-room mantelpiece, simple and massive, with stone brackets and a bressummer just like the one in Pugin's own dining room [figures 13, 14]. The difference lies in the decoration which, instead of the father's carved panel of St Augustine, consists of painted red roses and a white swan with outstretched wings. Both are Lancastrian motifs, the latter featuring on the tomb of Henry V and the celebrated Dunstable Swan Jewel; there are clear references in this context to Francis Whitgreave's fifteenth-century ancestor Robert.

The woodwork of the drawing room and library is richer than that of the dining room, with linenfold panelling, and a pair of Gothic connecting doors with fine brass furniture by Hardman. The chimneypieces are typically E.W. Pugin, with his intricate carving. The one in the library carries a text cut in a florid Gothic style: 'Kindle in our hearts O Lord the fire of thy charity'. The Pugins had an eye for security too, and the windows are fitted with stout internal shutters: sashes for the smaller windows, and for the bays massive sliding shutters which, when pushed back into the wall cavities, are concealed behind narrow doors. The ceilings are wood panelled, and the panels have shields blazoned with various religious emblems and coats of arms of the Whitgreaves and other Roman Catholic families.

On the first floor is Francis Whitgreave's master bedroom, connecting with that of his wife – identical with those of A.W.N. Pugin and his wife Jane at Ramsgate. In the attic above is the former chapel, with closely set scissor trusses. The Gothic tracery of its pointed window is no longer in place. Photographs taken in about 1890 show other features which have likewise disappeared, such as the polygonal spirelet on the tower, bargeboards and ridge crests.

The Whitgreaves were noted benefactors to the Roman Catholic churches in the area, and particularly to their own parish church of St Austin's, Stafford, where the parish priest from 1856–8 was none other than Francis Amherst. The church was rebuilt by E.W. Pugin in 1861–2. Teresa Whitgreave died in 1873 and Francis in 1896, leaving two sons and two daughters through whom Burton Manor remained in Whitgreave hands until the 1920s when it was sold to the Stafford-based British Reinforced Concrete Company who turned it into a sports and social club. The north-east section of the moat was filled in, and a hall and other club facilities were built over it, thus obscuring some of the frontage. The external stone doorway and traceried window from the base of the tower were relocated in one of these new buildings which in their design and choice of materials were not unsympathetic, though the style is clearly that of c1930. The grounds were also adapted for new use, but there is one important survival in the garden close to the front of the house: a well-spring with a wooden cover and a stone surround inscribed with a text from St John's gospel about the water of life (chapter 4, verses 13–4).

Burton Manor now forms part of Stafford Grammar School which is a proud custodian of its Pugin inheritance. Recent restoration work has included the removal of layers of paint from the stone fireplaces, the zealous cleaning of the ceilings and panelling, and expert retouching of the stencilling on the ceiling of the entrance hall. The development of the school has required new buildings to be erected on other

parts of the site, well away from the house. During a recent (2007) excavation for one of these, a quantity of ironwork was unearthed. The most significant item was the large floriated cross which had once surmounted the spirelet on top of the tower.¹⁴ The original pattern has been located, and the cross is shortly to be restored at the Hardman studio. The only apparent threat to the house comes from proposals to widen the M6, which already runs too close for comfort.

Burton Manor is in the private ownership of Stafford Grammar School, and accessible to visitors only by prior agreement. The author is most grateful to the headmaster, Mr M.R. Darley, and to the bursar, Mr B. Astbury, for allowing free access to the buildings and photography. Members of The Pugin Society were able to visit in October 2004, and the Victorian Society in May 2007.

Michael Fisher's latest book, *Hardman of Birmingham*, will be published on 3rd May 2008, and not as advertised in the leaflet accompanying this number of *True principles*.

¹⁴ The cross is entered in the Hardman metalwork daybook, 21.2.1855, as 'A wrought iron galvanised cross, 6ft high, with spandrels scrolls & beaten leaves, the leaves knob etc. to be gilt, for turret £6. 10s'.

God's architect: a review

God's architect: Pugin & the building of romantic Britain. By Rosemary Hill. London: Penguin, 2007. ISBN 0713994991. RRP £30.00

reviewed by Margaret Belcher

People interested in A.W.N. Pugin have been looking forward to this book for a long time. There were stories abroad even before the Pugin exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1994 that Rosemary Hill was to write a biography; and at the conference which accompanied that exhibition her paper on Pugin's parents showed that she had already begun her exploration of their world. *God's architect* has now appeared, to take its place in the line stretching back to Benjamin Ferrey in 1861. When Ferrey's firsthand recollections of Pugin and his father were published, critics complained that the story was incomplete, that there was more to tell; and when Michael Trappes-Lomax issued his account of *Pugin: a mediæval Victorian* in 1932, the same charge was brought. Will readers be satisfied with this volume? It is a big book, the fruit of years of search and research, stepping boldly forth with an arresting title and a colourful jacket.

Anyone opening it in the hope of a thorough and comprehensive discussion of Pugin's buildings and other artefacts will be disappointed. *God's architect* notices Pugin's major, complete designs as and only as it wishes, often when dealing with his architectural theories. Some works are brushed aside, and some of his output is entirely ignored. In the text proper, there is no reference to St Lawrence's, Tubney, his only complete Anglican church, for instance, or to Oswaldcroft, the house he designed for the merchant Henry Sharples in Liverpool. The newcomer to Pugin will not discover from this book that he designed stained glass for William Butterfield in Devon or a magnificent tiled floor for Bishop Bagot in Staffordshire. Yet commissions such as these last, for parts of buildings though they may be rather than whole structures, are what occupied Pugin much of the time in his later years when he had no more churches to erect. People associated with buildings are also lost from the story: W.T. Sandys, for whom Pugin worked for a decade in Beverley and whom he and Jane visited on their wedding tour, is one whose name never appears; James Chadwick at Ushaw, to whom he wrote from Rome, and John Sutton of Cambridge, who brought him important commissions, are likewise overlooked. These men were more than clients, they were friends. Because many of these people and these commissions belong to the later years of Pugin's life, their elision reinforces the impression which the book gives of being capacious at the outset but pared back towards the end. For instance in the town of Brighton generous attention is paid to the Royal Pavilion in the time of A.C. Pugin but there is not even a glance, thirty years later, at Pugin's scheme of apostles, lamentably green though he thought they turned out, for the twelve lights of the chancel in R.C. Carpenter's new church of St Paul. Again, to take another example of the expansiveness of the opening chapters and the reduction of the later, John Britton, more than forty years Pugin's senior and a collaborator with his father, is introduced with a detailed history and background,

whereas John Allcard of Burton Closes in Bakewell, who ordered wallpaper, lamps, and other fittings from Pugin for his new house, is not so much as named.

As if to offset the silence of the text about many commissions, Hill includes a 'List of Works' (p 500). One grim effect of it is to show how much of Pugin's work has been lost. Certainly Trappes-Lomax's gazetteer needs updating but it may be questioned whether this is the right place to do it. A few of the omissions just noticed are made good, but not all, and some cannot be, because of the express exclusion of much that Pugin designed. A bald entry in a list cannot in any case compensate for the missing identification or discussion.

It may be objected that Pugin's fame rests on his work as an architect and designer and that his importance derives from that work; evidently the decision to keep the focus away from individual commissions is deliberate. Contrived though it may be, for it will always be debatable where the man ends and the architect or designer begins, such a separation of powers is not merely an accommodation of the biographer's strengths, which lie elsewhere. Ferrey set the precedent for an arbitrary division of Pugin, by surrendering to the sectarian prejudices of his day and handing over Pugin's religion – arguably the most important part of him – to another author, though within the same covers. Trappes-Lomax, at home in the Catholic world, put Pugin together again but was scolded for not making architecture central enough. The balance is hard to strike, and to incorporate an examination of all the products of Pugin's exceptional creative activity with the facts of his private and professional career would make for an enormously unwieldy, unmanageable book. Presumably Hill's concentration is regarded as justification for the absence of reference to Phoebe Stanton's study of 1971, which is not so much as listed in her select bibliography. *God's architect* is not a book of architectural history; it does not set out even to survey, let alone investigate, the entire oeuvre. It is a biography, a life.

Not that the story begins with Pugin's birth. Like Ferrey, Hill goes back decades before that event, to introduce first the man and then the woman who will become Pugin's parents. Just as their only son will be in due course, they are firmly embedded in a dense and lively social milieu. Hill has unearthed and brought together more information about the origins and backgrounds of A.C. Pugin and Catherine Welby than any of her predecessors. The French relations stand clearly forth; the name Northmore is explained. Catherine Pugin is humanised, redeemed from the ludicrous rigidity of the still scarred Ferrey's portrait. Hill has had the patience to decipher her letters, usually written in black ink on both sides of very thin, transparent paper and crossed. Perhaps they are the source of some unannotated details: is that how Hill knows that Pugin took his wife Anne to Christchurch in the summer of 1831, for instance? The struggle of Auguste, as Hill calls him, and Catherine for financial security and social acceptance dominates the world into which, after ten years of marriage, their boy will be born. As he grows, it becomes clear that in a kind of reverse teleology the parents have been reconstructed in the image of the child they will produce.

In other words this is a conventional account in its chronological arrangement and in its assumption that both nature and nurture play their part in the formation of the subject. As it advances, Hill's narrative is shaped, tailored, to fit the

interpretation of Pugin's course which she intends to offer. The remote possibility that A.C. Pugin had an illegitimate son forces its way in early, despite interrupting the story, because it prefigures Pugin's premarital and extramarital activity. There is a frankness here, impossible to Ferrey and unwanted by Trappes-Lomax, in dealing with Pugin's sexual adventures. It is known now that Pugin was at least thinking about Mary Amherst before Louisa died; but did Louisa know? Is there ground for postulating an open and grave rift between Pugin and his second wife? When for the third time – there are a few minor repetitions of information in the text – Hill tells the reader that no letters between Pugin and Louisa exist, she asserts that 'The disappearance of their correspondence implies that some of it at least was acrimonious' (p 187). Does it? Could it not imply no more than that old papers were thrown out when the family moved house? It could even hint, especially if her origins were in the precarious, raffish world of the theatre, as Hill suspects, that, like many women of her time, Louisa was scarcely literate: there may never have been letters. An absence proves nothing. There is more speculation of this sort, not limited to Louisa, which some readers may find unfair or impertinent: because no baby is known between Agnes in October 1836 and Cuthbert in June 1840, it is suggested that 'relations between husband and wife at this point were less intimate' (pp 202–3) than at earlier and later times. No other explanation than an alleged coolness, an estrangement, is offered; but could there not have been a medical reason? The reader may be forgiven for thinking that a narrative imperative operates here: Pugin and Louisa must diverge to make the opening first for Mary Burns, then for Mary Amherst; quiet, cool obedience to evidence is sacrificed to the demands of the plot. Just as Hill is maintaining that 'the domestic ideal ... was less than fully reflected in his own marriage' (p 294), Pugin was inscribing Louisa's initials and image in wallpaper and stained glass for the Grange in Ramsgate, the home she did not live to see.

The emphasis on Pugin's sexual life is connected with Hill's thesis that Pugin suffered from syphilis, contracted when he was haunting the purlieus of the disreputable theatre. The imputation is not new. As Hill admits in the epilogue, the precise nature of Pugin's condition 'can never now be determined with certainty' (p 492). It might have been wiser therefore not to decide that he definitely had the disease. Nevertheless, even early, Hill pushes the few facts there are in the direction of madness due to syphilis, and sometimes forces them thither, wrongly. When Benjamin Webb saw Pugin, in Webb's words, 'weeping passionately' in Ely cathedral in 1842, he thought him, so Hill writes, still quoting Webb, in 'an awful state of mind'; Hill comments that this phrase 'might be a euphemism for actual mental illness' (p 264). Acquaintance with the literature of faith and doubt in the nineteenth century suggests that it might more probably indicate a theological position and a spiritual state. Worse, the quotation is misattributed and misapplied. The phrase is not Webb's, and Pugin is not the object of it; Webb merely reports, while the words are Pugin's own, and it is a third member of their party who was said to be in 'an awful state of mind'. If the tag of insanity is to stick to Pugin at the age of thirty, it will need a stronger adhesive than that. It was 'half a heretic' that Pugin was considered for his 'opinion of the Romans' (p 412), not the 'half a lunatic' of Hill's reading of his letter.

On a different occasion, when Pugin is said to have had an attack of 'English cholera', Hill glosses this as 'fever and mental exhaustion' (p 305) so that Pugin was ailing 'in mind' as well as body; but, far from being 'elusive' as Hill claims, the diagnosis is in the dictionary: Pugin was suffering from nothing more than vomiting and diarrhoea. Serious, lasting illness in these years is not proved; there is no evidence, only insinuation and hints of 'another cause' (p 238), assumption followed by assertion, so that his 'illness' (p 325) comes to be treated as established, and his 'neurological symptoms' (p 365) need no gloss. Again, for Hill Pugin is 'Scarcely, if at all, in his right mind' (p 395) in 1848 after his rejection by Helen Lumsdaine.

Is it this keenness, this determination, to insist on an insane Pugin that accounts for the brittle and unfeeling nature of some passages? To dismiss Pugin's misery in a frivolous rhetorical zeugma of 'tears and smoke' (p 396) is to trivialise genuine suffering. Even in 1852, when he undeniably breaks down in late February, Pugin is more 'lucid' (p 482) during Charles Barry's visit to Ramsgate early in the same month than Hill makes him seem. An alternative reading of his letter to John Hardman is possible.

My Ever Dear Hardman

many thanks for your kind letter. Mr. Barry is here & has ordered for 1000s thousands. We begin the great hall window immedialy — he said every thing a man could say of you & I says without us he would not have the done. indeed I will tell you all.

I never worked so hard in my life. Mr. Barry — goes tomorrow. I made all the designs for finishing his bell tower & it is beautiful & I am the whole machinery of the clock on a new principle cheap & Yet Exact.

Add a word like 'work' to give a reading of 'have the work done', and supply 'to design' the whole machinery, and all is well. Pugin is physically weak after illness and his mood is tender and fragile; he has always truncated words and omitted them — he admits as much to Hardman; their curtailment or absence is not a sign that Pugin is 'slipping in and out of coherence' (p 482).

The alleged madness is closely tied to Hill's construction of Pugin as 'God's architect'. This may be a contentious title, striking some readers as close to blasphemy. By whom has he been appointed? He certainly did not claim the position for himself; and no one can prove that God engaged him. Pugin was undoubtedly a devout man and a devoted one, happy to work for the advancement of the Catholic Church; but did he think in the terms that Hill assigns him? His letters, the greatest insight now available into his mind, suggest not. He can be argued to be more aware of himself, less obsessive, than Hill allows: dedicated to the Gothic style wherever possible, he would nonetheless design 'even a *portico* for money', he tells Hardman. That does not sound like the 'sacred calling' (p 277) in which Hill would have the reader believe.

Perhaps the least helpful vein in the biography is its attempt to consider Pugin's architectural theory. The difficulty of assessing the degree of prior knowledge in the reader and the need to condense do not assist an author in such an undertaking. Perhaps this one is doomed at the outset anyway by Hill's conviction that as a

theorist Pugin 'has no "long-term significance" at all' (p 247). Born into Georgian England, he is and 'remained a child of the Picturesque' (p 431), which is at times synonymous with Gothic, almost always theatrical, and never quite firmly defined; he is dismissed as a functionalist yet allowed to be a 'protofunctionalist' (p 340) – there are more terms and possibilities advanced. Pugin's aesthetic, changing as it must and does with time, is not securely outlined. The most loosely used word may well be 'romantic', which has sabotaged many another writer and slithers here from 'Picturesque' to merely passionate and into several other semantic roles as well. In these circumstances, it may have been an unfortunate choice in the subtitle for, whatever else it may mean, it is usually sharply differentiated from 'Victorian', and on Hill's own showing there are many ways in which it was Victorian Britain that Pugin was helping to build.

Not all readers, then, will be willing to accept Hill's representation of Pugin; they may repudiate the emphases as serious exaggerations, even grave distortions, the illness repeatedly and erroneously wrenched into madness, the dedication made fanatical. Setting aside the shortcomings of the general thrust of Hill's narrative, there are local points, as the tale unfolds, when the reader will wish to question, correct, and adjust. Surely, when Pugin calls George Myers a 'pig' (p 194), it is his builder's stubbornness, his pigheadedness, that is uppermost in his mind? Barry's motive in asking Pugin to write his letter to the *Builder* in September 1845 may have been the personal jealousy Hill dwells on, but could not the general alarm at the gains made by Roman Catholicism at the time, which Hill goes on immediately to mention but not explicitly to connect, also have something to do with it? Surely among the causes of Pugin's irritation with Frank Oliphant the artist's idleness and pretension should be included? Did 'the job at Hornby' (p 394) come to an end because Pugin resigned or for some other reason? The letter on which Hill seems to rely in making this statement was written probably in February 1847 and had nothing to do with his wretchedness over Helen Lumsdaine. Henry Drummond's veranda was designed months before May 1848 and if it was a 'failure' (p 397) that cannot be laid at Helen Lumsdaine's door. It was not in May, 'that month' (p 417) of 1849 when the Oratory was opened in London, that the Royal Academy chose not to elect Pugin a member. Was it from Bishop Wareing, not 'Waring' (p 429), that Pugin accepted a loan to help pay for his church, or from another bishop, in London, whose surname began with W?

Chronology is sometimes troublesome. Apparently deliberately, but in an acceptable practice, dates are mostly banished from the text, which they could clog, and supplied instead in the notes. Upon occasion the reader has to stop and check which year he is in. It can be as well to do so: in the chapter spanning the period from June 1846 to February 1847 Oliphant is said to have begun work for Pugin 'at the end of the year' (p 364); but that year cannot be 1846. Other misplacements are wider of the mark. A letter from Pugin to Hardman mentioning 'little Powell' (p 328) does not refer to John Hardman Powell when he first arrived at the Grange in 1844, as Hill states, but to one of his younger brothers who came to stay in Ramsgate years later; the 'we' of the letter is Pugin and Jane, and the date, as is proved by other matters discussed, is about April 1849. Again, the epigraph to Chapter 24 is taken from

another undated letter to Hardman and is assigned to 'c.1847' (p 277) but the date can be ascertained to be quite precisely 10 October 1850: it is one of Hardman's workmen who is being towed away into infidelity as if by a ship of 74, rather than 79, guns, not Pugin under the spell of Mary Amherst or of anyone else. Hill makes use of Pugin's correspondence but it requires and deserves to be handled with more care than is shown here. There are other at least dubious readings of letters in the biography, and mistakes in the dating suggested.

Hill's notes are numerous, and quotations, with few exceptions, are regularly identified, although occasionally only in a secondary source. There is an unevenness in the documentation, for all that. Not all sources are pinpointed. At school 'it was noticed' (p 59) that Pugin did not mix much with other children; it would be easy to acknowledge Ferrey's help. Drawings of a journey in Switzerland in August 1838 are referred to: why not say in a note where they are held? In the great volumes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York? In the Royal Institute of British Architects in London? In private hands? Hill states that Pugin wrote to Mary Amherst the day after Louisa died. No reference is provided. The same paragraph, the last of chapter 26, contains quotations from Pugin's diary and from his letters to Gentili and to Daniel Rock, all of them traced to their manuscript origins; why make an exception of the letter to Mary? In other cases references are correct but stop short of furnishing the information a reader may well wish for. A drawing is said to have been 'until recently' (p 540) in the V&A: where is it now? It is good to quote J.H. Powell's unique and vivid description of Louisa and the original record is indeed in a private collection; but the memoir of which it forms part was published in Alexandra Wedgwood's expanded version of 'Pugin in his home' in 2006. Perhaps that edition came too late to be worked into Hill's notes but it was in ample time to be added to her bibliography. Citations of Pugin's diaries are linked only to the manuscripts, whereas most readers have easier access to the transcript in Wedgwood's catalogue. Scrutiny of the originals might have yielded a reading of Lords Adare and Dunraven, instead of 'Arundel' (p 401) and 'Dormer'. For letters up to the end of 1842 readers are invariably directed to Volume 1 of the published correspondence but for all the letters in Volume 2, which came out four years before the biography, only a manuscript reference is given. It is only a photocopy of Pugin's letter to William Leigh of probably 28 May, not 27 May, 1846 that is held in the deposit Hill names; why not give a manuscript reference here? For some manuscripts no location is given at all. The reader is entitled to expect consistency.

The index has at times an amateurish air: 'Rutland, Duke', in professional hands would be fully identified, and 'Newsham, Revd J.', which is correct for the reference on p 289, is quite wrong for that on p. 386 where Charles Newsham, president of Ushaw, and a much more important figure in Pugin's life, is meant; can Hill be responsible for the conflation, did she compile the index? There are some unacceptably long strings of numbers in it: twenty-four for St Augustine's, for example.

Among the illustrations, the view of the bishop's house in Birmingham is particularly welcome; a date of 1859, instead of the actual 1959, just before demolition, would hardly feel amiss. St Mary's, Rugby, is a genuine Victorian image.

The rectory at Rampisham is beautiful in full colour. St John's, Kirkham, and Grace Dieu are other good pictures of Pugin's work which help to make the representation of his buildings wide. In the selection of illustrations, buildings may, however, be thought to come at the expense of other aspects of Pugin's life: not a chalice or a candlestick features in its own right; and while Hardman and Myers are present, the other two men in the quartet which executed most of Pugin's designs, J.G. Crace and Herbert Minton, are not. Barry is not to be seen; nor are patrons like J.R. Bloxam, J.H.W. Hibbert, and J.J. Hornby or painting friends like J.R. Herbert and Clarkson Stanfield. There is not a bishop or a priest in sight; and only one of Pugin's eight children gets a look in. A reader might gladly trade the aquatint from Rowlandson or one of the often reproduced pages from Pugin's books for some more pictures of the people he mixed with. About twenty-five of the sixty-odd images are duplicates of illustrations in *Pugin: a Gothic passion*, the volume that accompanied the exhibition in 1994, and probably the most readily available publication on the subject.

The narrative craftsmanship, on the other hand, is of a very high order in this book. There is a huge quantity of material in it, often new, and the simple narrative approach works well in the early chapters in particular, when it can be plially spun into a single strand. Occasionally in later years the sheer volume of intractable matter that may not be neglected makes for a slight clutter. It is disconcerting to begin a chapter entitled 'The House of Lords' and find the first words stating that 'Helen Lumsdaine was twenty-one' (p 367), when she has never been mentioned before and had nothing to do with the peers of the realm. Perhaps revealingly, it is about 1849, a year when Pugin had too little instead of his usual too much to do, that Hill's impetus seems for the moment to flag, although the pace picks up again later. How else the mass might have been disposed and controlled is another question altogether. Hill divides it into stages, determined by significant events: *Contrasts* closes Part Three, Louisa's death Part Four, marriage to Jane Part Five, and so on, to the Epilogue. At the end of a chapter, Hill frequently contrives to rouse the reader's curiosity, even to leave Pugin, as Pugin notices that Charles Dickens left David Copperfield, 'in a critical situation'. For the most part, the tale is told with admirable smoothness and control and an appearance of ease that belies the prior effort: transitions are frequently neat, deft, even slick, and the way, for instance, in which Lord Shrewsbury is ushered into Pugin's company is very skilful. Straightforward information, in explanation of, for example, the difficulty Minton faced in making encaustic tiles, is conveyed with no loss of fluency or lucidity. Conclusions are forthright: Pugin's acquaintance with his uncle, the court painter Louis Lafitte, leads directly to 'Pugin was never daunted, even as a very young man, by important personages' (p 47); and comment can be swift and trenchant: from all his work at the Houses of Parliament, Pugin 'got no credit and he got no rest' (p 480), Hill blaming Barry for both deprivations. Judgments are often memorable. Hill finds no evidence that Pugin 'ever did a mean or a cowardly thing' (p 93). 'He never had much sense of how he struck other people' (p 146). 'Pugin's criticisms were never spiteful and his praise was quick and generous' (p. 315). 'All Pugin's geese were swans' (p 381) – this apropos Enrico Casolani. These are clear-cut, even snappy, but just. Hill knows the value of brevity, and she has too a flair for finding the right word: Herbert's portrait



Figure 15: AWN Pugin's wallpaper for the Grange.

Image supplied by Penguin Books

of Pugin may never shake off her description of it as 'doughy' (p 327). The tone is relaxed – although some readers may tire of the adverb 'wildly' – and the writing is often sensitive: to the lodge which Pugin designed at an entrance to Alton Towers, 'Fine heraldic carving adds a delicate touch, bringing to the modesty of the house the dignity of the estate, like livery on a servant' (p 414). The little chapel at Bicton is summed up, quite simply, as 'one of the loveliest things Pugin ever did' (p 436) – only an assured writer would get away with that 'things'. If these are buildings, with people it can be the same, in the sympathetic identification, for example, with the discomfort of sturdy, unpolished Myers as he has to carry 'the silver trowel on a crimson cushion' (p 199) in the procession to the laying of the foundation-stone of St Mary's, Derby. The great body of material has been wrought into a cohesive, usually vividly imagined sequence, proceeding with a steady and sustained impulse to its moving end in Pugin's death. Like Trappes-Lomax but with a far wider reach, Hill

uses epigraphs to set the mood of her chapters; nearly all of them are another sign of her familiarity, often unsignalled, with the literature of Pugin's time; and the choice of the last is brilliant. His genius had an impact around the Western world but they did not bury the great designer 'with an empire's lamentation'.

To recall Trappes-Lomax and the singleness of his account is to appreciate what fullness is offered here, just as to remember the chaos and fragmentation of Ferrey is to realise how far the art of biography has come. The purpose which Hill makes her distinguished narrative skill serve is the location of Pugin's life in its context. Concentrating on its always central figure, her book presents its subject, not in the relative isolation of previous surveys, but in a rich setting of people and places – plans, publications, politics, palaces, prelates, partners. The work lays out a sweep of forty years of early nineteenth-century society in England, from the guests of the Prince Regent who 'sat down, in a building that looked like a giant pudding, to enjoy puddings that looked like little buildings' (p 48) to the sad, secluded quiet of Pugin's funeral at the end. It is not just a matter of new information, although that is plentifully supplied, often in minute detail, as in the tracking down of the anonymous publication of Mary Holmes, who ventured into print as '*Aunt Elinor*' (p 356). Personalities are probed, relationships displayed; Pugin does not exist alone, but surrounded by the busy, jostling people who helped to make him what he was, and by the scenes and events that shaped their lives as well as his. The book resembles Dickens in the bounty of its characters, too. Here is the Countess of Shrewsbury, brought to snobbish life by the witness of an acute contemporary, "'acting fine'" (p 171) and being "'so vulgar'" because she would talk "'of her riches and estates, and of all the Kings and Queens she was intimate with'", that, good-humoured though she was, she was laughed at behind her back. Here too is Henry Weedall, 'a cleric in the old Georgian style' (p 178), "'the primmest possible little divine, with hair powder and every hair in its place, and having neat little shoes in a chronic state of high polish'". The picture tallies exactly with the neat little handwriting of the neat little letters that the good doctor sent to Birmingham, which survive in the Hardman archive. Hill has known or found where to look for such vivid sketches and insights, memorable partly because they furnish such delight. The narrative method throws up juxtapositions and syntheses that Hill has the perception to grasp and exploit. The hitherto shadowy figure of Miss Greaves, endowed with a precise and convincing identity by Hill's research, is assigned also a credible motive for leaving money to some of Pugin's children but not all. In another typical case, having long since dealt with G.G. Scott's reaction to Pugin's books, Hill can bring him back with ease to illuminate the irony of an episode in Ramsgate years later: Scott was commissioned to design Christ Church, Vale Square, and so 'it came about that the church in Ramsgate which most directly reflects Pugin's influence was built in a deliberate attempt to counter it' (p 363).

Facts may be questionable, are indeed sometimes wrong, and compelling objections may be levelled against the slant they are given, but to command the discourse of this prolific panorama is a difficult undertaking, and it is Hill's distinction to have accomplished it.

Pugin remembered: then and now

by Graham Parry

Rosemary Hill's newly published biography appears almost 150 years after the first account of Pugin's life by Benjamin Ferrey, his friend and fellow architect, which came out in 1861. Reading the two in tandem, I find it instructive to see how attitudes to Pugin have changed over this period, and to consider how a modern admirer assesses in his work and represents his life.

Ferrey had been placed as a pupil with A.C. Pugin, so he had a similar *formation professionnelle* to A.W.N. and was familiar with him from his youth onwards. His *Recollections*, therefore, have the benefit of first-hand knowledge, and they also reflect the experience of absorbing Pugin's rousing pronouncements about Gothic while working as an architect in the 1840s. Ferrey has no doubt that Pugin's most important achievement was the establishment of the 'true principles' of Gothic architecture. These include honesty of design and construction (whereby the structural elements of a building are openly displayed, and so contribute to the aesthetic effect), integrity of materials (stone and brick being superior to stucco, plaster and composite stone), and appropriateness of the design to the function and purpose of a building. These principles divided Pugin's Gothic from the superficial or applied Gothic that had prevailed in the first two decades of the century, and relegated much recent classical architecture to a position of inferiority. The 'honesty' that marked Pugin's principles, along with assertions that Gothic was the most appropriate style for Christian worship and was the authentic style for a Christian society, gave Gothic a morally elevated character in addition to its practical virtues. As a practising architect, Ferrey particularly valued the volumes of Gothic details that Pugin published, with specimens of mouldings, gables, church-screens and the like. These were of real use to him.

Hill, with her longer perspective, is able to see Pugin in the context of early attempts to understand the structural principles of Gothic, and like Ferrey, she can appreciate the force and novelty of his arguments that gave Gothic a moral superiority over other styles. She can see too, in a way that Ferrey could not, how Pugin promoted the cause of Gothic both by architectural example and by polemical writing. Ferrey was primarily interested in the ecclesiastical buildings, and Hill naturally discusses these in detail, but her treatment of them is much more rewarding than Ferrey's because she describes how the works emerged after inevitable wrangling with patrons and churchmen. In addition Hill points admiringly to the country house commissions and the domestic buildings, singling out the Grange at Ramsgate as a landmark design for the substantial middle-class detached family home that would retain its influence up to the First World War. It was also a prototype arts and crafts house, as we can now recognise with the benefit of hindsight.

The religious dimension features largely in both books. As an Anglican writing at a time of heightened controversy, Benjamin Ferrey was clearly uneasy about Pugin's claims that Gothic carried with it the spirit of pre-Reformation Catholicism,

and that its use helped to further the ideal of the recatholicisation of England. Yet he understood how these beliefs inspired Pugin and gave him the energy to carry out his enormous practice, so much of which was devoted to the service of the Roman Catholic Church or to Catholic patrons. On this matter, Ferrey recognised that he was not able to do justice to Pugin's Catholic sentiments, so he invited 'a friend of the family', Edmund Sheridan Purcell, to give a sympathetic account of Pugin's 'character and writings' from the Catholic point of view. Nonetheless, Ferrey makes the point that Pugin's over-zealous commitment to the Catholic cause did harm his career because it discouraged commissions from Anglican sources and it prevented Pugin from becoming the leading restorer of the cathedrals of England. As the first and most knowledgeable architect of the Gothic Revival, Pugin was the best qualified to lead the movement for restoration that was getting under way in the 1840s, but he cut himself off from this work to a large extent. Even though he chose to devote himself to Catholic projects many of them were under-funded, leaving Pugin with skimmed or unfinished projects such as the cathedrals at Birmingham and Southwark. Ferrey also observes that Pugin was not warmly welcomed as a convert into the Catholic fold, and many of the most influential figures of that Church were reluctant to admire him or his work. Having sacrificed so much for the Catholic Church, Pugin did not receive the recognition he deserved. Hill's presentation of the Catholic scene in the decades following emancipation, and Pugin's involvement in it, form one of the most fascinating parts of her book, as she can see the scene from a distance, yet with clarity. Far from Catholics being united in purpose and growing in strength and appeal after regaining the right to worship freely, they were apparently riven by disagreements and antagonisms. The old Catholic families, who preferred low-key services, did not on the whole welcome the new converts who were often too enthusiastic in their devotions. Ultramontane Catholicism did not sit easily with old English practices. People who had been associated with the Oxford Movement were often viewed with suspicion. Social snobbery was as endemic amongst Catholics as amongst Anglicans. There were tensions between Wiseman and Newman. In Hill's opinion, the whole of Pugin's career was led amid uneasy relationships with his Catholic associates, a situation that subjected him to protracted stress.

A subject about which attitudes have shifted considerably is Pugin's role in the creation of the new Palace of Westminster. It is remarkable how little Ferrey has to say about Pugin's involvement: only a few pages deal with this immense project that stretched his skills as a Gothic designer to the utmost. He represents Pugin as content to accept a minor role 'designing the internal fittings, furniture, decoration, encaustic floors etc.,' whilst 'losing no opportunity of expressing his admiration of Barry's genius'. He notes in passing that 'there are still many who adhere to their conviction that the great merit of the whole Palace of Westminster belongs to him [Pugin]' and leaves it at that. So already in 1861 Pugin's most sustained and versatile accomplishment has been overlooked and in effect dismissed. It is clear too that Ferrey did not recognise Pugin's brilliance in design, for he pays virtually no attention to the prodigious inventiveness that gave the Palace the character for which it is renowned. Hill, however, uses the episode to investigate the nature of Pugin's

creativity and his relationship with other architects. He loved the challenge of fitting out the palace, and took delight in inventing every kind of detail; but he hated the administrative side of a big commission and was willing to accept a nominally minor position (and a low salary of £2 a week) in order to escape from this burden. He didn't want the fuss of officialdom and grand openings. Barry depended on him completely for the Gothic details of the interior, but was less than honourable in his acknowledgment. Pugin's masterpiece, the clock tower, was never credited to him. In the press releases from Barry's office at the time of the opening of the Houses of Parliament, Pugin's name was not mentioned, but there is no evidence that he repined. The greater work was for God and the Church, and reputation was a bubble.

Hill's evocation of Pugin's personality is one of the great successes of her book, holding the whole biography together. His erratic moods, his romanticism, idealism, and bohemianism, his susceptibility to attractive women, all contribute to a character of kaleidoscopic variety. With the freedom to discuss the vagaries of private life without inhibition, a modern writer inevitably has the edge over a Victorian. Ferrey was able to relate a number of stories about Pugin's early days and his relations with parents, and he peppers his narrative with anecdotes of a mild, *Punch*-style humour to enliven his *Recollections*, but he is trapped within the conventional limits of discretion. He is reluctant to talk about the 'low society' his subject enjoyed, and is uneasy in his approach to Pugin's wives, about whom little is said. The oddest feature of his book is that he chooses to reprint in full Pugin's querulous *Statement of facts* about Mary Amherst's decision not to marry him after the death of his second wife Louisa. This is a wild and embarrassing pamphlet that shows Pugin in a very poor light, yet Ferrey seems to think that 'this paper does credit both to his head and his heart'. Its ill-judged reprinting (after Pugin had been persuaded to call in all copies) calls into question Ferrey's suitability to act as Pugin's memorialist. He often had difficulty in realising Pugin's character, just as he had problems with organising his material and sustaining a narrative. Hill's presentation of this mercurial man seems, in contrast, penetrating, fair and convincing.

What I particularly like about Hill's biography is the steady interweaving of the private and public selves, with the architectural and design work always seen in relation to its patrons and to Pugin's own convictions at any given time. His career is rewardingly reviewed in the context of the history of taste, as a distinctive phase between the romantic gothick of the early nineteenth century and high Victorian architecture and design. Hill rightly lays a good deal of emphasis on the romantic vision of the middle ages that Pugin developed in his youth, fostered by his visits to northern France, the low countries and Germany, and by his familiarity with Sir Walter Scott's imaginings of mediaeval chivalry. Picturesque landscapes in England, often with ruined abbeys, added extra ingredients. He soon came to feel that the Catholic spirit had informed all the beauty of the middle ages, that Gothic should be the natural dress of the Catholic revival in England. How he evolved his vision of a revived mediaeval world is a central theme of *God's architect*. Hill makes it clear that the 'ideal schemes' of gothic designs he drew for himself in his notebooks were the keys to his imaginative life. These schemes lovingly recorded his dreams of mediaeval glory, and sometimes they were used as sources for executed work,

although, in the crowded streets of Victorian England, the glory often departed. He was fortunate indeed to find in the Earl of Shrewsbury a patron who gave him space and funding to realise some of his ideals in stone.

Much of what we learn in this new book helps to make us feel that Pugin began or achieved things which have been forgotten or for which others have had the credit. The sheer scale of his architectural activities, when fully described, comes as a surprise, and makes one realise what an impetus he gave to the Gothic Revival in the '30s and '40s. His arguments about the versatility and adaptability of Gothic predated those of Ruskin, as did his claims for its moral excellence. But Ruskin was Protestant and articulate and he lived long, and so eclipsed Pugin. He was also a theorist who recommended a form of Venetian Gothic for the uses of his countrymen, whereas Pugin was a practising architect who preferred English models. Pugin should have prevailed, but did not. Hill's explanations make absorbing reading. In the history of the arts and crafts movement Pugin deserves a prime place, for he assembled teams of craftsmen for his projects and emphasised the rewards of skill and craftsmanship; but Ruskin and Morris have the honours. His inventiveness as a designer has until recently been overlooked and the extent of his contribution to the Palace of Westminster is still largely unrecognised. Hill has rewritten the record in her new biography, which should vindicate Pugin's reputation for the foreseeable future.

The E.W. Pugin church gazetteer

by Gerard Hyland

Preface

*'These churches were built in the tradition of the cathedrals of old, in the spirit of sacrifice, to be temples **with** which to worship God – things of beauty which are themselves Acts of Faith.'*

The Most Rev Richard Downey, Archbishop of Liverpool (1928–53) – adapted¹

This gazetteer of the works of Edward Welby Pugin (1834–1875: see figure 16) reveals that in his short working life of only 23 years – from 1852 to 1875 – he produced an astonishing amount of work. In the United Kingdom this included both ecclesiastical buildings, mainly for the Roman Catholic Church, as well as domestic architecture; in Ireland, where he was partnered by G.C. Ashlin, it was almost exclusively ecclesiastical. In England, the majority of his churches were in the North West and in particular in Lancashire: Liverpool had at one time the largest number of E.W. Pugin churches/chapels of any UK city, including London. His output peaked in the mid-1860s, with the building of no fewer than 12 of his churches being commenced in 1866 alone. He maintained offices in London, Liverpool and Ramsgate, and, unlike his father, let his churches go out to tender amongst local builders; carving, however, was usually reserved for Farmer & Brindley of London, and, in later years, R.L. Boulton of Cheltenham.

The restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales in 1850, only two years before he commenced practising, was a crucial factor in accounting for the subsequent expansion in Catholic church building. Ecclesiastical commissions came both from the secular clergy as well as the religious orders, predominant amongst which were the Benedictines and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate; some of the churches were built through the munificence of members of the landed gentry, such as the earls of Shrewsbury and the de Trafford family.

In total, E.W. Pugin's executed designs for the Roman Catholic church (either alone or in partnership) include three cathedrals (two in England (**A9**, **A35**) and one in Ireland (**A85**));² 97 churches and chapels (71 in England, 20 in Ireland, four in Scotland, one in Wales and one in Belgium – excluding those attached to convents); 28 convents and monasteries/friaries (16 in England, 12 in Ireland); 33 schools, colleges and orphanages (28 in England, four in Ireland, one in Scotland), as well as at least 16 secular buildings (14, including work at Scarisbrick Hall, in England, and two in Belgium). In addition, he undertook several commissions for the Church of England, and was responsible for very many extensions and alterations to existing churches, both Catholic and Anglican, as well as for a vast amount of miscellaneous, smaller works, both ecclesiastical and secular. Sadly, at least 16 of his churches and

¹ Foreword to Murray 1949 – see A23.

² Two other churches later became pro-cathedrals, and subsequently cathedrals [A7 (1859–1916); A13 (1898 – present)].

(non-convent) chapels have been either closed or destroyed, occasionally by natural forces (A80, A86) but more often either by bombing in the Second World War (A23, A56, A68) or, more recently and tragically, through the decisions of members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy (eg A51). Since (and, in some cases, even *before*) the second Vatican Council, many of the surviving churches have been victims of insensitive internal reordering: so much so that in some cases it is now virtually impossible to envisage the original composition of their sanctuaries, with many high altars and reredoses having been severely mutilated (eg A7, A9, A13, A22, A32, A100), if not completely destroyed (eg A95) – actions that were *never* mandated by the liturgical reforms of the second Vatican Council.

It should be appreciated that when first opened, many of E.W. Pugin's churches were incomplete, particularly with respect to the chancel and sanctuary; it could be several years before sufficient funds became available to permit completion. The original designs were, however, usually adhered to, even following E.W.P.'s death in 1875 when his younger brother (Cuthbert Welby, 1840–1928) and half-brother (Edmund Peter ('Peter Paul'), 1851–1904) continued his architectural practice as the firm of Pugin & Pugin. It is to P.P. Pugin that we owe many of the fine altars and reredoses that were subsequently installed in E.W. Pugin's churches (eg A23 – see figure 17, A26, A67, A71, A100 – see figure 23), and which complete their sanctuaries in perfect keeping with his overall designs.³ In the hands of P.P. Pugin, the 'benediction altar',⁴ the concept of which can be traced to his father, A.W.N. Pugin (1812–1852), reached its apogee. Externally, however, many of the churches still remain incomplete, particularly with respect to his intended spires or towers, occasionally due to foundational problems (eg A100), but more often than not because of financial constraints (eg A26, A67); this is true to a somewhat lesser extent in the case of his Irish churches, many of which do have their intended spires.

The quality of E.W. Pugin's churches display a vast variation, ranging from the opulent Cobh cathedral (A85 – see figure 18)⁵ and the English de Trafford church (A60 – see figure 19) on which no expense was spared,⁶ to those he designed for much less well-endowed working-class congregations (eg A51 – see figures 20, 35), where, he complained, he was often 'compelled to show what he could not do, rather than what he could'. For very often 'every point of design, every corner, every feature that he wished to see produced had, in the end, to be sacrificed to necessity – simply for want of means.'⁷ It is important to bear this in mind when assessing firstly the indictment that he was a 'wildly uneven architect'⁸ and, secondly, the often disparaging and unsympathetic remarks of Pevsner in the *Buildings of England*.

3 In the case of some of P.P. Pugin's early commissions it is not always easy to establish whether the designs are his own or were simply elaborations or implementations of those already prepared by E.W. Pugin before his death.

4 This appellation refers to the characterising feature of a prominent throne (usually surmounted by a lofty spire) above a tabernacle from where the Blessed Sacrament can be exposed in full view of the entire congregation for veneration during the services of Benediction and *Quarant' Ore* (during which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for 40 hours). In the case of larger such structures [eg A23 – see figure 17, A100 – see figure 23], there are stairs behind the reredos to afford access to the exposition throne.

5 By the time it was completed in 1915, this cathedral had cost more than any other building in Ireland up to that time.

6 This church cost approximately five times more than a typical, and more modest, unendowed urban church.

7 *Centenary brochure of the Church of St Thomas of Canterbury & the English martyrs, Preston* – see A67.

8 See Girouard 1979, p 118.



Figure 16: E.W. Pugin as a Knight of the Order of St Sylvester, by W.B.M. Measor, c1858
Private collection.



Figure 17: Holy Cross, Liverpool (A23),
photographed in 1928. The church was destroyed
by bombing during the Second World War
Private collection.



Figure 18: Cathedral of St Colman, Cobh (A85). The cathedral was not completed (under the direction of Ashlin & Coleman) until 40 years after the death of E.W. Pugin
By courtesy of the Administrator, Very Rev M. Leamy, and the photographer, D. Hyland.



Figure 19: All Saints, Barton-on-Irwell (A60)
Private collection.



Figure 20: St Marie, Widnes (A51). The bellcote differs significantly from E.W. Pugin's design. The church was closed by the archdiocese of Liverpool in 2007
Private collection.



Figure 21: Cathedral of Our Lady of Dolours, Wrexham (A13). The church was originally built as a parish church. It became a cathedral only in 1987, having previously served as a pro-cathedral since 1898
By courtesy of Dr M. Byrne, FRPS.



Figure 22: St Paul's, Dover (A73)
Reproduced from Blaker 2003, p 33, with the permission of the author.

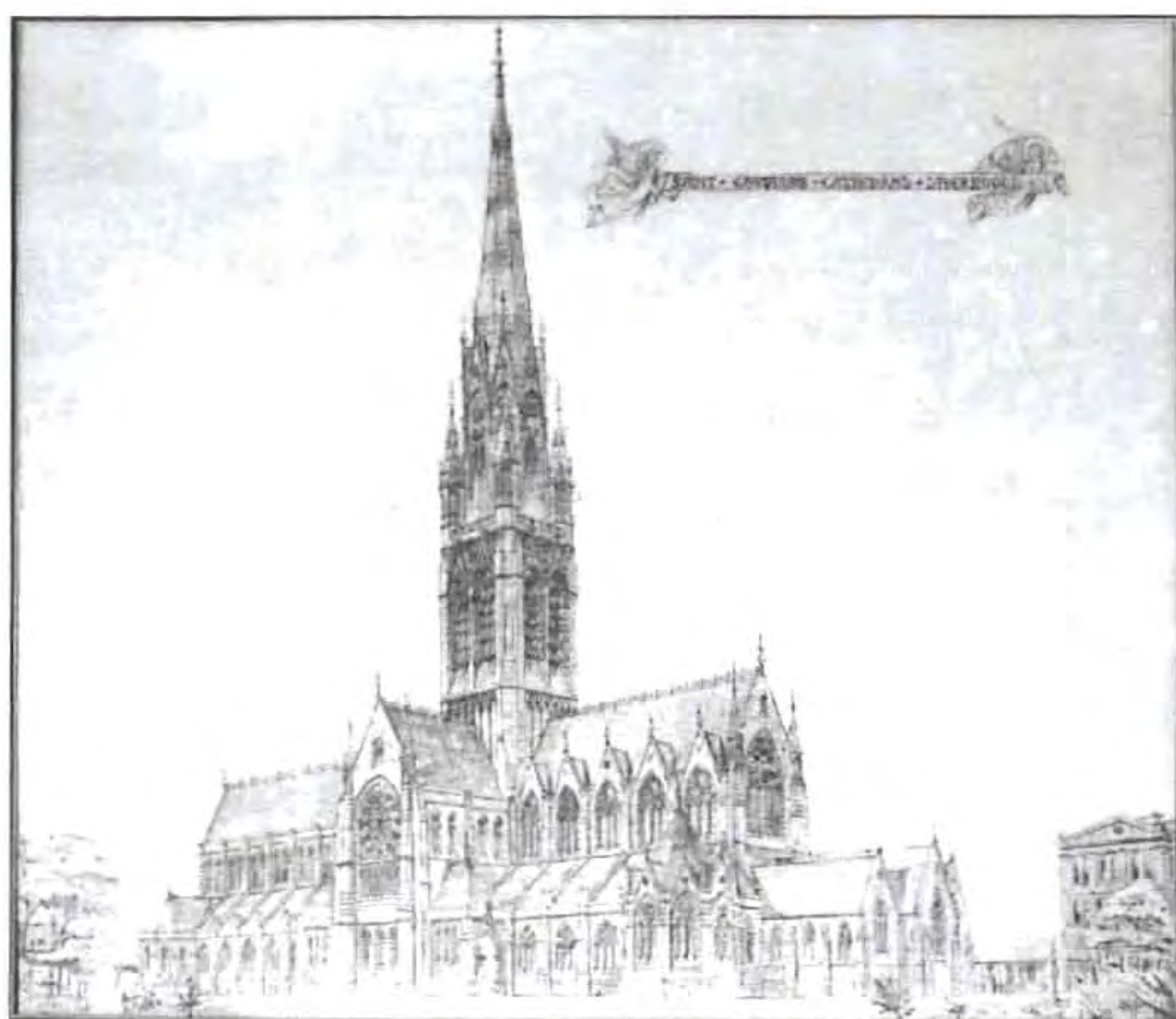


Figure 24: Projected design of 1854 for Liverpool Roman Catholic cathedral
By courtesy of the Archdiocese of Liverpool.



Figure 23: St Anne, Rock Ferry (A100), pre-1980
Centenary souvenir, 1962.

Perhaps a more fundamentally valid criticism is that the interiors of some of his churches – particularly the smaller ones – are marred by the nave arcades being disproportionately low in comparison with the height of the clerestory, giving the impression of ‘top-heaviness’, the pillars appearing to have partially sunk into the floor of the nave (especially once the benches are in position),⁹ a defect that is shared, incidentally, by some of his father’s churches.

Apart from a very small number of essays in Italianate neo-classical and Romanesque styles (A78, as well as the chapels of the Mercy convents at Mount Anville and Clonakilty¹⁰ in Co Cork, Republic of Ireland, and the houses in Victoria Terrace, Ramsgate), E.W. Pugin’s churches are, in common with those of his father, exclusively Gothic: three distinct phases of development being discernible in his oeuvre, particularly in England. The first of these (which lasted from 1852 to about 1859) is characterised by a style that is broadly similar to that on which his father eventually settled, namely, fourteenth-century English ‘decorated’ Gothic (or ‘second pointed’), with a clear distinction being observed between nave and chancel, the latter being square-ended and usually under a lower roof (*eg* A3, A9, A13 – see figure 21). Evidence of a more idiosyncratic, approach, influenced by flamboyant French Gothic, can be discerned, however, as early as 1856, when his predilection for West-end bellcotes,¹¹ more fantastical and delicately soaring than those of his father (such as at St Mary’s, Warwick Bridge and at St John’s, Alton), first manifested itself (A12).

The second phase (1859–72), often in the earlier thirteenth-century ‘geometric’ Gothic, was heralded by designs A21 and A22 in which both nave and chancel are under the same roof; internally there is often not even a chancel arch to demarcate the division (*eg* A22, A26). It should be noted that the internal design of A22 was rigidly controlled by the then Bishop of Liverpool, Dr Goss, with the aim of ensuring that as many of the congregation as possible had uninterrupted sightlines to the sanctuary; this E.W. Pugin achieved by the use of relatively wide arcades and slender pillars. As has been repeatedly pointed out by Roderick O’Donnell, A22 marked a revolution in Roman Catholic church design, and one that with a few exceptions E.W. Pugin continued to refine for the next ten years until the early 1870s.¹² Sanctuaries of this period are usually contained within a quite shallow apsed East end, which was at first semicircular (A21 and A22 – and also A46), but subsequently polygonal, or semi-octagonal like that in his father’s St Chad’s cathedral, Birmingham, and St Mary’s, Derby. These chancels are lit either by groups of short lancets at clerestory level above blank walls (*eg* A22, A26, A41), or by longer traceried windows (A23, A25, A36, A60, A71) that in later years were often externally gabled (*eg* A60). Featuring prominently amongst the designs of this period are those involving a tripartite West front (formed by two buttresses at the location of the nave walls), characterised by a central main door above which is often, but not invariably (*eg* A50,

⁹ An exception in this respect is A51.

¹⁰ In this case, Romanesque was chosen in order to match the architectural style of already existing convent buildings.

¹¹ Bellcotes were a more affordable option or substitute for a belfry housed in a tower. Despite the fact that not all the churches/chapels listed in this gazetteer are correctly orientated liturgically (ie, with the high altar in the geographic east end of the building), all descriptions given in this gazetteer assume that they are, using initial capitals for liturgical orientations (W, E, *etc*).

¹² For example, in O’Donnell 1994, p 265–6.

A71), a deeply recessed rose or wheel window sometimes set above a row of short lancets (eg A23, A60), the apex of the gable being surmounted either by a metal cross (eg A26) or by an elaborate bellcote¹³ (eg A23, A60, A71) that itself supports a tall metal cross, often foliated. A notable exception to this formula is provided by the West front elevation of A67. It is mainly designs from this second phase that have attracted appellations such as 'nervous' and 'spiky', and the allusion that they even display 'rogue' elements.¹⁴

His third and final phase (c1872–5) is characterised by a return to a greater degree of sobriety, redolent of his first period, with a reversion to square-ended chancels, usually of a different height from the nave (A99 is an exception to this), demarcated by a dominant chancel arch (eg A95, A96, A99, A100 – see figure 23 – which in a number of ways was prefigured by A96), but devoid of any screen.¹⁵ Furthermore, the familiar West-end rose/wheel window and the lancet-like apse windows were, in this phase, usually interchanged, whilst the bellcote is abandoned in favour of an off-centre tower/spire (eg A99, A100), such as again characterises some of the designs of his first period (eg A3, A13 – see figure 21, A19, and to a lesser extent, also of his second phase (eg A25, 26, 34, 36 and 42).

Many of his designs remain unrealised, the most ambitious of which are those for three English cathedrals – Shrewsbury, Liverpool (see figure 24) and Birkenhead.¹⁶

Roman Catholic cathedrals, abbey / friary churches, parish churches / chapels (excluding those attached to convents) and presbyteries

Where two dates are given, the first refers to the laying of the foundation stone and the second to the opening (often of an incompletely finished building, particularly with respect to the chancel); where a single date is given, it refers to the opening unless otherwise stated.

- A1 1852–4 **Leith**: Scotland – Our Lady Star of the Sea (Stella Maris); with J.A. Hansom: completes A.W.N. Pugin's church, which became an OMI parish church in 1859; N aisle and chancel not added until 1910–2 when the orientation of the church was reversed.
- A2 1853: **Belmont**, Herefords – chapel (for F. Wegg-Prosser, MP): the nave doubled as a classroom during the week; became the library of Belmont abbey in 1955.
- A3 1853–4: **Crook**, Co Durham – Our Lady Immaculate and St Cuthbert: high altar by J.F. Bentley, 1864; tower not completed until 1897.
- A4 1853–6: **Medmenham**, nr Marlow, Berks – chapel of St Charles (Danesfield

13 Two basic variants of bellcote design can be identified amongst the oeuvre of E.W. Pugin: one (inspired by the French *flèche*) is of essentially octagonal/square tapering cross-section (eg A23, A60 – see figure 19, A71); the other is planar (of rectangular cross-section surmounted by a gable above the bell chamber, eg A53, A73 – see figure 22, A90), and similar to that which houses the sanctus bell in some old English parish churches. An interesting synthesis of these two designs is to be found at A64.

14 *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (entry by Roderick O'Donnell); Wedgwood 1977; Blaker 2003, p 6.

15 Indeed, in the case of his final church [A100], the roof level of the chancel is actually higher than the nave, which, unusually for him, was aisleless – see figure 23.

16 Shrewsbury cathedral as built [A9] is a very reduced version of the original, lacking the projected dominating steeple and high clerestory.

- Estate of C.R. Scott-Murray, MP): completion of A.W.N. Pugin's design; demolished in 1908. The E window, altar and reredos are now in the church of the Sacred Heart, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.
- A5** 1853–6: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Our Lady Immaculate: extended in 1885, demolished c1986; built originally as the lady chapel of an unrealised scheme for Liverpool RC cathedral dedicated to St Edward – see figure 24.
- A6** 1854: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – chapel of St Joseph, St Cuthbert's College: completion of A.W.N. Pugin's original design of 1852.
- A7** 1854–60: **Belmont/Clehonger**, Herefords – St Michael the Archangel (OSB): nave, aisles and crossing; the chancel was lengthened and side chapels added during the 1860s; high altar 1865; reredos 1866; tower (to a different design) completed by P.P. Pugin in 1882. It became the abbey church of an independent Benedictine foundation in 1920 having, for some time, served as pro-cathedral and subsequently as the cathedral of the Diocese of Newport and Menevia).
- A8** 1855–6: **Willenhall**, West Midlands – St Mary: replaced in 1906 with a church by A.J.C. Scoles.
- A9** 1855–6: **Shrewsbury**, Shropshire – Our Lady of Help of Christians and St Peter of Alcántara (cathedral of the Diocese of Shrewsbury): a much reduced version of E.W. Pugin's earlier design of 1853; S and W porches added later (in c1905 and 1907, respectively) to the designs of Edmund Kirby, who earlier did the St Winefride chapel (1892). The majority of original fittings were either removed or mutilated in the reordering of 1984–5.
- A10** 1856: **Blairgowrie**, Perthshire, Scotland – St Stephen.
- A11** 1856–7: **Blackpool**, Lancs – Sacred Heart (formerly SJ): E end extensively rebuilt by Pugin & Pugin, 1894–5.
- A12** 1856–7: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – St Vincent de Paul (and presbytery): E.W.P.'s reredos (with statues sculptured by W. Farmer) added in 1867.
- A13** 1856–7: **Wrexham**, Clwyd, Wales – Our Lady of Sorrows (and presbytery): became pro-cathedral of the Diocese of Menevia in 1898, and cathedral of the Diocese of Wrexham in 1987. See figure 21.
- A14** 1857–8: **Windleshaw** (St Helen's Cemetery), St Helens, Lancs – mortuary chapel.
- A15** 1857–8: **Croston**, nr Chorley, Lancs – Holy Cross; with J. Murray: a small church in the grounds of the former Croston Hall (also by E.W.P. and J. Murray, demolished 1964).
- A16** 1857–8: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Our Lady of the Annunciation (Bishop Eton monastery church, CSSR): replacement of A.W.N. Pugin's chapel of 1851, but incorporating a number of its features; high altar by J.F. Bentley, 1865.
- A17** 1857/9–92: **Dadizele**, Belgium – Basilica de Notre Dame; with J. Murray: for this work E.W. Pugin was created Knight of the Order of St Sylvester by Pope Pius IX in 1858. The church was damaged during the First World War, and later restored to a simpler design.
- A18** 1858–9: **Edermine**, Co Wexford, Republic of Ireland – private chapel (estate of Sir J. Power, MP¹⁷): most likely a realisation of earlier designs (the window, in particular) by A.W.N. Pugin.

- A19** 1858–9: **Great Harwood**, Lancs – Our Lady and St Hubert;¹⁸ with J. Murray: contains memorial windows to the founder (J. Lomax) and to his wife's family, the Walmesleys of Wigan (see A94).
- A20** 1858–60: **Bellevue**, Co Wexford, Republic of Ireland – private chapel (estate of A. Cliffe): survived the destruction of the house, which was situated to the N of the chapel.
- A21** 1859–60: **Warwick**, Warks – St Mary Immaculate.
- A22** 1859–60: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Our Lady of Reconciliation de La Salette: the design, which was rigidly controlled by Dr A. Goss, the Bishop of Liverpool, served as the prototype for many of E.W. Pugin's subsequent churches.
- A23** 1859–60: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Holy Cross (and presbytery, OMI): chancel and sanctuary of 1874–5; high altar (1882) by Pugin & Pugin. The church was destroyed by bombing in 1940/1, but the presbytery survived. The church was rebuilt to roughly the same ground plan to the design of C. Purcell, the last member of the firm of Pugin & Pugin; it was opened in 1954, and demolished by the archdiocese of Liverpool in 2001. See figure 17.
- A24** 1859–60: **Westby**, Lancs – St Anne (and presbytery); with J. Murray: there is no evidence of the projected bellcote (similar in design to that at A21).
- A25** 1859–66: **Cork**, Republic of Ireland – Ss Peter and Paul; with G.C. Ashlin: high altar and reredos by Ashlin, 1874; the intended NW spire was never built.
- A26** 1860–2: **Birkenhead**, Merseyside – Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception (and presbytery): evolved out of an unrealised project for Birkenhead cathedral; intended N spire never built. Chancel commenced 1874 and completed in 1877 by Pugin & Pugin, who also designed the high altar and reredos in 1899. The church was damaged by bombing in 1941, but reopened in 1951 after faithful restoration, apart from a few minor features; the presbytery was totally destroyed by the bomb that damaged the church.
- A27** 1860–6: **Peckham**, London – Our Lady of Sorrows: served by the Capuchins¹⁹ until 2000.
- A28** 1861: **Ford** (Ford Cemetery), Liverpool, Merseyside – chapel of the Holy Sepulchre: now demolished.
- A29** 1861: **Huyton**, Liverpool, Merseyside – St Agnes (and presbytery): built on land given by the Molyneux-Seel Family; demolished 1965.
- A30** 1861: **Ballymurn**, Co Wexford, Republic of Ireland – mortuary chapel.
- A31** 1861–2: **Rusholme**, Greater Manchester – St Edward.
- A32** 1861–2: **Stafford**, Staffs – St Austin: projected NW tower and spire never built; high altar and reredos by Pugin & Pugin, 1884 (removed 1958); lady altar (1887) and Sacred Heart altar (1894) by Pugin & Pugin, both partially destroyed in 1958.
- A33** 1861–2: **Poldrate**, Haddington, East Lothian, Scotland – St Mary.

¹⁷ Power's wife (Jane Talbot) was related to the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury.

¹⁸ The founder (J. Lomax) was a keen hunter, and St Hubert is the patron saint of Hunters.

¹⁹ A branch of the Franciscan Order.

- A34** 1862–3: **Stretford**, Greater Manchester – St Ann (and presbytery).
- A35** 1862–4: **Northampton**, Northants – Our Lady and St Thomas (cathedral of the Diocese of Northampton): nave and apse extension of A.W.N. Pugin's collegiate chapel of 1844; the interior layout was turned through 180° in 1955 when the W end was extensively rebuilt to become the sanctuary, and a door cut into the original E wall of E.W. Pugin's apse; transepts and a squat crossing tower were also added at this time.
- A36** 1862–74/95: **Dublin**, Republic of Ireland – St Augustine and St John (OSA); with G.C. Ashlin.
- A37** 1862–3: **Liskeard**, Cornwall – Our Lady and St Neot; with J.A. Hansom.
- A38** 1863: **Barton-upon-Irwell**, Greater Manchester – de Trafford Chantry: see also A60.
- A39** 1863–4: **Sheerness**, Kent – Ss Henry and Elizabeth.
- A40** 1863–4: **Our Lady's Island**, County Wexford, Republic of Ireland – Church of the Assumption; with G.C. Ashlin.
- A41** 1863–4: **Rugby**, Warks – St Marie (and presbytery, IC): an extensive rebuild of A.W.N. Pugin's 1847 church, the nave of which was incorporated as the S aisle of the new church. The lady chapel of the earlier church was completely demolished to make way for the new nave, into which A.W.N. Pugin's high altar was moved; it was returned to its original position in 1897–8 when the present high altar and reredos (by R. Donnelly) were installed. The W end was extensively remodelled (1871–2) by B. Whelan to include a new baptistry and belfry-cum-spire.
- A42** 1863–64: **Stourbridge**, West Midlands – Our Lady and All Saints (and presbytery): reredos by E.W. Pugin added in 1875 after his death; steeple (after E.W. P.'s design) by G.H. Cox, 1889–90.
- A43** 1863–4: **Croydon**, Surrey – Our Lady of Reparation (and presbytery): church later extended by F.A. Walters.
- A44** 1863–4: **Durham**, Co Durham – Our Lady of Mercy and St Godric (and cloister connecting with adjacent convent – not by E.W. Pugin): pinnacled tower and extension by Pugin & Pugin, 1909–10.
- A45** 1863–5: **Monkstown**, Co Dublin, Republic of Ireland – St Patrick; with G.C. Ashlin. Steeple not completed until 1881.
- A46** 1864–5: **Dunsop Bridge**, Clitheroe, Lancs – St Hubert.
- A47** 1864–5: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – St Michael (and presbytery).
- A48** 1864–5: **Peel**, Isle of Man – St Patrick.
- A49** 1864–5: **Skelmersdale**, Lancs – St Richard.
- A50** 1864–5: **Euxton**, Chorley, Lancs – St Mary (and presbytery): design much influenced by the parish priest, Rev J. Worthy; high altar by E. Kirby, 1888.
- A51** 1864–5: **Widnes**, Cheshire – St Marie: the present W end bellcote (which predates 1900) is not the original; closed by the Archdiocese of Liverpool in 2007. See figures 20, 34.
- A52** 1864–6: **Donnybrook**, Co Dublin, Republic of Ireland – Sacred Heart; with G.C. Ashlin: tower completed later, but intended spire never built.

- A53** 1864–6: **Hoxton Square**, London – St Monica (OSA): lady chapel is not by E.W. Pugin but by J. Young, 1880.
- A54** 1865: **Ashford**, Kent – St Teresa of Avila: demolished in 1990.
- A55** 1865: **Arles**, Co Laois, Republic of Ireland – Sacred Heart; with G.C. Ashlin.
- A56** 1865–6: **Kensington**, London – Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Simon Stock (OC): lady altar (by Farmer & Brindley) installed 1874; church destroyed by bombing during the Second World War.
- A57** 1865–6: **Stratford-upon-Avon**, Warks – St Gregory the Great (OSB): the present W front and porch, incorporating the original main entrance, are not the original and date from 1957–8, when foundational problems necessitated a complete rebuild of the W wall, but to a quite different design: the buttresses either side of the main entrance were removed, as was the bellcote, and the original rose window replaced by a three-light window with geometrical tracery. The present W end bellcote (to a similar, but less dominant, design than the original) dates from the 1980s. Despite its appearance, the presbytery is not by E.W. Pugin, the original part (which could well be by P.P. Pugin) dating from 1889.
- A58** 1865–7: **Birkdale**, Lancs – St Joseph (and presbytery).
- A59** 1865–8: **Whitehaven**, Cumbria – St Begh/Bee (OSB): the W end bellcote (the design of which differed significantly from that proposed originally, being instead very similar to that of **A60**, built during the same period) has long since been dismantled; it was at first replaced by a metal cross, but even this has now disappeared.
- A60** 1865–8: **Barton-upon-Irwell**, Greater Manchester – All Saints (and presbytery): the church was added on to the preexisting de Trafford Chantry (**A38**) of 1863, which lies to the NE of the church. See figure 19.
- A61** 1866: **Euxton**, Chorley, Lancs – private chapel: at Euxton Hall (estate of the Anderton Family); deconsecrated in 1986, and is now a domestic dwelling.
- A62** 1866–7: **Brockley** (Brockley Roman Catholic Cemetery), London – St Michael and All Angels (mortuary chapel/Knill Memorial): destroyed by bombing in 1944.
- A63** 1866–7: **Wolverhampton**, West Midlands – St Patrick (and presbytery): demolished in 1971.
- A64** 1866–7: **Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake**, Leics – The Immaculate Conception (Ratcliffe College Chapel, IC): an addition to preexisting college buildings by A.W.N. Pugin dating from 1843. The chapel was deconsecrated c1962, and converted for use as teaching space.
- A65** 1866–7: **Barrow-in-Furness**, Cumbria – St Mary of Furness: spire not built until 1889.
- A66** 1866–7: **Fleetwood**, Lancs – St Mary: sanctuary extended by Pugin & Pugin, c1909.
- A67** 1866–8: **Preston**, Lancs – St Thomas of Canterbury and the English Martyrs: extended by Pugin & Pugin in 1888; E.W. Pugin's intended SW tower was never built.

- A68** 1866–7: **Bootle**, Liverpool, Merseyside – St Alexander: destroyed by bombing during the Second World War; later rebuilt to a design of F.X. Verlade but demolished in 1991.
- A69** 1866–71: **Tralee**, Co Kerry, Republic of Ireland – Holy Cross (OP); with G.C. Ashlin: completed by Ashlin without E.W. Pugin’s intended NW spire.
- A70** 1866–72: **Kilanerin**, Co Wexford, Republic of Ireland – Ss Peter and Paul; with G.C. Ashlin: completed by E.W. Pugin, after his split with Ashlin.
- A71** 1866–72: **West Gorton**, Greater Manchester – St Francis²⁰ (friary church of OFM Recollects): high altar and reredos (1885) by Pugin & Pugin; the church and adjoining Friary Buildings were abandoned by the Franciscans in 1989, after which they were severely vandalised, but are now undergoing restoration. The W end bellcote (dating from 1911) is much less impressive and restrained than E.W. Pugin’s original design.
- A72** 1866: **Kilburn**, London – Sacred Heart (OMI): not commenced until 1878; opened 1879. W porch added c1950; chancel and S aisle demolished c1965, and rebuilt to quite different designs, the new S aisle being greatly extended southwards.
- A73** 1867: **Dover**, Kent – St Paul: chancel of 1873. See figure 22.
- A74** 1867–8: **Monkstown**, Co Cork, Republic of Ireland – Sacred Heart (and presbytery); with G.C. Ashlin: steeple, 1876–77/81.
- A75** 1867–9: **Ballyhooley**, Co Cork, Republic of Ireland – Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary; with G.C. Ashlin.
- A76** 1867–9: **Glasthule**, Co Dublin, Republic of Ireland – St Joseph (and presbytery); with GC Ashlin: intended steeple never built.
- A77** 1867–71: **Dewsbury**, West Yorks – Our Lady and St Paulinus: partly inspired (according to Stanton 1971, p 209) by A.W.N. Pugin’s 1838 design for his church in Dudley.
- A78** 1868: **Stratford**, London – St Vincent de Paul: the dedication was changed to St Francis of Assisi when the Franciscans (OFM) took over in 1873; the present ‘classical’ facade looks later than 1868.
- A79** 1868: **Glenealy**, Co Wicklow, Republic of Ireland – St Joseph; with G.C. Ashlin.
- A80** 1868–9: **Longton**, Staffs – St Gregory (and presbytery): the projected SW tower and spire never built; demolished in 1970 (allegedly on account of subsidence caused by mining).
- A81** 1868–9: **Brooms**, Leadgate, Co Durham – Our Blessed Lady and St Joseph.
- A82** 1868–70: **Brosna**, Co Kerry, Republic of Ireland – Ss Moling and Carthage; with G.C. Ashlin: completed by Ashlin, but without the intended NW tower.
- A83** 1868–71: **Kilmoyley**, Ardfert, Co Kerry, Republic of Ireland – Sacred Heart; with G.C. Ashlin: completed by Ashlin.
- A84** 1868–72 (dedicated): **Dublin**, Republic of Ireland – St Kevin; with G.C. Ashlin: completed by Ashlin, without the intended spire.

²⁰ The *Builder* of 6.6.1863 cites JA Hansom as joint architect with EWP, whilst the *Builder* of 7.9.1878 cites Pugin, Ashlin & Pugin as the firm responsible for completing EWP’s design; (see O’Donnell 2006).

- A85** 1868–79: **Cobh**²¹, Co Cork, Republic of Ireland – St Colman (cathedral of the Diocese of Cloyne); with G.C. Ashlin: the spire was completed by Ashlin & Coleman in 1915. See figure 18.
- A86** 1869: **Harwich**, Essex – Our Lady of Mount Carmel (OC): rendered unusable by floods in 1952, but the building still exists.
- A87** 1869: **Barking**, Essex – Ss Mary and Ethelburga: demolished 1979.
- A88** 1869–72: **Carrigtwohill**, Co Cork, Republic of Ireland – St Mary; with G.C. Ashlin: completed by Ashlin.
- A89** 1869: **Crosshaven**, Co Cork, Republic of Ireland – St Brigid: foundation stone laid. This was E.W. Pugin's final Irish commission and was supervised by Collingridge Barnett.
- A90** 1869–72: **Cleator**, Cumbria – Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (formerly OSB).
- A91** c1870: **Ramsgate**, Kent – chapel of ease: for use by patrons of the Granville Hotel.
- A92** 1872–3: **Brierley Hill**, nr Dudley, Staffs – St Mary.
- A93** 1872–4: **Greengate**, Salford, Greater Manchester – St Peter (and presbytery): closed by the Diocese of Salford in 1984.
- A94** 1873–4: Near **Wigan**, Greater Manchester – private (mortuary) chapel (for W.J. Walmesley) at Westwood House: dismantled in 1905, and rebuilt at Inglewood House, Kintbury, Berks; closed 2007.
- A95** 1873–4: **Glenfinnan**, Inverness-shire, Scotland – Ss Mary and Finnan.
- A96** 1873–6: **Workington**, Cumbria – Our Lady Star of the Sea and St Michael (OSB): not commenced until 1876, one year after E.W. Pugin's death.
- A97** 1873–6: **Tower Hill**, London – The English Martyrs (OMI): completed by P.P. Pugin.
- A98** 1874: **Camberley**, Surrey – St Tarcisius' School chapel: demolished c1970.
- A99** 1875–7: **Warrington**, Cheshire – St Mary (OSB): completed by C.W. & P.P. Pugin; tower (as opposed to E.W. Pugin's intended spire) added by Pugin & Pugin, 1906.
- A100** 1875–7: **Rock Ferry**, Merseyside – St Anne (OMI): completed, apart from the intended belfry and spire stages of the SW tower by C.W. & P.P. Pugin. High altar and reredos of 1880 – *mensa* destroyed 1980; lady altar (1888); St Joseph's altar (1895) and pulpit (removed 1980): all by Pugin & Pugin; altar rails (1932, by C. Purcell) – removed 1980. See figure 23.

²¹ Formerly known as Queenstown.

Uncorroborated work

- i. **Sheerness**, Kent – presbytery attached to the church of Ss Henry and Elizabeth (A39).
- ii. 1864–65: **Skelmersdale**, Lancs – presbytery attached to the church of St Richard (A49).

Abbreviations

CSSR	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists)
IC	Institute of Charity (Rosminians)
OC	Order of Carmelites
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OSA	Order of St Augustine (Augustinians)
OSB	Order of St Benedict (Benedictines)
OP	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)

News and Comment

A plaque to A.C. Pugin and A.W.N. Pugin at 106 Great Russell Street, London

from Mark Collins

A cast bronze plaque commemorating A.C. Pugin and his son A.W.N. Pugin is situated on the face of 106 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury. The plaque was 'affixed by the Duke of Bedford' in 1907, and bears an inscription in raised lettering:

HERE LIVED
THE ARCHITECTS
AUGS. CHARLES PUGIN
BORN 1762 : DIED 1832
AUGS. WELBY N. PUGIN
BORN 1812 : DIED 1852

The plaque is one of several put into place on his London estate by Herbrand, 11th Duke of Bedford (1858–1940) which were intended to celebrate significant residents. The 11th Duke, notably credited with assisting Sir Peter Mitchell in the creation of Whipsnade Zoo near Woburn Abbey, also 'devoted himself to management of his estates'.¹ The plaques all display two winged putti holding a laurel crown above the names of the former occupants, and are in the beaux arts tradition of the Edwardian baroque revival. Other such plaques, installed on nearby houses by the 11th Duke, and of a similar type and date of manufacture, include that to the book collector Topham Beauclerk and another to the natural philosopher, the Hon Henry Cavendish.

Bloomsbury in the nineteenth century was popular with architects as a place to work and live; amongst them George Dance, P.C. Hardwick, T.H. Wyatt, and William Butterfield. The house where the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood took place in 1848 is situated on Gower Street. It was to Bloomsbury that A.C. and Catherine Pugin moved in 1809 from Islington, and in particular to a house in Keppel Street built by a speculative builder, James Burton. A.C. Pugin would have known Burton, probably through his architectural master John Nash with whom Burton had collaborated on a number of important building projects. On moving to Great Russell Street, A.C. Pugin was included as a 'surveyor' in Pigot and Co.'s *Commercial directory* along with about 230 other 'Architects and Surveyors' in London at that time.

The original house was part of a row of four-storey early nineteenth-century terraced houses built by Thomas Cubitt. It was in this house that A.C. Pugin and his formidable wife ran their drawing school. Pupils who came to the house included James Pennethorne, Thomas Talbot Bury and Benjamin Ferrey; the latter remained as a boarder for seven years. Work was undertaken by A.C. Pugin on *Specimens of the architectural antiquities of Normandy* and *Illustrations of the public buildings of London*. It was here also that the Pugins' young son honed



Figure 25: 106 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury
Photographed in 2007.



Figure 26: The plaque on 106 Great Russell Street
Photographed in 2007.

his genius for design from the ages of 11 till 20 – the roof was reconstructed as a practice theatre for his stage-sets. Here, too, A.W.N. Pugin's first wife, Anne, gave birth to their daughter. The sale of the contents took place in 1833 following the death of both of his parents in quick succession.

Although the Pugins' plaque is an elegant and worthwhile commemoration, on closer inspection two problems are evident. The bronze is now in bad condition because of neglect; furthermore, it is situated on the wrong building. The selection of the number 106 was correct; the Pugins did live at 106 Great Russell Street after leaving Keppel Street nearby

in 1823 to obtain larger premises. However, confusion arose because the numbering of Great Russell Street was changed following the demolition of several houses further to the east and their replacement by Smirke's British Museum during the 1820s and 1830s. The Pugins' 106 then became 97, thus renumbering a house nine doors to the west as 106; it was on the latter house that the plaque was mistakenly fixed in 1907, and this new numbering – and the plaque – remain in place today.

Unfortunately, the real 106 was demolished in about 1900 to make way for a new hotel, the Kenilworth, which still exists upon the site of their house and of 104 and 105. The Kenilworth was part of a family-run business, one of the Waverley Temperance Hotels founded in Scotland by Robert Cranston (1815–1892) in the middle of the nineteenth century. Another member of the family, Kate Cranston, ran the Argyll Street and Willow Tea Rooms in Glasgow which she commissioned from the architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh at about the time of the opening of the Kenilworth in London in 1904. The strange coincidence of the name of the hotel and the fact that the designs were drawn up at 106 by a youthful A.W.N. Pugin for the staging of Kenilworth as a ballet emphasise the influence of both Walter Scott and, albeit unwittingly, Pugin on the public imagination in the nineteenth century.

Would it not be fitting if this plaque was to be carefully conserved by experts, and relocated on the hotel in preparation for the 200th anniversary of A.W.N. Pugin's birth in five years time? The raised lettering could be made easier to read from a distance by being gilded as a contrast to the dark patina of the bronze memorial itself.

1 *Oxford dictionary of national biography.*

More on the family history of the Welbys

from Michael Egan

Soon after the last number of *True principles* (vol 3, no 3) went to the printers, a copy was received from Lincolnshire Archives of the Denton baptismal register entry for the Catherine Welby referred to in my contribution there (pp 52–3). It appears that she was born 8 March 1774 and christened 14 March 1774, but was not the daughter of William Welby, A.W.N. Pugin's maternal grandfather. She was in fact the child of his cousin William Earle Welby, the first baronet, of Denton Manor, Lincolnshire. Confusingly, he too was admitted to the Middle Temple in the 1750s.

Further material from the Lincolnshire Archives¹ shows that William Welby married Elizabeth Twyford of Market Rasen on 8 August 1767, the wedding having taken place at St Clement Danes church, London, as recorded in the parish registers.² The christening of Catherine Welby, their daughter, appears in the same church's baptismal registers on 18 June 1768. The death of Catherine Pugin, A.W.N.P.'s mother, can subsequently be found in the registers of St Mary's Islington.³ She died on 28 April 1833 and was buried on 4 May 1833, her age given as 64 years. This is consistent with the 1768 baptism, strongly suggesting that both entries refer to the same Catherine.

A.W.N.P. was born in 1812 to A.C. and Catherine Pugin when she was 43 years of age, after 10 years of married life. Were there other children? A.W.N.P. was the only child mentioned in his father's will.⁴

Both the Harleian Society vol 55, 'Lincolnshire pedigrees', p 1319, and two reputable genealogical websites give Caesar as maiden name of Catherine's mother. This latest information indicates that the Caesar name was an error.

I regret having been responsible for the Caesar canard in Sandra Wedgwood's article in *True principles*, p 52, and apologise to any members of The Pugin Society who may have been inconvenienced as a result.

The Editor adds: the Denton parsonage was, incidentally, rebuilt by Anthony Salvin in 1841, the annus mirabilis of the Gothic revival, in a defiantly neo-classical style. This no doubt would have pleased the staunchly protestant Welbys.

1 Lincolnshire Archives, Thor 1/2/19/4.

2 Held by the City of Westminster Archives Centre.

3 Microfilm copies available in the London Metropolitan Archives and in Islington Council Local History Library.

4 PCC will, Prob 11/1816, q 320.

The Pugin Society visit to Belgium

From the Editor

In August 2006 The Pugin Society cemented its very valuable links with KADOC, the Documentation and Research Centre for Religion, Culture and Society at the Catholic University of Leuven, with a visit to various important Gothic Revival sites in Belgium. The visit was hosted with great efficiency and courtesy by Professor Jan de Maeyer, director of the Centre, who provided an introductory lecture on the major aspects of the revival in Belgium, and in particular the mid-nineteenth-century St Luke's school of neo-Gothic and contemporary reactions to it. Society members enjoyed a profound Gothic experience right from the start, as they were housed in Justus Lipsius College in Minderbroedersstraat in the centre of Leuven – largely a building of 1879–81 by the architect Joris Helleputte and perhaps a Flemish equivalent to Keble College, Oxford, in motivation, function and style.

The trips arranged by Professor de Maeyer included a wide range of revival buildings. We saw first the bishop's residence in Ghent, of the early 1840s, the best known work by Mathias Joseph Wolters. Then we went to the focal building of the visit: St Luke's School in the city, the alternative art school to the established academies that was to be the powerhouse of the Puginite gothic revival in Belgium. We saw there the museum building erected in honour of Pugin's greatest apostle in Belgium, Count Jean-Baptiste Bethune (1821–94), a founder of the St Luke's school, as well as the complex designed by Jules Coomans who later restored the city of Ypres after the First World War. The day continued with visits to the Puginesque Poortakker Nunnery, by Arthur Verhaegen; the magnificent polychrome St Joseph's Church in Wondelgemstraat by Auguste Van Assche; and the Bijloke Hospital by Adolphe Pauli in Ghent. Beyond the city, we saw the beautiful great beguinage at Sint Amandsberg of 1874 by Verhaegen and Bethune himself; and the church of Our Lady at Oostakker by Joseph Poelaert, best known as the architect of the rather different neo-classical Palais de Justice in Brussels.

The following day we visited the capital, seeing first the monument to Leopold I of 1878–81 at Laken designed by Louise de Curte, perhaps inspired by the Scott Monument and the



Figure 27: A house at the great beguinage at Sint Amandsberg by Verhaegen and Bethune (1874)



Figure 28: The Society's President, Mrs David Houle, with Count Bethune at Maredsous Abbey

Albert Memorial. We saw also the octagonal St Mary's Church at Schaarbeck by Henri Van Overstraeten and the mediaeval cathedral, and in the afternoon we returned to Leuven to visit the Leo XIII Seminary, Sacred Heart House and the Institute of Philosophy by Helleputte and Joseph Piscador. Piscador's Sacred Heart House, completed in 1903 with its remarkable staircase and stained glass, was particularly memorable. The final day was spent visiting Bethune's Maredsous Abbey at Denée, where we met the present Count Bethune; and, by special arrangement, the nearby abbey of Maredret by Van Assche.

Thanks to Professor de Maeyer's meticulous arrangements and documentation,

in which he was helped by his students, members were able to make the most of this memorable and important trip. We very much hope that we can continue to build on our links with KADOC.

History and mystery on the Welsh Borders

from Nick Beveridge

The Pugin Society trip to Wales took place from 26–9 July 2007 and was very well attended by members. Our base was the University of Chester where most of us were staying in the student accommodation. This was quite an experience, especially the showers which required considerable skill to operate!

We gathered on the evening of the 26th for drinks before hearing Fr Michael Fisher, our leader for the next couple of days, give an introductory talk. This was a great appetiser for what was to follow. After a hearty breakfast the next morning we set off across the border into Wales and our first destination was Holywell, the 'British Lourdes'. A.W.N. Pugin's diary records that he and Jane visited here during their honeymoon. This was followed by a visit to St David's church, Pantasaph, which had started off as an Anglican church and later given a Roman-Catholic makeover by Pugin.

The next stop was Chirk Castle where we saw what was left of A.W.N. Pugin's work and the charming stables by E.W.P. While there we were privileged to see the stunning Hardman exhibition that was currently on display. In the evening we were dined in style at a French restaurant which was a perfect ending to the day. It was also a good opportunity to get to know one another better.

On 28 July we began with Pugin's work at Abney Hall followed by Bramall Hall which contained some of the Crace furniture from Abney after it was sold in 1958. Then it was on to St Alban's church, Macclesfield – a revelation with its intact chancel and rood screen. The last stop of the day was G.F. Bodley's exquisitely appointed St Mary's church, Eccleston.

Our leader for Sunday 29th was E.W. Pugin specialist Dr Gerard Hyland. The day began with a visit to Shrewsbury cathedral where some of us had earlier attended the solemn mass. Later in the coach, Gerard gave a fascinating biography of E.W.P. as well as making some forthright remarks about current liturgical matters! This was followed by a visit to Wrexham Cathedral which was also designed by E.W.P., but with some fittings by P.P. Pugin.

We were all very grateful to Events secretary Julia Twigg for the organisation of such a successful and thoroughly enjoyable tour which was without doubt the highlight of my four-week visit to Britain from New Zealand.

A stereoscopic view of E.W. Pugin's Grange

From Fraser Donachie

I recently purchased a stereoview of the Grange and St Augustine's church that may be of interest to members. It depicts the buildings in c1870, after E.W. Pugin and his family had moved back to the Grange in 1861. The photograph shows some of E.W.P.'s conspicuous external additions: the drawing room extension on the west elevation, and the bath-room extension above the sacristy to the east, both of which have now been removed. The photograph was taken from West Cliff Promenade and the reposeing gentleman, who is leaning on the boundary railings of a neighbouring house, appears to be admiring the gothic splendour whilst simultaneously taking the salubrious airs! Thankfully we can still do this today, although it is pleasing to note that the injurious ivy has been swept away with E.W.P.'s alterations.



Figure 29: Stereoview image of the Grange and St. Augustine's church from *Poulton's stereoscopic series of English scenery and buildings*, c1870

Private collection.

We are very grateful to Philip Correll who reported to us in November that Abbott and Holder of 30 Museum Street, London, were listing in their catalogue 'The interior of Notre Dame painted aged 15', by A.W.N. Pugin, size 6 x 4, signed, price £575.

Buildings News

edited by James Jago, with contributions from Catriona Blaker, Nick Dermott, Michael Fisher, Peter Howell and Rory O'Donnell

Roman Catholic Church of St Patrick, Anderston, Glasgow (P.P. Pugin, 1897–1902)

This is a significant example of P.P.'s work, with strikingly wide arcades on the scale of railway arches, and all its P.P.-designed altars surviving in situ. In an unfortunate series of events the body of a Polish student was found outside this church last year: the parish priest, whose 'open door' policy sheltered the murderer, was dismissed and the church closed for worship. Amidst so many downtown closures it is heartening that the Archdiocese of Glasgow has, after a suitable interval, reconsecrated and reopened this church. RO'D.

Former Convent of Our Lady of Charity and Refuge, Bartestree, Herefordshire (E.W. Pugin, 1862)

This convent, which closed in 1992, has been saved through the repair and conversion of E.W.'s ranges into flats and the creation of new-build housing in the grounds. At the time of writing the chapels still languish, and tragically the altar of the interns' (*ie* penitents') chapel has been sold to a church in Chicago; this in spite of efforts by this writer to obtain it for a English site. Although protected by a planning condition, it came into the hands of a dealer who advertised it for sale at a price of £120,000. Inaccurately described by the latter as a work of E.W., it is evidently by P.P.: an exuberant example of a benediction altar, in caen stone and marble, weighing seven tonnes. This case serves to remind us that the closure of, and disposal from, Catholic sites remains a continuing problem. RO'D.

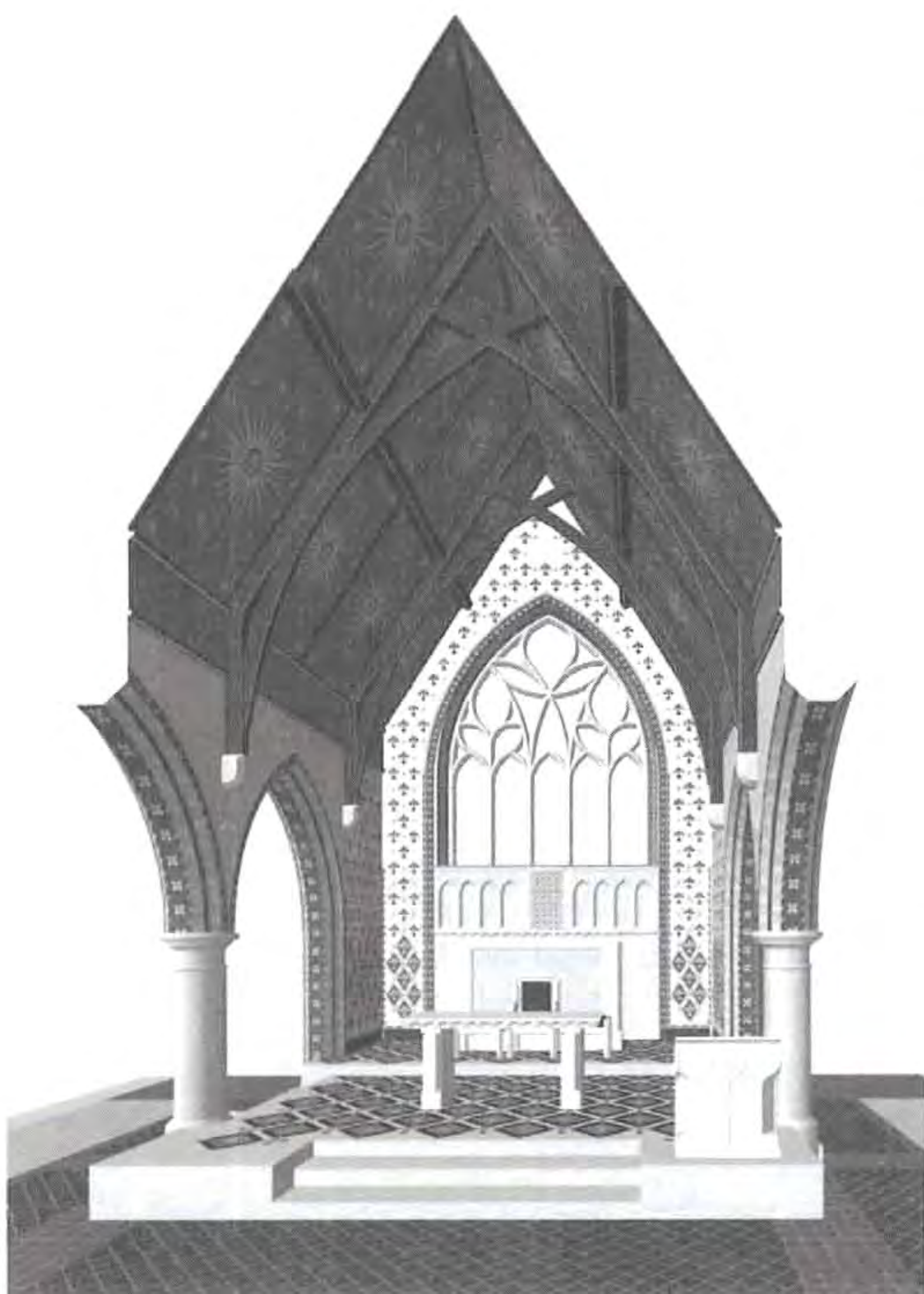


Figure 30: St Thomas of Canterbury: chancel decoration scheme by Academy Projects

© AcademyProjects.com

Roman Catholic Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Fulham, London (A.W.N. Pugin 1847–8)

The interior of this notable late work by A.W.N. has undergone a most praiseworthy transformation, in full Puginian spirit, under the auspices of Martin Goalen of Academy Projects [see figures 1 and 30]. The application of polychrome decoration to the sanctuary and the arcade arches enables the internal volumes to be integrated and articulated in a manner wholly in sympathy to the church's architectural character. The work is strongly reminiscent, in both motifs and effect, to this architect's previous reordering of St Mary's, Derby. This recourse to an earlier work is the only unfortunate note at Fulham, since it implies a precast notion of generic Puginian design approach, tailored slightly for individual buildings, rather than displaying variety conditioned by a distinct impression of locus, for Fulham and Derby are at the extreme ends of A.W.N.'s career, and to impress upon them similar patternation negates their position within the chronology of Pugin's works. This is however understandable, since the only evidence for elaborate paintwork here postdates A.W.N.'s death, and did not survive an earlier reordering in the 1960s.

Criticism aside, the rich visual impression is successful, and the new stone high altar is an appropriate homage to A.W.N.'s idiom, whilst still accommodating the post-Council preference for supportive piers in lieu of a solid plinth. The elaborately-tiled sanctuary floor is an undisputed triumph, where multi-coloured encaustic tiles, repeating A.W.N.'s original design, are set between matrices of black and white marble. This project was undertaken by the ceramic specialist Craven Dunnill Jackson, who are frequently engaged on projects involving English Heritage, and who also replaced the original chequerboard black and red tiles in the nave and aisles with a matching design. The whole scheme is indicative of a happy reassessment of the aesthetic setting of the reformed liturgy, where recourse to historical richness and elaboration can be displayed and celebrated, rather than consciously stifled on the premise of liturgical necessity casting off a garb of obsolete, superfluous distractions. JJ.

Former Roman Catholic Church of Mount St Mary, Leeds, West Yorkshire (E.W. Pugin, 1864–6)

The tragic and protracted decline of this iconic Leeds landmark has at long last a prospect of redemption in a redevelopment proposal drafted by DLA Architecture. The nave of this church was built by W. Wardell to the designs of J.A. Hansom in 1855 and the transepts and sanctuary were added by E.W.P. in the mid 1860s; the latter serving as the Society's *raison d'être* for involvement in this case. After almost 20 years of redundancy the decay of this church is marked, especially in the gable roofs of the north aisle. This has led to the partial dismantling of the decayed timber members and gable stonework last year. After considering numerous solutions to redevelop the site feasibly as residential accommodation, the present proposal seeks to create an undeniably modern structure, faced in a zinc-copper alloy, which replicates the profile of the nave roof and which retains intact the E.W.P. transepts and sanctuary apse. The irregular fenestration for the separate flats will be tinted different colours so as to bear an affinity to stained glass, and a permanently illuminated stairwell positioned against the western facade will paraphrase the effect of the current west window. Further,

lower-level residential accommodation is proposed along the northern boundary of the plot, and this would necessitate the demolition of the separately-listed (Grade II) presbytery by Wardell.

The Victorian Society has indicated that it cannot support the proposed redevelopment on account of the loss and fragmentation of the historic structures. Their opposition is justifiable, though as our Society is constitutionally obliged only to defend the buildings of the Pugin family, the treatment of the Hansom / Wardell elements ultimately lie outside our brief. Whilst the loss of so much historical structure is undeniably regrettable, it may ultimately prove the lesser evil to sacrifice these components to safeguard the future of E.W.P.'s east end and ensure that it is conserved in a fitting and appropriate manner. Should the current proposals flounder, the further exposure of Mount St Mary's would only diminish future possibilities of salvaging anything of a once magnificent church currently at the nadir of its fortunes. Quite what reaction this scheme will cause amongst the local community remains to be seen. JJ.



Figure 31: The lady chapel reredos, St Anne's cathedral, Leeds.

Lady chapel reredos, Roman Catholic Cathedral of St Anne, Leeds, West Yorkshire (A.W.N. Pugin, 1842)

This especially fine wooden reredos, executed by George Myers from A.W.N.'s design, is soon to be restored with a grant from the English Heritage / Wolfson Foundation cathedral grants scheme [figure 31]. The reredos originally stood behind the high altar of the previous

cathedral, designed by John Child in 1838, and was donated by Fr Walmesley and Grace Humble in 1842. It comprises of three large niches holding statues of St Anne and the Virgin, the Madonna and Child and St Wilfred, with smaller figures of angels under canopies between them. The whole is richly polychromed and, as realised, clearly pleased its architect who recorded that: "I think it is the best thing I have yet accomplished in that way". It is a stylistically significant commission, created when his preferred manner of design shifted from late Gothic to an earlier, fourteenth-century ideal. When the previous cathedral was demolished in 1901 (in a 'Contrastsesque' episode to alleviate a sharp junction of tramlines in the adjacent road) the reredos was reincorporated into the new lady chapel, designed as part of J. H. Eastwood's art nouveau Gothic masterpiece, which opened in 1904. Its restoration forms a fitting codicil to the recent reordering of the cathedral by Richard Williams of Buttress Fuller Allsop Williams (see *Church building*, vol 104, 26–37), which supersedes a previous reordering instigated by the then Bishop Dwyer's favoured practice of Weightman and Bullen; a cast of dramatis personae tainted with infamy in Puginian circles. JJ.



Figure 32: All Saint's church, Leigh: the Chancel

Photographed by Michael Fisher, June 2007.

Parish Church of All Saints, Leigh, Staffordshire (A.W.N. Pugin, 1844–6)

Though not a well-known work in A.W.N.'s oeuvre of commissions for Anglican patrons, Leigh church is as significant as St Mary's, Wymeswold, which he restored at about the same time [figures 32, 33]. A large cruciform church with a central tower, All Saints was rebuilt in 1844 by the little-known Lichfield architect, Thomas Johnson (1794–1865), at the expense of the Bagot family of nearby Blithfield Hall. Johnson had fallen under the spell of the Cambridge Camden Society and was an active member of its local counterpart, the Lichfield Society for the Encouragement of Ecclesiastical Architecture; his work at Leigh clearly reflecting the latter's influence. The building and furnishing of Leigh was carried out simultaneously with the building St Giles', Cheadle, only a few miles away, under the patronage of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The Bagots and the Shrewsburys were friends, and this may account for A.W.N.'s involvement at both Leigh and at Blithfield, where he contributed to the restoration of another Bagot church.

For Leigh, A.W.N. designed the chancel furnishings, including a chancel screen and return stalls with Hardman metalwork, all very similar to those at Wymeswold (1844–6), a large five-light east window with superb glass by William Wailes and a pavement of Minton tiles, incorporating the arms of Richard Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, (1782–1854) who had been rector here and continued to hold the living in plurality until 1846. The east window demonstrates a remarkable advance on that at Wymeswold where single figures of forward-gazing saints stand stiffly to attention. At Leigh they appear mostly in groups framed in geometrical patterns, variously posed and altogether more lively.

A.W.N.'s unique tiled pavement, east window, chancel fittings and woodwork have recently (2007) been carefully restored through the generosity of Mrs Shelia Halden, a member of the congregation and a former churchwarden, who was anxious to preserve one of Staffordshire's



Figure 33: All Saint's church, Leigh. Chancel tiles

Photographed by Michael Fisher, June 2007.

hidden gems for future generations. In addition to A.W.N.'s east and west windows the church has a fine array of glass; from fourteenth-century survivals reset by Hardman, to windows by Burne-Jones and Morris & Co, to modern work by local glass painter Graham Chaplin; the latter being another gift by Mrs Halden to All Saints.

For members wishing to visit this church, a key is normally available at the village post office; alternatively contact the Rev Dominic Stone on 01283 820030. MF.

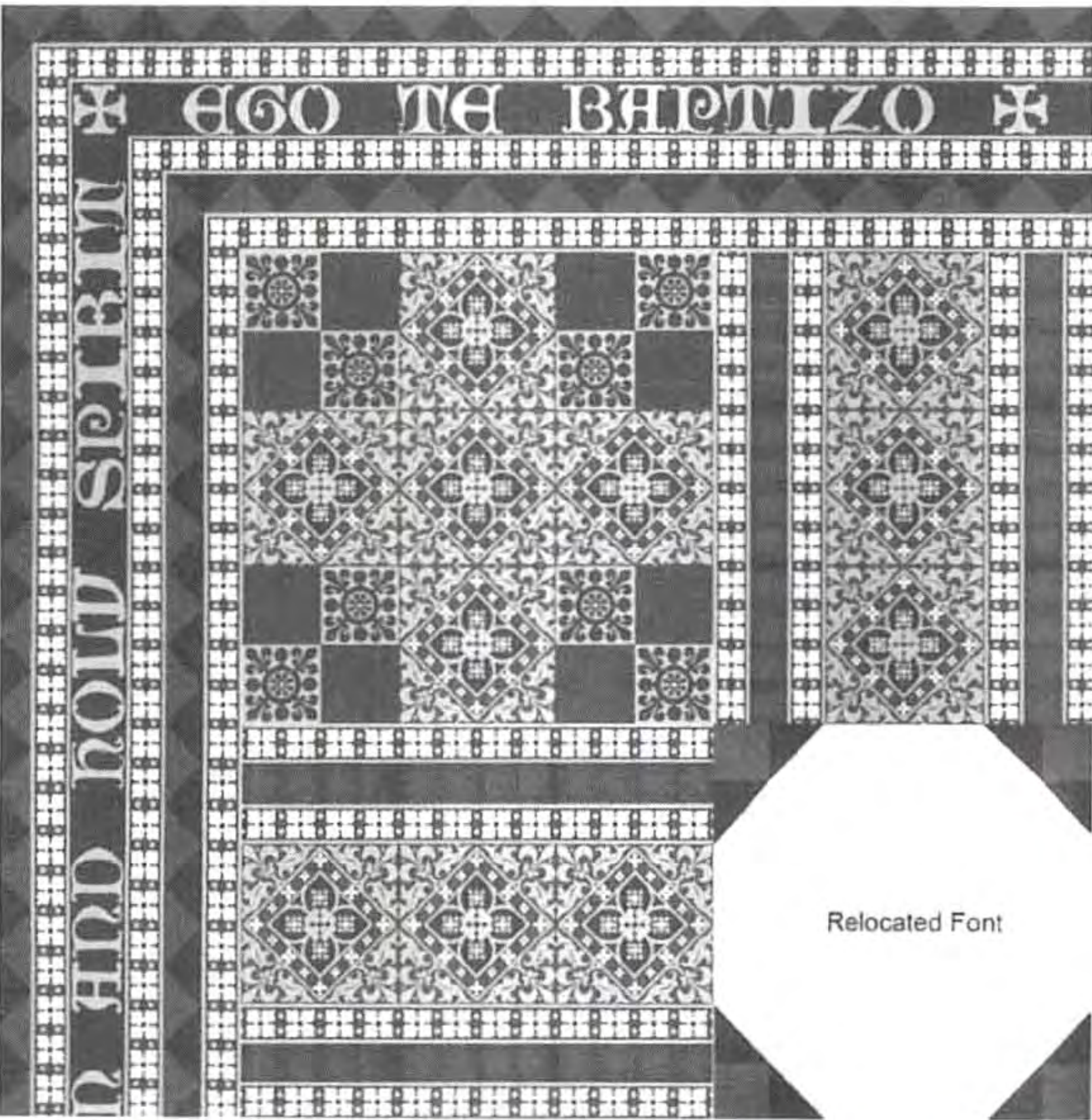


Figure 34: A detail of the new tiles, St Mary's cathedral, Newcastle

Roman Catholic Cathedral of St Mary, Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyneside (A.W.N. Pugin, 1842–4)

The next phase of redecoration and reordering has been prepared by the cathedral architect, Kevin Doonan, which displays a marked advance upon earlier experimental schemes

and a greater fidelity to Puginian sources such as the *Glossary* and St Giles', Cheadle. A full survey of the current cathedral floorscape has been prepared which outlines the various phases of tiling, including original Pugin tiles, both in situ and relaid in the last reordering. A proposal for relaying the entirety of the floor has been draughted, with highly elaborate patterns for the central aisle and narthex, more restrained designs for the aisles and greatly elaborated areas for the sanctuary dais and around the relocated font. Appropriate liturgical inscriptions, in both Latin and English, are used within the borders. The Tiles and Architectural Ceramics Society have already indicated support for this scheme, and the amount of time and effort spent in drafting this highly elaborate proposal is self evident; certain areas might well benefit from a reduction in complexity and colour, with the greatest variety of the latter qualities being concentrated around the high altar [figure 34].

The extension of the decorative stencilling to the sanctuary and lady chapel is also a clear improvement upon the tentative experiments in the blessed sacrament chapel, and the incorporation of eucharistic and evangelical symbols in the spandrels of the sanctuary arcade is a highly successful proposal, derived from examples in the *Glossary*. The lady chapel proposal would undoubtedly benefit from introducing heraldic fleur-de-lys into the design: a standard mediaevalising Marian symbol, already present in the dado panels of A.W.N.'s extant lady altar reredos. The latter is to be returned to the east wall of the chapel, with the current confessionals behind it to be relocated to the west end of the cathedral. The current suggestion to resite the E.W. stone statue of the madonna and child immediately in front of the reredos is far from resolved, and the latter can better be read as a separate but integral element of the chapel's devotional furnishings. It is also proposed to erect a brass screen to divide the chapel from the south aisle. The current proposal is a more florid rendition of that placed in front of the blessed sacrament chapel, and consequently repeats the weaknesses of the latter. It can only be classed as a 'constructed decoration' and is not so much a homage to the manner of A.W.N. as an example of 'Scooby-Doo Gothic'. JJ.

Former Rank Hovis Flour Mill, Ramsgate, Kent (E.W. Pugin, 1872)

This massive structure, mostly by E.W.P., ceased operating as a mill in 2006 and was disposed of by its then owners, Rank Hovis. Oxford architects Towle Spurring Hardy have been developing a scheme since the early part of 2007 to convert the historic buildings on the site into residential units and to provide new-build accommodation. The new buildings, in materials, siting and form, are designed to complement the listed structures, and the whole ensemble has the potential to be a most unusual and innovative development. A planning application is expected in late September. ND.

The Pugin Chantry, Roman Catholic Church of St Augustine, Ramsgate, Kent (A.W.N. Pugin, 1844–73)

The conservation of A.W.N. Pugin's tombchest has now been completed. This involved cleaning the alabaster tympanum above the effigy and the side panels, realigning the stones of the surround, waxing the alabaster and some minor repointing where needed. This was undertaken by conservator Matthew Beesey, from the firm Fairhaven of Anglesey Abbey, and was funded by The Pugin Society. Our thanks go out to all members who contributed to this highly-significant project.

As reported in our summer newsletter, the repairs to the mullions and cill of the four-light window above the tomb has virtually been completed, with some refinements to the external face of the mullions still to be undertaken. This work was carried out by Coombs Ltd of Canterbury, under the supervision of the firm Purcell Milner Tritton, also of Canterbury, and was funded by parishioners, assisted with a grant of £10,000 from the Kent-based Colyer-Fergusson Trust. CB.

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

The Benedictine nuns of Stanbrook abbey have elected a new abbess, Dame Andrea Savage, who is as committed to the community's move to north Yorkshire as was her predecessor. Work began on the construction of the new abbey in June, although no contract has yet been signed for the sale of the Worcestershire buildings. The Stanbrook Trust was set up early last year with the hope of buying them, so as to set up a school of sacred music. This would be in keeping with the pope's desire to improve musical standards, and Stanbrook, which has

an outstanding tradition of liturgical music, and a fine church, built by E.W. in 1869–71, with excellent acoustics and a notable organ, would be a magnificent home for it. It is also well placed, near to several universities with music departments. Academic support for the project has been identified. It would be an ideal solution from the architectural point of view, requiring minimal alteration to the existing buildings, and would avoid the problem of new building, access and so on, for which planning permission might be difficult to obtain. The chief problem for the Stanbrook Trust is to find the £5–£6 million needed to buy the abbey; it continues to explore possibilities. The Stanbrook Trust has a website: www.nigel-morgan.co.uk/stanbrooktrust. The Pugin Society website also has a link to the Trust from its 'Buildings at Risk' page. PH.



Figure 35: The high altar and reredos at St Mary's, Widnes.

Roman Catholic Church of St Marie, Widnes, Cheshire (E.W. Pugin, 1865–6)

Members will be delighted to hear that this well preserved E.W. church was successfully spotlisted by English Heritage before Christmas 2006 when the Archdiocese of Liverpool announced its wish that a final mass be celebrated on the Feast of the Epiphany, after which the church would be demolished. This abrupt announcement galvanised local opposition amongst parishioners and campaigners, the local press, and the Victorian Society, which has secured the building's future for the time being. The design is an example of E.W.'s modest work for impoverished congregations; a nave with narrow lean-to aisles and a

canted apse representing the essential elements of his work at this period. The restrained exterior of red and blue banded brickwork little suggests the blaze of colour within, created by the alabaster reredos with scenes from the life of the virgin set upon gilt grounds, attributable to J.A. Pippet, from the midst of which soars a characteristic benediction throne and canopy [figure 35]. The high altar and its attendant wooden side altars retain their original marble rails, and the overall completeness of the interior furnishings largely enabled the spotlisting application to be successful. The assured future of this church comes as a welcome respite to the recent spate of church closures in inner-city Liverpool as part of a process of apparent parochial 'centralisation' based upon the refurbished metropolitan cathedral. Whether the archdiocese will actively pursue its proposed closure remains to be seen. JJ.

Parish Church of St Nicholas, Peper Harow, Surrey (A.W.N. Pugin, 1844)

We have just heard the shocking news that this church, restored and beautified by A.W.N. Pugin from 1844, has been badly damaged by fire on Christmas Eve. The rector, Rev John Fellows, is appealing now for assistance with rebuilding. Please have a look at <http://www.peperharow.info/church.htm> for further details. TBC.

Book reviews

A liberal ultramontane or a neo-Gallican

Augustus Welby Pugin, designer of the British Houses of Parliament: the Victorian quest for a liturgical architecture. By Christabel Powell. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2006. ISBN 0773457690. RRP £79.95

reviewed by David Meara

Over the past thirty years A.W.N. Pugin's reputation has been steadily growing, rehabilitated by a number of scholarly publications and exhibitions. From Phoebe Stanton's book of 1971 and the Victorian Church Art exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum to a stream of publications, the exhibition at the V&A in 1994, and the numerous specialist studies, Pugin has emerged as a major Victorian architect, designer and controversialist, his reputation rescued and rightly reinstated after years of neglect. And the flow of publications continues. Last year Rosemary Hill's eagerly awaited biography of Pugin appeared, and we look forward to further volumes of the collected letters, beautifully edited by Margaret Belcher.

In 2006 the Edwin Mellen Press published *Augustus Welby Pugin, designer of the British Houses of Parliament*, subtitled 'The Victorian quest for a liturgical architecture', by Christabel Powell. In spite of its title this is a study of Pugin's own writings, with the stated aim of showing that as well as being an architect and designer he was a religious scholar with a particular desire to promote his liturgical vision for his adopted church. When Pugin became a Roman Catholic he did so after a 'most close and impartial investigation' conducted beneath the vaults of a Lincoln or a Westminster as well as in libraries 'in the crypts of the old cathedrals of Europe'. But he did not know much about contemporary Roman Catholicism and he had not discussed his proposed conversion with any Catholic clergy. So when he finally joined the Church of Rome in 1836 he was shocked by what he found: as he later wrote in *Some remarks*, 'I had a hard struggle to convince myself that it was a duty to leave the spots I held so sacred, and to worship in a room inferior to many Wesleyan meeting-houses, and with vestments and altar furniture that would hardly have been admitted among the properties of a travelling manager'.¹

As Powell points out, the restoration of Catholicism and the sacred liturgy became for Pugin a moral duty and mission. She then sets out on a systematic examination of Pugin's publications in order to show how he was promoting his own understanding of church history and liturgy. In the course of her survey she gives an account of Pugin's dealings with Bishop Wiseman, the battle with the Oratorians and his relations with the Oxford men. She contends that Pugin had a fixed view of Catholic liturgical form and arrangement suited to local and national conditions, and that he saw the liturgical changes brought about by the renaissance and Reformation as very damaging to Catholicism.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century devotional change was happening in the Roman Catholic Church, not so much because ideas were being imposed by Rome as because new ideas were responsive to a national mood: 'It was because particular devotions came to be seen to be attractive that devotional change occurred.'² Pugin's response to this was essentially backward-looking, conservative, antiquarian and elitist. From his earliest ecclesiastical building projects he took a great interest in the liturgical arrangements, which surprised and offended many of the clergy. He seems to have been a frustrated liturgist who felt he had a right to ensure that his architecturally correct buildings were the settings for appropriate liturgy and music. Powell argues that Pugin's views received their fullest expression in *An apology* where he attempts to show that he is not so much promoting a particular style of architecture as the faith behind it and the expression of his faith by a particular liturgical form.

Pugin, however, had miscalculated the public mood and came under increasing attack in the religious periodicals. Frederick Lucas in the *Tablet* was hostile to the old aristocracy, especially the Earl of Shrewsbury, and preferred a militant ultramontanist. John Moore Capes was an Oxford graduate who had taken Anglican orders but was drawn to Roman Catholicism and received into the church in July 1845. He became professor of mathematics at Prior Park College near Bath and while there brought out the first issue of the *Rambler* in January 1848.

This periodical was to be a mouthpiece for lay converts, and Capes hoped that it would become a forum for intelligent thought and debate amongst the laity. It became a flagship of liberal Catholicism, sharing many of the assumptions of continental writers such as Montalembert and Dollinger and embracing a great variety and breadth of political, social and artistic opinions. Capes himself preferred Gothic art and architecture, criticising Pugin's views on 'Modern church architecture' in an article in the *Rambler* for August 1849 (4:223) but going on to say 'in the formation of our views we have run counter to every personal feeling and taste of our own'. His deep social concern, however, led him to campaign in the *Rambler* for cheap churches, popular hymns and continental devotional practices. He attacked Pugin in the pages of the *Rambler* on three fronts: that his ideas were anachronistic; that mediaevalism was an inadequate response to the conditions and problems facing Britain and the church; and that there were inconsistencies in the church buildings he had designed, especially in relation to screens. Thus the focal point for the opposition to Pugin's ideas in the late 1840s became what is known as the 'screens controversy'.

Unfortunately for Pugin neither John Henry Newman his fellow convert, nor the Oratorians, nor Nicholas Wiseman supported him; this became a turning-point in his fortunes and signalled the sharp decline in his influence upon the direction of the Roman Catholic architectural and liturgical style. As Austin Gough has written:

*In both the Anglican and Catholic churches during the nineteenth century the liturgy was a symbolic background. Behind a quarrel over the wording of a prayer, or over the question of which saint should be commemorated on a particular day, could lie a whole complex of attitudes towards what a national church should be in a modern society.*³

This battle was fought not only in England but on the continent, and Powell examines the influence of continental thought on the development of Pugin's ideas, classifying Pugin as a liberal ultramontane, although he could just as easily be called a neo-Gallican. The truth is that Pugin's theological and ecclesiological position defies easy analysis and does not fit exactly into traditional categories.

This account of Pugin's writings is a refreshingly new approach to the great nineteenth-century architect. But as Powell says in her conclusion it is difficult to demonstrate a consistent and lineal development of thought from book to book. She has however chosen to take a chronological approach to Pugin's writing, which does not make for clarity when trying to elucidate Pugin's themes. Powell's writing is sometimes dense and occasionally clumsy, and the text could have done with more rigorous editorial attention. The printing and finish of the book are disappointing, given its considerable price, but this work adds to our understanding of the diverse and complex nature of Pugin's genius and reminds us that as well as an architect and designer he was a committed historian and liturgist.

1 Pugin 1850, pp 18–9.

2 Heimann 1995, p 34.

3 Gough 1981, p 536.

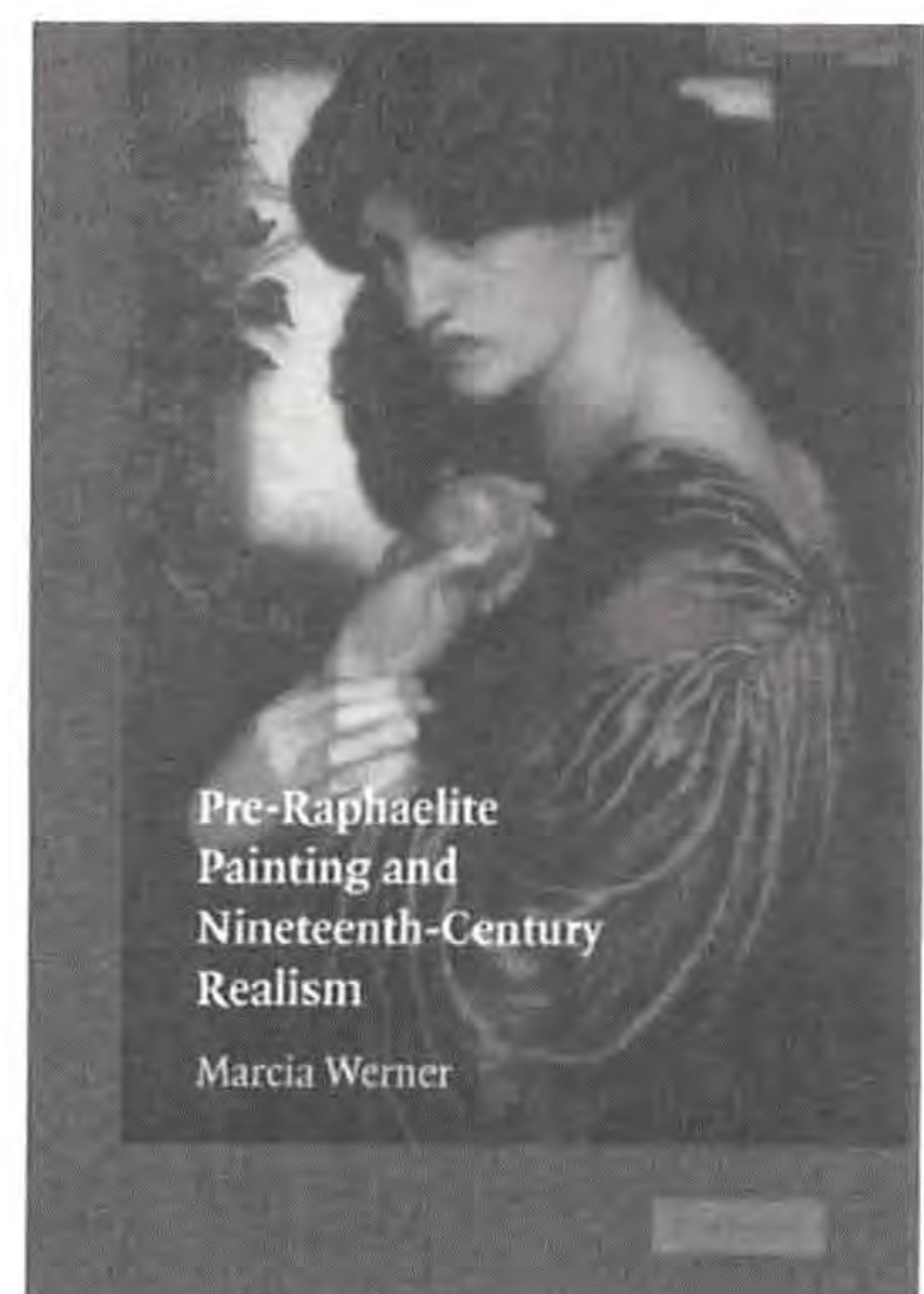
Ruskin relinquished

Pre-Raphaelite painting and nineteenth-century realism. By Marcia Werner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. ISBN 0521824680. RRP £48.00

reviewed by Carol Jacobi

This will be a seminal work, one of the most important since the writings of the brotherhood with which it deals. These are art writings, not the biographical texts which upstaged them throughout most of the last century. It is ironic that it has taken this book to retrieve the earlier ones from obscurity; it is to be hoped that both will be given the attention they deserve.

The publicity for the volume stresses its achievement in revising the image of the brotherhood from one of transient and disparate ideas to a one which shared a cohesive philosophy. The focus on words in the first section, 'Part 1:



Theory', does indeed do this. The composition of the group, four painters, two writers and a sculptor, makes more sense if it is understood as a coincidence of the ideas expressed in the writings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Holman Hunt and John Everett Millais as well as those of the critics William Rossetti and Frederick Stephens and associates such as George Tupper. Of far more fundamental importance, however, is Werner's triumph in so strongly asserting the quantity and quality of the body of writing itself. These informed, often original and delightfully precise primary sources have recently been appearing in a range of publications and can surely go overlooked no longer.

Chapter 1 begins with the arresting quotation from William Rossetti: 'Courbet shows only a half grasp of realism' and surveys the poverty of the traditional understanding of Pre-Raphaelite style, noting that 'judgements about the success or failure of Realist painting... have typically been based on an evaluation of the degree of similarity it achieves with the French model'. Werner proposes that its differences from French realism be seen not to represent failure but, 'the existence of a separate although analogous value system that demands serious study.' She is to be congratulated on going on to confront the second and, I would argue, chief cause of the oversimplification of Pre-Raphaelite style and eclipsing of the writings which might have remedied this: John Ruskin. Chapters 2–5 do the critic justice in providing a proper analysis of the actual nuanced and complex thinking behind the 'truth to nature' fig leaf under which it so often hides, but the remainder of this section goes on to compare it rigorously with the ideas in the group's journal, *The germ*, and contemporary articles and reviews. This is followed by an enlightening contextualisation of these writings within the pronouncements of John Stewart Mill and Thomas Carlyle. The foundational concepts of Pre-Raphaelitism are identified as an 'empirical duality', "'psychical" as well as "physical" verisimilitude' and a sense of the interrelatedness of pasts and present. William Rossetti's assessment of Courbet as a 'half grasp of realism' proceeded from a carefully thought out manifesto with a much wider, more confident and questioning relationship to contemporary aesthetic and philosophical thought than a slavish following of Ruskin.

The book is neatly organised and a very useful 'Review' at the end of 'Part 1: Theory' is followed by 'Part 2: Practice', demonstrating the enactment of theory in Pre-Raphaelite painting itself. Juxtaposition of works within and without the brotherhood weave relationships and produce some intriguing new readings of old favourites such as Millais' *Isabella* and lesser known pictures as well, stressing interconnectedness of material, erotic and spiritual experiences. Chapter 14 'Dante Gabriel Rossetti and French Realism' offers a fascinating visual and literary dialogue concerning the idea and imaging of sleep on both sides of the Channel, for example. Rossetti is given the lion's share of this half of the book and the major voice, as his brother was in the first half. This is both valuable and understandable considering the large literary output of the two, but it does create a problem. The myth of the brotherhood as lacking a thoroughgoing and original philosophy is not so much dissolved as subtly shifted onto Millais and Hunt. The relative paucity of statements from these two is compounded by a tendency to present the pictures of Rossetti as the origin of shared characteristics, and use the term 'Rossettian' to describe their work. Millais published even less than Hunt, and Werner does rightly draw attention to the unreliability and non-contemporary nature of Hunt's 1906 memoir, restricting her use of it to material that can be corroborated elsewhere (an extremely welcome departure from convention), but I think it might have been possible to fill the gap by looking at unpublished sources.

This is the only fault of the book, in my view: its imaginative and innovative array of sources are insufficiently supported by archival material or by recent criticism. It may be that the manuscript suffered delays in finding a publisher and coming into print and reference to critical work that has appeared since 2000 was therefore difficult. The book's focus on Victorian texts reduces the severity of this oversight; but the first years of this century have seen an unusual output of significant reconsiderations of Rossetti, Millais and Hunt which should have complemented and augmented Werner's arguments. This is a minor reservation for such a fresh, valuable and thorough piece of research, but it does contribute to the impression that the book is a slimmer volume than it might have been and that it was curtailed before it was quite finished. It also points, however, to the rich potential of the arguments and the foolhardiness of trying to cover all their implications for rereading the paintings in one volume and to a more general peculiarity of art-history publishing, that non-conformist and exploratory research is not always easy to fund or get into print.

Pre-Raphaelite painting and nineteenth-century realism is genuinely and exhilaratingly 'revisionist'. It gently sets aside reductive and formulaic understandings of Pre-Raphaelite style, and of 'realism' itself, and leads the reader into a much more original and thoughtful engagement with an art exploring the nature of subjectivity, experience and history. Werner's language is particularly clear and engaging, and her book has advantage over the primary texts with which it deals in that it is illustrated with 58 figures. It is already proving a stimulating addition to my student bibliographies and must become essential reading for scholars, students and lay enthusiasts alike – anyone interested in the thought, art or culture of nineteenth-century Europe.

Easy on the eye

A glimpse of heaven: Catholic churches of England and Wales. By Christopher Martin and Alex Ramsay. London: English Heritage and the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, 2006. ISBN 1850749701. RRP £25.00

reviewed by Roderick O'Donnell

Christopher Martin's *A glimpse of heaven* is a spectacularly illustrated gazetteer of over 100 Roman Catholic churches in England and Wales, photographed in colour by Alex Ramsay achieving a heightened, even surreal mood. It is published by English Heritage in collaboration of the Patrimony Committee of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales and is described as for the 'non specialist'. Avoiding definitive three-quarter interior and exterior views, Ramsay has found striking new photographic angles, often from galleries or high vantage points, which with control of exposure and of natural lighting make church interiors in Dorset seem Tuscan, and in Hull as if they were in Palermo. Certain modern movement buildings (the cathedrals of Liverpool and Clifton) photograph superbly too. This book follows on the English Heritage's definitive four-volume work on *Nonconformist chapels and meeting-houses* (1986–2002) by Christopher Steel, and Sharman Kadish's *Jewish heritage in England* (2006).

Unlike Steel or Kadish however, Martin, an Anglican, has not made this his life's work; his difficult task, then, is to be a Betjeman or a Simon Jenkins to the Catholics. His background in television arts production helps, as shown in his sharply focused resumes; it is always difficult to write less rather than more. He has succeeded for the non-specialist, less so for the expert. Here the publisher is at fault: proof-reading, in the first impression at any rate, is appalling, with mistakes of names and dates; misquotations abound, and there are no plans.

The canvas is very broad, from the middle ages (the chairman of English Heritage observes here that 'the ancient churches' were once Catholic) to the 1990s, with a preference for the broadly Georgian and for the hegemony of the twentieth-century modern movement. There is here a welcome emphasis on the fact that it was the second Catholic relief act (1791) which legalised churchbuilding; the 1829 emancipation act actually introduced certain restrictions, removed only in 1926. Thus many pre-Pugin churches are described. The balance is less sure for the twentieth century, with no fewer than five Giles Gilbert Scott commissions (six with his brother), but nothing by Goodhart-Rendel. This is a mid-twentieth-century mindset, the view of Pevsner and of Bryan Little's *Catholic churches since 1623* (1967), which canonises Liverpool metropolitan cathedral – here dated 1962–7, but of course begun by Lutyens in 1933. This approach comes rather unstuck, however, with the rebuilding by Quinlan Terry in the classical style of Brentwood cathedral (1989–91) which 'paradoxically...looking so determinedly backward,...conforms with the liturgical expectations of Vatican II'.

The architect of Liverpool came from a Nonconformist background and Terry is an evangelical Anglican. On the other hand A.W.N. Pugin, the more normative architect of this culture and that fervent Catholic convert, insisted on an integral approach to religion and art, a crucial aspect of the design and furnishings of their churches. The best example of this *Gesamtkunstwerk* is his St Giles', Cheadle (1840–6), a jewel box of colour and detail, and of liturgical and ritual elaboration. This artistic lavishness was often in tension with taste of the clergy, and of church repository art. It was the aim of all the reforming movements – the Gothic Revival, the arts and crafts, the twentieth-century liturgical movement – to educate the former and eradicate the latter; the best examples shown here achieved both: Pugin and J.F. Bentley invariably; Giles Gilbert Scott at St Alphege, Bath (1925–9); and Weightman and

Bullen at St Mary, Leyland (1962–4). Austin Winkley's church at Twickenham (1968–9) is almost the model-church of the liturgical reform in its architectural minimalism, to which Brentwood cathedral is the reaction. Much of the text is therefore about furnishings and atmosphere, most engagingly at English Martyrs, Chideock, in Dorset, a vernacular building adapted by the patron and decorated by his family; and with most *romanita* at the Brompton Oratory in London (although the St Joseph altar 2005 by architect Russell Taylor is missed).

The splendour of the oratory stands in contrast to the doleful list of episcopally sanctioned vandalism, known as 'reordering', which followed the second Vatican Council – from St Chad's, Birmingham (1967) to Salford cathedral (1990). But since 1994 works to listed churches and cathedrals must obtain agreement from the diocesan historic churches committees. The excellent reintegration of the interior of Charles Day's St Francis Xavier, Hereford, (1838) is perhaps an indicator of the future, here in the case of a church which the bishop wanted to close and sell. Alarming, two churches – Chideock, and the magnificently Italianate basilica at Everingham, Yorkshire – are now closed for lack of priests; and others – Amwlch, E.W. Pugin's Barton, and St Walburga's Preston – face crippling repair bills. The Jesuit churches in Liverpool and Manchester, both of which came within an ace of closure in the early 1980s and 1990s, have been restored with English Heritage and Heritage Lottery money, and now fulfil an apostolate to the universities. This partnership between clergy, the 'People of God, and the 'patrimony' authorities – the historic churches committees, English Heritage, the Heritage Lottery Fund, and local planning authorities – must be the way forward. This lavish book will be a fillip to those who both use and study this Catholic patrimony.

No disentangling

The arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation. By Graham Parry. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2006. ISBN 1843832089. RRP £45.00. Paperback edition, ISBN 1843833758. RRP £14.99 until March 2008; thereafter £19.99

reviewed by Peter W. Thomas

'Whether it be a war of religion or of liberty it is not worth the labour to enquire. Whatsoever was at the top, the other was at the bottom...' William Laud, ascending the throne of Canterbury in 1633, stood at the heart of those cross-purposes that Andrew Marvell's teasing hindsight 40 years on summed up – and smoothed into saving paradox. For through the 1620s and 1630s the 'Anglican Counter-Reformation' (theologically Arminian, and ceremoniously sacramental in its devotional practices and patronage of the arts) gathered pace, challenging and marginalising Calvinist predestinarianism and plain Protestantism's low-church, preaching-centred, hostility to ritual and all forms of display. It was, depending on your point of view, a necessary renovation of a church that had become slack and unlovely in its ways, or an abominable innovation, backsliding into popish superstition and idolatry. In the high churchman's vision of the 'bewtie of holiness' – Richard Hooker's phrase from the 1590s that had come to epitomise the Laudian programme – the true-blue puritan saw nothing but the 'bondage of the figure and shadow'.

There was, as Marvell looking back perceived, no disentangling that knot of liberty and religion; nor at the time any reconciling the parties enmeshed in it, with their diametrically opposed visions of godly rule and purified worship. What Graham Parry calls the king and the archbishop's 'plan to subject the whole nation to a uniformity of formal worship' left no room for manoeuvre. For the process of reform that began before Laud (witness the devotional practices initiated by Lancelot Andrewes and his followers, or ceremonialist Bishop Cosins' beautifying works in and around Durham) was driven forward by him with a Straffordian energy and officiousness which in the end impelled 'many Englishmen to side with Parliament' against the crown and 'rally to the defence of reformed religion'. Laurence Stone, quoted in Parry's conclusion, may be right – a crowning paradox – that Archbishop Laud was 'the most important single contributor to the cause of Puritanism in the early seventeenth century'.

For all that, *The arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, while greatly pertinent to our understanding of what made for tragic division, is not 'about' the causes of the Civil War. Something closer to the great antiquary John Aubrey's devotion to 'the retring of...forgotten Things from Oblivion...to represent as it were to the eie, the places, Customes and Fashions,

that were of old Times', informs Professor Parry's design 'to retrieve the cultural achievements of the Laudian movement and identify what remains of a brief yet productive phase of English art'. Engaging, indefatigably curious and quick-eyed he guides us across the land, through the cathedrals, college chapels and parish churches where that movement, defined above all by new forms of worship, new ceremonies and devotional practices, left its mark in architecture (both Gothic and baroque) and the arts – in paintings and plate, railings and carved screens, statuary, stone altars, tombs and fonts, embroidery, stained glass, and music; and in literature too, a body of devotional prose and verse (where perhaps the most 'complete Laudian moment in poetry' comes, startlingly at first sight, from Milton) which projected the distinctive spirituality cultivated by the high church movement beyond the bounds of those emphatically sacred spaces.

Stone's paradox, then, is not the whole story. Certainly the Laudian programme was provocative, and there was no shortage of zealous adversaries spoiling for a fight: but the other side of the coin – so marvellously conjured up in this enthralling and informative book – is the 'integrated cultural revival centred on the Church', that creative renewal in its spiritual and material life, to which the archbishop, as 'patron and advocate', certainly was the most important single contributor. Not that this is a book 'about' Laud either; or concerned, albeit astutely alert to the context of the times, to sit in political judgment on history. What above all animates it is the author's respect for the past, his anything but dry-as-dust delight in discovery, his infectious fascination with 'the traces of this period' and the larger pattern they reveal. Learned, even-handed, entertaining, Parry positively transforms our picture of the Laudian moment and its legacy.

La mala educación de Fru

Seminary boy. By John Cornwell. London: Fourth Estate, 2006. ISBN 0007232438. RRP £15.99; Paperback edition, ISBN 0007244320. RRP £7.99

reviewed by Andrew Rudd

John Cornwell is a popular historian known for his antagonistic stance towards the Catholic Church. His study of Pope Pius XII, *Hitler's pope* (1999), accused the pontiff of moral cowardice in the face of Nazi tyranny; *The pope in winter* (2005) took an equally astringent view of the papacy under the ailing John Paul II. The publication of *Seminary boy*, a volume of memoirs, suggests that Cornwell's attitude towards the Catholic Church had a personal animus, for he himself had been a seminarian and an unhappy one. The minor seminary in question was Cotton College, located in Oakamoor, Staffordshire, which includes significant work by A.W.N. and E.W. Pugin. Cornwell recalls the wonder he felt upon first entering St Wilfred's church, the college chapel, with its roof vanishing into darkness overhead. Otherwise, there is little consideration of the architecture and no mention of Pugin at all in relation to Cotton. Of Oscott College, where Cornwell studied subsequently, he writes, incorrectly, 'the famous nineteenth-century Catholic architect, Augustus Welby Pugin, had designed much of the college', although he somewhat lazily describes the Tudor Gothic style building's 'proliferation of towers, spires and gables'. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace much of the experience of seminary life in Cotton and thus sense how a building of this sort actually functioned.

Cornwell however does not tell us much about the history of the place. In fact, Cotton began life as a family home before the Earl of Shrewsbury purchased it in 1843 for his nephew. In 1846 it was handed to William Faber and the 'Brothers of the Will of God', whereupon Newman and the Oratorians moved from Birmingham to join them. A.W.N. Pugin designed St Wilfred's, consecrated in 1847, and added two ranges: one gabled and another of plainer design. E.W. Pugin designed accommodation for 200 boys in 1866. In 1850 Newman and his followers passed the building to the Passionists, who vacated by 1868 when Cotton became a 'minor seminary', educating church and lay boys together. Historically it was a continuation of Sedgley Park School, founded in 1763 by Bishop Challoner, which moved to the site in Cotton in 1873. The school was closed by the Archdiocese of Birmingham in 1987, having become coeducational some years earlier. The minor seminary had closed together with other similar institutions by the 1970s as part of the reforms of clerical formation of the second Vatican council.

Cornwell tells us that he entered Cotton in the 1950s, when Fr Wilfred Doran was headmaster. Cornwell had been given the opportunity to study there by the Bishop of Brentwood, Andrew Beck, and before that had experienced a turbulent, and at times violent, upbringing in the East End of London. The author emphasises a sexual assault made on him as a boy in one of the South Kensington underpasses; the guilt and trauma of this event remained with him throughout his preparation for the priesthood. One teacher coined for him the nickname 'Fructum Bene', or 'corn well', abbreviated to 'Fru'. The Church taught that masturbation was a mortal sin; not least as a result of this, the Cotton that Cornwell describes was morally and emotionally dysfunctional. One priest tried to abuse Cornwell under the guise of a physical examination. Crushes between boys were commonplace. The author was alarmed to be woken one night by a classmate lying facedown on top of him in the shape of the cross, apparently in a trance. Religion and teenage sexuality proved a volatile mix in the hothouse atmosphere of the seminary. Such recollections are commonplace in memoirs like this.

'Fru' eventually abandoned his vocation; not because of a loss of faith, but because he was temperamentally unsuited to the hierarchy of priest and neophyte. As 'Public Man', the Cottonian equivalent of head boy, he reacted angrily to the patronising manner of one of the priests. He was dispatched to Oscott, the major seminary, to continue his priestly education and subsequently gained a scholarship to read English literature at Oxford. Cotton today is derelict. The Church authorities failed, and continue to fail, to secure a future for the building, although there are plans to convert it into a country house hotel. Cornwell owed a lot to Cotton, as he readily admits; does not the English Catholic Church owe something to Pugin's work, which was left to crumble?

Bibliography

This is a list of publications referred to in this number

- I. Anstruther 1963, *The knight and the umbrella*, London.
- P. Atterbury 1995, [ed], *AWN Pugin: master of the Gothic Revival*, New Haven & London.
- P. Atterbury & C. Wainwright 1994, [eds], *Pugin: a Gothic passion*, New Haven & London.
- M. Belcher 2001, *The collected letters of A.W.N Pugin; vol 1: 1830–42*, Oxford.
- A. Bell 1973, [ed], *Scott: bicentenary essays*, Edinburgh.
- C. Blaker 2003, *Edward Pugin and Kent*, Ramsgate.
- D. Brown 1979, *Walter Scott and the historical imagination*, London.
- A. Calder & J. Calder 1969, *Scott: literature in perspective*, London.
- A. Cockshutt 1969, *The achievement of Sir Walter Scott*, London.
- B. Ferrey 1978, *Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin* (first edition 1861), London.
- M. Fisher 1999, *Alton Towers: a Gothic wonderland*, Stafford.
- M. Fisher 2002, *Pugin-Land*, Stafford.
- C. Gere & M. Whiteway 1993, *Nineteenth-century design from Pugin to Mackintosh*, London.
- M. Girouard 1979, *The Victorian country house*, New Haven & London.
- A. Gough 1981, 'The Roman liturgy, Gregorian plain chant and the Gallican church', in *Journal of religious history*, vol 2.
- H. Grierson 1938, *Sir Walter Scott, Bart: a new life supplementary to, and corrective of, Lockhart's biography*, London.
- M. Hall 2000, [ed], *Gothic architecture and its meanings 1550–1830*, Reading.
- M. Heimann 1995, *Catholic devotion in Victorian England*, Oxford.
- R. Hill 1997, 'Pugin and Scotland', in *Caledonia Gothica, Architectural heritage* (The journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland), no viii.
- R. Hill 2000, 'The ivi'd ruins of forlorn Grace Dieu': Catholics, romantics and late Georgian gothick', in Hall 2000, pp 159–84.
- R. Hill 2007, *God's architect: Pugin and the building of romantic Britain*, London.
- H.-R. Hitchcock 1954, *Early Victorian architecture in Britain*, New Haven & London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- E. Johnson 1970, *Sir Walter Scott: the great unknown*, London.
- E. Johnson 1973, 'Corners of time', in Bell 1973.
- L. Lambourne 1994, 'Pugin and the Theatre', in Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, pp 35–41.
- J. Lockhart 1882, *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, Edinburgh.
- D. Meara 1991, *A.W.N. Pugin and the revival of memorial brasses*, London & New York.
- D. Murray 1949, 'Holy Cross Church Centenary, 1849–1949', Liverpool.
- R. O'Donnell 1994, 'The Later Pugins', in Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, pp 259–71.
- R. O'Donnell 2002, *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands*, Leominster.
- R. O'Donnell 2006, 'The Church of St Francis of Assisi, (1886–1885), Gorton, Manchester', in *True principles*, vol 3 no 3, summer 2006, pp 36–8.
- J. Powell 1888, *Some stray notes on art*, Birmingham.
- A. Pugin 1843, *An apology for the revival of Christian architecture in England*, London.
- A. Pugin 1850, *Some remarks on the articles which have recently appeared in the 'Rambler,' relative to ecclesiastical architecture and decoration*, London.
- A. Pugin 1851, *A treatise on chancel screens and rood lofts*, London.
- M. Roskell 1903, *Memoirs of Francis Kerril Amherst D.D.*, London.
- W. Scott 1969, *The abbot* (first edition 1820), London.
- C. Stanford 2006, *The Grange, Ramsgate*, Maidenhead.
- P. Stanton 1971, *Pugin*, London.
- J. Steegman 1971, *Victorian taste*, Cambridge (Mass).
- M. Trappes-Lomax 1933, *Pugin: a mediaeval Victorian*, London.
- C. Wainwright 1994, 'Not a style but a principle': Pugin & his influence', in Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, pp 1–21.
- A. Wedgwood 1977, *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Pugin family*, London.
- A. Wedgwood 1985, *Catalogue of the drawings in the Victoria & Albert Museum: A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family*, London.
- A. Wedgwood 1994, 'The new Palace of Westminster', in Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, pp 219–36.
- A. Wedgwood 2006, [ed], *Pugin in his home: two memoirs by John Hardman Powell*, Ramsgate.
-

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

Peter Frank Brandon, Prof Mosette Broderick, Pamela M. Burrows, David Burton, Rachel Cawley, Dr D. Mark Collins, Maurice Cooper, Rev Colin Copley, Prof James Stevens Curl, Mr and Mrs C.J. Newberry, Most Rev Daniel Dolan, Anthony Edwards, Robert Galea, Jane Gallagher, Brent Garner, Kenneth Goodyear, Susan Green, Rt Hon John Selwyn Gummer MP, Kevin Hall, Anna Hallett, Kathy Hammond, Richard J.W. Harrold, Richard and Gillian Henschley, Peter N. Hirschmann, Benjamin Horobin, W. Joynson, Sarah Kay, Janet Killian, Lucilla Kingsbury-Joll, Thomas John Pugin Knill, Ann and Fred Ledden, Adrienne J. Mainwaring, Jonathan Martin, Jocelyn I.A. McCarthy, H. Joyce Millard, Prof I.R. Netton, Gordon F. and Lorna J. O'Neill, Wendy Passmore, Ronald and Catherine Purbrick, John Rennie, Michael and Ellen Richardson, Pamela Roberts, Jane Rose, Colin and Judy Seymour-Ure, Ken Smith, C. Terrey, Alexander Thomson, R.W. Tucker, Julia Walton, Christopher Waters, David Whitter, Lady Wilkinson, Richard and Wendy Williams, Sally Willsher, Carol and John Wilson, Tony and Sue Woolfenden.

Members are reminded that back issues of *True principles* are available for purchase. Please contact the editor on tjb33@kent.ac.uk for details.

Contributors to this number

Catriona Blaker is a founder member of The Pugin Society. She is the author of *Edward Pugin and Kent; his life and work within the county* and of the *Ramsgate Pugin town trail*. She worked until recently in the building conservation section of Thanet District Council and is currently employed by the Landmark Trust as a guide at the Grange, Ramsgate.

Margaret Belcher compiled a bibliography of Pugin's publications and is editing his letters.

Nick Beveridge has for several years been investigating Pugin links with, and his influence in, New Zealand where he works as a field officer for a large nature conservation organisation. His recent trip to Britain was the first for 20 years.

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.

Fraser Donachie is a professional engineer and enthusiastic student of all things Pugin. He lives in Christchurch, Dorset – a location with some interesting Pugin connections.

Michael Egan worked in education in the Royal Navy in Nigeria and with BP in Abu Dhabi. Changing course into management consultancy he specialised in executive recruitment. Since retiring he has published essays spanning the 10th to the 20th centuries concerning local and church history.

Michael Fisher is the author of several definitive books on the Gothic Revival in Staffordshire. His latest work *Hardman of Birmingham: goldsmith and glasspainter* will be published shortly.

Gerard Hyland is a theoretical physicist by profession, but has been fascinated by the architecture of E.W. Pugin – and his churches, in particular – for more than 40 years, having been baptised in one and worshipping in many others, in both the north west of England and in the Midlands. He welcomes comments on the gazetteer, which can be sent to him at hyland1@onetel.com

Carol Jacobi is associate lecturer in the department of history of art and visual culture, Birkbeck College, London.

David Meara, the rector of St Bride's Fleet Street, studied classics and theology at Oxford and has had a lifelong interest in ecclesiology and church monuments. He has published a detailed study of the revival of memorial brasses by A.W.N. Pugin, and written extensively on Pugin in the context of his time. He has just written a book on modern memorial brasses which is due to be published soon.

Rory O'Donnell is a Vice-President of the National Trust Churches (formerly the Historic Churches Preservation Trust), a member of the art and architecture committee of Brompton Oratory, and (to June 2007) of Westminster Cathedral, and of the historic churches committee of the Diocese of Brentwood.

Graham Parry is Emeritus Professor of English at the University of York. His principal areas of research at present are the ecclesiastical arts in the 17th century and in the Victorian period.

Andrew Rudd is a literary critic based in London. He holds a PhD from Trinity College, Cambridge, and was George B. Cooper Fellow at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Peter W. Thomas, who taught English literature at Cardiff University for some four decades, has a particular interest in the literature and politics of the Stuart era. He is currently general editor of *Scintilla*, the annual journal of Vaughan Studies and New Poetry.

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

To join The Pugin Society, please contact the
Hon Membership Secretary.

Hon Secretary: Pam Cole

33 Montcalm House, Westferry Road, London E14 3SD. Tel: 020 7515 9474
Email: pamcole@madasafish.com

Hon Membership Secretary: Jack Kleinot

c/o 33 Montcalm House, Westferry Road, London E14 3SD. Tel: 020 7515 9474
Email: pamcole@madasafish.com

Hon Treasurer: Oonagh Robertson

32 St Mildred's Avenue, Ramsgate, Kent CT11 0HS. Tel: 01843 592012
Email: billoona@bushinternet.com

Events Organiser: Professor Julia Twigg

9 Nunnery Road, Canterbury, Kent CT1 3LS. Tel: 01227 766879
Email: j.m.twigg@ukc.ac.uk

The Pugin Society website:
www.pugin-society.org