

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iii no v Autumn 2008

CUYPERSJAAR

IDA JAGER

Rosemary Hill: Furore at Pantasaph

CATHERINE CROFT • MICHAEL EGAN • MICHAEL FISHER
ROBIN FLEET • ROBERT FLOYD • GERARD HYLAND
JAMES JAGO • DAVID MEARA • RODERICK O'DONNELL
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Editorial Board

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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

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for much valuable help during the preparation of this number.

Building news editor: James Jago

Email: jsj500@york.ac.uk

Designed by Michael Pennamacoor

Email: michael@abgrundrisse.net Tel: 01304 617626

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A style guide can be provided.

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

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Contents

Editorial

Richly bedizened 2

Articles

J.J. Scoles

Gothic identity and inheritance in the year of *Contrasts*: John Joseph Scoles, the Jesuits and Saint Ignatius, Preston (1833–6)

by James Jago 5

A.W.N. Pugin

A.W.N. Pugin and Viscount Feilding

by Rosemary Hill 25

E.W. Pugin

E.W. Pugin's junior seminary at Ushaw (1857–9) and H.W. Brewer's birdseye view

by Roderick O'Donnell 32

Feature

Cuypers: the middle ages in the nineteenth century

by Ida Jager 36

The E.W. Pugin gazetteer: part 2

by Gerard Hyland 45

News and comment

from Michael Egan, Robin Fleet, David Meara, Stuart Toms, Andrew Taylor, Robert Floyd, and Michael Fisher 56

Building news, edited by James Jago 75

Book reviews

Hardman of Birmingham

reviewed by Alexandra Wedgwood 78

Architect and engineer

reviewed by Catherine Croft 83

Frederick William Faber

reviewed by the Editor 84

Bibliography 86

New members since Spring 2008 88

Contributors to this number

inside back cover

RICHLY BEDIZENED

One of the most intriguing aspects of architectural history is the way in which a small number of influential writers can establish a view of the past that excludes so much of what they disapprove of. The result is a picture that can be quite distorted. Until comparatively recently, for example, there was very little to be found that celebrated and valued the decorative in architecture, in spite of the fact that ornament has often been one of the defining characteristics of architectural design: in fact the *Pugin: a Gothic Passion* exhibition of 1994, curated by Paul Atterbury and the much missed Clive Wainwright, can be seen as something of a landmark along the road to the present revival of interest in ornament. And this revival is genuine: have a look at the work of the students in architecture schools, for example, and you can see its reappearance here and there, particularly in the more adventurous colleges. Engagingly, the young people think that modern use of decorative ornament is derived from the work of fashionable continental architects practising today, such as those people who turned the Bankside power station in London into an art gallery and who have used patterned surfaces in some of their buildings. They might have heard of Semper but they still don't know much about Ruskin. Students and for that matter their younger teachers are often completely unaware of the fine historical tradition of ornamental work in the West, and are surprised by its variety and vigour.

Of course one reason for the comparative ignorance of recent decorative tradition is that so much work of high quality was destroyed. Here and there people have been putting this right: the Landmark Trust has restored the interior of the Grange to something of its original glory; the National Trust among its many good works has, in recent years, put back (and indeed in some parts of the house created from scratch) the Burges interiors at Knightshayes Court in Devon following decades in which they were horrifically Georgianised. No doubt the recent rebuilding of St Pancras station in London, soon to be followed by restoration of some parts of the hotel wings, will raise awareness further. The more people see, the more they will look beyond the hotchpotch of received wisdoms that condemned ornamental design and will start to take an interest in what really happened in the nineteenth century, and indeed here and there – to general critical opprobrium – in the twentieth.

Some things, however, have gone for ever. In her description in this number of the great Dutch architect P.J.H. Cuypers, Ida Jager describes what she so aptly terms the 'richly bedizened' works that vanished without, it seems, much of a protest at the time. One of the finest of Cuypers' buildings was the Roman Catholic Church of St Willibrordus-buiten-de-Veste, Amsterdam, illustrated here: decades in the making, it vanished in a few days taking with it the evidence of craftsmanship that many had spent their lives training for. His great public monuments, the fabulous Rijksmuseum and central station in Amsterdam, give a powerful sense of the extraordinary nature of his work; it must have been all the more intense in the most ornamental of his churches. Much of E.W. Pugin's equally astonishing work, which Gerard Hyland continues to record for us on these pages, has disappeared entirely: indeed almost

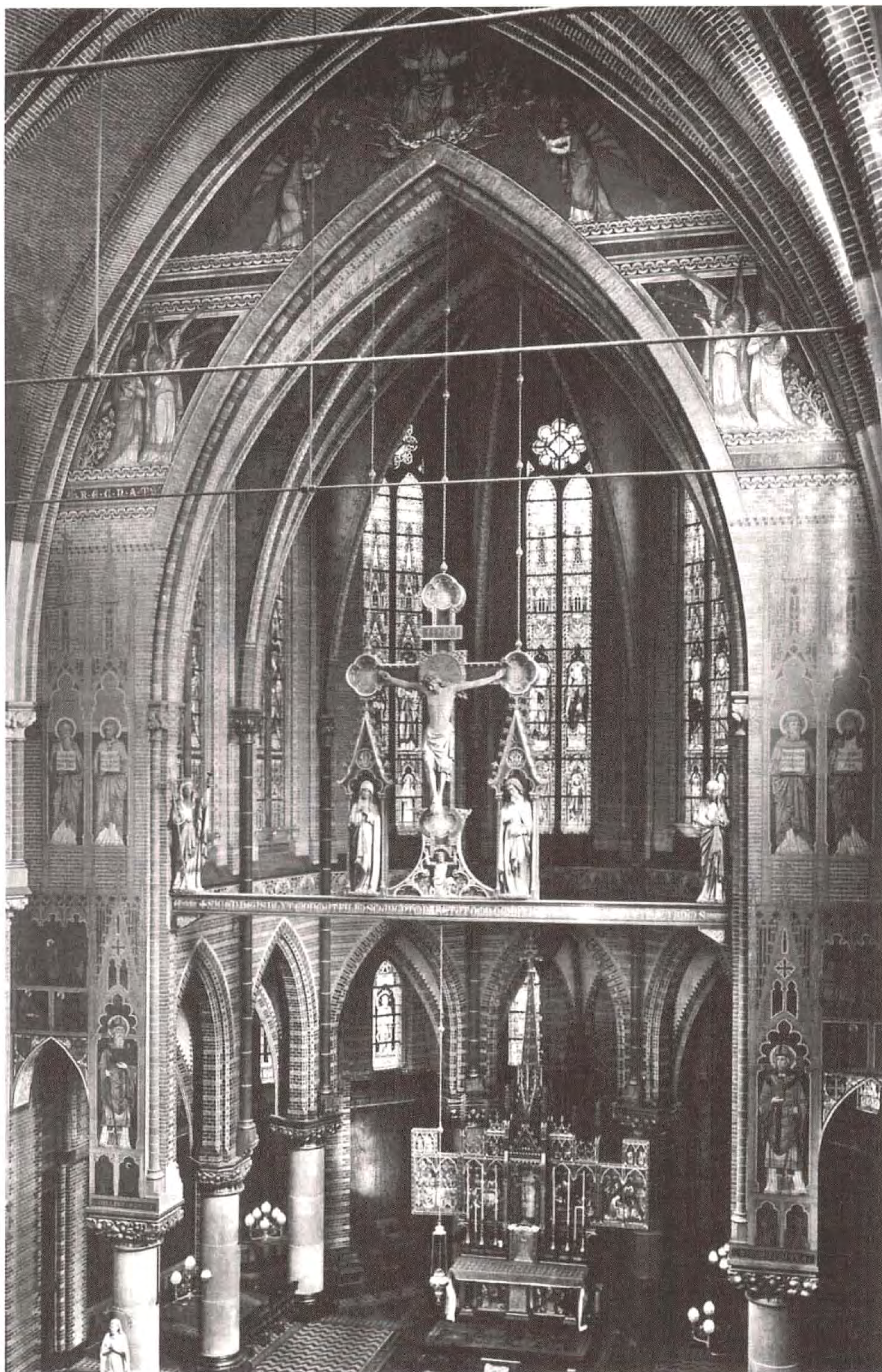


Figure 1: The interior of the Roman Catholic Church of St Willibrordus-buiten-de-Veste, Amsterdam, designed by PJH Cuypers and built from 1864-1948. Demolished
From PJH Cuypers (1827-1921). The complete works.

none of his houses have survived. In retrospect it seems astonishing that so much time and so much effort, not to mention so much skill and personal commitment, were spent on buildings that have vanished into thin air, and are commemorated only in photographs – a fate which our ‘architecture minister’, Margaret Hodge, believes is an adequate one for historic buildings.

Northern Europeans tend to read too much into the political and cultural associations of design, and not enough into what a thing actually looks like. Only a profoundly culturally illiterate country could have visited on our churches the destruction of church fittings occasioned by a narrow interpretation of the changes brought in by the Second Vatican Council; only a nation of philistines could go on (as we still do) replacing high quality church fittings with barbecue-patio style worship spaces and wallhangings like shower curtains. The only way to fight this is to take a leaf out of A.W.N. Pugin’s writings – perhaps literally – and to demonstrate how good design and good ornament are the products of the logical thought and artistic discipline that every building needs. Victorian designers like the best of all eras were not simply covering surfaces with random patterns: they were experimenting with graphic and three-dimensional forms to create new and coherent visual experiences that explained the ideas behind a building as a whole. The introductory section of Owen Jones’ *Grammar of ornament* pretty much tells you how to do it; and the great strength of the Gothic Revival was that it compared the logic of patternmaking to the logic of building construction itself so that the two became inseparable. Discipline is everything. In fact the patternmaking generated by those architecture students of today has derived from the use of computer software that was originally intended to facilitate the design of complex overall building forms; the results are perfectly comparable to the ideas of their Victorian predecessors.

The changing balance in the work of artists between logic and abstract beauty is what keeps art alive: Pugin knew it, and that is one of the many reasons his aims were so quickly adopted by a whole generation of young architects. There is nothing especially historical about that situation and it can happen whenever creativity has been stifled. What Pugin also knew, however, was that the production of fine decorative work relies on reviving and maintaining the disciplines of craft skills such as the making of stained glass. The work we illustrate in this number by Andrew Taylor, one of our leading stained glass artists, shows how earlier decorative traditions can be continued and enhanced in the current age.

Frederick William Faber, the subject of a recent biography reviewed in this number, was one of many who never seem to have distinguished between religion and decorative art; indeed, he seems to have been drawn to Roman Catholicism because of the appearance of its Italian churches. And perhaps therein lies the most important message of all: that art and design are an inseparable and rational part of life; when they are repressed for too long they come flooding back. When they reappear in a rational way, they will always be valued. It’s for those reasons, not because of fashion, aesthetics, or the lobbying of the conservationists, that the original decorative schemes are at long last being restored to buildings such as Cuypers’ Rijksmuseum to the enjoyment of so many.

Gothic identity and inheritance in the year of *Contrasts*: John Joseph Scoles, the Jesuits and Saint Ignatius, Preston (1833–6)

by James Jago

Ecclesiastical design of the 1830s has long been censured because of the way in which it represents an era when ‘the Church of Rome was too busy recovering from the effects of persecution to have much spare energy for building’, and because the established Church only financed churches that possessed ‘a lack of vitality’.¹ Indeed, John Summerson concluded his *Architecture in Britain* with a disappointed lament at the exhausted and directionless path of architecture in this decade, a failure only redeemed through its value as the nursery of the infant Ruskin and A.W.N. Pugin.² These years of desolation therefore serve as necessary preparation for the Victorian fruitfulness that followed, with buildings deemed prophetic of the latter held in esteem. This linear reading of architectural design disallows a consideration of architects and their buildings within their context, a methodology that casts a long shadow over this phase of the Gothic Revival. The source for this denunciation lies within contemporaneous literature itself, demonstrated in the dismissal of pre-ecclesiological churches by contributors to *The ecclesiologist* who extended earlier criticism of unfaithful Gothic detailing to encompass sacramentality and liturgical layout. From Eastlake to Clark to Brooks, the same reticence towards this period’s achievements remains, save for grudging nods to Thomas Rickman’s faithful, if massproduced, ironwork tracery. M.H. Port’s *Six hundred churches* has done much to explain the logistics of church building, but ultimately little to redeem the buildings themselves. The prevailing impression is of a decade assigning places for certain architects within a model that retains a Pevsnerian zeitgeist methodology, though this itself has been challenged.³ This case study of an 1830s churchbuilding campaign, through an exploration of influencing facets beyond mere formalist stylistic comparisons, aims to reassess this model.

Whilst the chronicle of the Gothic Revival is weighted in favour of the Anglican communion, church building by other denominations offers further insight into the wider mentality of the Revival. In Roman Catholic circles, the influence of A.W.N. Pugin represents an unavoidable presence from the late 1830s – one that has been redeemed from the historical cul-de-sac, alien to the ultramontane-orientated practices the communion had come to associate as integral to its own identity, by the time Bernard Ward penned his *Sequel to Catholic emancipation* (1915). Support for fastidious mediaevalism had, as Rosemary Hill has suggested, dissipated by the time of Newman’s ‘Second spring’ sermon at the provincial synod of July 1852.⁴ However, the support A.W.N. Pugin’s sentiments initially received from members of the communion confirms the clear fact that Roman Catholic identification with the mediaeval past was antecedent to Pugin’s reception in the Roman fold. To examine

1 Goodhart-Rendell 1924, p 323; Summerson 1953, p 317.

2 *Ibid*, pp 318–20.

3 Insightful revisionist essays on this are Hall 2002, and Worsley 1993, pp 105–21.

4 Hill 2002, p 160; Ward 1915, vol 2, pp 289–92.

the design history of a Roman Catholic church in a mediaevalising idiom from the 1830s may well provide an insight into whether Pugin's churches were the ultimate realisation of this influence or whether they marked a point of departure for the course of Roman Catholic architecture.

In the same year that *Contrasts* voiced its diatribe against the architectural status quo, a new Roman Catholic church was opened in Preston. The church of St Ignatius, Preston [figure 2] has its origins in an appeal by Fr John Bird SJ, who delineated the new church to his congregation in 1832 as 'large and commodious; the style and manner must depend upon the support which you will give it'.⁵ As finally realised, this church was remarkable enough to be recorded in national periodicals of the day where it received favourable reviews.⁶ Fr Bird's address had been given in the chapel of St Wilfred. Opened in 1793⁷ it was then a building of few aesthetic pretensions and indicative of a time when architectural patronage was 'impoverished and unambitious' and 'concealment and reticence

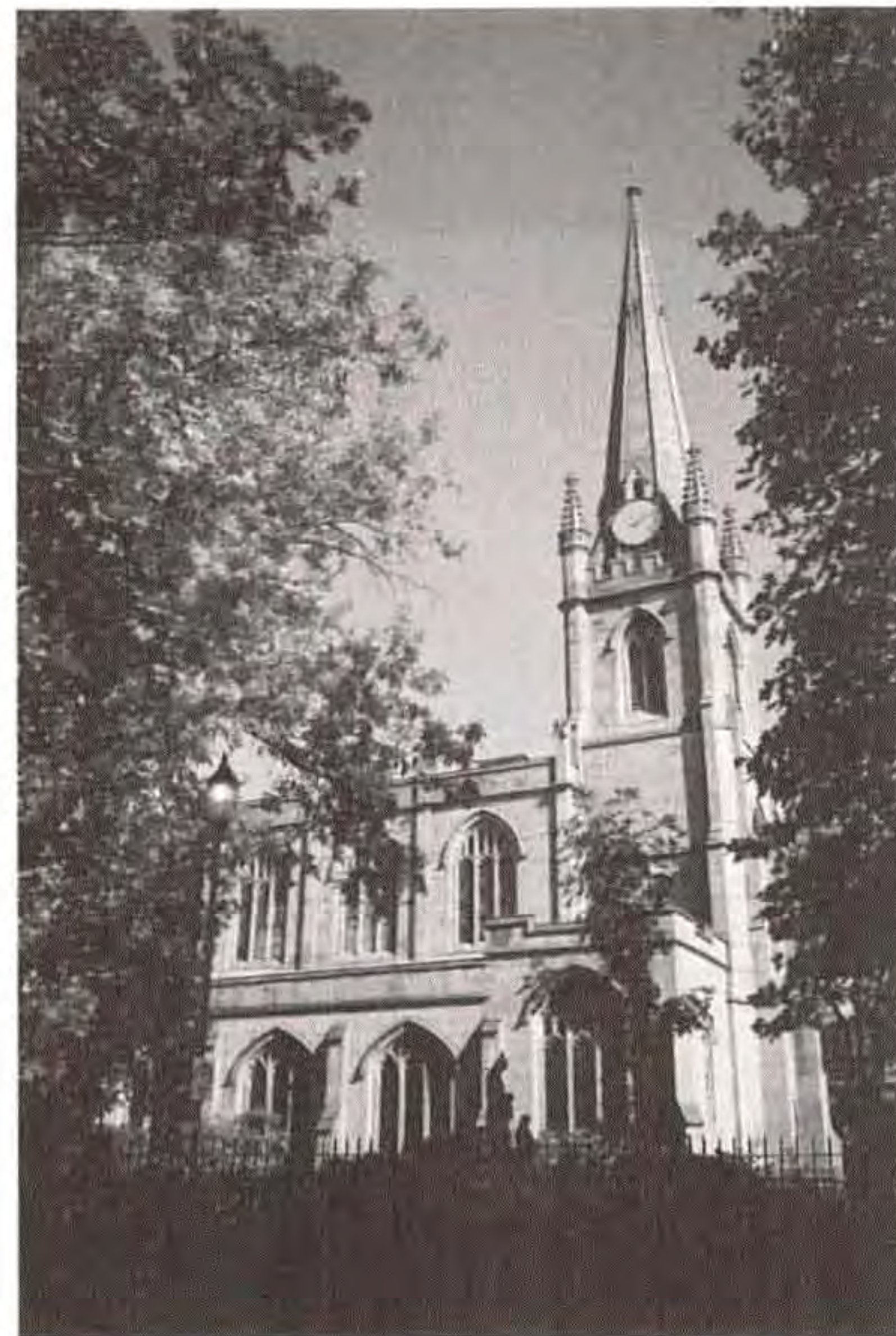


Figure 2: St Ignatius, Preston, by JJ Scoles (1833–6): exterior of nave and tower

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

were still thought wise'.⁸ The perceptible change in ambition between these two buildings is unavoidable, especially in the confident leap from the discreet position of St Wilfred's to the open square of St Ignatius'. The former's modest provision for worship suggests the fiscal restrictions of urban congregations in contrast to the succour offered by Roman Catholic gentry, who furthered the faith through the sectarian management of their estates.⁹ This chapelbuilding identity, affirmed



Figure 3: Pleasington priory by John Palmer (1816–9): view from the east

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

in selfeffacing architecture, correlates with the established conventions of recusant devotion. The body of lay litanies or 'manuals', successively published since the eighteenth century, were orientated towards communal prayer rather than to the sacrifice of the mass. Often written in the vernacular, their forms of worship came

5 Holden 1933, p 3.

6 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, pp 321–6.

7 'H.F.' 1875 [anonymous publication], p 321.

8 Little 1966, p 43; p 44.

9 Bossy 1975, pp 168–81.



Figure 4: Pleasington priory: the west door

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

‘nearest to the practice of extemporary and occasional prayer characteristic of some branches of the English Protestant tradition’.¹⁰ With this manner of religious observance in mind, the ‘Old Catholic’ reference to ‘prayers’ becomes less euphemistic and the humility of surviving mission chapels with their minimal liturgical provisions obvious. From the start of the nineteenth century these forms of worship were steadily eroded by the vicars apostolic, particularly by the bishop John Milner and his successor Thomas Walsh.¹¹ This process was propelled by two primary factors: demographic changes in congregations with the influx of Irish immigrants; and a growing wish to remove any suggestion that Roman Catholicism was ‘a branch of the English dissenting tradition’.¹² Bossy interprets this reassessment of devotional forms as a reappraisal of the Roman Catholic community’s relationship to the wider world.

He identifies one of the influential sources in this process as a ‘romantic-mediaevalist’ strain, that is, associated with those who identified Roman Catholicism with the middle ages and who championed the idea that ‘there was and always had been one church in England, that was Roman and Catholic’.¹³ An early testament to this spirit exists at Pleasington, Lancashire [figure 3] in the vast ex voto church of Ss Mary and John the Baptist. Built by John Francis Butler, ‘far too large for its congregation’ and spuriously styled a ‘priory’, its western facade is loosely modelled upon that of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris whilst the west door is a facsimile of a surviving fourteenth-century portal at nearby Whalley Abbey [figure 4].¹⁴ The priory’s invocation of the past upon the identity of the Roman Catholic present is irrefutable. In terms of ambition, style and scale, Pleasington is unprecedented, and little is directly comparable, though the strand of appealing to the middle ages is significant. Its elevations are composed of an eclectic medley of styles held beneath a plaster vault, creating an impressionistic sentiment towards the past rather than an antiquarian exercise which may well have been outside the architect’s capabilities and beyond Butler’s intentions. Semblance and analogy coupled with freakish scale are Pleasington’s abiding traits, and as such it seems doubtful that it reflected wider concerns within the communion.

Bishop Milner had striven to impose a uniform litany of prayers prior to mass as early as 1803 when he became vicar apostolic to the Midland District, an appeal finally enacted across all four districts in 1838 that was symptomatic of growing episcopal control over previously autonomous congregations.¹⁵ This was one aspect

10 *Ibid*, p 371.

11 *Ibid*, pp 384–7. Walsh’s later support for AWN Pugin’s efforts is not insignificant in this process.

12 *Ibid*, p 385.

13 *Idem*.

14 The priory was designed by John Palmer (1816–9); Blundwell 1925, p 163.

of his pastoral mission to the Midland District, which enforced orthodoxy against the cisalpine liberal Roman Catholics and instigated an administration which made 'ecclesiastical authority ... a reality', laying a secure foundation for missionary expansion later in the century.¹⁶ His own St Peter's chapel at Winchester, recognised by John Bossy as 'a manifesto in itself', must have served as a setting for doctrinaire observations and complemented the sentiments of his tract, *The divine right of episcopacy* [figure 5].¹⁷ Designed together with John Carter, its aim in Milner's own words was to 'imitate the



Figure 5: St Peter's chapel, Winchester, Hampshire, designed by J Carter and J Milner and built in 1792

Reproduced from Little, 1966, pl 3a.

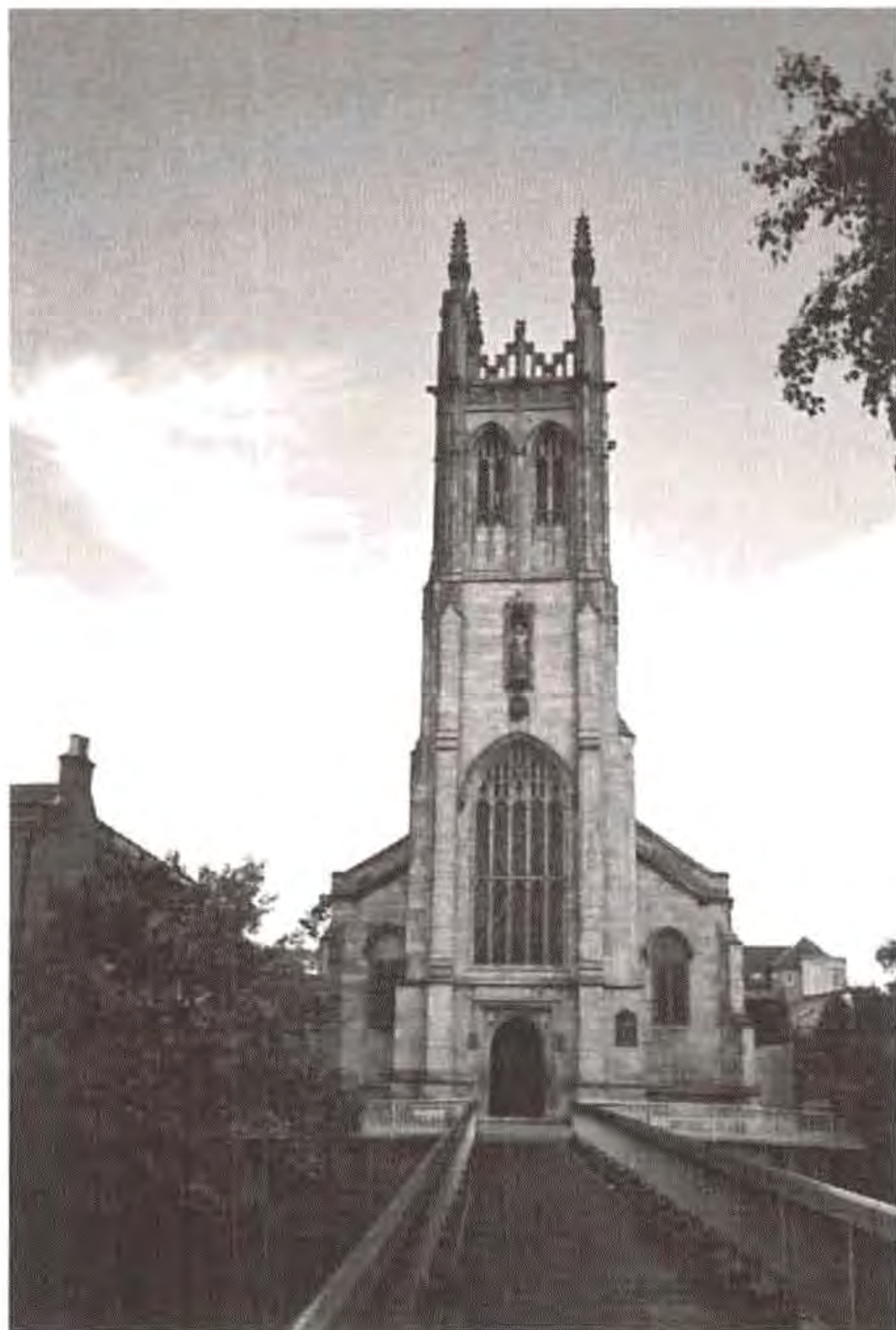


Figure 6: Derby, the liturgical west front of St Mary's church (1837–9) by A.W.N. Pugin
Photographed by the author, July 2006.

models ... left to us by our religious ancestors' and to reconcile the congregation through architectural forms to both a new notion of Roman Catholic devotional practice and of hierarchical authority.¹⁸ It strove not merely 'to mend the broken continuity of history', but to dispel recusant identity and dissolve the circumstances of centuries through a paradoxically modern endorsement of a mediaeval past.¹⁹ When Kenneth Clark saw only an 'all-pervading shabbiness' he completely misread its significance.²⁰ Its message ultimately lay beyond any antiquarian muddleheadedness and rested in what its architectural forms represented to Milner. A.W.N. Pugin's memorial brass to Milner at Wolverhampton is a markedly more comprehending statement, and his admiration for him is well attested.²¹ The process of reforming liturgical observance not only clarified the authority of the bishops over the secular clergy, but also thereby necessitated a reassessment of the provisions for religious observance, forming an

15 Bossy 1975, pp 384–5.

16 *Oxford dictionary of national biography* 2004 (ODNB), p 317.

17 Bossy 1975, p 334.

18 Quoted in Clark 1950, p 137.

19 Hill 2002, p 167.

20 Clark 1950, p 139.

21 See Meara 1994, p 194–5; Meara 2005.



Figure 7: 'Church of St Ignatius, Preston, 1833'
By T. Kearnan after JJ Scoles.

essential foundation for realising of 'church' architecture *per se* among Roman Catholic congregations. Nicholas Wiseman's observation that St Mary's, Derby [figure 6] effected 'the real transition from chapel to church architecture' could not have been voiced without the cultural change legislated by the vicars apostolic in the 1830s.²² It is from this process that St Ignatius emerged: the embodiment of a 'new order of things', without which the careers of Catholic architects, taking root beside A.W. N. Pugin's in the

1840s, would have been as different in their courses as the faith their buildings affirmed.²³ This consolidation of identity is further indicated by the growing recourse to Roman Catholic architects or builders only; a practice that unwittingly established the forum of Roman Catholic architectural firms that emerged in the 1840s and endured well into the twentieth century.²⁴

From the outset the conception of St Ignatius was as something more than a mere missionary chapel. The earliest surviving plan of 1832 shows a rectangular plot, with a chapel with a projecting facade at the southern boundary, and a school and presbytery symmetrically placed on either side of the liturgical east end.²⁵ Upon this plan the transition to church architecture is apparent. Over the rectangular chapel is a pencil outline of a cruciform figure with a western tower. This must surely be the result of a discussion between architect and patron, where the conventions of chapel building are superseded by a responsiveness to the opportunities now open. The cruciform ground plan with its tower was retained throughout the successive revisions; the whole project is tempered both with ambition and experiment, and the provision for schools greatly expanded in the scheme as realised. Set within a residential square in a rapidly expanding suburb, it is a remarkably complete provision for a new missionary parish of this date, an ambition reflected in the final expenditure of £8,000.²⁶ The final form of the church proper was reached by early 1833 and the foundation stone was laid on 27 May that year, by which date a presentation view of the church from the north-west had been circulated [figure 7].²⁷ The contract was awarded to the local builder John Dewhurst on 11 October 1833, with F. A. Tuach appointed as clerk of works.²⁸ That further clauses were agreed on

22 Quoted in O'Donnell 2002, p 85.

23 Holden 1933, p 9.

24 O'Donnell 2002, p 7.

25 Entitled 'Plan for the site of a proposed Catholic chapel at Preston': Archives of the Society of Jesus for the Province of England (APASJ), fol 12.

26 Holden 1933, p 14.

27 The date is according to an anonymous author in 1835 (see 'An antiquarian' 1835 in the list of anonymous publications in the bibliography below), p 3. The view served as the model for the cruder woodblock plate issued in a review of St Ignatius in the *Orthodox journal*. The original drawing has not been traced at the time of writing.



Figure 8: The presbytery of St. Ignatius, designed by Scoles and built 1833–6, with later additions

Photographed by the author, July 2006.



Figure 9: Former St Ignatius' School for Girls, Preston, designed by Scoles and built c1840–1, with later additions.

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

17 October 'for tooling parapets of aisles' and 'for corbels to the aisle roofs' suggests that these details reached their final form only after the contract drawings had been agreed to.²⁹ The decision to construct the spire was agreed when building work was well advanced, the contract for it being signed on 10 June 1834, suggesting reservations as to whether the existing funds would permit its realisation.³⁰ Indeed, the ornamental label stops to the windows' hood moulds, present on the presentation drawing, were omitted as a financial expedient. Before its opening on 5 May 1836, a Roman Catholic edifice of this conspicuous grandeur would have appeared unthinkable to preceding generations; its confidence undoubtedly derives from the expansion of Lancashire missions in this period, of which Preston was no exception.³¹ St Ignatius presents the architecture of a new identity for the community to adopt and its ambitions are evidenced by its designer, one of the most distinguished Roman Catholic architects of his generation, John Joseph Scoles.

Unlike the lightning-flash entrance of A.W.N. Pugin into the sphere of ecclesiastical architecture, Scoles emerged from a distinguished Roman Catholic pedigree. Apprenticed to his kinsman the architect Joseph Ireland, whose output was directed towards quasi-private chapels for Roman Catholic estates, Scoles travelled throughout the continent and middle east in the 1820s, 'devoting himself to archaeological and architectural research'.³² These explorations were undertaken with fellow young architects of his generation, such as Joseph Bonomi the younger, Frederick Catherwood and Henry Parke, and produced surveys of Alexandrian catacombs and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³³ A watercolour of Scoles in Syrian costume by John Hollins captures the adventurous romantic spirit in which these studies were undertaken.³⁴ His travels gave Scoles an affinity with middle-eastern antiquities, and he continued to give papers on these at the Institute

28 APASJ, fol 19. Both Dewhurst and Tuach were coreligionists.

29 *Idem.*

30 *Idem.*

31 Opening date: *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 324. The local Roman Catholic community had grown from 6,000 in 1819 to 8,892 in 1834: Bossy 1975, p 424.

32 Colvin 2008, p 908.

33 Later used by Robert Willis in his monograph on the Holy Sepulchre. Gillow 1885, vol 5, pp 483–4.

34 ODNB.

of British Architects, of which he was to be a founding fellow in 1835, until his death in 1863.³⁵ Upon his return to England in 1826 he worked under John Nash, overseeing the erection of Gloucester Terrace to designs substantially revised to their benefit under Scoles' initiative.³⁶ Given this eclectic background, Scoles' competent aptitude for Gothic might seem surprising: his works are not a 'confused notion of pointed arches' as denounced in the preface to A.C. Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic architecture* (1821–5).³⁷ Whilst in Ireland's office he had been 'directed at an early period to mediaeval ecclesiastical art' by John Carter, who corrected his drawings of mediaeval architectural details.³⁸ Milner's influence upon this early awareness of Gothic has been suggested: he was a steadfast employer of Ireland, to whom he entrusted his posthumous, unfulfilled wish for a Gothic church at Wolverhampton.³⁹ Such exposure during his apprenticeship implies that Scoles would have understood the reasons for the growing recourse to Gothic in Roman Catholic circles during the 1830s; his own architectural oeuvre testifies to this phenomenon.⁴⁰ Scoles also represented an architectural succession from the age of gentry and mission chapels to that of church building *per se*. He held a more legitimate position within Roman Catholic circles than A.W.N. Pugin, and responded to an empathetic intuition that was not based on the expectation of fulfilling an ultramediaevalising agenda.

The question arises as to whether Scoles' design is a literal, antiquarian revival of mediaeval parochial architecture and therefore prophetic of A.W.N. Pugin's churches. The long nave, low transepts and sanctuary within a quasi-crossing, with single-storey vestries and sacristies beyond, do not immediately suggest a mediaeval ecclesiastical plan, but do prefigure Pugin's principle whereby 'every portion . . . answered both a useful and mystical purpose'.⁴¹ Scoles' aim at Preston was to create an integrated complex in 'that particular order of Gothic which preceded the general use of the Tudor arch': our 'perpendicular' style.⁴² Scoles' correspondence makes clear that stylistic cohesion throughout the complex was paramount. When the erection of school buildings was postponed, Scoles declared: 'I should regret to see the buildings . . . not erected in [a] style not in unison with the buildings I have designed.'⁴³ The ancillary buildings [figures 8 and 9] were recognised by contemporaries as being 'after the old english style' although their symmetrical planning owes more to the 1830s than to mediaeval precedent.⁴⁴ Through realising a modern plan in the same vocabulary of the church, Scoles preserves the integrity of the complex in a spirit of antiquarian pragmatism: mediaeval models are used to fulfil the requirements of modern usage, rather than dictating the adoption of anachronistic habits.

35 Colvin 2008, p 909.

36 ODNB.

37 Pugin 1821–5, vol 1, Introduction.

38 ODNB.

39 Colvin 2008, p 908; Ss Peter & Paul (1827–9): O'Donnell 2002, pp 122–3.

40 A definitive list is given in Colvin 2008, pp 909–10.

41 Pugin 1841, p 49.

42 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 321.

43 Scoles to West, 16.5.1836: APASJ, fol 17.

44 'An antiquarian' 1835, p 10.

With its pinnacled silhouette and ground plan St Ignatius is effectively an aisled mediaeval college chapel rotated through 180 degrees. This collegiate model would have been more apparent had a central tower not been rejected amid claims that it 'would have appeared to be wanting', and the western tower confirms the parochial nature of the church.⁴⁵ The ultimate source for such a plan is Merton College chapel, an exemplar 'which all other Oxford College Chapels followed'.⁴⁶ Scoles' derivation from mediaeval architectural typology anticipates Pugin's use of the same plan for the seminary chapels at Ushaw and Ware Colleges.⁴⁷ At Preston, the linking of auxiliary buildings by passageways is an evocation of conventual cloisters and the separateness of each building preempts Pugin's ideal collegiate plan where 'The main feature . . . was the chapel' and in which 'every portion . . . had its distinguishing character and elevation', even if this was more because of planning rationale than antiquarianism.⁴⁸ The hierarchy of the church to its ancillary structures is expressed through their material since the church is externally faced with 'stippled' ashlar smooth at the joints, whilst the adjoining buildings are of red brick with stone dressings.⁴⁹ Though Scoles resisted direct emulation of mediaeval models for these buildings, the complex's aesthetic atmosphere was sufficiently mediaevalised for his contemporaries to understand them as expressing the ideology of 'institution' through its architectural idiom.

The buildings are symptomatic of the emergence of 'Tudor Gothic' as a distinct mode of design in the previous decade. Composed with details culled from such obvious sources as Hampton Court Palace, of which A.C. Pugin supplied 13 plates in his *Specimens*, this style was primarily used in the domestic sphere.⁵⁰ The 'specimens' themselves were largely 'perpendicular' and their influence is detectable not merely in exact citations, but in the 'appreciation of Tudor or Gothic precedents' that characterised this phase of the Revival.⁵¹ This was a lucrative substratum of fashion within the Revival, appealing to both 'squireachy and country gentry' and the middle classes, and one upon which an architect such as Anthony Salvin could found a reputation.⁵² It was also deemed decorous and flexible enough to be used at Harrow and Rugby schools, an adoption which reflects the return of Gothic for new buildings at the universities.⁵³ The reconstruction of the seminary at Oscott in a similar architectural vein from 1835–8 by Joseph Potter, 'the most ambitious Catholic architectural scheme then in progress in England', represents its endorsement by a Roman Catholic educational institution.⁵⁴ Contemporary accounts of St Ignatius describe its style as 'prevalent during the [reign of the] Seventh Henry of England', confirming

45 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 322.

46 Pevsner 1974a, p 159.

47 Described in O'Donnell 1994a, p 80.

48 Pugin 1841, p 51.

49 This furrowing undoubtedly added to the expense, perhaps suggesting the texturing of weathering and also appearing distinct from render.

50 Summerson 1953, p 315; Pugin 1821–5, vol 2, pls 1–13.

51 Summerson 1953, p 316.

52 Brooks 1999, p 187. A comprehensive study of Salvin's career is Allibone 1988, even though it follows the trend of such monographs by overemphasising his 'pioneering' contribution to the Revival.

53 Harrow: 1809; Rugby: 1820: Summerson 1953, p 315.

54 O'Donnell 2002, p 17.



Figure 10: A.W.N. Pugin's St Mary's, Derby, with its projected spire. Of the flanking buildings, only the clergy house to the east (right) was completed. The church was never in fact intended to be a cathedral (see Belcher 2001, p 157 n 3)

Made after Pugin's etching in 1840 to raise money for the church.

invoked by Scoles two centuries later.⁵⁶

That St Ignatius served to exemplify a new manner of liturgically acute ecclesiastical architecture, both in response to reforms to devotional practices and to the mediaevalising strain within the community itself, is supported in the apologetic pamphlet *A description of the new Catholic church at Preston*. Published in 1835, its author wrote under the pseudonym of 'An Antiquarian' who, if not Scoles himself, must have had the precise logistics of the church supplied directly from him.

Its language, arguments and phraseology in describing the half-finished structure is prophetic not merely of A.W.N. Pugin but also of the Cambridge Camden Society, and is therefore of paramount value in recovering how many of Pugin's sentiments were already to be found within the Roman Catholic community prior to 1836, and to what degree Protestant apologists of the 1840s absorbed the same expressions of architectural piety. The author begins by noting with regret that the church's 'ground

that Scoles' architecture was read as part of this wider movement.⁵⁵ That Catholic architects made conscious references to immediately pre-Reformation architecture for modern Catholic institutions suggests that architecture served to establish a continuum between past and present, and to erase the repercussions of the Reformation. The resonance of Gothic as suited to collegiate buildings echoes the first stirrings of Gothic's post mediaeval afterlife in the early seventeenth-century buildings at Oxford and Cambridge, and such buildings appeal to the same sentiments of institutional lineage



Figure 11: Interior of the church of St. Ignatius Photographed by the author, July 2006.

55 'An antiquarian' 1835, p 7.

56 Brooks 1999, pp 25–34.

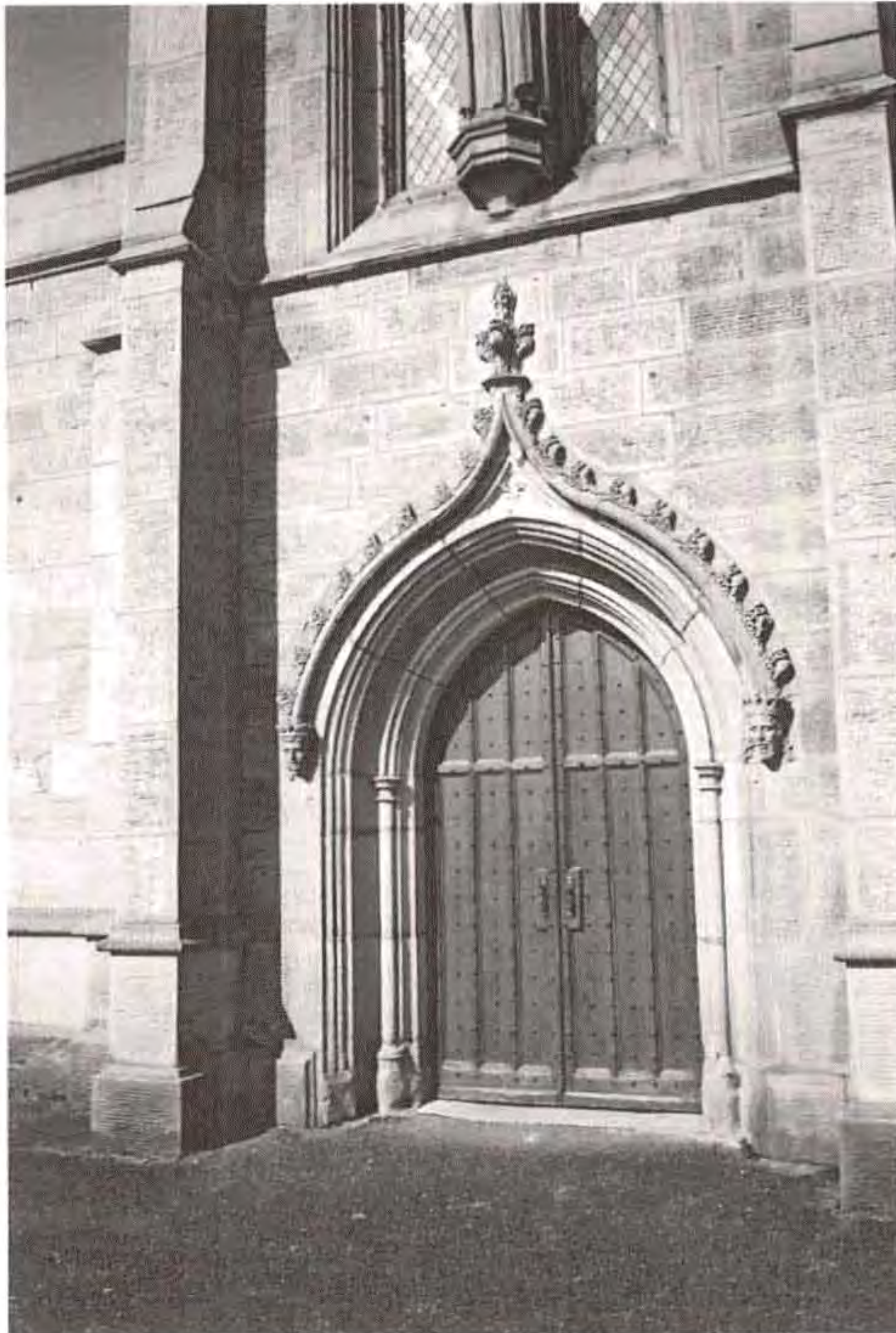


Figure 12: The west door of St. Ignatius
 Photographed by the author, July 2006.

plan stands in the unorthodox position of North and South, instead of the more Catholic posture of East and West', inadvertently attesting to a connotation between doctrine and the architecture it manifests, and clearly feeling the need to explain this point to a general audience.⁵⁷ He feels the need to justify the presence of crosses upon the gables and spire of St Ignatius through an account of its antiquity ('from the earliest ages of Christianity, the Cross has very naturally been made the emblem of our faith'), and lists the prevalence of crosses throughout the middle ages, including at 'the apex of all Chancels'.⁵⁸ The cross is explained as an aid 'to put us in mind of the great work of redemption' and that as such it can 'be no reproach to virtue or reason', such reasoning undoubtedly aimed towards a Protestant audience, wary of such symbolic elements upon a Roman Catholic church.⁵⁹ The 'gothic or Xtian style of

building' is justified firstly in aesthetic terms: 'more imposing, admits of richer ornaments', but also for its capacity to 'express the elevation of holy thoughts to heaven', in a style where 'every part of structure is as symbolical as the whole' of 'the solemn glories of a glorious eternity'.⁶⁰ The author concludes by stating that 'pure Greek architecture in a Christian church is impossible' and that Gothic is inherently preferable given that 'its character assimilates itself to every emblem or ornament which its use requires' for 'the reasonable rites of Christianity'.⁶¹

Such a forceful apology for a Gothic church could have been written by a fire-brand ecclesiologist a decade later, but in 1835 we find much the same sentiments expressed in much the same language, allied to the growing movement for a redefinition of Roman Catholic identity in the 1830s. The justification of Gothic as a natural choice, given the applicability of its symbolic connotations to sacramental worship, offered an encouraging scope for exploration in the decline of the recusant-devotional traditions, and further displayed with so close a reading of architectural forms and their meaning the transition from 'chapel' to 'church' architecture. With such expectations, Scoles' accommodation of liturgical provisions shows how far an antiquarian spirit prevailed within his design of St Ignatius. In this regard the

57 'An antiquarian' 1835, p 4.

58 *Ibid*, p 11.

59 *Ibid*, p 12.

60 *Ibid*, p 9; p 15.

61 *Ibid*, p 15.

cruciform ground plan and gable crosses undisputedly stand a symbolic reading, and such searching for Christian symbolism can be pursued to the same exhaustive depths undertaken by the ecclesiologists, if one so wished. Of greatest importance in this regard is the steeple, which is one of the most significant architectural statements of the decade, a fact not lost upon Scoles' contemporaries who recognised that the tower and spire are 'the first of their kind that have been erected in this country since the Reformation' on a Roman Catholic church.⁶² Aesthetic qualms that it is either 'disproportionately low' or compromised by later western extensions miss its significance, and its expression of identity to the emancipation act of 1829, which superseded the legislation of the Catholic relief act of 1791.⁶³ Whilst the earlier act permitted the hearing of mass in public chapels, one of its clauses expressly forbade the erection of either belfries or steeples, thereby curtailing the architectural ambitions of Roman Catholic congregations. The pioneering triumphalism of Scoles' steeple must be read in the light of the emancipation act, responding to the new possibilities of Roman Catholic architecture by returning through centuries of recusancy to the point where religious architecture had been broken by the Reformation. With clear provision for a peal of bells, not in place at the opening in 1836, it would attest to the Roman Catholic presence in the local topography through both physical and symbolic sight and sound.⁶⁴ A.W.N. Pugin's showpiece tower at Derby was still three years in the future, and never received its intended spire [figure 10], but Scoles' work here can be read as prophetic and anticipatory of much that Pugin would realise.⁶⁵ That Scoles was producing such designs before 1836 indicates that assertions of Gothic were already considered a worthy mantle for the community in the 1830s to adopt.

If Scoles' exterior is a faithful antiquarian exercise in replicating a late-mediaeval parochial church, the same sentiments can be applied to his interior [figure 11]. Its original impression is preserved in the nave and transepts, which employ the divisions of arcades supported by cluster columns, leading to the aisles with large clerestory windows above to light the central vessel. At the junction of the transepts

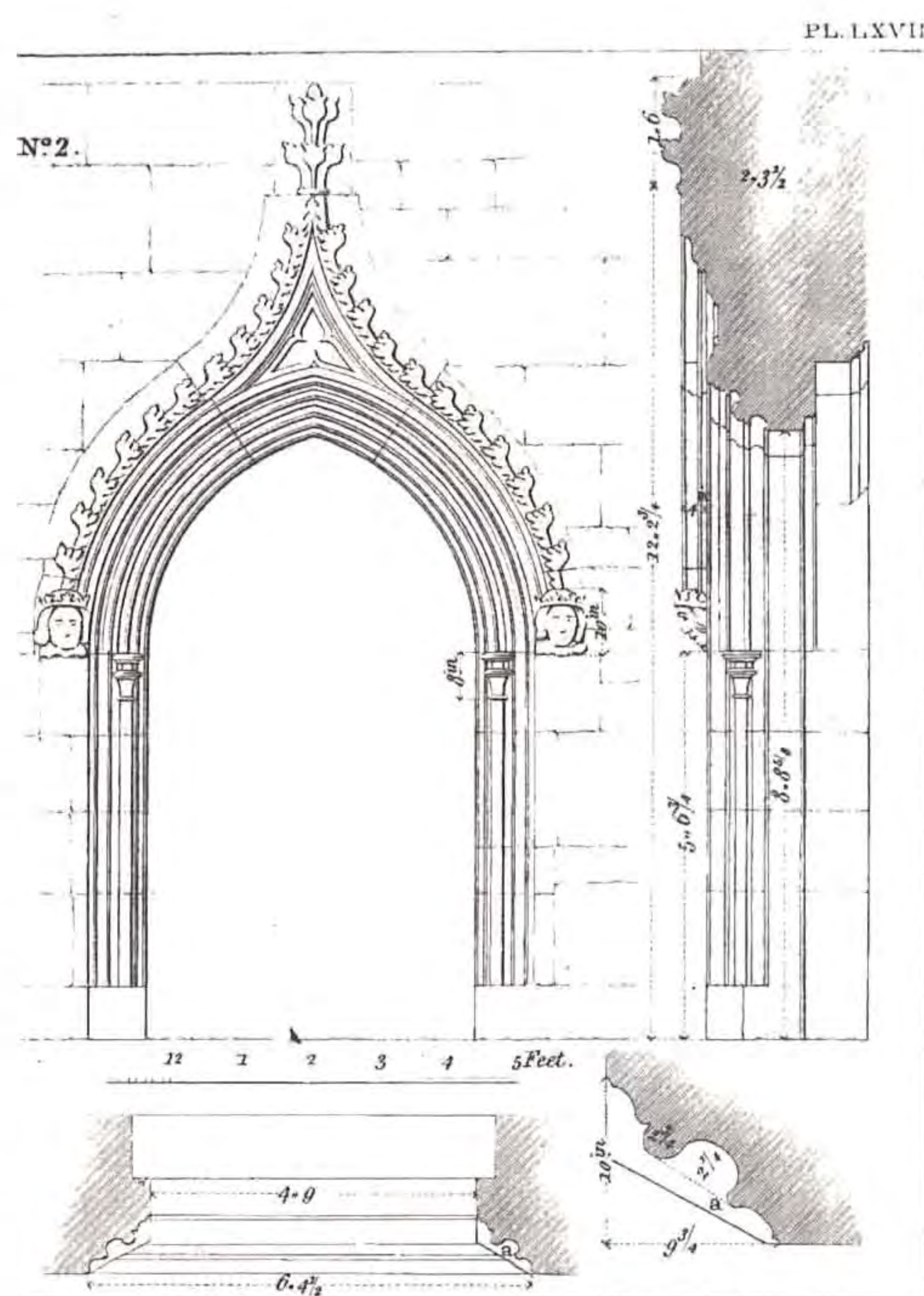


Figure 13: A doorway from Dean's Yard at Westminster Abbey

AC Pugin 1821-5, pl 67

62 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 322.

63 Little 1966, p 70; extensions by Hadfield & Son, 1913.

64 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 322.

65 Stanton 1971, p 46.

two larger arches create a pseudo-crossing, beyond which was a single bay containing the sanctuary. The entire congregation was seated on the ground level and the only gallery or 'orchestra' was placed within the tower arch to accommodate a choir and organ, both of which were not at full capacity during the opening.⁶⁶ The windows were glazed with clear lozenge leaded panes which survive in the clerestory lights. The continuous shafts, which run the height of the nave to support the stanchions of the nave roof, unify the interior and make an aesthetic virtue of a structural necessity.⁶⁷

This device compensates for the visual weakness of arches, executed as they are 'in imitation of stonework', and the roof itself is divided into panels, with the principals spanning the nave in alignment with the bays and ornamented with pierced traceried panels which reach up to the roof slope.⁶⁸

Contemporaries noted that the roof structure eschewed the previously common

practice of introducing a suspended lathe and plaster ceiling, for here 'The whole of the principals are seen and consequently the ceiling has the same slant as the roof'.⁶⁹

The latter was originally painted to imitate 'old *Quercus robur*' and was described as being sombre and in unison with the architecture.⁷⁰ The attention to detail in design and finish was high throughout, even down to the west door, with its timberframed construction and iron nail heads, set beneath an elaborately crocketed ogee hood moulding with figurative label stops [figure 12]. This prominent doorway owes an indirect debt to A.C. Pugin, for Scoles took for his model a doorway from Dean's Yard at Westminster abbey, which had appeared on plate 67 of the *Specimens* [figure 13].⁷¹ This may seem a lapse in originality, though given the prevalence of *Specimens*, it would be more surprising if Scoles displayed no recourse whatsoever to such a useful pattern book. St Ignatius is a markedly more antiquarian design than either of Thomas Rickman's Preston churches, which deployed the standard components of 'galleries on iron columns ... Flat ceiling ... Box Pews' of the preceding decade.⁷² Rickman had gained this commission on the proviso that both churches be



Figure 14: Holy water stoup to west door, St Ignatius

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

66 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 325.

67 *Ibid*, p 322.

68 The imitation stonework was executed by a Mr H Smith according to 'an antiquarian' of 1835 (p 8). The colouring is modern.

69 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 322.

70 'An antiquarian' 1835, p 9 (*ie* common oak).

71 Pugin 1821–5, vol 1, pl 67.

72 St Peter (1822–5) in 'decorated' and St Paul (1823–5) in 'early English'; Pevsner 1969, p 194.



Figure 15: Surviving sections of the sacristy screen at the church

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

realised for £12,200,⁷³ and consequently both are endowed with an inescapable ‘knockdown off-the-peg’ feeling, one being a duplicate of an earlier church at Barnsley.⁷⁴ The contrast makes Scoles appear as an antiquarian pioneer, exploiting the potential for experiment, but Rickman as a complacent timeserver, merely fulfilling given expectations. At a time when mediaeval churches were still caked and mutilated beneath their Georgian accretions, Scoles’ efforts at realising a credible ‘perpendicular’ parochial church are a testimony to his skills and competence as both an architect and antiquarian, and in the architectural climate of the 1830s such a compelling performance would seem to accord with A.W.N. Pugin’s sentiments that the Roman Catholic church was ‘the only one in which the grand & sublime style of church architecture can ever be restored’.⁷⁵ It seems a matter of course that Scoles’ work and the sentiments it represents would, with its endorsement of a mediaeval inheritance, herald so closely the work of A.W.N. Pugin.

Such pragmatism is perceived in Scoles’ church when examined as an exercise in liturgical provisions. Mediaeval exemplars are adopted where they fulfil a requirement of contemporaneous devotional practices and ceremonies, rather than seeking to revive antiquarian ritual through their presence. This was made clear in the opening sermon given by Fr Trappes, who drew a clear analogy between the newly opened church and what ‘their fathers had done in the same cause, and what splendid specimens of whose benevolence and piety were still to be seen where the

⁷³ Port 2006, p 69.

⁷⁴ St George (1821–2). See Port 2006, pl 81 p 127.

⁷⁵ A.W.N. Pugin to E.J. Wilson, 22.8.1834: Belcher 2001, p 24.



Figure 16: A detail of the high altar of St Ignatius attributed to FW Tuach, 1835–6
 Photographed by the author, July 2006.

rage of persecution and fanaticism had spared them'.⁷⁶ The remains of past pieties served to inspire and console, but they remained to some degree removed from the present: there was neither insistence nor expectation for plainsong or full Gothic cloth-of-gold vestments as at St Mary's, Derby, and the congregation had to make do with secondhand white damask vestments, red silk lined, with gold fringes.⁷⁷ It is evident from the surviving correspondence between Scoles and the mission priest, Fr Francis West SJ, that the provision of liturgical furnishings was of foremost importance. On 16 May 1835 Scoles prepared an itemised account of furnishings: 'Altar £250.0s.0d; Tabernacle £150.0s.0d; Altar Screen £100.0s.0d', and on 10 July 1835 wrote again to Fr West clarifying 'the various objects acquired for the completion of the church'.⁷⁸ Scoles defended his proposed arrangements for the sanctuary, in which the altar was positioned against a carved wooden screen beneath the east window and between the sanctuary and vestries, by stating that a further, unspecified, 'altar screen is certainly not required'.⁷⁹ Quite what Scoles means by 'altar screen' is unclear, as he refers earlier to the existing proposal for 'placing the Altar nearly against the Sacristy screen', which acted as a *de facto* reredos.⁸⁰ As that screen stands in front of the sacristy, we may infer that the 'altar screen' was to stand in front of the altar, and that Fr West had suggested the introduction of a rood screen. If this is so it testifies to a qualitative rationale in Scoles' antiquarianism, which did not emulate precedents for the sake of fastidiousness, but instead treated exemplars objectively for the needs of contemporary liturgical practices. In this event, Scoles was content for a mere 'Sanctuary railing',⁸¹ and ultimately missed the opportunity of erecting the

76 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 325.

77 O'Donnell 2002, p 85; ASPSJ: fol 72.

78 Scoles to West, 16.5.1836; Scoles to West, 10.7.1836: APASJ, fol 17, fol 16.

79 Scoles to West, 10.7.1836: APASJ, fol 16.

80 *Idem.*

81 *Idem.*



Figure 17: The exterior of the collegiate chapel of St Peter, Stonyhurst, Lancashire, designed by JJ Scoles and built 1832–5

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

first Roman Catholic rood screen of the Revival – letting that honour fall not to A.W.N. Pugin, but to William Railton, when extending the chapel of Grace Dieu manor for Ambrose Phillipps in 1837.⁸²

Less difficult were the provisions required in response to liturgical demands that could truly be called ‘Catholic’. Scoles displayed great concern over the positioning of the ‘Holy water pots’ for the transept doors, having provided elaborately carved ones either side of the west door [figure 13].⁸³ He initially suggested affixing these pots ‘on the Lobby framing at the angle by the door’, though leaving the possibility open for a more permanent provision for holy water.⁸⁴ Fr West was evidently not impressed, and suitably Gothic stone stoups were bedded into the walls, to a slightly less imposing design, attributable to Francis Tuach, rather than Scoles himself [figure 14]. Such provisions were not strictly antiquarian, though their visual form was consciously integrated into that of the interior, enabling sacred objects and their setting to speak the same stylistic language. Scoles also questioned the lack of provision of a pulpit, recalling an earlier proposal for a ‘light skeleton desk covered with some velvet or other hanging for the preacher to stand against’, and stating that a similar provision was used in the mission chapel at Shrewsbury.⁸⁵ Curiously, there is no mention of a baptismal font, perhaps reflecting the convention for baptisms in domestic settings which Scoles did not seek to challenge. Scoles’ awareness of the consecration of churches is demonstrated in his questions regarding consecration crosses. He informs Fr West that Mr Tuach will bring a drawing for them with him

82 O’Donnell 2002, pp 89–92.

83 Scoles to West, 10.7.1836: APASJ, fol 16.

84 *Idem.*

85 *Idem.*

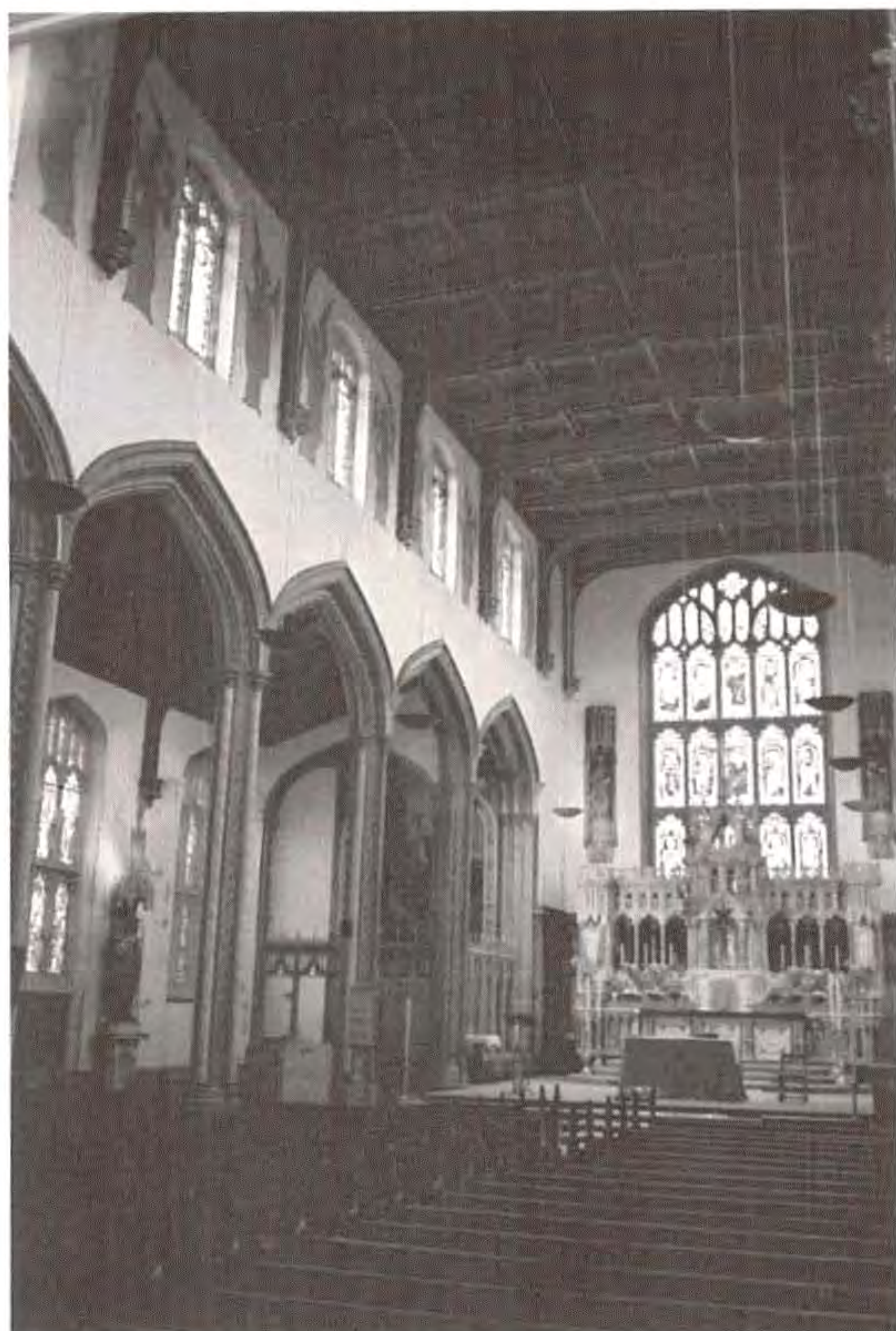


Figure 18: The interior of the collegiate chapel of St. Peter, Stonyhurst, with later furnishings

Photographed by the author, July 2006.

screen still survive, though the central section accommodating the tabernacle and benediction throne has been lost [figure 15]. Whilst its overall form can be attributed to Scoles, its sharp juxtapositions of scale and clumsiness suggest that the hand of a foreman carpenter, rather than one trained by John Carter, oversaw its construction. The altar itself [figure 16] is a hypothetical mediaeval reconstruction, since there were almost no surviving mediaeval exemplars, and parallels an earlier design for the chapel of Alton Towers.⁹⁰ Its display of statues of Christ and the twelve apostles is perhaps without precedent in the course of the Gothic Revival in England and it could be so elaborate through the beneficence of William Anderton of Haighton Hall.⁹¹ The figures themselves were worked by Thomas Owen, who carved the innumerable gargoyles which inhabited the parapets of Pleasington 20 years before, and the design is given to Francis Tuach, and not Scoles.⁹² This delegation to the clerk of works can be read as a sure sign of the faith Scoles had in Tuach to

and asks 'to know if I am to order in London the branches to be fixed over the same', on the model of those Scoles had installed at St Peter's, Stonyhurst.⁸⁶ This proposal had however been forestalled by a letter from Dr John Briggs in his capacity as coadjutor to the aged vicar apostolic for the Northern District, Dr Thomas Penswick, which spoke against the need to consecrate an entire church, as it was necessary to consecrate only the altar.⁸⁷ This 'old catholic' mentality carried the day: Scoles' consecration crosses remained uncarved, and the church was only belatedly consecrated in 1929.⁸⁸

It is in the treatment of the altar that St Ignatius was revolutionary in the field of Catholic churchbuilding. The original sanctuary ensemble, lost in successive building campaigns, placed the altar on the ritual three steps, backed by an arcaded wooden reredos, and set below the large east window.⁸⁹ Sections of the sacristy

86 *Idem.*

87 Briggs to West, 25.5.1834: APASJ, fol 57.

88 Holden 1933, p 297.

89 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 323.

90 Designed by Joseph Potter (1835).

91 'An antiquarian' 1835, p 9.

92 *Ibid*, p 18.

execute a design to a high standard, and of his willingness to entrust the design of the most significant liturgical object within St Ignatius. The roles of reredos and altar have been fused into one object since the carved frontal performs the same function of enhancing liturgical significance that a statue-populated reredos would perform, and thus it unifies the altar with the architectural environment surrounding it. This is confirmed by the fact that the wives of Pugin's patrons held fundraising events in Scoles' school buildings for Pugin's first monastic design, Mount St Bernard, in 1842.⁹³ The entire provision of liturgical furnishings concedes to both exemplars from the mediaeval past, but does not seek to reintroduce arcane objects for the sake of antiquarian accuracy. The Roman Catholicism of the middle ages is endorsed to provide a new identity for the present, but it does so to facilitate a contemporaneous liturgy, for the forms themselves are not introduced so as to instruct the celebrant to adopt or revive their use. This is the fundamental difference between Scoles' and A.W.N. Pugin's notion of ecclesiastical architecture.

That Scoles' clear interest in institutional architecture at Preston was part of a wider expression of institutional identity is demonstrable through comparison with his chapel of St Peter (1832–5) for the Jesuit College at nearby Stonyhurst [figures 17 and 18]. The style of this prestigious commission was the result of a matter of much debate between Gothic and 'classical models which had so long been in fashion'.⁹⁴ The pro-Gothic party clearly carried the day and the foundation stone was laid on 29 May 1832.⁹⁵ Comparable in intent to St Ignatius, the chapel stands as a proclamation of a new confidence and identity. It is persistently claimed that Scoles 'drew his inspiration from the great chapel of King's College' in Cambridge.⁹⁶ However, compared to King's the ratio of arcade to clerestory has been inverted and by the 1830s ogee-domed corner turrets had become stock-in-trade features of urban churches in the previous decade.⁹⁷ Stonyhurst's immediate lineage lies with such edifices as St Philip, Stepney, which proved 'a popular model for new churches of the period', while the closest source of derivation appears to be Holy Trinity, Cloudesley Square.⁹⁸ This recourse to recent Revival churches does not compromise Scoles' own antiquarianism and artistic originality, as it would be naive to expect any architect to be oblivious to the buildings of his own time: for instance A.W.N. Pugin might have looked to Stonyhurst's interior for the arcade of St Alban, Macclesfield (1839–41). The real significance of Scoles' chapel at Stonyhurst is its reclamation of a distinct ecclesiastical building type, from a hitherto unhistorical context of urban townscape into a setting at once rural and scholastic. In so doing, he demonstrated an awareness of the mediaeval origins behind his contemporary sources, while his reintegration of a building type with its correct topographical context can be read as antiquarian decorum overturning established conventions in ecclesiastical design. That the style of Stonyhurst's chapel was described as 'that of the Collegiate church, which style

93 Holden 1933, p 19.

94 Grugger & Keating 1901, p 89.

95 *Orthodox journal*, vol 4 no 137, p 201.

96 Grugger & Keating 1901, p 89.

97 Though ultimately, if loosely, derived from King's College Chapel.

98 St Philip was by J Walters and F Goodwin (1818–9): Port 2006, pl 124 p 161; Webster 2003, p 52. Holy Trinity was by C Barry (1826–8). *Nota bene*, Scoles' practice was based in London.

prevailed at the beginning of the 16th century'⁹⁹ confirms that Scoles' architectural intentions were grasped by his contemporaries. The 'unity and simplicity . . . and the judicious selection . . . of the decorations'¹⁰⁰ proved encouragingly antiquarian enough for the youthful A.W.N. Pugin to exclaim in 1834 that 'A very good chapel is now building in the north & when compleat I certainly think I shall recant'.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Scoles went to great pains to secure craftsmen who both comprehended Gothic design and could execute it to a high standard; the masonry was undertaken by the Birmingham based Messrs Bennet and the woodwork was by a 'Mr Wolstenholme of York', who had worked on the choir stalls at York Minster after the 1829 fire.¹⁰² This reunion of a collegiate church plan to a collegiate institution also had ramifications for Roman Catholic foundations reappropriating building types long since indentified with the established church and universities, thereby inadvertently, and critically, displaying the latter's origins.

The uniform derivation of Stonyhurst and Preston evidences the fact that Scoles' commissions for both buildings lay with the same institution: the Society of Jesus. St Ignatius, as its dedication suggests, was a Jesuit mission, and the boldest architectural consolidation of a Jesuit presence in Preston that began in the seventeenth century.¹⁰³ The style of St Ignatius was determined by 21 December 1832, when Fr George Jenkins SJ wrote to inform the order's superior for Lancashire, Fr S. P. Pains SJ, that the rector of Stonyhurst, Fr Richard Norris SJ, had confirmed with Scoles that the new mission church was to be built 'in early perpendicular Gothic'.¹⁰⁴ It was Fr Norris who laid the foundation stone for Stonyhurst's new chapel on 29 May 1832.¹⁰⁵ His specification of style to Scoles confirms the close involvement of the 'Stonyhurst gentlemen'¹⁰⁶ in the new mission and their close interest in architectural patronage and its aesthetic manifestation. Both commissions can be viewed as components of the same programme, and whilst Stonyhurst chapel was an act of institutional consolidation, the construction of a Jesuit mission parish was more complex, and must be read as a response to the society's turbulent history earlier in the century.

The protracted disputes between Jesuit and secular priests throughout the recusant centuries is beyond the scope of this argument, though longstanding difficulties reemerged with the Society's reestablishment in August 1814 with the papal bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*.¹⁰⁷ Interpretation of the bull posed difficulties in the English province and a formal restoration would revive the conflict of authority over whom the missionary-priest was answerable to; for whereas the secular clergy took a mission oath binding them to their bishop, the oath of the Jesuit fathers pledged their allegiance to the superior of their order. This duality is further represented by the coexistent divisions of the country into districts for secular clergy

99 *Orthodox journal*, vol 4 no 137, p 201.

100 *Orthodox journal*, vol 5 no 141, p 264.

101 AWN Pugin to EJ Wilson, 30.1.1834: Belcher 2001, p 24.

102 *Orthodox journal*, vol 4 no 141, p 202; p 264.

103 *Orthodox journal*, vol 2 no 47, p 323.

104 Jenkins to Pains, 21.12.1832: ASAPJ, fol. 54. This letter is, unfortunately, absent from the archive.

105 *Orthodox journal*, vol 4 no 137, p 201. For Norris' distinguished career *vide* Gillow 1885, vol 5, pp 188–9.

106 A snide acknowledgment of the recusant gentry origins of the college's members.

107 The society had been suppressed in England in 1773.

and provinces for the regular (*ie* Jesuit) clergy.¹⁰⁸ With the promulgation of the bull, the missionaries of Stonyhurst abandoned their former practice of taking a mission oath and reasserted their allegiance to their superior alone. The cause for Jesuit autonomy was largely fought by the rector of Stonyhurst, Fr Charles Plowden SJ, against the vicars apostolic, except Bishop Milner. The threat of an autonomous restored society to the vicars apostolic was clear: the class and social connexions between the gentlemen of Stonyhurst and the old Roman Catholic families would enable the Jesuits to secure missions the latter families supported, thereby undercutting the seculars and leaving to them the remaining unpatronised missions.¹⁰⁹

A notorious example of conflict between secular and regular clergy occurred at Wigan in 1817, when the founding of a new chapel to be administered by seculars was authorised by the district's bishop, the aged anti-Jesuit Dr William Gibson. This prompted the pro-Jesuit trustees of the original chapel to found another new chapel to be served by regular clergy from Stonyhurst.¹¹⁰ The pro-seculars argued that the trustees were culpable of 'criminal insubordination to lawful superiors' and that their chapel be placed under *sententia interdicti*.¹¹¹ The arguments over the Wigan chapels hinged not merely upon the unclear position of the Jesuit Society at this time, but significantly upon the autonomy of congregations in the face of growing episcopal authority. This difference is reflected in the architecture of the rival chapels, for whereas the formally approved St Mary's is Gothic, the trustees' St John's is classical.¹¹² This polarisation of styles here implies that hierarchical authority required a Gothic model whereas the classical testifies to the popular taste of the independent trustees. The Wigan saga is an insight into stylistic manifestation possessing the capacity to denote different claims of identity and allegiance within the Roman Catholic communion. The conflict was settled through the agencies of Milner, whose support of Stonyhurst and the Jesuits appears to be a concession to the Roman Catholic gentry; Milner sought to restrict their basis there, whilst being antithetical to gentrified clergy within his own district.¹¹³ These vexed issues were to continue until the vicar apostolics' objections softened in the cause for Catholic emancipation, and in January 1829 Rome confirmed that the bull of 1814 applied to England. It is doubly in the spirit of official restoration and Catholic emancipation that Stonyhurst consolidated its position through a unified programme of architectural patronage: Scoles' designs undoubtedly have a celebratory confidence beyond mere virtuosity. It seems probable that the recourse to Gothic reflected not only an awareness of its potential for asserting a new identity, best expressed in that architecture, but also some affinity to the middle ages, which contact with Milner could have instilled at Stonyhurst.

108 Ward 1915, vol 2, pp 26–8.

109 *Ibid*, p 48.

110 The original mission had been a Jesuit foundation.

111 Bossy 1975, p 346; Ward 1915, vol 2, pp 33–5.

112 Bossy 1975, p 346.

113 ODNB, p 317.

Through St Ignatius Scoles consolidates a Roman Catholic identity derived from the mediaeval past which adopts its architecture to express the devotional aspirations of the former. In so doing he supersedes earlier efforts at utilising the Gothic style successfully for ecclesiastical architecture, and goes as far as to prefigure much of what Pugin was to advocate in favour of Gothic. Scoles' antiquarianism reunifies specific church types with their pertinent institutions and thereby enables the latter to express through the medium of architecture their claims of lineage and pedigree, consolidating the position of his patrons and responding to both the distant past and recent events within Roman Catholic history. St Ignatius also displays the rich levels of meaning which underlie such churches of the 1830s, beyond the mere analysis of stylistic components. His church remains evocative not only of the confidence and assertiveness of the experiments in asserting a new notion of the community, but also of a 'dream of the Middle Ages' which served to console Roman Catholics with a vision of what had once existed under the same faith to which they still adhered, and to acclaim the past as a bold assertion for the present to countenance.¹¹⁴

Primary sources consulted:

WE Andrews, 'The Catholic Church of Saint Ignatius, Preston,' *The London and Dublin orthodox journal of useful knowledge*, 2 no 47 (21.5.1836), pp 321–6

WE Andrews, 'Saint Peter's church at Stonyhurst,' *Andrews' weekly orthodox journal of entertaining Christian knowledge*, 4 no 137 (18.4.1835a), pp 201–2.

WE Andrews, 'Saint Peter's Catholic church, Stonyhurst,' *Andrews' weekly orthodox journal of entertaining Christian knowledge*, 4 no 141 (16.5.1835b), pp 261–4.

London, Jesuit Archives, *MS Archivum Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu, College of Saint Aloysius: Saint Ignatius, Preston, 1832–1903*:

fol 3, JJ Scoles. *Plan for proposed Church of Saint Ignatius, Preston, 1832*: ink and pencil on vellum

fol 16, letter from J J Scoles to Fr F West, 10.7.1836.

fol 17, letter from J J Scoles to Fr F West, 16.5.1836.

fol 54 letter from Fr G Jenkins to Fr S Pains, 21.12.1832.

Note: References to papers held at the Jesuit Archives are footnoted under the abbreviation 'APASJ', followed by the appropriate folio number at which they occur in the MS volume for St. Ignatius, Preston. Correspondence also bound into the latter volume is footnoted by its author and recipient, date and relevant folio number.

Other primary and secondary sources used are referred to in the notes.

¹¹⁴ Hill 2002, p 180.

A.W.N. Pugin and Viscount Feilding

by Rosemary Hill

Since A.W.N. Pugin usually burned his letters after he had answered them it is rare to find both sides of any part of his correspondence. In this case four letters between Pugin and his patron, Viscount Feilding – one from Feilding and three from Pugin – survive in two private collections and fit together to make a sequence. Dating from the autumn of 1851 they tell the story of one of Pugin's last commissions, the finishing and furnishing of St David's church at Pantasaph, Flintshire (now part of Clwyd). The correspondence ranges well beyond the work in hand to include some of Pugin's last coherent thoughts about his religious position and his true principles of design in the final months before illness overwhelmed him.

Viscount Feilding, (1823–92), later eighth Earl of Denby, was a Roman Catholic convert who commissioned Pugin to complete the fitting out of the church of St David, which Feilding and his wife Louisa had endowed. But this was a far more controversial and interesting job than the bare facts suggest, for St David's was a cause of national scandal and its completion took place against a background of furious debate on the subject of Catholicism, a cabinet crisis and the Great Exhibition, where some of the work for Pantasaph was shown. All of these events found their way into Pugin and Feilding's letters.

The story began some years earlier in 1846 when Rudolph, Viscount Feilding, married Louisa Pennant, a Welsh heiress. They were a high-minded and high-church young couple, like many of their contemporaries. Louisa's dowry included land in and around Pantasaph and they decided in thanksgiving for their marriage to build a church on it. T.H. Wyatt (1807–80), a distant cousin of James Wyatt, Pugin's *bête noire*, was appointed architect and the foundation stone was laid in 1849 in the presence of a large number of clergy and tenantry [figure 19]. By 1850, however, when the church was half built, the Feildings were experiencing doubts about their Anglican faith. After much deliberation, and to the dismay of their families, in August 1850 they were received into the Roman Catholic church at St Margaret's

convent Edinburgh (a building on which Pugin had worked) by Pugin's friend Bishop Gillis.

The row that followed was spectacular. The Earl of Denby immediately disinherited his son. Then Feilding, who had not yet handed St David's over to the Anglican bishop of St Asaph, announced that he no longer intended to do so but would complete it instead as a Roman Catholic church for the use of a monastic order. His decision might not have caused such a public furore had



Figure 19: St David's church, Pantasaph, Powys by TH Wyatt, 1849-52. None of Pugin's additions is visible from this point

Photographed in 2001 by the author.

it not coincided with Pius IX's announcement in September 1850 of the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England. The newly created cardinal Nicholas Wiseman took advantage of the occasion to issue what became a notorious pastoral *From without the Flaminian Gate*. In it he seemed to make such extravagant claims about his authority that Queen Victoria, when she read it, is said to have enquired whether she was still Queen of England or not. Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, denounced what he called this 'Aggression of the Pope' in the *Times* and there were demonstrations and no-popery riots all over the country. The official reaction came in the form of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill which barred any Catholic cleric from laying claim to a see in British territory. Pugin, as he told Feilding, wrote one of many pamphlets on the subject. His *Earnest address on the establishment of the hierarchy* (1851) caused controversy in its own right by its apparent endorsement of Anglican orders and was widely denounced by Roman Catholics. Pugin, undaunted, was keen to know if Feilding could get it distributed in Italy. At the same time the bill's stormy passage through Parliament caused an administrative crisis in which Russell's cabinet resigned and it proved impossible for some weeks to form a new government, events that Pugin and Feilding discussed in their letters.

Meanwhile at Pantasaph Feilding was accused, wrongly, of embezzlement of donations made for St David's. In fact he had so far spent only his own money but feelings ran so high that a national subscription was raised to build an Anglican church to replace Wyatt's. *An appeal to the members of the Church of England* was issued in the autumn of 1850 in protest against the alienation of St David's 'for Romish purposes'. Donations flooded in from every corner of Britain until there was enough money for two new churches, which were later built at Gorsedd and Brynford on either side of Pantasaph. The range of subscribers suggests the breadth and depth of national and personal feeling. The list of names was headed by a Mrs Pennant, who was presumably a relative of Louisa, possibly her mother, and the Lord Bishop of St Asaph. Others included John Ruskin's father John James and William Whewell, the historian and master of Trinity College, Cambridge. T.H. Wyatt donated a font, but since it was presumably the one intended for the original church and now redundant this was not perhaps an especially generous gesture.

In view of the uproar and of Louisa's delicate health the Feildings retreated to Italy where they remained until the consecration of the church and where Pius IX gave them the relics of St Primitivus, an early African Christian, martyred with Peter, which were to be enshrined at St David's. Before they went, however, they engaged Pugin, to whom they may have been introduced by Lord Shrewsbury or Bishop Gillis, to furnish and alter Wyatt's building to make it suitable for Roman Catholic worship. This left Pugin with the delicate business of working with Wyatt in a situation that would have been awkward even had Wyatt not embodied in both architectural and religious terms so much that Pugin disliked. Typically, however, on a personal level, Pugin was capable of getting on well with most people. Since Wyatt lived in Great Russell Street, just yards from where Pugin had grown up, they may have known each other anyway and the implication of the letters is that their dealings were amicable. Pugin, as he told Feilding, lent Wyatt Bishop Milner's *End of controversy*, one of his favourite books, in the hope of converting his fellow architect

to the Catholic faith. It was a typical gesture that illustrates the way in which Pugin never left relationships on a purely professional level but always brought his own feelings and beliefs to bear.

The same is apparent in his dealings with Feilding, whose name he never managed to spell correctly and whose penchant for 'revolting' wax dolls, lace edging and other Roman novelties Pugin castigated unsparingly. In the process he unfolded his own ideas as he finished Wyatt's building with as much of his own style as possible [figures 20, 21]. The view he arranged of the lady altar to be seen through the arch into the tower allowed him to create one of his favourite effects of sequential spaces and he positioned the sacristies with picturesque irregularity. Lord Feilding's men-



Figure 20: The interior of St David's from the nave. As so often in Pugin's churches the screens have been removed, destroying the intended effect including, in this case, the cross-view to the lady altar under the tower

Photographed in 2001 by the author.

Ambrose Phillipps, somewhat hazy about the requirements of monastic orders who would, Pugin pointed out, find an Anglican parsonage difficult to use. And as ever there was the question of cost. Presumably the 'arrangement' Pugin referred to with Feilding's father related to the money that the Earl was, or more likely was now not, prepared to allow his son.

Always happy to spill his current preoccupations onto the page, regardless of his correspondent, Pugin was forthcoming in these letters on many other subjects. Somewhat boastful about the success of the Great Exhibition he was interestingly enthusiastic about the 'oriental' textiles at the Crystal Palace, designs which could in no way be described as Christian but which he now thought just as capable of embodying what increasingly he thought of as 'first' or 'natural' rather than narrowly 'Chris-

tion of the 'friend' who didn't think the extensions looked quite right clearly infuriated Pugin, provoking him into a re-statement of his true principles. The letters show how frustrating the architect's lot can often be for, as with the Earl of Shrewsbury, Pugin had to battle against his noble patron's rather casual approach to ecclesiology and his love of a bargain. As a convert Feilding was also, like

the man whose name was not shown upon the church



Figure 21: It would also seem that in Pugin's drawing, taken from the same angle as figure 20 but from further west, he 'improved' Wyatt's existing arcade considerably, making it higher and more richly detailed than it was in reality.

From Pugin's letter of 18 October 1851 (private collection).

tian' true principles. In his casual reference to being 'at college' with the bishop, Dr Brown, Pugin displayed some of his father's ability to talk up his background for Pugin was never at college in the sense he implied, while the whole unfortunate episode of Mr Merewether shows how easily exploited the romantic Catholics of the mid-century could be. Pugin was as usual willing to believe the best of everyone at first only to be bitterly disillusioned. Lord Shrewsbury was characteristically more circumspect.

Pugin's last letter refers to his bout of 'nervous fever', what would today probably be called a manic episode, and by now he had less than a year to live. By the time the church was opened on 13 October 1852 he was dead. The Feildings were by then reconciled with Rudolph's parents but just months later Louisa too died of consumption in Naples. Her body was brought back for burial in the crypt. St David's was made over to the Franciscans who later built the friary nearby and still remain at Pantasaph.

The correspondence

1: Pugin to Lord Feilding [pm, 2 March 1851]

'The Right Honble. Viscount Fielding 500 Corso Rome

My dear Lord

I hasten to reply to your kind letter which I have just received. 1. As regards the copes they are precisely of the same form as those used in the middle ages & if the stuff is handsome they will do very well 2. the chasubles take about 7 *yards* of ordinary stuff but I would certainly advise your Lordship to get it made up here as without a linen pattern it would be impossible to get it to the right shape & if they don't hang well they have an unsightly appearance 3. when the relics are given to your Lordship they will be *sealed silver* cases & this is much the best state to bring them to England & then we can insert them *entire* in larger reliquaries of the proper form it is quite useless to send a drawing of anything gothic to Rome to be made for they don't understand it & your Lordship would have to pay a great deal more than in England & have a bad thing after all moreover the silver cases will pay in duty & if they were in large reliquaries they would be subject to a heavy one. 4 as regards the relics from the [?] Cata [seal over the rest of the word] I beseech your Lordship not to be led into such a modern & debased practice as that of inserting them in a wax doll which I do not hesitate to say is revolting & contrary to the very principle of the veneration of relics as you substitute at least *to the sight* an invention of a doll maker for the *relics themselves*. Pray let me make a shrine after your Lordship returns of the true form with crystal & a reverent case where the sacred relics may inclosed. I implore of your Lordship to keep your church free of these wax dolls which are unknown to catholic antiquity & were only invented in this debased age – I am bestowing every possible pains on the fittings of St Davids & I shall have beautiful work ?shortly ready the niche and virgin we have sent to the Great Exhibition but pray my dear Lord let the church be a *model of Catholic antiquity* & free from all these miserable ideas & things that keep back such great numbers of our countrymen from Catholic truth and if Pantasaph church is really carried out in the real reverent style of antiquity it may be the means of reversing a great deal of the present feeling against it. I have all the fittings in hand though I am giving plenty of time in execution on account on your Lordships ?arrangement with your noble father & which after is a good thing for the work and the building as it will be better seasoned & more carefully finished. I feel quite assured that your Lordship will be well pleased with the work

[overleaf] I have published an address on the Hierarchy which has produced a great effect it is quite a new view & tends to promote charity between us & the catholic portion of the Church of England if your Lordship has any means of getting Pamphlets from England I should be truly glad if it could be forwarded it has produced an immense effect we are now in the 7th thousand Dolman is the Publisher. I will attend to the sword blade I have not seen anything of that story of Father Pronto that your Lordship mentions so it cannot be very public but if I do meet with it I will not fail to give it every contradiction, the Hierarchy Row is much less & I hope my address will still further diminish it. we have no ministry at present the bill has upset Lord John. It was very ?unkind, the government should not have taken any notice of the Hierarchy. I am surprised to hear that your Lordship & Lady Fielding are enjoying yourselves so much. I should require a more *pointed* atmosphere to make me happy & contented I never feel truly comfortable till I get north of the alps & see the gables & spires rising. Lord Shrewsbury is

enjoying himself at Palermo & quite well I had a letter last week I am full of business for the House of Commons, the Exhibition where we shall have a glorious *medieval* show & various other works I am also building the tower of my church to the disgust of the hereticks ever with great respect your Lordships servant +A Welby Pugin

2: Lord Feilding to Pugin

Isle of Ischia Naples August 9th, 1851

Dear Mr Pugin

Not having heard from you again respecting the progress of the fittings of S David's I sit down to write you a few lines of enquiry as by this time you must be in a position to tell exactly what the cost of the fittings furniture etc of the Church will cost. I understand that the high altar, crucifix & candlesticks were in the Exhibition and were much admired I hear that the Sacristies are completed but a friend of mine who has seen them tells me that their effect is not altogether so good as he could wish & that they rather spoil the effect of the church. As however they were an afterthought we must be prepared for that. The roof is now apparently ready for staining or colouring as Mr Wyatt tells me in a letter and I suppose the first will be preferable for the present. I wish you would be good enough to communicate with him about the whole matter as his contract is I know nearly finished and I should like to have a schedule of all expenses past & future (including his contract) sent me together with the amount per cento of monies owed by me already towards said expenses. By [overleaf] this means I shall be able to make arrangements for the liquidation of the expenses as they arise. It appears that Mr Lusson has already made designs for the chancel windows and they are in Mr Wyatt's possession. Will you look at them and if they are good see about the execution of them. I shall not do more than have the chancel and rose window filled with stained glass for the present. The presbytery it appears is about finished. It would be well to have a coach house capable of containing 3 or 4 carriages and room for horses say 1 two stall & 1 4 stall stable built as there is no accommodation at present handy for putting up my carriages & those of any friends who may go to service. I still entertain the hope of getting the reformed Benedictines to undertake a mission & would be glad to know what accommodation the present building would give them. Will you report on this to me. The Bishop of Southwark will very likely bring St Primitivus body over with him so that you will be able to fit a sarcophagus to him. I have already bought some nice pieces of brocade which will suffice for 3 chasubles

[new page] Stoles & maniples besides the 3 copes purple, white & red which I purchased at a ?? in Rome I am now purchasing lace for the trimmings of altar linen & albs wherever I find it. I have got a very fine relic of the Holy Cross about this size [drawing] enclosed in a crystal cross about 3 in long. This will require a handsome monstrance something I suppose like Mr Haigh's near Birmingham. Will you be kind enough to tell me whether you know a Mr Merewether, eldest son of the late Dean of Hereford & what sort of person he is. He wrote to me from Florence about 6 weeks ago saying that he was anxious to get to Rome in to be ... [paper rubbed] instructed in the Catholic faith previous to joining the Church & required a loan of £25 to pay the amount of his expenses this as his mother hearing of his intention had stopped his supplies. I immediately wrote to him sending him £30 which I hear he has recd but I have never received any answer or other acknowledgement & from what I hear he has returned homewards I never heard of or set eyes on him afterwards I am rather fearful I may have been deceived in my ?confidence Altho' he referred to Ld Shrewsbury yourself & others he stated himself to be an intimate friend of yours I see the Ecc Titles Bill has been passed by the Lords in all its absurdity. I am sure they will soon have to repeal it, [overleaf] or otherwise put an end to the nuisance I shd be so glad if you could send me in tracing paper a ground plan and perspective view of the elevation of St Davids as so many people ask for an idea of it. Perhaps Mr Wyatt could do the the building The interior fittings will however be your work. We talk of staying here till the end of Sept or thereabouts when we go to pay the Shrewsburys a visit at Palermo after which we hope to go to Florence & Venice to Rome for the winter. Pray send me all the news you can write down as I am anxious about St Davids! Believe me yours very truly Feilding

Pray do not mention to any one what I have said about Mr Merewether

3: Pugin to Lord Feilding

St Augustines August 28th [1851]¹

My dear Lord Fielding

Your Lordships letter reached me on my road to Pantasaph & I therefore deferred replying till my return. In the first place allow me to express my extreme annoyance and distress at your Lordship being victimised by that Mr Merewether and especially by his wanting to make you believe that I was a great friend of his when in truth I only have seen him *twice in my life* though I am willing to acknowledge that he certainly contrived to give me a very favourable opinion of himself & I thought him likely to become a Catholic & was induced to write to Lord Shrewsbury to use his influence in getting him a situation in

some diplomatic office on the continent. The Earl made some enquiries & soon found that he was in no way to be trusted, but as his Lordship wrote in his letter, was little better than an adventurer. Hearing no more about him I thought he might have departed for the new world, when the account of his new delinquency has reached me in your Lordships communication & I must make some means to prevent his imposing on catholics by using my name in so unwarrantable a manner so far from any friendly intercourse he called *once* at Ramsgate during his fathers life to see my church which I permitted and after his Fathers death indeed in the present year he wrote & begged for an interview & that is end of our friendship he is a most plausible & talented man & he took me in respecting his religious views which I thought sincere (so much for that rogue) & we will proceed to a more interesting & agreeable subject the church. Before leaving England I supplied your Lordship with a list of the necessary fittings and an estimate of the cost of the same exclusive of carriage & fixing & I shall work out to this most exactly everything is nearly done the altar, the image of the Blessed Virgin & the niche for the same are all in the Mediaeval Court in the exhibition & appear to give general satisfaction they are indeed the finest works we have produced in stone carving the font & pulpit & screen etc are all in a forward state & the tiles will arrive for the chancel & chapels during the early part of September. I have 3 carvers working on the ornamentation of the labels corbels crosses etc etc & in a few weeks they will have [overleaf] completed their work. As for the sacristies producing an unsatisfactory effect I think they look *exceedingly well* and they are indispensable for the working of the church. that they are an afterthought is of no consequence as, if I had designed the church in the beginning I should have placed them very near the same place they now occupy. I think them very picturesque & they give extent to the building the greater part of people have very bad taste about these things they think everything should be uniform & if a building projects *only on the side on which it is wanted* they call it an excrescence –I will mention what your Lordship says to mr Wyatt concerning the schedule of expenses but I have nothing to do with this –my fittings are all estimated & the amount in your Lordships possession –the cost of their carriage and fixing & the mens time in carving can only be ascertained when all is up in its place –but this is not anything very considerable. I will take an opportunity of seeing Mr Lussons designs for the windows when I go to London. I suppose all the other windows will be glazed with plain quarries & there should be bars to all the windows to prevent the entrance of thieves this is very important the altar is constructed with pillars to receive a shrine under it; your lordship calls it a sarcophagus!!! A dreadful pagan name & shows the danger of living amongst so much Paganism. I will take care a most proper shrine shall be prepared to fit the altar & to receive the holy relicks I am very sorry to find your Lordship is dealing in lace for albes & sacred vestments. Such lace is of no antiquity in the church, at most 150 years nothing can be so beautiful as the pure long white garments or albes that were universal & covered by gold & silk apparels on the front & back & sleeves as may be see in all antient monuments of ecclesiasticks *even in Rome itself* when they were universal. Lace is really only fit for the ornamentation of female apparel & it is quite painful to see ecclesiasticks in robes of this kind which savour more of the ball room than the chancel or choir [new page] God forbid that such things should disgrace the chancel of so noble a church as that your Lordship will have raised, the new Bishop Dr Brown is one of my oldest friends and was my great cooperative in driving out all these ??? trappings from the vestments of Gods priests when we were both at College he is one who will take the greatest delight at seeing everything about the sanctuary carried out in a true way & in accordance with the sanctity and the solemnity that should distinguish the divine offices everything is debased in modern Italy & nothing can be purchased there except the *old things* which will not be so many blots in the picture I implore of your Lordship to let us keep all in unison & show the people the *antient faith* in its *antient form* mind, I am not recommending extravagant outlay, or extraordinary magnificence, it would be out of place, but all I ask that all the furniture & ornaments may be of a true character & in unison with the building. I perfectly understand your Lordships intentions about the relick of the holy cross for I which I could easily prepare a suitable reliquary. I will procure the tracings mentioned in your letter & will forward them in my next letter and with it a list of candlesticks, altar, furniture etc, that will be required for furnishing the church ready for divine service & the estimate of the same. The candlesticks that are on the altar at the Exhibition are not intended for St Davids they are much too large & elaborate the furniture of a church like your Lordships must be of a good working ecclesiastical character of a fine form, & design but not too rich or difficult to clean, nor made of such materials as would attract Plunderers. I purpose making an alteration that will be a great improvement that is setting the altar of the B virgin under the tower which is beautifully groined & there will still be plenty of room for the organ without interfering with it in the least, it will look twice as well seen through arch into the tower, as regards the house it is not well calculated for an order indeed I believe the architect had not the remotest idea that his Parsonage not badly adapted to an incumbent & his wife would be ever wanted for any other purposes but as it [overleaf] stands I do not see how a community of many more than 2 or 3 could work in it besides they are certain to require alteration in some parts 2 priests could live very well indeed but a community would be continually hampered in carrying out the rules. I should think however that 2 might do ?together but it would take

more than one to work such a mission as regards the stables surely it would be better to keep them further from the house as they are not a very pleasing neighbourhood & then the good religious can keep their conveyance in one part of it –this is a great & important consideration as I think if so large a stable yard was made in the immediate vicinity of the ecclesiastical Residence the people might think it belonged to the clergy and thus it would be a source of misconception and scandal I will in the course of a short time submit a plan for this by a tracing in a letter, but I want first to consult Mr Wyatt about the drawing & the way we shall get rid of the superfluous water from the hill In as short a time as possible I will forward your Lordship all the tracings & information you require, & with great respect I beg to remain your Lordships most devoted servant A Welby Pugin I presume in writing to your Lordship I must continue to direct to the care of Turner et Compagnie Naples? If I had an address I would have written before as regards that detestable & tyrannical Bill if the Catholic body abstains from violent abuse and unite in a *firm and dignified resistance* I believe we shall eventually triumph. there is a good deal of fine spirit about and I think increased zeal for I have a great amount of ecclesiastical Business Deo Gratias.

4: Pugin to Lord Feilding

St Augustines

Saturday October 18th

To Monseigneur Le Comte de Fielding, soins de Messrs Turner et Compagnie. Banquiers à Naples

My dear Lord Feilding

I fear you will have thought me neglectful in not sending sooner but between a very severe attack of nervous fever and a constant run of business I have scarcely had a moment I could all my own. This Exhibition has taken a great deal of my time in addition to being a fine art jury man the royal Commissioners appointed me one of 4 commissioners having power to *select & purchase* all we considered in the exhibition that was likely to improve the arts & manufactures of the country. This was considered a great honour & mark of confidence so I could not refuse to act & I believe I have succeeded in advancing a great return to the fine old medieval principles & true taste my colleagues actually purchased the chalices that Hardman had made he is rewarded with one of the 4 great *gold* medals, Myers Minton Crace all had medals, and I have quite succeeded in keeping out modern Paganism at the same time encouraging all who have returned to a fine period of art Minton has 2 medals for his tiles which are my designs and the tiles were purchased by the Government. The antient oriental works in silk and indeed the modern ones are beyond all praise the enamels & silver & gold work exactly the medieval work because [lacuna] nation worked on the true principles I believe the collection will tend greatly to influence our stuffs and especially for church vestments as the richest fabricks fold like cambric the altars that were in the mediaeval court are sent off to Pantasaph & will be fixed immediately the carvers have very nearly completed cutting all the block work the tiles are on the ground & we shall shortly make a great show & get pretty square by the time your Lordship returns I tried the tracing paper view of the interior but it looked beastly so I thought your Lordship would prefer a sketch by my own hand in which while although slight expresses the character of what has been done & has a catholic appearance –I believe the interior of the church will have a very striking character & look like the old work but the chancel ceiling really wants decorating with stencils which could not be expensive & add greatly to its appearance from all parts of the church. The Lady chapel will be very devotional – all I fear at present is the glass –Lusson has no idea of Date his design was a comparatively late style quite different from that of the church but I sent him a sketch of the sort of treatment I would recommend which I trust he will adopt [overleaf] in his designs the windows are so narrow they require a very simple design or they would appear crowded. Mr Wyatt quite agrees with me in this. I lent him Milners end of controversy but I am not certain of the effect but it must have done him some good I direct this letter to Naples according to your Lordships instructions but I think you must be at Rome ever with great respect your obedient servant +AWPugin

I am grateful to the owners of the letters for permission to publish them.

1 The entry for that day in Pugin's diary, reproduced in Wedgwood 1985 on pp 32–100, reads 'London with Mr Barry', further evidence that the diary was used to note future appointments, which were sometimes altered, as much as forming a record of past events.

E.W. Pugin's junior seminary at Ushaw (1857–9) and H.W. Brewer's birdseye view (1858)

by Roderick O'Donnell

19 July 2008 marks the bicentenary opening of St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, the Roman Catholic seminary dedicated to the great Anglo-Saxon monk and bishop who is still buried at Durham cathedral. It was marked by an exhibition (which closed on 13 July) as well as by liturgical and social events.¹ The magnificent fellside site at Ushaw, four miles west of Durham, was the second site settled by northern staff and students of the English College at Douai, founded to train secular priests for the English mission in 1568. The college had had to flee from the French revolutionaries who closed it and imprisoned some of them in 1793–5. The southerners went to St Edmund's College at Old Hall Green near Ware in Hertfordshire. At Ushaw a quadrangle was built (1804–8; the fourth side 1812–7) to the design of the London Catholic builder-architect Charles Taylor. A.W.N. Pugin was on the scene by 1840, building the chapel, and still working here right up to his death in 1852 – in contrast to his earlier involvement at Oscott which had petered out by 1844.² The key reformer and Gothic Revival enthusiast at Ushaw was Mgr Charles Newsham (the fifth president, 1837–63) who was also the prime mover behind the decision to build a separate junior seminary for younger boys, both church and lay students.³ This went out to a competition limited to the three Catholic architects: George Goldie; the Hansom brothers; and the 21-year-old E.W. Pugin. The last of the three was the winner. Goldie was an old boy of the school, and Charles and Joseph Aloysius Hansom had been busy there in the 1840s and 1850s. E.W. Pugin was naturally delighted with his win, confiding to his diary 'Pray God this will give me much more standing in England' – that is to say, as his father's son – but he had so overstretched himself that he suffered one of the nervous collapses which suggested that he was likely to repeat much of his father's pattern, as his diary shows.⁴ The elaborate specification for the junior college survives at Ushaw, along with drawings labelled 'St Aloysius School', and Pugin's work there secured for him the papal St Sylvester Order (so prominent in his portrait by W.B.M. Measor), given to him by the college's most famous old boy, Cardinal Wiseman, as part of the 1858 sesquicentennial celebrations.⁵

An elaborate birdseye view by H.W. Brewer, signed and dated 1858 [figure 22] is here published for the first time. The view is taken from the south-west, showing the layout of both colleges but giving special emphasis to the junior seminary which lies at the far south-west (at the left-hand-side of the perspective) and to other works by E.W. Pugin such as the infirmary (1854), the museum corridor (1856–8), and the three-storey tower-like procurator's office at the centre. The perspective also de-

1 A handlist of exhibits by Rev Dr Michael Sharratt and Peter Seed is available.

2 See O'Donnell 1994a.

3 Milburn 1964, pp 224–5.

4 EW Pugin's diary 14 March 1856, cited *passim* in O'Donnell 1994b.

5 *Builder*, 11.09.1858, p 627.

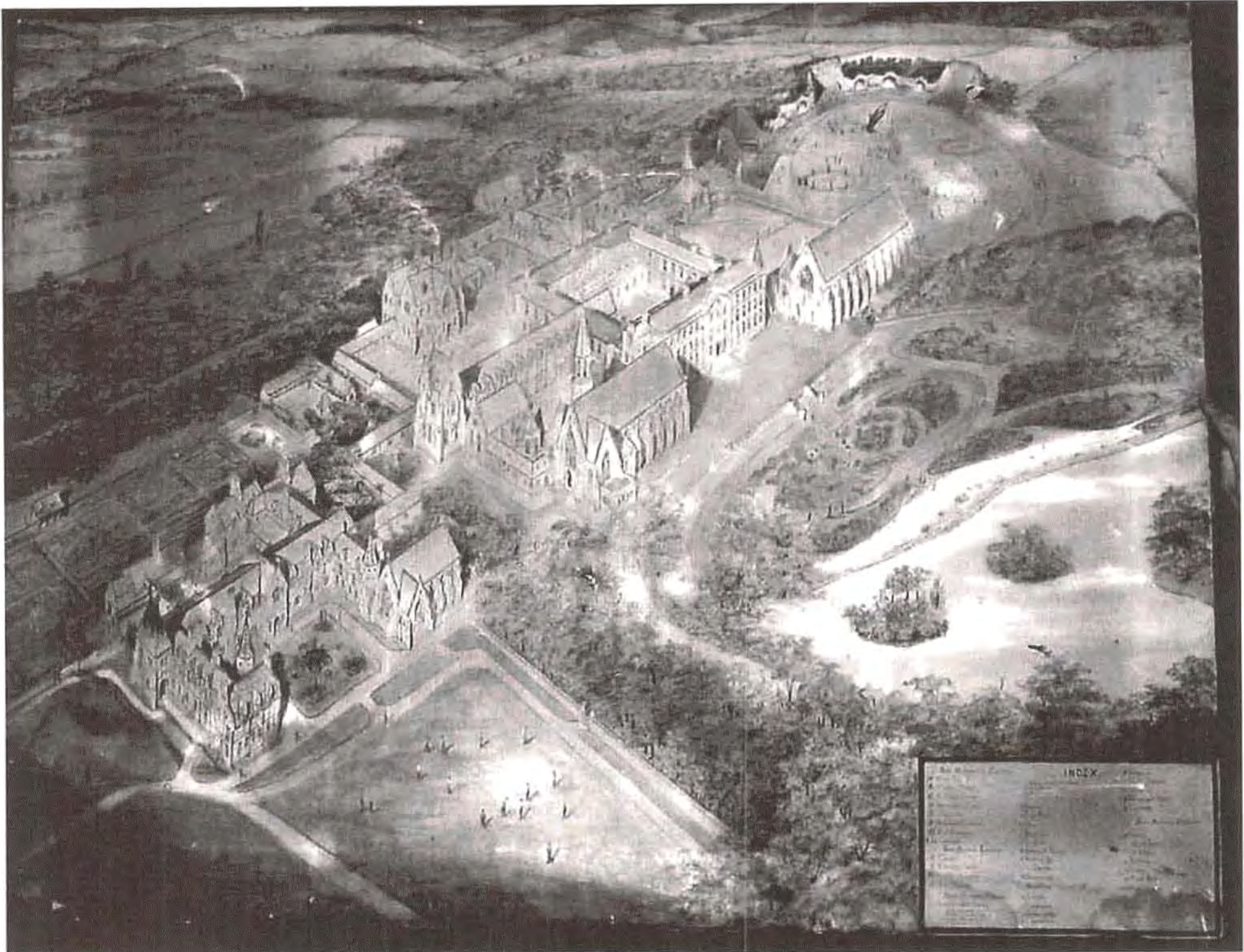


Figure 22: Bird's-eye view by HW Brewer, signed and dated 1858

By kind permission of The Trustees of Ushaw College. Photographed in September 2007 by Grace McCombie.

emphasises Taylor's classical quadrangle, although the Hansom brothers' library (1849–51) to the extreme right is prominent. Junior seminary boys are seen playing outside their college (bottom centre), while their more athletically inclined elders are seen in the J.A. Hansom bounds walls rackets and ball-courts (1850–2) to the top right, around a fluttering red ensign. In bottom right-hand corner is a key. The watercolour, in the library at Ushaw, has oxidised badly to an overall brown and is in need of restoration.

Henry William Brewer (1836–1903) does not qualify for the *Oxford dictionary of national biography*. He was a noted architectural draughtsman who prepared presentations for practising architects such as G.F. Bodley, exhibiting at the Royal Academy from 1858 to 1893. His elaborate historical reconstructions of London scenes for the *Builder* were published in 1921 as *Old London illustrated, a series of drawings of the late HW Brewer*.⁶ His pen and ink drawing of the *Palace of Westminster at the time of Henry VIII*, signed and dated 1884, hangs in a corridor in the Houses of Parliament.⁷ It is centred on St Stephen's chapel and shows Westminster Palace and the abbey-church and monastery in their pre-dissolution form. It also shows him to be perspectivist and archaeologist of no mean standing, and, as one might expect, a romantic Catholic

6 Brewer & Cox 1921.

7 Palace of Westminster, WOA 82; *Builder* 15.11.1884; Brewer & Cox 1921, pl 10, pp 47–8.

8 Gorman 1910, p 33.



Figure 23: The junior college from the south-west
Reproduced from Laing 1895.

magazine include further mediaeval reconstructions as well as contemporary views of Dublin, Rome ('Rome in 1890'), and Portsmouth Harbour (1898) in the glory days of the Royal Navy.

Brewer's birdseye view also gives unique evidence about the development of A.W.N. Pugin's chapel (1844–8). To the

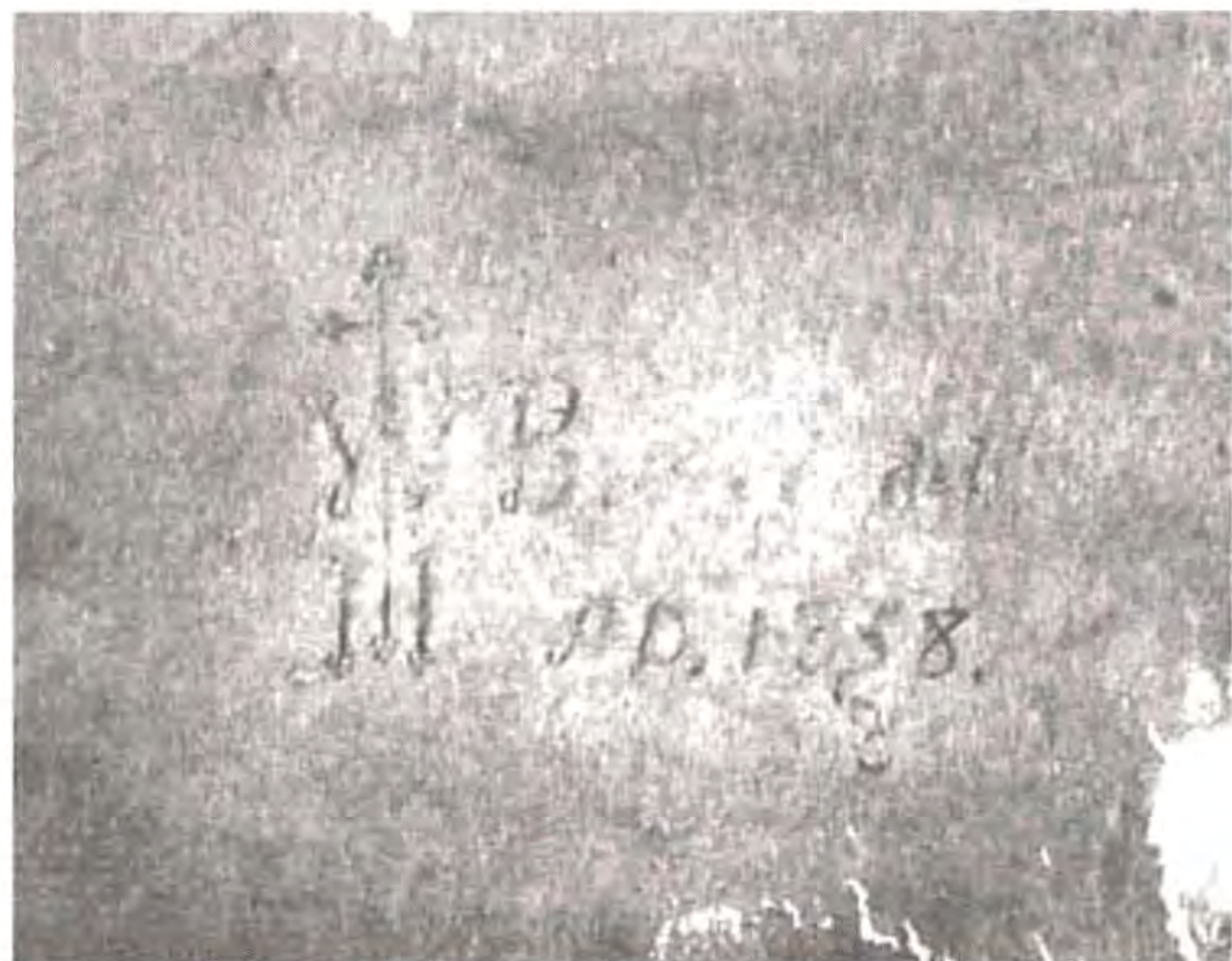


Figure 25: HW Brewer's Puginesque monogram: a detail from the birdseye view
By kind permission of The Trustees of Ushaw College.
Photographed in September 2007 by Grace McCombie.

chapel or chantry for Newsham, placed as an extension to the ante-chapel narthex. Stylistically it suggests a later development to the 'decorated'-style church, and is elaborately windowed and flat-roofed in lead. Peter Seed suggests that it had been built to eaves height when the decision was taken to reerect it as an addition to the Stations cloister, where it was known as the St Charles (Borromeo) chapel. This ex-

convert.⁸ And here we see him as a young man, one of the many to pass through E.W. Pugin's office: the form of the monogram HWB under a drawn-out cross is very close to a signature then affected at this point by E.W. Pugin who trusted him to draw up his then most prestigious commission [figure 25]. Brewer's later views in the *Graphic*



Figure 24: The chapel of the junior college
Reproduced from Laing 1895.

left of the chapel is the 'Stations of the Cross' cloister (1852–3), leading to the gable-end on St Joseph's or servants' chapel (1851–2, altar and reredos by E.W.P. 1853–4); behind this cloister is the conical roofed Oratory of the Holy Family or relics chapel, a development of E.W. Pugin 'Five Wounds' drawings of 1856 and a descendant of a gable-ended chapel which A.W.N. Pugin drew out in 1851.⁹ But to the right of the big chapel's south transept is an unexpected extension which does not appear in photographs of A.W.N. Pugin's chapel.¹⁰ This is evidently E.W. Pugin's intended

9 Catalogue no 82 (by R O'Donnell) in Atterbury 1995, pp 320–1.

10 O'Donnell 1994a, plate 148.



Figure 26: The Martyr's Triptych, Ushaw College, by Geoffrey Webb (1928). The triptych depicts Douai and some of the Douai martyrs on the right in front of the English College; Fisher and More are in the centre and the northern martyrs on the left
By kind permission of The Trustees of Ushaw College.

plains the existence of three sets of E.W.P. chapel drawings: 'St Aloysius', c1855, at the RIBA;¹¹ and another 'St Aloysius' of 1856 and a 'St Charles' of 1858, both at Ushaw, for what was evidently the same site.¹² All three are closely related to the Knill chantry he had designed for Southwark cathedral in 1856.

Newsham's dedication to St Aloysius Gonzaga as the patron of pious youth was instead to be seen in the title of the junior seminary as 'St Aloysius School'. It was built 1857–9 by the Pugins' much favoured Liverpool builder Haigh & Co.¹³ More illustrations of it are to be found in the magnificent 1894 centenary memorial volume, which has its plan and exterior [figure 23] as well as interior views including the chapel [figure 24]. It also uses a birdseye, evidently based on Brewer, to show the then state of the college with the Dunn and Hansom chapel (1882–4). The junior seminary closed in 1973. The 1994 bicentenary was marked by a valedictory number of the Ushaw magazine (1891–1994) but that of 2008 with *Ushaw College 1808–2008: a celebration*, published by the St Cuthbert's Society.¹⁴

The Editor wishes to thank Mr Peter Seed, director of estates and facilities at Ushaw College, for his generous assistance whilst this article was in preparation.

11 Wedgwood 1977 p 116, [14] and fig 119. All other EW Pugin drawings cited here are in the uncatalogued collection of architectural drawings, Ushaw College.

12 *Tablet* 1859 pp 677–8; *Builder* 1859 pp 152–3.

13 *Builder* 1856, p 209; 1859 p 670; *Tablet* 1859 p 630; Milburn 1964, p 226. For further reference to Haigh & Co see Sharples 2004.

14 W. Campbell 2008.

Cuypers: the middle ages in the nineteenth century

by Ida Jager

P.J.H. Cuypers (1827–1921). Het complete werk/The complete works. Edited by Hetty Berens. Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 2007. In Dutch: ISBN 9789056625733; in English: ISBN 9789056625740. RRP € 59.50

Pierre Cuypers architect (1827–1921). By A.J.C. van Leeuwen. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2007. In Dutch: ISBN 9789040084010. RRP € 39.95

Pierre Cuypers 1827–1921. Schoonheid als hartstocht. By Ileen Montijn. Roermond: Stedelijk Museum Roermond, 2007. In Dutch: ISBN 9789066116368. RRP € 17.95

In 2007 Pierre (Petrus Josephus Hubertus) Cuypers saw his reputation restored in his own country as one of the most independent-minded of nineteenth-century artists, and one who felt most at ease in the Gothic world he had created around him. Cuypers lived so long (from 1827 to 1921) that it's often been tempting to depict his career against the backdrop of all the epoch-making events set off by the nineteenth century. Deeply disturbing times indeed they were. In hindsight, the changes men faced look more fundamental than those we now face. It might be said that Holland leapt from nothing to much, whereas people today go from more to yet more.

The country that Cuypers left behind was completely different from the one in which he was born. As a south Netherlander – he belonged to a family of artists and craftsmen from Roermond in the province of Limburg, and lived there all his life – he was very aware that he had been able to escape the limitations of the carriage and could run off by train for a day trip to the north of the country to inspect one of the many churches he was building for the Roman Catholic community. For Cuypers and his contemporaries that marked a dramatic change, comparable perhaps only with what is happening in rural China today. Notes of daily routine from his early days like 'Il faut absolument prendre 2 chevaux, mais recommander à Jacob qu'il prend des bons coussins' suddenly belonged to the remote past.

To quote his own words, Cuypers felt himself to be part of 'the grand contemporary scene'. Globalisation took place under his nose; following the opening of the Suez and Panama canals, it became much cheaper to transport goods from one side of the world to the other. Cuypers jumped on that bandwagon himself. On the countless journeys he undertook until shortly before his death, he had no compunction about buying objects of all sorts – prayer stools, triptychs, panels of leaded glass, reliquaries, carpets, chandeliers and religious pictures – and carting them from one end of Europe to the other [see figure 28]. Some served for inspiration, so were destined for his atelier at Roermond; others went straight to churches then erecting, or found a place in the houses built by Cuypers round the Vondelpark in Amsterdam, where he and his family also had a home.

Because of that cosmopolitan side to his career, historians of architecture who have got their teeth into Cuypers always quote the profile that Hendrik Wijdeveld wrote



Figure 27: Roman Catholic Church of St Dominic, Amsterdam (1882-93), by PJH Cuypers
 From PJH Cuypers (1827-1921). *The complete works*.

about his master in 1917: 'Almost a century ago he crossed the hills of south Limburg as a lad, in the days when the carriage and the canal boat were the only means of transport. He watched Holland's first trains and witnessed the miraculous birth of electricity. He saw Napoleon III at the height of his power and spoke with the French Empress, heard the lamentations of France after her defeat and was there when the French republic awoke from its slumber. He experienced the unification of the



Figure 28: Cuyper in Taormina in Sicily, probably by the entrance to the Greek Theatre or the Hotel Timeo, 1907

From P.J.H. Cuyper (1827–1921). The complete works.

German principalities and the ominous growth of the German empire. He survived Tolstoy and observed the awesome rise of the socialist movement from its birth to the collapse of the International. Yet in the face of these earth-shattering hammer-blows aimed at the traditional patterns of society, he remained unmoved and stood

unflinching ... He accepted the ideals of his nation and of his youth ... and accomplished all that a man can accomplish.'

Cuypers' own language was less high-flown. In one of thousands of letters to his wife, to friends and to colleagues he remarked that along with the passing of the nineteenth century he had witnessed the collapse also of several republics, two kingdoms and a whole host of solid, dubious and illustrious reputations. All gone up in smoke, he said. The same fate partly befell him – for a time. Younger architects like Hendrik Petrus Berlage and K.P.C. De Bazel had paid him reverence and addressed him as 'Master', but soon after he died all that started to fall away. Dutch architecture acquired a fresh creed that went by the brisk name of 'Het Nieuwe Bouwen', the home-grown version of the international functionalist movement. New stars arose in the architectural firmament: Oud, Dudok, Duiker, Rietveld, Van der Leek, the partners Brinkman and Van der Vlugt, to mention just a few of the influential figures of the day. After that, Cuypers got turned into the patriarch of twentieth-century construction because of his rationalised approach to building founded upon mediaeval Gothic, while his 'rationalist successor' Berlage was invested with the title 'father of modern architecture'. Thanks to Cuypers, remarked Berlage, architecture had progressed further in Holland than in neighbouring countries. Everyone concurred, and so the Dutch architectural landscape was neatly sewn up.

That formula was served up to every student of architectural history. If you asked why a pious architect-developer like Cuypers should be of national significance, the response came pat that his Gothic design principles were adopted almost seamlessly in the major works of the Dutch modernists: like Cuypers, they too always held 'truth and purpose' in high regard. For years his rationalism remained official architectural doctrine in the Low Countries. Yet meanwhile the latter half of the twentieth century neglected his vast oeuvre – encompassing almost 80 churches, large-scale projects in Amsterdam like the Rijksmuseum and the Central Station, various smaller official buildings and several dozen private houses, specially along Amsterdam's Vondelstraat. The effect of this was sometimes peculiar. While architects were making exhaustive efforts to preserve crumbling buildings like Duiker's Zonnestraal Sanatorium at Hilversum, Cuypers' own output frequently faced the ball and chain. The churches were especially vulnerable. Among his works demolished were the Maria Magdalenakerk, Amsterdam; the Dominicus Kerk, Alkmaar; and the Eindhoven synagogue.

In the 1970s historians who were later to play a leading role in the Cuypers Genootschap, set up to defend the nineteenth-century heritage, could sit in the Amsterdam University Library reading room and watch his St Willibrordus-buitende-Veste by the Amstel being destroyed before their very eyes [see figure 1]. Nobody seemed to feel much bothered about it, let alone that a significant work of architecture had vanished from the map of Amsterdam. Yet all the while Cuypers was acknowledged to be the most important of the Gothic Revivalists, and one whose church towers had set their stamp on the Dutch landscape.

The reason why there are a handful of his churches in every province is bound up with the way in which church-building developed in Holland's Roman Catholic



Figure 29: View of the dining room at Castle De Haar, looking towards the fireplace, as photographed for the 1910 album *Château de Haar*, plate 31

From P.J.H. Cuypers (1827-1921). *The complete works*.

community. Under French influence a new form of government, the Batavian Republic, was introduced in 1795. At that point the privileged position of the Calvinists came to an end and the Catholic Church was ranked alongside the Dutch Reformed Church, hitherto the only one to receive state support. There followed a new constitution in 1798, whereby the Catholics acquired equal rights. No longer did their churches have to be either *schuilkerken* – hidden behind a plain front in the towns – or *schuurkerken* – barns in the countryside. The constitutional law of 1848 unleashed a fresh wave of activity. The Catholic Church was now recognised in its entirety, allowing the pope to name bishops who in their turn could appoint priests. And almost every priest wanted a biggish church with an imposing tower and a Catholic place of burial. So at the start of his architectural career around 1850, Cuypers found his bed made for him as a designer of Catholic churches. During the second half of the century some 500 places of worship came into existence, and of these Cuypers accounted for about a sixth.

How he managed to come by all these neo-Gothic commissions behind the scenes is a question the experts have recently been addressing. At the same time a big push has taken place towards what may very well be termed a root-and-branch reassessment of Cuypers. The deadline was 2007, uncontestably the Cuypers year. From the north of the country down to his native Limburg, this joint celebration and rehabilitation of Cuypers couldn't be missed. Even if you weren't on the look-out for it, it was dinned into you from hundreds of billboards up and down the country,

along main roads and on railway platforms. Cuypers stood for '*architectuur met een missie*' – 'architecture with a mission': that was the strapline and the message.

Two major exhibitions, at the Netherlands Architectural Institute in Rotterdam and its local dependency in Maastricht, were connected to this 'resurrection'. A third show took place at the Stedelijk Museum in Roermond, while three major publications appeared; a fourth, Aart Oxenaar's dissertation 'P.J.H. Cuypers and the origins of Gothic rationalism 1845–1875', repeatedly announced, will probably have been published by the time this review appears. Why was 2007 chosen as the commemorative year, when it was the centenary neither of his birth nor of his death? The answer is simple. Venerating Cuypers was linked to finishing work on his huge archive. Packed with designs, sketches, travel drawings and correspondence, this archive had previously been scattered in different locations over Holland; now, after seven years' hard labour, it was completely catalogued. Its 550 metres make it the biggest in the Netherlands. The dossier of drawings for restoring the mediaeval castle of De Haar [figure 29], 6,000 in all, is larger by itself than the whole Berlage archive.

Size apart, the archive is exceptionally broad in character. Even during his life, people realised that Cuypers was more than just a Gothic Revivalist. So varied did the scope of his architectural practice become, extending from new buildings to restorations, from town planning to craftsmanship, and from interior decoration to landscape design, that he acquired the title of a 'renaissance man'. The office lasted for over 70 years, and in its later phases his son Jos Cuypers played a leading role alongside his father as an architect and civil engineer. Altogether 457 projects passed through its hands. Church-building and restoration were however the main specialism, running to 75 design-schemes and about 200 reports, many written as official advice for the Commission on Historical and Artistic Monuments.

One particularly helpful service the cataloguing process has performed has been to shed a subtler light on the nature of the nineteenth-century architect's calling. Every aspect of his activity became professionalised; he made the designs and held a watching brief over their execution, yet he hardly ever visited the building himself. Designs were regarded chiefly as the outcome of a purely intellectual effort, whereas earlier architects behaved more like craftsmen and were less inclined to indulge in theoretical ideas about construction. A major office like Cuypers' included a host of assistants known as '*practici*', extending from drawing staff to craftsmen and surveyors.

Cuypers is now justly recognised as the art-architect he was. But the dismantling of the exhibitions in February 2008 does not mean he has just faded back into the shadows. His renewed lustre will glow brighter now and then in the next few years, for the simple reason that the Rijksmuseum, currently under restoration to its former glory at the cost of more than €250 million, is expected to reopen in 2013, while the alterations to Amsterdam's Central Station and Castle De Haar will also soon be completed.

How can one explain the fact that Cuypers used to be 'out' but is now 'in'? Until now it's been put down to the lack of an overview of his work. But it's more plausible to look for the answer in the tangle of ideas about taste and fashion. It was long the

prevailing belief in the Netherlands that everything produced in the nineteenth century was ugly, to put it bluntly. Steeped in modernity, the country was unique in Europe for its abhorrence of the century's armoury of historicising styles. Architecture based on the past was totally ostracised. The nineteenth century was regarded as a dark and dreadful period in which clients and builders alike were devoid of style. Building catalogues stuffed with terracotta and cast-iron components found a ready market, while builders hardly cared whether a block was topped off with a neoclassical pediment or embellished in the chalet style. Contractors with names like Wiegand, Lesmeister, Kloots and Scheelbeek were responsible for most of the suburban expansion of nineteenth-century Amsterdam. No one has heard of them today, nor do they so much as feature in official histories of architecture. In terms of the national picture they seemed to be marginal figures who hadn't a clue about art-architecture. By contrast, the likes of Cuypers were entirely marginal to the world of practical building. But even that didn't save them from savage criticism; several of Cuypers' own projects were denounced as 'stale sham-Gothic'.

Bearing all that in mind, it is hardly surprising that so much nineteenth-century architecture has been lost in inner-city areas. For many years after the Second World War such buildings were pulled down without any debate. Cuypers' richly bedizened works, it's already been said, were not exempted from that lust for destruction. Until recently public opinion carried on along much the same lines. Just a few years ago, in 1995, a lavishly designed exhibition held in Cuypers' very own Rijksmuseum examined the interior decoration of his period. Revealingly, it was called *De lelijke tijd* – the era of ugliness.

Historians and architects in the second half of the twentieth century were firmly convinced that Rietveld, Mondriaan and Duiker were Holland's best exports. Figures like Cuypers and those who followed in his wake like Berlage, De Bazel, J.L.M. Lauweriks and Willem Kromhout tended to puzzle people abroad. Yet in his lifetime Cuypers ranked among the leaders of the European Gothic Revival. That movement had a strong international flavour, as the involvement of A.W.N. Pugin and George Gilbert Scott (British), Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (French), Jean-Baptiste de Béthune (Belgian) and Friedrich Von Schmidt (German born, in Austria) attests.

In those days there was no question about Cuypers' reputation. He was a familiar presence at the regular international congresses of architects, and represented various foreign architectural societies as their corresponding member. Seldom did his completed buildings fail to find notice in the fashionable architecture magazines. He acquired honorary doctorates at home, and received the distinction of an honorary fellowship of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1897, when an exhibition of his work was also shown. He was then 70 years old, and marked the occasion with a little pamphlet about the importance of England to his career. While giving due weight and paying tribute to its churches and many new museums, he also suggested that his success as an architect was in large measure due to the English revivalists who had come together in the Ecclesiological Society. And he pointed to their help in learning the lessons from the works of 'the great mediaeval architects'.

Like his European colleagues, Cuypers believed fervently in the significance of the arts for society, and in the synthesis of architecture, craft, sculpture and

decorative painting. Like them too, he idealised the mediaeval Gothic world. His whole pattern of thinking was coloured by the Catholic revival: one God, one faith, and one transcendent community. Cuypers' training at Antwerp's Academy of Fine Arts had largely been in the classical tradition. Yet ultimately he found in Gothic the one historical building style with a claim to moral superiority. To put it in the terms of the long-prevalent theoretical orthodoxy, Gothic architecture was stripped of all superfluity. Its forms grew in one way or another out of its structure, while its ornament was precisely positioned so as to emphasise construction, rather than added arbitrarily.

Like Pugin however, Cuypers was not so rigid about rationalistic doctrine as to deny himself some latitude. When he had the chance and the budget allowed, he enriched his multi-coloured brick buildings from top to toe with intricately composed and coordinated ornament for mere decorative effect. And when a priest at Oudenbosch in Brabant came and asked him to design a small-scale copy of St Peter's, Rome for his congregation, he objected at first but ended up giving in. He accepted a payment towards a study-trip to Rome, and went on to build the little Ss Agatha and Barbara, whose outline still gives a touch of distinctiveness today to the town of Oudenbosch.

That trip was not in any way exceptional. Alongside building, travel was a leitmotiv in Cuypers' professional life. He explained why in a simple French phrase (he spoke the language as fluently as his native Dutch): 'le voyage pour connaître ma source'. How seriously that was meant may be judged from the motto he had chiselled on his first home: 'Study what is old, so that you may find the strength and the support to make what is new.' Unlike George Edmund Street, another of the best-travelled architects of the period, he did not arrange the notes he jotted down on his journeys systematically, nor did he think of publishing them as an eye-opener for his contemporaries. Yet Cuypers endlessly kept turning up somewhere or other in Europe, like a rover. To get a sense of his movements today, all one can do is to rummage through his many hundred notebooks, diaries and letters. They demonstrate that Cuypers was to be found wherever the seeds of Gothic had been most deeply sown. Usually he was alone with his pencil: 'Le premier outil à mettre entre les mains d'un enfant ... pour apprendre et observer ... un dessin c'est la traduction graphique d'une observation qui est un acte de jugement. Observer sans cesse c'est fortifier son jugement.'

This child of his time might have been the model for Viollet-le-Duc's last book, *Histoire d'un dessinateur: comment on apprend à dessiner*. Decade after decade he came home bearing sketches. Some of them were scribbles, afterwards worked up into watercolours for his Roermond atelier, while others got reincorporated into Cuypers' designs for buildings or interiors. Almost all this material has been preserved and much of it appears in the catalogue *P J H Cuypers (1828–1921): Het complete werk/The complete works*. It can now definitely be confirmed that European Gothic was his foremost inspiration. Fabulous animals copied from Viollet-le-Duc's restored castle at Pierrefonds, for instance, appear unmodified as caryatids in the controversial restoration of Castle De Haar undertaken by Cuypers a few years later. There can be no mistake about this copying of Gothic sources, usually from northern France.

The Cuypers year made another thing equally clear: apart from the work itself, the survival of his archive has helped nurture his reputation. Indeed so. For instance, 2007 also marked the centenary of the death of one of Cuypers' best-known colleagues, the neo-Renaissance architect Isaac Gosschalk. Yet though Gosschalk made a powerful impact on the appearance of nineteenth-century Amsterdam, there was no public celebration, because his archive has very largely disappeared.

It would be wrong in fact to conclude that reassessment of Cuypers got going only with the completion of cataloguing his archive last year. The shift was no clap of thunder out of a blue sky. Previously there had been a kind of incubation period, centred mainly on the Radboud (formerly Catholic) University of Nijmegen and the Free University of Amsterdam. There from 1985 onwards the nineteenth century slowly but surely found a footing through the medium of a set of long-term research projects on the art-architecture of the period. But so deeply rooted has been the prejudice against the age of eclecticism that its surviving monuments are still often not judged on their merits. Putting the Cuypers *Nachlass* on the map may prove the breach in the wall and pave the way for a fresh and subtler judgment of Holland's nineteenth-century legacy in place of the familiar old verdict: 'intolerably ugly'.

The E.W. Pugin gazetteer: part 2

by Gerard Hyland

Preface

The previous number of True principles reproduced Section A of the gazetteer dealing with Roman Catholic churches and cathedrals. This issue contains five further sections:

B: Convents, convent churches / chapels, monasteries / friaries

C: Additions / extensions to existing RC churches and chapels

D: Community houses and presbyteries not associated with EW Pugin churches

E: Schools, colleges and orphanages (and associated chapels)

F: Works for the Church of England.

The remaining sections G–K of the gazetteer will appear in the next number.

In the preface to the earlier extract it was noted that E.W. Pugin's church designs can be classified into three distinct phases: The first, 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'), in which a clear distinction is observed between nave and chancel, the latter being square-ended and usually under a lower roof. The second phase, to which his most flamboyant designs belong, spans the years 1859–72, and was heralded by designs – often in (the earlier) thirteenth-century 'geometric' Gothic – in which both nave and chancel are under the same roof; internally there is often not even a chancel arch to demarcate the division. The third and final phase of his output (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 and demarcated by a dominant chancel arch. His designs for convent churches and chapels roughly conform to this classification.

B: Convents, convent churches / chapels, monasteries / friaries

Some nine different religious orders of nuns (both enclosed and otherwise) are represented in the convents and convent chapels designed by E.W. Pugin, predominant amongst which were those for the Sisters of Mercy; the majority were in Ireland, and all of these are now closed. The number of monasteries (excluding 'convents' for the Irish Christian Brothers, which properly belong to Section D) totals five, with only one in Ireland; all but one (**B11**) of these are still functioning.

In England, E.W. Pugin's most significant convents (both for enclosed Benedictine nuns) are those at Oulton (**B1**), in Staffordshire, dating from the very beginning of his career, and at Stanbrook (**B22**), Worcestershire, which extends into his final phase. The tower of the abbey church at Stanbrook, with its dominating stair-turret of which E.W.P. much disapproved, does not feature in his design, which had specified instead a bellcoted W-end. The tower resulted from a 'last minute'



Figure 30: Abbey Church of Our Lady of Compassion (Stanbrook abbey)
By courtesy of Stanbrook abbey.



Figure 32: Abbey Church of Our Lady of Compassion (Stanbrook abbey)
By courtesy of Stanbrook abbey.



Figure 34: Abbey Church of Our Lady of Compassion (Stanbrook abbey)
By courtesy of Michael Hill & Stanbrook abbey.



Figure 31: Abbey Church of St Mary, Oulton, Staffs
From a postcard. By kind permission of Webberley Ltd, Stoke-on-Trent.



Figure 33: Abbey Church of Our Lady of Compassion (Stanbrook abbey)
By courtesy of Michael Hill & Stanbrook abbey.



Figure 35: Monastic buildings, Belmont, Herefordshire
By courtesy of Edmund Hayward, Belmont abbey.



Figure 37: Mount St Mary, Leeds
Reproduced by permission from Gavan 2001;
photographed in 1987 by Dr Kevin Grady.

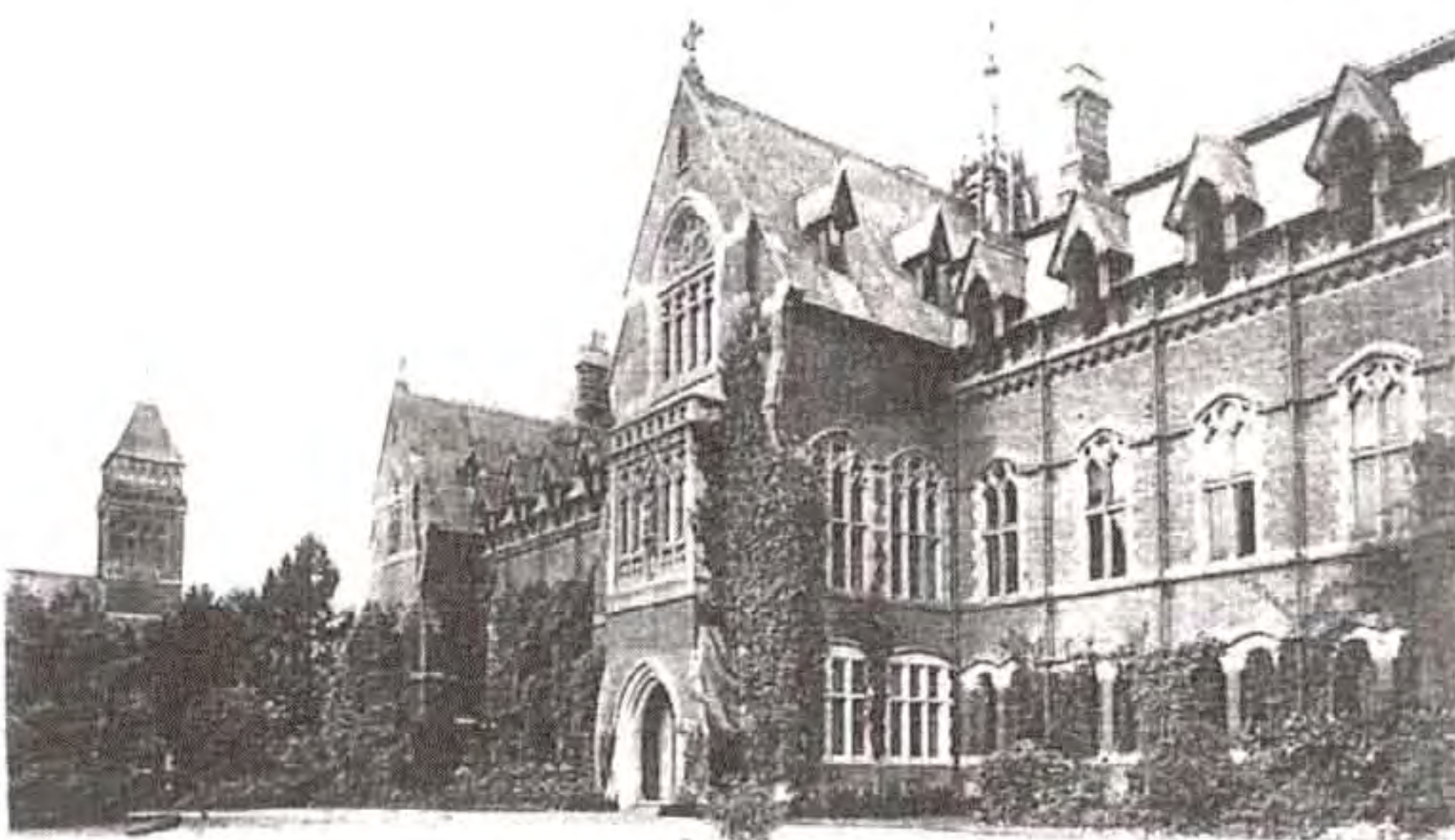


Figure 38: St Michael's orphanage for girls,
Rotherfield
Private collection.



Figure 36: Franciscan Friary and Church of the
Most Holy Trinity, Killarney, Ireland
Private collection.

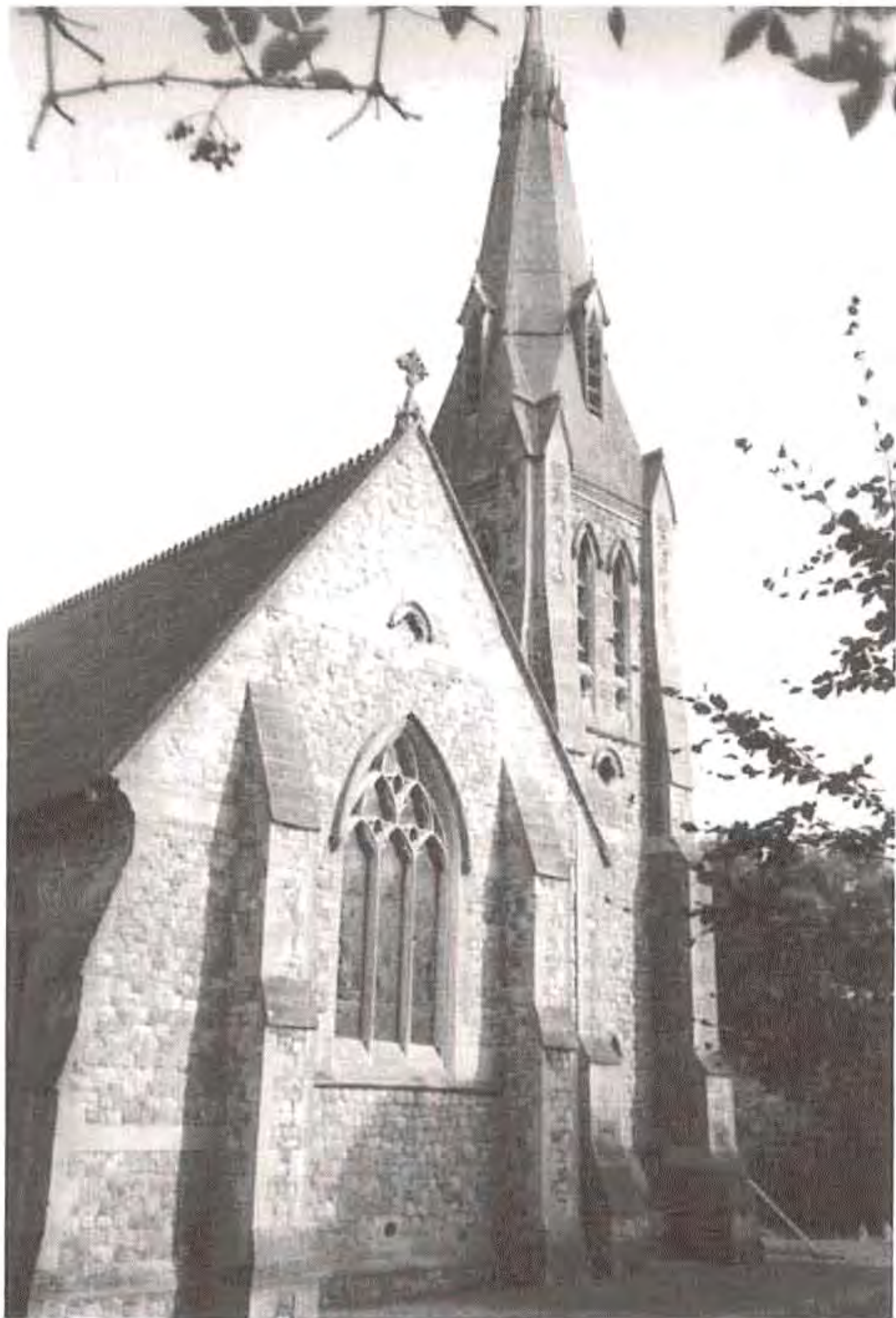


Figure 39: St. Catherine's, Kingsdown (near
Sittingbourne), Kent
Photographed by Catriona Blaker in 2000.

change the architect was obliged to make; its abutment to the end of the nave is, accordingly, less than satisfactory [see figure 30]. Whilst, interiorally, Oulton has escaped the ravages of liturgical reordering [see figure 31], the same does not obtain in the case of Stanbrook where the original altar and reredos [see figure 32] of the abbey church no longer survive, having first suffered mutilation already in the late 1930s – long before the Second Vatican Council – and then being completely removed, together with J.H. Powell's screen, in 1971. At that time the Minton encaustic floor tiles in the chancel, designed by E.W. Pugin and J.H. Powell, were replaced by ones similar to those often found in public lavatories; the present arrangement is shown in figure 33. In other respects, however, the furnishings of this fine church are remarkably well preserved; the Minton floor tiles in the nuns choir, also designed by E.W.P. and J.H.P., the Kauri pine choir stalls [see figure 34] and the organ case carved by W. Farmer of Farmer & Brindley meriting particular mention; the design of the organ case is the same as that which originally contained the pipe-work of the organ at Meanwood House (see **G8** in the next number).

Another significant English convent (for the Sisters of Charity, unenclosed) that no longer functions as such is that at Bartestree, Herefordshire. It was abandoned in 1992, and has now been converted into apartments.

E.W. Pugin's Irish oeuvre (in collaboration with G.C. Ashlin) contains two of his very few examples of essays in non-Gothic design, namely, **B13**, **B14**; the latter is one of the four Irish convents designed for the Sisters of Mercy, all of which are now closed.

Good examples of E.W. Pugin's monastic buildings in England are provided by those for the Benedictines at Belmont (**B4** – see figure 35) and Ramsgate (**B7**), both of which are characterised by their acutely gabled dormer windows. Of his Irish commissions, again in collaboration with G.C. Ashlin, Killarney Franciscan Friary (**B12** – see figure 36) is a good example.

- B1** 1853–54: **Oulton**, Staffs – St Mary's Abbey (OSB nuns): a commission inherited from A.W.N. Pugin, comprising abbey church [see figure 31], chapter house, cloisters, monastic buildings and gatehouse; the convent itself is earlier, and is not by E.W. Pugin.
- B2** 1854: **Marlow**, Bucks – convent: execution of A.W.N. Pugin's design for a convent adjacent to St Peter's church. The nuns left in 1870, when the property became a Catholic school, the original convent building becoming the schoolmaster's house; since the 1970s the school premises have been used as the parish rooms, and the house has been divided into two flats.
- B3** 1856: **Birr**, Co Offaly, Ireland – St John's Convent (Sisters of Mercy): completion of A.W.N. Pugin's design dating from 1846. The convent was sold in 1996, and since 2006 the interior of the chapel has been converted into a public library, and the convent buildings used as civic offices.
- B4** 1857–60: **Belmont**, Herefords – Belmont monastery (OSB): see figure 35, and also **A7** and **D9**; see O'Donnell 1999.
- B5** 1859–64: **Ravenhurst**, Birmingham, West Midlands – St Anne's convent (Sisters of Mercy): destroyed by bombing in the Second World War.

- B6** 1860: **St. John's Square**, Wolverhampton, West Midlands – convent (Sisters of Mercy): no longer a convent, but the buildings still exist.
- B7** 1860–1: **Ramsgate**, Kent – St Augustine's abbey (OSB): the Benedictine Order took possession in 1856.
- B8** 1862: **Fethard**, Co Tipperary, Ireland – convent (Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary nuns); with G.C. Ashlin: a new convent was built 1869–71, but it is uncertain whether E.W. Pugin and G.C. Ashlin were involved.
- B9** 1862–3: **Bartestree**, Herefords – Our Lady of Charity and Refuge convent (Sisters of Charity): convent extended by P.P. Pugin in 1885. The chapel of St Anne (c1865–7) is not by E.W. Pugin, but by B. Bucknall; entire site abandoned in 1992 and has now been converted into flats. See O'Donnell 2000, p19.
- B10** 1862–4: **Hoxton Square**, London – Augustinian priory (OSA): attached to A53; see also E28. See Maxwell 2005.
- B11** 1863–7: **West Gorton**, Greater Manchester – Franciscan friary (OFM Recollects): The W facade was demolished in the 1970s, and the friary vacated in 1989; only the E and S wings remain, and are currently being restored for community social use. See also **A71**.
- B12** 1865–78: **Killarney**, Ireland – Franciscan friary (OFM) of the Most Holy Trinity; with G.C. Ashlin: friary church 1864–7; friary 1865–78 [see figure 36]. The tower, attached to the right hand-side of the friary buildings, is by P.P. Pugin & G.C. Ashlin, 1878.
- B13** 1866: **Mount Anville**, Co Dublin, Ireland – convent chapel (Society of Sacred Heart nuns); with G.C. Ashlin: in classical Italianate style.
- B14** 1866–7: **Clonakilty**, Co Cork, Ireland – convent chapel (Sisters of Mercy); with G.C. Ashlin: in Romanesque style to match existing buildings.
- B15** 1866–8: **Skibbereen**, Co Cork, Ireland – convent chapel (Sisters of Mercy); with G.C. Ashlin: closed 2003, sold 2004.
- B16** 1867: **Stourbridge**, Worcs – convent (Institute of the Blessed Virgin nuns). At the time of its sale for conversion into apartments (c1990) it was occupied by the Sisters of St Paul.
- B17** 1867–8: **St Leonard's-on-Sea**, Hastings, Sussex – St Michael's convent chapel (Society of the Holy Child Jesus nuns): lady altar by Pugin & Pugin; closed 1976 when the nuns moved to Mayfield, E. Sussex. See **H25**.
- B18** 1868: **Ford**, Liverpool, Merseyside – Good Shepherd convent (Good Shepherd nuns): demolished c1962/3.
- B19** 1868 **Nechells**, Birmingham, West Midlands – St Joseph's convent (Sisters of Charity of St Paul): closed 1953.
- B20** 1868: **Hampton**, Drumcondra, Co Dublin, Ireland – monastery chapel (Order of Discalced Carmelite nuns); with G.C. Ashlin.
- B21** 1869: **Hanwell**, London – St Mary's Convent (originally 'Hospital'): founded by Baroness Weld. Sisters of St Joseph of Peace bought the property in 1921 and used it as a convent until 1971 when it was demolished on account of structural problems; it was replaced, on the same site, in 1973.
- B22** 1869–71: **Callow End**, Worcs – Abbey of Our Lady of Compassion (Stanbrook

abbey) (OSB nuns): comprises abbey church and cloisters connecting with earlier buildings. EWP was obliged to replace the intended bellcoted W-end by a tower that abuts the nave somewhat awkwardly [see figure 29]. It had already been necessary for him to significantly alter his original and superior design for the church – see Howell 2007. The reredos, which was gilded and coloured in 1878, was simplified and reduced in 1937–8, and completely removed in 1971, together with the high altar [see figures 32–3]. The L-shaped convent ranges are later (1878), by P.P. Pugin. The entire property was put up for sale in 2006.

- B23** 1869–73: **Fermoy**, Co Cork, Ireland – Loretto convent chapel (Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary nuns); with G.C. Ashlin: completed by Ashlin.
- B24** not dated: **Stanhope St**, Dublin, Ireland – convent (Sisters of Charity). Possibly incorporates St Mary’s training school.

Uncorroborated work

Bi 1859: **Bantry**, Co Cork, Ireland – Our Lady’s convent (Sisters of Mercy): excluding chapel (1877–8), which is by S.F. Haynes. See also **K8**.

C: Additions/extensions to existing Roman Catholic churches and chapels

(excluding completion of commissions inherited from A.W.N. Pugin)

The most significant entries here include extensions to A.W.N. Pugin’s church of St Mary, Derby (**C2**); the exquisite Knill chantry (which fortunately escaped Second World War bomb damage) in A.W.N. Pugin’s St George’s cathedral, Southwark (**C5**); ongoing works at St Augustine’s, Ramsgate (**C6**, **C10**, **C11**) and at St Cuthbert’s College, Ushaw (**C7**, **C9**); the Weedall and Scholfield chantries at Oscott and Ware (**C16**, **C18**); the addition of chancel and transepts to J.A. Hansom’s Mount St Mary church, Leeds (**C19**, see figure 37); work at St Joseph’s, Nechells (**C23**); and in Ireland, extensive W front alterations to St Mary’s church (of 1829), Listowel, (**C20**), and to St Patrick’s church (early 1800s), Fermoy, (**C22**), both include a steeple.

- C1** 1854: **Birmingham**, West Midlands – upper sacristy at St Chad’s cathedral.
- C2** 1854–5: **Derby**, Derbys – extensions to/alterations to/decoration in A.W.N. Pugin’s St Mary’s church: includes an E extension of the aisles, sacristies, new high altar in Caen stone, rood screen and large lady chapel (with altar by P.P. Pugin, 1895).
- C3** 1856: **Birmingham**, West Midlands – completion of the SW spire at St Chad’s cathedral.
- C4** 1856: **Aston-by-Stone**, Staffs – lady chapel at the church of Holy Michael, Archangel.
- C5** 1856–7: **Southwark** – The Knill chantry, St George’s cathedral: this exquisite addition luckily escaped damage when the cathedral was bombed during the Second World War; see O’Donnell 1999.
- C6** 1857–9: **Ramsgate**, Kent – chapel of St John the Evangelist (Digby chantry) at St Augustine’s church: off the N cloister. See **C11**.

- C7** 1857–9: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – chapel of St. Charles Borromeo in St Cuthbert's College: design is the same as that shown on a drawing captioned St. Aloysius' Chapel', dated 1856. See **E5**.
- C8** 1858: **Sclerder**, near Looe, Cornwall – extensions and conventual adaptations to A.W.N. Pugin's (?) chapel of 1843: for Belgian Franciscan Recollects. See also **A71**, **B11**, **B12**; see also Egan 2005.
- C9** 1858–9: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – mortuary chapel of St. Michael and the Holy Souls in St Cuthbert's College: designed in 1856 as the Gibson chantry.
- C10** 1859: **Ramsgate**, Kent – W cloister at St Augustine's church.
- C11** 1860: **Ramsgate**, Kent – completion of the N cloister at St. Augustine's church.
- C12** 1860: **Chelsea**, London – Blessed Sacrament chapel adjacent to A.W.N. Pugin's Cadogan St chapel: both now incorporated into J.F. Bentley's church of St Mary, 1877–8.
- C13** 1860: **Kingsland**, London – completion of an extensive remodelling of W. Wardell's 1856 church of Our Lady and St Joseph: demolished during the early 1970s.
- C14** c1860: **Charnwood Forest**, Leics – extension and alterations to the chapter house at Mount St. Bernard's abbey.
- C15** 1860s: **Hulme**, Greater Manchester – S aisle and sacristy extensions at A.W.N. Pugin's St Wilfrid's church.
- C16** 1860–2: **Oscott**, West Midlands – Weedall chantry, St Mary's College chapel: additional later work by P.P. Pugin. See O'Donnell 2004.
- C17** c1861: **Edinburgh**, Scotland – W side of an intended cloister at St Margaret's convent: S. extension of the 1835 chapel by J. Gillespie Graham/A.W.N. Pugin as part of an unrealised scheme for a new convent and chapel (**K12**).
- C18** 1861–2: **Ware**, Herts – Scholfield chantry in A.W.N. Pugin's St Edmund's College chapel.
- C19** 1864–6: **Leeds**, Yorks (West Riding) – addition of chancel and transepts to J.A. Hansom's 1853 Mount St Mary (OMI) church: see figure 37; closed in 1989; see Ward 1998/9.
- C20** 1865–6: **Listowel**, Co Kerry, Ireland – extensive W front alterations to St Mary's Church; with G.C. Ashlin: includes steeple.
- C21** 1866–7: **Ferrybank**, Waterford City, Ireland – steeple at the church of the Sacred Heart; with G.C. Ashlin: new nave by Ashlin (to his own design) in 1903.
- C22** 1867: **Fermoy**, Co Cork, Ireland – external reconstruction of St Patrick's church (early 1800s; extended in 1843); with G.C. Ashlin: includes buttressing of the W facade, and an off-centre steeple.
- C23** 1872: **Nechells**, West Midlands – extension of Birmingham Catholic cemetery chapel: double aisles (forming the nave) added to A.W.N. Pugin's chancel and lady chapel of his intended church of St Joseph. The presbytery is by E.W. Pugin, as also is the convent (**B22**) and school (**E22**).

Uncorroborated work

- Ci 1868: **Dinedor**, Herefords – spire added to the eighteenth-century tower of the mediaeval Rotherwas Chapel (Bodenham Estate): E.W. Pugin is likely to have been responsible also for extension to the sanctuary; later remodelled by P.P. Pugin, 1890–2.

D: Community houses, and presbyteries not associated with E.W. Pugin's churches

Most significant amongst these was the OMI Mission House in Rock Ferry (**D7**), out of which evolved E.W. Pugin's last church commission: St Anne's, Rock Ferry (**A100**).

- D1** 1856: **Aston-by-Stone**, Staffs – presbytery at the church of Holy Michael, Archangel.
- D2** 1857: **Old Swan**, Liverpool, Merseyside – presbytery at the church of St Oswald: of A.W.N. Pugin's church of 1839–42, only the steeple remains.
- D3** 1857–8: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – extension to Bishop Eton community house (CSSR): incorporates a clocktower and is attached to **A16**; additional wing of 1889 by Sinnott, Sinnott & Powell.
- D4** 1858–65: **Newcastle-upon-Tyne**, Tyne and Wear – presbytery for St Mary's cathedral: enlarged by Dunn & [Edward] Hansom in 1871.
- D5** 1860: **Leith**, Edinburgh, Scotland – OMI community house: attached to **A1**.
- D6** 1863: **Mossley**, Ashton-under-Lyne, Greater Manchester – presbytery for St Joseph's church.
- D7** 1863–4: **Rock Ferry**, Merseyside – OMI mission house: a part was used as a chapel prior to opening of **A100**; the remainder became a convent (Holy Family Sisters of Bordeaux) in 1869; demolished c1970.
- D8** 1864: **Woolton**, Liverpool, Merseyside – presbytery for St. Mary's Roman Catholic church.
- D9** 1865: **Belmont**, Herefords – large, villa-like accommodation at Belmont monastery (OSB – see **B4**): for Rt Rev Thomas Brown (first Bishop of Newport and Menevia) – now incorporated into the abbey complex.
- D10** 1866: **Mount Sion**, Waterford, Ireland – Christian Brothers' convent; with G.C. Ashlin.
- D11** 1867–8: **Westland Row**, Dublin, Ireland – Christian Brothers' convent; with G.C. Ashlin
- D12** 1867–9: **Drogheda**, Co Louth, Ireland – St Joseph's Christian Brothers' convent: projected *flèche* omitted; with G.C. Ashlin.

Uncorroborated work

- Di **Bartestree**, Herefords – presbytery attached to Longworth chapel, following its restoration for Catholic worship in the 1850s.

E: Schools, colleges & orphanages (and associated chapels)

Many of the schools are attached to E.W. Pugin churches, and often preceded them. The most significant college buildings are St Aloysius' (junior seminary) college and chapel at Ushaw (E5); and the chapel at Ratcliffe College (E19). Outstanding examples of orphanages are afforded by those in East Sussex founded by the Duchess of Leeds – at Mayfield (E17 – see figure 38), and at Rotherfield, near Mark Cross (E18). These, although built almost simultaneously, are in rather different styles, that of the former being somewhat more 'modern'.

- E1 1853: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Institute and Oratory of St Philip Neri: the building was absorbed into (the former) Notre Dame Teacher Training College; the existing chapel on the site is not E.W. Pugin's original, but is by M. Hadfield, 1867.
- E2 1854: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – chapel of St Joseph, St Cuthbert's College: completion of A.W.N. Pugin's original design of 1852.
- E3 1856: **Wellington**, Shropshire – St Patrick's School.
- E4 1856–7/72: **Birkenhead**, Merseyside – Our Lady's schools: attached to A26.
- E5 1857–9: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – St Aloysius' (junior seminary) College and chapel at St Cuthbert's College: chapel not completed until 1884. See Roderick O'Donnell's article in this number, pp 32–5.
- E6 1857–8: **Woolwich**, London – St Peter's school.
- E7 1860s: **Stretford**, Greater Manchester – St Ann's school: attached to A34.
- E8 1860s: **Bootle**, Liverpool, Merseyside – St Alexander's school: attached to A68.
- E9 1861: **Edinburgh**, Scotland – St Margaret's convent school: attached to C17.
- E10 1861–2: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – boys' orphanage (Sisters of Charity) in Beacon Lane.
- E11 1862: **Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake**, Leics – study range at Ratcliffe College (IC): a continuation of earlier work by A.W.N. Pugin.
- E12 1862–3: **Maidstone**, Kent – St Francis' school.
- E13 1863: **Margate**, Kent – Ss Austin and Gregory's elementary school: see also H27; now demolished.
- E14 1863–4: **Croydon**, Surrey – Our Lady's school: attached to A43.
- E15 1864: **Turnham Green**, Chiswick, London – Catholic schools (possibly St Mary's).
- E16 1865: **Dublin**, Ireland – St Vincent de Paul's orphanage for girls in North William St; with GC Ashlin.
- E17 1865–8: near **Mayfield**, East Sussex – Holy Trinity orphanage (and chapel) for boys: founded by the Duchess of Leeds, and served by the Xavarian Brothers. It was renamed the Xaverian College in 1874 and later became Mayfield College (1926–98). It closed in 1998 and is currently being converted into apartments – see Dermott 2002.
- E18 1865–9: **Rotherfield**, near Mark Cross, East Sussex – St Michael's orphanage for girls: founded by the Duchess of Leeds, and served by nuns of the Order of the Holy Child Jesus. It later became St Joseph's junior seminary (1925–70)

attached to Wonersh, after which it was first a ballet school and is now a Muslim school. The chapel and cloister (1874–5) are not by E.W. Pugin, but by Goldie & Child. See figure 38.

- E19 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; see also E11. The design of the bellcote has certain similarities with that of A39. The chapel was deconsecrated c1962, and converted for use as teaching and dormitory space.
- E20 1867: **Birmingham**, West Midlands – St John’s Catholic school.
- E21 1867: **Stourbridge**, West Midlands – convent schools: attached to B16.
- E22 1867–8: **Kinsale**, Co Cork, Ireland – orphanage (Sisters of Mercy); with G.C. Ashlin.
- E23 1867–9: **Dublin**, Ireland – St Paul’s Christian Brothers’ school; with G.C. Ashlin: this is not connected with D11.
- E24 1868: **Nechells**, Birmingham, West Midlands – St Joseph’s schools: attached to B19 (see also C23).
- E25 1868: **Drogheda**, Co Louth, Ireland – Christian Brothers’ school; with G.C. Ashlin: attached to D12.
- E26 1868–9: **Wolverhampton**, West Midlands – Ss Peter and Paul’s school.
- E27 1868–9: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Challoner School: attached A12.
- E28 Late 1860s: **Hoxton**, London – Hoxton Square school: attached to A53. See Maxwell 2005.
- E29 1869: **Sheerness**, Kent – Ss Henry and Elizabeth’s school: attached to A39.
- E30 1869: **Birmingham**, West Midlands – Horse Fair Roman Catholic schools: associated with a projected church (see K17 in next number).
- E31 1871: **Ramsgate**, Kent – extensive enlargement of St Gregory’s (see G6 in next number): St. Augustine’s Abbey school since 1864; demolished 1973.
- E32 1872: **Dover**, Kent – St Paul’s boys’ school: attached to A73.
- E33 1872: **Rock Ferry**, Merseyside – St Anne’s schools: attached to A100 and D7.
- E34 1874: **Camberley**, Surrey – St Tarcisius’ school chapel: demolished c1970.
- E35 1874: **Kilburn**, London – OMI juniorate college (St Marie’s): now the presbytery of A72.

Uncorroborated works

- Ei 1859: **Great Harwood**, Lancs – Our Lady and St Hubert’s school: attached to A19.
- Eii 1859–60: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Our Lady’s schools: attached to A22; these are mentioned in the *Builder*, vol 17, p 157–8, 1859.
- Eiii 1864–5: **Skelmersdale**, Lancs – St Richard’s school: attached to A49.
- Eiv 1872: **Huyton**, Merseyside – St Agnes’ school: attached to A29.
- Ev 1873: **Warrington**, Cheshire – St Mary’s school: attached to A99.
- Evi nd: **Chirk**, Clwyd, Wales – additional wing to the girls’ school: possibly done whilst he was working at Chirk Castle during 1854 – see H7 in next number; original school attributed to A.W.N. Pugin, 1844–5.

- Evii** nd: **Wolverhampton**, West Midlands – Work at Sedgeley Park schools.
- Eviii** nd: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – St Alban's, Mount Carmel and Mount St Vernon schools: attached to **H37** (see next number).

F: Works for the Church of England

These are few in number, and only one of his two churches – that at Kingsdown, near Sittingbourne, in Kent (**F2** – see figure 40) – survives; the remainder of the work in this category consists of often relatively minor alterations or additions to existing buildings by other architects.

A: complete churches

- F1** 1853–4: **Madresfield**, Worcs – St. Mary the Virgin, for the fourth Earl Beauchamp: demolished in 1866 owing to foundational problems; some fittings (including the E and W windows, font, pulpit & reredos) were reused in the new church (designed by F. Preedy), opened in 1867.
- F2** 1864–5: **Kingsdown**, near Sittingbourne, Kent – St. Catherine, for Lord Kingsdown: see figure 39; the parsonage is not by E.W. Pugin, but by W. Burn – see Blaker 1998/9.

B: alterations/additions, etc

- F3** 1853–6: **Beverley**, Yorks (East Riding) – oversees completion of A.W.N. Pugin's restoration at St Mary's church: comprises completion of the W front, addition of flying buttresses to S transept, and erection of a weathervane (A.W.N. Pugin's final design) on SW pinnacle of the tower.
- F4** 1855–9: **West Tofts**, Norfolk – oversees the completion of A.W.N. Pugin's chancel in St. Mary's church: chantry chapel on one side, vestry with organ loft above on the other.
- F5** 1864: **Clipsham**, Leics – brass monument in St Mary's church.
- F6** 1866/8?: **Ormskirk**, Lancs – restoration of and improvements to the Scarisbrick chapel in Ss Peter and Paul's Anglican church.
- F7** 1873–4: **Burton-le-Coggles**, Lincs – restoration work in St Thomas Becket's church.

Uncorroborated work

- Fi** 1853: **Boston**, Lincs – font in St Botolph's church.

Abbreviations

CP	Congregation of the Passion (Passionists)
CSSR	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer
IC	Institute of Charity (Rosminians)
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OSA	Order of St Augustine (Augustinians)
OSB	Order of St Benedict (Benedictines)

News and comment

Ran away

from Michael Egan

Michael Egan, one of our Journal's distinguished regular correspondents, introduces here the early history and work of William Wilkinson Wardell, 1823–99 – an influential admirer of A.W.N. Pugin.

The 2007 Christmas visit of The Pugin Society to the church of Our Ladye Star of the Sea, in Greenwich [see figure 40], prompted some reflections on the life in Britain of William Wardell, the architect of the Puginian fabric of the building at Greenwich. He later also designed the adjacent, red-brick primary school for the parish.

William Wilkinson Wardell, FRIBA MICE, worked in architectural practice in this country during the years 1843 to 1858. In the last 12 years of this period, he produced plans and designs for Roman Catholic churches and related buildings, usually in a 'decorated' Gothic style. He saw 30 or so of the churches built, and could claim to have been the architect of more Catholic churches in the London area than were designed by A.W.N. Pugin himself. In 1858, Wardell emigrated to Australia for health reasons, and is regarded as one of the most able architects who worked there in the nineteenth century.

Surprisingly, very little has been published in the last 100 years in the U.K. specifically about Wardell's life and work, although there is a wealth of material in print in Australia about him and his achievements there. The *Oxford dictionary of national biography* repeats an entry provided by Denis Evinson about Wardell for the missing persons section of the previous edition. Wardell and his work are mentioned in the standard dictionaries of British architects, and in surveys of church buildings in the mid-nineteenth century. Very occasionally an item has appeared in the building or ecclesiastical press, both of which carried obituaries soon after his death.¹ Both Little and Evinson discuss his work in their books on Catholic churches.² The

RIBA has six boxes of material concerning Wardell and his career.³ Very little of real value has been found for the UK on the internet.

William Wilkinson Wardell was born in Poplar, East London, on 27 September, 1823, and was baptised in All Saints' church there on 3 March, 1824.⁴ He was the eldest son of Thomas Wardell (1797–1864) born in nearby Limehouse, and his wife Mary Elizabeth (nee Dalton, born c1798) of Poplar.⁵ In the 1820s his father was a baker at 60 Cotton Street, but the 1841 and 1851 censuses show him and his wife as master and matron of the Poplar Union Workhouse, latterly both 53 years of age.⁶ Conveyances in the Tower Hamlets Local History Library indicate that Thomas was involved in property transactions there, and with the vestry. William's brother Herbert (b 1830) attended the private Stocks School, which probably offered a classical syllabus; possibly William had been a pupil there too.⁷

The recollections published by family members and others report that Wardell's father had intended his son to become an engineer; they were to be much in demand during the Industrial Revolution.⁸ Instead, the boy 'ran away to sea' – Poplar was adjacent to dockland – and entered into a contract, perhaps a formal apprenticeship, with a ship's master. Wardell soon decided that life under sail in the 1830s was not for him, but his father

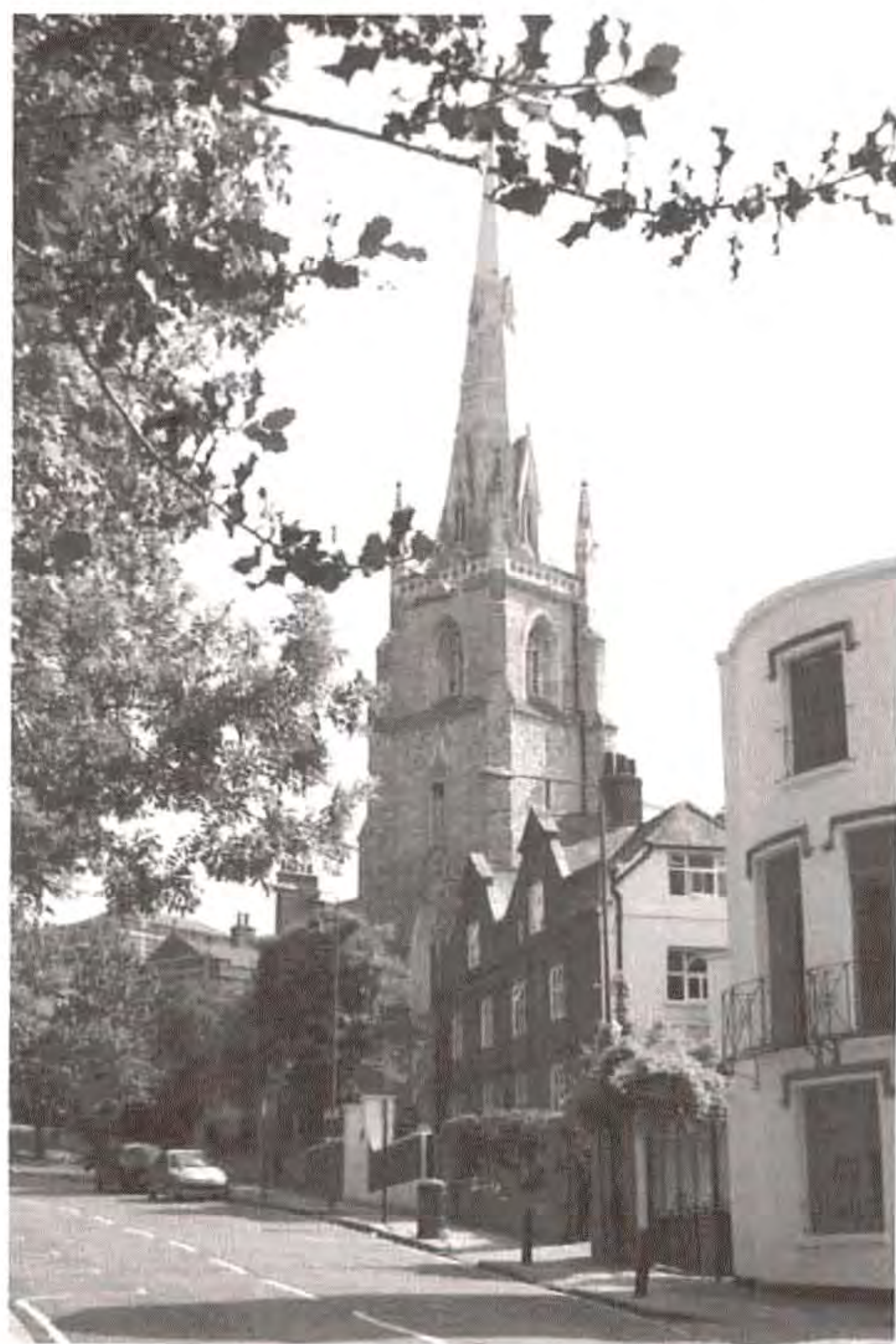


Figure 40: Our Ladye Star of the Sea, in Croom's Hill, Greenwich

Photographed by the Editor in July 2008.



Figure 41: Part of the surviving wing of almshouses that WW Wardell designed in 1851 for a site at the rear (south-west) of his church of the Holy Trinity, at Brook Green in Hammersmith
 Photographed by the Editor in July 2008.

declined to buy him out of the contract. After the son suffered a bout of yellow fever, the father relented.⁹

In the late 1830s, Wardell worked for Mr Morris, a surveyor in private practice, who did work for the Commissioners of the London Sewers, and may have been involved in civil engineering projects.¹⁰ His next career move was to join the architect W.F. East, whose name is not in the list of RIBA members, but is shown as an architect and surveyor in London directories of the 1840s at 6 Corporation Row, St John's Street, Clerkenwell. The institute had only been incorporated in 1837, and architects and surveyors were still separating their professional activities. However, Wardell was admitted as an associate of the RIBA on 6 February 1843, at age 19, thus signalling his intention to qualify as an architect. He was elected an FRIBA and admitted on 24 June 1850 at age 26, confirming on the printed declaration that he had been engaged as principal for at least seven successive years in the practice of civil architecture.¹¹

In 1858, he was also admitted as an associate member of the Institution of Civil Engineers; his application form specifies that he had served a period of pupillage as an architect under Mr East, and had designed and supervised the erection of many buildings.¹² His office was then at 44 Parliament Street, Westminster. He became a full Member in 1869. In 1855, he was elected a member of the *Société Française pour la Conservation et la Description des Monuments Historique*, and knew of the ideas of Viollet-le-Duc, from his visits to France.¹³

It seems that in the years immediately prior to 1844 he was involved in work associated with the railway boom, on surveys of projected routes throughout the country, and presumably also assessing the associated architectural requirements along the line of rail.¹⁴ It was in these years that he became interested in AWP's theories of church architecture and began to study and record the mediaeval cathedrals and churches which he could visit during his travels on duty. In this period too, he became attracted to the Roman Catholic faith, ultimately being baptised as a Catholic in 1844, reportedly losing friends and an inheritance in the process.¹⁵ Pugin is believed to have been influential in both the professional and spiritual areas of the young Wardell's personal development.



Figure 42: The nave of St Mary, Clapham, part of the church designed by Wardell in 1849
 Photographed by the Editor in July 2008.

Wardell married Lucy Anne Butler (b 22.12.1821, d 3.10.1888) on 5 October 1847 at St Mary's Catholic church, Moorfield, in the City.¹⁶ She was the eldest daughter of William Henry Butler (1790–1865), an Oxford wine merchant, magistrate and Mayor in 1836, and of his first wife Elizabeth (nee Briggs, 1786–1844).¹⁷ Lucy, too, was a convert to Catholicism, as was her brother Robert (b 1820), the land agent of the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury (1791–1852) at Alton Towers, Staffordshire.¹⁸

The earl was the principal Roman Catholic layman of his day and had a *coterie* of distinguished friends, many of whom had become Catholics as a result of the Oxford Movement, inspired from within the Church of England by Keble, Newman and Pusey.¹⁹ Pugin may have introduced Wardell to this circle, and indirectly to Lucy Anne Butler. However, Rosemary Hill suggests that Dr. Daniel Rock (1799–1871), a Catholic priest, may have provided the *entrée*.²⁰ Or did Wardell meet his future wife independently, whose brother then made the introduction? The Fishmongers' Company in the City of London elected him as a liveryman in 1852.²¹ Wardell thus began to mix with potential clients of some importance. The baker's son had moved upwards within the social hierarchy.

The marriage was to produce six sons: Edward Stanfield (1850–1933), Bernard Francis Xavier (1852–fl1899), Michael Thomas (1853–8), Francis William (1856–78), Lawrence George (1861–82), and Herbert Edmund (1865–1955). There were five daughters: Mary Lucy, (1848–fl1899), Kathleen Mary (1855, died pre-1899), Ethel Mary (1857–84), Agnes Mary (1860–76) and Constance Mary (1864–1923?).²² There were two bishops and several members of the Stanfield family (see below) at the christenings held in St Mary's, Holly Walk, Hampstead.²³

In 1844, W.W. Wardell, architect and surveyor, was in practice at 16 Bishopsgate Street Within the City of London (and also at 79 High Street, Poplar).²⁴ In that year, the Royal Academy exhibited a drawing for the Richmond Mechanics' Institute (cat no 1233), produced by Wardell and Littlewood of the Bishopsgate address. Thus his time as principal dates from then – when he was in his very early twenties. An 1847 'central' London directory lists him at 27 Bishopsgate Within [the City of London], and he may have lived above the shop. After the 1848 edition (which used 1847 details), he does not reappear in the London *Post Office directories* until 1855, when his office was at 3 Stafford Street, Old Bond Street, and where he

shared the premises with the Stafford Street Club.

The 1851 census lists Mrs Lucy Wardle [sic] next door to the Stanfields in High Street, Hampstead. WWW was away, but Mary (aged two) and Edward (six months) were at home, plus a housemaid and a nurse. The 1851 and 1855 Home Counties directories give him at Green Hill, as does Shaw's 1854 Hampstead directory. It appears that he may have moved there after his marriage in 1847, but whether or not he worked from home is uncertain. At Green Hill, he was a close friend of Clarkson Stanfield RA (1796–1867), the marine artist. Stanfield was to provide one of Wardell's testimonials (see below), and sketched his neighbour as a farewell gift before Wardell left for Australia. The artist's friendship with Charles Dickens led to their children playing together with the young Wardells.²⁵

Wardell was still 22 years of age when he obtained his first church commission in 1846. He was asked to design the modest church of St Edmund, Isle of Dogs, later replaced by a much larger church nearby.²⁶ In November of the same year, the first turf was cut for the foundations of the substantial church of Our Ladye Star of the Sea in Crooms Hill, Greenwich, suggesting that this project also had been awarded before his twenty-third birthday in late September that year!²⁷ During the 14 years or so that Wardell spent in his own British practice, he saw churches and other ecclesiastical buildings completed to his designs in England and Scotland, but his scheme for the British Consulate at Smyrna was not executed.

What was the relationship between Wardell and AwnP? Once Wardell had become interested in mediaeval churches, then possibly he found a way to be introduced to Pugin. AwnP might have been pleased to have this able young man as a disciple, and they may have met often, but Wardell was never a pupil of Pugin in the sense of training in Pugin's office. Given that Pugin is reputed to have interested Wardell in his own religious beliefs, then Wardell would have become doubly the disciple, perhaps being introduced to the Shrewsbury circle at Alton Towers as a consequence. When the well-connected Fr Richard North, the Catholic priest in Greenwich and a friend of Dr Rock, finally scraped together sufficient funds to replace his modest chapel (by James Taylor, 1765–1846) with a substantial church, he may have approached AwnP to be its architect. Whether Pugin was too busy – or too expensive, or simply not invited – the commission went to Wardell, who would have been well known to the clergy across the Thames, where St Edmund's was under construction.

After the shell of the Greenwich church had been completed, in November 1849, the funds were exhausted until the City merchant family of the Knills moved into the area. Since their kinswoman Jane (1825–1909), was Pugin's third wife, Pugin himself was retained largely at their expense to fit out key areas of the interior. It has been argued that he would not have done so unless he was entirely happy with Wardell's design.²⁸ In fact Rory O'Donnell has

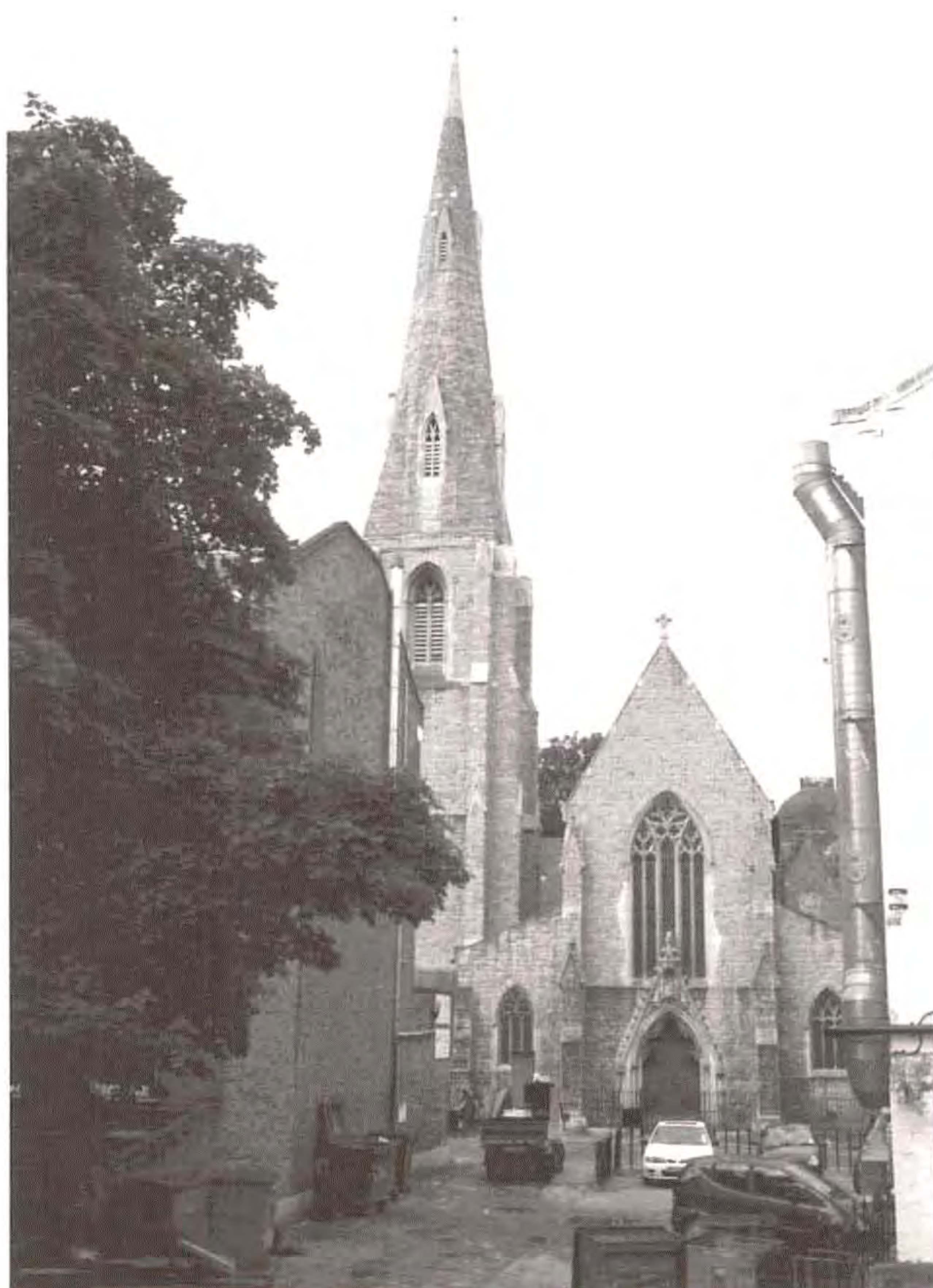


Figure 43: St Mary, Clapham, photographed from the north-east.
Photographed by the Editor in July 2008.

written that the Greenwich church is 'the best surviving Catholic example of Pugin's style in London, but not in fact by Pugin'.²⁹ Wardell was invited back to Greenwich in 1853 to design the two-storey Guildhall (school).

But at Clapham in 1849 the commission to design St Mary's, a project which might have attracted Pugin, went to the younger man [see figures 42, 43]. One would like to think that this did not sour a previously congenial friendship.³⁰ Wardell occasionally strayed from Pugin's royal road of pointed architecture, notably with the Doric doorway and pedimented niche which he recommended in 1850 to buttress the west end of St Mary's, Holly Walk, Hampstead. In Australia, Wardell frequently used Italianate forms, and it has been suggested that he did not do so in this country lest he might offend Pugin. Yet he was in London for six years after Pugin died. Was Wardell in touch with E.W. Pugin at all in that time?³¹ Our man is rarely mentioned in Pugin's diaries or in the correspondence so far in print; at the front of Pugin's 1845 diary, however, his name appears, although without an address.

In the various sources quoted, Wardell is judged to have been a reticent, patient but firm manager, likeable, highly competent, motivated and industrious and a knowledgeable connoisseur of the fine arts. He was a very devout Roman Catholic. His family knew him as 'Willie'.³²

Rather like A.W.N.P., Wardell is said to have overworked himself to the point of exhaustion, and in the process became consumptive.³³ He was advised to seek a warmer climate to help cure his tuberculosis, and in 1858 he decided to move to Australia. He took with him a formidable collection of testimonials which helped him find work soon after arrival.³⁴ His referees included Lord Petre, the Deputy-Lieutenant of Norfolk, MPs, QCs, JPs, solicitors and a banker, as well as Clarkson Stanfield. Ahead of his arrival, he sent recommendations from Cardinal Wiseman, four bishops, Henry Manning, and many clergy, to the vicar-general of the diocese in Melbourne promoting his skills and experience.³⁵ He sold his practice to Hadfield and Goldie of Sheffield in June 1858, yet taking many of his architectural drawings with him. A farewell dinner was held at the Trafalgar Tavern in Greenwich – famed for its Whitebait Suppers.³⁶ It was chaired by the Bishop of Troy (William Placid Morris OSB, 1794–1872), and speeches were made by MPs, such as Sir George Bowyer (a distinguished jurist), and Richard Swift, who had been Sheriff of the City of London at the time of the formal opening of Wardell's church in Greenwich; the event was attended by many other Roman Catholic laymen.

On 2 July Wardell, his wife and five-year old son Bernard embarked as 'Unassisted Immigrants' on the *Swiftsure*, a single-screw steamer of 1326 tons.³⁷ The two older children were initially left in the UK to continue their education, and the infants emigrated in 1860.³⁸ The vessel carried 89 other passengers, plus a crew of 55, and was victualled for 140 days. In fact, she put the passengers ashore in Port Phillip, Melbourne, on 29 September, two days after Wardell's thirty-fifth birthday. Curiously, he is described on the passenger list as a solicitor. In June 1860, *Swiftsure* again berthed in Melbourne, with Mary (aged ten), Kathleen (four), Francis (three), and Ethel (two) Wardell on board, with an unnamed servant. These must have been the children listed above arriving to join their parents.

Armed with the recommendations from his friends, satisfied clients and admirers in Great Britain, Wardell rapidly found work as a senior civil servant in the Public Works Department of the then colony of Victoria, based in Melbourne. He was appointed Chief Architect and Inspecting Clerk of Works in 1859, being promoted to Inspector-General of the PWD two years later. He had the special right to continue private practice on his own account. In the near 20 years that he spent with the department, he was responsible for the design and construction of public buildings, such as Government House, the Royal Mint, the Treasury, the General Post Office and the Custom House, as well as large banking premises and in particular, St Patrick's Cathedral plus a host of smaller churches. Enrica Longo, an Australian journalist, headlined him as 'The man who designed Melbourne'.

Upheaval in the state government led to his move to Sydney in 1878, and he worked until he died on 19 November 1899 of pleurisy and heart failure. These 20 years formed another prolific period, but all the projects were handled in his private practice with his fellow partners. Again, a Roman Catholic cathedral literally towers above his other work in that state. The notes below list a fraction of the extensive bibliography which has been produced about his work in Australia by Australians. He was the first FRIBA to practise in Australia, and is considered to have been one of the most outstanding architects to have worked there

in the nineteenth century. The cathedral of St Carthage in Lismore, New South Wales, designed with his son Herbert, celebrated its centenary in 2007.

The years from 1843–58 that Wardell spent as an architect in practice in England were only the initial quarter of his career, although the work produced here by this young man was by no means insignificant. It is therefore hardly a surprise that Australian commentary on the bulk of his life's work should exceed what is available from British authors. This biographical note is intended to summarise available details of his time in this country, in the hope of offering a backcloth against which an architectural historian might be tempted to review Wardell's considerable work here in the mid-nineteenth century.

Images of Wardell

There are four photographic prints of Wardell in the RIBA Library, listed alphabetically:

- a. Photograph of pencil (?) sketch, by Clarkson Stanfield RA. Original dated 2.7.1858 – the date of his departure to Australia.
- b. 1858, seated, with cane in right hand, left elbow on small table. Looks unwell, (Hazell 1984 says 'Taken on arrival in Sydney').
- c. Head and shoulders, bearded; 'Sydney, 1870'.
- d. Elderly man, bearded, knees crossed, in library on a leather-backed chair.

There is also a view of a marble sculpture of gaunt, bearded, balding Wardell, by Charles Summers, dated 'Roma 1878'.

Wardell's Coat of Arms

Wardell's coat of arms is reproduced in Wardell 1940 as a black and white frontispiece, and in de Jong 1983. His motto was: *Inveni quod quaesivi*.

Further Australian sources

See McDonald 1970a, 1970b; de Jong 1983, 1989, 2000: details in this number's bibliography below. De Jong 2000 includes articles by her, as well as by Thomas Hazell, Ian B. Waters, Ann Galbally, Brian Andrews, George Tibbits, Susan Balderstone, Robyn Riddett, John Maidment, Lawrence Nield, Bruce Trethowan, and Richard Peterson.

Wardell appears in an entry by D.I. McDonald, in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 6, R–Z, 1976 (Melbourne University Press).

The Mitchell Library in the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, the Library of Melbourne University, and both the Melbourne and Sydney Archdiocesan Archives all hold substantial Wardell material.

Notes

- 1 Dove 1989
- 2 Little 1966; Evinson 1998.
- 3 The British Architectural Library at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), 66 Portland Place, London W1, holds a small amount of material about Wardell. The Stephen Welsh (1893–1976) Papers, concerning Wardell and other Roman Catholic Victorian architects) placed there in 1975, are now in the RIBA Study Room at the V & A, Piece nos WeS/28–33. These comprise much technical discussion and extensive correspondence with Australians, and notably with Teresa Wardell, sister of Vincent and daughter of Edward Wardell, Wardell's eldest son.
- 4 *Oxford dictionary of national biography (ODNB)*.
- 5 Father is probably the Thomas Wardell who is recorded in the baptismal registers of St Ann's church, Limehouse, on 15 November, 1797; parents John Wardle (sic), shipwright of Limekiln and Elizabeth his wife. Thomas married at St Mary le Bow on 20 May, 1819 (see registers). The witnesses were Thomas Dalton and Caroline Wardell.
- 6 1851 census: HO 107, 1556, f.882, p 1.
- 7 Hazell 1984, p 20.
- 8 See Welsh, nd.
- 9 Teresa Wardell, letter 13/7/1973 to Welsh. V & A, WeS/33/3.

- 10 Thomas Morris, ARIBA, is the only architect of that surname in London directories in the 1840s, at 58 Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. His entry in the RIBA's *Directory of British architects*, 1834–1914, says that Wardell was possibly a pupil of Morris.
- 11 RIBA library and *Directory of British architects*.
- 12 Institution of Civil Engineers (ICE) archives have Wardell's application forms for both associateship and fellowship of the ICE. See Wardell's obituary in *ICE Minutes of Proceedings*, vol 139, 1899–1900.
- 13 De Jong 2000; p v6, note 21. Copy kindly lent by Catriona Blaker.
- 14 ODNB, op. cit.
- 15 V. Wardell 1940, by Wardell's grandson, p 2; he was baptised *sub conditione* on 5.6.1844 at the old Catholic chapel of Ss Mary and Joseph, Poplar (see registers at modern church). Wardell later designed the replacement church of 1856.
- 16 ODNB, op. cit.
- 17 *The Times*, marriage announcement, 7.10.1847. On marriage certificate, Wardell's address is 27 Bishopsgate Street Within, and his father's occupation is given as 'Gentleman'.
- 18 See www.headington.org.uk/oxon/mayors.
- 19 Hazell 1984, p 24.
- 20 Rosemary Hill, in conversation with the writer, 6.2007.
- 21 Fishmongers' Company, *Warden and Court Minutes*, 12.2.1852.
- 22 Mary married a Dr Power, and was mother of Dr John Joseph Wardell Power, a major benefactor to the fine arts in Sydney. Edward became deputy master of the Royal Mint, Melbourne. Bernard worked in his father's office, left for the USA in 1875 after a family row, and was still alive in 1899. Kathleen became a Sister of Mercy nun in Sydney. Ethel married Charles Swayne Coveney. Constance is believed to have died in London, c1923. Herbert joined his father's architectural practice in Sydney, taking over after his father's death. Wardell's TB ran through several of his children. All from Teresa Wardell's letters, V & A, WeS/28–33.
- 23 Mary was born in Hackney – 1851 census. Other UK baptisms in registers of St Mary's Catholic church, Hampstead baptismal registers; copies at Catholic Central Library and Society of Genealogists.
- 24 See Kelly's *Post Office directories* of the period. In the Guildhall Library, and in the London Metropolitan Archives.
- 25 J. Wardell 2000, written by a granddaughter of Edward Wardell, p 21.
- 26 Evinson, 1998, p 111.
- 27 See the description of this church in Egan 2002, p 23.
- 28 Andrews 2000, p 57.
- 29 In Howell & Sutton 1989, p 78.
- 30 Rosemary Hill believes that they were not on particularly good terms; in conversation with the writer, 06.2007.
- 31 Margaret Belcher does not know of any mention of Wardell in Pugin's letters; in conversation with the writer, 06.2007.
- 32 See Wardell 2000.
- 33 According to his granddaughter Teresa Wardell. In 1870, his health broke down again, and he convalesced during an extended holiday in Europe.
- 34 *Testimonials to W.W.Wardell, Architect and Civil Engineer*, London 1858. Copy Mitchell Library, Sydney, bound into ML 042/P346. From Lord Petre, Sir John Simeon, George Bowyer, James Hope Scott, H.R. Bagshawe, Mr Serjeant Bellasis, Richard Swift, Stephen Lyne Stephens, Edmund Jerningham, H.Watson Parker, and two firms of solicitors. Photocopy of testimonials and clerical references in V&A, WeS/31/1.
- 35 Waters 2000.
- 36 *The tablet*, 26.6.1858, p 404.
- 37 *Index of inward passenger lists for British, foreign and new 1852–1923*, via Mitchell Library, LG2, Port B, ficher 151, 006. Also, copy of *Names and descriptions of passengers* for this vessel.
- 38 Edward was at the Jesuits' preparatory school, Hodder Place, Stonyhurst, from 9.1859 until 8.1865. Bernard joined him there from 9.1860, and left with Edward. Mary was at school with the Holy Child nuns at St Leonards-on-Sea, Hastings, from 9.1856 until 7.1860, when she left for Australia with the younger children. V&A, WeS/32/2.

The earls of Shrewsbury – Roman Catholic or Protestant?

from Robin Fleet

It all started last year when I visited Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, the magnificent Elizabethan home of Bess of Hardwick. By a series of four judicious marriages she worked her way up the social ladder to become, after Queen Elizabeth, the second most important woman in England. It was her second marriage, into the Cavendish family, which was to produce the line of dukes of Devonshire of Chatsworth House, together with five other ducal branches and sundry earls. However, it was her fourth and final marriage which attracted my attention; this was to George Talbot, the sixth earl of Shrewsbury, who was probably the richest man in England, with his main seat at Sheffield Castle. In one year his income was reportedly over £45,000! Back in 1442, in the reign of Henry VI, John Talbot, the seventh baron Talbot, was elevated to the earldom of Shrewsbury (the second creation). Since that time the Shrewsburys had become one of the most influential families in the land. It was into this family that Bess married – and not just a single marriage! At the same time two of her children married two of Shrewsbury's children, all by previous marriages. Her son, Henry, married Grace Talbot and her daughter, Mary, married Gilbert Talbot, later to be the seventh earl. This triple marriage firmly welded together the two families. Her marriage to the sixth earl was a very on-off affair, with the two spending long periods living apart. The real bane of their life was that the queen entrusted them with the custody of Mary, Queen of Scots. This was a long and complicated story, including rumours of a relationship between Shrewsbury and Mary, but is not the purpose of this article. Shrewsbury was evidently considered to be a 'safe pair of hands' to guard the Roman Catholic queen. What interested me was why this trusted Protestant line of Shrewsbury should produce, within a few generations, the ardently Catholic sixteenth earl who was Pugin's mentor?

As I researched the family tree of the Shrewsbury family, two things were evident. First, there was the infrequency with which an elder son succeeded his father. In fact for a period of 200 years, from 1667 to 1868, a father-son handover never occurred. Secondly, and the two facts were very much interrelated, the family changed their religious loyalty on several occasions.

When the sixth earl died in 1590 he was succeeded by his son Gilbert, Bess' son-in-law and stepson, who became the seventh earl. He and Mary had no surviving sons, so on his death in 1616 the line passed to Edward Talbot, his brother. He died the following year without sons, whereupon the earldom passed to a distant cousin, George Talbot. This was in 1617 when James I was on the throne. George's father, Sir John Talbot, was a noted recusant. In 1588, in the time of Elizabeth, he had been imprisoned in Wisbech Castle for having heard mass contrary to the law, and he was later confined in Ely gaol and elsewhere. George himself was an ordained Roman Catholic priest, so when he died celibate in 1630 he was succeeded by his nephew, John Talbot.

The family maintained their Catholic religion until 1679, when the twelfth earl, Charles Talbot, switched over to the Protestant faith. He was one of the group largely instrumental in replacing James II by William of Orange in the Revolution of 1688–9. He was also elevated to become Duke of Shrewsbury, but this title was not inherited by the next in line. When he died in 1718 he was followed by his cousin, Gilbert Talbot, a Jesuit priest. So back once more into the Catholic fold! A notable Talbot of this period was James Talbot, brother of the fourteenth earl. Born in 1726, he was to be the last priest to be publicly indicted for saying the mass in public. He was twice brought before the court, but found innocent, despite the efforts of the well-known 'Informer Payne'. A popular and honest man, James was known as 'the Good Bishop Talbot'.

The family remained Roman Catholic at the time of A.W.N. Pugin and the sixteenth earl, John Talbot. The Shrewsburys were second only to the Norfolks among the leading Catholic families of the country.

But this was not the end of the story. John Talbot's nephew, Bertrand Arthur Talbot, had been the seventeenth earl for only four years when he died in 1856. Believing himself to be the last of the line, he had willed his property to, among others, a son of the duke of Norfolk. However this was contested in a long legal battle by Henry Chetwynd-Talbot, a tenth cousin once removed. His connection with the line went right back to a younger brother of the second earl in the fifteenth century! He won his case, and so became the eighteenth earl. He was a Protestant, so once again the family loyalty was changed.

What happened after this is interesting, too: the scandalous elopement of the twentieth earl with Ellen Miller-Mundy, a married woman; the sale of Alton Towers; and the connection with Sunbeam-Talbot cars. But all that is another story.

Most of the information was found by trawling through various websites on the internet, in particular: www.altontowersheritage.com, with useful information from Gary Kelsall; www.newadvent.org; www.tudorplace.com. My thanks, too, to Rory O'Donnell for tidying up a few loose ends.

A.W.N. Pugin, Mother Catherine McAuley and the monastic tradition

from David Meara

A.W.N. Pugin built a large number of conventual buildings during his working life, and had great sympathy with the mediaeval monastic ideal. He expressed it most succinctly in his plate in *Contrasts* showing a monastic poor house giving succour to indigent and aged paupers, offering them the rites of the Catholic Church and a diet of 'Beef Mutton Bacon/Ale and Cider/Milk Porridge/Wheat Bread/Cheese': food for the body as well as food for the spirit, undergirded by fellowship, architecture in the correct style, and above all a strong Catholic faith. Pugin realised this vision most completely at St Augustine's and the Grange at Ramsgate, his home by the sea in Kent, where the offices were sung in his private chapel and mass celebrated by visiting priests from Margate; for a time he even had a private chaplain, Fr Acquerone.

J.H. Powell in his memoir 'Pugin in his home' describes the semi-monastic routine of morning and evening prayers, mass celebrated in the chapel on feast days, and plain, wholesome food served to family and guests alike!¹

When he came to design monastic and collegiate buildings Pugin not only drew on his extensive knowledge of mediaeval monastic design, but was also influenced by his desire to contain and enclose which grew out of his family experience and his own personality. Rory O'Donnell points out that Pugin had very 'definite views on the necessity of a strict enclosure required by the rule of orders of monks and nuns founded in the middle ages'.² These views were set out in *The true principles* (1841) and later in *The present state*, first published anonymously in the *Dublin review* in 1842. In describing his convent at Birmingham, Pugin says

Among the many important objects that have been lately accomplished by the English Catholics, the establishment of these charitable sisters [the Sisters of Mercy] is one which must prove most beneficial to the poorer classes and to the progress of religion in general. At London, Birmingham, and Liverpool, regular communities are now formed, living in conventual buildings, and fulfilling all the sacred duties of the order with scrupulous exactitude.³

It soon became apparent that Pugin's desire to adhere 'with scrupulous exactitude' to what he understood to be correct monastic architecture brought him into conflict with an order founded on more modern, open principles. Such an order was the Order of the Sisters of Mercy, founded in Dublin by Catherine McAuley (1778–1841).

McAuley was born in Dublin in 1778 but lived for 20 years in the village of Coolock, to the north-east of the city, with William and Catherine Callaghan. On William Callaghan's death Catherine McAuley inherited his substantial fortune which she used to build a house in Baggot Street, Dublin, which would serve as a shelter for homeless women and as a school for poor female children. The house opened in 1827 and was called the House of Mercy. Catherine, with two other companions, were professed as Sisters of Mercy on 12 December 1831 and she became mother superior. A number of sister houses were founded in Ireland and the order began to spread overseas. In 1839 Dr Thomas Griffiths, vicar apostolic of the London District, and Peter Butler, parish priest in Bermondsey, dedicated the first convent of the Sisters of Mercy in England. Arrangements to establish this house in Bermondsey, London, had been made early in 1837.

Pugin designed the Bermondsey convent, the first convent to be erected in England since pre-Reformation days [figure 44].⁴ It was erected next to the Holy Trinity Church 'in the ancient conventual style.' However, it was not to the liking of Mother McAuley, a formidable and saintly woman who knew her own mind and was used to dealing with convent buildings. She found the Bermondsey convent impractical and out of date.

The heart of the foundress sank as she walked through the bleak corridors of the unfurnished mansion. The nuns were chilled through and through whenever they attempted



Figure 44: A view of the Bermondsey Convent of Mercy, drawn by Francis Bedford for the *Architectural review*

From *Waterhouse* 1897-8, p 217.

to roam from the corner they inhabited. The house, more like a tomb than a monastic dwelling, was in the monastic style of some far-away century: a Pugin building by the great architect himself.

Even in the finished parts it was so damp that Mother McAuley doubted if it would be dry in three years. Here are extracts from her London letters:

The convent is not more than half built – I do not admire Mr Pugin's taste, though so celebrated – it is quite the old heavy monastic style. He was determined we should not look out at the windows – they are up to the ceiling – we could not touch the glass without standing on a chair. We have one good room finished, with brown walls and a long table. The schools are not commenced yet – they intend to put cells over them, which are much required – for the part that is compleated is not well laid out – too much room in some places and too little in others.... The Refectory is very neat, with tables like Cork – novaship [noviceship] very small. Kitchen fit for a castle – Ovens – boilers, etc – I am sure Mr Pugin likes to have dinner well dressed – It is boarded and nearly the best room in the House. The enclosed ground will be very nice when settled – at present it is not formed or even levelled.⁵

It is likely that Catherine McAuley's health deteriorated from the time she went to London to begin the Foundation at

Bermondsey. This must in part have been due to the dank and dreary nature of Pugin's first conventual design. Consequently when she was arranging for the foundation for the next convent in Birmingham she wanted to avoid some of the mistakes she felt had been made at Bermondsey. So she wrote to Thomas Walsh, vicar apostolic of the Midland District in February 1840 and set out a 'specification' for the proposed building:

My Lord – as to building – I beg leave to suggest the advantage of not doing so on a very limited scale. We should hope that an Establishment in Birmingham would be productive of others. Your Convent should have at least twenty cells – 10 feet by 7 – a small window – and small door made so close to the partition wall as to leave a sufficient space for the Bed's head – a novaship – about 18 feet by 14 – a Community room – Refectory – and Choir – each to be 25 feet by 19 – a good room for Infirmary – and a small reception parlour. It is very desirable there should be only two floors above the basement story. The refectory should be close to the Kitchen – all executed in the plainest style, without any cornice – cheap grates and stone chimneypieces.

This could be completed in ten months – and would not cost more than a smaller building – where ornamental work would be introduced. Or, my Lord, if you think it better – merely to commence preparations for building – and to hire a small House for a beginning – perhaps the people would be induced to contribute more freely to its completion – but it should be commenced, my Lord, as the Sisters would not feel happy – except they had a convent in prospect.

The Convent in Bermondsey is not well suited to the purpose – the sleeping rooms are too large – the other rooms too small – the corridors confined and not well lighted – all the gothic work outside has made it expensive. A plain simple durable building is much more desirable.⁶

Because he followed these general directions, Pugin's next convent for the Sisters of Mercy at Handsworth, Birmingham, was more successful [figure 45]. It was the gift of John Hardman senior (1767–1844), who gave the site, the buildings and the furnishings at a cost of £5,335. The Earl of Shrewsbury also contributed. The community moved in on 21st August 1841 and John Hardman senior's daughter, Mary Juliana, who had professed her vows at Baggot Street in Dublin, was appointed superior. She was to remain in her post for 35 years.⁷

Pugin drew inspiration for Handsworth from the late mediaeval hospital, such as St Cross at Winchester; in fact he based the Handsworth convent on the fifteenth-century Brown's Hospital at Stamford in Lincolnshire. It originally consisted of two intersecting ranges forming an L-shape, including refectory, chapel and small cloister. Pugin gives a full description of his convent in *The present state*:

The conventual buildings are constructed of bricks and stone doorways, windows, gables and dressings; and, as may be perceived by the engraving, the whole are extremely simple in design but yet of strictly ecclesiastical character; and from the unity of style which pervades the whole of

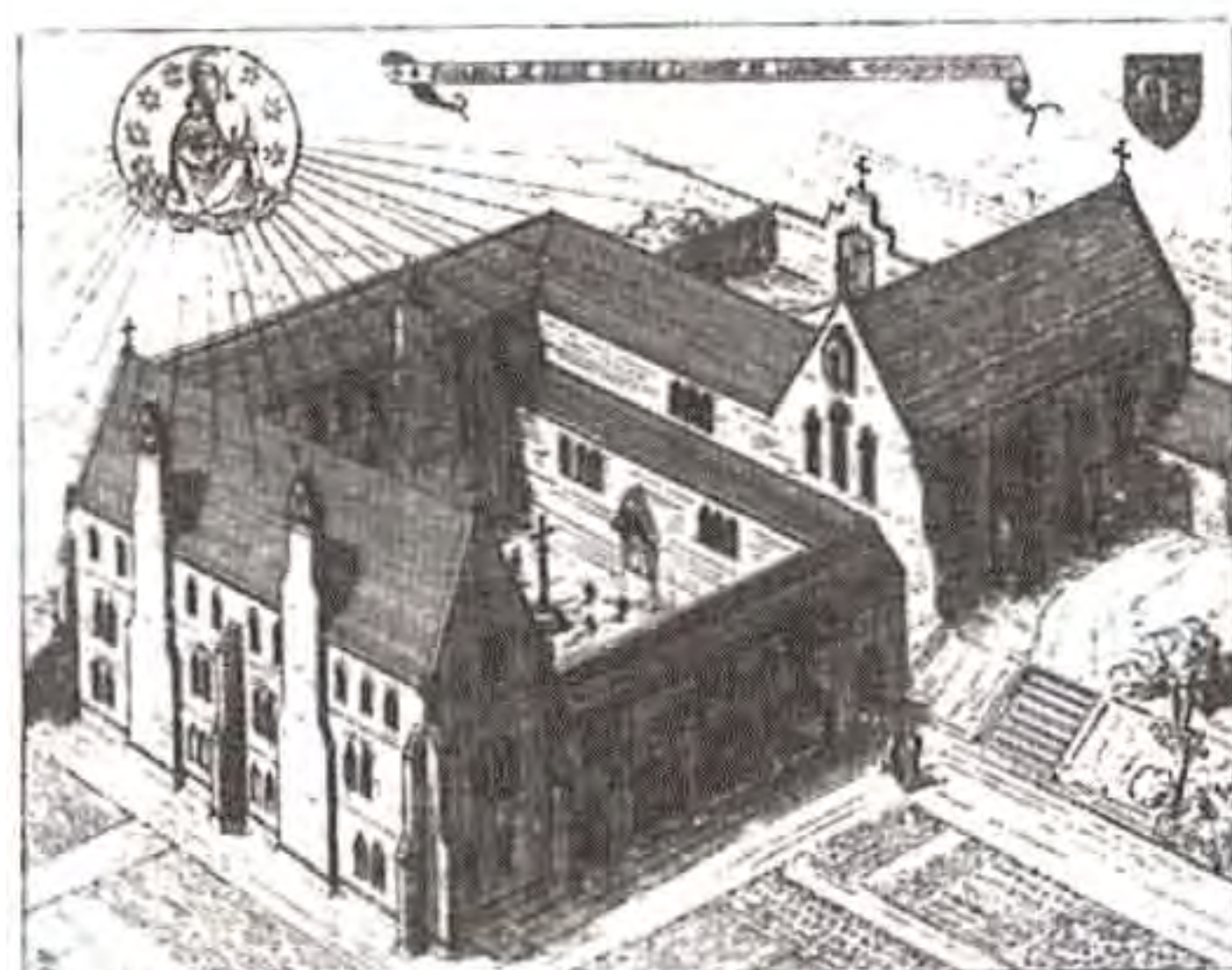


Figure 45: Pugin’s birdseye views of his Convents of Mercy at Handsworth (above) and Mount Vernon, Liverpool, drawn for the second part of his *Present state*, 1842 Pugin 1842, pl 12.

order of the Sisters of Mercy, which united monastic holiness with practical relief for the poor was not the kind Pugin most favoured, he was very anxious to revive convent communities. Above the refectory were the cells for the nuns, simple rooms opening on to a central corridor. This corridor ends with mullioned windows which open on to a view of the rood screen. Thus those too infirm to go to chapel could take part in community prayers and observe the sacred mysteries from above.

Although Mother McAuley disliked Pugin’s desire to incarcerate nuns in gaunt buildings with high windows, Pugin did manage to encircle the nuns at Handsworth by adding later a three-storey ‘House of Mercy’ for unemployed servant girls, and an additional cloister.

Pugin designed other convents including those at Mount Vernon [figure 45] and Old Swan, Liverpool (1841/47 onwards and 1844), Nottingham (1844 onwards), and in Ireland at Birr, County Offaly (1846–1856), Waterford (1842–8) and Gorey (1842–4). But the same desire to contain within enclosures which shows itself in Pugin’s love of compartment churches, screens and side chapels also manifested itself in his eagerness to surround the nuns within small spaces and within cloister ranges [figure 46, 47, 48]. Mother Catherine McAuley was strong enough to protest about this as comfortless and impractical. As one writer has commented ‘The impractical people who would have nothing but the ‘old ecclesiastic’ never thought of combining the convenience of modern civilisation, or rather its absolute requirements, with their bald Gothic barns, cheerless enough anywhere, but most melancholy amid the London fogs’.¹⁰

The Handsworth site is one of the most successful of his conventual designs, and one of the undoubted influences upon it was the firm belief of Mother McAuley that the

this edifice, and which extends to the furniture and other fittings, it produces a striking illustration of the old religious houses, as they existed in all their regularity and order. The following is a list of the various chambers, &c. contained in this building; – chapel, cloisters, oratory, cemetery, sacristy, refectory, noviciate parlour, community room, work room for religious, twenty cells, school-room, dining room for poor children, dormitory and playing-room for ditto, kitchen and other offices.⁸

This time Mother Catherine McAuley was truly satisfied. She wrote on 25 August 1841:

We had our ceremony on Thursday and sailed on Friday – got here about 4 o’c on Saturday, had scarcely time to put on the guimps, etc., when we were summoned to the choir where the Right Revd Dr Wiseman in full Pontificals recited the Te Deum – said a few animating words, & concluded with fervent prayer for the aid of Almighty God.

Convent is beautiful – and fully furnished for 20 sisters. Mr Pugin would not permit cloth of any kind on the rooms – rush chairs and oak Tables – but all is so admirable, so religious, that no want can be felt. The whole building cost but three thousand pounds. I would say 6 without hesitation.

The ceiling of the choir is blue and gold with the word – Mercy – in every type and character all over it.⁹

Pugin intended the Handsworth convent to be ‘a perfect revival of a Catholic hospital of the old time’. Although the



Figure 46: Part of the second-stage cloister at the Convent of Mercy, Handsworth, designed by Pugin in 1844 Photographed by the Editor in February 2006.



Figure 47: A view into the cloister court at the former St Joseph's convent, Cheadle

Photographed by the Editor in February 2006.



Figure 48: Pugin's unconventional plan of the Cheadle convent, showing how the whole of the building is arranged around a long corridor
Brittain-Catlin 2006, p 365 fig 14.

the sisters are surrounded with mercy.¹²

Notes

- 1 See Wedgwood 2006, p 13.
- 2 O'Donnell 1994, p 81.
- 3 Pugin 1843, pp 103–4.
- 4 The architectural design of this and all the rest of Pugin's English convents are described in detail in Brittain-Catlin 2006.
- 5 Sullivan 2004, pp 227–8.
- 6 Sullivan 2004 pp 250–1.
- 7 See entry in Gillow 1885.
- 8 Pugin 1843, p 104.
- 9 Sullivan 2004, p 432.
- 10 Carroll 1883, p 56.
- 11 Sullivan, 2004, p 293.
- 12 Sullivan 2004, p 433.

mistakes of Bermondsey should not be repeated in Birmingham. She says of the plans for the convent at Birmingham, in a letter of August 1840 to Dr Thomas Walsh, vicar apostolic of the Midland District:

We have had a delightful description of the Convent in Birmingham. Every person who has seen it admires it. I am not so much afraid of Mr Pugin as I was. He is so fond of high walls and few windows [see figure 49].¹¹

Catherine McAuley's concern for her work amongst the poor and for the welfare of her sisters emboldened her to stand up to Pugin's desire to enclose and contain. A letter she wrote in late August 1841 shows her satisfaction with what Pugin achieved

in Birmingham:

The convent is very nice indeed. They tell me it cost three thousand pounds, though there is not one rib of stucco, or one panelled door, except in the chapel. I have never seen so plain a building. I have seldom seen such a general favourite as Mr Pugin is in this part of England. Nothing is perfect that he does not plan and execute. He has manifested much taste, yet I do think some of his plans would admit of improvement; for example, he has brought the cells close to the chapel-door, which will, I fear, be attended with some inconvenience. I do not admire his gilded figures of saints; they are very coarse representations, and by no means calculated to inspire devotion. The stained glass and the ceiling of the chapel, with the word 'Mercy' at least one hundred times, in varied characters, are very beautiful. It may be said



Figure 49: The street front of the Cheadle convent from the north-east

Photographed by the Editor in May 2002.

Theodore John Baptiste Phyffers, sculptor, c1820–76

Stuart Toms has been researching the life and work of Belgian sculptor Theodore Phyffers. He has sent us this short introduction to Phyffers' life and work, extracted from a much longer document which he is currently updating.

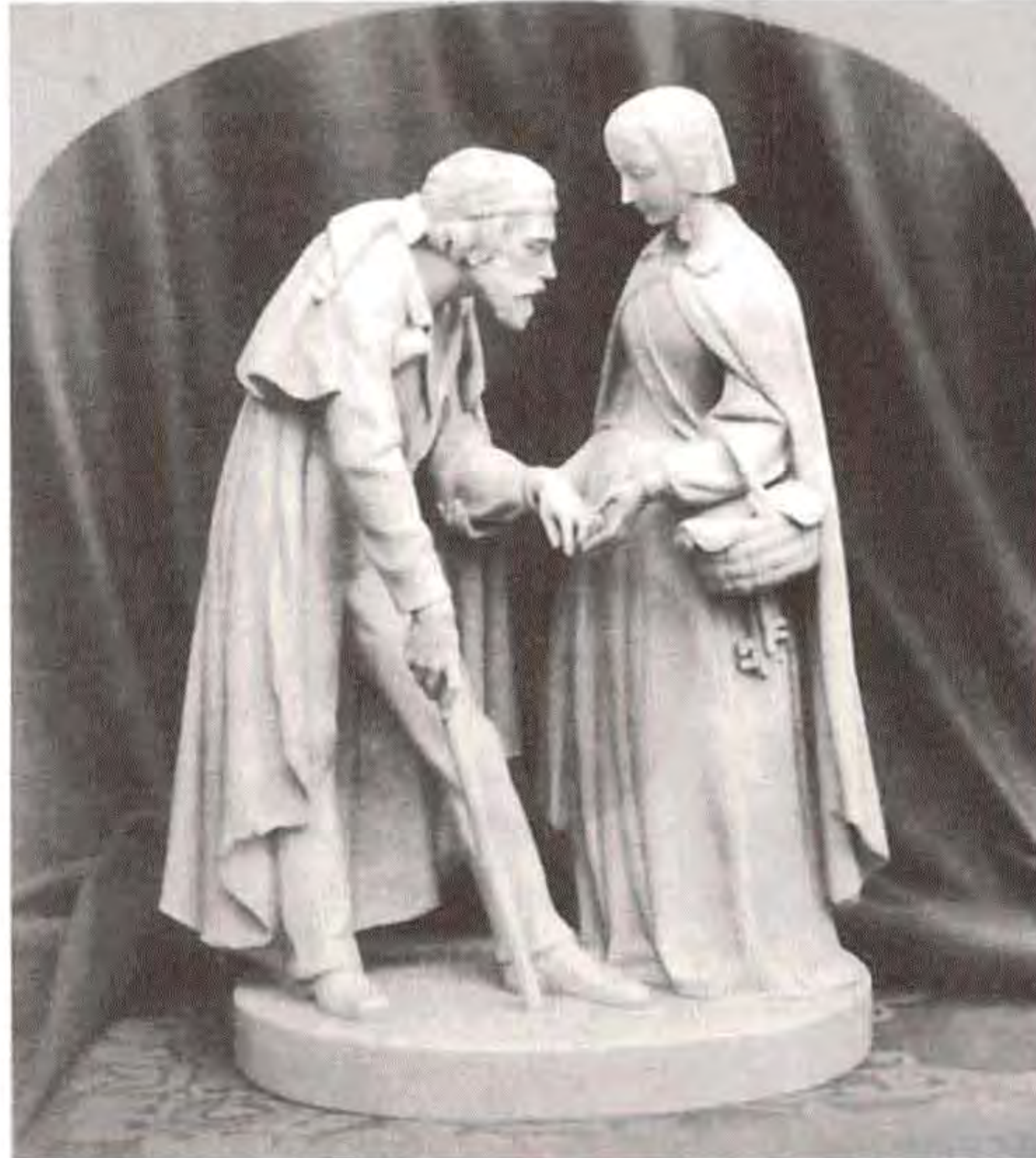


Figure 50: *The wounded at Scutari* by Theodore Phyffers, probably executed in the spring of 1857
Private collection.

Theodore Phyffers was born around 1820 in Leuven, Belgium, and studied religious sculpture under Karel Hendrik Geerts. A.W.N. Pugin recruited Phyffers in 1844 to carve models, and guide those workers executing woodcarvings, for the new Houses of Parliament, London.

Phyffers married, became a naturalised British subject, and remained in London working for architects such as A.W.N. Pugin, a young J.F. Bentley, Matthew and Charles Hadfield, Henry Clutton, and William Burges. He also formed a brief business partnership with a 'James Forsyth, sculptor' – possibly *the* James Forsyth famed for his fountains and religious works. Theodore Phyffers, Thomas Willson, Thomas Willement, N.H.J. Westlake, and Charles Hadfield were among J.F. Bentley's circle of close friends. They met frequently, both in Bentley's rooms and in Phyffers' Pimlico studio, to socialise and discuss their artistic endeavours. It was in his studio that Phyffers introduced Bentley to Westlake, thereby starting another long lasting friendship.

In addition to statuary, Phyffers specialised in altar carvings, reredoses and reliefs in wood, stone and brass. His work can be found in the cathedrals of Carlisle, Limerick, Canterbury, Antwerp, and St Marie, Sheffield. For the latter he carved the original high altar and reredos to A.W.N. Pugin's design (c1850), apparently whilst working for George Myers. 20 U.K. churches, both Roman Catholic and Anglican, containing Phyffers' work have also been identified. These include St Marie's church, Rugby, designed by A.W.N. and E.W. Pugin, which has Phyffers' statuary on Whelan's tower of 1872.

Phyffers exhibited numerous busts at the Royal Academy exhibitions including those of his contemporaries H.S. Parkman, J.R. Clayton, J. Billing and Ewan Christian. His most publicly acclaimed exhibit was the statuette of 'The wounded at Scutari' – a figurative group depicting Florence Nightingale supporting a wounded Crimean soldier [figure 50]. It was commissioned by Florence Nightingale's friend and travelling companion Mrs Selina Bracebridge. Phyffers was also commissioned to carve statues and stone reliefs for the Durbar Court of the India Office (now part of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office), London. He died in 1876 after suffering phthisis throughout the previous year. His wife and children survived him.

The art of the stained glass window is still flourishing

Andrew Taylor describes *The seed and the sower*, the window he designed and made for the Tropnell chapel in All Saints' church at Great Chalfield, Wiltshire, in 1996.

One reason for moving from London with my family in 1992 was to enjoy a more rural way of life. So I set up my studio at our home in Littleton Panell near the Lavingtons on the Salisbury plain in Wiltshire.

In 1999 I was invited to Great Chalfield Manor to meet Robert Floyd of the donor family to discuss his idea of a new memorial window to depict the story of *The Seed and the sower*, a favourite parable of his father [figure 51]. Robert's angle was unusual in that he wanted to represent the parable from a naturalist's point of view as his father had set up the Wiltshire Wildlife Trust. My initial design was for a small two-light window in the chancel but then I was asked to redesign for the larger window in the Tropnell chapel.

The concept was particularly interesting to me as an instinctive lover of landscape and the natural world. We discussed the content and I produced early designs. I was a little apprehensive when in due course, after doing the design, I received a list of the 49 types of nesting bird and 24 passing feathered visitors recorded at the estate, along with 120 types of plant recorded in the 'White Ladie's Coppice', a later addition to the estate. But this was just enthusiasm on Robert's part: 'Just put in what you can' was his encouraging remark.

Passionate about wildlife as were his parents, he took me across the fields one evening to find partridges grubbing in the bare earth of a stubble field, exactly as he wanted depicted in the right-hand light of the window 'where seeds fall on rocky ground and are eaten by the birds'. The left hand was to show seeds fallen into bramble and stifled from life; the central light to show well grown corn. In the tracery, a collection of creatures – insects, bats and birds – were carefully selected by the donor.

This window was created using quite traditional techniques. The glass is mainly hand-blown English antique glass, with pot-metal colours, some flashed and with some French and German glass. A dense vitreous paint which can create every nuance of line, shade and light, made from metal oxides with ground glass frit, rather like pottery glazes, is applied onto the glass and fired to create the image; this combined with the effective silver stain on clear or pale tinted glass which makes the painterly yellows and golds, and limited acid etching for more complex pieces.

To finish the work at Great Chalfield church, over the next two years, my studio releaded all the quarried glass. We also reset the mediaeval fragments above the main door into isothermal glazing, *ie*, fitting the panels into bronze frames with an outer glass shield to ensure the mediaeval glass is protected from damp and condensation which accelerate the erosion of the glass surface and paint.

My interest in stained glass was late in developing. After attending art college in Cardiff, my initial years of employment were as a scenic painter in the theatrical/opera world. One mainly had to interpret the designs of others into full scale sets so the creative part, for a set painter, was in the interpretation. As well as turning one's hand to all types of painting methods and media (and artistic reference to different periods of history) one quickly became accustomed to working on a large scale and at speed to meet the constant deadlines. It was a great apprenticeship.

Looking back I see my change of career to working in glass as a natural progression of my thoughts and inner creative images; my paintings of earlier years sometimes had a mosaic quality and preshadowed my move into stained glass. Figure 53 shows a detail of the 'Fish' painting I did some six years before my interest in stained glass surfaced. Fish are evolving from the mosaic shapes. The small goldfish near the centre is mesmerised by a reflection of shimmering light cast by a rose window on the floor of a pool. The larger fish above it had evolved from an earlier painting, a softer shape which also seemed to represent the 'philosopher's stone'.

About six years later I bought some cheap coloured glass, a length or two of lead calm, some basic glazier's tools, and with an instruction book in one hand, I leaded my first panel. Quickly I discovered I had to learn more, particularly about painting the glass. I acquired a kiln, took classes and by lucky chance I received my first main commission at St Simon and Jude's Roman Catholic church, Hillside Road, Streatham [figure 56]. Things grew from there.



Figure 51: 'The seed and the sower', Tropnell chapel, All Saints' church, Great Chalfield
Andrew Taylor, 1999.

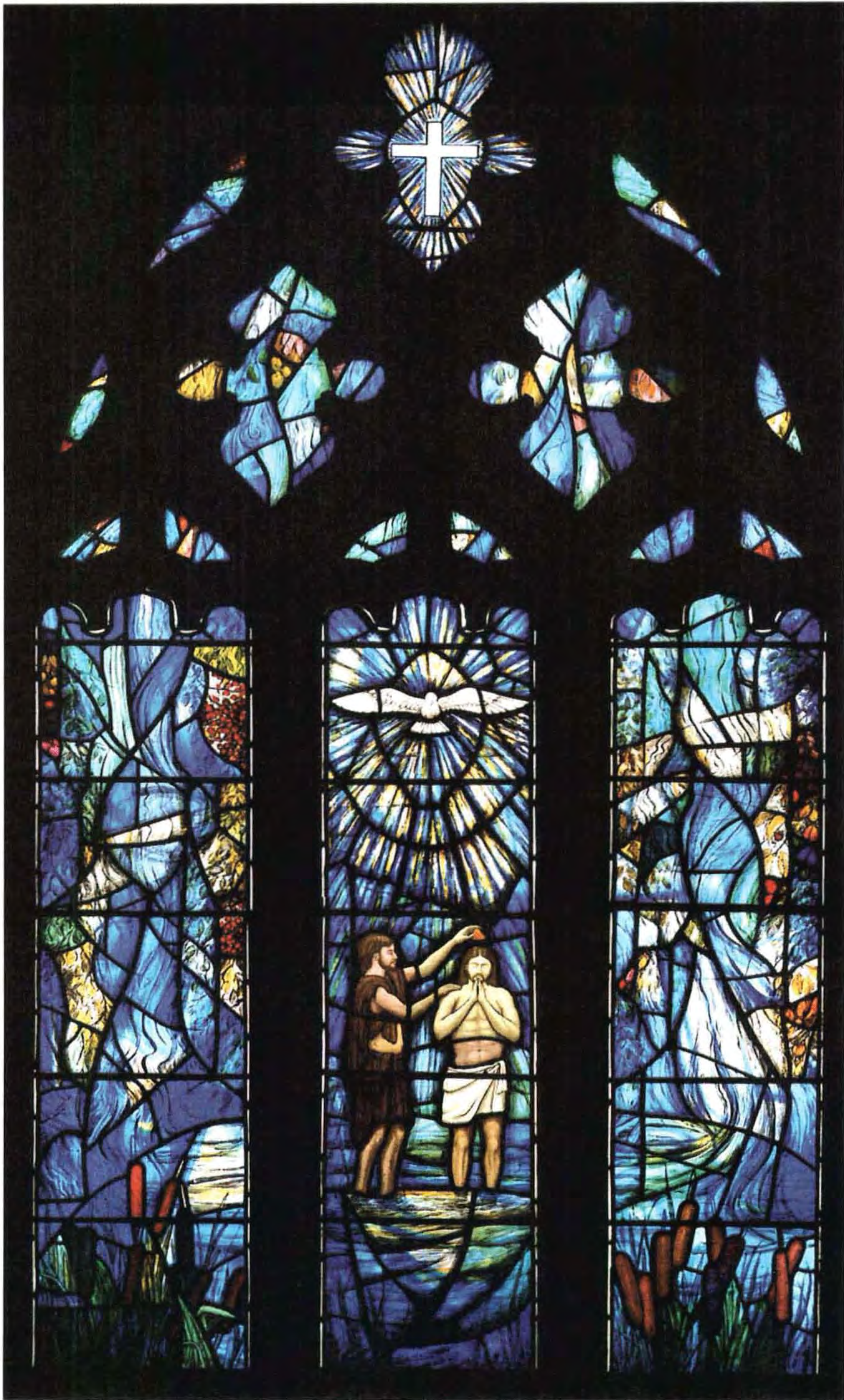


Figure 52: 'Baptism of Christ', St Thomas' church, Southwick, Trowbridge, Wiltshire
Andrew Taylor, 2006.



Figure 53: A sketch of a fish
Andrew Taylor.



Figure 54: Private commission
Andrew Taylor, 2007.



Figure 55: 'St John the Evangelist', St John's Roman Catholic church, Tadworth, Surrey
Andrew Taylor, 2006.



Figure 56: Thomas More and John Fisher, Ss Simon and Jude, Streatham
 Andrew Taylor, 1991.

Stained glass is a very 'process orientated' discipline and quite laborious at times. The journey from initial idea, sketches, designs, life-size cartoon drawing, the analytical cut-line, then finally cutting and painting glass, is a long and arduous one. At the end of the committee deliberation process which can be years later (in the case of church commissions and public buildings), the freshness of the idea and spontaneity in execution still need to be there and I feel that this freshness is primarily conveyed through the painting of the glass. Sometimes one's ideas move on and a design which may seem very 'last year' needs to be reappraised and can be brought to life again in act of the painting.

Although I don't follow a particular school I am aware of many influences. I look at favourite paintings, from classical to modern, and Chinese painting with its spontaneity and gestural marks, as well as at stained glass from mediaeval to modern works, particularly the work of the late John Hayward [see figure 62]. In every style and period of paint there is something to glean and use in one's own work.

John Piper put his finger on the stained glass artist's need to remain in touch with one's creative source and being able to return frequently to that source for renewal. On stained glass he said 'As **craft** it is in constant need of direction and control and nourishment of all kinds from art; from painting, sculpture and architecture'.

Aside from painting glass I enjoy *plein air* painting, quite a challenging activity in the changing light of the British landscape and where one deals with light in a completely different way.

Robert Floyd adds

The window at Great Chalfield parish church is a thanksgiving for my grandparents who restored the manor house, including the church itself; their only child, my late mother; and her two husbands; John Boyle, father of my three elder half-brothers, who was killed near Anzio in 1944; and my father Charles Floyd FLS who died in 1971. I have two younger brothers, and the window was dedicated in 1999 three years after my mother's death. Andrew Taylor and his family joined the service and the lunch party afterwards.

My mother's favourite parable was the parable of the sower, and the design is a more rural version of John Piper's colourful window of the same subject at Eton. The original plan was to put the window in the two-light window on the north side of the chancel. But then the splendid archdeacon, the Venerable John Smith, said we could put it not there but in the Tropnell chapel because 'it will make a better window'. He had suggested I look at some of Andrew's windows in Devizes which have beautiful clarity of colour.

So then we had three lights, and Andrew suggested the yew tree as a symbol of longevity. We applied for a faculty to include the moving some nineteenth-century geometric coloured glass to another window in the vestry, on condition that we reglazed that as well with the original panes. Then happily Andrew had a free hand to create designs in the traceries. He photographed moths like the garden tiger and the hawk moths from my late father's local collection. So the idea is to celebrate God's generosity in the wildlife of the parish, and to encourage visitors to enjoy it. Charles Flower, a family friend, suggested including the spike star of Bethlehem or 'bath asparagus', a favourite local plant in my father's eye; with this late spring exception all are summer flowers. The archdeacon edited the dedication, which was most helpful, and Andrew got the whole thing done without one cross word. He used his village hall to construct a cartoon, and made a nice watercolour for the diocesan advisory committee. 'Very arts and crafts, Robert' said Lisa White, an art historian friend who runs the Attingham summer school. I think Andrew enjoyed it all.

A new stained glass window at St Joseph's convent, Cheadle

from Michael Fisher

St Joseph's convent was built in 1846–8 on the south side of St Giles' church, with its own private access from the cloister into the churchyard. Built of brick with sandstone trim, it forms part of a complex of A.W.N. Pugin buildings (the others being the school, the presbytery in Chapel Street, and of course St Giles' itself) which moved the late Professor Nikolaus Pevsner to declare that 'Cheadle is Pugin-land'.¹ The most prominent feature is a saddleback tower surmounted by a timber-framed bellcote and lead-covered spirelet. The cloister is also a part-timber construction and has a two-light window by Hardman [see

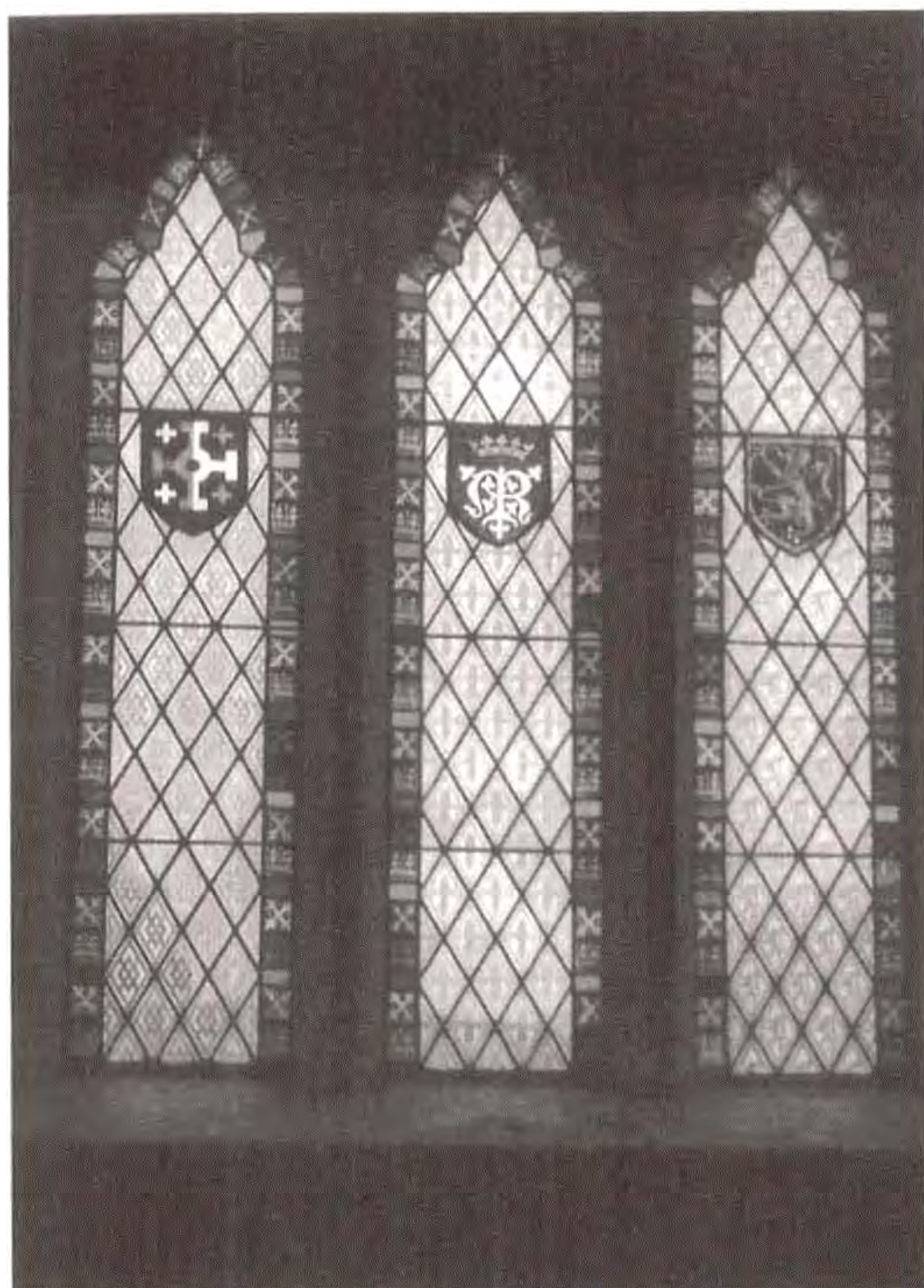


Figure 57: The new chapel window at the former St Joseph's convent, Cheadle

Photographed by Michael Fisher in June 2008.

and patterned quarries inspired by the Pugin-Willement glass in St John's church, Alton, with the St Chad cross and the Talbot lion flanking the crowned monogram of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the centre light [see figure 57]. It is good to know that an important part of Staffordshire's 'Pugin Trail' is being lovingly cared for by people who regard themselves as custodians rather than mere proprietors.

Notes

- 1 Pevsner 1974b, p 97.
- 2 The planning of the convent is described in detail in Brittain-Catlin 2006.

Building news

edited by James Jago

Roman Catholic church of All Saints, Barton-upon-Irwell, Greater Manchester (E.W. Pugin 1865–8)

This imposing and unusually lavish work by E.W.P. was granted £481,000 towards urgent repair costs by English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund in March this year. Major repair work, undertaken by Lloyd Evans Pritchard Ltd, has combated damage caused by an outbreak of dry rot to the chancel roof. Fr Brian Blundell, the guardian of All Saints', acknowledged the church's importance and its value to the local community: "All Saints' is important in the history of the area and for its rare architectural interest but most importantly as a living place of worship". Hailed by Pevsner as 'Pugin's masterwork', this richly finished Grade I-listed church was financed by Sir Humphrey de Trafford, and was built alongside the equally imposing de Trafford chantry. Also by E.W.P., this is a rare instance of a chantry predating the church to which it is attached. The ensemble demonstrates E.W.P.'s powers in designing richly articulated spaces and surfaces both externally, with a characterful western gable sporting a prominent rose window and bellcote, and internally, where the coursings of

figures 47, 48, 49 above].² Originally home to the Sisters of Mercy from Carlow, Ireland, who were there until 1898, the convent was successively occupied by Dominican sisters, the Sisters of Charity of St Paul, and finally the Sisters of the Visitation, until it closed in 1970.

The buildings had an uncertain future until they were eventually sold to Pugin enthusiasts David and Kate Scorey who turned the convent into a private family home, also offering bed and breakfast accommodation for visitors to the area. The Scoreys undertook much-needed repairs and restoration work, for example the reconstruction and releading of the belfry, repointing of brickwork, and the renewal of sandstone window mullions. Internally, David has installed two superbly constructed oak tables made by a Cheadle joiner to Pugin designs in the V&A collection.

The chapel on the first floor remains furnished as such, and is used for daily prayer by this Roman Catholic family who are active members of St Giles'. David's principal addition here is new stained glass to replace the existing clear glass in the east window. Made by a Staffordshire stained-glass artist, Graham Chaplin, the three-light window has heraldic devices

piers and arches alternate with striking brilliance between red Runcorn and white Painswick sandstones. The figurative details of capitals and label stops are attributed to E.W.P.'s favourite sculptor, Richard Boulton, who also carved the surviving, angel-laden polychrome marble reredos. The murals flanking the chancel are by J.A. Pippett, and include a rare portrait of E.W.P. kneeling before the *agnus Dei* and holding a ground plan. The all-pervading expense of All Saints' stands in marked contrast to the contemporaneous churches for impoverished urban congregations that constitute the larger part of E.W.P.'s output in the 1860s. The restrictions imposed elsewhere undoubtedly goaded his creative powers to conceive a church whose outlay in material and artistic terms stands worthy comparison with those in the vanguard of Anglican church design at this period.

Former Roman Catholic chapel of Our Lady, Euxton Hall, Chorley, Lancashire (E.W. Pugin, 1866)



Figure 58: Former chapel, Euxton Hall: view from the south-east

© Andrew Gray.

After the saddening dispersal of furnishings from E.W.P.'s chapel at Inglewood House, Berkshire, members will be gladdened to hear of the sensitive restoration of this long-derelict chapel. Built by William and Lady Emma Anderton to consolidate their Lancashire estate, the three-bay chapel externally alternates red sandstone with yellow for architectural details, offset by a polychromatic patterned slate rood. The original stencilling of the interior was irrevocably lost, though remains of original colour survive in the Minton tiled floor, incorporating the Anderton coat of arms, and in the three-light Hardman & Co west window, which portrays Christ enthroned in a mandorla between the Virgin Mary, St Joseph and the four living beasts. This fine work commemorates Lady Emma Anderton, who died in the year of the chapel's completion [figures 58,59].

After being used as a food store until the mid-twentieth century, with the sale of the house to the Bell family, the chapel was again set in order for worship only to be deconsecrated and have its furnishings removed in 1982 when the ownership of the hall once again changed. After two further decades of decline and neglect, enshrouded by trees and vandalised, the chapel was purchased by Andrew Gray, curator of herpetology at the Manchester Museum, as a restoration and conversion project. The subdivision of the interior and its harmonious conversion into self-contained residential accommodation has preserved as far as feasible the volume of the original space and conserved the fabric and original elements. Replacement floor tiles were manufactured from surviving designs by Maw & Co, and the Hardman window was successfully conserved and the paintwork recovered by Jonathan & Ruth Cooke Ltd. More details of the entire restoration process are available at www.euxtonhallchapel.com, and any members wishing to register an interest in this successful conversion prior to its being placed upon the property market should contact Andrew Gray at Andrew@euxtonhallchapel.com



Figure 59: Former chapel, Euxton Hall: the restored Hardman west window

© Andrew Gray.

Anglican parish church of St Swithun, Leadenham, Lincolnshire (decoration by A.W.N. Pugin, 1841)

At the end of August 1841 A.W.N.P. visited his friend, Rev Bernard Smith, then still an Anglican, at his mediaeval church of St Swithun's, Leadenham, and undertook (or at least supervised) the decoration of the chancel ceiling. The scheme bears comparison to the similarly patterned and inscribed ceiling A.W.N.P. designed during his restoration of Wymeswold for the sympathetic Rev Henry Alford; the use of ornamental texts was clearly conditioned to Protestant sensibilities and made an insightful distinction from the elaborate schemes prepared for Catholic patrons. The rector, Dr Alan Megahey and his parishioners have had the A.W.N.P. designs restored and cleaned at a cost of approximately £12,000, of which £10,000 is already in place. The work has been carried out by Ricketts & Smith of Shaftesbury, Dorset, conservators and restorers of historic interiors. The next step will be to

install appropriate new lighting, without which the restoration will not be as easy to see or enjoy as it should be. Dr Megahey can be contacted at rector.leadenham@btinternet.com

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

The redevelopment proposals for the Mount St Mary's site put forward by DLA Architecture have been approved by the Leeds city centre plans panel, and as the church is Grade II* listed they have been passed to the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport. The current scheme proposes to conserve the E.W.P. transepts and sanctuary to serve as an imposing narthex to a seven-storey residential block on the site of the nave by J.A. Hansom (1855–7). This new building will respect the profile of the nave and aisle roofs, expressed in a modern idiom and faced in zinc alloy sheeting. The W. Wardell presbytery (Grade II listed) to the north-west of the church would be replaced by a five-storey residential block, with a rear wing stretching along the northern boundary of the site. The Victorian Society understandably maintains that sacrificing so much of the original



Figure 60: The surviving EW Pugin reredos to the Joseph altar, Mount St Mary's, Leeds
Squasher/Flickr.



Figure 61: Lower section of the recently uncovered root of Jesse windows, Mount St Mary's, Leeds.
Squasher/Flickr.

structure is unjustifiable, that the E.W.P. components will be left as a 'meaningless shell', and that the presbytery is not beyond feasible rehabilitation.

As has been previously stated, our Society's obligation to this still magnificent church is primarily to safeguard the future of the E.W.P. east end which contains separately listed altars and three two-light sanctuary windows by Hardman & Co [figures 60, 61]. The recent removal of sections of boarding, which have safeguarded these windows since the church was closed in 1989, has revealed the brilliance of their colouring and draughtsmanship. The windows depict a root of Jesse theme. The Society has also made clear its support for a proactive attempt to recover as far as possible the original appearance of the transepts and sanctuary, rather than acquiescing to the initial ideology of preserving the interior in its current state, as a social document of the church's last active phase. We have encouraged reconstruction of the partly dismantled high altar and sensitive conservation of the transept chapel altars. We have also highlighted the present opportunity for an archaeological investigation, examining whether any original paintwork scheme remains

beneath one undertaken by volunteers in the 1970s, and questioning to what degree this could be reinstated. Whilst the realisation of the new apartment complex is ultimately outside our brief, we have pointed out that the detailing at the junction between old and new structures should be very sensitively handled. This interesting proposal for redevelopment is indicative not merely of the explosion of innercity building witnessed in Leeds in recent years, but also of the marked changes in responses to conservation issues on difficult and challenging sites, of which Mount St Mary's is an undeniable example. All the parties concerned now await Mr Burnham's response (and no cynicism at his aesthetic sensibilities is intended).

Anglican parish church of Saint Mary, Sherborne, Dorset (window by A.W.N. Pugin, 1849–50)

From the time when the Society was but in its infancy the unlaidd ghost of a conservation *cause célèbre* arises! The Worshipful Company of Glaziers has contacted the Society for its opinions and advice for securing a longterm future for the displaced A.W.N.P./Hardman & Co west window from the above church, which is currently stored in the London Stained Glass Repository. The glass was transferred to the company upon its removal in 1996, following the upholding by the Court of Arches of the decision of the consistory court of the Diocese of Salisbury which had granted a faculty for the A.W.N.P. glass to be replaced with a newly

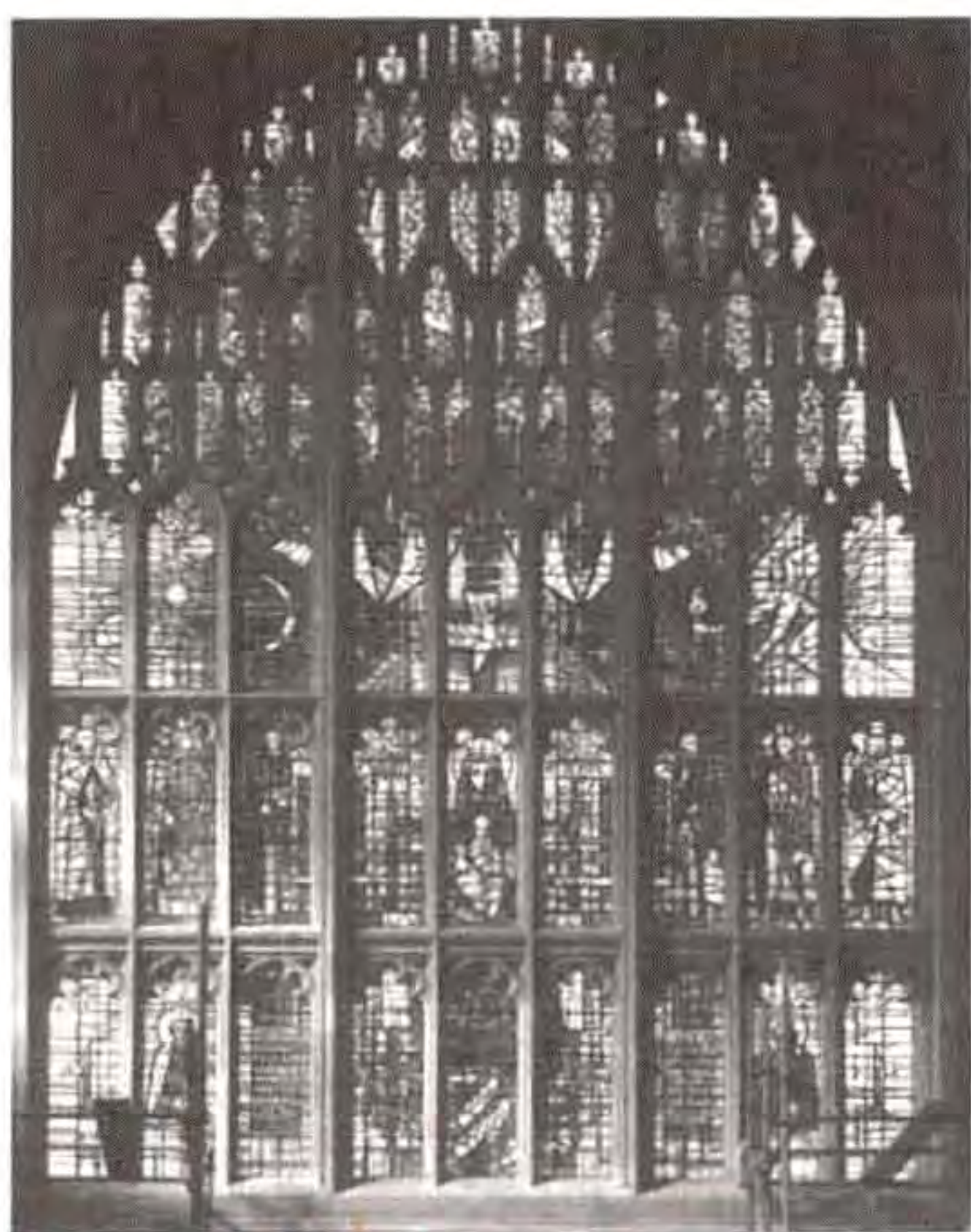


Figure 62: The Incarnation window by the late John Hayward at Sherborne

Andrew Taylor

commissioned window by the late John Hayward FMGP [figure 62]. Whilst the case for retaining the window was valiantly argued by both the Victorian Society and Stanley Shepherd (see *Journal of stained glass*, vol 19, 1995, pp 315–22), the ecclesiastical authorities endorsed both the parish's wish to replace the deteriorated glass with a new window and the conscious, though mistaken, de-emphasis voiced by certain parties on A.W.N.P.'s role in the window's design and production.

The 27 figures portraying a complex iconography of Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, deriving from the portals of Ile-de-France cathedrals, was an integral part of the elaborate restoration program of 1850–5, overseen by R.C. Carpenter. The scale and richness of this restoration, including the painting of the chancel fan vault by J.D. Crace to the designs of Clayton & Bell, is of equal importance to the Gothic Revival with the lost 1841 restoration of Temple Church. The building has thus been compromised by the replacement of Pugin's west window – a 'run-of-the-mill nineteenth century work' as Mr Hayward put it – with a new one in a style which is very

much evocative of a period that has in the meantime become unfashionable.

The glass itself has suffered from extensive paint loss, due either to underfiring during production or from the use of borax pigment, resulting in the loss of much detail on the draperies, faces and attributes of the figures. This does not mean that its original appearance is irrecoverable: the lost details can either be repainted directly onto the glass in gouache or painted and fired onto white glass hung in front of the original panels. To prevent any further paint loss, the panels should be isothermically glazed, a standard conservation technique used on the celebrated sixteenth-century glass at Fairford, Gloucestershire. Given the site-specific nature of stained glass, finding a suitable new location for the 65" x 20" panels will undoubtedly prove difficult, and any new site would ideally enable their original iconographic sequence to be retained. Any suggestions from members are most welcome.

Book reviews

Invested with bright rays

Hardman of Birmingham: goldsmith and glass-painter. By Michael Fisher.

2008, Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing, 2008. ISBN 9781843063629. RRP £25.00

reviewed by Alexandra Wedgwood

The Pugin Society has a great deal to thank Michael Fisher for. He shares several characteristics with his hero, A.W.N. Pugin: energy, capacity for hard work, immense productivity and, fundamentally, love of God and all things Gothic. He is also an excellent draughtsman, a serious historian and an indefatigable researcher. Again like Pugin, he wants to influence the widest possible audience, chiefly through his writings, but also his lectures and tours. In this way he has done enormous service to Pugin and all his works. He is indeed a hero himself.

Michael Fisher was born in Staffordshire, where he discovered and was enchanted by many of the chief Pugin sites as a child. In *Alton Towers, a Gothic wonderland* (1999, second edition 2002), he worked from primary sources to explain properly and for the first time the history of that extraordinary and complicated building, the seat of the nineteenth-century earls of Shrewsbury. During this period he was working with the owners of the property, advising them on sensitive and historically correct restoration. It is good to know that he still serves on the Alton Towers Heritage Committee. He followed this with *Pugin-Land: A.W.N. Pugin, Lord Shrewsbury and the Gothic Revival in Staffordshire* (2002). Here, to mark the 150th anniversary of the deaths of these two men, he considered their joint works throughout the county. The delightful guide *Perfect Cheadle, St Giles' Catholic church, Cheadle, Staffordshire* came



Figure 63: John Hardman Junior (1811–67)
Portrait at Lightwoods House.

metalwork, and is even prepared to design decorative schemes for churches. Fisher's profound knowledge of the primary sources for Pugin's work means that he is immensely valuable to the firm, and by 2003 he had become its archivist. This account then is a history of the business from its foundation by A.W.N. Pugin and John Hardman junior (1811–67) in 1838 until today, 170 years later, an astonishing and, sadly, unusual survival. Not only has the business survived but so also to a large extent has its archive, with one large part of it in the Bir-

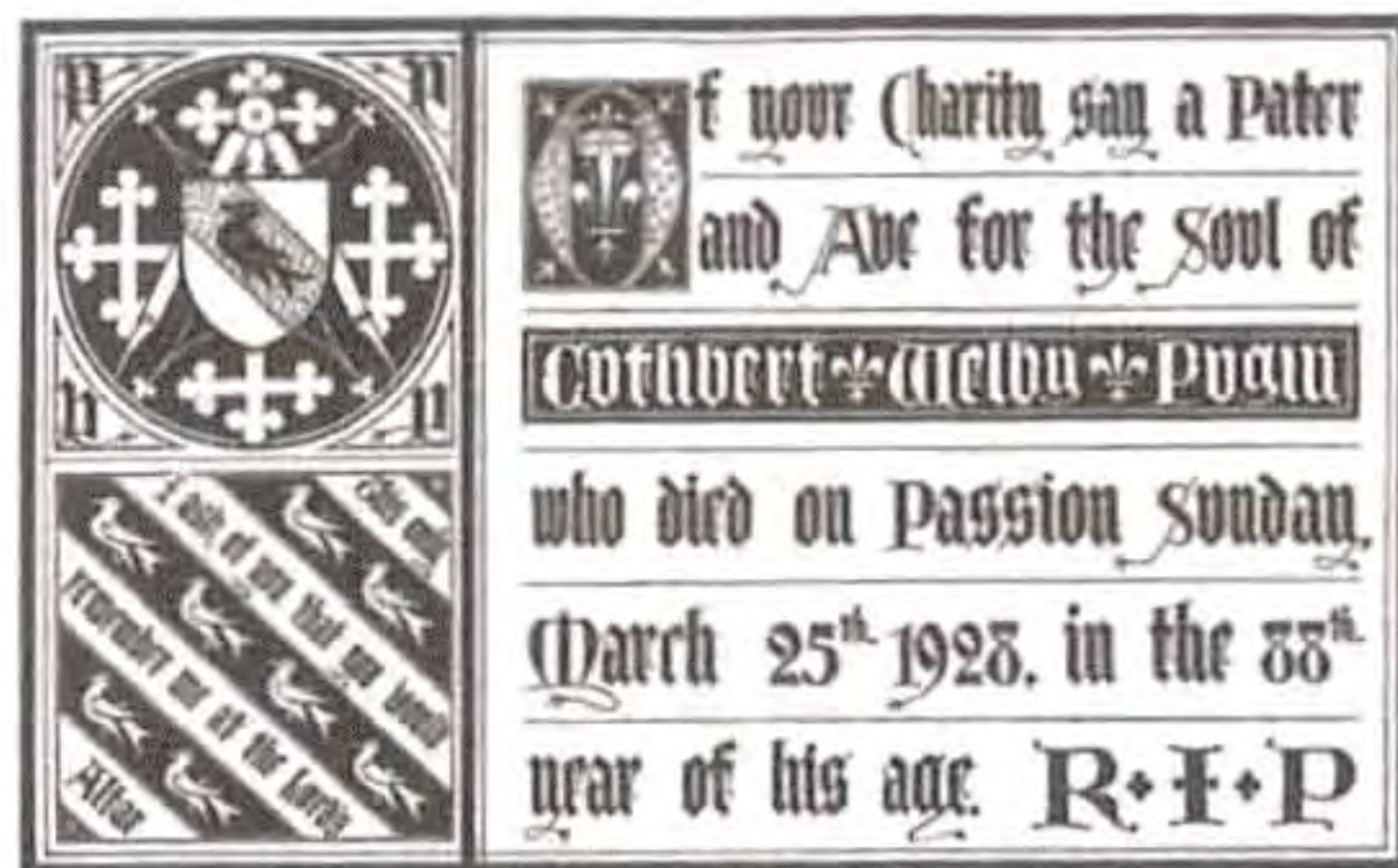


Figure 65: Hardman funerary art: mortuary card for CW Pugin, 1928
Lightwoods House collection.

mingham City Archives and another called Hardman Archive: Lightwoods House Collection, and Fisher has written this book based on his unrivalled familiarity with this wealth of material. The story starts in Birmingham in the 1830s and the Hardman family button-making business in Paradise Street. Pugin probably met John Hardman at the Roman Catholic seminary at Oscott, just outside the city, in early 1837, where he quickly became involved in the furnishing of the new chapel. They were both young men, very close in age, Hardman from a long line of Roman Catholics and Pugin a new convert, and they immediately became life-long friends. As Fisher notes, Pugin's first known letter to Hardman mentioned mediaeval church plate and his infectious enthusiasm was such that almost exactly one year later, in June 1838, the button-making business was expanded to include ecclesiastical metalwork under the name of the Mediaeval Art Manufactory, in partnership with Jeremiah Iliffe. Pugin had been interested in metalwork design since his youthful passion for Dürer. It was a challenge to develop the local skills to execute them but there was a large pool of expertise to call upon in the Birmingham metalworking and jewellery trades and outworkers were frequently used. From the beginning Pugin kept a close eye on the production. He also started a collection at Hardman's of mediaeval objects, both to inspire and to educate the craftsmen. In spite of what he said and wrote about mediaeval methods, Pugin allowed Hardman to use modern ones, such as electroplating and electrogilding. In fact during Pugin's lifetime most of Hardman's church plate was of plated base metal.

The business grew rapidly, largely dependant on Pugin's rising reputation as an architect and propagandist, and was soon producing splendid examples of metal objects in Gothic styles. It also diversified,

in 2004, and then in 2006 my own favourite, *Staffordshire and the Gothic Revival*. Here Fisher manages brilliantly to tell the complete history of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival by giving thorough studies of five important Staffordshire churches, each by a different leading Victorian architect. The fascinating information that he gives on the personalities, particularly of the patrons and clergy, plus the excellent illustrations, adds greatly to an understanding of the architectural developments of the period.

In this latest book he has turned to the decorative arts, always an essential consideration with Pugin's work. It was inevitable that Fisher would meet Neil Phillips, the enthusiastic and entrepreneurial current owner of John Hardman & Company Ltd of Lightwoods House, Birmingham, who is also devoted to all things Puginesque. Under his leadership, Hardman's continues to produce stained glass, has again taken up



Figure 64: St Dunstan, patron saint of metalworkers. Detail of cartoon for window at St Francis' home for boys, Eddington (USA). Hardman & Co, 1893
Lightwoods House collection.



Figure 66: Chalice designed by A.W.N. Pugin and made by Hardman for Bishop Wiseman Westminister cathedral.
Photograph: Phil Sayer.



Figure 67: The archangel Gabriel.
Detail of 2008 window by
Hardman & Co
Michael Fisher, 2008.

as Pugin's designs touched every aspect of church furnishing. Lucy Powell (1793–1863), half-sister to John Hardman, supervised the making of vestments from 1842, and memorial brasses could be made, or painters provided, for decorative schemes in churches. The secular market was developed as well, with such things as door furniture, grates, firedogs, vanes for roofs, all sorts of lighting: candlesticks, coronae and finally gasoliers. Everything, from standard products to countless individual items, was designed by Pugin and usually sent by post to Birmingham. Along with the drawings came letters full of detailed instructions and often criticism of the work being produced, as Pugin strove constantly for perfection. Pugin also visited frequently, usually stopping briefly on his travels round the country.

Metalwork commissions of great size and complexity for the New Palace of Westminster followed quickly once Pugin had returned to work there with Charles Barry during the autumn of 1844. The major diversification, however, came in 1845 when Pugin persuaded Hardman to start making stained glass, also in the true mediaeval manner. Stained glass had always been an important component of Pugin's churches and he had tried several different workshops. His

main reason for turning to his best friend was so that he could have greater control over the final results. As with the metalworking, Pugin's skill as a designer, allied to Hardman's for business and organisation, meant that within a year the new stained glass operation was well established. It is hard to remember that this second venture was set up at a time of great emotional turmoil for Pugin following the death of his second wife, Louisa, in August 1844. To ameliorate this situation Hardman sent his artistic young nephew, John Hardman Powell (1827–97), down to Ramsgate to live with Pugin and become his pupil. Pugin had decided that, as well as the basic design which was his, he wanted the cartoons to be made under his eye in the cartoon room which he had built in the courtyard of his house. The cartoons, with all their colours marked, were then sent to Birmingham where the glass was made. Here, of course, Pugin did not have final control over the glass painters. Again Hardman would receive fierce criticisms: '... The Farnham light is diabolical disgraceful....It is a most infamous careless *caricature* of the cartoons & all painted with black instead of *brown shadows*....'

After 1846 Pugin received few new architectural commissions, and his designs for the decorative arts, especially for Hardman's, played an ever greater role in his life. This aspect culminated in his triumphant display in the Mediaeval Court at the Great Exhibition in 1851. It was also a splendid showcase for his colleagues John Hardman, George Myers, J.G. Crace and Herbert Minton. Fisher points out that Hardman was the only Englishman to receive a prize medal for stained glass. His final judgment is that 'Pugin's mastery of design and colour were undoubtedly the key factors in the success of Hardman's revival of medieval glass, and also his close study of old glass and glassmaking techniques, experiment and sheer perseverance.' But the good times were not to continue. Early in 1852 Pugin's health broke down completely and he had few lucid moments before his death in September that year. E.W. Pugin, an 18-year-old architect, and John Hardman Powell, a 25-year-old designer, were thus left in charge of Pugin's inheritance. Thus far the story is fairly well known; the remainder is largely the result of Fisher's new research.

John Hardman Powell had married Pugin's eldest daughter, Anne, and thus united the two families. His apprenticeship with Pugin had given him a thorough understanding of Pugin's 'true

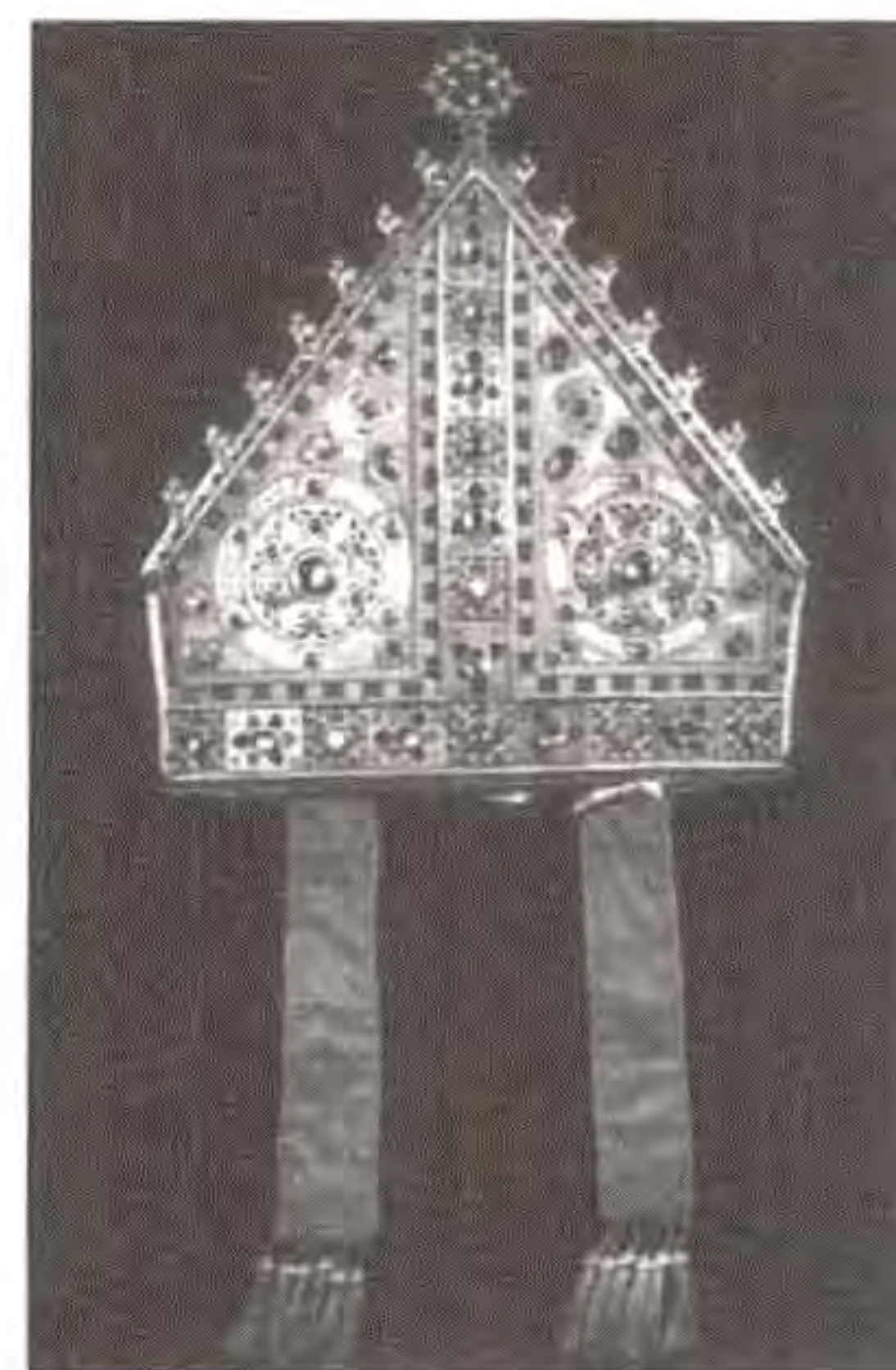


Figure 68: Mitre with
Hardman metal
ornaments, made for
Bishop Wiseman
Westminster cathedral.
Photograph: Phil Sayer.

principles' of design and a practical knowledge of technical matters in the making of both metalwork and stained glass. They moved to Birmingham, as did, but temporarily, Jane, Pugin's widow and her family. This had the advantage of bringing together the design and manufacturing processes of Hardman's business. John Hardman Powell took over the role of chief designer, and Fisher identifies two of his brothers in the firm, William (1820–95) who he says 'looked after the brasswork' and James (1825–65) 'who handled much of the correspondence'. The business thrived throughout the 1850s and 1860s and was relocated at 43 Newhall Hill, where as many as 80 to 100 people were employed. John Hardman, however, suffered from ill health and by 1857 he had retired from work. In 1863 he moved to Bristol. When this happened his son, John Bernard Hardman (1843–1903) was recalled from Dublin University to join the family business. John Hardman Powell was the dominant figure and designed much fine work, subtly adapting his style from that of his master while keeping to his 'true principles'. He was also responsible for training the next generation of craftsmen and artists. Chief among these are George Bernard Maycock (1827–1908) and Joseph Aloysius Pippet (1841–1903), who executed many decorative schemes for the company as well as designing metalwork, stained glass and textile items.

In 1883 a number of changes occurred: the glassworks and the production of memorial brasses remained at Newhall Hill, trading as John Hardman & Co, while the metalworking was transferred to King Edward's Road under the name of Hardman, Powell & Co, with William Powell in control. At the same time John Hardman Powell and his wife moved to London where he could look after the firm's office in King William Street. His sons started work, Dunstan Powell (1861–1932) as Hardman's chief designer and Sebastian Pugin Powell (1867–1949) as an architect with his uncles, A.W.N. Pugin's sons Cuthbert and Peter Paul. From this point it becomes difficult to follow the metal-working operations in any detail. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Hardman's were supplying large orders to both Anglican and Catholic churches and the secular market also expanded.

There had always been an international dimension to Hardman's business. Roman Catholic Ireland was obviously important for Pugin, and in 1853 a branch of Hardman's was set up in Dublin by Thomas Earley and Henry Powell. (Fisher does not identify the latter but presumably he was a member of the family.) It became an independent firm in 1864 and continued in business until the 1970s. Pugin made a profound impact on the European Gothic Revival, perhaps most strongly in Belgium through Jean-Baptiste Béthune who continued to work with E.W. Pugin after Pugin's death. However, it is in Australia that Pugin left a considerable personal legacy, which continued to be built on by Hardman's with significant work up to the 1950s. Many windows were exported to Canada, but of course the American market was the more important. Since the Great Exhibition Hardman's realised the value of such showcases, and in 1876 received a medal for stained glass at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

The history of the Gothic Revival in America is rather different to that in Britain, but there was a substantial late flowering of the style at the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In 1885 and 1887 Roger Watts, John Hardman Powell's son-in-law, made two American tours to promote the business, and orders began to come in from both Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches. Corpus Christi church, Baltimore, for instance, commissioned 60 windows between 1889 and 1911, and Hardman's also supplied many items of metalwork, stonecarving and *opus sectile*. Conducting business across the Atlantic raised obvious problems and Hardman's was in competition with other English and European firms such as Clayton & Bell and Meyer of Munich. Hardman's therefore set up an agency with the Church Glass and Decorating Company in New York, whose employees would undertake the leading-up of the glass and fit the completed window on site. That company, however, went into liquidation in 1913, with Roger Watts blaming its president, Caryl Coleman. Watts then found another New York agency, Montague Castle, to which Caryl Coleman was appointed a director. Fisher gives many interesting details, illustrations and quotations from letters about individual commissions. America orders continued until the 1930s, when there was a rapid decline and in 1935 ceased altogether.

In the earlier part of the twentieth century further changes took place in the organisation of the Hardman company, which had since 1883 been effectively divided into two. John Tarleton Hardman (1873–1959) took charge of Hardman & Co after the death of his father, John Bernard Hardman, while his younger brother, Gerald James Hardman (1875–1953) assumed

responsibility for metalwork and church furnishings at Hardman Powell & Co which, from 1916, traded as Gerald J Hardman & Co, with a new assay mark, GJH&Co, replacing JH&Co. Sadly, but certainly not unknown in family businesses, there seem to have been disagreements between the brothers. In December 1919 the stained glass and decoration business was reconstituted as Messrs John Hardman & Co Ltd, with John Tarleton Hardman and Dunstan Powell as managing directors, the designer Elphege Pippet a director, and about 65 staff. These were the last members of the family in the business and, when John Tarleton Hardman retired in 1936, his place was taken by Donald Taunton (1885–1965), who had been chief designer from the previous year. The design and production of metalwork ceased completely in 1959.

Business was difficult during the twentieth century with two world wars plus a general reaction against Victorian art. Hardman's remained true to its heritage and continued to work in those buildings with which they had long been connected: St Chad's cathedral, Birmingham; St Mary's, Derby; St. Barnabas' cathedral, Nottingham; and Ushaw College, Co Durham. Then, following wartime bomb damage, came the restoration of the stained glass at the Palace of Westminster, a major task. Patrick Feeny (1910–96), who took over the firm from Donald Taunton in 1964, once told me that the size of this work, on which the firm was concentrated for several years, made it difficult actively to seek new orders. Between 1945 and 1961 there were only 146 new commissions, and 40 of these were from overseas. Windows were still being made for Canada, but more importantly for Australia, particularly in and around Sydney. In the 1960s there were few commissions and still stiff competition from rival firms and now individual glassmakers, such as Patrick Reyntiens and John Piper, who were working in a completely different style.

Then in February 1970 a fire destroyed the centre of the studios at Newhall Hill, including the cartoon room and the glaziers' shop. Some areas escaped serious damage, so that it was just possible to continue work. It was however obvious that new premises were needed and eventually Feeny found Lightwoods House in an attractive park on the Hagley Road, then belonging to Birmingham City Council. In 1972 Hardman's moved in, but there was not enough space for the huge archive which had largely survived the fire – the daybooks, volumes of business letters and cartoons. Eventually most of this was sold to Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and the Birmingham City Archive, with material still needed by the firm being retained at Lightwoods House. Amongst Hardman's regular customers at this time were Edgar and Margaret Phillips, who understood the unique importance of Hardman's with its skilled craftsmen and its traditions. When Patrick Feeny decided to retire in 1974 they bought the studio, agreeing to keep the name of John Hardman & Co. Thus the firm survived at this critical moment. When Edgar Phillips died, his son Neil, the present owner, took over.

In the late twentieth century there has been a gradual reappraisal of the excellence of much Victorian design and an appreciation of more naturalistic work. A surprising fashion in Japan for large Gothic chapels in which to hold western-style wedding ceremonies led to big commissions for Hardman stained glass from a Japanese company, Trader Al of Shimonoseki. Opportunities in America, with its many flourishing congregations, are opening up for those churches which desire windows with realistic figure painting. Hardman's are happy to adapt the style to suit the building and other requirements, and Fisher illustrates several intriguing projects. Other work involves the restoration of windows. Neil Phillips, in true Puginian manner, has been most enterprising in acquiring historic artefacts and drawings which can be used as a working collection for present glassmakers and metalworkers. A nine-light Jesse-tree window made for the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, London, in 1913 has been recently recreated for a church in Japan. Hardman's now again undertake decorative schemes for churches and from 2003 has begun metalworking, using items at Lightwoods House to provide the patterns. This work, mostly in brass and made in Bristol, includes some prestigious pieces, among them standard candlesticks to replace the missing Pugin ones which stood by the lectern in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge, and gasoliers for the Pugin corridor at Chirk Castle. Iron pieces may also be made by a Birmingham blacksmith.

This is a complicated but inspiring story told well, but of course it can only be by way of an outline of what has happened over 170 years. Fisher has added a helpful family tree and a very useful appendix on the Hardman Archives, which are currently split between four locations. Use of this material will be greatly assisted by the NADFAS groups which are

currently cataloguing the Lightwoods collection and hopefully will soon start on the stained glass cartoons held in the Birmingham Museums Collections Centre. Also a bid is presently underway for a grant for a cataloguer to work on the bulk of the written material held in Birmingham City Archives. There is still much more that could be written about Hardman's, concentrating, perhaps, on individual designers such as Dunstan Powell. The brilliant recent article by Brian Andrews in *True principles* gives a fascinating account of what can be discovered when a window is taken to pieces for restoration.¹ Perhaps the same approach could be made for Pugin's and Hardman's practice in the 1840s with the great west window of Sherborne Abbey, which Neil Phillips has suggested could be displayed at Lightwoods House (see pp 77–8 in this number).

Fisher has clearly put enormous effort into his research, but, unfortunately, it seems that the production of the book was greatly rushed. This has resulted in a substantial number of errors, mostly simple typos, but also some in the endnotes. Fortunately only a small number of books containing these mistakes were produced, and modern technology makes it possible to correct the remainder of the edition. The book is generously illustrated with much in colour and Fisher has been most resourceful in finding pictures. Some, however, are of uneven quality, particularly of those of the metalwork, or are too small to be useful, for example those of large windows.

In his conclusion Fisher writes: 'With its international team of artists and designers ready to meet any challenge, the Hardman Studio is once again an expanding centre for excellence for education and training in the decorative arts', and quotes Pugin's words: 'Let then the Beautiful and the True be our watchword for future exertions.' This book will certainly help Hardman's meet any challenge.

1 Andrews 2006.

In sickness and in health

Architect and builder: a study in sibling rivalry. By Andrew Saint. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008. ISBN 9780300124439. RRP £45.00

reviewed by Catherine Croft

Andrew Saint sounds slightly self deprecating when he describes this mammoth book as a mixture of 'narrative, anecdote and analysis'. He also hastens to point out that in large part it is not based on what is generally recognised as primary research, but uses published materials as its core evidence. However, the footnotes reveal considerable delving in archives, and the range of publications studied, and the clarity of scrutiny they are put under, are exemplary – this is indeed valid evidence looked at with fresh insight. Plus Saint who taught at Cambridge architecture school, and has many friends and colleagues in both professions, uses those anecdotes to very good effect: the book manages to be both erudite and entertaining, a fascinating and provocative good read.

Covering material largely from 1660 to present day, and principally from Britain, France and

the United States, Saint addresses three main questions: were architects and engineers once indistinguishable? How and why did the roles of architect and engineer separate? And have developments in the twentieth century led the two professions to coordinate their expertise to a common purpose? He also looks critically at contemporary practice suggesting that in recent years 'the architect had dragged the engineer out of the temple of reason and beguiled him to worship in the temple of art'. He worries that some engineers are now focused on trying to create an 'art-object', sidelining the 'rationalising skills and efficiencies' of the discipline.

Even with these temporal and geographical boundaries, this is a potentially huge



Figure 69: The architect engineer Dankmar Adler in about 1895 and the architect Louis Sullivan in 1891
From *Architect and engineer*.

subject, and sensibly the book focuses on six 'case studies', substantial chapters which can be read independently as separate essays. These are on military construction; two specific materials (iron and concrete); and a building type – the bridge; in addition he describes the developing roles of architects and engineers in major projects since 1930, as well as, finally, the training of both professions. Nineteenth-century railway stations also get special treatment within the chapter on iron. Members of this Society will find plenty material of interest, although A.W.N. Pugin himself gets only very brief mention.

In fact Pugin is first cited as part of the analysis of a correspondence in 1990 between Terry Farrell (the architect of the MI6 building and of the air-rights building called Embankment Place which hovers over Charing Cross Station) and John Winter (who worked with the large American architectural firm Skidmore Owings and Merrill, and whose own Corten steel house peeps over the walls of Highgate Cemetery). Although Saint does not explicitly identify this as a confrontation between postmodern and modernist ideology, this is essentially what it is, with Winter concerned that what look like structural hangers in the facade of Embankment Place 'are clearly not genuine because they are not holding anything up'. Pugin's criticism of St Paul's Cathedral that it was 'Bad, because the upper walls of the aisles hide buttresses and the true construction of the great dome is concealed' is listed by Saint as a 'cliché of modernist criticism', part of the canon supporting the modernist belief that the visible and 'honest' expression of structure is a good thing. Ironical then that the Houses of Parliament are Saint's example of where the use of hidden iron structure 'reached its British apogee'. But this building was pioneering in its crossover use of techniques developed for the construction of canals and railways. There was no consulting engineer on the project but the innovative prefabricated ironwork concealed in the roofs and floors was designed by Henry Grissell of the Regent's Canal Ironworks.

The book includes Pugin's satirical illustration from *An apology* of Euston and Curzon Street stations, and he had no time either for Brunel's designs for the Great Western Railway. The engineer, straying into what was usually architect's territory, managed to be 'at once costly, and offensive, and full of pretension' wrote Pugin, reminding us of the book's subtitle: sibling rivalry can get venomous.

So is sibling rivalry a good overall analogy? Saint notes that the well known twentieth-century engineer Ove Arup used a marital one instead, suggesting that the relationship can be immensely productive and harmonious, but can go horribly wrong. Saint's own advice that 'like any true partners, they must be seen as different equals who must perpetually be learning how to live together' both offers advice to future practitioners and tends to suggest he finds this marital model more convincing. But which is the best fit is largely irrelevant, and what the book shows is that without understanding the shifting nature of the roles over time, and looking in detail at exactly who did what, our understanding of buildings themselves is incomplete.

Embarrassed hilarity

Frederick William Faber: a great servant of God. By Melissa Wilkinson. Leominster: Gracewing, 2007. ISBN 9780852441350. RRP £20.00

reviewed by the Editor

Anyone with an interest in the work of A.W.N. Pugin will profit greatly by learning more about the people he worked for. Frederick William Faber, who almost certainly had Pugin forced on him as architect by the Earl of Shrewsbury for the building of St Wilfred's church and the extensions to Cotton Hall at Cotton in 1846, is a fine example of someone who has been treated fairly harshly by historians and biographers, and this new study by Melissa Wilkinson is enlightening and valuable. Faber suffered for most of his life from increasing serious illness, probably Bright's disease, accompanied by pains and cramps, boils, headaches, abscesses, diarrhoea, and much else, continuously and probably fatally aggravated by mercury poisoning from the medication he was taking; yet throughout all this he achieved a great deal, from the founding of the London Oratory in 1849 to the composition of theological and popular books. He was a warm, vivid, emotional man, lonely and affectionate, appalled by English 'coldness', and handicapped by a feeling he had derived from his parents that clever or original thought should be repressed; he was also inspired and thoughtful as a correspond-



Figure 70: The extension of the residential block at Cotton designed for Faber by AWN Pugin in Hollaresque style in 1846, seen from the south-west. St Wilfred's church is to the right
Photographed by the Editor in May 2002.

reading it, that someone who appears to be no more than an Oxford graduate with an interest in Church controversies is suddenly the centre of national attention: there's no suggestion of how this might have come about. Nor is there any explanation of such concepts as Nestorianism, or what words like apophatic mean; the book is less user friendly than Michael Trott's comparable and highly recommended study of Richard Waldo Sibthorp. Nevertheless, there is a clear narrative. First Faber, heavily influenced by Wordsworth, is, like Sibthorp an evangelical curate; next, following 'ye violent hysterical fits', he is a Roman Catholic. All the time he is in the shadow of Newman, often exploited to further Newman's reputation and career. It is Newman who sends him off to London to found the Oratory in 1849, first at King William Street in the City, where he is besieged by cholera and anti-Catholics, and then at Brompton, where he has to fend off a neighbour's land grab sponsored by Queen Victoria. But in spite of some memorable incidents – for example, Faber's melodramatic deathbed scene, that turned out not to be a deathbed after all – this is not really a story; it is an investigation of what happens to a man like Faber when he thinks about religion all the time, and is constantly washed from the troughs of despondency to the pinnacle of euphoria, and back again, several times in a week. His books and sermons are analysed in detail; the latter conclude Wilkinson's tale and are particularly interesting. Even she evidently recoils somewhat from the ripe emotionalism of some of his writing: it is a hymn about the bleeding Saviour where the academic rigidity cracks into 'embarrassed hilarity'. And yet all the time there is a sense that Faber, unlike Newman, was full of love; that seems to forgive a lot. Heaven knows what he would have said about the high-society Catholics now controlling the Oratory.

There is very little said explicitly about Pugin in this book: the writer has evidently not availed herself of Rory O'Donnell's *Pugin and the Catholic Midlands*, put out by her own publisher, which would have furnished some useful details. And yet his is a presence that is inescapable, not just in the (very oddly planned) corridors at Cotton or the chapel at Oscott but elsewhere, for example at the Bishop's House, Birmingham, where Faber, like Sibthorp, sought refuge after his conversion. What scenes that place must have witnessed!

ent, and he wrote many hymns that, whatever else may be said about them, proved enduringly popular. And yet outside the Roman Catholic world and no doubt to some extent within it his reputation has been blighted by the impression that J.H. Newman projected of him as an incompetent, infantile hypochondriac hysteric. Contemporary historians more readily see Newman himself in a critical light; and now Faber in turn emerges as a sympathetic and real figure.

Melissa Wilkinson's study is derived from her doctoral thesis, so it doesn't provide the background that a biographer can offer: this book concentrates on Faber's theological development. Thus it seems odd, when

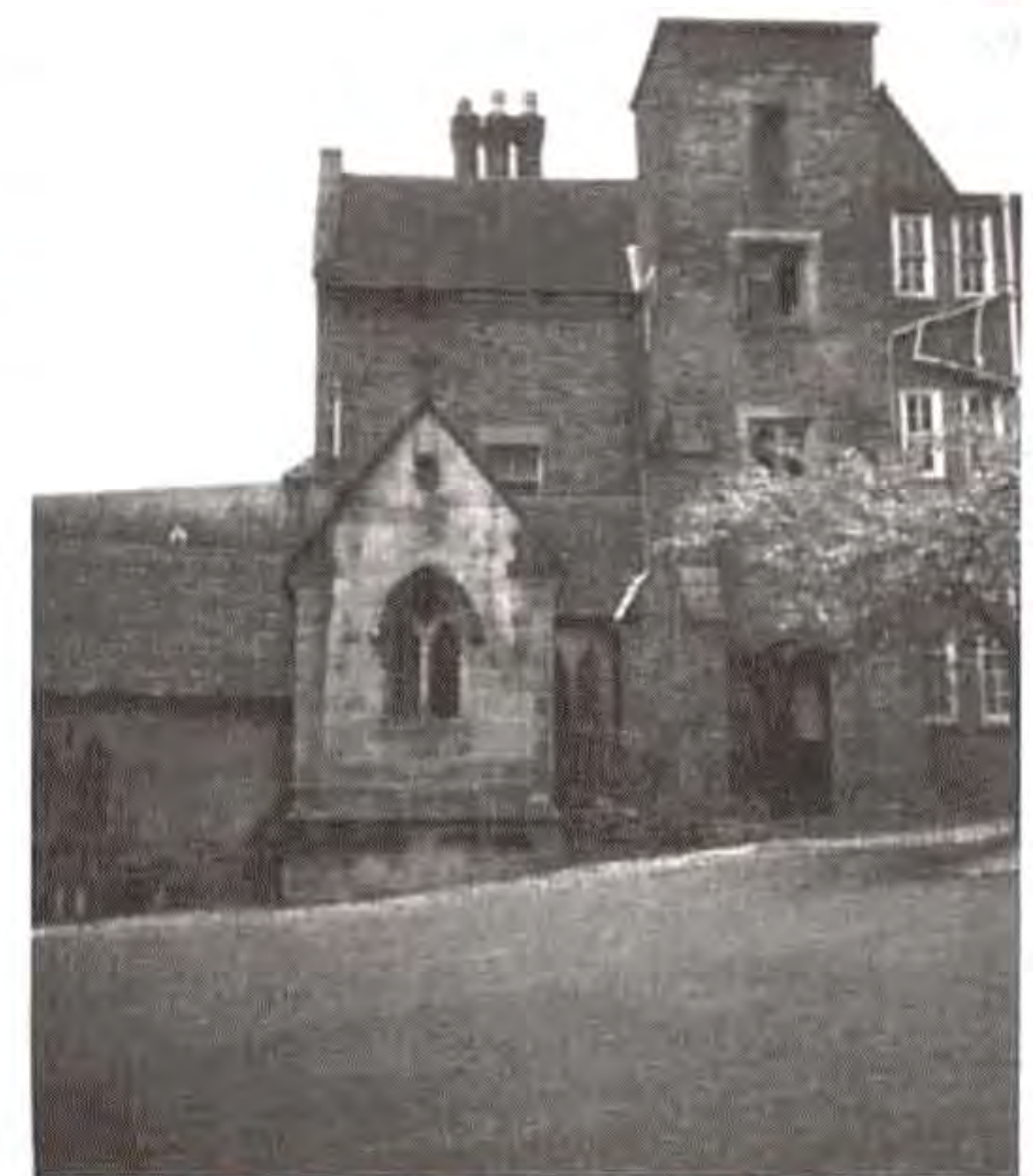


Figure 71: Pugin's new entrance front at Cotton, deprived of its belfry, and part of the tortuous stone-faced ambulatory which the Countess of Shrewsbury contributed as a link between the residential buildings and the church
Photographed by the Editor in May 2002.

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- 'An antiquarian' 1835, *A description of the new Catholic church at Preston; dedicated (under God) to Saint Ignatius*, Preston.
- 'H.F.' 1875, *Letters and Notices: 1874–75*, Roehampton.

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

Michael and Mary Alexander, Alison Baker, Ian Rowland Booker, Debbie Bransgrove, Peter Burnett, Mrs C.F. Chapman, Chloe and Tim Cockerill, Brian Cox, Christopher J. Dalton, Mr and Mrs C.J. Dewberry, Tom Ellingham, Rev Nicholas J. Glisson, Roy Kaye, Sheila M. Langford, Stephen McCluskie, Anne Meldon, Carmen Murray, Phillip Pryse, Audrey Randall, Mary Stratton Ryan, Mark J. Sargant, Douglas Schoenherr, Dr and Mrs M. Sykes, Michael T. Tedder, Vivian Thackeray and Michael Sinder, John J. Tiernan, Stuart Toms, S.A. Vilette, and Alan R. Williams.

All 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

Catherine Croft is the director of the Twentieth Century Society.

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 tenth to the twentieth 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* is reviewed in this number.

Robin Fleet is a graduate of the University of St Andrews and a retired teacher who lectures on and runs courses in the history of stained glass. He is a member of the British Society of Master Glass Painters.

Robert Floyd and Pats his wife left London to make their home at and take care of Great Chalfield Manor in 1985. In 1993 they were joint winners of the Wiltshire Farming and Wildlife Prize, and from 2002-8 Robert was chairman of Wiltshire Wildlife Trust.

Rosemary Hill is the author of *God's architect: Pugin and the building of romantic Britain*, which won the 2008 Elizabeth Longford prize for historical biography.

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 puewgin@talktalk.net

Ida Jager is an historian and journalist who has written widely about Dutch architecture, art and urbanism. Her books include a biography of the architect Willem Kromhout (1992), *Hoofstad in Gebreke* (2002), on the renovation of Amsterdam's infrastructure between 1851 and 1901, and *Sterk van Kleur* (2005), a study of Rotterdam's distinctive twentieth-century legacy of graphic art.

James Jago is currently completing an MA in history of art at the University of York. With a longstanding interest in architectural history, and the Gothic Revival in particular, his current research seeks to reexamine the genesis of the Revival in the seventeenth century, whilst retaining a keen interest in its nineteenth-century manifestations.

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 next year.

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 of the historic churches committee of the Diocese of Brentwood.

Stuart Toms is a research engineer and occasional artist. His interest in A.W.N. Pugin and the Gothic Revival is due to his ongoing research into the life and works of his great-great-great-grandfather Theodore Phyffers, sculptor, (c1820–76).

Andrew Taylor was born in South Africa. He trained as a painter taking a fine art degree at Cardiff Art College. He then worked for some years as a scenic artist and eventually realised a vocation in stained glass, designing and making architectural windows. To date he has made about 50 windows in churches around Britain.

Alexandra Wedgwood is patron of The Pugin Society.

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

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

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