

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iv no i Autumn 2009

E.W. Pugin's 175th anniversary

GERARD HYLAND

A.O.M. Gordon:

A sense of the Hibernian

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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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PUGIN IS EVERYWHERE

Following a long campaign by The Pugin Society the fine portrait of A.W.N. Pugin (which to some suggests a posthumous tribute by John Everett Millais) is back where it should be: on the walls of the National Portrait Gallery in London, a building located within sight, at least from its rooftop restaurant, of one of his greatest creations – the clock tower of the Houses of Parliament. And as it happens more people will be reminded this year of how important a role Pugin played in the imagery of England, because there have been celebrations to mark 150 years since Big Ben struck for the first time on 11 July 1859, and the various publications put out by the Palace of Westminster have reminded everyone who it was that designed both clock face and tower. In fact as a result Pugin has appeared in a different sort of portrait, a caricature drawn by the children of St George's Primary School in Camberwell which appears in a little booklet that is being given to people who climb up the 334 steps to the belfry of the tower this sesquicentennial year. So either end of Whitehall people are peering at pictures of Pugin. That's the way we like it here.

The Society is also trying to persuade the Post Office and the Bank of England to put a portrait of Pugin, or examples of his work, onto stamps and banknotes to mark his bicentenary in 2012; whatever he himself might have thought of this, there is no doubt that graphically his designs are well suited. But even if these campaigns amount to nothing (and the considerations of the people who take these decisions can be very odd, such as in the apparently spiteful commemoration of a Morris car, rather than of William Morris, on a stamp in the month of the centenary of the latter's death), it is worth taking stock now of how Pugin's profile has grown at least among people who write about design and architectural history.

The mystery when this Society was founded was how someone who was evidently so influential amongst architects and who in many respects cast a spell for over a 100 years in the way people talked and wrote about architecture should appear so little in general architectural histories of the period. It is now the case that Pugin is everywhere. Sir Christopher Wren has lost his position as the only historical architect that everyone in Britain (although nowhere else) had heard of, and now has to share a showcase with Pugin at the Architecture Gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Even before Rosemary Hill's immensely successful biography had explained who he was to people who had never before heard of him, he had begun to crop up in different histories in different ways. One very interesting example of how Pugin is now seen to have played a continuing central role in other fields of the social and cultural history of Victorian and post-Victorian England appears, for example, in a fascinating book called *Medievalism*, by Michael Alexander. This tells the story of how neo-gothic thought developed from the age of Walter Scott up to that of modern poets such as Seamus Heaney and Geoffrey Hill; and Pugin has more entries in the index than any other designer.

More specifically on the subject of architectural history, the huge, authoritative and beautifully illustrated work *Victorian architecture: diversity and invention* by James Stevens Curl – a person whose knowledge in the field of architecture could with



Figure 1: Scarisbrick Hall, Lancashire, showing, on the left, the hall remodelled by AWN Pugin during the course of his work of 1836–45, and EW Pugin's extension of 1861–c5 to the right. See also figure 28

photographed by Martin Charles in April 2007.

accuracy be described as 'encyclopaedic' – will establish and influence the understanding of Pugin's role in any account of the period for generations to come. It is a book that every decent architectural library will have; and that means that Pugin and his work will be unavoidable to anyone doing their homework.

And the story continues overseas. Members of the Society have seen at first hand during the course of our trips to Flanders how Pugin's reputation spread in Belgium;

to that we can increasingly appreciate how the architecture of Pierre Cuypers in the Netherlands spread the 'true principles' further. We include in this number a review by Professor Peter Blundell Jones of a recent collection of writings from the comparatively recent Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck: it's possible to see from his work how the language of architectural coherence from one scale to another, the importance of constructional method and the essential humanity of design, all of which we know to have characterised Pugin's own work, were carried through in quite different ways to the end of the twentieth century. Now we recognise that fact, it's important that we use every means of communication at our disposal – books, portraits, buildings, stamps, notes, coins – to prevent it being forgotten again. Architects are relatively vulnerable in the general scheme of things, and even a great masterpiece, such as Pugin's bishop's house in Birmingham, or one of Cuypers's spectacular churches, can end up being turned into a traffic island; so it's up to us to find imaginative ways of keeping their story in the public consciousness.

Few concessions

March 2009 saw the 175th anniversary of E.W. Pugin's birth. Since we memorialised here the 125th of his death in 2000, in an article entitled 'Edward Pugin's Kentish obituary' by Rory O'Donnell, he has appeared for the first time in *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, and his bedesman Gerard Hyland has completed an invaluable gazetteer of his work which has been serialised in *True principles* and which will continue to be updated on the Society's website. E.W.'s Gorton church has been 'saved' (although not as a church) by The Monastery of St Francis and Gorton Trust at the cost of £6.5 million; but on the other side of Manchester his Barton-upon-Irwell chancel languishes. Two of his churches – the Anglican one of St Catherine at Kingsdown, Kent, and the Bartestree convent 'extern' chapel – are now vested in the Churches Conservation Trust and the Historic Chapels Trust respectively.

But there have been reverses too: removing most of E.W.P.'s additions at the Grange and putting the architectural clock back to an ideal past have divided opinion; Bartestree convent is converted to housing – including 'neo-E.W.P.' additions – and now Stanbrook abbey lies for sale and abandoned. And it is still possible for historians to recount the story of Victorian architecture without mentioning him. One place where his stock should be high is Ireland, scene of his prolific partnership 1859–69 with G.C. Ashlin; The Pugin Society annual tour, led by Prof Alistair Rowan and Rory O'Donnell, marvelled at the scale and quality of his buildings in Dublin, Cork and especially at Cobh, where in 2005 planning permission was – *laus deo!* – actually refused for the reordering of the interior of the cathedral. Pugin and Ashlin's Augustinian church in Dublin provides the frontispiece for the *Buildings of Ireland: Dublin* (2004); and best of all, Ashlin's own house, St George's, was found internally to be a miniature of the Grange, with all its E.W.P. features remembered. One of the most dramatic and memorable architects of the nineteenth century, Edward Welby Pugin has been battered by posterity with so many of his buildings demolished or vandalised: he was a man who made few concessions, and few concessions are possible in fighting for the survival and restoration of what is left.

A sense of the Hibernian:

Irish identity in the works of A.W.N. Pugin and E.W. Pugin

by A.O.M. Gordon

As a small fraction of A.W.N. Pugin's prolific output, his Irish commissions tend to be at best skimmed over or at worst omitted. His Irish *oeuvre* provides an opportunity to examine the Gothic Revival within a unique context. Ireland's inextricable link with Catholicism is perhaps the apogee of Puginian thought: religion and identity fused into one. The distinction of Pugin's Irish works have been noted by Phoebe Stanton. Contrary to the criticism of Robert Elliot in *Art and Ireland*, Pugin's Irish commissions were readily accepted, hardly an imposed English intervention.¹ The knowledge of scholars such as Roderick O'Donnell, Frederick O'Dwyer and Ann Wilson have acted as a platform and solid foundation for this venture into the Irish works of Pugin. Wilson's masters thesis has acted as the basis for the information concerning Cobh within this article.² Brian Andrews' research has proved an invaluable resource in terms of consolidating information on Gorey, providing a useful reference for the dates which Pugin had visited Ireland.³ E.W. Pugin's more obscure parish churches would have remained so had it not been for O'Dwyer's knowledge of his Irish commissions, and Gerard Hyland's gazetteer.⁴ The works of the above scholars have given credibility, tangibility and weight to the following thoughts concerning the Pugins, and the confidence to explore lesser known works; A.W.N. Pugin's church at Bree, and E.W. Pugin's works at Bellevue and Ballyhooley, for example. Far from being examples of a universal Gothic Revival, the Irish works of these two Pugins possess a sense of the Hibernian that engenders a specificity rooted in the landscape of Ireland. What is meant by 'Irishness' and Hibernian varies from one commission to the next, in certain cases emerging through something as simple as materiality; in others, the reference is more tangible: the reference to Irish mediaeval architecture or Irish historical symbology, for example.

'Every nation, every land and clime has its own specific and uniquely proportioned architecture'.⁵

One may argue that a universal Gothic Revival – one that is homogenous – is an impossibility. A building cannot avoid being a product of its place. A comparison

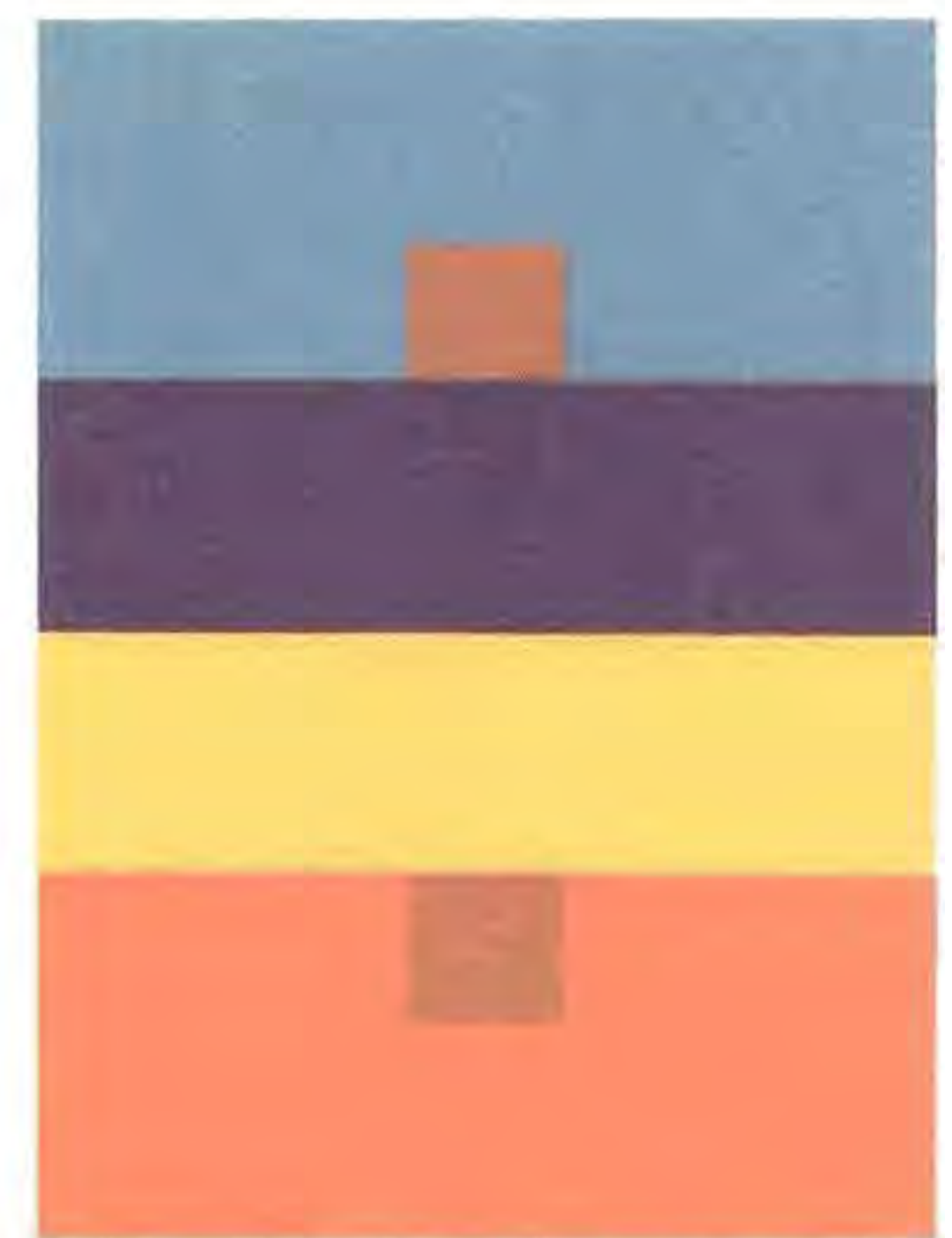


Figure 2: Homage to the square, Josef Albers
© The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation/ VG-Bild-Kunst, Bonn and DACS, London 2009.

1 Elliot considered A.W.N. Pugin's Irish commissions as alien to the landscape in which they were found. Many thanks to Dr Frederick O'Dwyer who drew my attention to this publication. See Elliot 2009.

2 Wilson 2007.

3 See Andrews [nd], (accessed 5.3.2009).

4 O'Dwyer 1989, pp 55–62; see also Hyland's gazetteer of the works of E.W. Pugin, in *True principles* vol 3 nos 4 and 5, and at <http://www.pugin-society.1to1.org/LL-gazetteer.html> (accessed 1 July 2009).

5 Schlegel, quoted in Robson-Scott 1965, p 133.

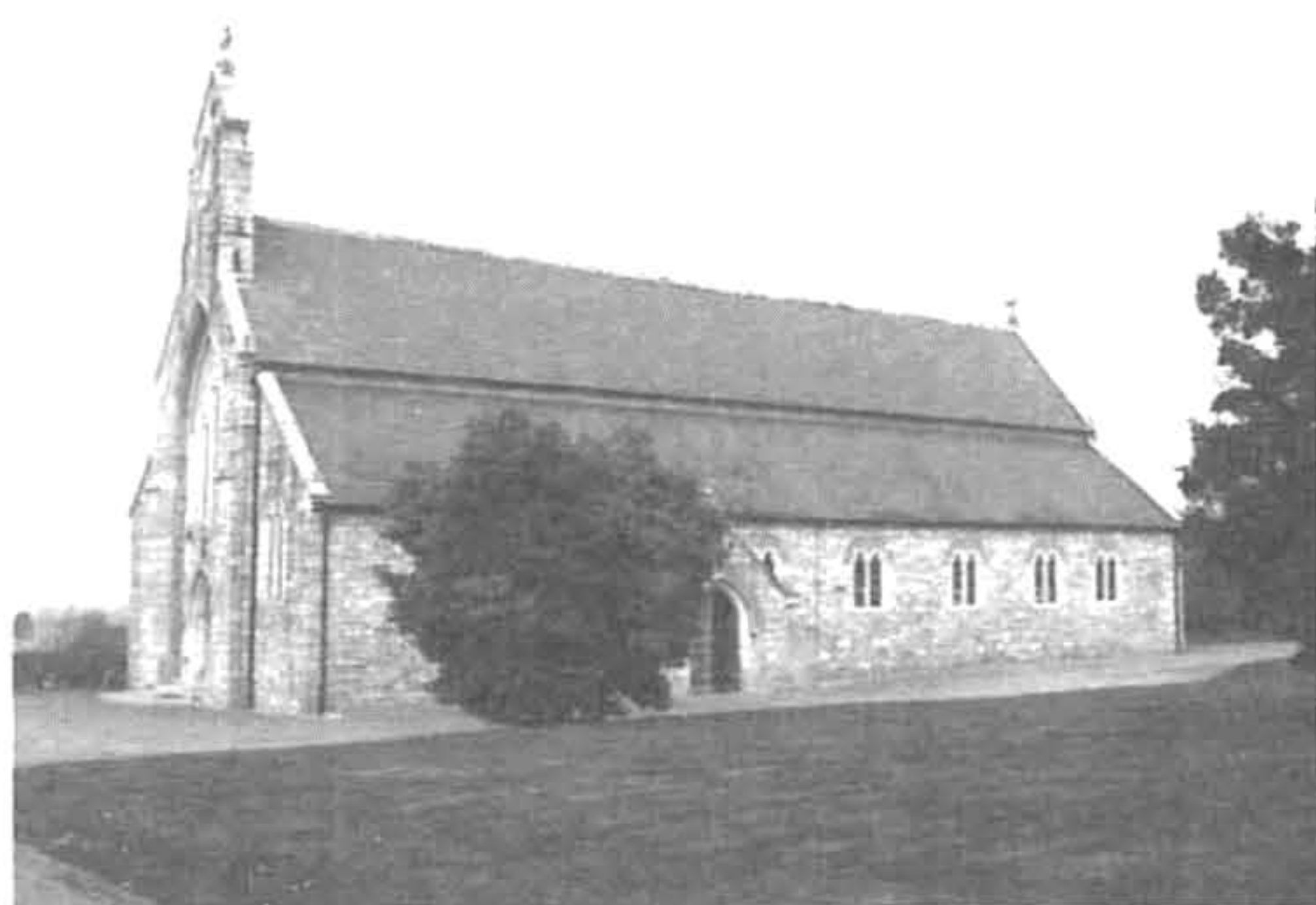


Figure 3: South-west elevation of St Alphonsus', Barntown, Co Wexford (1844-8), by A.W.N. Pugin
Brian Andrews, *The Pugin Foundation*.

astical works of Pugin are vehicles of hybridisation. In their original context they were a direct product of English culture but in Ireland initial meaning begins to fade, undergoing 'a process of displacement, distortion and dislocation'.⁷ Pugin's Irish works can be said to have a Hibernian quality that sets them apart from his better known English ones. This article intends to examine this theme within Pugin's Irish ecclesiastical projects. How this sense of Irish identity transpires in the Irish commissions of his son, E.W. Pugin, will be considered, as will the contrasts that occur between the output of father and son. Possible reasons as to why this 'Irishness' might have existed and why its nature evolved will be explored.

Continuing from the previous analogy, the context of Ireland is noteworthy. The political melting pot of Ireland during the nineteenth century coloured the perception if not the forms of its architecture. Three events punctuate the first half of nineteenth-century Irish history: the Act of Union (1800); Catholic Emancipation (1829); and the Great Famine (1845–9). Firstly, the Act of Union effectively relinquished legislative power from Dublin resulting in Ireland's political and economic control by Great Britain. This removal of national authority could be perceived as fuelling a growing need for the expression of an individual Irish identity. Secondly, the removal of civil disabilities – the apotheosis of which was Emancipation Act –

between Josef Albers' *Homage to the square* [figure 2] and the works of A.W.N. Pugin is representative of this reasoning.⁶ Albers' painting displays two brown squares which for our purposes will be indicative of Pugin's works: those in England and those in Ireland. Each square is identical; however, when the squares react with the adjacent hues surrounding them, they appear dissimilar. Pugin's *oeuvre* cannot help but be coloured by the context of the country in which they are found. The Irish ecclesi-

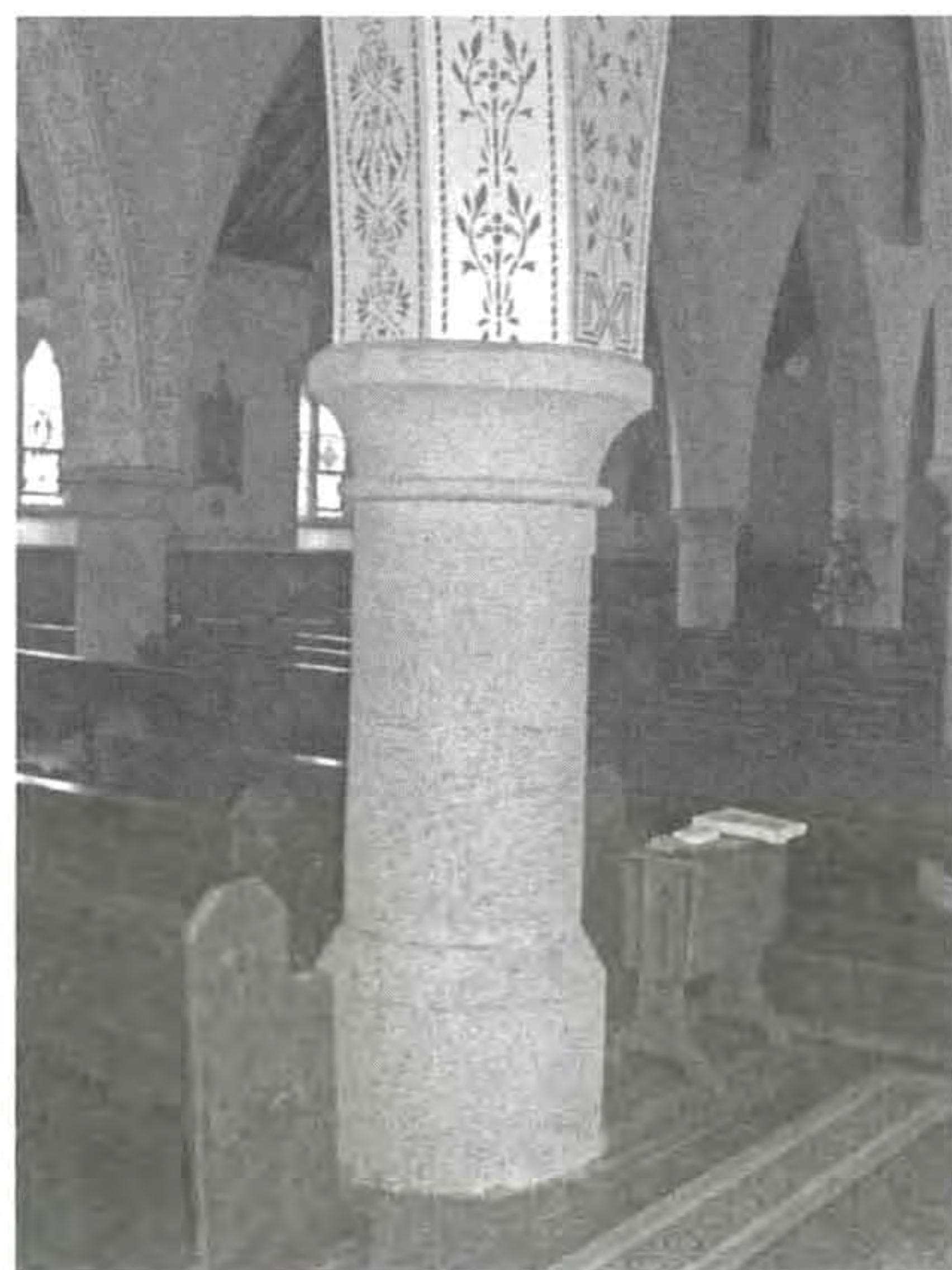


Figure 4: Nave column detail, St Alphonsus'
Brian Andrews, *The Pugin Foundation*.

6 Albers' *Homage to the Square* series revealed how colours react with one another when processed by the human eye. For further examples see Albers 1963.

7 See Bhabha 1994b.

resulted in the architectural expression of Roman Catholic faith and ambitions.⁸ Relief acts implemented between 1778 and 1793 had removed most of the penal laws; however, prior to the Emancipation act, Catholics were excluded from civil and military office. Before 1829 Catholics were banned from certain forms of security that the enfranchised possessed and the disenfranchised did not. Consequently, a growing sense of pride emerges in Catholic ecclesiastical design of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the Great Famine impacts upon Ireland. The Roman Catholic church relied on the 'pennies of the faithful', those most affected by the famine.⁹ As a consequence, many projects were interrupted.¹⁰ The inability to fund projects is important in understanding the staccato-like change from the early Victorian to the high Victorian style evident in Ireland. These three events nurtured a sense of politico-religious nationalism that became more prevalent during the second half of the nineteenth century. Publications such as the *Dublin penny journal* (1832–6) and the *Irish penny journal* (1840–1) inform of Irish history and culture, catalysing the awareness of an individual identity as the decades progress. It could be said that the above events provide the stimulus as to why a sense of Irish identity might be evident and how this identity becomes more visually flamboyant and politically charged as the years progress. A factor, the influence of which cannot be dismissed, is Ireland's own architectural history. Its tough character is unmistakable. From the eighth to the early sixteenth century, the general impression of Irish architecture is of a tough, primitive and defensive style.¹¹ The resilience of native materials – such as Dalkey and Newry granite – result in structures of restrained vocabulary, contrasting with the more sculptural English tradition. A more 'severe external character' is evident.¹² Irish Gothic has a distinct bristling nature.

Can this nature be seen in the Irish output of A.W.N. Pugin? The uniqueness it possesses differs from his English projects. Its stoicism and strength recall the mediaeval architecture of Ireland. Characterised by ornamental restraint and heavy proportions, thick walls and simple contours dominate Irish Gothic architecture. Many of Pugin's churches in Co Wexford are evocative of this. Indeed, 'the emphasis

on materials, the excellence of workmanship, the lack of ornament, the dignified and heavy proportions' are their distinguishing features in the view of Phoebe Stanton,



Figure 5: Saint Macdara's Church, Co Galway
Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

8 A restrained approach to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical design is discernible prior to the emancipation in buildings such as the Church of St Michael and St John, Dublin (1813–6). This makes a striking contrast to St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh: see below.

9 Sheehy, 1978, p 187.

10 By way of illustration, A.W.N. Pugin's St Mary's cathedral, Killarney, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1842, was fully completed 70 years later.

11 For examples of the character of mediaeval architecture in Ireland see Leask 1955.

12 Brewer 1826, p cxxxvii.



Figure 6: St Michael's, Gorey, Co Wexford (1839-43), by AWN Pugin
Brian Andrews, The Pugin Foundation.

tending perpendicular walls past a gabled end – resulting in the presence of *antae* – was historically seen in the stone churches of Ireland such as the church at St Macdara's Island, Co Galway (c1200) [figure 5]. Pugin's central west lancet window shelters below the protruding walls of the nave. His employment of trefoiled windows has its roots in Irish architectural history. Examples of this can be found in the two-storeyed hall of Askeaton Castle, Co Limerick. For its size, St Alphonsus is a simple church. Its plainness can be seen to be an Irish quality. An economy of



Figure 8: North transept, St Michael's, Gorey
Brian Andrews, The Pugin Foundation.

the most influential mid twentieth-century writer on Pugin.¹³ St Alphonsus', Barntown, (1844–8) [figures 3 and 4] is constructed of muscular looking masonry rarely seen in his English commissions, with the exception only of St James' church, Reading, (1837) and Mount St Bernard's abbey, (1839). Pugin hints at a device redolent of Irish mediaeval architecture in his handling of the church's west elevation. A penchant for ex-

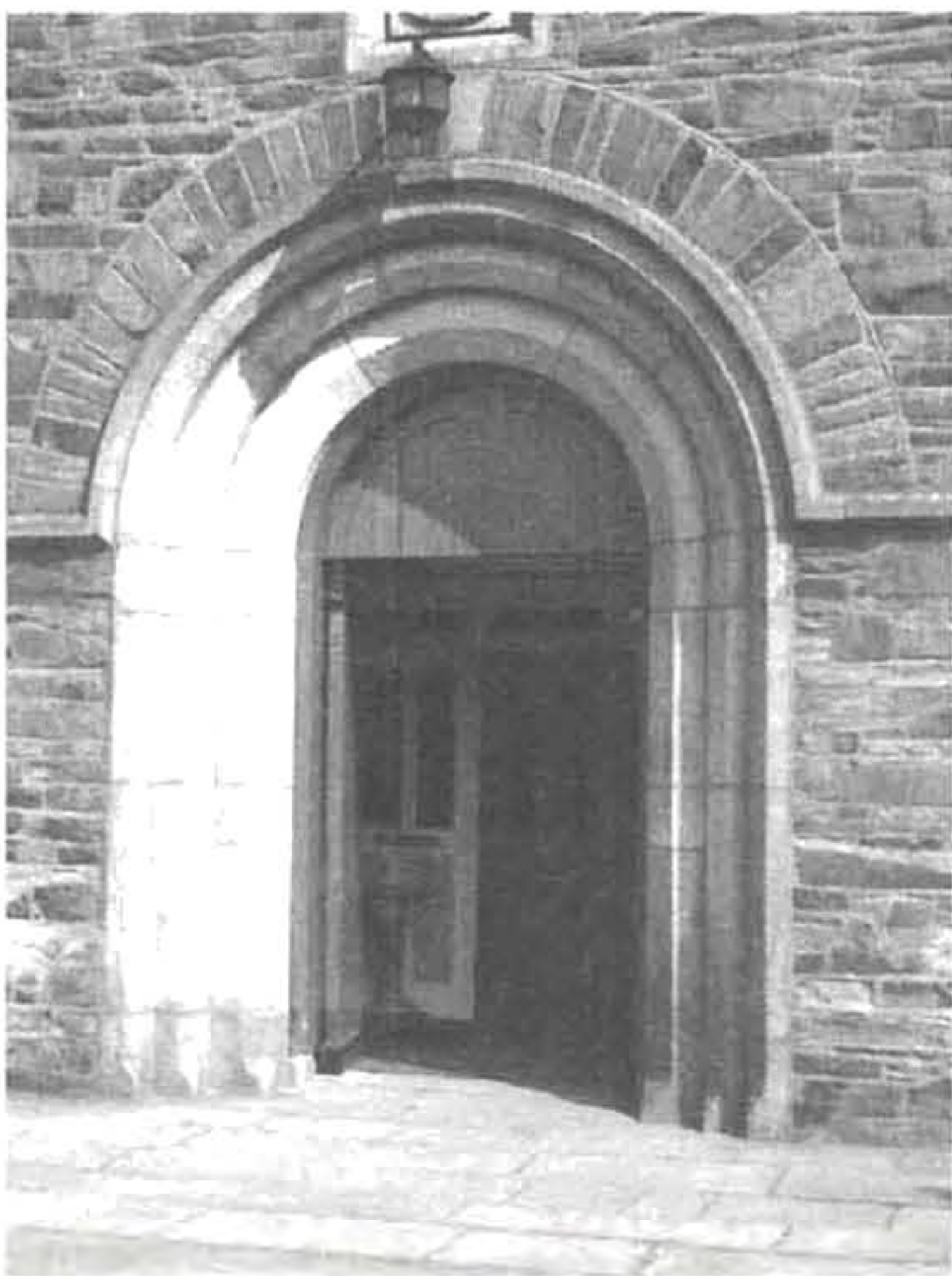


Figure 7: Nave west door, St Michael's, Gorey
Brian Andrews, The Pugin Foundation.

structural detailing presents itself. The resilience of the local quarried stone used dictates the architectural language used. Conventional detailing such as label moulds and buttresses are sparse. Emphasis is placed on quality of workmanship rather than quantity of ornament. Furthermore, Barntown recalls mediaeval Ireland through its use of thick walls in lieu of buttresses. Its robust nature is equally apparent in its interior where fat columns are crowned with plain capitals that rest at head height.

An aspect that perhaps results in a more conscious Hibernian identity than the unyielding nature of Irish materials could be Pugin's antiquarian tendencies which led to the use of mediaeval Irish prec-

13 Stanton 1971, p 70.



Figure 9: Jerpoint abbey, Co. Kilkenny
Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

in withstanding competition from the Gothic style into the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Gorey shows traces of Romanesque detailing within a Gothic framework. Distinctive traits of Hiberno-Romanesque are integrated into this design. Its unavoidable attribute of the semicircular arch is used. Deploying a feature reminiscent of later Franciscan friaries, Pugin imitates a tall battlemented belfry tower in his crossing tower which is crowned with stepped battlements.¹⁷ Gorey's cruciform plan could

edents. Rejecting the 'importations of English and continental abortions'¹⁴ that sprang up in Ireland, he preferred an architecture that was 'rude and simple', one that recalled the 'ancient ecclesiastical edifices of Ireland in the days of her Catholic glory'.¹⁵ St Michael's, Gorey, (1839–42) is without doubt a structure of ornamental restraint but its Irish mediaeval reference is more apparent [figures 6–8]. The nature of Irish Gothic must be remembered and its diversity of precedents. Late Romanesque and 'transitional' architecture in Ireland succeeded



Figure 10: AWN Pugin's window sketch for St Michael's, Gorey
From Forde 1989.

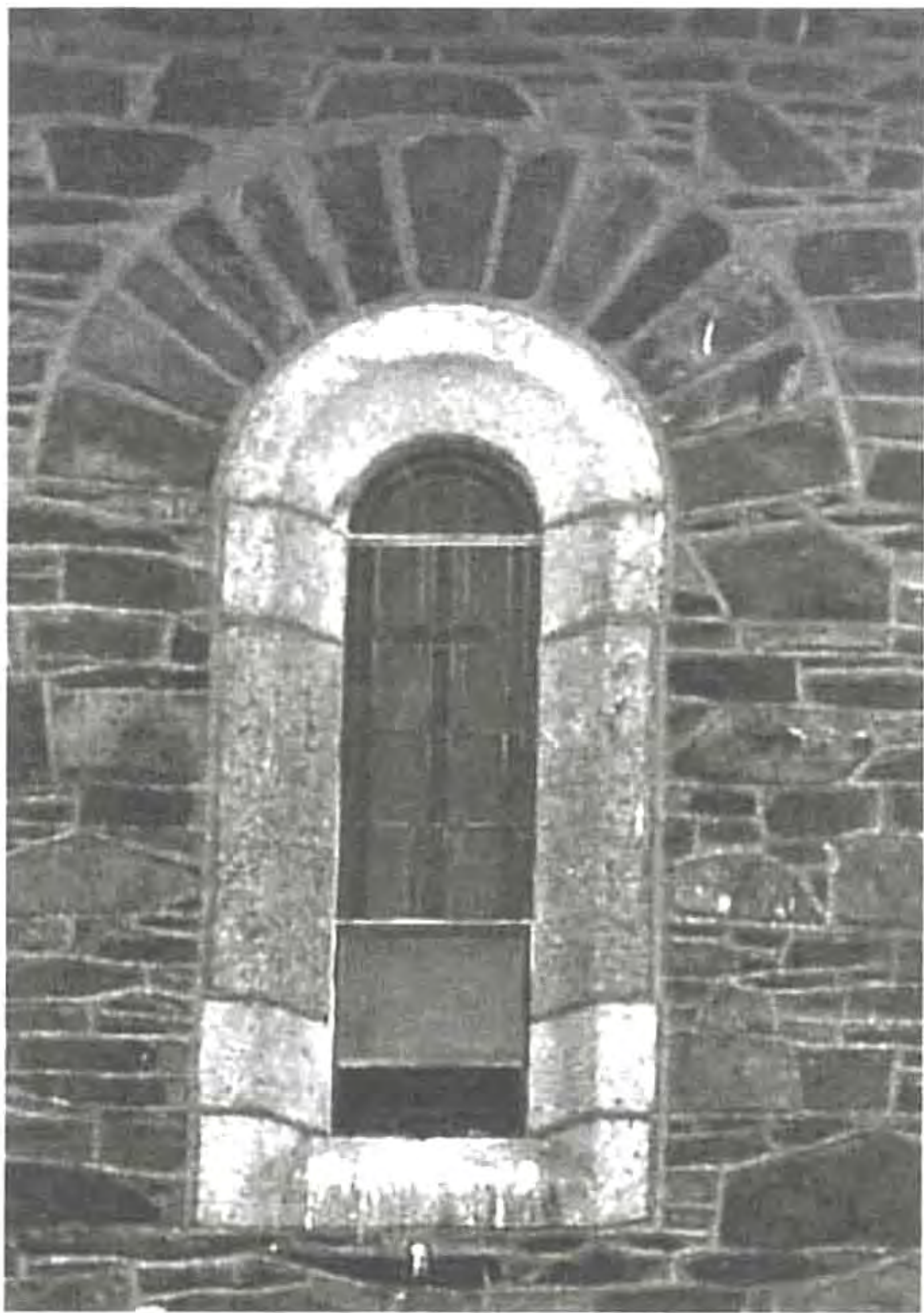


Figure 11: Window as executed by Pierce Brian Andrews, *The Pugin Foundation*.

14 Pugin 1843b, n p 23.
15 See letter to the *Tablet*, quoted in Trappes-Lomax 1932, p 334.
16 Harbison 1978b, p 90.
17 Examples of stepped battlements in mediaeval Ireland can be found in Leask 1955.



Figure 12: St Mary's cathedral, Killarney (from 1842), by AWN Pugin
G. Stafford.

be perceived as Irish.¹⁸ However, it must be said that Pugin's knowledge of Irish mediaeval architecture would not have equalled that of his grasp of its English equivalent. After all, he visited Ireland a mere six times and never for more than twelve successive days. Nevertheless, his Irish visits would have been sufficient for him to absorb some salient details. Before executing this design, he had visited Ireland twice.¹⁹ According to a sermon at St Michael's in May 1843, Pugin was considerably influenced by a visit he made to Dunbrody abbey [figure 9].²⁰ This encounter relieved him of total commitment to the Gothic style. The transeptual stair tower is an Irish reference, mirroring an Irish round tower. Again, local materials result in ornamental restraint: windows and doorways have plain splays; simple drip-stone mouldings articulate the belfry openings.

The execution of his Irish designs may have resulted in the Hibernian traces found. The mechanics of building bore little resemblance to those adopted in England. A hierarchical process presented itself, where Pugin's designs had to filter through a local MP, several architects and, in the case of Gorey, the clerk of works Richard Pierce.²¹ This dilution of Pugin's involvement would have influenced the end result. A sketch for Gorey that Pugin sent to Pierce is particularly revealing.²² We see Pierce's interpretation of this, using it more as guidance rather than faithfully reproducing it. Local interpretation occurs. The sketch shows the arch comprised of several stones creating the vertical frame of the window [figure 10]. We see how Pierce's rendering diverges from the original intention [figure 11]. Instead of the arch being composed of voussoirs as indicated, Pierce articulates the arch as one single element. Nonetheless, Pugin must have been content to let Pierce



Figure 13: South view of St Mary's cathedral, Killarney
Brian Davis.

18 The use of cruciform plans can be found in Ireland in the second half of the twelfth century, at Baltinglass, Co Wicklow, for example. For further instances of this one ought to refer to Harbison 1978a.

19 Pugin's diary for 1838, in Wedgwood 1977, pp 39–41.

20 Forde 1989, p 70.

21 O'Donnell 1995, p 138.

22 With letter of 22.6.1839: Belcher 2001, p 118; the sketch is reproduced in Forde 1989.

make such decisions as Stanton implies when she states that Pugin ‘supplied few drawings, preferring to let the buildings evolve in consultation with his builder’.²³ Another example of Pugin’s confidence in Pierce is found in a letter he wrote to J.H. Talbot stating that ‘Pierce will perfectly understand the plans’.²⁴ To conclude, the initial meaning of Pugin’s specification fades, resulting in a distortion – the result of which is a sense of the Hibernian.

It could be argued that this sense arises chiefly from their simplicity and this could in part be due to the fact that as small parish churches, large sums of money would not be lavished on their execution.²⁵ In short, financial restraint resulted in the Hibernian rather than a conscious reference to the mediaeval forms of Ireland. Yet a sense of continuity is noticeable in the designs of Pugin. If one explores a more lavish scheme, in terms of the funds available to realise it, such as St Mary’s cathedral, Killarney (1842–50), one realises how, unlike later Gothic Revivalists and Roman Catholics, Pugin did not want his ecclesiastical designs to become a ‘show-place for the people...considered only as sources of revenue by ecclesiastics’.²⁶ Pugin’s restrained architectural vocabulary is

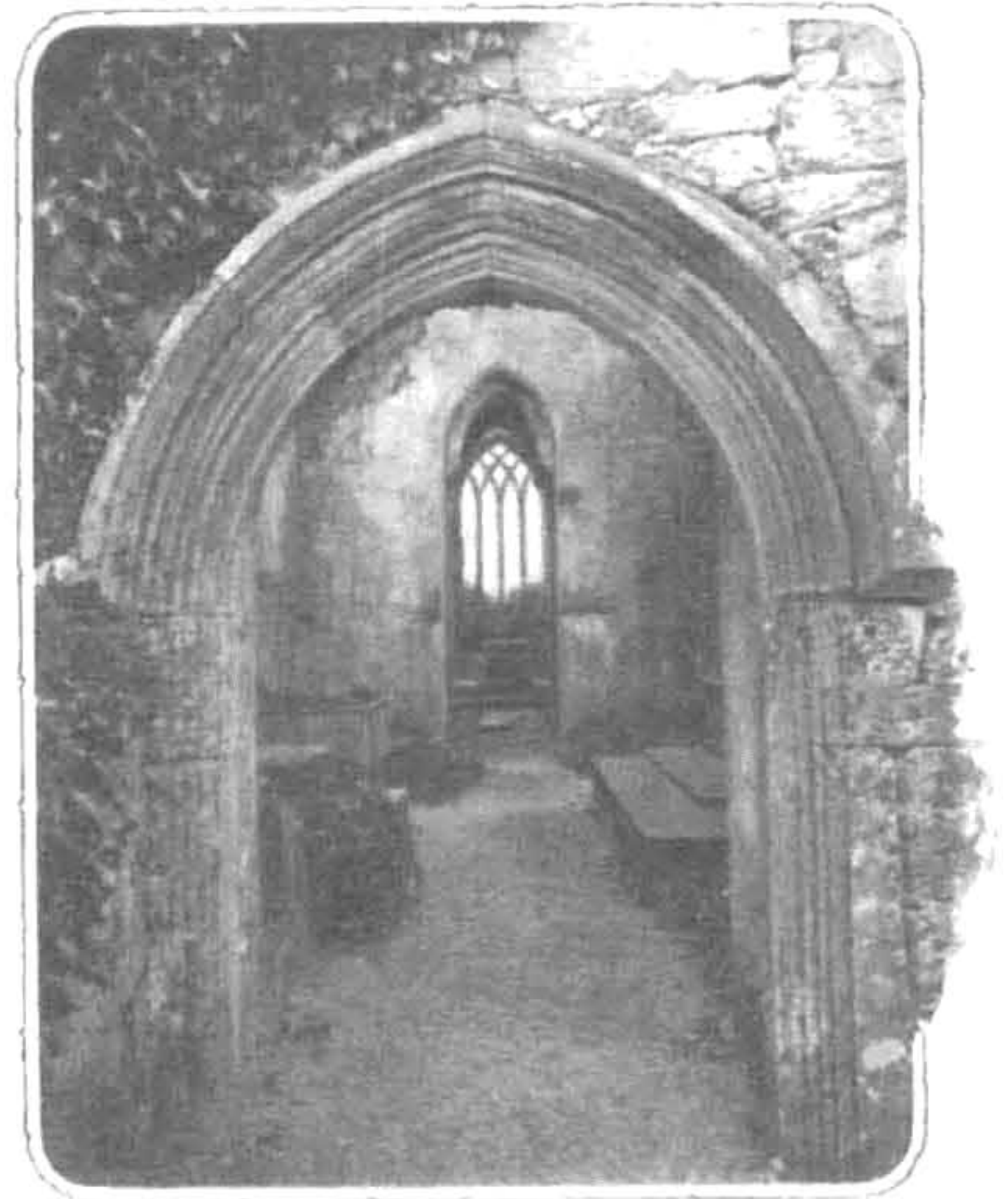


Figure 14: Entrance detail, Muckross abbey

from Stoddard 1901.

<http://chestofbooks.com>. See also figure 59.

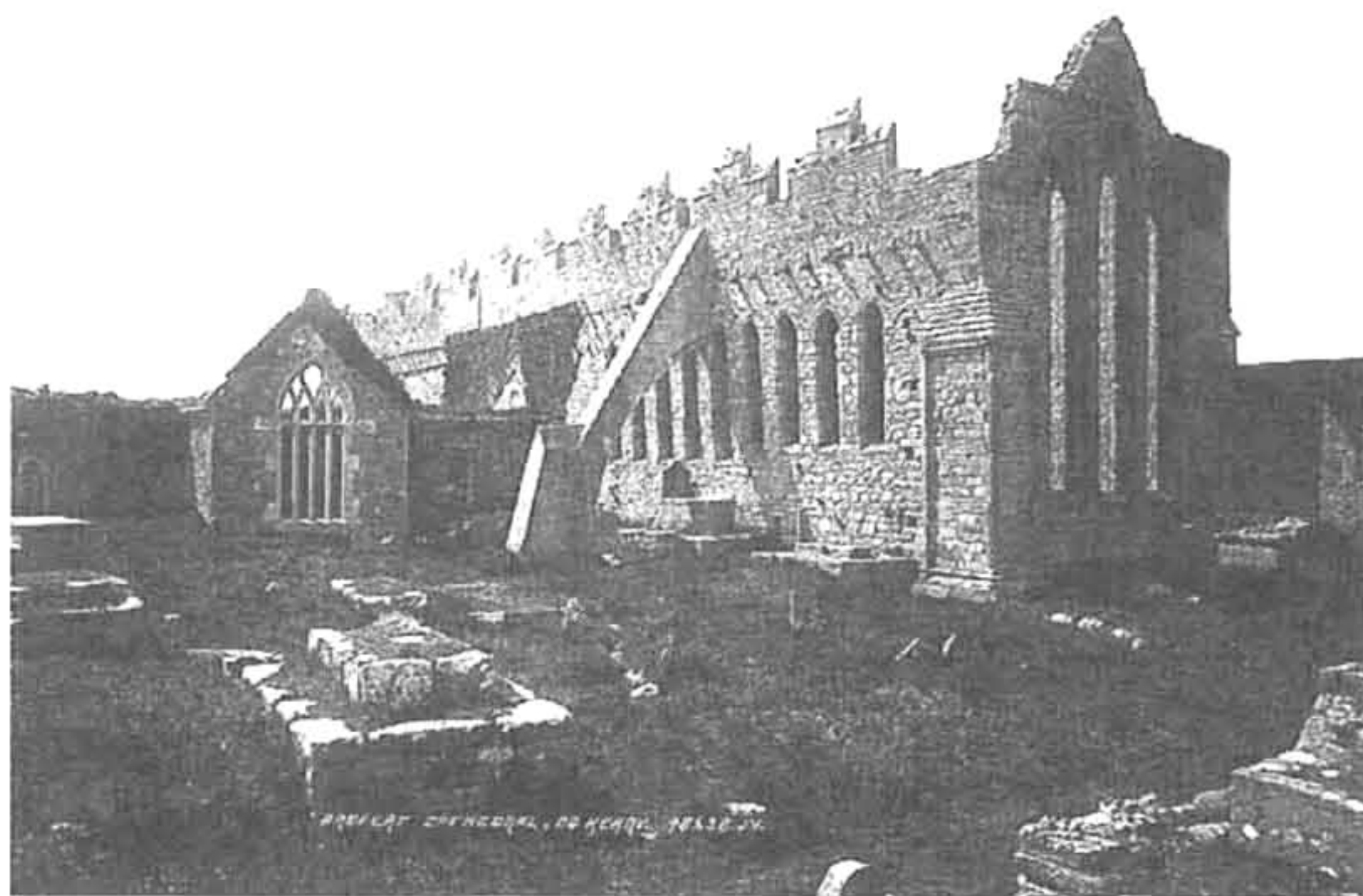


Figure 15: Ardfert Cathedral.

Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

consistent. Killarney’s surface is enhanced with solid detailing [figures 12 and 13]. Thick walls of rough brown stone are sandwiched between limestone, and windows and doors are heavily moulded into the surface of the walls. It is a design ‘adapted to the material in which [it is] executed’.²⁷ The solidity and simplicity of the design complement one another. Its weight is accentuated through scale. A door modestly proportioned appears much larger, as it

23 Stanton 1971, p 70.

24 Pugin to J.H. Talbot (14.5.1843?): Diocese of Ferns, Co Wexford, Bishop Keating collection, file No. JK1, drawing no 037. I am indebted to Brian Andrews who suggested contacting the archivist at the Diocese of Ferns and the archivist, Canon De Val, who kindly provided me with the above information. See Belcher 2003, p 52.

25 A benchmark for the cost of a parish church of the 1840s is evident at St Alphonsus, Barntown whose total cost was £1,723.9.1. See T&T Wickham [nd], accessed 8 July 2009.

26 St Mary’s Killarney cost £20,000 to build; see Galloway 1992; Pugin 1841b, p 41.

27 Pugin 1841a, p 1.

is framed by relentlessly repeating mouldings. The undulating profile shows signs of a conscious Irish reference; it is redolent of the late fifteenth-century west entrance to the church at Muckross Abbey, Co Kerry [figure 14; see also figure 59], which Pugin had visited on 6 June 1842.²⁸ Another exemplar is found in the ruined cathedral of Ardfert [figure 15]. Indeed Jeremy Williams mentions Killarney's deference to the mediaeval land of 'saints and scholars': 'It is extraordinary that such a sense of Irishness should be achieved by a...convert to the church of Rome'.²⁹

Irish identity is evident in the works of Pugin through its massing, weight and articulation. Its character is abstracted from the forms of mediaeval Ireland. Pugin's work, both built and written, had a powerful effect on Ireland. Uncompromising materials, weighty massing, rough surfaces and aggressive profiles were echoed for decades. The prodigious output of his Irish namesake, the 'Irish Pugin' J.J. McCarthy, spread across Ireland, cementing Puginian Gothic in the country.³⁰ The limitations of Pugin's built work must be acknowledged. Little is evident in the vicinity of Dublin, and none present in Cork, Galway, Londonderry or Belfast. Most projects are concentrated in Co Wexford, the Diocese of Ferns whither he was drawn through family connections of his patron the Earl of Shrewsbury.³¹ His written repertoire, *Contrasts* and *The true principles* as well as his writings for the *Dublin review* – which reappeared in the *Catholic directory* and 'found in every presbytery in the country', influenced the architectural landscape of Ireland.³² Pugin constructs an architecture that serves as an iconographical bridge between the preferred epochs of mediaeval



Figure 16: Private chapel at Bellevue, Ballyhogue, Co Wexford (1858-60), by EW Pugin
Rev Matthew Boggan.

Ireland to an aspirant future, neatly spanning the turbulent waters of the country in the nineteenth century. A much desired myth of origin is created for Ireland – an ancient land of saints and scholars. In short, a repository of nostalgia is created. The mediaeval forms of Ireland were recycled and their associations revised. Pugin's Irish repertoire shows an essential Ireland, one without overt sentiment or condescension. It does not strive for an outlandish effect. He views ecclesiastical architecture not as a political tool but as symbolic of Christianity. What makes Pugin's work so successful is its ambiguity

28 See the letter to the *Tablet*, quoted in Trappes-Lomax 1932, p 334.

29 Williams 1994, p 224.

30 Sheehy 1997, p 5; Sheehy suggests that McCarthy's prolific work was due in part to the fact his membership of the Irish Ecclesiological Society, in which he was the sole architect, would have provided him with influential contacts within the Catholic clergy. For a further study of the works of JJ McCarthy see Sheehy 1977.

31 John Hyacinth Talbot MP, of Castle Talbot and Talbot Hall, Co Wexford, uncle of Maria Therese, Countess of Shrewsbury, wife of the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, acted as Pugin's *entrée* into Ireland.

32 Ranson 1946, p 6.

and its seamless integration. It, unlike examples of later Gothic work, has an identity that emerges from residues of mediaeval Ireland that are absorbed and a new generation of forms emerge that recall the past without mimicking or trivialising it.

Thus Pugin is successful in creating 'a purely national, natural character'.³³ His version is not supported by symbols of nationhood that could be perceived as politicising his architecture. A bond between Gaelic culture and the Catholic faith began to emerge in the writings of the historian Geoffrey Keating and other counter-Reformation Catholics as early as the seventeenth century.³⁴ Pugin believed ardently that 'to a truly Catholic soul political influence [was] an object of little moment'.³⁵ He cared little for what 'crafty politicians' did under the 'name and cloak of religion'.³⁶ Catholicism as understood by Pugin did not necessarily coincide with that understood by the Irish clergy. The politicisation of the Irish Catholic church was their stumbling block according to Pugin, who believed that 'if Clergy of Ireland took half the interest in the splendour of the Altar whi they do in a contested election the Catholic churches of Ireland would not present their present miserable aspect of Neglect & filth'.³⁷ This politicised Church did much to influence ecclesiastical design following Pugin's lifetime. There is what can be described as a shifting semantic in the understanding of ecclesiastical structures by the clergy in Ireland across the nineteenth century.

This shift is evident between 1850 and 1870. A visible change occurs in church architecture. Visual declarations of faith become more physically rich, tending to be larger, more complex in surface and flamboyant in detail. On the whole, a reactionary setting against the established church is evident. An almost defiant air is seen in the siting of churches. Subsequent to the Relief Act of 1791, which abolished the double land tax on Roman Catholics, and the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 Catholic farmers and merchants could acquire land that had previously remained unattainable.³⁸ A want of an individual Irish identity in the eyes of a European audience becomes more prevalent, no doubt fuelled by the increasing sense of nationalism permeating contemporary publications such as Henry O'Neill's *Illustrations of the most interesting sculptural crosses of Ireland* (1857) and *The*

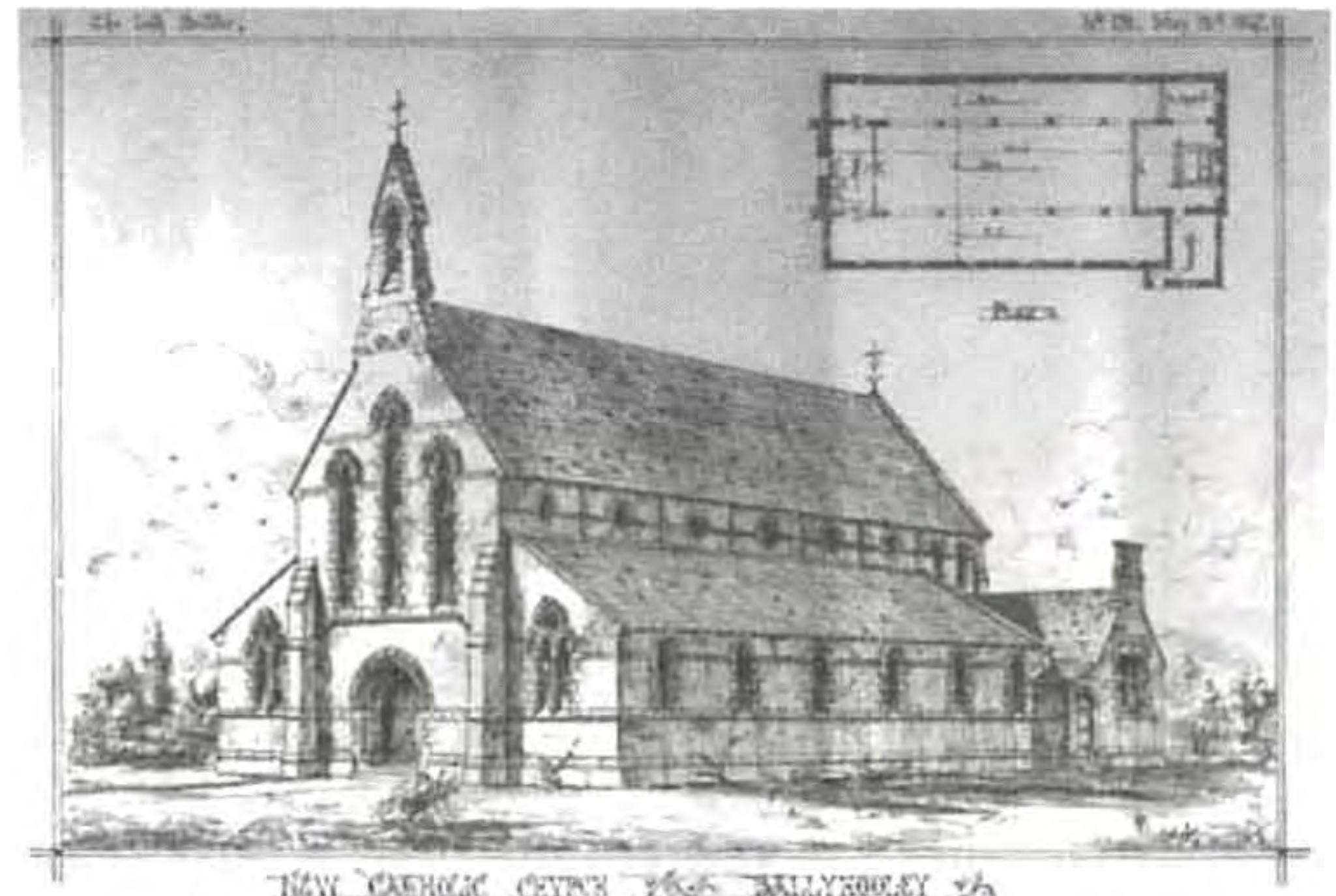


Figure 17: Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Ballyhooley, Co Cork (1867–9), by EW Pugin and GC Ashlin
Irish builder vol 9, 186.

33 Kirkpatrick 1999, p xii.

34 Geoffrey Keating (c1569–1664) was a renowned priest, poet and scholar. Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* (A compendium of wisdom about Ireland), translated in Comyn & Dineen 1902/1908, transmitted the idea of an Irish identity merged with Catholicism. For further examples of this alignment of Irish Catholicism with Gaelic culture see Collins 2002.

35 Meara 1995, p 55.

36 Pugin 1841b, p 15.

37 Letter to J Bloxam, 13.9.1840: Belcher 2001, pp 146–7.

38 The Encumbered Estates Act facilitated the sale of insolvent landed estates, whose owners had been bankrupted by the Great Famine, thus injecting new capital into Irish agriculture and providing an opportunity for Catholics to obtain land.



Figure 18: Ss Peter and Paul's, Co Cork (1859), by EW Pugin and GC Ashlin

National Inventory of Architectural Heritage.

for a Catholic church that was emerging as a highly organised and coherent identity. Churches were being built at a phenomenal rate. Indeed, Emmet Larkin states that, 'cathedrals, churches, chapels...all mushroomed in every part of Ireland'.⁴⁰

It is interesting to examine the ways in which Irish identity is expressed within the Victorian Catholic church. Continuities remain in the use of structures seen in England and elsewhere. Hybrids arise, created out of both a local context and a deference to the Gothic Revival in England. A sense of Irish identity is prevalent in both the works of Pugin and his son Edward. Yet, a difference is palpable. A.W.N. Pugin creates an identity of aspiration, an identity reliant on the forms that emerged during a time of Ireland's perceived prosperity, veiling the current hardships that plagued Ireland. E.W. Pugin creates an identity of consolidation, one where the Catholic church has achieved 'critical mass' and as such wants its architecture to convey this. A sense of the Hibernian is apparent in many various ways. Its expression often vacillates between three possible outcomes. In certain cases, a strength similar to A.W.N. Pugin's work is noticeable. Others demonstrate a degree of continuity, bearing remarkably little difference to Gothic Revival structures seen elsewhere in Europe. One struggles to find any physical element of the Hibernian, as is the case with Ss Peter and Paul's, Co Cork (1859). And hybrids appear, a cross-pollination between the universal Gothic Revival enveloping Europe and a local context.

39 Information on the professions of the new Catholic middle class can be found in Ross 2002, pp 229–30; representations of the traditional ways of life in pre-Famine Ireland are evident in the works of William Carleton (1794–1869) whose formative years in Ireland provided him with material on Irish life as seen in his publication *Traits and stories of the Irish peasantry* (1830).

40 Larkin 1967, p 864.

fine arts and civilisation of Ireland (1863). These helped to place the foundations of what would be a specific and unique form of the Gothic Revival in Ireland. The sense of the Hibernian is re-fashioned as the Roman Catholic church gained momentum during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The church's increasing self worth results in an aspiration to invent a high culture of its own, resulting in architectural forms that are linked both locally and internationally, forms that glean inspiration from European Gothic models as well as Irish ones. The emergence of a newly confident and prosperous post-famine generation led to an increasing dislocation from the traditional agrarian ways of life, the consequence of which resulted in a different mode of expressing Catholicism.³⁹ This was a time of rapid political and economic change

A small number of E.W. Pugin's commissions have a spartan quality that hint at the more restrained stoical nature evident in his father's Irish work. The private chapel at Bellevue, Ballyhogue, Co Wexford (1858–60), for example, is Irish in its solidity [figure 16]. The weight of its entrance is augmented by the buttressing of the porch. Ironically, this acts as an element of the Hibernian as it swamps the porch walls, suggesting a greater wall thickness than that present. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of this small chapel is the demarcation between the nave and the chancel. Thick buttresses stationed between the nave and chancel support wide stone copings that meet at the apex of the roof. Dissonance akin to that found at St Mary's, Killarney, occurs in the contrasting masonry that constitute the wall and the window surrounds. The twinned trefoiled nave windows recall those at St Alphonsus'. However, E.W. Pugin reduces the sobriety of these through the addition of hooded mouldings.



Figure 19: Interior view, Ss Peter and Paul's
National Inventory of Architectural Heritage.

Seven years later E.W. Pugin executed a 'simple and severe [but] effective' design, the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Ballyhooley, Co Cork (1867–9) [figure 17].⁴¹ The extruded mouldings of the entrance arch both reveal the thickness of the walls and conceal the fact that the entrance is much smaller than initially perceived. A muscular squat-like nature arises that mimics Irish architectural medievalism. Again, there are similarities between the work of father and son. Ballyhooley acts as a diminutive Killarney cathedral, *sans* buttressing and tower. However the conscious decision for the Hibernian is countered by the financial one suggested by the *Irish builder* which noted Ballyhooley's restrictive budget of £1,500.⁴² An explanation as to why there are traces of Hibernian identity in the works of E.W. Pugin presents itself at St Brigid's, Crosshaven, Co Cork (1869). As O'Dwyer notes, E.W.'s supervision of his Irish commissions proved difficult, as had been the case with his father.⁴³ On this occasion, a legal battle emerged between client and contractor; the former, the Very Rev Canon McSwiney, PP; the latter, Mr Richard Evans. The bone of contention between them arose in a diverging understanding of Pugin's specifications. The external walls as described by Pugin were to be 'rubble masonry of local stone faced with hammer dressed limestone, in random courses, varying from 4 in. to 8 in. in height'. Evans interpreted hammer-dressed stone as that

41 'New Roman Catholic church at Ballyhooley, Co Cork' in *Irish builder*, vol 9 (1867), p 120.

42 O'Dwyer 1989, p. 59.

43 O'Dwyer explores this case in *ibid*, p 62.

prepared by a hammer, and 'random courses' as an indefinite number of courses only restricted by the edicts of height. '[H]ammer dressed' ought to have translated as 'squared ashlar, with chiselled joints and beds' and what was meant by 'random courses' was its antithesis, 'regular courses – each course carried at a uniform height all around the building'.⁴⁴ Unlike the digression from Pugin *père's* specifications at St Michael's, Gorey, what happened at Crosshaven was not a success. But both Gorey and Crosshaven are examples of where local interpretation has occurred, thus resulting in a sense of the Hibernian, a specific form of the Gothic Revival in Ireland.



Figure 20: St Colman's cathedral, Cobh (1867–75), by EW Pugin and GC Ashlin. See also figure 62. *Friends of Cobh Cathedral*.

Having explored the exceptions of E.W. Pugin's Irish commissions we now turn to examine the defining features of his Irish output. On the whole, E.W. Pugin's Irish designs have their roots in continental models such as Ss Peter and Paul's, Co Cork (1859) [figure 18]. A characteristic mixture of 'French and English Gothic' prevails.⁴⁵ The walls are not of a muscularity comparable with that of the works of the elder Pugin. A web of stone and glass occurs in the form of an immense window that occupies the majority of the west entrance. A compressed facade results in a verticality more akin to the typology found in France rather than in Ireland. It can neither be described as simple nor restrained. A riot of ornamentation presents itself.

44 'The Crosshaven church building case' in *Irish builder*, vol 12 (1870), p 189.

45 Sheehy remarks upon this trait of the E.W. Pugin and Ashlin partnership in Sheehy 1980, p 121.

The interior walls and capitals are festooned in sculpture. Capitals are both conventional and floral [figure 19]. It is an opulent design that shows the desire of the Catholic church to align itself with the fashionably European Gothic. The Roman Catholic architecture of mid-Victorian Ireland reinforced the idealised and stable stance of Catholicism as an accepted form of religion. Churches acted as catalysts for the common clarity, order and predictability of the Roman Catholic church in a land previously dominated by the Church of Ireland.⁴⁶ Ss Peter and Paul's commands its cramped location by using its site boundary to delineate its perimeter walls. Had the spire soared to 230 feet as was intended, Ss Peter and Paul's imposing stance would have been further augmented.

We see the changing face of Roman Catholic church architecture embodied in this design as in many others in Ireland. This was by no means an isolated incident. The amalgamated efforts of Thomas Duff, J.J. McCarthy, G.C. Ashlin and Liam McCormack at the cathedral at Armagh vied for visual supremacy over the city's thirteenth-century predecessor – and won. Cobh cathedral overshadows its Church of Ireland neighbour. Indeed, the *Irish builder* commented that 'it will be visible from every part of the harbour'.⁴⁷ Its siting is a mechanism of display, demonstrating the church's power and achievement, visually asserting its new found supremacy. Catholic churches become more dominantly sited as the decades progressed, visual emblems for the new standing and confidence of the Roman Catholic church. A form of design manipulation is used that both creates a dual sense, one of alienation (to the established church, itself disestablished in the 1860s) and one of empowerment for the Catholics.

The final expression of the Gothic Revival present in the younger Pugin's commissions is one of hybridity. It is a Gothic that derives the lion's share of its form from Europe, but grafts Irish cultural identity onto it. Architectural cross-pollination occurs. A twin pull of the international and the local emerges. In the creation of a personal Irish identity, the local is present; it unites the Irish. The international raises the Irish Roman Catholic church onto the same stage as the rest of the Gothic Revival in Europe, acting as a mechanism of unification of Catholicism regardless of nationality. As the decades progress, the Revival becomes a balancing act between the economic pull of internationalism and the magnetic attraction of personalism.

Nowhere is this more evident than at St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh (1867–75) [figure 20; see also figure 62].⁴⁸ Its character is continental in form but Hibernian in ornament. It is the offspring of a careful crossbreeding of architectural parentage. Structurally bearing little difference to most contemporary high Victorian churches,

46 The architectural output of the Catholic church was poor competition for the Church of Ireland until after the mid-century. The reason was mostly economic but partly organisational. Despite the Church of Ireland being a decided minority, it held power as the established church. Until disestablishment (1869), its building programme was funded by public endowments and parliamentary grants, resulting in a quantity of church building that outweighed membership.

47 'New Roman Catholic cathedral, Queenstown', in *Irish builder*, vol 11 (1869), p 36.

48 The dissolution of the Pugin & Ashlin partnership occurred in 1868, but they continued to collaborate in connection with Cobh Cathedral – their most lucrative commission. This arrangement continued until Pugin's death in 1875. A debt of gratitude is owed to Dr Frederick O'Dwyer who drew my attention to this. See O'Dwyer 1989, pp 55–62.

it 'revel[s] in richness, elaboration, ornament and colour'.⁴⁹ It emulates French Gothic models such as Amiens and Rheims. This possibly resulted from the fact that the instigator of this project, Bishop William Keane (1805–75) studied at the Irish College in Paris – where he would have encountered Notre Dame de Paris and St Denis. Cobh is a symbol of economic development and national progress, a representation of the church's new role on an international stage. Its cost acts as an indicator to how the wealth of the Irish Roman Catholic church had soared and the increasing sense of self confidence emerging in ecclesiastical architecture.⁵⁰ In 1868

when the contractors had carried up the external walls of the cathedral to an average height of about 12 feet the Most Rev Dr. Keane began to look upon the building as being of entirely too plain a character...he was supported by the clergy and committee who thought that a cathedral ought to have greater embellishments than an ordinary parish church, and that at whatever expense a change in the character of the structure should be made.⁵¹

A plaque in the south transept states that the final cost was £235,000.⁵² Another example of Keane's influence in the design of Cobh is in its detailing. Having expressed a particular desire to incorporate the 'decoration...typical of a nation'. Shamrocks are in profuse abundance, both being emblematical of 'Christianity and nationality'.⁵³

Other symbols of nationhood are apparent. There are frequent appearances of historical Irish figures: saints Sedulius, Ethna and Ita, for example.⁵⁴ Narratives concerning the history of Irish Catholicism are evident; the arrival of St Patrick; the trial of Dr Hedian, Archbishop of Cashel for appointing Irish priests,⁵⁵ the martyrdom of Archbishop O'Hurley;⁵⁶ and Daniel O'Connell can be found giving Catholic Emancipation to Ireland.⁵⁷ The historical imagery in Cobh is a mirror to the self image of the nineteenth-century Irish Catholic church. Cobh, despite its lack of outward Irishness, is 'a powerful fusion of religion and identity'.⁵⁸ Revealing cultural

49 Jervis 1983, p 11.

50 An indicator of this is the varying incomes of the clergy evident in 'The church establishment of Ireland' in *The Freeman's journal church commission* (Dublin, 1868), p 387. It is stated that the average income of a parish priest was estimated at £200 per annum. Roman Catholic prelates were understood to have incomes of upwards of £1,000 per annum each.

51 'St Colman's Cathedral, Queenstown', *The Cork examiner* (6.8.1898). A diocesan building committee – comprised of local citizens – was formed in January 1867 and had an active role in the final outcome of the design. The bishop usually presided at meetings, the parish clergy attended and the administrator acted as secretary. See Twomey 1999, p 38.

52 The expected cost of Cobh in 1868 was £25,000. This, however, was for a much more modest design than the eventual outcome. According to the *Cork examiner* about two thirds of the funds were obtained from the clergy and laity of the diocese. A tenth of the total cost was collected from bequests and special donations, and another tenth came from abroad. The remainder was funded by eminent members of the clergy, for example Archbishop Croke of Cashel. See Wilson 2007, pp 18–21.

53 'Opening of the Queenstown Cathedral', *Cork examiner* (16.6.1879).

54 Sedulius was a 5th century Christian poet. Ethna was one of two daughters of the High King Laoghaire who were converted by Saint Patrick. Ita (c475–570) performed many miracles and was held in great veneration by a large number of contemporary saints.

55 Dr Hedian, Archbishop of Cashel 1406–40, was put on trial for 'present[ing] no Englishman to a benefice, and advis[ing] other Prelates to do likewise': D'Arcy Macgee 2008, p 264.

56 Archbishop O'Hurley, (c1530–84) was a Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel who was executed for treason during the reign of Elizabeth I. See Corish & Millet 2005, pp 66–80.

57 Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) was an Irish political leader who campaigned for Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the union between Ireland and Great Britain. For a further analysis of O'Connell see O'Ferrall 1981.

58 *Ibid*, p 79.

constructs are incorporated into its fabric. If its Celtic nature may be less evident in the physicality of building, its detailed imagery shows an Irish identity in abundance.

The Hibernian inflections dictated by Keane is by no means an anomaly in the clergy's search for an architecture emblematic of Ireland. Another example of the clergy promoting the use of Irish individuality is seen in the form of Cardinal Paul Cullen (1802–78), who strongly supported an Irish identity that was both Roman Catholic and Gaelic. Cullen attempted to institutionalise the bond between Catholicism and cultural nationalism in founding the National Association in 1864.⁵⁹

E.W. Pugin employs Hibernian elements in this design. In contrast to his father's representation of Irishness, he created an almost caricatured sense of cultural richness through the use of recognisable Irish symbols. One sees the muscular, restrained architecture of Pugin's Ireland less, and symbols of nationhood more, as the century draws to a close. In this instance, this arises more from the wishes of Bishop Keane and the contemporary clergy of the time, rather than from E.W. Pugin and his contemporaries. This new sense of nationalism is balanced with an equal and opposing desire for internationalism. The cultural nationalism evident at Cobh is one reliant on identifiably Irish symbology such as the shamrock and depictions of Irish historical figures. Yet the envelope of Cobh possesses a more 'international' character evident in its reference to Amiens and Rheims. A certain dichotomy exists. There is an opposing desire on behalf of the Roman Catholic church to have both an architecture that becomes a focal point for an individual Irish identity, but at the same time one that displays the Irish Roman Catholic church's arrival on the 'international' stage, consolidating and reaffirming its identity as a coherent and organised body. On the one hand prelates such as Cardinal Cullen advocate an architecture rooted in the climes of Ireland, an architecture that is fiercely nationalistic; and on the other there are those like Bishop Keane who are susceptible to continental forms. The result is an architecture that is not merely inherently Hibernian. Its form does not possess enough individuality to be deemed purely Irish. This process of hybridisation of architecture, of transforming Irish architecture into its international counterpart, dilutes its Irish identity.

Regardless of how Irishness manifests itself, whether through its materiality, local interpretation, reference to Irish mediaeval architecture or Irish historical imagery, a sense of it is evident in the works of both A.W.N. and E.W. Pugin. Far from the Albers analogy used at the beginning of this article, the contrasts that emerge are tangible. The context of Ireland influences not only the perception of ecclesiastical architecture but also its built form. A.W.N. Pugin's Irish commissions have a granitic strength and simplicity that sets them apart from most of his English work and associates them with the mediaeval forms of Ireland. Furthermore, an Irish identity stems from his antiquarianism, his unerring wish to be faithful to Irish Gothic architecture. A sense of the Hibernian also emerged somewhat through Pugin's diminishing influence over the supervision of his projects, resulting in local interpretation of his designs. The increasing prosperity of the Roman Catholic church mid-century resulted in a different articulation of national identity. Paradoxically, the

⁵⁹ PF Moran, 'Paul Cullen' in *The Catholic encyclopaedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04564a.htm> (accessed 25.6.2009).

clergy were often responsible for both the Irish and more international character present in the works by E.W. Pugin. The Hibernian traits that emerge there are ones that veil the traumatic experiences of Ireland by seeking solace in the forms of mediaeval Ireland. Considered as the 'golden age' of saints and scholars, it was a time that served as the cornerstone of a national historic tradition, the strength of which allowed the Irish people to endure traumas such as the penal laws without sacrificing either their identity or their faith. E.W. Pugin's Hibernian inflections arise in a myriad of ways; through a characteristic strength that emulated the Gothic forms in Ireland; and through use of Irish historical symbology. Both father and son succeeded in creating an architecture rooted in the Irish landscape. In both cases an architectural and iconographic language is the tool that renders an Irish self-definition explicit, concentrating pride into churches to produce and consolidate an individual Irish identity as both Roman Catholic and nationalist.

Wie es eigentlich gewesen

by Timothy Brittain-Catlin

The collected letters of A.W.N. Pugin. Edited with notes and an introduction by Margaret Belcher. Volume 3: 1846–1848. Oxford UP. ISBN 978-0199229161. RRP £120.00

The debt owed to Margaret Belcher not just by Pugin scholars but by all those who write about early nineteenth-century British history is tremendous. The three volumes of this series so far completed depict the ways of the building world and its broader context at the end of the Georgian era and beginning of the Victorian one to a degree of detail unparalleled in any other text of this kind; the curious characters who effected the only significant revolution in England's architectural history are not only brought to life through A.W.N. Pugin's dealings with them, but also, thanks to the accuracy, determination and succinctness with which Dr Belcher has tracked them down and described their careers and lives, they stand ready to be plucked by other hands who are ready to delve deeper into their stories and describe for other audiences, in other times, the endless richnesses of the era. Anyone who has had to find (and, indeed, has tried to read) any particular rare piece of Pugin's correspondence will furthermore be amazed at the sheer scope of the task of simply locating and making sense of his letters. This series has been an astonishing achievement: it is a work of scholarship of the highest order.

As it happens the period covered by this volume has always been considered a relatively quiet one in Pugin's career. The rectories at Lanteglos and Rampisham were designed at the outset of this set of letters; the only other substantial new private house to be on site before the end of 1848 was the little known Wilburton New Manor House in Cambridgeshire, built for the warring Pell family, a mother and her estranged son who came from outside the architect's usual small circle of personal contacts. In none of these cases did Pugin write much in the way of letters that explain what he was trying to achieve through his architecture; only one letter here refers to the Lanteglos house, for example, and there is nothing more than a single, passing, reference to Rampisham, one of the most beautiful and remarkable houses of the nineteenth century, for which he submitted drawings for official approval in March 1846 and which was being built over the next year and an half [see figure 72]. That tells you something. There is nothing about the Pells and their house, either. In fact the only client to whom Pugin continually addresses correspondence on the substance of his work throughout the almost 700 pages of this volume is James John Hornby, for whom he remodelled the parish church at Winwick in south-east Lancashire – a comparatively minor project, although one which seems to have brought both parties considerable gratification.

Grand narrative versions of history or biography tell how architects moved from one design to the next; from one client or perhaps one spouse to the next; from one big idea to the next; and yet this is a book about tiny details, of buildings, or of financial or social relationships between working people. There is a letter to John Hardman on almost every page; in these there are references to chandeliers, branches

and brackets; locks and hasps; ‘beastly’ tassels (‘where do you get [them]...they are perfectly execrable’); rails, jambs, and grates. To John Gregory Crace there are requests for carpets, stencils, velvets; panels; patterns; portraits; ‘a succession of Lead plummets’; even for an upright piano. These are the things that the Gothic Revival is made of; it’s worth remembering that someone has to work out how to design them, or they won’t happen. As Pugin put it to Hardman in March 1848, ‘you have forgot a lock plate to receive the bolts of a lock. I sent you the drawing some time ago, it is a little thing but very important – to me’. In fact this is the period in which the New Palace of Westminster is going up and Pugin, although at times not paid for it, is producing details daily as a kind of continuous backdrop to everything else that he was doing. The many details of church work here will provide a mine for future writers of the *Pevsner architectural guides*. Just look at these letters and imagine quite how much he poured out every day: it is scarcely credible. So this volume tells you how the Gothic revival was put together, day by day, nut by bolt, who did what and where it was. The way in which a new kind of relationship developed between builder, client, and manufacturer developed around the objects being made is in part what the Gothic Revival was about, and a close look at how it happened explains how it spread so fast and so deeply. Failing to understand the importance of all these details of design and manufacture is failing to understand what architecture means to architects.

So in a sense there is a grand narrative after all, but one of a different sort from the usual one. It’s worth adding that Pugin’s work didn’t develop in a neat chronological way anyhow, once he had, around 1843, worked out his stylistic language; so this is as it were a story going outwards, rather than upwards. By and large the people who appear in volume three are among the most loyal and generous that our hero encountered. The screens controversy – the incident in late 1848 in which Pugin and W.G. Ward, ‘the furious anti Screen & *Italian* man’ work each other up into a bitter row over the provision of chancel screens – proves to be a testing ground. (A mystery not solved here, incidentally, is that of Ward’s house at St Edmund’s College, Ware; surely part of it was there before Pugin came along, because it has different bond of brickwork and the windows do things in the gable above that Pugin’s generally didn’t? But there’s no answer in the letters). It was an article of Ward’s in the *Rambler* that started their screens argument, and Hardman, loyal friend, immediately cancelled his subscription to the journal. Did he have to think twice? Did he perhaps not really care about written things – was it good enough to do as the governor wanted, to keep him happy? Did he laugh, I wonder, or did he roll his eyes when Pugin told him, for example, in March 1848 that he would ‘shoot any chartist as I would a rat or mad dog’ and asks for *muskets* to defend the Grange against French revolutionaries. Pugin was a very funny writer; part of it stems from his irrepressibility. Like some other Victorian heroes, he is all despondency one moment, and all euphoria the next. The contrast between his formal reports on his trip to Rome in 1847, to James Chadwick and the Earl of Shrewsbury, and his observation to Hardman that ‘the Roman Republicans threatened to blow up St Peters, I am afraid they have not spirit to do it’ the following year is simply wonderful; it also gives you another picture of the year of revolutions.

Hornby, of Winwick, proves to be a sympathetic and thoughtful client, as does John Allcard, for whom Pugin is decorating Burton Closes in Bakewell. Although this book is almost entirely made up from letters from, rather than to, Pugin, it is clear that Crace and Lord Shrewsbury respond tactfully to Pugin's more manic episodes and various family problems.

On the other hand, towards the end of this volume, one of the worst of Pugin's professional scrapes is already under way: by November 1848 there are 'nothing but Rows' with Captain Washington Hibbert of Bilton Grange near Rugby. Hibbert is already writing fussy, bossy letters about things like bell pulls; when Pugin had finally dismissed himself, or been dismissed, in 1849 Hibbert was proud to take credit for the design of his house as if he had done it all himself. That's of course not an unusual situation for an architect to find himself in. Many too would no doubt secretly share Pugin's glee when he hears of the suicide of Lord Middleton, another troublesome personage who had in an earlier volume embarrassingly requested Pugin to design and find a resident for a garden hermitage: Pugin thought it his come-uppance for messing up a design for a new church aisle. Architects only see things in terms of buildings; their designs for buildings define who they are. They often do not know where they are going, or why: it is the fact of building, learning from building and building again that keeps them trundling along. Also, I think, they are always aware of the sense of failure in building, knowing that something time-consuming and expensive on which so much emotional effort has been expended will inevitably go wrong and disappoint, or will turn out to be perfect but unappreciated by anyone else. Or there is a tiny false detail, or the wrong shade of a colour on a wall, and the whole day is wrecked. Have you noticed what strange buildings architects choose as their favourite places? Have you fathomed what considerations are involved in their choices? There is here a reference to an early form of central heating proposed for the Winwick church in 1847. My guess is that Pugin found this more interesting than any social gossip his correspondents might have shared with him, unless of course it affected a client or their ability to pay.

It's not insignificant then that there is no direction or story to this tremendous volume. Buildings don't develop according to narrative stories; the best thing a critic can do is devise a story that retrospectively pulls things together in a memorable way, as Nikolaus Pevsner did when he invented the history of modernism. Dr Belcher tells it how it was – not least because of the way in which she has tracked down so much correspondence. It is a shame that there are still some holes – where are Pugin's letters to the loyal and kind Henry Sharples, for example? – but by way of compensation she has on occasion drawn on the work of specialist scholars such as Michael Fisher and Joseph Sharples (no relation, so he tells me). There's plenty of bad health on Pugin's part but no sign of any impending breakdown, least of all any mental one. The details of his embarrassed romantic affairs which some people find so fascinating have a very minor part to play; again, it's buildings, not people, that motivate architects. One person's failed romance is much like any one else's. The only interesting information that comes out of his one is his admission that he, and not Gillespie Graham, designed the tower of Tolbooth St John's church in Edinburgh. But possibly we knew that anyway from what it looks like. And Pugin's claims don't

mean that it's true in any case; many architects later take credit for things that their bosses were responsible for at the time. Look at the buildings; you can't work out their provenance by reading about them.

The idea that visual artists (and especially architects) are motivated or inspired by personal relationships is a fallacy invented by literary people, perhaps making false comparisons with poets and novelists. Indeed, the primacy that literary accomplishments demand and receive in society above those of artists and architects have generally resulted in a peculiarly distorted view of what architects are for; and architects, who are dealing in visual and experiential things and can't necessarily write well (and who, obviously, can't partake of a narrative that was invented long after their death) can't defend themselves against powerful narrative writers. Dr David Starkey, the historian of Tudor England, pointed out earlier this year that some popular ways of writing about history tended to emphasise the unimportant parts of it: what made Henry VIII was his politics, not the personal stories of his wives and their families. That also means that Dr Belcher's series, for all that it is a fabulous achievement, is unlikely to win any prizes or be preposterously puffed by publishers' p.r. people or the dim cultural supplements of our daily newspapers. Even the Oxford University Press has so far put out only one misspelled flyer; they also told me that they don't make any images available to accompany book reviews, even for books on visual subjects. No wonder academic architectural historians have invented a ghastly sub-genre of writing in which a great deal gets said, and footnoted, and referenced, and this or that old bore is praised and thanked, and some critic of a critic is criticised again, at no real cost or advantage to anybody, and then the whole thing is printed out on smart shiny paper, and read by five people of whom three review it for each other; and nothing quite amounts to anything. No wonder that none of the best specialist Pugin historians, the kind whose work you read in *True principles*, are academic architectural historians. In fact the readers of *True principles* are likely to be Dr Belcher's most appreciative audience, apart from those future writers of the *Pevsner architectural guides* who can now pretty much date every part of every church he ever did, and, presumably, various specialist historians of the future. If The Pugin Society had any prizes at its disposal it would give them all to the editor of these letters. We all know by now that John Dando Sedding said that 'we should have had no Morris, no Street, no Burges, no Shaw, no Webb, no Bodley, no Burne-Jones, no Crane, but for Pugin'; likewise, we should perhaps have had no new Pugin scholarship, perhaps no David Meara, no Michael Fisher, no Catriona Blaker, no James Jago and certainly no Editor, but for Margaret Belcher.

The E.W. Pugin gazetteer: part 3

by Gerard Hyland

Preface

The previous two numbers of True principles reproduced Sections A–F of the gazetteer. This issue contains the remaining five sections, together with corrigenda and appendices:

G: Secular / domestic buildings

H: Miscellaneous works, both ecclesiastical and secular

I: Commissions described in contemporary architectural journals and elsewhere, for which no evidence of execution has yet been found (see also Section K)

J: Works mentioned in obituaries for which no corroboration / other references have yet been found

K: Unexecuted designs (see also Section I)

Corrigenda

Appendix I: One-time partners / collaborators of E.W. Pugin

Appendix II: Some firms used for carving and stained glass in E.W. Pugin churches

Appendix III: Some members of the peerage and landed gentry who were benefactors of churches and other buildings by E.W. Pugin, as well as those who commissioned secular buildings from him

Appendix IV: E.W. Pugin cathedrals, churches and chapels in the UK listed according to county / lieutenancy, incorporating the changes notified in the Corrigenda.

Appendix V: E.W. Pugin cathedrals, churches / chapels listed according to the present Roman Catholic archdioceses and dioceses of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and continental Europe, incorporating the changes notified in the Corrigenda.

Sources

Acknowledgments

G: Secular / domestic buildings

The most outstanding examples of EW Pugin's domestic architecture, often commissioned by members of Catholic landed gentry,¹ are afforded by Burton Manor, Stafford (**G1** – see figure 21), Kasteel van Loppem, near Bruges, Belgium (**G4** – see figure 22), Meanwood House, Leeds (**G9** – see figure 23), the Granville Hotel, Ramsgate (**G11** – see figure 24), and Harrington House, Royal Leamington Spa (**G13**

¹ A notable exception is AWN Pugin's former client, Henry Drummond, a founder (together with Edward Irving) of the Catholic Apostolic Church. See Appendix III for those members of the peerage and landed gentry who were benefactors of churches and other buildings by EW Pugin, as well as those who commissioned secular buildings from him.

– see figure 25). In addition to these works, E.W. Pugin designed a residence (Kasteel St Michiels (**G6** – see figure 26) for the Bishop of Bruges, a photograph of which is published here for the first time. Of the 15 works identified below, eight have been demolished, whilst the external appearances of many of those that have survived now differ to varying degrees from their original design, as is exemplified, for example, by **G1**, **G9** and **G11**.

- G1** 1854–55: **Stafford**, Staffs – Burton Manor, for Francis Whitgreave: this house has many features in common with A.W.N. Pugin's home, the Grange, in Ramsgate – see Fisher 2007–8. In part of the roofspace was a chapel with a traceried window containing stained glass by Béthune – now removed. The elaborate wooden spirelet that originally surmounted the octagonal tower is now dismantled; the building is now part of Stafford Grammar School. See figure 21.
- G2** 1857: **Albury**, Surrey – almshouses (including a chapel, committee room and accommodation for 12 people); with J. Murray. For H. Drummond at Albury Park – see **H15**.
- G3** 1857 (with J Murray) –63 (with J.A. Hansom): near **Chorley**, Lancs. – Croston Hall, for J. Randolphus de Trafford: demolished 1964 – see also **A15**.
- G4** 1858–62: near **Bruges**, Belgium, 8210 – Kasteel van Loppem, for Baron Charles van Caloen; with J.-B. Béthune: differs from the original (1856) design [**K6**] with J. Murray. See figure 22.
- G5** 1861–2: **Ramsgate**, Kent – St Gregory's (for Alfred Luck): became the St Augustine's Abbey school after 1867, when, for some time, it was known as St Gregory's College; three-storey extension to the rear (**E31**) in 1871. Demolished 1973.
- G6** 1861–63: **Bruges**, Belgium – Kasteel St Michiels, for the Bishop of Bruges: summer residence in Groene Poort of the Rt Rev J.-B. Malou.² Executed (together with stained glass in 1863) by J.-B. Béthune; demolished 1957. See figure 26.
- G7** 1861–2/64–7/74: **Clapton**, London – St Scholastica's Retreat: endowed by the estate of Robert and Charlotte Scholastica Harrison; built in two stages, the second not being completed until 1874. It comprised a range of almshouses incorporating 38 flats with warden accommodation and a common hall used by the neighbourhood as a chapel until the building of St Scholastica's church in 1882 – see **Ii** below; demolished 1972.
- G8** 1865: **Ramsgate**, Kent – Isle of Thanet Steam Flour Mills: originally owned by Hudson, and until recently by Rank-Hovis. The original building was of two storeys to which a further two (not by E.W. Pugin) were added later. Recently sold, and a change of use involving alterations is pending, although the original E.W. Pugin parts are protected.³
- G9** 1867: **Leeds**, West Yorkshire – Meanwood House (for T. Stewart Kennedy): now known as Meanwood Towers. The wooden-framed, centrally heated extension (capable of holding 800 people) built in 1869 to house an organ is

² Given as 'Chateau at St Michel' in EW Pugin's obituary in *Building news*.

³ See *True principles*, vol 3 no 4, p 59.



Figure 21: Burton Manor, Stafford, showing the tower and the (now dismantled) surmounting wooden spirelet
by courtesy of Stafford Grammar School.



Figure 22: Kasteel van Loppem, near Bruges, Belgium
photographed by Jim Nancarrow, reproduced from Irving 2002, p 39.



Figure 23: Meanwood House, Leeds
Copyright Leeds Library & Information Service.



The Granville Hotel c. 1880, Courtesy Local Studies Collection, Ramsgate Library
See article below.

Figure 24: Granville Hotel, Ramsgate, c.1880
courtesy local studies collection, Ramsgate Library; reproduced from True principles, vol 1 no 4, p 1.



Figure 25: Harrington House, Leamington Spa, pre-1967
by courtesy of Coventry evening telegraph.



Figure 26: Kasteel St Michiels, Bruges, Belgium
*by courtesy of the Diocesan Archives of Bruges/
image B370.*



Figure 27: Bishop Eton Monastery, Liverpool
showing the clocktower with its louvred
pyramidal roof
private collection.



Figure 28: Scarisbrick Hall, Scarisbrick showing EW Pugin's dominating rebuilding of AWN Pugin's
clocktower; the new E wing; and the octagonal tower (with the eight heraldic doves of Scarisbrick)
that interconnects with the original part of the hall. See also figure 1
Building news, 24.4.1868.



Figure 29: St Wilfrid's, Ripon, showing the high
altar and reredos.
by courtesy of D Thornton

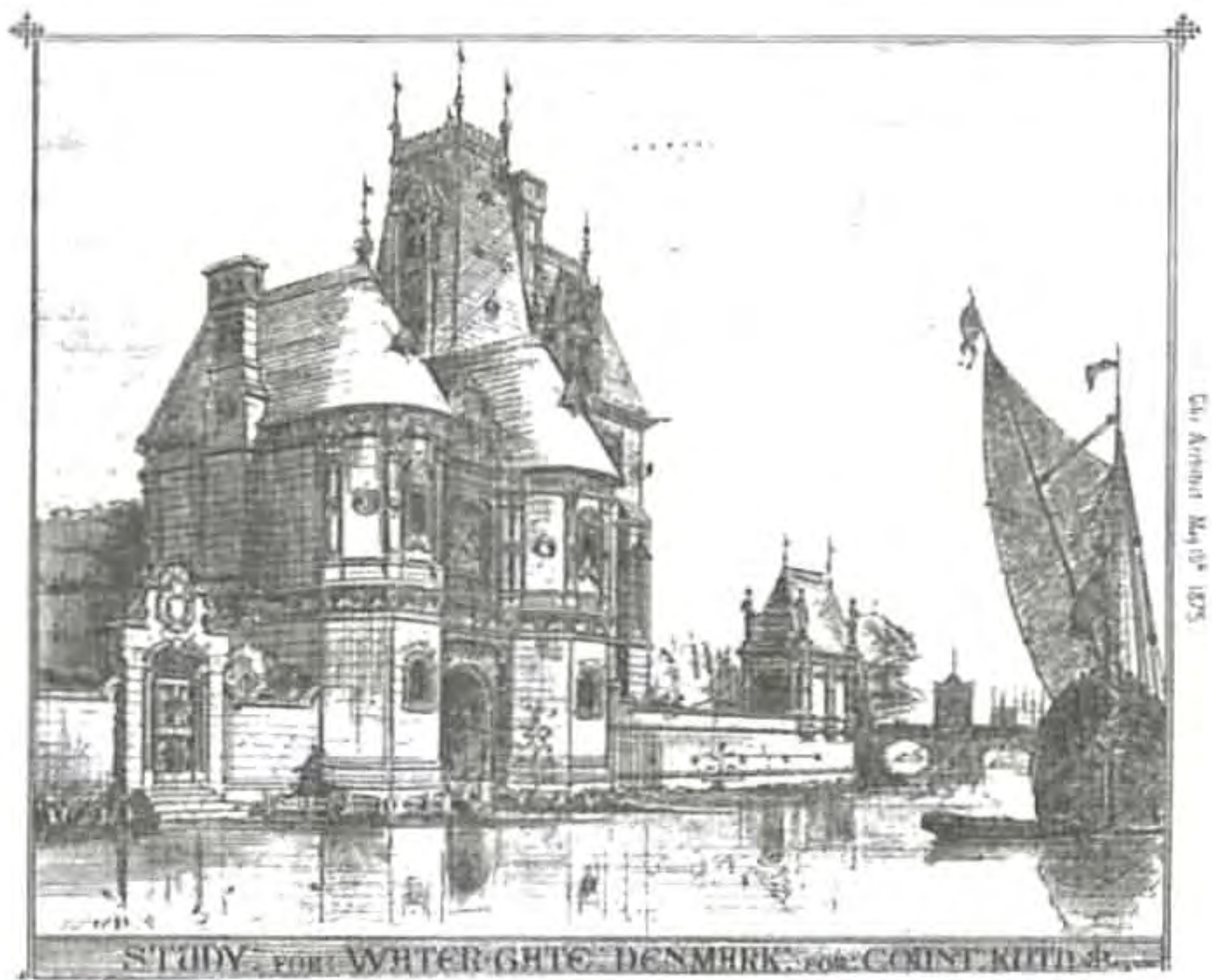


Figure 30: Water gates and bridge, Denmark – an
essay in French renaissance (Francois I) style
Architect, 15.5.1875.



Figure 31: Birkenhead Roman Catholic cathedral
RIBA Library Drawings Collection.

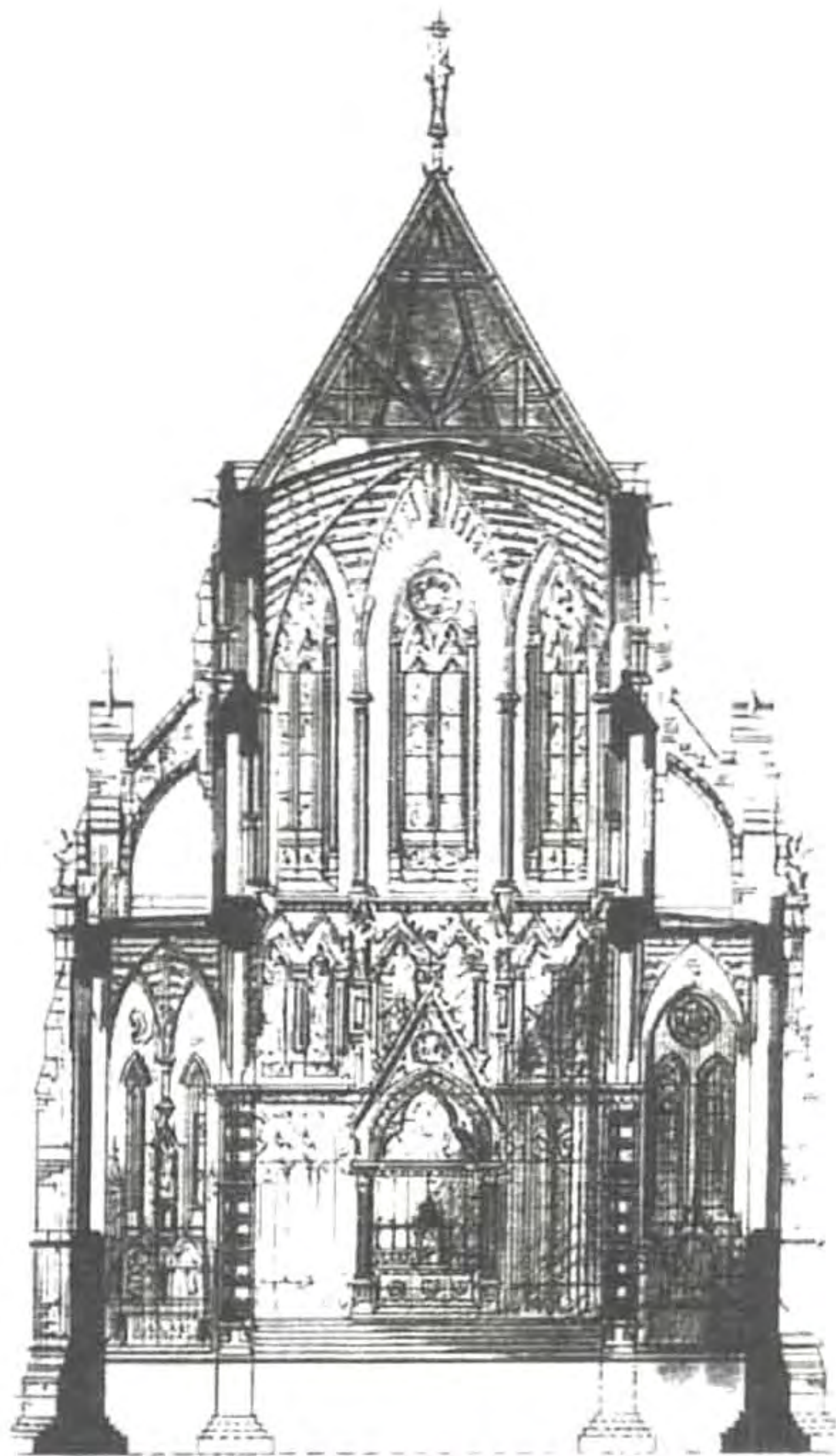


Figure 32: Collegiate Church of St Thomas, Rome, showing the apsed E end elevation
reproduced from Richardson 2001, p 21.

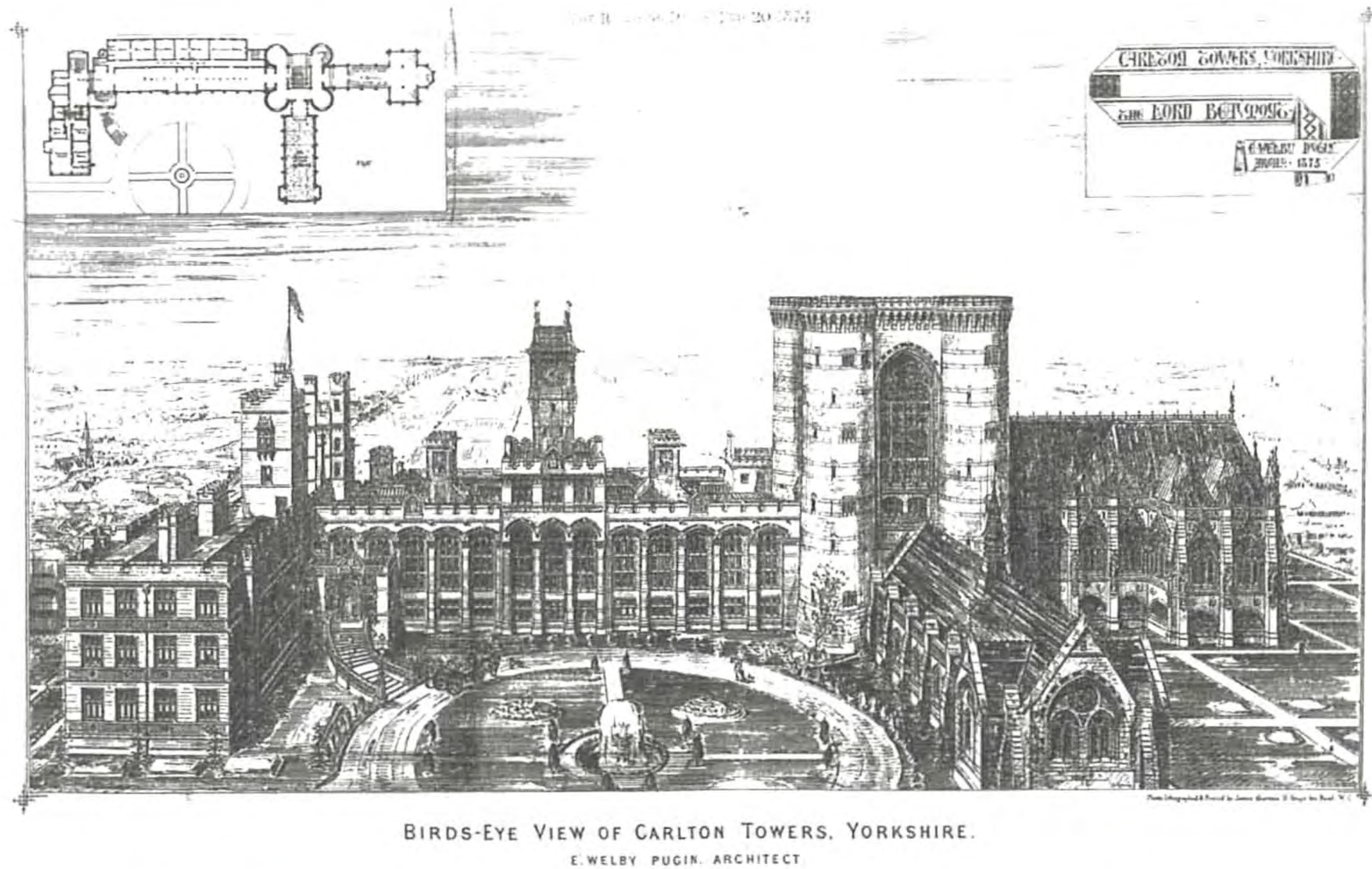


Figure 33: Carlton Towers, Selby, showing the three unrealised elements to the right-hand side of the picture (the massive keep, baronial hall, and chapel) of EW Pugin's projected grandiose scheme for Lord Beaumont
Building news, 20.2.1874.

now demolished.⁴ The original tall ornamental chimney-stacks were much reduced in 1969 when they became unsafe. The property is now converted into flats. See figure 23.

- G10** 1869: **Kilburn**, London – the Chimes, for the painter J.R. Herbert, RA: at the Kilburn end of West End Lane, on the Powell-Cotton estate, north of Quex Rd; demolished c1899. House so named because one of Herbert's ancestors was a famous campanologist.
- G11** 1869: **Ramsgate**, Kent – Granville Hotel (hotel opened). Built originally as a terrace of large houses; converted into a hotel c1869, and is dominated by a tall Lombardic-style tower at the rear N corner, with a stair turret reminiscent of that at Stanbrook Abbey (**B22**). The official opening (and also of the gardens) took place in 1870. Remodelled, including the addition of a neo-classical verandah, by Horace Field in 1900. The western end of the facade was destroyed by bombing in 1940, but has recently been quite successfully partly rebuilt. This ambitious enterprise was largely responsible for E.W. Pugin's bankruptcy in 1872. See figure 24.
- G12** 1869: **Hanwell**, Greater London – St Joseph's Convalescent Home: founded by Baroness Weld. Comprises dormitories, refectories, sitting rooms and chapel; altered and extended 1871, closed 1919. The Sisters of St Joseph of Peace bought the property in 1921, and used it as a convent (dedicated to St Mary) until 1971; it was demolished in 1973 on account of structural problems, and replaced with a new convent on the same site.
- G13** 1869–72: **Leamington Spa**, Warks – Harrington House (for Maj T. Molyneux-Seel): an eclectic, 'modern' Gothic villa, not known as 'Harrington House' until 1876; demolished in 1967 – see also **A29**, **G14**. Harrington was the family name of a Lancastrian ancestor of Molyneux-Seel. See figure 25.
- G14** 1872: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – Seel's Building (for Maj T. Molyneux-Seel): see Sharples 2004.
- G15** c1873: **London** – Grosvenor Turkish and vapour baths: in Buckingham Palace Road, and in use at the start of 1875; demolished.

Uncorroborated works

- Gi** 1858–60 (with J Murray): **Stoke-on-Trent**, Staffs – Herbert Minton Building: Pevsner gives J. Murray as the sole architect.
- Gii** 1866: **Ramsgate**, Kent – houses in Artillery Road.
- Giii** 1867: **Ramsgate**, Kent – an Italianate block of houses, for H.B. Wilson, JP: in Victoria Terrace.
- Giv** 1869: **Ramsgate**, Kent – houses in Codrington Road.
- Gv** 1872: **Ramsgate**, Kent – a terrace of houses in Albert Rd.
- Gvi** nd: **Drogheda**, Co Louth, Ireland – Munster-Leinster Bank premises; with G.C. Ashlin.
- Gvii** nd: **Waterford**, Ireland – The Manor of St John (for the Wyse Family): maybe a continuation of A.W.N. Pugin's work there.

⁴ The instrument was removed in 1877, first to St Peter's, Harrogate, and then, in 1879, to St Bartholomew's, Armley (Leeds) where it still remains; the present case dates from 1879. The design of EW Pugin's original case is repeated at B22. See Ward 1998-9; Blaker 2005.

- Gviii** nd: **Grafton**, near Belmont, Herefords – farmhouse: possibly part of the Belmont estate of F.R. Wegg-Prosser, MP (see also **A2**, **A7**, **B4** and **H39**).
- Gix** nd: **Ramsgate**, Kent – observatory, for H. Bicknell: in Grange Rd; now demolished.

H: Miscellaneous works – both ecclesiastical and secular

Three particular entries merit mention, namely, the clock-tower at Bishop Eton (**H16** – see figure 27); extensive work at Scarisbrick Hall, Lancs (**H24** – see figures 1 and 28) – including the E wing and a complete rebuilding of A.W.N. Pugin's clock tower into a tower-cum-spire that dominates the surrounding landscape for miles around; and the conversion of the ruined mediaeval synodal hall of the former archiepiscopal palace at Mayfield into a convent chapel (**H31**). A good example of a relatively early E.W. Pugin altar and reredos is afforded by his design in 1862 for St Wilfrid's, Ripon (**H25** – see figure 29), which in a number of ways prefigures that at **A100** (*True principles*, vol 3 no 4, figure 23), installed 18 years later in 1880 by Pugin and Pugin.

- H1** 1852: **Alton**, Staffs – furnishing and decoration of the chapel at the Towers for the funeral of John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury; includes an elaborate *chapelle ardente* – in collaboration with J.H. Powell.
- H2** 1852–56: **Alton**, Staffs – minor works at the Hospital of St John the Baptist: completion of A.W.N. Pugin's buildings.
- H3** 1853: **Ramsgate**, Kent – A.W.N. Pugin's tomb and the floor in the Pugin chantry in St. Augustine's church.
- H4** 1853–69: **Alton**, Staffs – ongoing additions/alterations at the Towers: includes the great dining room and the new rooms (together with their fittings), the staircase, and fittings in the chapel.
- H5** 1854: **Killarney**, Ireland – high altar, reredos and tabernacle: in St Mary's cathedral; destroyed 1973.
- H6** 1854: **Wrexham**, Clwyd, North Wales – additions/alterations at Chirk Castle (for Col R. Myddelton-Biddulph): includes chapel E window (now replaced); new housing for the bell at the top of the clocktower on the W wall of the court; two conically-roofed turrets connected by a crenellated wall to the S side of the castle; and refacing of the stables.
- H7** 1854–6: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – laundry, laboratories and offices at St Cuthbert's College: in the NE corner of the site.
- H8** 1855: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – lays out Ford Cemetery: cemetery lodge demolished in 1961 on account of road widening; see also **A28**.
- H9** 1855–6: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – decorates and furnishes the professors' parlour in St Cuthbert's College: includes X-frame chairs.
- H10** 1856: **Birmingham**, West Midlands – completion of the SW spire at St Chad's cathedral.
- H11** 1856: **Aston-by-Stone**, Staffs – renovation of the Church of Holy Michael, Archangel: this church of c1840 was demolished in 1880 and replaced in 1882; see also **C4** and **D1**.

- H12** 1856: **Birr**, Co Offaly, Ireland – St John's Convent (Sisters of Mercy): W wing including a turret and bell tower erected, completing A.W.N. Pugin's quadrangle of buildings of 1846; the convent was sold in 1996, and since 2006 the chapel has been converted into a public library, and the convent buildings used as civic offices.
- H13** 1856–8: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – infirmary and museum at St Cuthbert's College: infirmary serves both St Cuthbert's and St Aloysius' colleges (E5), which are connected by the museum and a cloister.
- H14** 1857: **Ware**, Herts – modifications of A.W.N. Pugin's Griffiths chantry in St Edmund's College chapel: includes work on altar and reredos.
- H15** 1857: **Albury**, Surrey – work at Albury Park, for H. Drummond: completion (according to the original designs) of A.W.N. Pugin's work; see also G2.
- H16** 1857–8: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – extension to Bishop Eton Community House (CSsR): attached to A16. The work includes a third storey with dormers, and a dominating clock-tower whose pyramidal roof is divided into two stages by louvres; additional wings of 1862 and 1889 are by others (Sinnott, Sinnott and Powell in the case of the 1889 extension). See figure 27.
- H17** 1858–9: **Ushaw**, Co Durham – kitchens at St Cuthbert's College: remodelling of original installations of 1837.
- H18** c1860: **Charnwood Forest**, Leics – extension and alterations to the chapter house at Mount St Bernard's abbey.
- H19** 1860–1: **Ramsgate**, Kent – first stage of additions and alterations at the Grange.
- H20** 1860s: **Burnley**, Lancs – high altar (and reredos?) in St Mary's Roman Catholic church: now removed.
- H21** 1861: **Ballymurn**, Co Wexford, Ireland – mausoleum, estate of J. Meagher (Maher), MP; with G.C. Ashlin: adjacent to the 1832 parish church of the Assumption and St Malachy.
- H22** 1861–2: **Oscott**, West Midlands – academic/exhibition (Northcote) hall at St Mary's College: drawing exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1861. Building began in 1861 on the site of the former N cloister, but ceased at first-floor level in 1862; the project was completed by P.P. Pugin (to his own design) in 1880. Northcote was rector of the College, 1860–77.
- H23** 1861–3: **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 (K13).
- H24** 1861–c5: **Scarisbrick**, Lancs – work at Scarisbrick Hall, for Lady Scarisbrick: includes E wing (incorporating a chapel, the blue drawing room, Lady Scarisbrick's bedroom, E staircase); a dominating rebuilding, now devoid of its original ornamental cresting, of A.W.N. Pugin's clocktower, twin-turreted entrance to the stable-court, conservatories and vineries.⁵ See figures 1 and 28.
- H25** 1862: **Ripon**, North Yorkshire – high altar and reredos in St Wilfrid's Roman Catholic church: carved by W. Farmer. See figure 29.

⁵ See Hill 2003 for photographs of the house dated c1872–3.

- H26** 1862: **Ramsgate**, Kent – installs screen and floor in the lady chapel of St Augustine's church.
- H27** 1863: **Ramsgate**, Kent – adds an oriel window to St Edward's (the original presbytery of St Augustine's church, prior to the building of St Augustine's Abbey (**B7**)).
- H28** 1863: **Greenwich**, London – marble tomb-chest for Canon R. North (1800–60) in Our Ladye, Star of the Sea church (by W.W. Wardell, 1851): sculpted by W. Farmer. North was the founder of the church.
- H29** c1863: **Charnwood Forest**, Leics – monument for E.A. March Phillipps VC, in the lay cemetery at Mount St Bernard's abbey: now demolished.
- H30** 1864: **Shepshed**, Leics – Internal alterations at Garendon Hall (for Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps de Lisle): included a two-storey hall in Venetian Gothic, a 100-feet long picture gallery and a chapel in the mansard roof (lit by Franco-Flemish dormers); house demolished in 1964.
- H31** 1864–5: **Mayfield**, Sussex – conversion of the ruined mediaeval synodal hall of the former archiepiscopal palace into a chapel for the Convent of the Holy Child Jesus: property, and adjacent farm, given by the Dowager Duchess of Leeds in 1863; now St Leonard's-Mayfield School for Girls. High altar (1880), reredos (1881) and flanking niched statues of Our Lady and St Joseph (1882) by P.P. Pugin all removed c1950–1, and the screen somewhat earlier. Restoration of other parts of the palace for use as conventual buildings (1872–2), is not by E.W. Pugin, but by G. Goldie. Associated school buildings by Pugin and Pugin, 1896.
- H32** 1864–5: **Hales Place** (for Miss M.B.F. Hales), Canterbury, Kent – metalwork and stained glass designs: stained glass was for windows of the domestic chapel; house demolished 1928 – see also **K15**.
- H33** 1865–6: **Listowel**, Co Kerry, Ireland – extensive W front alterations to St Mary's church; with G.C. Ashlin: includes tower and spire.
- H34** 1865–7: **Kensal Green**, London – tomb of Cardinal Wiseman in Kensal Green Catholic Cemetery: removed to Westminster cathedral in 1907.
- H35** 1865–7: **Fermoy**, Co Cork, Ireland – external rebuilding of St Patrick's church (early 1800s, extended 1843), with G.C. Ashlin: includes buttressing of the W front to break up its wide facade to accentuate the vertical element, and the addition of a tower and spire to the W wall of the N transept. The church served as pro-cathedral of the Diocese of Cloyne prior to the opening of Cobh cathedral (**A85**).
- H36** 1866: **Margate**, Kent – alterations and repairs at Ss Austin and Gregory's church (of 1820).
- H37** 1866: **Childwall**, Liverpool, Merseyside – extension/alterations to A.W.N. Pugin's Oswaldcroft (for Henry Sharples) of 1844–7: now St Joseph's Care Home, run by Nugent Care.
- H38** 1866–7: **Ferrybank**, Waterford, Co Waterford, Ireland – tower and spire at the projected Church of the Sacred Heart; with G.C. Ashlin: built through the munificence of H.P.T. Barron, later second baronet, of Belmont Park. The tower with its surmounting spire was first added to the W end of the old parish church, which it was intended to demolish once funds became

available to permit the building of the new church (K17). This did not happen until 1903 when a church to the design of Ashlin and Coleman was commenced, and completed in 1906.

- H39 1867: **Belmont**, Herefords – extensive remodelling at Belmont House, for F. Wegg-Prosser, MP: includes the provision of a domestic chapel.
- H40 1867: **Dungarvan**, Co Waterford, Ireland – altar to St Joseph in St Mary's church; with G.C. Ashlin: church of 1828, renovated by Ashlin 1888–94.
- H41 1867: **Fore**, Co Westmeath, Ireland – restoration work at the Greville/Nugent mausoleum, for Lady Rosa Greville; with G.C. Ashlin. Used by the Nugent family since 1680, and incorporates the tower (c1500) of the former church of St Feichin. E.W. Pugin's restoration includes refacing and reproofing, and the addition of a crenellated boundary wall; windows similar to Edermine (A18).
- H42 1868: **Dublin**, Ireland – lays out part of Mountjoy Estate; with G.C. Ashlin: a site of about nine acres.
- H43 c1870–2: **Ramsgate**, Kent – second stage of additions and alterations at the Grange.
- H44 1873: **Shepshed**, Leics – conversion of a garden temple into a chapel at Garendon Park, for Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps de Lisle.
- H45 1873–4/75: **Selby**, North Yorks – work at Carlton Towers, for Henry Stapleton, ninth Lord Beaumont: E.W. Pugin refaced the existing eighteenth-century house with cement to look like stone, and added three towers, turrets, a flight of steps leading to a front entrance porch, gargoyles, battlements and innumerable coats of arms – see also K29, however; interiors by J.F. Bentley, dating from 1875.
- H46 nd: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – miscellaneous work at A.W.N. Pugin's (1841–3) Mount Vernon Convent (Sisters of Mercy): now demolished.
- H47 nd: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – fittings in the side chapel in A.W.N. Pugin's church of St Mary (OSB): comprises altar, reredos and tomb-chest of Dom Joseph Sheridan, OSB, the rector of the original church between 1850–60. The church was dismantled stone by stone and rebuilt at a new site in 1885, but was totally destroyed by bombing in the Second World War. A new church designed by Weightman and Bullen was opened in 1953; it closed in 2000 and was demolished in 2001.

Uncorroborated works:

- Hi 1853: **Ware**, Herts – modifies the choir stalls in A.W.N. Pugin's St Edmund's College chapel.
- Hii 1854: **Macclesfield**, Cheshire – pulpit in A.W.N. Pugin's St Alban's. See source xvi below.
- Hiii 1854: **Wrexham**, Clwyd, North Wales – further work at Chirk Castle: includes the porch in the N wing; completion of two rooms commenced by A.W.N. Pugin; and work on the chapel roof.
- Hiv 1860: **Longworth** (near Bartestree), Herefords – restoration of the pre-Reformation Phillips estate chapel for Roman Catholic worship: includes the provision of altar and possibly presbytery Di.

- Hv** 1865: **Woolton**, Liverpool, Merseyside – reredoses in St Mary's Roman Catholic church: see also **D8**.
- Hvi** 1869: **Enniscorthy**, Co Wexford, Ireland – remodelling of Enniscorthy Castle, for Isaac Newton Wallop, fifth Earl of Portsmouth; with G.C. Ashlin): it is possible that Ashlin alone was involved in the execution of this work, one of their few domestic projects, although involvement of E.W. Pugin prior to the dissolution of his partnership with Ashlin cannot be ruled out.
- Hvii** 1870: **Woolwich**, London – presbytery extension at St Peter's church.
- Hviii** 1870: **Bartestree**, Herefords – reassembly of Longworth chapel (**Hiv**) and presbytery (**Di**): for use as the parish church; the chapel adjoins Bucknall's St Anne's convent chapel on the site of the Convent of Our Lady of Charity and Refuge (**B9**).
- Hix** c1873: **Woolton Hill**, East Woodhay, near Newbury, Berks – memorial chapel: in the churchyard of St Thomas' Anglican church, for John Frederick Winterbottom, second husband of Baroness Weld. A small, square building, with a pyramidal roof, of one bay per side, the design of which is similar those of the de Trafford and Scholefield Chantries (**A38**, **C18**); demolished 1931.
- Hx** nd: **Ramsgate**, Kent – mural designs in St Mary's Anglican church: in Chapel Place; now demolished.
- Hxi** nd: **Oscott**, West Midlands – fireplace overmantle in the professors' dining room at St Mary's College.
- Hxii** nd: **Greenwich**, London – Miscellaneous works in Our Ladye Star of the Sea church: work additional to **H28**.
- Hxiii** nd: **Waterford**, Ireland – completion of convent and provision of internal fittings (Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary): convent originally by A.W.N. Pugin, 1841–8; fittings include a fireplace of 1856.

I: Commissions described in contemporary architectural journals and elsewhere, which were either never executed or for which no evidence of execution has yet been found

See also Section L

Perhaps most interesting in this category are the commissions – both ecclesiastical and secular – reported following E.W. Pugin's visit to the U.S.A. towards the end of 1874, which include a cathedral (**I6**) in New York. Although his projected church in Roxbury (**I9**) was never realised, certain of its features would appear to have been incorporated into the church that was actually built. An unusual European commission was that in Denmark for Count Kuth (**I10** – see figure 30), which is in the sixteenth-century French renaissance style of Francois I.

- I1** 1854/1856–68: **Bakewell**, Derbys – Burton Closes, for W.H. Allcard: additions to existing house of 1848 (originally by J. Paxton, but altered and decorated by A.W.N. Pugin, 1846–9). Liverpool architect T.D. Barry was also involved. House was partly demolished in 1888 and 1949, and is now a residential home.

- I2** 1859: **Highgate Hill**, London – St Joseph's Retreat (CP): E.W. Pugin was approached, and provided a sketch of a possible church; this was, however, rejected by the congregation on the grounds of both design and cost. In 1861, a church to the design of J. Bird of Hammersmith (future father-in-law of P.P. Pugin) was opened, and completed in 1863. It was demolished in 1888, and replaced in 1889 with a church by A. Vicars; this contains some fittings from the 1861 church.
- I3** 1867: **Carrickbeg**, Co Waterford, Ireland – Roman Catholic church; with G.C. Ashlin.
- I4** 1872: **Oxford** – Jesuit church: E.W. Pugin's appointment as architect was through Baroness Weld (d 1871 – see **G12**) who bequeathed £7,000 for the provision of a Roman Catholic church here, provided E.W. Pugin (or G. Goldie, should E.W. Pugin be no longer living) was architect. In the event, however, the church, dedicated to St Aloysius, was built in 1873–5 to the design of J.A. Hansom.
- I5** 1874: **Chicago**, Illinois, U.S.A. – Several Roman Catholic churches reported commissioned.
- I6** 1874: **New York City**, New York, U.S.A. – Roman Catholic cathedral of St Paul: on Eighth Avenue facing Central Park; scheme abandoned.
- I7** 1874: **Northampton**, Massachusetts, U.S.A. – votive chapel, bridge and gatehouse (for J. Holland) over the Connecticut River: even the site has so far remained unidentified.
- I8** 1874: **London**, Ontario, Canada – St Peter's cathedral basilica: commissioned by Bishop Walsh; a cathedral was commenced in 1880 and opened 1885, but the architect is named as Joseph Connolly. It is possible, however, that Connolly oversaw the execution of E.W. Pugin's design after his death the following year in 1875; the building certainly looks very Puginesque. The twin W towers date only from 1958.
- I9** 1875: **Roxbury** (formerly Brookline), Boston, U.S.A. – church for the Redemptorists (CSsR): the website of this mainly Romanesque church, dedicated to Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, cites Wm. Schickel and Isaac Dimars as architects (1876–8), and F. Joseph Untersee as architect of the spired gothic towers that were completed in 1910. However, the design and dimensions of the lantern built over the crossing are identical to those of E.W. Pugin's, as described in the *Architect* of 13 March 1875, whilst the internal dimensions of the church as built are very similar to those given in this reference; the Romanesque style of the interior, however, bears no similarity with the Gothic design illustrated in that journal.
- I10** 1875: **Denmark** – watergates and bridge in terracotta to the mainland from the island estate of Count Kuth: in renaissance/Francois I style. See figure 30.
- I11** nd: **Washington**, District of Columbia, U.S.A. – various Roman Catholic churches.
- I12** nd: **Adare**, Co Limerick, Ireland – Adare Manor (for the Earl of Dunraven): a commission inherited from A.W.N. Pugin, but E.W. Pugin was replaced by P.C. Hardwick (1852–3).

Uncorroborated work

- Ii** 1874: **Clapton**, London – St Scholastica's church: on the site of St Scholastica's Retreat (**G7**); a dual-purpose schoolroom/chapel was built in 1882, but not to E.W. Pugin's design.

J: Works mentioned in obituaries for which no corroboration/ other references have yet been found

a) Churches/chapels

- Jai** **Batley**, West Yorks – There is a Roman Catholic church, St Mary of the Angels, in Batley, which was opened in 1870, but its architect was J. Kelly of Leeds; Batley, however, is only 2 miles from Dewsbury where there is a church (**A77**) by E.W. Pugin, so it is possible that the Batley entry in the obituaries (below) actually duplicates the Dewsbury entry.
- Jaii** **Blackrock**, Co Dublin/Co Louth?, Ireland); probably with G.C. Ashlin.
- Jaiii** **Cuba**, West Indies.
- Jaiv** **Guernsey**, Channel Islands – A.W.N. Pugin was architect of St Joseph's church in St Peter Port, whilst Pugin and Pugin added the dominating spire in 1899; but there is no record of E.W. Pugin ever being involved.
- Jav** **Oldham**, Greater Manchester.
- Javi** **Stratford** – it has, on occasion, been assumed that this is Stratford in East London, and, accordingly, the church of St Vincent de Paul there has been attributed to E.W. Pugin; its style, however, is not Gothic, and the archives of the OFM who took over in 1873 explicitly state that the attribution to E.W. Pugin is erroneous, and probably arose from the two references to Stratford in Pugin's obituary in the *Building news*; one of these most certainly refers to his church in Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire (**A57**), whilst the other is most likely a misprint for Stretford in Manchester (**A34**), to which the obituary makes no reference.
- Javii** **Tasmania** – this almost certainly refers to a preliminary sketch by A.W.N. Pugin for the Rt Rev Robert William Willson, first Bishop of Hobart Town. Whilst the sketch was indeed returned to E.W. Pugin's office in 1853, no further work was done on it, and the cathedral that was subsequently built was designed by W.W. Wardell. I am indebted to Brian Andrews for this information.

b) Presbyteries

- Jbi** **Bradford**, West Yorks.
- Jbii** **Hanley**, Staffs – connected with the school/chapel of Our Blessed Lady and St Patrick, 1860. This commission has now been confirmed, and the entry should accordingly be moved to Section D.

c) Convents

- Jci** **Glasweran** [sic]/actually Glasnevin (Co Dublin, Ireland) – there are a number of convents in Glasnevin, but none are by E.W. Pugin.

d) Schools

- Jdi** **Birchley Billinge**, near Wigan, Greater Manchester – presumably St Mary's.
- Jdii** **Bradford**, West Yorks – possibly either St Patrick's or St Joseph's.
- Jdiii** **Greengate**, Salford, Greater Manchester – connected with **A93**.
- Jdiv** **Egremont**, Cumbria – possibly St Mary's.
- Jdv** **Newton** (possibly Newton-le-Willows, Merseyside) – whence possibly St Mary's.
- Jdvi** **Nottingham** – training schools, and possibly also St Barnabas' or Our Lady's school.
- Jdvii** **Salisbury**, Wilts – probably St Osmund's.
- Jdviii** **Stafford** – probably St Patrick's (not St Austin's (**A32**)), 1868.
- Jdix** **Tranmere**, Merseyside – could possibly be another reference to **E33**.
- Jdx** **Wooton**.

e) Secular Buildings

- Jei** **Nice**, France – monument: in memory of a Mrs Lamb.
- Jeii** **London** – flats in Victoria Street.

K: Unexecuted designs

See also Section I

Many of E.W. Pugin's designs remain unrealised; the most ambitious of these were for three English cathedrals – Shrewsbury (**K1**), Liverpool (**K2**) and Birkenhead (**K4** – see figure 31) – and one, with G.C. Ashlin, in Ireland at Nenagh (**K11**). Shrewsbury Cathedral as actually built (**A9**) is a very reduced version of the original, lacking the projected dominating tower, spire and high clerestory; as noted by M. Fisher (personal communication), the slender proportions and other features of this unexecuted tower-cum-spire closely resemble that designed by B. Whelan (a pupil of E.W. Pugin) as part of his 1871–2 extensions to St Marie's, Rugby (**A41**). An interesting unrealised overseas commission was that for a collegiate church at the English College, Rome (**K18** – see figure 32).

A good example of one of E.W. Pugin's unexecuted secular commissions is his projected grandiose extensions at Carlton Towers (**K29** – see figure 33).

- K1** 1852: **Shrewsbury**, Shropshire – Shrewsbury cathedral: original design partly based on a sketch by A.W.N. Pugin; see **A9** for the scheme as executed.
- K2** 1854: **Liverpool**, Merseyside – cathedral of St Edward: only the lady chapel and flanking side chapels were built, later dedicated to Our Lady Immaculate – see **A5**; according to source xviii below, A.W.N. Pugin made plans for a pro-cathedral in Everton in 1845, also dedicated to Our Lady Immaculate.
- K3** 1854: **Southwark**, London – Talbot chantry in St George's cathedral: intended as a chantry chapel for George Talbot, an ancestor (possibly the ninth earl, who was also a priest) of John Talbot, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury. Begun, but not completed; replaced by a relics chapel in 1905.

- K4 1855: **Birkenhead**, Merseyside – Birkenhead cathedral: later redone to a quite different and much reduced design as Our Lady's church (A26). See figure 31.
- K5 1855–56: **Greenwich**, London – chantry chapel in Our Ladye, Star of the Sea (by W.W. Wardell, 1851): might possibly have been realised as the Knill chantry (C5) in St George's, Southwark.
- K6 1856: **near Bruges**, Belgium – Kasteel van Loppem: original design, predating that with Béthune (G4); with J. Murray.
- K7 1857: **Dadizele**, Belgium – Basilica de Notre Dame: an unrealised design that predates that (by E.W. Pugin alone) of the one actually built – see A17; with J. Murray
- K8 1857: **Dundalk**, Co Louth, Ireland – exchange and market hall; with J. Murray.
- K9 pre-1859: **Berkhampstead**, Herts – market hall; with J. Murray.
- K10 c1859: **Bantry**, Co Cork, Ireland – Mercy Convent chapel; with J. Murray: the existing chapel is by SF Hynes – see also Bi.
- K11 c1860: **Nenagh**, Co Tipperary, Ireland – cathedral; with GC Ashlin: Gothic exterior, but quasi-Romanesque interior.
- K12 1860: **Tower Hamlets**, London – first designs for the German church (St Boniface), presbytery and school.
- K13 c1860s: **Maynooth**, Co Kildare, Ireland – chapel at St Patrick's College; with G.C. Ashlin: chapel built (1875–80) to the design of J.J. McCarthy; completed after McCarthy's death by William Hague. Tower completed to McCarthy's original design in 1902 by T.F. McNamara.
- K14 c1861: **Edinburgh**, Scotland – convent and chapel of St Margaret: see H23.
- K15 1862–3: **Bartestree**, Herefords – chapel at the Convent of Our Lady of Charity and Refuge: deemed by Bishop Brown to be too expensive; the existing chapel, dedicated to St Anne, c1865–7, is by B. Bucknall (see B9), with high altar and reredos (now in Chicago, U.S.A.) by P.P. Pugin.
- K16 1863: **Hales Place**, Canterbury, Kent – Carmelite convent and church: through the munificence of Miss M.B.F. Hales (see H32); of convent foundations completed and walls built to first-floor level, but then abandoned until 1876 when A.M. Dunn and E. Hansom proposed utilising them for part of an abbey dedicated to St Benedict; this, however, was never built.
- K17 1864: **Rome**, Italy – Collegiate Church of St Thomas at the English College: the existing church is by Count V. Vespignani; see Richardson 2001. See figure 32.
- K18 1864–7: **Ferrybank**, Waterford City, Ireland – new church at Ferrybank; with G.C. Ashlin: only the tower and spire of the original design were built (H38); the church itself was later built to the design of Ashlin and Coleman, 1903–6.
- K19 1865: **Sutton Coldfield**, West Midlands – chapel of ease.
- K20 1865–9: **Birmingham**, West Midlands – St Catherine's church, Horse Fair: see also E30. Church built 1875 to the design of A.M. Dunn and E. Hansom; replaced 1964.
- K21 c1866: **Cotton**, Staffs – boarding accommodation at St Wilfrid's College. E.W. Pugin claimed his designs of 1866 were later pirated by the builder of the wing that was erected 1874–5, following the removal to Cotton of Sedgley Park School from Wolverhampton.

- K22** 1866–8: **Scarisbrick**, Lancs – poor schools for boys and girls, together with two houses for teachers: for Lady Scarisbrick.
- K23** 1867: **Birmingham**, West Midlands – St Peter's church: a possible replacement of the 1786 church in Broad Street; the original church continued to be used until 1969 when it was demolished.
- K24** 1867: **Manchester**, Greater Manchester – new town hall.
- K25** 1868: **Stradbally**, Co Waterford, Ireland – parish church; with G.C. Ashlin.
- K26** 1869–71: **Callow End**, Worcs – Stanbrook abbey (OSB nuns): plans drawn up for a large abbey arranged around a quadrangle, of which only the church (**B22**) was built; abbey buildings redesigned (and partially built) later by Pugin, Ashlin and Pugin (1878–80, E wing), and Pugin and Pugin (1895–7, N wing).
- K27** 1873: **Farnworth**, Lancs – St Gregory the Great: the building was put out to tender, but the church was built to the design of E. Kirby.
- K28** 1873: **West Bromwich**, West Midlands – St Michael and All Angels: church built 1875–7 to the design of A.M. Dunn and E. Hansom.
- K29** 1873–5: **Selby**, North Yorks – work at Carlton Towers, for Henry Stapleton, ninth Lord Beaumont: the intended massive keep (containing a grand Staircase), baronial hall and chapel were never built, owing to lack of funds, and possibly also to disagreements between E.W. Pugin and Lord Beaumont) – see also **H45**. See figure 33.
- K30** 1874: **Tower Hamlets**, London – St Boniface's church and presbytery: a second (cf **K12**) submitted design; in German Gothic. A church in Romanesque style by J. Young, with the same dedication, was opened in 1875.
- K31** nd: **Southwark**, London – St Joseph's chapel in A.W.N. Pugin's St George's Cathedral: intended as a chantry chapel for Samuel Weld, d 1851, the first husband of Baroness Weld – see **G12**); E.W. Pugin's design was abandoned in favour of one by J. Seed, realised in 1890.
- K32** Items listed in source xiii below, and not mentioned above, including two unidentified town churches, one with J. Murray; a convent/almshouse complex (no similarity to G7, but might possibly be G2); a large institutional building; a reredos; a pulpit; and funeral monuments.

Laus Deo!

Corrigenda

Since the publication of the first two instalments of this gazetteer a number of discoveries have been made which necessitate certain revisions of the contents of Section A (*True principles*, vol 3 no 4, pp 38–50) and Sections B–E (*True principles*, vol 3 no 5, pp 45–55).

Section A: The most important changes are the deletion of **A78** (See note under Stratford in Section J above); removal of **A6** and **A64** to Section E; removal of **A30** to Section H; reassignment of **A91** to the 'Uncorroborated work' subsection.

In addition, the following new entries are to be made, bringing the total in Section A to 99:

1858–9: **Kentish Town**, London – Our Lady Help of Christians: with schoolrooms below; remodelled 1876, when a permanent high altar and reredos were installed, and used until 1970 when the Catholics and

Methodists exchanged church buildings.

1863–4: **Hanwell**, London – Our Lady and St Joseph: built through the munificence of Miss Ann Rabnett. High altar carved by T. Earp; lady chapel, 1904; chancel and transepts of 1914 (by W. Gregory); demolished c1963.

1864–7: **Killarney**, Co Kerry, Ireland – The Most Holy Trinity Friary church (OFM) with G.C. Ashlin: high altar (1871) and side altars (1872) by Janssen of St Trond, Limbourg, Belgium, 1871. The tower is by Pugin, Ashlin and Pugin, 1878–9; see also **B12**.

1869–71: **Lislevane**, Barryroe, Co Cork, Ireland – Our Lady, Star of the Sea; with G.C. Ashlin: completed by Ashlin; a variation on **A75**.

The entry against **A72** is to be changed to:

A72 1866–8: **Kilburn** – Sacred Heart (OMI): this ‘temporary’ church was replaced 1878–9 by the present one, the design of which is usually attributed to Pugin, Ashlin and Pugin; consistent with this attribution is the fact that the vertical elements of the advertised design are much less attenuated than is typical of E.W. Pugin, with the exception of **A47**. It is still quite possible however, that the architect was actually E.W. Pugin, who in 1874 drew up plans for the Juniorate College (**E35**) on the same site, and that some parts of the earlier church were incorporated into the new one. When the latter opened in 1879, it was only partially complete – consisting of nave and aisles of four bays; it was not finished until 1899 under Pugin and Pugin, although this was without the intended NW tower and spire. The present W porch/narthex was added c1959 to the design of Gordon and Gordon; original chancel and S aisle demolished c1963, and rebuilt to quite different designs of F.G. Broadbent and Partners, the new S aisle being greatly extended southwards.

Section B: The most important changes are the removal to Section A of those parts of **B12** that refer to the friary church, the removal of the entry **B3** to Section H, and the replacement of the entry **B8** by the following:

B8 1869–71: **Fethard**, Co Tipperary, Ireland – convent (Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary): only the main wing was built at this time; E.W. Pugin’s scheme was completed in 1885 by the addition of the remaining wings, including chapel, under the architect W.G. Doolin of Dublin.

The following new entry is here to be made:

1859–61: **Nenagh**, Co Tipperary, Ireland – convent (Sisters of Mercy): a three-storey addition, incorporating a chapel, community room and dining room, to an existing building; the buildings survive, but the community now occupies a modern convent elsewhere.

Section C: New entry:

1861: **Ware**, Herts – lady chapel at A.W.N. Pugin’s St Edmund’s College chapel: built as the base of a future tower on the site of A.W.N. Pugin’s projected spired tower; altar dedicated to the Holy Family.

Revised entry:

C18 1861–62: **Ware**, Herts – Scholefield Chantry at A.W.N. Pugin’s St Edmund’s College chapel: external design very similar to that at **A38**, but here has only 2 bays.

Section D: Remove entry **D10** to the 'Uncorroborated work' subsection. In **Di**, replace 1850s by 1860s.

Section E: Delete entry **Evii**; the correct reference to Sedgley Park is now to be found at **K20**.

For these and other amendments, the web version of the gazetteer should be consulted.

Appendix I

One time partners/collaborators of E.W. Pugin

G.C. Ashlin: George Coppinger Ashlin (1837–1921)

Ashlin was born in Cork, and in 1860, after completion of his articles with E.W. Pugin, replaced J. Murray (see below) as E.W. Pugin's partner. He was then dispatched to Dublin to open an Irish office, which operated under the name of Pugin and Ashlin. The partnership was formed following the receipt of two important Irish commissions, Ss Peter and Paul in Cork (**A25**), and the Augustinian church (**A36**) in Dublin. The partnership was dissolved in late 1868, within one year of Ashlin's marriage to E.W. Pugin's youngest sister, Mary. They nevertheless maintained some kind of informal partnership until E.W. Pugin's death in 1875, in order to complete the Augustinian church in Dublin and St Colman's, Cobh (**A85**), arguably Ireland's most spectacularly sited cathedral. In their eight years of partnership, Pugin and Ashlin were involved in over 40 projects exclusively in Ireland, designing some 20 churches/chapels (excluding conventuals). Around 1876, after the death of E.W. Pugin, Ashlin went into partnership for a while (until c1880) with C.W. and P.P. Pugin as Pugin, Ashlin and Pugin. Charles Henry Cuthbert Purcell, (1874–1958) – see **A23** and **A100** – a grandson of A.W.N. Pugin and the last member of the firm Pugin and Pugin, was trained in Ashlin's office, whilst Ashlin's nephew, Stephen Ashlin, carried on his uncle's practice in partnership with Thomas Coleman under the name Ashlin and Coleman – see **A85**.

J.-B. Béthune: Jean-Baptiste (Baron) Béthune (1821–94)

Béthune was architect, painter of religious subjects and murals, painter of glass, watercolourist, draughtsman, and a relative of the Bishop of Bruges, the Rt Rev J.-B. Malou. Originally destined for a career in either politics or administration, he received his artistic training firstly at l'Academie de Coutrai in his home-town, and then as a pupil of Verhaegen and Génisson. Under Lauters he distinguished himself as a draughtsman and watercolourist of landscapes. It was the sculptor Geerts who first introduced him to mediaeval art, and, after contact with A.W.N. Pugin and others, Béthune went on to become the foremost exponent of Gothic Revival in Belgium. With the help of J. Hardman, he established a stained glass workshop in Bruges in 1854, which moved to Ghent in 1858. His work includes the abbey of Maredsous, stained glass in numerous cathedrals and mosaics in Aix-la Chapelle. Béthune's Gothic was promoted as 'Christian Art' par excellence, and its principles were spread by the St Luke School of which he was a founder. Its principal merit was to develop, thanks to its broad antiquarian knowledge-base, a typically Belgian version of Gothic Revival architecture, thus opening the way to a revival of

associated local artistic traditions. The Kasteel van Loppem (**G4**) is the only known collaboration with E.W. Pugin, but he was involved with the execution of the basilica at Dadizele (**A17**), and with the Kasteel St Michiels (**G6**).

J.A. Hansom: Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803–82)

The architect and inventor J.A. Hansom was born in York, and was first apprenticed there (and subsequently in Halifax) before setting up in partnership with Edward Welch in 1828. Hansom designed and built Birmingham Town Hall in a neo-classical Roman style, and went on to lead a varied career, partnering a string of different architects (including E.W. Pugin, 1852–4, 1862–3), inventing the famous Hansom cab, and founding the architectural journal the *Builder*. Apart from the Birmingham Town Hall, Hansom was responsible for numerous churches, mainly Catholic, including St Mary's (Servite) Priory (1874–5, 1879–80), Fulham Rd, London; Holy Name (1869–71), Manchester; St Philip Neri (1868–73), Arundel (now Arundel cathedral); and St Aloysius (1875), Oxford (originally Jesuit; Oxford Oratory since 1990). There are three confirmed collaborations with E.W. Pugin, namely, St Mary, Star of the Sea, Leith (**A1**), Our Lady and St Neot, Liskeard (**A37**), and Croston Hall (**G3**).

J. Murray: James Murray (1831–63)

Murray was born in Armagh, and began his architectural pupillage with W. Scott of Liverpool in 1846. After completing his articles, he was, for a time, in partnership in Liverpool with a Mr Barry, after which he set up his own practice in Coventry. This lasted until 1856 when he left to join E.W. Pugin in London as his partner. The partnership was short-lived, however, and he returned to Coventry in c1859 to practise on his own account, but died four years later from consumption. Sponsored by George Gilbert Scott and Philip C. Hardwick, Murray was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. There are six confirmed collaborations with E.W. Pugin: Holy Cross, Croston (**A15**); Our Lady and St Hubert, Great Harwood (**A19**); St Anne, Westby (**A24**); Albury Almshouses (**G2**); and Croston Hall (**G3**). There are also two uncorroborated ones: Bantry (**Bi**); Stoke-on-Trent (**Gi**), and at least five unexecuted designs (**K6–K10**). It is possible that Murray's main contribution was in the role of draughtsman, producing many of the fine perspective drawings published during the partnership.

Appendix II

Some firms that supplied carving and stained glass in E.W. Pugin churches

Carving: RL Boulton (originally of Worcester, later Boulton and Sons of Cheltenham); Earley and Powell (of Dublin); Thomas Earp (of London); Farmer and Brindley (of London); Lane and Lewis (of Birmingham); E.E. and M. Geflowski (of Liverpool); H.H. Martyn (of Cheltenham); A.B. Wall (of Cheltenham); William Wilson (of Manchester).

Stained glass: Francis Barnett (later Barnett & Son of Leith); J.B. Capronnier (of Brussels); E. Casolani (of St Helens, Lancs); T. Dury (of Warwick); Earley and Powell (of Dublin); Edmundson and Son (of Manchester); Hardman and Co (of Birmingham).

Appendix III

Some members of the peerage and landed gentry who were benefactors of churches and other buildings by E.W. Pugin, as well as those who commissioned secular buildings from him.

British titles:

Duke: William Cavendish (seventh Duke of Devonshire)

Duchess: Louisa Catherine Osborne (*née* Caton), Dowager Duchess of Leeds

Earl: Henry Lowther (third Earl of Lonsdale); Bertram Arthur Talbot (seventeenth Earl of Shrewsbury); Henry Beauchamp Lygon (fourth Earl Beauchamp)

Baron: William Petre (twelfth Baron Petre); Henry Valentine Stafford-Jerningham (ninth Baron Stafford); Henry Stapleton (ninth Lord Beaumont); Thomas Pemberton Leigh (first Baron Kingsdown)

Viscountess: Charlotte Mary Barbara (*née* Mostyn), Viscountess Southwell

Baronet: Sir Henry Page Turner Barron (second baronet); Sir John Esmonde (tenth baronet); Sir Paul William Molesworth (tenth baronet); Sir James Power (second baronet); Sir Humphrey de Trafford (second baronet); Sir Peter Hesketh-Fleetwood (first baronet).

Titles of foreign origin:

Baron Charles van Caloen (Belgium); Countess Helen Ann Tasker (papal); Mary Bostock, Countess de Front (Sardinian);⁶ Jane, Charlotte (*née* Gordon), Baroness Weld (Tuscan).⁷

Landed gentry:

Col Ince Anderton, of Euxton Hall, Lancs; Maj William Michael Ince Anderton, of Euxton Hall, Lancs; R. Biddulph Phillips of Longworth, Herefords; Anthony John Cliffe, of Bellevue House, Co Wexford, Ireland; Elizabeth Dalton, of Thurnham Hall, Lancs; Henry Drummond, of Albury Park, Surrey; George Garstang, of Clayton-le-Woods, Lancs; Grace Grace, of Gracefield, Arles, Ireland; Lady Rosa Greville of Westmeath, Ireland; Mary Barbara Felicity Hales, of Hales Place, Kent; John Hubert Washington Hibbert, of Bilton Grange, Warks; Ann Hunloke – self-styled Lady Scarisbrick, of Scarisbrick Hall, Lancs; Ambrose Lisle March Phillips De Lisle, of Garendon Park, Leics; James Lomax, of Allsprings, Great Harwood, Lancs; John Maher MP, of Ballinkee House, Ballymurn, Ireland; Maj Thomas Molyneux-Seel, of Huyton Hey, Lancs; Capt Edward Henry Mostyn, of Tower House, Arundel; Col Robert Myddelton-Biddulph, of Chirk Castle; John Edward Redmond, of Wexford; Charles Robert Scott-Murray MP, of Danesfield House, Berks.; Monica Tempest, of Broughton Hall, Yorks; Col Charles Towneley, of Towneley Hall, Nr Burnley (and also of Thorneyholme Hall, Whitewell, Lancs); John Randolphus de Trafford, of Croston Hall, Lancs; William Gerard Walmesley, of Westwood House, Nr Wigan, Lancs; Francis Wegg-Prosser MP, of Belmont House, Herefords; Thomas Weld-Blundell, of Ince Blundell, Lancs; Francis Whitgreave, of Burton Manor, Stafford.

⁶ Before marrying the Sardinian Ambassador (Count de Front), Mary Bostock, was married to Sir Thomas Fleetwood (6th baronet of Calwich – died 1802), a relative through marriage of Sir Peter Hesketh-Fleetwood (1st baronet of Rossall Hall, *loc cit*) – Hesketh before 1831.

⁷ Her first husband, Samuel was granted a barony by the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1844.

Many of the old Catholic families, such as Blundell, Howard, Mostyn, Petre, Talbot, Tempest and de Trafford, were inter-related by marriage, as illustrated by the following examples. Names in the lists above are in bold:⁸

Julia (*née* Tichborne), wife of **John Hubert Washington Hibbert**, was the mother (by her first marriage to Lt-Col Charles Thomas Talbot) of:

a) **Bertram Talbot** – became seventeenth Earl of Shrewsbury upon the death of his distant cousin, John Talbot, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1852.⁹

John Talbot was a grandson of Charles Talbot¹⁰ and his second wife Mary Mostyn, great-aunt of Edward Mostyn (seventh baronet) whose first wife was Frances Blundell of Crosby Hall, Lancs.

Their son Pyers (eighth baronet) married Hon Frances Georgina Fraser whose sister, Hon Amelia Charlotte, married **Charles Scott-Murray**. Frances and Amelia were daughters of Thomas Alexander Fraser (twelfth Baron Lovat) and Charlotte Georgina Stafford-Jerningham, sister of **Henry Valentine Stafford-Jerningham** (ninth Baron Stafford).

Pyers Mostyn (eighth baronet) was father of Charlotte Mary Barbara who in 1871 became **Viscountess Southwell** upon her marriage to Thomas Arthur Joseph Southwell (fourth Viscount). Another son of the first marriage of Edward Mostyn (seventh baronet) was Capt **Edward Henry Mostyn**.

Teresa, daughter of Edward Mostyn (seventh baronet) by his second wife, Constantia Slaughter, married **Francis Whitgreave**.

b) Lady Annette Mary Talbot – married **Sir Humphrey de Trafford** (second baronet)

Humphrey's grandmother was Elizabeth Tempest – wife of John Trafford,¹¹ and aunt of **Monica Tempest**; Monica's mother (also Elizabeth)¹² was the second daughter of Henry Blundell of Ince Blundell.

John Randolphus de Trafford was a brother of Humphrey, and of Jemima de Trafford.

Jemima married Henry Tempest (brother of **Monica**), and their son Charles Henry Tempest (later first baronet of Heaton) married Cecilia Elizabeth, one of Julia Tichborne's two daughters by her second husband, **John Hubert Washington Hibbert**.

Cecilia's daughter, Ethel Mary, married Miles Stapleton (tenth Lord Beaumont), younger brother of

8 This will be explored in more detail on another occasion.

9 John and Bertram had the same great-grandfather, Hon George Talbot.

10 Charles was a brother of Francis Jerome Talbot, the father of Julia Tichborne's first husband, Charles Thomas Talbot.

11 His mother was Frances Dalton of Thurnham, an ancestor of Elizabeth Dalton (*qv*).

12 AWN Pugin designed a memorial brass for her in 1847.

E.W. Pugin's client **Henry Stapleton** (ninth Lord Beaumont).¹³ Ethel's eldest son, Miles Francis, became the seventeenth Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England in 1975; upon his death in 2002 he was succeeded by his son, Edward William Fitzalan-Howard, the present (eighteenth) Duke of Norfolk.

c) Lady Gwendoline Elizabeth Talbot – married Edward Henry Petre.

Edward Henry Petre was a son of Adeliza Maria of the Howard family (dukes of Norfolk), and a cousin of **William Bernard Petre** (twelfth Baron)¹⁴

William Bernard Petre's grandmother was Charlotte Georgina Jerningham, aunt of **Henry Valentine Stafford-Jerningham** (ninth Baron Stafford).

Agnes Mary Bedingfeld, sister of William Bernard Petre's mother (Frances Bedingfeld), married **Thomas Molyneux-Seel**.

Appendix IV

E.W. Pugin cathedrals, churches/chapels in the UK listed according to county/lieutenancy. The list incorporates the changes notified in the Corrigenda.

† denotes demolished; * denotes closed; but extant; \$ denotes converted to secular use

ENGLAND and the Isle of Man (71: 19 demolished; 1 closed, but extant; 3 converted to secular use)

Berkshire (2): Medmenham, SL7 2EY – *St Charles Borromeo*†; Kintbury, RG17 9SW – *private chapel*†.¹⁵

Cheshire (2): Warrington, WA1 2NS – *St Mary*; Widnes, WA8 6DB – *St Marie**.

Cornwall (1): Liskeard, PL14 6BW – *Our Lady and St Neot*.

Cumbria (4): Barrow-in-Furness, LA14 1XW – *Our Lady of Furness*; Cleator, CA23 3AB – *Our Lady of the Sacred Heart*; Whitehaven, CA28 7TE – *St Begh (Bee)*; Workington, CA14 3EP – *Our Lady Star of the Sea and St Michael*.

Durham (3): Brooms, DH8 6RS – *Our Blessed Lady and St Joseph*; Crook, DL15 9DN – *Our Lady Immaculate and St Cuthbert*; Durham, DH1 5LZ – *Our Lady of Mercy and St Godric*

Essex (2): Barking, IG11 8HG – *Ss Mary and Ethelburga*†; Harwich, CO12 3ND – *Our Lady of Mount Carmel*†

Greater London (8): Brockley, SE4 2PY – *St Michael and All Angels*†; Hanwell, W7 3SU – *Our Lady and St Joseph*†; Hoxton, N1 6NT – *St Monica*; Kensington, W8 4BB – *Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Simon Stock*†; Kentish Town, NW5 2XT – *Our Lady Help of Christians*; Kilburn, NW6 4PS – *Sacred Heart*; Peckham, SE15 1RH – *Our Lady of Sorrows*; Tower Hill, E1 8BB – *English Martyrs*

Greater Manchester (7): Barton-upon-Irwell, M41 7LG – *de Trafford chantry*; *All Saints' church*; Gorton, M12 5WF – *St Francis*\$; Greengate, M3 7EW – *St Peter*†; Rusholme, M14 5SG – *St Edward the Confessor*; Stretford, M32 8LD – *St Ann*; Ince in Makerfield, near Wigan – *Private (Mortuary) Chapel*†¹⁶

Herefordshire (2): Belmont, HR2 9RZ – *Ss Peter and Paul*\$; *St Michael the Archangel*

13 His great-grandmother was Lady Mary Bertie, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Abingdon.
14 Edward Henry and William Bernard had the same great-grandfather, Robert Edward Petre (9th Bt) who married Anne Howard. Catherine Petre married Sir John Talbot, the father of George Talbot, 9th Earl of Shrewsbury – see K3.
15 The chapel was originally located at Westwood House, Ince in Makerfield, near Wigan; it was dismantled in 1905, and rebuilt in the county of Berkshire at Inglewood House, Kintbury: it was dismantled again in 2008, and the fabric put into storage.
16 See note 15 above.

Isle of Man (1): Peel, IM5 1BR – *St Patrick*

Kent (3): Ashford, TN24 8TX – *St Teresa of Avila*†; Dover, CR16 1RU – *St Paul*; Sheerness, ME12 1TS – *Ss Henry and Elizabeth*

Lancashire (12): Birkdale, PR8 2AY – *St Joseph*; Blackpool, FY1 1LB – *Sacred Heart*; Croston, PR26 9HB – *Holy Cross*; Dunsop Bridge, BB7 3BG – *St Hubert*; Euxton, PR7 6JW – *St Mary*; Euxton, PR7 6DY *Private Chapel*§; Fleetwood, FY7 6DT – *St Mary*; Great Harwood, BB6 7BE – *Our Lady and St Hubert*; Preston, PR1 1NA – *St Thomas of Canterbury and the English Martyrs*; Skelmersdale, WN8 8BX – *St Richard*; Westby, PR4 3PL – *St Anne*; Windleshaw, WA10 6DF – *cemetery chapel*†

Merseyside (10): Bootle, L20 8BH – *St Alexander*†; Birkenhead, CH41 8AQ – *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*; Childwall, L16 8NQ – *Our Lady of the Annunciation*; Everton, L5 0RR – *Our Lady Immaculate*†; Ford, L21 0DD – *Holy Sepulchre*†; Huyton, L36 5SR – *St Agnes*†; Liverpool, L1 0AB – *St Vincent de Paul*; Liverpool, L3 6HE – *Our Lady of Reconciliation de la Salette*; Liverpool, L3 2AP – *Holy Cross*†; Liverpool, L6 5EH – *St Michael*; Rock Ferry, CH42 2BY – *St Anne*

Northamptonshire (1): Northampton, NN2 6AG – *Our Lady and St Thomas*

Shropshire (1): Shrewsbury, SY1 1TE – *Our Lady, Help of Christians, and St Peter of Alcántara*

Staffordshire (3): Brierley Hill, DY5 3AE – *St Mary*; Longton, ST3 5RD – *St Gregory*†; Stafford, ST17 4AW – *St Austin*

Surrey (2): Camberley, GU15 3EY – *St Tarcisius*†; Croydon, CR0 2AR – *Our Lady of Reparation*

Warwickshire (3): Rugby, CV22 5EL – *St Marie*; Stratford-upon-Avon, CV37 6UJ – *St Gregory the Great*; Warwick, CV34 6AB – *St Mary Immaculate*

West Midlands (3): Stourbridge, DY8 1PQ – *Our Lady and All Saints*; Willenhall, WV13 1DA – *St Mary*†; Wolverhampton, WV10 0QQ – *St Patrick*†

West Yorkshire (1): Dewsbury, WF13 2SE – *Our Lady and St Paulinus*

WALES (1)

Clwyd (1): Wrexham, LL11 1RB – *Our Lady of Sorrows*

SCOTLAND (4)

Edinburgh (1): Leith, EH6 6AW – *St Mary, Star of the Sea*

Inverness-shire (1): Glenfinnan, PH37 4LT – *Ss Mary and Finnan*

East Lothian (1): Haddington, EH41 4DA – *St Mary*

Perthshire (1): Blairgowrie, PH10 6DE – *St Stephen*

IRELAND (22)

Co Cork (7): Ballyhooley – *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary*; Carrigtwohill – *St Mary*; Cobh – *St Colman*; Cork – *Ss Peter and Paul*; Crosshaven – *St Brigid*; Lisleavane (Barryroe) – *Our Lady, Star of the Sea*; Monkstown – *Sacred Heart*

Co Dublin (5): Donnybrook – *Sacred Heart*; Dublin – *Ss Augustine and John*; *St Kevin*; Glasthule – *St Joseph*; Monkstown – *St Patrick*

Co Kerry (4): Brosna – *Ss Moling and Carthage*; Kilmoley – *Sacred Heart*; Killarney – *The Most Holy Trinity*; Tralee – *Holy Cross*

Co Laois (1): Arles – *Sacred Heart*

Co Wexford (4): Ballyhogue – *private chapel* (Cliffe estate); Edermine – *private chapel** (Power estate); Kilanerin – *Ss Peter and Paul*; Our Lady's Island – *The Assumption*

Co Wicklow (1): Glenealy – *St Joseph*

Appendix V

E.W. Pugin cathedrals, churches/chapels listed according to the present Roman Catholic archdioceses and dioceses of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and continental Europe. The list incorporates the changes notified in the Corrigenda.

† denotes demolished; * denotes closed (but extant); \$ denotes converted to secular use

ENGLAND and WALES (72: 19 demolished; 1 closed; 3 converted to secular use)

Archdiocese of Westminster (6): Hanwell – *Our Lady and St Joseph*†; Hoxton – *St Monica*; Kensington – *Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St Simon Stock*†; Kentish Town – *Our Lady Help of Christians*; Kilburn – *Sacred Heart*; Tower Hill – *English Martyrs*

Diocese of Arundel and Brighton (1): Camberley – *St Tarcisius*†

Archdiocese of Birmingham (9): Brierley Hill – *St Mary*; Longton – *St Gregory*†; Rugby – *St Marie*; Stafford – *St Austin*; Stourbridge – *Our Lady and All Saints*; Stratford-upon-Avon – *St Gregory the Great*; Warwick – *Our Lady Immaculate*; Willenhall – *St Mary*†; Wolverhampton – *St Patrick*†

Diocese of Brentwood (2): Barking – *Ss Mary and Ethelburga*†; Harwich – *Our Lady of Mount Carmel*†

Archdiocese of Cardiff (2): Belmont – *Ss Peter and Paul*\$, *St Michael the Archangel*

Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle (3): Brooms – *Our Blessed Lady and St Joseph*; Crook – *Our Lady Immaculate and St Cuthbert*; Durham – *Our Lady of Mercy and St Godric*

Diocese of Lancaster (8): Barrow-in-Furness – *St Mary of Furness*; Blackpool – *Sacred Heart Cleator* – *Our Lady of the Sacred Heart*; Fleetwood – *St Mary*; Preston – *St Thomas of Canterbury and the English Martyrs*; Westby – *St Anne*; Whitehaven – *St Begh (Bee)*; Workington – *Our Lady, Star of the Sea and St Michael*

Diocese of Leeds (1): Dewsbury – *Our Lady and St Paulinus*

Archdiocese of Liverpool (19): Birkdale – *St Joseph*; Croston – *Holy Cross*; Euxton – *St Mary*; private chapel\$; Ford – *Holy Sepulchre*†; Liverpool, Childwall – *Our Lady of the Annunciation (Bishop Eton)*; Liverpool – *St Alexandert*†; Liverpool – *Our Lady of Reconciliation de la Salette*; Liverpool, Everton – *Our Lady Immaculate*†; Liverpool – *Holy Cross*†; Liverpool, Huyton – *St Agnest*†; Liverpool – *St Michael* ; Liverpool – *St Vincent de Paul*; Peel, Isle of Man – *St Patrick*; Skelmersdale – *St Richard*; Warrington – *St Mary*; Widnes – *St Marie**; Wigan – *Private Mortuary Chapel*†;¹⁷ Windleshaw – *Cemetery Mortuary Chapel*†

Diocese of Northampton (2): Medmenham – *St Charles Borromeo*†; Northampton – *Our Lady and St Thomas*

Diocese of Plymouth (1): Liskeard – *Our Lady and St Neot*

Diocese of Portsmouth (1): Kintbury – private chapel†¹⁸

Diocese of Salford (8): Barton – *de Trafford Chantry*; *All Saints*; Dunsop Bridge – *St Hubert*; Gorton – *St Francis*\$; Great Harwood – *Our Lady and St Hubert*; Greengate – *St Peter*†; Rusholme – *St Edward the Confessor*; Stretford – *St Ann*

Diocese of Shrewsbury (3): Birkenhead – *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*; Rock Ferry – *St Anne*; Shrewsbury – *Our Lady Help of Christians and St Peter of Alcántara*

Archdiocese of Southwark (6): Ashford – *St Teresa of Avila*†; Brockley – *St Michael and All Angels*†; Croydon – *Our Lady of Reparation*; Dover – *St Paul*; Peckham – *Our Lady of Sorrows*; Sheerness – *Ss Henry and Elizabeth*

Diocese of Wrexham (1): Wrexham – *Our Lady of Sorrows*

SCOTLAND

Diocese of Argyll and The Isles (1): Glenfinnan – *Ss Mary and Finnan*

Diocese of Dunkeld (1): Blairgowrie – *St Stephen*

Archdiocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh (2): Haddington – *St Mary*; Leith – *St Mary, Star of the Sea*

17 See note 15 above.

18 See note 15 above.

IRELAND (22)

Diocese of Cloyne (3): Ballyhooley – *Nativity of the Blessed Virgin*; Carrigtwohill – *St Mary*; Cobh – *St Colman*

Diocese of Cork and Ross (4): Lislevane (Barryroe) – *Our Lady, Star of the Sea*; Cork – *Ss Peter and Paul*; Crosshaven – *St Brigid*; Monkstown – *Sacred Heart*

Archdiocese of Dublin (6): Donnybrook – *Sacred Heart*; Dublin – *Ss Augustine and John*; Dublin – *St Kevin*; Glasthule – *St Joseph*; Glenealy – *St Joseph*; Monkstown – *St Patrick*

Diocese of Ferns (4): Ballyhogue – *private chapel* (Cliffe estate); Edermine – *private chapel** (Power estate); Kilanerlin – *Ss Peter and Paul*; Our Lady's Island – *The Assumption*

Diocese of Kerry (4): Brosna – *Ss Moling and Carthage*; Killarney – *The Most Holy Trinity*; Kilmoley – *Sacred Heart*; Tralee – *Holy Cross*

Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin (1); Arles – *Sacred Heart*

CONTINENTAL EUROPE (1)

Bruges (1): Dadizele – *Basilica de Notre Dame*

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used throughout the gazetteer for religious orders translate as follows:

Cong Orat	Congregation of the Oratory (Oratorians)
CP	Congregation of the Passion (Passionists)
CSJP	Congregation of St Joseph of Peace
CSsR	Congregatio Sanctissimi Redentoris / Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (<i>Redemptorists</i>)
HFB	Holy Family of Bordeaux (nuns)
IBVM	Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (nuns)
IC	Institute of Charity (Rosminians)
ODC	Order of Discalced Carmelites (both friars and nuns)
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OSA	Order of St Augustine (Augustinians)
OSB	Order of St Benedict (Benedictines)
RSM	Religious Sisters of Mercy
SCSP	Sisters of Charity of St Paul
SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
SHCJ	Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus

Sources

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entries in the *Builder*, *Building news*, and *Architect*; xxvii, entries in the online *Dictionary of Irish architects 1720–1949* (Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin).

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Architects' biographies

Edward Welby Pugin, architect, 1834–75

by Gerard Hyland

*'... a few weeks will I expect bring a little Gothic boy or girl.'*¹

This year is the 175th anniversary of the birth of Edward Welby Pugin. Edward, the eldest son of A.W.N. Pugin by his second wife Louisa (*née* Button), was born on Tuesday, 11 March 1834 in Ellington Cottage, St Lawrence, then on the outskirts of Ramsgate. Shortly after he was one year old, the family moved to Salisbury for two years, and then to London, returning to Ramsgate in the summer of 1844 following the death of Edward's mother. Having been educated at home (where he was known as 'Teddy'), he was available to help in his father's office, which he apparently did from the age of seven, and eventually became his 'right-hand man'. He was thus well placed, while still only 17 years old during his father's final illness, to assume responsibility for his practice; after A.W.N.'s death in 1852 he successfully oversaw the completion of his outstanding commissions. Helped by the burgeoning in Catholic church building following the restoration of the hierarchy in England and Wales only two years previously, he soon began to acquire an increasing number of clients of his own, and in his relatively short working life of only 23 years established himself as one of the leading high Victorian Roman Catholic architects of his day.

Given his innate ability and speed with which he could work, he accomplished, as the *Gazetteer* published in this issue of *True principles* and in the two preceding ones reveals, a vast amount of work, both ecclesiastical and secular, mainly for Roman Catholic clients (including members of peerage and landed gentry), not only in the United Kingdom, but also in Ireland and Belgium. Although, at various times he was in partnership with another architect – the most significant (of eight years duration) being that with his Irish partner George Coppinger Ashlin (a former pupil of his who, in 1867, married Mary, Edward's youngest sister) – the majority of this work he alone was responsible for.² In addition to many churches and domestic buildings, he designed convents, monasteries, schools/colleges, orphanages, almshouses/convalescent homes, as well as additions/alterations to existing



Figure 34: 17-year-old Edward (far left), with his sister Agnes, stepmother Jane, and stepsister Anne (centre), c1851
private collection.

buildings (including some by his father), and undertook numerous smaller miscellaneous works. A very large number of his buildings were reported on in contemporary architectural journals, and the opening of many of his churches – the genre for which he is best known, and which ranges from cathedrals to small private chapels – were featured also in the Catholic weekly, the *Tablet*. Church commissions came from both diocesan clergy and religious orders, predominant amongst which were the Benedictines and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

Whilst his early work was in the ‘Decorated’ English style of his father, it was not long before he started to develop an independent and highly idiosyncratic approach to both the external and internal design of his churches. Externally, the influence of flamboyant French/ Flemish Gothic soon began to assert itself, whilst internally he succeeded in reconciling Gothic with the then prevailing liturgical requirement that as many as possible of the congregation be able to see the high altar; this he achieved by the use of wide arcades with slender pillars and a quite shallow sanctuary (often apsed) that was essentially a continuation of the nave under the same roofline, often without any demarcating chancel arch. This model – essentially a kind of inverted ‘vessel’ church – was first developed around 1859, and he continued to refine and adapt it for the rest of his career, although from about 1870 a somewhat greater degree of sobriety, redolent of his early work, started to characterise some of his designs. Externally, his larger churches are instantly recognisable from their physical assertiveness, achieved through a persistent emphasis on the vertical element of their design, accentuated by the acuteness of the roof pitch and often by a dominant west gable bell-cote or an off-centre tower supporting a spire.³

Even for the most impoverished area he invariably succeeded in designing a dignified place of worship, no matter how meagre the available funds. Indeed, as he once said, he was often compelled to show what he could *not* do, rather than what he could: ‘very often, every point of design, every corner, feature’ which he wished to see produced ‘had, in the end, to be sacrificed to necessity – simply for want of means.’ For many of his commissions came from working-class communities with little money to spend on niceties – which accounts for the simplicity of some of the carving, and for many intended towers and spires remaining unbuilt to this day. It is important to bear this in mind when assessing the architectural merits of his churches, which, as Archbishop Downey of Liverpool once wrote, ‘were built in the tradition of the cathedrals of old, in the spirit of sacrifice, to be temples **with** which to worship God’.

The cost of a typical unendowed urban church, depending on size and date of building, ranged from around £3,000 to £10,000 (approximately £1.8 – 6 million in today’s terms),⁴ compared with £20,000 (approximately £12 million today) for the de Trafford church at Barton-on-Irwell, considered by Pevsner to be his masterwork. His least expensive church was probably that in Peel (Isle of Man), costing only £400 (£240,000), whilst the most expensive was Cobh cathedral (begun in 1867), which by the time it was completed in 1915 had cost £235,000 (£73 million), making it the most expensive building built in Ireland up to that time.

When only 24, he was created a Knight of the Order of St Sylvester by Pope Pius IX in recognition of his design for the Basilica de Notre Dame in Dadizele, Belgium.⁵

Four years later in 1862, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and he frequently exhibited his designs at the Royal Academy.

Edward differed from his father not only stylistically, but also in the nature and tenor of his writings. His father's passionately written, well researched, if somewhat polemic, scholarly treatises – devoted to such subjects as the promulgation of Gothic architectural principles, antiquarian research and theological/liturgical topics – were replaced by Edward's impulsively written, often strident, pamphlets and published letters on less academic subjects of more personal concern, such as criticising the work of fellow architects (*vide infra*),⁶ attempting to secure proper recognition of his father's contribution to the design of the new Houses of Parliament,⁷ or with financial grievances.⁸ Other more pragmatic differences were also evident, such as having numerous pupils (two of whom, at different times, later became his partners), by letting his buildings go out to tender to local builders,⁹ and by not working solely from home but maintaining offices in Westminster and Dublin (with his partner Ashlin), and also in Liverpool, the centre of the Roman Catholic heartland of North West England whence many commissions originated. In addition, he entertained a much wider range of activities than did his father, once describing himself as 'architect, builder and warehouseman'. To these activities should be added those of designer, not only of stained glass/encaustic tiles and other decorative work, but also of furniture and other fittings, some of which (such as church benches and items of stonecarving) he had produced in his own factory, The South-Eastern Works, in Ramsgate. Indeed, as noted in his obituary in the *Architect*, 'he eventually had in his hands a business so extensive that no ordinary brain could control it'.

Edward's lifestyle also differed significantly from that of his father, possibly as a reaction to the almost monastic domestic regime in which he had been brought up, and to the oft-commented-on unkempt appearance of his father. Edward, by contrast, appears to have been an almost dandy figure to whom personal cleanliness was important (as evidenced by his indulgence in Turkish bathing), and who, apart from in his final years, appears to have been something of a *bon vivant* – a larger-than-life, if not eccentric, character, well known locally in Ramsgate, after his family's return there from London in 1861, for his hospitality and social engagement, such as his concern with improving local housing conditions via domestic building projects, and his participation for three years (as Captain Pugin) in the Ramsgate Volunteer Artillery Corps. It has been suggested that his more extrovert life-style was perhaps driven by the desire to gain, whatever the cost, social acceptance, particularly given his religion.

His architectural output peaked in the mid-1860s when over a five-year period it is claimed that he earned a staggering £40,000 (about £2.5 million).¹⁰ Despite his national eminence, however, he was not amongst those invited to submit designs for the new Law Courts in 1867, and he responded by publishing a trenchant criticism of the design submitted by E.M. Barry, a son of Sir Charles Barry. This marked the beginning not only of a pamphlet war between the two concerning the relative contributions of their fathers to the design of the new Houses of Parliament, but also of an ever-increasing paranoia that was to reach its peak in 1874. Towards the end of the 1860s, things started to go wrong for him financially as well, mainly on account

of his reckless speculation in the Granville Hotel venture in Ramsgate, which proved to be his undoing. For by October 1872 he was forced to file for liquidation of his estate (including not only the Granville Hotel, but also The South-Eastern Works), with liabilities of £180,000 (about £11 million). In an attempt to improve his financial circumstances, he left for the USA in October 1873 where he did obtain quite a few new commissions, although there is no evidence that any were ever realised.

After his return to England, which was announced at the beginning of January 1874, things deteriorated even further, following his publication of yet more pamphlets – this time against those whom he paranoically felt had contributed to his financial demise – the contents of which were often deemed to be malicious and libellous, resulting in frequent, regrettable court appearances in both Kent and London.¹¹ These attracted much unsympathetic publicity and ridicule, leading the writer of his obituary in the *Building news* to state: ‘Mr Pugin was best known to the general public as a litigant of a most energetic character.’ In what proved to be his final court appearance (against doctor’s orders) as a witness, certain imputations of the judge concerning his mental stability greatly disturbed him and continued to prey on his mind for the rest of his life, so much so that in a conversation shortly before his death he said that he intended to ‘give up law and go in again for hard work.’ Virtually the last words he uttered on that occasion – ‘Put on my gravestone *Here lies a man of many miseries*’ – proved to be prophetic, for he died a few weeks later. Amongst his many miseries must surely have numbered his expulsion, in July 1874, from the *RIBA*, of which he had been a member for 12 years – an act that the *Irish builder* considered uncharitable and uncalled for – and his unsuccessful attempts to marry, despite having been engaged at least twice.

Towards the end of his *annus horribilis* of 1874, a public meeting was convened in Ramsgate to invite ‘subscriptions from working men and others, of the parishes of Ramsgate and St Lawrence, for the purpose of presenting a testimonial to EW Pugin, Esq, to evince their esteem and sympathy for him, and also their appreciation of the great benefits derived by them and the town of Ramsgate generally from the extensive works carried on by him in its vicinity’. In January the following year, the working men of Ramsgate presented him with a silver salver inscribed to reflect fulsomely these sentiments.

By now, however, the accumulated stress was starting to have a detrimental effect not only on his work but, more tragically, on his health, which was already in a precarious condition due to his punishing work schedule over many years. Although he had indeed intended to ‘give up law and go in again for hard work’, it was too late, and he died in the arms of his younger brother Cuthbert, on the evening of Saturday, 5 June 1875 at his London residence, Victoria House, 111 Victoria St, of syncope of the heart, provoked, it is claimed, by injudicious use of chloral hydrate.¹² His death was unexpected for, despite having been ill for several weeks previously, he had rallied somewhat of late, and had spent the Saturday morning working and the afternoon relaxing in the nearby Grosvenor Turkish Baths in Buckingham Palace Road, which he had designed a few years earlier.

Although it was his irascibility and volatility that invariably attracts attention and adverse comment, there was another side to his nature, as the author of his

obituary in the *Thanet advertiser* was at pains to point out, writing: 'He was a good hater and a firm friend – impetuous to a degree and generous to a fault'. He was much loved by his workmen who (said the obituary) 'speak of him with reverence'. As it made its way to St Augustine's on 10 June 1875, his funeral cortege was followed by a great crowd of admirers, including many of the poor who showered his coffin with flowers, whilst in the Royal Harbour fishing smacks flew their flags at half-mast, and many shops in the town were closed out of respect. He was buried in the vault beneath the Pugin chantry in St Augustine's, wherein his father had been laid to rest 23 years earlier.

His highest qualities – again in common with his father – were a truly generous heart, coupled with a profound knowledge of his art. However, as his obituary in the *Art journal* concluded, 'Mr Pugin would have been a wiser and happier man had he confined himself strictly to the duties of a profession for which he was so eminently qualified.'

Notes

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the help of Sarah Houle in making available the family photograph of members of the Pugin family, c1851; of Dr Rory O'Donnell, a pioneer in research on E.W. Pugin, to whose writings I am much indebted; and of Catriona Blaker, whose beautifully written Edward Pugin and Kent contains fascinating insights into his Kentish exploits.

- 1 AWN Pugin to W Osmond, 30.1.1834: Belcher 2001, p 24.
- 2 His other one-time partners were JA Hansom (1852–4, 1862–3), J Murray (1856–59) and J-B B  thune (1857–8).
- 3 In many cases, however, the spires were never built, owing to lack of funds.
- 4 Often, exclusive of altars and other fittings.
- 5 For a portrait (by WBM Measor, 1862) of EW Pugin wearing his Sylvestrian insignia, see *True principles* vol 3, no 4, fig 16).
- 6 *The designs for the new Palace of Justice* (1867).
- 7 *Who was the art-architect of the Houses of Parliament, a statement of facts* (1867).
- 8 Such as EW Pugin's letters to JR Herbert RA, published in the *Westminster gazette* (1874).
- 9 Carving, however, was usually reserved for his preferred sculptors, in particular, W Farmer & RL Boulton, whilst Hardman & Co were often, but not invariably, used for stained glass and metalwork.
- 10 1866 saw the commencement of 11 churches, 2 convent chapels, 1 college chapel, 1 school, and a number of minor works.
- 11 In one such case (at the Old Bailey), he only narrowly escaped a six-month custodial sentence.
- 12 The sedative properties of chloral hydrate were first recognised in 1869, and its use to treat insomnia, in particular, soon became widespread and greatly abused. One of its reported side-effects is extreme irritability and unusual excitement, both of which were characteristic of EW Pugin's behaviour, particularly during his later years.

Sources

Obituaries: *Builder*, vol 33 (1875), pp 522–3; *Building news* (11.6.1875, p 670); *Architect* (12.6.1875, p 350); *Art journal* vol 14 (1875), p 279; *Irish builder* (15.6.1875, pp 157; 169); *Thanet advertiser* (12.6.1875).

Blaker 2003; Hill 2007; O'Donnell 1994; *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (entry by R. O'Donnell); Wedgwood 1977.

Pierre Cuypers the architect: 'a sort of Dutch Viollet-le-Duc'

by A.J.C. van Leeuwen

Inspired by Ida Jager's article last year, readers have asked for more on Pierre Cuypers. We are delighted to be able to present this article by his biographer. The illustrations accompanying it are all from his book *Pierre Cuypers: architect 1827–1921* (2007), published in Dutch by Waanders, Zwolle, RRP €39.95.

In the year 1862 Pierre Cuypers (1827–1921) arrives in London to become a member of honour of The Ecclesiological Society. At the house of the chairman of the society, A.J. Beresford Hope, the Dutch architect meets 'London aristocrats and several outstanding artists and scientists, amongst others the architects G. Gilbert Scott and G.E. Street'. After a dinner with Street he describes the Englishman to his wife as 'the best architect in Europe'. He visits several churches in the muscular high Victorian Gothic and is impressed by the unity of vision and the cooperation between his English colleagues.

*Cuypers has built an extensive network of international contacts – not only in England, but also in Belgium, France and Germany. Early in his architectural career he is befriended by the French architect and restorer Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. His intimate friend Joseph Alberdingk Thijm, one of the key figures of the Dutch Gothic Revival, brings him in contact with James Weale from England, the Frenchman Adolphe Didron, August Reichensperger from Germany and Jean-Baptiste Béthune from Belgium. At the end of his long life he has an international reputation. In 1917 appears a big volume of plates: *Het werk van Dr. P.J.H. Cuypers*, with numerous contributions by colleagues all over Europe. At his funeral service in 1921 he is celebrated as a national hero.*

Cuypers and his oeuvre



Figure 35: Cuypers portrayed as a mediaeval architect

from van Leeuwen 2007, p 9.

Pierre Cuypers was a very productive architect and an experienced organiser; he was able to run an architect's office and a workshop for the production of church art. His own house in his native town Roermond is a picturesque building inspired by mediaeval Dutch houses and Pugin's design for an inn, which Cuypers knew from the Bruges edition of *The true principles* [figure 36]. This combination of a gentleman's house and workshops for church art is in its Gothic form an icon of his architectural principles. He uses exposed brickwork instead of usual plasterwork, which he abhorred. He even had a water closet.

One of the many myths about the man is the story that he has built as many as 300 churches. If that were true, he would even surpass the English architect George Gilbert Scott. In my biography I have tried to make a more realistic survey of his works. It appeared to be a difficult problem, be-

cause many works are inadequately documented, bearing in mind that Cuypers' archives, with more than 450 metres of drawings and letters, form one of the most extensive architectural collections of the nineteenth century. By 1881 he had already designed 933 smaller and greater pieces of furniture for churches in Western Europe. His architectural works are very varied and do not only consist of churches and convents. He created almost 150 religious buildings and 120 secular buildings. Among the religious buildings we can count 94 churches, 23 chapels and 12 convents. He also designed several churchyards; a park for processions; parsonages; and a priests' college. There are also two reformed churches and even a synagogue. Among his secular works we find 31 houses; 11 country houses or castles; ten schools; six museum

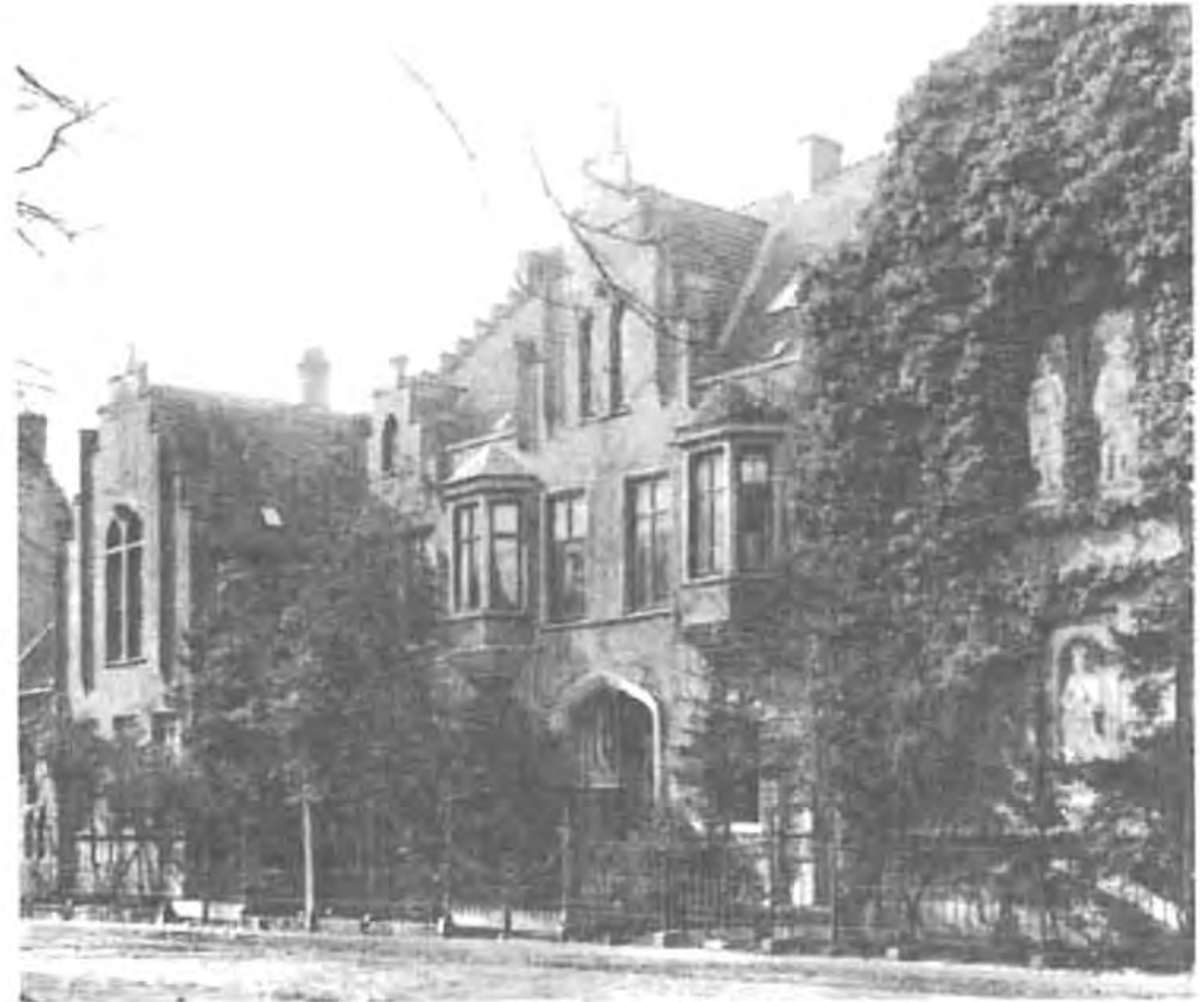


Figure 36: Cuypers' own house and workshop in Roermond with Puginesque oriels (1850–3)
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 71.



Figure 37: Veghel church (1855-62), depicted in 1890 by Henri Knip
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 92.

buildings – the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam of course [figures 44 and 45]; six public buildings; some buildings for leisure; factories; four city plans; and the Amsterdam Central Station [figure 43]. He also designed 20 monuments; a university building; an ice-rink; garden pavilions; an observatory; and a replica of the catacombs of Rome. Cuypers was also a very productive restoration architect. He advised the service of historic monuments in no fewer than 723 cases. Many Dutch historic monuments still owe their present state to Cuypers' interventions.

He is a true workaholic, working day and night, even sketching during his numerous railway journeys or in the evening, while his second wife Nenny Alberdingk Thijm sings and plays the piano. He likes drawing and sketching; he delights in line and colour. During extensive trips within the Netherlands and to Belgium, France, Italy, England, Germany and the Scandinavian countries he collects 'Gothic ammunition'. He sketches and draws all kinds of elements to inspire his designs. On their honeymoon the couple spend a whole day at Chartres cathedral to enjoy the stained glass windows. His buildings show his fascination with space, material and detail. Often they are designed for difficult urban sites with astonishing ability. Thus he fits the Brussels church of St Anthony into an existing street pattern,

its layout inspired by the London church of All Saints', Margaret Street. His Central Station and the Rijksmuseum have become icons of Amsterdam. With their dynamic and picturesque silhouettes these buildings are integrated into the historic city streets. He introduces the principle of movement in architecture: the view of roofs and towers changes in a dynamic way while the visitor is walking around the building. In the restored churches of St Dominic at Amsterdam, St Joseph at Groningen, and St Jacob at The Hague we enjoy coherent interiors, in which the smell of incense combines with polished oak, granite, the colours of stained glass, altars and ornamental tiled floors. These interiors are *Gesamtkunstwerke*, in which painting and sculpture blend with the architecture.

Unity achieved by geometry, symbolism and colour

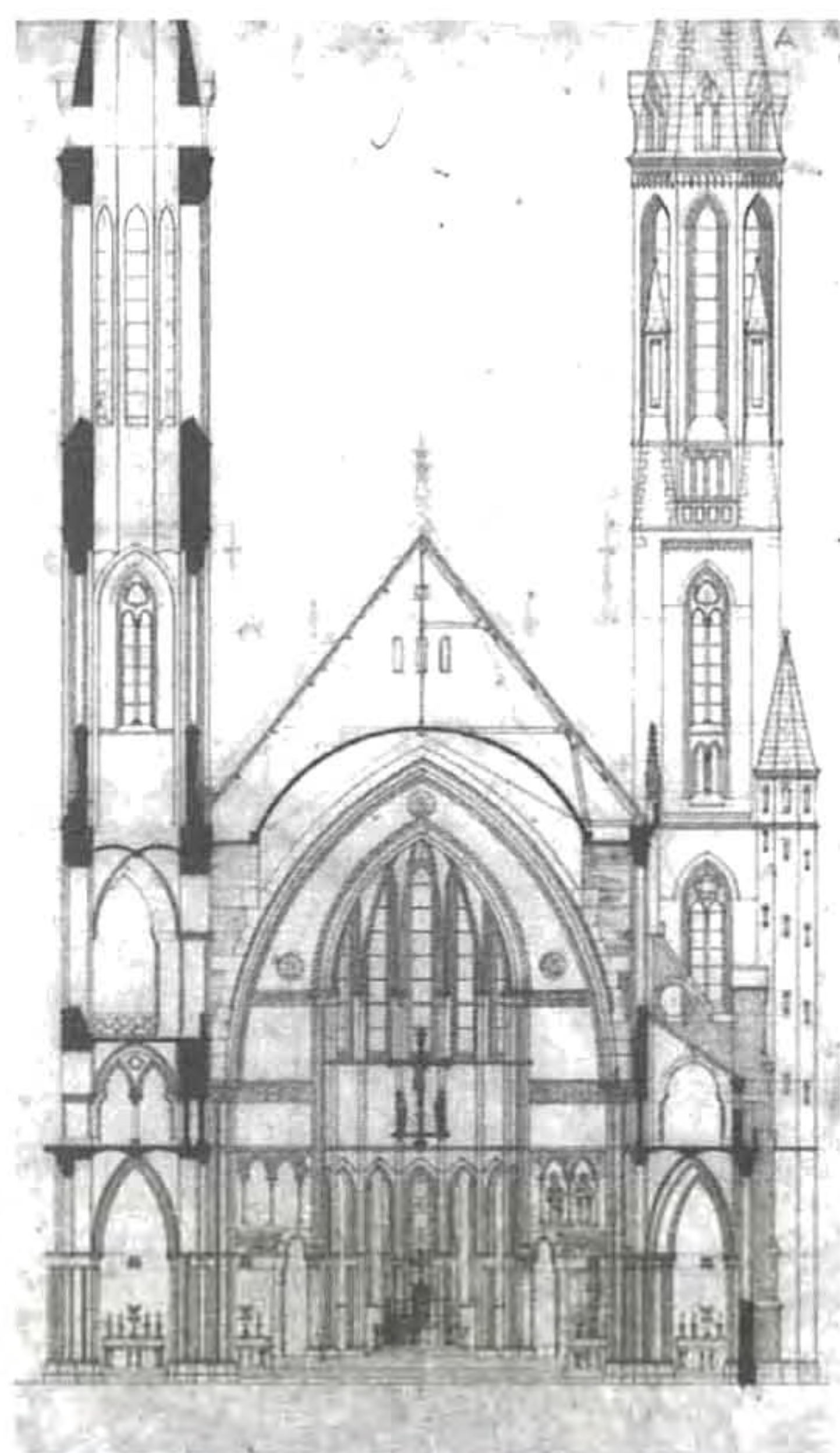


Figure 38: A section through Cuypers' first design for the Willbrorduskerk in Amsterdam (1864)

from van Leeuwen 2007, p 135.

Cuypers derives his architectural principles both from traditional classical theories and from the those of A.W.N. Pugin and Viollet-le-Duc. He also wants the exterior of his buildings to be the result of the internal disposition. The materials ought to be used according to their natural qualities, and every form which is not dictated by construction ought to be rejected. He pursues the principle of truth in architecture. The inspiration for this Gothic rationalism is found in the mediaeval Gothic architecture of the thirteenth century. Cuypers achieved the unity in his oeuvre by looking back to the past, not uncommon among his contemporaries. He combined elements from the past to form a new architecture for the nineteenth century. The most important elements he used are geometry, symbolism and colour.

The 'geometrical essence' of the Gothic style is of the utmost importance for the architect. Cuypers is inspired by the idea that cathedrals are designed on the basis of a coherent, organic system of geometrical

rules, with a mystic background. In that view he agrees with Sulpiz Boisserée from Cologne, who is an ardent supporter of the *religion du triangle équilatéral*. During his architectural education at the Antwerp academy Cuypers has learned to design buildings on a strict geometrical basis. The method of design by system – *ontwerpen op systeem* – is typical of the method of the French neoclassical architect and theorist J.N.L. Durand. Cuypers is also acquainted with the system of proportion through his contacts with his French friend Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. Cuypers uses the square, the equilateral triangle and the somewhat less tall Egyptian triangle. We find this design technique already in his first buildings, for example the church of Oeffelt (1854), and it is still there in one of his last churches, Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception at Venlo (1912). The plans of the Rijksmuseum and the Central Station



Figure 39: A view of the high altar at St Vitus', Blauwhuis (1867–71)
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 106.

with modes of music. Pupils of Cuypers and other Dutch Gothic revival architects also use this system, as did H.P. Berlage in later years.

The Amsterdam merchant, philosopher and author Joseph Alberdingk Thijm introduces his friend Cuypers to the world of symbolism, and was himself inspired by the Ecclesiologists J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb. Cuypers of course had known the French way of thinking about the character of buildings since his Antwerp years: a building has character when it expresses its function and status in its situation and exterior. Thijm and Cuypers also knew the works of Pugin, who stated the importance of the impression of the building on the eye of the beholder. In the eyes of Pugin the senses will be elevated by the beauty of holiness, and as a result the divine truth will enter the soul of the beholder. Cuypers makes use of this notion. Symbolism is as old as the world, says Alberdingk Thijm. His book *De heilige linie*, an intellectual plea for the orientation of churches, is a source of inspiration for Cuypers. Most clients, priests and even bishops – with some exceptions – were however more interested in the economy and soundness of the building than in its aesthetic qualities, let alone its orientation. Thijm complains often to his friend about the stupidity of his public. However, Cuypers has success. He has great influence and builds a network of clerics who like his works. After 1850 the Gothic Revival becomes inseparably associated with Catholicism.

He often succeeds in giving his churches and secular buildings a symbolic language. Sculpture, stained glass, inscriptions and other decorations form extensive

are also based on a regular geometrical grid; the facades are designed on triangular patterns. These patterns help Cuypers to design the most complicated projects: they do not reduce his originality. On the contrary, it is stimulated. These methods are used by architects as William White who, in the *Ecclesiologist* of 1853, compares the system of proportion in architecture

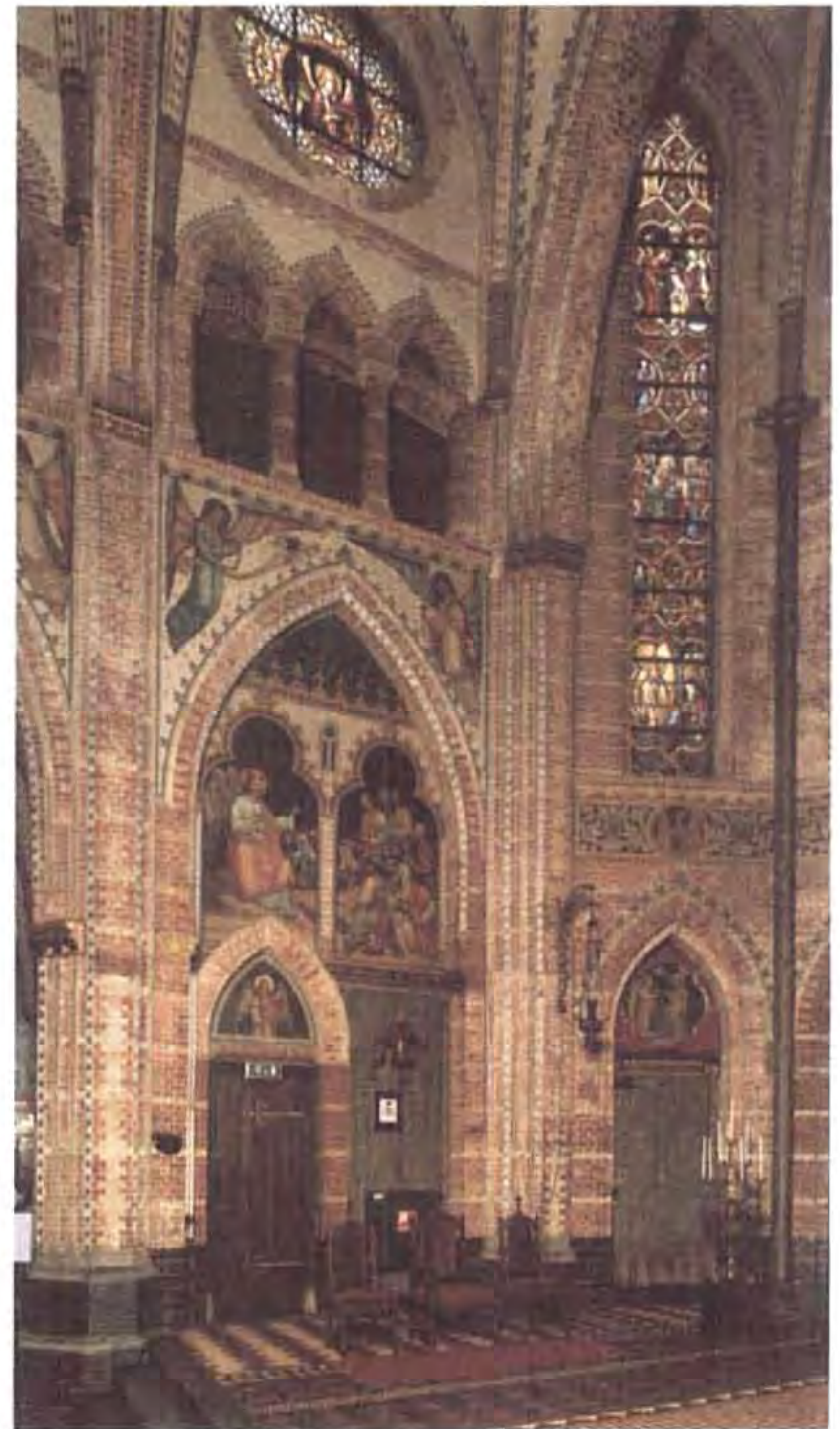


Figure 40: St Martin's, Sneek (1869–72)
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 112.

iconographical decorations, sometimes composed in dialogue with the building's patron. They tell the visitor about liturgical and historical truths. In the Rijksmuseum he has almost a free hand. Together with Thijm and the civil servant Victor de Stuers he designs rich decoration in a sixteenth-century renaissance style. This style was the subject of a vehement debate with liberal architects who preferred eclecticism to the Catholic, Gothic-Revival style of Cuypers and his associates. The renaissance of the sixteenth century seemed to Cuypers an ideal, national style, because it was developed on the principles of mediaeval Gothic. Decoration in sculpture, painting and stained glass is based on a complicated iconographical plan, a celebration of the artistic qualities of Dutch art and history. These complicated intellectual associations make the building a true palace of memory, but they are not easy to decipher for the



Figure 41: A view of the interior of the Amsterdam Vondelkerk (1870–3)
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 169.



Figure 42: Design for an episcopal staff, inspired by William Burges
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 39.

general public. They make exterior and interior an aesthetic unity, but most of the decorations disappeared in phases after the death of the architect in 1921.

His interiors are made into a unity, a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, by an appropriate use of colour. They must be the product of one man, one practice. Cuypers once grew furious when a priest allowed designs of others in one of his churches. He develops a language of colour, inspired by the concept of *peinture* in the *Dictionnaire raisonné* of Viollet-le-Duc. The French architect writes about decorative painting and calls it a goddess who influences the proportions of a building, makes it clear or dark, corrects mistakes or accentuates them, pleases the visitor or annoys him. Cuypers often uses pattern books, for example books on the churches of

Cologne, on the decorations of the Notre Dame de Paris and the Sainte Chapelle. He also knows the famous *Grammar of ornament* by Owen Jones. He uses colour for the *artificieele omschepping*, the artificial transformation of interiors. Viollet-le-Duc inspires him to develop his colour schemes from light and clear to a darker and more saturated colour scheme. In that scheme yellow, red and blue and the mixed colours orange, green and purple are harmoniously integrated. The contours have black

lines, and often some gilding is used. The bricks are mostly painted in red and yellow. He likes harmonious colours, such as when he speaks about the beautiful harmony of colours, which he compares to the keys of music. These three elements are borrowed from the past and integrated into a new artistic vision.

Religion and architecture



Figure 43: The royal waiting room at Amsterdam railway station (1876–89)

from van Leeuwen 2007, p 161.

the work of the universal Creator himself. Following higher laws, Gothic is the only possible Catholic style. Gothic builds on the logical principles of Greek and Romanesque architecture. In 1917, on his ninetieth birthday, he states that new forms in architecture are impossible, because architecture is the development of principles that are based on God's creation. All forms are already present in that creation. He is himself a kind of prophet of a new style based on eternal principles.

These views make him a typical Catholic artist, just like A.W.N. Pugin and many other contemporaries. Cuypers cultivates his image as a Catholic artist. He is one of the people who succeed in making the Gothic Revival into the 'corporate design' of

In one of his first portraits Cuypers let himself be depicted as an *architectus doctus*, a learned architect. Triangle, pencil, capital and books are combined with Gothic sculpture and painting, indicating his Catholic beliefs. Thijm describes his friend as a truly Dutch artist, who knows the styles of building and prefers true Christian art above earthly profits. Cuypers himself describes the triad of goodness, beauty and truthfulness as the eternal basis of art. Style is very important in his eyes. It is the expression of the universal principles, in which the creative spirit of the artist demonstrates his own interpretation of God's universal order. In a way the true Catholic artist continues the Creation, so he works analogous to



Figure 44: Photograph commemorating the official opening of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam on 13.7.1885



Figure 45: A view of the interior of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 258.

Dutch Catholicism. He has very moralistic ideas on the relationship between architecture and society. In 1892 he complains about the French revolution and the subsequent dissolution of the mediaeval guild system. This has led to the birth of the lower labouring classes and the growth of socialism. Workers have lost the love of good workmanship as it had been practised in the masons’ lodges of the cathedrals and the guilds of the mediaeval cities. By restoring the master-pupil system this system must be revived, as an integral part of a true Catholic society on the basis of its traditional mediaeval social hierarchy [figure 35]. In this society everyone has his own place. This vision of mediaeval Catholic society is the essential for Cuypers’ architecture. He wants his churches and even his secular buildings to be a materialisation of the divine harmony of the Heavenly Jerusalem. A divine harmony which

is the basis of his beloved, ideal Catholic society of the golden era of the middle ages. He almost sounds like a preacher when he exhorts his pupils, the younger architects,



Figure 46: Floriated ornament, from Cuypers’ sketchbook
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 43.

on leaving his own museum school for artists in 1896: ‘Watch out for the vices of pride, laziness and pleasure and respect the God-given laws of nature.’ He wants



Figure 47; St Vitus, Hilversum (1890–5)
from van Leeuwen 2007, p 54.

them to respect eternal principles and not to succumb to the architecture of liberalism and eclecticism.

It is interesting to know that there was some clash between theory and practice. Cuypers' atelier for church art was called a *bouwlootse*, an archaising term meaning 'building (or perhaps 'mason's') lodge', in 1855. The relations between the workers and patrons were hierarchical, just as they had been in the middle ages. But behind the mediaeval-looking walls of his house the workers used modern techniques. The artists were required to realise the ideas of Cuypers himself, not to express their own artistic ideas. They produced altars and sculptures using a strict division of work between carpenters, ornament-makers and sculptors. There were modern techniques:

in 1871 there even was a steam engine. This was an efficient, commercial company, with conflicts, laziness and sometimes violent clashes between the manager and workers. So in 1861 a conflict about smoking tobacco ends in a general strike and the dismissal of most of the workmen. In 1892 his firm is dissolved after bankruptcy. A new association with his son Joseph survives after his death and until after the Second World War. Cuypers uses the idea of a harmonious establishment on a truly mediaeval basis as a method of self-promotion.

His image

We have looked at Cuypers as an architect who wants to achieve unity in his works. He is a man who cherishes well defined theories about architecture and workmanship. He appears to us as a Catholic, with conservative ideas about an ideal society on a mediaeval basis. That doesn't restrain him from being a typical businessman of the nineteenth century. He is also a modern man, in the way he takes care of his image in the outside world. His views on style are an important part of the way he sells his architecture. He wants to create a school, and to live on in his works. 'Punish me, oh Lord, but preserve my works', he says once in his old age.

From the beginning he has taken care of his image. There are numerous publications about his works by Alberdingk Thijm, who in his own periodical *De Dietsche Warande* – 'The Dutch garden' – advertises the qualities of these buildings. Thijm praises amongst other buildings his Posthoorn church at Amsterdam as a constructional achievement, the victory of matter over gravity. Thanks to Thijm's promotion, Cuypers' reputation spreads across the country. It even reaches Belgium and England. In the *Ecclesiologist* of April 1864 Alexander Beresford Hope praises his works. He loves the verticality of the Posthoorn church in Amsterdam, 'so boldly

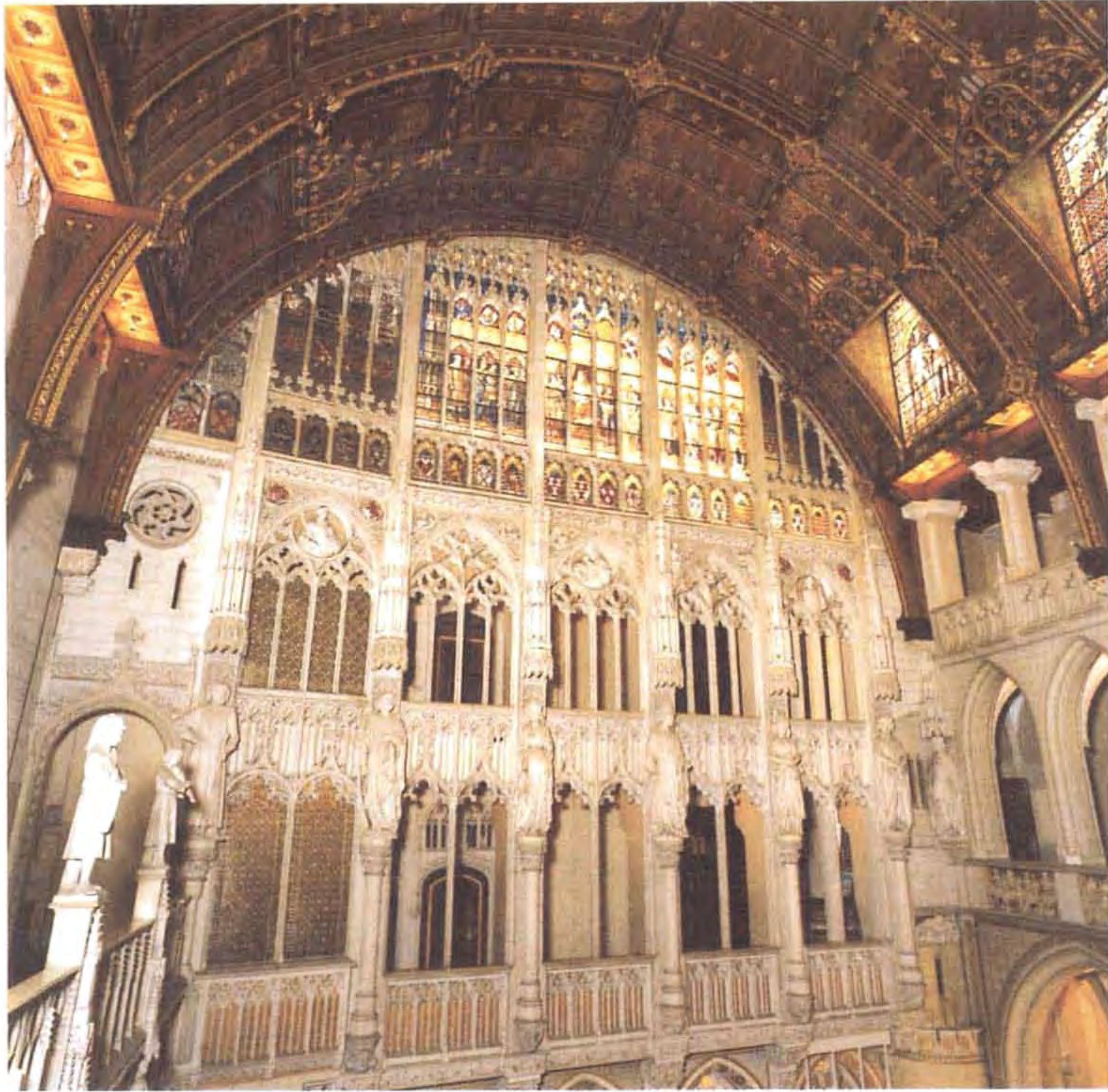


Figure 48: The interior of the great hall at Haar Castle (1891–1912)
 from van Leeuwen 2007, p 241.

solid'. As 'a new town church, of a Minster-like character', it is a model for the city-church of the nineteenth century. A few years later Cuypers' portrait appears in the *Builder*, which also publishes the preliminary designs for the Rijksmuseum. His contact with the important civil servant Victor de Stuers from 1874 onwards is very significant for his image. De Stuers gives him an important role in the architecture of the state. With the aid of this friend Cuypers succeeds in dominating Dutch government architecture between 1875 and 1890, to the great annoyance of many liberal colleagues. At the end of his life he is a rich man thanks to a regular income.

The education of young architects and workmen is important for Cuypers and his friend Victor de Stuers. They criticise the low level of workmanship in the Netherlands. The Rijksmuseum must be the nucleus of improvement. Within the museum two schools for artists are founded; in Amsterdam there is also the Quellinusschool, and in other cities the state sets up drawing schools. Cuypers teaches theory and practice of architecture, and architectural styles full of enthusiasm and fire. His pupils like his lessons. They become well known architects and artists such as Karel de Bazel, Mathieu Lauweriks, J. de Groot, H. Walenkamp and J. Thorn Prikker. When Cuypers leaves the school they adore him as a hero, the high priest of truth in architecture. His artistic fire is their role model. In his buildings they see the ultimate consequence of his principles. There is an interesting contradiction between this adoration by almost anarchistic artists of a deeply religious architect. They love his enthusiastic exploration of nature, art and beauty, but not his Catholic

morals and historicising style. He has made his pupils into independent thinkers and designers, who abolish all existing styles and manners. But in his old age he doesn't understand their independence any more. He detests their 'insane' love for occult eastern theories of art. He seems to have been a proud, even vain man, always taking care of his reputation as a mediaeval *magister operum*, a universal master of the arts. He must have loved the celebrations for his seventieth birthday. It is then that he receives the RIBA Gold Medal for the promotion of architecture, during a London visit to his friend the painter Lawrence Alma-Tadema. There is a celebration with a sonnet by the poet Hendrix Schaepman and the 'Caelestis Urbs Jerusalem', a special composition by Alphons Diepenbrock, is sung in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. Later on there is a parade in his native city of Roermond. Nevertheless our hero has ultimately lost contact with the new generations. Like a saint he appears to hover high above earthly reality. This image of a principled architect in a world of liberalism is one he has used successfully during his life.

Divided reputation

Nowadays Cuypers' reputation is somewhat divided. He has a national and international name as the architect of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum and Central Station. In the Netherlands he is on the one hand celebrated as an important founding father of modern Dutch architecture, but on the other is described as a reactionary Catholic architect who had no answers to the challenges of the nineteenth century and looked for a refuge in his own safe 'Gothic world'. A compromise seems impossible. You either like or detest him.

First the Cuypers-lovers. I already mentioned the beatification of Cuypers by his younger pupils. H.P. Berlage also valued his work. Victor de Stuers and others very carefully constructed an image of Cuypers as the architect who showed the way out of the disorder of classical and eclectic architecture, into a world of strict principles. That myth is celebrated in a short biography of 1897, which appeared in a series about important men in the Netherlands. The unveiling of a statue in Roermond, while the orchestra played the Dr Cuypersmarch, is a culminating-point in this process of sanctification. Even Cuypers-cigars and bicycles were sold. J.J.P. Oud mentions him in 1926 as the man who internally prepared the way for modern Dutch architecture. Gerard Brom praises his works as triumphal arches for the entrance of modern architecture. In 1942 the catalogue *Nederland bouwt in baksteen* praises him as founder of twentieth-century rationalism in architecture. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Michael Lewis and Chris Brooks mention his work and influence in their monographs on modern architecture and the Gothic Revival. Lewis illustrates his important Posthoorn church. Hitchcock is impressed by the sadly demolished Maria Magdalenakerk with its grand exterior and crossing tower on a narrow triangular site. Last year Jan de Maeyer praised him in *P.J.H. Cuypers (1827–1921): the complete works* as 'a virtuosic talent like Viollet-le-Duc, a greater visionary than Pugin or Boisserée, a designer more ingenious even than Helleputte, a league above Jean-Baptiste Béthune'.

But there is also a strong anti-Cuypers movement. Already during his life colleagues from the liberal *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst* complained about the dominant ideas of Cuypers and the rigidity of De Stuers, who determined the architectural policy of the Dutch state. There were even questions in parliament about the so-called archaic style of the Rijksmuseum and Central Station. The periodical *De Telegraaf* remarked in 1896 that Cuypers' architecture stands outside daily reality: while trams and trains are passing by, Cuypers tries to revive the stranded ship of mediaeval architecture. After the Second World War several of his restorations, for example of the Servaaskerk at Maastricht, are destroyed, because Catholics after 1950 abhorred domineering colours. Young art historians unite themselves in the still existing *Cuypersgenootschap*, the Dutch equivalent of The Victorian Society, and succeed in fighting for a revival of interest in nineteenth-century architecture. That was necessary because until late in the twentieth century many of the revival styles are criticised as mere imitations, without any artistic interest. The author Gerard Reve, for example, celebrates his P.C. Hooft prize, awarded by the state, at the Amsterdam Vondelkerk in 1969 [figure 41]. He compares this key work of Cuypers to a Cologne cathedral that had been 'built out of matches by invalid miners'. The columnist Jan Blokker in 1989 hates the Amsterdam Central Station as an example of 'stale, womanish fake-Gothic'. He thinks that people only like the building because their critical sense is hollowed out by false sentiment. In 2008 Auke van der Woud agitates in his booklet *Sterrenstof* against the over-rating of Cuypers' mediaevalising work. He reacts to the recent, jubilant exhibitions in the *Cuypersyear 2007*, the year in which the enormous archive at the Dutch Institute of Architecture (NAi) was finally put to order. He states that Cuypers is only loved by a small circle of neo-Catholic architectural enthusiasts. For him Cuypers is no more than a footnote in Western architectural history. But the *Cuypersyear 2007* saw also the birth of a musical, several websites and an artificial reality game, the *Cuyperscode* (www.pjhcuyper.nl, www.cuyperscode.nl, www.cuypersjaar.nl).

The biographer

As biographer a few years ago I found myself in a difficult situation. I already explained how almost all lovers of the modern movement in architecture hated the historicising work of Cuypers. The work of a Catholic architect was at its best rather suspicious. Personally however I loved the contribution of Cuypers to architecture. I admired his spatial solutions, his details and his drawings full of fantasy. So I started an in-depth study of the man and his works. Of course I also realised myself that Cuypers is not the only interesting and dominant architect of the nineteenth century. I had to give him a place between important contemporaries as his nephew Ed. Cuypers, A.L. van Gendt, I. Gosschalk, J.J. van Nieukerken, G.B. Salm and J.L. Springer.

Pierre Cuypers is an interesting subject, not only because of his varied archive, but also because of his somewhat many-sided personality and his enormous energy. He is never boring. In his first years he is a real avant-garde architect, but in his old age he sticks to his principles, even at the cost of becoming reactionary. His sketches



Figure 49: Cuypers with his grandson Michel, sculptor of the bust in the background, in Roermond in 1917

from van Leeuwen 2007, p 79.

and drawings show how he is fascinated by architecture and inspired by nature and historic monuments. This inspiration leads to new spatial and stylistic compositions. He never can stop thinking, and arrives often at several different plans for relatively simple commissions. He is not an easy character. His extensive personal archives contain letters to his wife, friends and relatives which shed an interesting light on his personality. He has a way to charm his patrons, but he is also sensitive and irritable. His son Joseph and his three daughters have felt that almost every day, in a stream of criticism on their work and behaviour.

Intrigued by Cuypers as a person with a divided reputation, I worked for some 15 years on his first full biography and this appeared in 2007 under the title: *Pierre Cuypers: architect 1827–1921*. Following my dissertation on Cuypers as a restoration-

architect (1995), the *Cuypersgenootschap* and my alter ego Bernadette van Hellenberg Hubar stimulated me into more research on Cuypers' life and work. I have read thousands of letters and other personal testimonies, seen many sketchbooks, studied hundreds of projects and attributed several unknown works and drawings. It involved absorbing great amounts of knowledge in the archives of the national service of historical monuments and in the estates of some of Cuypers' friends. I had to visit many buildings, including some in Belgium and Germany. The archives and the buildings give an answer to many questions, but the facts can also form a formidable barrier to an understanding of his life and work.

There was the important and difficult question of the subject matter and composition of the book. It is only possible to record a fraction of all the known facts in a book, otherwise it will be unreadable. I needed to find a way to do justice to the work and the personal life of the architect. The one is closely interlocked with the other. Cuypers as a person is interesting to us because of his architectural work; but that work cannot be completely understood without knowledge of its genesis and personal context. At first I decided to make a chronological account, starting with his youth and first works in Roermond and Antwerp, and ending with his last works after 1900 and death in 1921. In this book I wanted to describe his way of life, together with the development of his works. That proved to be rather difficult, because several aspects, for example the development of the concept of space, the influence of the work on the landscape, the use of design techniques, the father-son relationship, and the role of friends and principals would have had to have been repeated several times. Otherwise these aspects would be underexposed. A chronological composition would also suggest a gradual development of the architect and his work. The concept of development in time, however, does not explain the ever changing interaction between the architect and external circumstances such as the wishes of clients, architectural theories, building techniques, liturgy and state ideology. After some deliberations with friends and colleagues, sometimes late at night, I let go of the chronological composition and decided to write four chapters in which I would look at his life and work from different angles of view. A critic later spoke about the four gospels of van Leeuwen.

My 'gospels' had the following devices: relations; space; time; and inheritance. In the 'relations' chapter I sketched Cuypers as a networker, organiser, passionate artist and family man. I explained his relations with his family, his second wife and muse Nenny Alberdingk Thijm, his colleagues, workmen, clients, and – last but not least – his business partner Frans Stoltzenberg through letters and documents. I described how Cuypers built an impressive network of friends and relations, which explained partly the success of his work. I also described his travels for inspiration and delight. His passion for architecture and applied arts made it possible to surpass the limitations of his fragile constitution. His son was one of the victims of the passionate temperament of his father. The talented Joseph was exposed to almost life-long criticism by his father. In the next chapter, 'space', I not only sketched Cuypers' love of continuity in space, but also his love for centralised structures in his churches. I also described the interaction between Cuypers and his surroundings, the Dutch landscape and the cities of Roermond, Antwerp and Amsterdam. The architect

enjoyed the influence of history and space in these cities. He influenced the cityscape through intriguing, rational buildings in strategic locations, such as the Rijksmuseum and St Willibrord church in Amsterdam. Here I also described the introduction of regional styles in church building. The chapter on 'time' consists of an analysis of Cuypers' handling of motifs from the past such as geometry, style, colour and symbolism. He uses these historic motifs to show how a modern architect can equal and even surpass the best architecture of the past. In his own opinion he had surpassed the past in several of his restorations, especially in De Haar Castle, the restoration of a mediaeval castle with modern conveniences [figure 47]. In the last chapter, 'inheritance', I analysed the reception of Cuypers' works and writings after his death. Many of his buildings were destroyed, but in recent years De Haar Castle has been restored and a significant part of the whitewashed interior of the Rijksmuseum has even been reconstructed in its original colours. The problem of my four gospels is that several problems return more than once. For those who like a chronological treatment, however, I added a chronological survey of life and work at the end of the book. In the four chapters there are also different returning threads, such as the analysis of space and construction, the systematic pursuit of structural honesty, the importance of travel sketches and the way he expresses the meaning of his buildings. In warp and weft these lines form a sound whole. So I hope to have realised in these four chapters a complete view of life and work of one of the most fascinating architects of the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

Cuypers as a historicist architect is a typical man of the late nineteenth century. A reversion to history is a characteristic of his time. For him and many of his contemporaries the future of architecture had to be found in the past; but he also believes in progress. Although he feels himself at home in his own Gothic world, he uses modern techniques such as the water closet, steam engine, steel beams, concrete, central heating and the diesel engine to generate electricity. He cherishes Catholicism as a vehicle to propagate his principles of style and to dominate the field of architecture. But above all he is driven by a love of beauty. His buildings contain solutions for spatial and planning problems and teach us to handle proportion, colour and character.

J.J. Scoles: contemporary and competitor of A.W.N. Pugin

by Gerard Purnell

In 1832 the architect Joseph John Scoles designed a church, St Peter's, for the Jesuits at Stonyhurst, their main house north of Blackburn. It is believed that it was this church which was the trigger for the conversion of A.W.N. Pugin to Roman Catholicism.¹ If it was Scoles' work that had favourably impressed Pugin in January 1834, then a year later Pugin was writing to the architect Edward Willson deprecating Scoles' church at Lisson Grove, St John's Wood in London. Later Pugin would sharply criticise Scoles' church of St John the Evangelist, Islington, in the *Dublin Review* of February 1842.²

James Jago's article on St Ignatius's church, Preston, in the last number of *True principles*, dealt with the differing bases which Scoles and Pugin had for ecclesiastical design.³ This article makes some comparisons between the careers of Scoles and Pugin and mentions where their careers crossed.

Scoles begins work before Pugin

Scoles was born in 1798. His mother was descended from an old recusant family, the Irelands, one of his ancestors being the Jesuit William Ireland who was executed in 1679 for his faith at the height of the Titus Oates plot. After spending seven years as an apprentice to his kinsman the architect Joseph Ireland, Scoles set up in practice in 1819. In 1822 he left England to carry out architectural research in Rome, Sicily, Greece, Egypt, Sudan and the Near East. Scoles' studies in Italy and Greece were based on the assumption that he would establish himself as an architect for buildings in the classical style but in 1826, before he returned to England, his friend Frederick Catherwood, who had accompanied him on his travels, wrote to him explaining that the Gothic style was the prevailing taste of the time 'Our Grecian and Egyptian lore is worse than useless, and Gothic must be studied *malgre soi*'. He advised Scoles to spend the rest of his time abroad to the study of Gothic architecture and return home through Germany.⁴

While in Rome Scoles had befriended Isaac Cory, son of Robert Cory who was an attorney well established in Great Yarmouth, and on returning to England Scoles became acquainted with and married his sister Harriott Cory. His connection with the Cory family brought work to Scoles at the outset of his career for Anglican churches in the Great Yarmouth area and the design of a suspension bridge over the river Bure at Great Yarmouth.

Pugin's attacks on Scoles

(1) Church of Our Lady, St John's Wood

In 1832 two wealthy ladies, the Misses Gallini, donated money for the building of an Roman Catholic church at Lisson Grove, St John's Wood. Scoles was employed to

design the church but the sisters insisted that Scoles provide them with a residence within the building so that they could hear mass each day. Hence Scoles designed a church in the 'Early English' style with large transepts, one to house his patrons, the other to house the parish clergy [figure 50].

This church roused Pugin's ire. He wrote to Edward Willson on 1 January 1835:



Figure 50: Our Lady's, St John's Wood, London (1833–6) photographed by the author in 2002.

I went while in London with the Revd. Mr. Lythgoe to see the new catholick chapel at St Johns wood – built by Mr Scoles the architect of Stonyhurst and a more flimsey Lath & plaister concern I never beheld. there is not a single bit of substantial construction about it – & and when we consider the sum of 7 thousand pounds have been expended on it one can help being much surprised at seeing no more for it. the houses for the resident preists have been built to resemble a sort of transept to

the chapel & the effect is diabolical.....& and inddeed the whole has more the appearance of some dissenting chapel or one of the church building societys worst efforts. what a pity it is such things are done – when there is such an opportunity of doing so much better.⁵

(2) St John the Evangelist's church, Islington

In the early 1840s Islington was not the sought-after district of London that it has now become and a Roman Catholic church was needed for the swelling number of Irish immigrants in that area. Scoles designed a church to slot into a restricted space at Duncan Terrace (close to 'the Angel'), the site being flanked on both sides by terraced buildings; the church was opened in 1843. For this site Scoles had designed a church based on the renaissance Gesù church in Rome but adapted to the Norman or Romanesque style [figures 51 and 52]. The church had a semi-circular apse instead of a chancel, and side chapels on either side of the nave replaced aisles. For light the church relied on clerestory windows because the terraced buildings adjoining precluded windows at a lower level. The interior in its simplicity foreshadowed the interiors of some twentieth-century churches and allowed parishioners in the back pews to have an uninterrupted view of the high altar. Pugin,



Figure 51: St John the Evangelist's, Islington (1841–3), from Gerrard Road photographed by the author in 2002.



Figure 52: St John the Evangelist's, Islington: a view towards the altar
photographed by the author in 2002.

who by this time preferred to suppress references to his earlier work in the Romanesque style (such as his church at Gorey, Co Wexford),⁶ had criticised the church in his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 24 December 1841: 'the new church at Islington is *wretched* positively.'⁷ He then publicly attacked the church in the *Dublin review* of February 1842, beginning with a characteristic broadside:

This church, so far from exhibiting the adoption of true Catholic principles...is certainly the most original combination of modern deformity that has been erected for some time past for the sacred purpose of a Catholic church. It has been a fine opportunity thrown away; and the only consolation we can derive from its erection, is the hope that its palpable defects, by serving as an additional evidence of the absolute necessity of adhering to ancient Catholic examples in the churches we erect, may induce those in ecclesiastical authority

to adopt this system in all cases, and to refuse their sanction to any modern experiments in ecclesiastical architecture.⁸

Pugin's principal objection was that the church had no aisles but had side chapels at right angles to the nave which he described as:

unsightly recesses, not very dissimilar from those lately erected under the Greenwich and Blackwall railways, or the divisions technically termed wing-rooms, which serve as depositories for scenery on the stages of the metropolitan theatres.⁹

Pugin had further criticisms of the church: an aisled church would have resulted in 'a great saving of materials and expense, and a most solemn and impressive effect produced upon the mind'. If St John's church had had aisles, 'all the people who are at present accommodated would not be inconvenienced, and half as many more would be nearly as well located even on the score of seeing the altar'.¹⁰

Pugin included a plan superimposing his own aisled church over Scoles' design. He lamented the demolition of the former mediaeval Islington parish church of St Marie's which he claimed had been demolished only a few years before and would have in all respects suited the site and the wants of the congregation (the old church had been demolished in 1751).¹¹ Pugin's drawing in the *Present state* of the old church of St Marie's restored illustrates a church with an adjoining churchyard with trees around and no terraced buildings adjoining.¹²

Scoles' church, as he pointed out, was not oriented east-west in the correct canonical position; the church was built on the '*all front principle* of dissenters'¹³, that is, the front was aligned with the street (the front of St John's virtually abuts onto the

street) and the church had two diminutive towers copied from Edward Irving's Scottish church in Regent Square, St Pancras.¹⁴

The acoustics of St John's as designed by Scoles was another line of attack: '*A large square room is the worst possible form for the conveyance of sound; and the voice of the same individual that can be distinctly heard in a large church subdivided by pillars, would be utterly lost in an unbroken space of considerably less extent*'.¹⁵ This was Pugin at his belligerent best. There appears to be no scientific basis for Pugin's assertion that a traditional nave with columns and side aisles is bound to be acoustically superior to one without. Mr Adrian Gunning, the current choirmaster, has told me that the church has very good acoustics, both for organ and the choir, and the apse which provides reverberations is a bonus.

In 1842, in the course of his multi-faceted career, Joseph Aloysius Hansom had founded the *Builder* and in its issue of 1 April 1843 Hansom defended Scoles's design: 'The idiomatic character of the style he has chosen is well preserved; there is true Norman breeding in it – portly, majestic, solemn'. Hansom's argument was that, whatever the merits of Pugin's proposals in principle, those proposals took no account of the constrictions of the site. 'Mr Pugin's proposal to place the old St Marie's revived upon this site, would have been next to impracticable, that the tower would have been almost invisible, and the Church itself overtopped by the four-storied dwelling-houses that come up to it on each side'. The 'all front style' was all, or nearly all, that was available at the site. Pugin's drawing of the old church placed it in a rural setting, and his delineation was fictional. Hansom pointed out that Pugin's church at Derby was placed north-south and he had adopted the 'all front style' for his cathedral at Birmingham. Pugin had furthermore used an apse and adopted the Norman style for his church at Reading. In Scoles' design, the side chapels opening onto the great nave by the 'characteristic Norman archways have an imposing effect'.

Hansom openly attacked Pugin: his 'false perspective and a false point of sight, and, as to his own [Pugin's] suggested design, a false representation of Mr. Scoles' plan, are among the unworthy arts to which an overweening vanity and an imperious spirit, or something worse, have unhappily led Mr. Pugin'. From J.A. Hansom's position, and Scoles' too, Pugin was the upstart convert architect who had ingratiated himself with the Roman Catholic aristocracy and had swept up for himself most of the work which might otherwise have gone to established Catholic architects whilst disparaging that work which those architects had managed to retain.

As to Pugin's point about the two diminutive towers, Scoles' design included twin spires. Two spires, but patently not twins, were added in 1870.

Today peace reigns at St John's. It has been recently redecorated and, with its frescoes, paintings, dramatic nineteenth-century stations of the cross and recently refurbished organ, continues to serve the spiritual needs of Islington Roman Catholics under the guidance of its parish priest Fr Howard James.

Scoles and Pugin as competitors

When Pugin took his first step towards an architectural career in 1837 Scoles was probably the best established Roman Catholic architect with experience in the eccle-



Figure 53: The chapel by Scoles of 1832–5 at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire
photographed by the author in 2002.

prestigiously sited church of the Immaculate Conception at Farm Street, Mayfair [figure 55]. The letter of 16 August 1844 from Fr R. Lythgoe to Lord Shrewsbury explaining their decision is well known: ‘there are many who object to Mr Pugin that he is expensive and that he will not allow any competition. I know that it is more convenient for him to employ one Builder but people generally do not like it – of Pugin’s great talents there can be no doubt, especially for every thing connected with decoration’. Pugin did receive the commission to design the high altar, a field in which he excelled, against Scoles’ wishes.¹⁶

Pugin could hardly have expected to be in the running for the church at the Palladian mansion Prior Park, outside Bath, which Bishop Baines, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District from 1829 to 1843, had acquired. Baines had plans for a grand classical basilica to be built in the grounds of the Park to overlook Bath, but the cost of realising such a plan was prohibitive. One of Baines’ benefactors, when he was parish priest at Bath before his sojourn in Rome, had been a Miss Bettington. In July 1843 Baines died suddenly, leaving the Western District heavily in debt. Pending the appointment of a new vicar apostolic, a Roman Catholic priest, Dr Brindle, was in charge at the Park. Within six months of the bishop’s death, the formidable Miss Bettington had persuaded Dr Brindle to instruct Scoles to design a church in the classical style, demolish existing buildings and employ contractors to lay foundations.

The walls of the church were built and the shafts of the columns were erected but Baines’s successor Bishop Baggs could take the work no further and for over 25 years the church remained roofless, ivy growing up the walls and college boys running in and out of the columns. In 1871 funds began to be gathered for completion of the church and Scoles’ son, Fr A.J.C. Scoles, who became a distinguished ecclesiastical

siastical field, having resumed practice in 1826 and subsequently designing and altering churches, both Anglican and Catholic.

The Jesuits were loyal, if not always easy, clients of Scoles throughout his career; for them he designed work at Stonyhurst (1832–5) [figure 53]; St Ignatius’, Preston (1833–6); St Francis Xavier’s, Liverpool (1843–8) [figure 54]; and St Mary’s, Great Yarmouth (1850); and they chose Scoles ahead of Pugin for their



Figure 54: St Francis Xavier, Liverpool (1842–8)
photographed by the author in 2002.

architect in his own right, was instructed to complete it to his father's design. The church was opened in 1882: its lofty interior and Corinthian columns testify to Scoles' skill as an architect in the classical style [figures 56 and 57]. Pugin, writing to Lord Shrewsbury on 26 October 1845, commented, apropos the death of Dr Baggs whilst construction was in abeyance, that 'they should really discontinue the greacian church they are building at Prior Park'.¹⁷

After Pugin, in a huff, had renounced his first design for the church which was later to become Southwark cathedral, the building committee decided to hold a competition for the church's design, selecting four architects for this purpose among whom were Scoles and Pugin. Pugin's design was the winner.

Scoles contrasted with Pugin

Scoles' approach to his clients was more conventional than that of Pugin's. He had to make a living by providing work which satisfied them: he did not have Pugin's gift of being able to persuade them that what he wanted was what they wanted too.

Scoles had begun his career when travel was by horse and carriage or boat and he relied on local contractors in a way Pugin did not. The suspension bridge at Great

Yarmouth, erected in 1830 to designs by Scoles, collapsed with the loss of 79 lives. An investigation mentioned that Scoles had relied on a local surveyor and contractor for execution of his designs and the first time he had seen the bridge was the day before it was opened. The investigation found that the collapse was due to concealed defects in two of the suspending rods. Scoles' freedom to travel outside London for extensive periods also became restricted when he became honorary secre-



Figure 56: The chapel at Prior Park, Bath (1843-56; 1872-82)
photographed by the author in 2002.

tary of the Institute of British Architects in 1846. It was the practice of London architects of the period to send out precedent designs for standard buildings to be executed by local contractors and Scoles's simple church at Pontypool, Torfaen (then Monmouthshire), founded 1845, was probably built on this basis.

Scoles had no George Myers to interpret his designs and on whom he could rely – as his lack of control over contractors at St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool shows. Delays due to uncertainty as to whether Lancashire stone or Drogheda marble was to be used for the arcade of the nave of the church worried Scoles: he then had



Figure 55: Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, Mayfair (1844-9)
photographed by the author in 2002.

trouble obtaining the marble from Ireland. In his letters to Fr West, the first rector of the church who had responsibility for building it, Scoles complains of great confusion because of the Irish stone affair (19 July 1845) and of delays by Mr Hammond in supplying the marble (17 November 1845). On 1 August 1848 Scoles complained to Fr West that 'I am subject to all the responsibility of my affairs without having the means to use my own judgement'.¹⁸

Scoles does not seem to have had Pugin's facility to carry on several demanding jobs at the same time. The Good Shepherd sisters needed a church for their convent

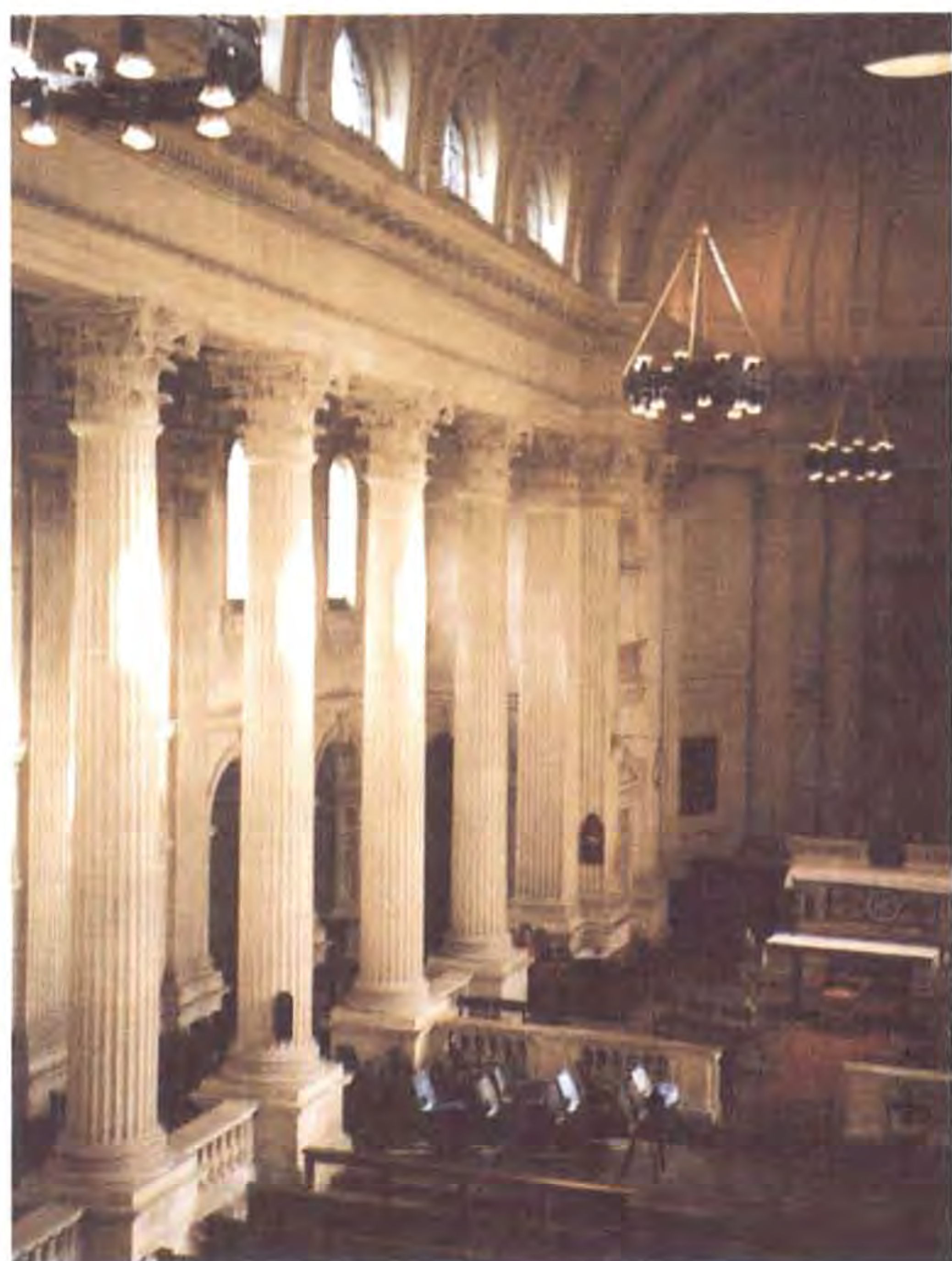


Figure 57: Prior Park chapel: interior view
photographed by the author in 2002.

at Beauchamp Lodge, Fulham Road, in London, and early in 1848 instructed Scoles to prepare plans. At this time Scoles was engaged on work for St Francis Xavier's, and this was a continuing cause of anxiety to him as his lengthy correspondence with Fr West shows; in addition, he had his duties for the Institute of British Architects. He failed to get on with the work and the sisters instructed Pugin in his place. Pugin acted promptly and the foundation stone was laid on 22 July 1848.¹⁹

Pugin was fortunate that his career began with the inception of rail travel. His prodigious energy and love of travel, coupled with his dominance over clients so that he could insist that Myers be used as builder, enabled the Pugin-Myers combination to exercise a 'hands-on' control over projects stretching through the British Isles. That type

of control from time to time eluded Scoles who did not work outside England and Wales

Pugin tended to disparage professional architects for working for profit; he disliked institutions, and he had a waspish attitude towards fellow architects particularly those, like Scoles, who had studied in Greece or Italy.²⁰ Scoles, however, who recognised that his profession needed an institution to maintain and develop standards, devoting time for this purpose which he could have used to develop his practice. He was a founding fellow of the Institute of British Architects, its Honorary Secretary from 1846 to 1856 and a Vice President 1857–8. His work as secretary was appreciated by members and at the institute's meeting on 7 May 1849 a resolution was passed 'that the thanks of this Meeting be given to J.J. Scoles Esq. Fellow for his unwearied zeal in the office of Honorary Secretary and his successful attention to its duties'.

Scoles continued to practise long after Pugin had ceased, his last major work being the Holy Cross church at St. Helens, Lancashire (begun 1860) but he was not the prolific architect that Pugin and J.A. Hansom had been. He exhibited drawings

at the Royal Academy from 1820 and thereafter until 1854: in this respect he was more successful than Pugin who failed to get admitted to the Academy.²¹ Scoles was also a founder and active member of the Syro-Egyptian Society.

J.J. Scoles died on 29 December 1863 at his home in Hammersmith. He left four sons and eight daughters, and was spared the romantic and domestic traumas which blighted Pugin's life. Another son, Ignatius, became both a Roman Catholic priest and an architect and, like his brother A.J.C. Scoles, continued to use his professional talents with distinction in the service of his church.

Summary

At the heart of the controversy lay the different aims which Pugin and Scoles sought to achieve by their designs for churches. Pugin commended the practices of the old Catholic builders 'in keeping the seat of the holy mysteries at a reverential distance from the people, and in setting forth the dignity and privilege of the priestly office, by separating the ministers who are offering up the holy sacrifice from the worshippers'.²² A chancel was needed as a barrier round the holy place. Without a chancel 'Catholic feeling is soon lost among the people: there is not even a corner for holy meditation or retired reflection; they [the churches] are filled and emptied like dissenting meeting houses'.²³ Pugin believed that the mystery of the mass was enhanced when veiled by a long chancel and rood screen: visibility of the altar was not a priority for him.

Scoles recognised that the mass was at the heart of the devotion of Roman Catholic congregations and, unlike the convert Pugin, a clear view of the altar was essential for the faithful. Hence Scoles' Gothic churches have apses or shallow chancels with high naves and slim piers: none of Scoles' churches mentioned in this article have chancels physically separated from the nave in the way Pugin called for. Scoles' design for St John's does not, however, fail to provide the sense of mystery which inspired Pugin. The side chapels, or unsightly recesses of which Pugin complained are not directly lit and, particularly in winter when the only source of light was likely to have been flickering candles, were and remain conducive to the holy meditation and reverential reflection rightly valued by Pugin.

Pugin's attacks on Scoles reflect his feeling of being let down by a fellow and leading Roman Catholic architect who had not trod in his steps in pursuit of what he, Pugin, regarded as true Catholic architecture; this explains his claim that St John's was a fine opportunity thrown away. Scoles does not seem ultimately to have harboured a grudge against Pugin for on 6 December 1852 Scoles asked the Institute of British Architects for use of one of the Institute's rooms for a meeting of Catholic architects to make arrangements for a proposed memorial to Pugin.

Pevsner in the twentieth century too was a critic of Scoles; his work for St Peter's church at Great Yarmouth (1831–3, now St. Spiridon), built for the Church Building Commissioners and consecrated in 1833 was 'Large and uncommonly dull'; he, did, on the other hand, acclaim his later work at St Mary's in the same town; there, as Pevsner explained 'he was working for the Catholics'.²⁴

Notes

I am grateful to Catriona Blaker and Peter Howell for their comments on this article but I am solely responsible for its content.

- 1 See *Oxford dictionary of national biography*.
- 2 Pugin 1843a, pp 109–12.
- 3 See Jago 2008.
- 4 Nicholl 1889, pp 115–6.
- 5 Belcher 2001, p 46.
- 6 O’Donnell 1995, p 144.
- 7 Belcher 2001, p 308.
- 8 Pugin 1843a, p 109.
- 9 *Ibid*, p 112.
- 10 *Ibid*, pp 111–2.
- 11 O’Donnell 2004, p xv.
- 12 Pugin 1843a, pl 15.
- 13 *Ibid*, p 111.
- 14 By William Tite, 1826–8 (demolished).
- 15 Pugin 1843a, p 112.
- 16 O’Donnell 2002, p 14.
- 17 M. Belcher 2003, p 465.
- 18 Archives of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street.
- 19 letter of 17.4.1964 from Mother Provincial, Good Shepherd Convent to Professor Stephen Welsh, RIBA files.
- 20 Hill 2007, pp 97; 148.
- 21 *Ibid*, p 417.
- 22 Pugin 1843a, p 30.
- 23 *Ibid*, p 31.
- 24 Pevsner & Watson 1997, p 500.

In addition to the above source this article has used the following sources:

Atterbury 1995; Evinson 1998; Little 1966; Roche, 1931; biographical note on Joseph John Scoles and list of his principal works, Stephen Welsh 1973 (RIBA Library); RIBA council minutes and files; Guide to St John the Evangelist Roman Catholic church, Islington.

City functions. At formal services in Anglican churches, he declared that he would not attend personally, but would be represented by a deputy. This caused quite an outcry, and it was even reported in the *New York times*. The Anti-Popery Association petitioned the Queen to turn down his appointment.

At his inaugural banquet on 9 November 1892, it was announced that Mr Gladstone, the Prime Minister, had declined to attend. It was the custom that the Prime Minister replied to a toast, outlining the progress and future plans of his government. In fact on this occasion the customary loyal toast was supplemented by a toast to the pope. Others who refused to attend included Lord Rosebery, the Foreign Secretary; Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Secretaries for Scotland and Ireland. However, after these early difficulties, his period as Lord Mayor seems to have passed off without any major problems. During his term of office he visited Dublin, where he was given the Freedom of the City. He also received honours from the King of Belgium and the pope, who created him a Knight of St Gregory. Sir Stuart died in 1898 at The Crosslets in the Grove, Blackheath, leaving behind a son and a daughter. In 1909 his son, Sir John Knill, was also elected Lord Mayor. This time there was no anti-Roman Catholic outcry.

1 Egan 2002.

News from Hardman's

from Michael Fisher

'What if I'm stopped by the police?' I thought to myself as I set off in the car with a full-sized effigy of A.W.N. Pugin in the back, plus a couple of holdalls stuffed with some of his best metalwork. Fortunately I wasn't stopped, and the effigy – an exact replica of that on Pugin's tomb at Ramsgate – was delivered safely to Alton Towers, after a stop-off at St Giles', Cheadle, to return the silverware. The item in question had been kindly loaned for a month-long exhibition, *Hardman and Pugin: a passion for Gothic*, at Stafford's Ancient High House and nearby St Chad's church, through March 2009, supplementing Hardman's own extensive collection brought up from their Birmingham studio. The exhibition proved popular, drawing some 1,600 visitors to the High House, a huge sixteenth-century timber-framed building which serves as the Borough Museum on Stafford's main street. Meanwhile, the Hardman firm was in the process of moving from Lightwoods House, where it had been located since 1972, to 26 Frederick Street, in the heart of Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter, and only 100 yards away from the site of their old Newhall Hill studio, badly damaged by fire in 1970 and subsequently demolished. The firm has been renamed Pugin, Hardman & Powell, bringing together once more the names of the three men directly responsible for its initial formation and later success. The telephone number remains the same: 0121-429-7609; the email address is now puginhardmanpowell@googlemail.com.

On the subject of J.H. Powell, a further memoir of Pugin, in Powell's handwriting, has come to light, concentrating on Pugin's life as an artist, and his drawing and sketching techniques. In an accompanying letter to Jane Pugin, Powell sets out his proposals to publish a biography of 'the Master', following the 'very meagre life that was published in 1861 [*ie*, Benjamin Ferrey's *Recollections*] which gave very little satisfaction to Pugin's older friends' who thought it did but 'scant justice' to Pugin's memory. Watch this space!

Held in Trust: 2008 Years of Sacred Culture

An exhibition held at St Francis Xavier's church, Liverpool, 30 July–27 September, 2008.

from Joseph Sharples

A highlight of Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture in 2008 was this unusual exhibition, held amid the Gothic splendours of the great Jesuit church of St Francis Xavier in Everton [see figure 54]. It brought together a selection of the remarkable but little known artefacts collected by the English Province of the Society of Jesus – the Jesuits – at Stonyhurst College, their famous school in rural Lancashire. An advisory committee (on which this reviewer served) helped plan the exhibition, but its success was due to Brother Ken Vance SJ of St Francis Xavier's, who first conceived the idea; Janet Graffius, curator of collections at Stonyhurst; and Maurice Whitehead, who edited the beautifully designed and produced



Figure 63: The annunciation, from a book of hours, c1430, Paris. From 'Held in trust' courtesy British Province of the Society of Jesus and Stonyhurst College.

tion of architects and designers. In the popular mind, the Jesuits are probably associated more with the Counter-Reformation classical architecture of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy than with nineteenth-century mediaevalism, but their patronage of the Gothic Revival is significant, and was a decisive influence on the young Pugin. It was almost certainly the parish church of St Peter, adjoining Stonyhurst College, that Pugin had in mind when he wrote to William Osmund in 1834: 'A very big chapel is now building in the North, & when compleat I certainly think I shall recant' (see pp 70–7 of this number).

The significance of Pugin's books was enhanced by seeing them beside actual mediaeval vestments and illuminated manuscripts of the kind he studied and revered. The sumptuous frontispiece of the *Glossary*, for instance, was strikingly echoed in an illuminated page from the French manuscript *Preces Variae* of c1500, illustrating the glittering collection of jewelled reliquaries in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris. But a still greater resonance came from the exhibition's setting in one of the most magnificent of nineteenth-century Gothic Revival churches, albeit of a type very different from Pugin's. As recently as the 1980s, St Francis Xavier's faced demolition. Its inner city parish, once the most populous in the country, had been eaten away by house clearances and scarred by Liverpool's economic decline. However, a hard-fought local and national campaign succeeded in saving the building, and the success of this exhibition was a triumphant vindication of that outcome. Over 12,000 visitors came, and they marvelled not just at the treasures on display but also at their setting in this extraordinary monument of Victorian piety. The pride and dedication of the parishioners who welcomed them, staffed the exhibition and served tea in the sacristy was a moving affirmation of the value and significance of historic buildings to their local communities.

catalogue (*Held in trust*, edited by Maurice Whitehead: St Omers Press, RRP £9.50).

The exhibits were divided into six sections, some chronological (mediaeval, Reformation, recusant and Jacobite), others thematic ('The nineteenth-century Gothic Revival' and 'Jesuits and the wider world'). They ranged from items of outstanding artistic interest – a vestment commissioned by Henry VII for Westminster Abbey, for example – to the more esoteric, such as Sir Thomas More's hat and the desiccated eyeball of the Jesuit martyr Edward Oldcorne, housed in an anatomically shaped silver reliquary [figure 64]. Jesuit missionary activity was reflected in material drawn from non-European cultures, including a seventeenth-century Indian celestial sphere and a group of nineteenth-century beaded Zulu ornaments.

Of particular interest to Pugin Society members was the Gothic Revival section, which included copies of A.W.N. Pugin's *Contrasts* (1841 edition), *Glossary of ecclesiastical ornament and costume* (1846), and *Floriated ornament* (1849). These books were displayed alongside photographs and prints of two of the school chapels at Stonyhurst, and a cartoon for stained glass by Charles Alban Buckler, illustrating Pugin's influence on the next generation



Figure 64: Relic of Blessed Edward Oldcorne SJ, 1561–1606 (a silver locket containing his right eye). From 'Held in trust'.

courtesy British Province of the Society of Jesus and Stonyhurst College.

Book reviews

Cutting a fine figure

Modern memorial brasses 1880–2001. By David Meara.
Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008. ISBN 978-1900289-870. RRP £35.00

reviewed by Michael Fisher

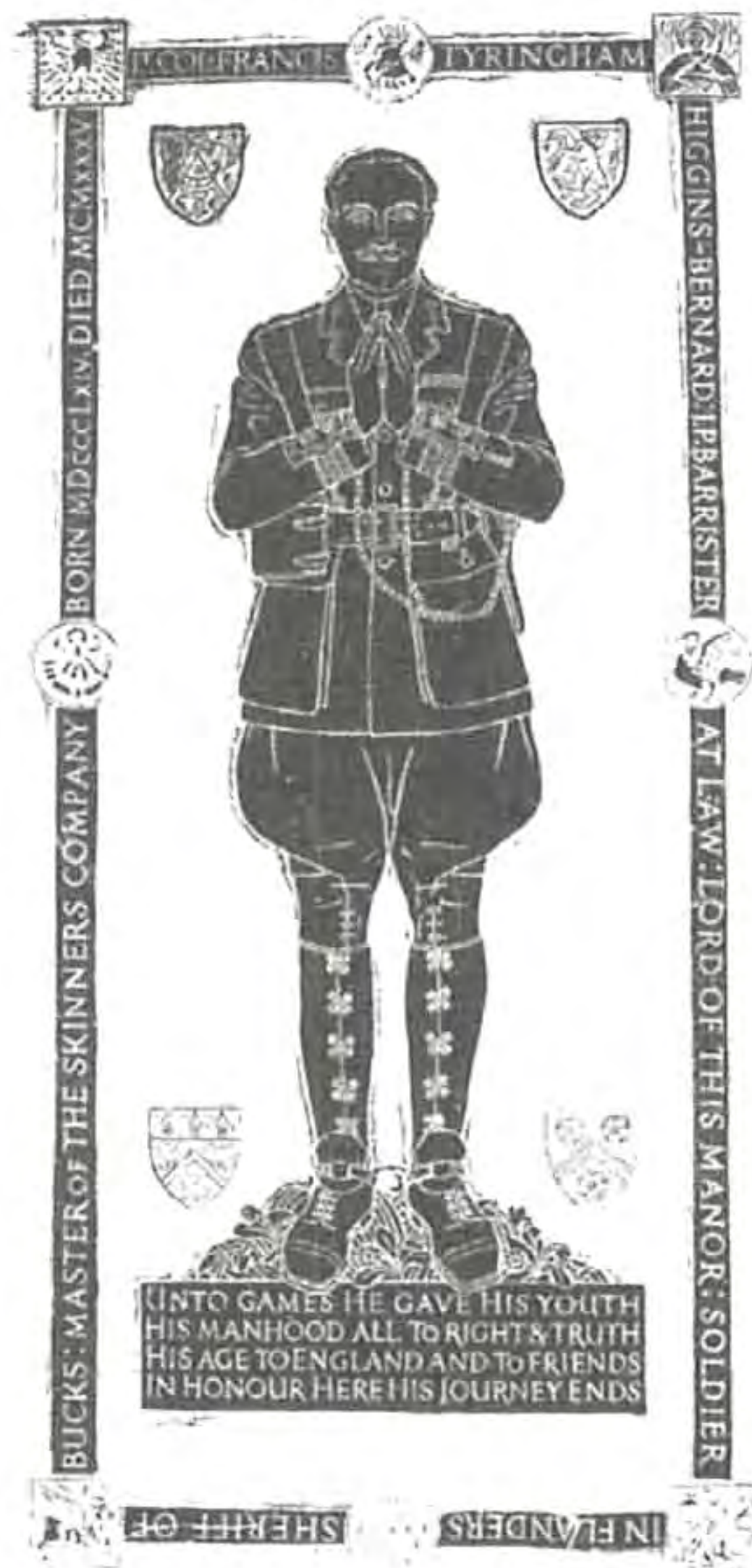


Figure 65: Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Tyringham Higgins-Bernard, d1935, designed by Loyd Haberly and engraved by George Friend
from Meara 2009.

This is the third book to be written by David Meara on the subject of memorial brasses, following upon *Victorian memorial brasses* (1983) and *A.W.N. Pugin and the revival of memorial brasses* (1991). Those already acquainted with his pioneering work in this important and intriguing branch of memorial art will welcome this new book which examines later developments in the concept and design of brasses, bringing the subject through the twentieth century into the twenty-first, and taking account of the many and complex social, religious and artistic changes which have shaped the whole approach to how the dead are commemorated. The appendices include a comparison between mediaeval and modern brass design, and a helpful checklist of modern figure brasses arranged by county.

Inevitably, and because his previously published titles are – regrettably – out of print, Meara revisits some of his earlier work, but by no means in a purely repetitive way, and new material is introduced from the beginning. Consequently those approaching the subject for the first time will find everything they need in this beautifully produced volume. The opening chapters include a concise and informative overview of the design and manufacture of brasses from the middle ages to the end of the nineteenth century, including new and useful information about the technical side of brassmaking. It is not always appreciated that zinc – one of the two principal elements from which brass is made – did not exist as a pure metal before the mid-eighteenth century, until which time zinc oxides had to be infused into

molten copper or volatized into heated sheets of copper by the process known as cementation. New industrial processes based principally in Birmingham made high-quality sheet brasses more abundant and less expensive. It was these factors which, combined with the design skills of A.W.N. Pugin, worked greatly to the advantage of John Hardman's 'Mediaeval Art Manufactory' set up in 1838 to produce a wide range of ecclesiastical metalwork made principally of brass.

In 1840 Pugin wrote disparagingly of a memorial brass laid down in one of his own churches that 'the inscription on the brass plate on the floor is miserable. it is precisely what a protestant might have stuck up to commemorate a murder. it does not possess a particle of catholic spirit either in matter or appearance'. Within 12 months he was designing his own memorial brasses in the 'true' style, and in *An apology for the revival of Christian architecture* (1843) he set out his uncompromising views on the purpose of a Christian memorial and his principles of design.

As David Meara explains, memorial art was a key element in Pugin's revival of 'The Real Thing' in which there would be no room for pagan symbols of mortality such as inverted torches,



Figure 66: Monument to Major the Rev Vivian Symons, at St Mark's, Biggin Hill, Kent, designed by Francis Cooper
from Meara 2009.

urns and broken columns. ‘Most fervently it is to be hoped that the brass effigy and the *orate pro anima* will again distinguish the graves of the faithful’ (*Orthodox journal*, 1838). Instructive to the living as well as commemorative of the dead, brass memorials of good design could be tailored to suit the client’s pocket: from £100–200 for a full-length figure under a canopy, down to £3–5 for ‘A chalice with hand over in benediction, a very simple but ancient emblem of a priest’s tomb’ (*The present state*, 1983, p 54).

Stimulated by the writings of Pugin, the work of the Ecclesiological Society and the rise of ritualism, memorial brasses of a Catholic character begin to appear in Anglican churches. In chapter two – ‘brass, bells and smells’ – Meara breaks new ground by charting the spread of ritualism through the study of brasses to clergymen of the established Church. The earliest memorial showing an Anglican priest in full Eucharistic vestments is that to the Rev George Harvey (p 28), who died in 1875. The full-length figure – by Hardman’s – is wholly in the Puginian style, but the inscription below records simply that he ‘fell asleep’, without any bidding to pray for his soul; a reminder that within the Anglican scheme of things, prayer for the departed, though just about discernable in the Prayer for the Church in the 1662 Communion Service, was at this time generally considered to be off-limits, and at worst a sign of the resurgence of ‘popery’. But that went for mass vestments too, yet, as Meara shows,

a growing number of Anglican clergy are depicted as wearing them, while other figures reflect the diversity of Anglican liturgical vesture: surplice and scarf, surplice and stole, surplice and gown, a few ‘advanced’ bishops in copes, and finally the ‘whole-hoggers’ such as Bishops



Figure 67: Rev Reginald French, d1964, and his wife Gertrude, designed and engraved by John Hutton in 1975, at St Dunstan’s, Stepney, London
Derrick Chivers. From Meara 2009.



Figure 68: Master Thomas de Aston (c1325-1401), brass engraved in 2001, designed by David Marcombe and artwork executed by Kathy Jackson, in St Edmund’s Chapel, Spital-in-the-Street, Lincolnshire
The Spital Chapel Trust. From Meara 2009.

Frere of Truro (d 1935) and Rees of Llandaff (d 1939) who are shown (p 189) in full pontificals, by which time *orate pro anima* and *requiescat in pace* raised few eyebrows outside militant bodies such as John Kensit’s Protestant Truth Society.

After Pugin, leading architects such as George Frederick Bodley, Thomas Garner, Giles Gilbert Scott, Ninian Comper, and Temple Moore designed brasses, bringing the Puginian ideal of integrating architecture and the visual arts into the twentieth century. Comper’s brasses are particularly exquisite. Executed by the London firm of Barkentin and Krall they reflect Comper’s general reaction against high Victorianism and a return to the refinement of the late mediaeval period. Among those illustrated are the memorials to the Rev Dr Richard Temple West

(d 1893) at St Mary Magdalene's, Paddington, and the Rev William Skipsey Sanders (d 1901) at St Nicholas', Guildford. Standing under lace-like canopies, the figures stand in Puginian pose; but the faces are clearly portraits of the deceased – a later development of the art. Unusually, Temple Moore attempted perspective, as in his memorial to the Rev William Henry Ogle-Skan (d 1915) at St John's, West Hendon, where the brass depicts the sanctuary of the church with the priest in semi-profile at the altar.

Memorial brasses were not of course confined to clerics, and many examples are given of brasses to laypeople, from the neo-mediaeval one to Arthur Joseph Tempest of Skipton who, as late as 1891, is romantically depicted in mail and plate armour, to more innovative ones in the crypt of St Paul's cathedral which reflect the influence of art nouveau upon memorial design at the end of the nineteenth century. The Boer War and the First World War also had a great impact, with the production of memorials to individual soldiers portrayed in modern battledress, and the innovation of war memorials containing lists of names.

The art of fine lettering is an aspect of memorial brasses that has not been fully explored before, yet, as Meara points out in chapter five, it is fundamental to good memorial design:

It is the inscription that gives real meaning and significance to the brass, because it records to whom the memorial is laid, thus perpetuating their memory within the church and community, and asking passers-by to pray for the repose of their soul (p 137).

After surveying the influences at work on lettering styles, and the changing nature of memorial inscriptions from the middle ages to the eighteenth century, Meara turns again to Pugin and the alphabets included in the *Glossary of ecclesiastical ornament and costume* (1844) as setting the standard for the rest of the nineteenth century. Then we come to the arts and crafts movement and the influential work of lettering artist Edward Johnston (1852–1944), who trained Eric Gill (1882–1941), who in turn trained David Kindersley (1915–95), one of the most outstanding designers and letter-cutters of the twentieth century whose workshop embraced memorial brasses as well as the design of film titles and road signage. Meara's account of the craft in the post-war years also highlights the work of Christopher Ironside (1913–92) including detailed studies of his memorials to the sixteenth Duke of Norfolk (1978) and the Earl and Countess Mountbatten of Burma (1985) as outstanding examples of modern memorial art. Trade firms which once supplied 'brasses off the peg' (the subject of chapter four) are long gone, but the craft has survived through individual artists and sculptors who include brass engraving in their broader repertoire.

The twenty-first-century secular mind might not view the purpose of a memorial in the way that Pugin did. 'Pray for the soul of...' is now a rarity, and the resting-place of Diana, Princess of Wales, is marked by a 'pagan' urn. Yet controversies over what may or may not be allowed in municipal cemeteries, the dutiful tending of graves, and the almost ritual cleaning of headstones and kerbstones made of virtually indestructible polished granite, show that the memorial is still widely regarded as an important part of the mourning process, and intended, as Meara puts it, 'to stand forever as a replacement for the social body' (p 244). In this context, memorial brasses – which have survived the many social, political and religious upheavals of the past 800 years – may still have a place. Painstakingly researched, well written and superbly illustrated with 192 monochrome plates, this book sets the seal on David Meara's well established scholarship in this field.

Up hill and down dale

Sources of regionalism in the nineteenth century: architecture, art and literature (KADOC-Artes 9). Edited by Linda Van Santvoort, Jan De Maeyer and Tom Verschaffel. Leuven: Leuven University Press. ISBN 978-9058676498. RRP £60.00 / €65.00

reviewed by Andrew Saint

Of the making of books from international conference proceedings there is no end. Editors, contributors and reviewers all know it as a genre which can indeed impose 'weariness of the flesh'. The formula is tried and tested. Scholars convene from the four quarters to peddle their personal or national sixpennyworth on a given topic. They lend half an ear to the rest of the proceedings, but get more from chats with colleagues outside the hall. Then they go home to write up their paper, which seldom differs much from their original talk. The editors must meanwhile badger backsliders (the rate of production of such books depends on the tardiest

authors), sort out problems of translation, and shoulder the burden of imposing introductory coherence on the contradictory whole.

If the book is the ultimate aim of such events, mightn't it sometimes be better if contributors came without formally prepared talks? They could then be corralled up into workshop sessions from which some headbanging chairman could extract issues for everyone to go away and address. Such a mode of conference-making would not reduce editorial pains, but it might just elicit more consistent and challenging contents. Or should we accept that conferences are just about personal exchange and networking? In which case the books become a by-product, not really meant for the reader at all but for academic research committees ravenous for output.

Such reflections are prompted by *Sources of regionalism*, the ninth book of conference essays or proceedings in the KADOC-Artes series, published by Leuven University Press. Professional Puginians will be familiar with KADOC, the documentation and research centre for religion, culture and society at the Catholic University of Leuven. Under the resolute and hospitable overlordship of Jan De Maeyer, KADOC is the only institution in the world where the Gothic Revival is being seriously and systematically studied. The ripest fruit from that enquiry so far has been KADOC-Artes 5, *Gothic Revival: religion, architecture and style in Western Europe 1815–1914* (2000), where Pugin vies with Viollet-le-Duc for primacy of index citations. A typically sprawling KADOC tome, it contains 24 essays by authors of many nations and persuasions, among them Alexandra Wedgwood and Rory O'Donnell. One might also single out KADOC-Artes 1, a full study of the leading Flemish Gothic Revivalist, Joris Helleputte (1998), or KADOC-Artes 7, *The revival of medieval illumination* (2007), exquisitely illustrated.



Figure 69: Oud Vlaendren [Old Flanders] and the modern village: regionalist versus 'modern' rural architecture at the 1913 Word's Fair in Ghent

Louvain, KADOC. From Van Santvoort, De Maeyer & Verschaffel 2008.

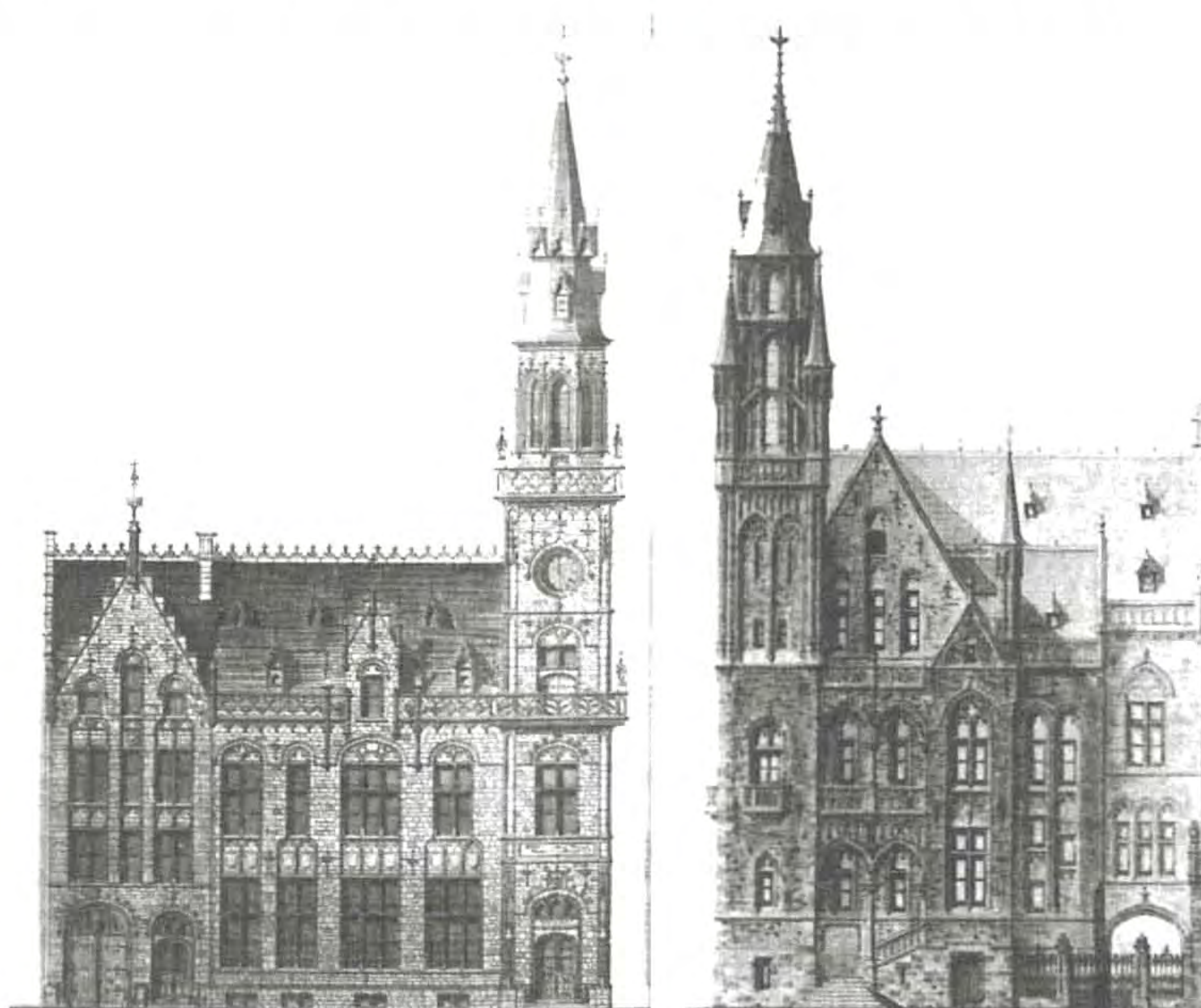


Figure 70: Designs by Pierre Langerock for the post office of Coutraï (1905), left and by Jules Coomans for the town hall of Poperinge (c1910), right

Louvain, KADOC. From Van Santvoort, De Maeyer & Verschaffel 2008.

KADOC's endeavours, it must be added, stretch well beyond architecture and the arts. Its outlook is fundamentally Belgian and Roman Catholic. But that linkage of little and large – the cultural dependency of Belgium together with the international reach of Catholicism – forces its enquiries outwards. KADOC's conferences and books are robustly European in scope, untainted by the insularity that besets British and French studies of nineteenth-century culture. Most however limit themselves to northern Europe (usually construed to take in France), and some to the so-called Rhine-Maas region (a way of tucking portions of Germany in with the Low Countries).

Sources of regionalism is a bitty book in which the customary KADOC melange does not hold together. It assembles a job-lot of countries, regions and themes and a miscellany of authors, all of whom have good points to make but most of whom pass one another in the night. Flanders is the main focus and might have been enough for so muddling a subject. England, France and Scotland get a look-in, without on the whole much breadth of canvas; Germany is all but absent, as also for the most part are French-speaking Belgium and the Netherlands. The main theme is architecture, but there is an extra essay apiece on literature and painting. As for chronology, the focus is 1870–1914, but some authors, England's Robert Colls in particular, stray beyond. Continental Europeans tend to get nervous about regionalism between the world wars, when some localities (not least Flanders) dabbled with fascism.

There seems nothing for it but for the reviewer to chance some remarks on the concept of regionalism (rather heavily handled in the book's introduction) and then to run through the essays.

Regionalism, meaning the awareness and expression of some sort of subsidiary local identity, is naturally as old as the hills. But as used in this book and often today in academic circles, the term refers to something more abstract and overarching. It means bringing together different examples of such local consciousness – which by their nature are rooted in particulars of place and history – and trying to make them hang together. By so doing, it is hoped to trace common patterns and assert their wider significance. In architecture, for instance, different local vernacular languages of building were studied and revived in different European countries around the same time in the late nineteenth century. Studied apart, these various revivals lack the clout attached by international scholarship to classicism, the Gothic Revival, or art nouveau, but if they are linked they begin to carry weight. On similar lines, an attempt was made not long ago to inflect the insensitive vocabulary of modern architecture with the term 'critical regionalism', with what effect it is hard to say.

Regionalism (in the common-sense sense) cannot exist without nationalism, the authors seem to agree. That may not wash for earlier periods. A full sense of nationhood had yet to develop in post-Reformation Germany when the famous *cuius regio, eius religio* rule was applied. But it works for the nineteenth century because that was when nationalism as an ideal reached its apogee and many European states took their present form. Regions then had to find ways of defining their identity and relation to the bigger whole; or, as often happened, they had them defined for them by intellectuals, artists and other outsiders. There were many patterns. Sometimes as in Finland, one region (Karelia) provided almost the whole cultural source of reference for the nation; sometimes regions like Flanders (perhaps also Catalonia) affirmed their identity at the expense of a common nationhood; sometimes, as in parts of industrial England, regions (as opposed to towns or counties) were so vague that they hardly became aware of their commonality until they were told about it.

Faced with such disparity, the authors for the most part naturally just have a go at the material in front of them. The essay with the broadest brush is the first, by Robert Colls, one of the modern cultural geographers. Colls' chosen region is Tyneside, but in fact he is liveliest (and wildest) in his opening pages, on England and regionalism as a whole. He kicks off with George Orwell who, he claims, went to Wigan to prove that it was as much part of Britain

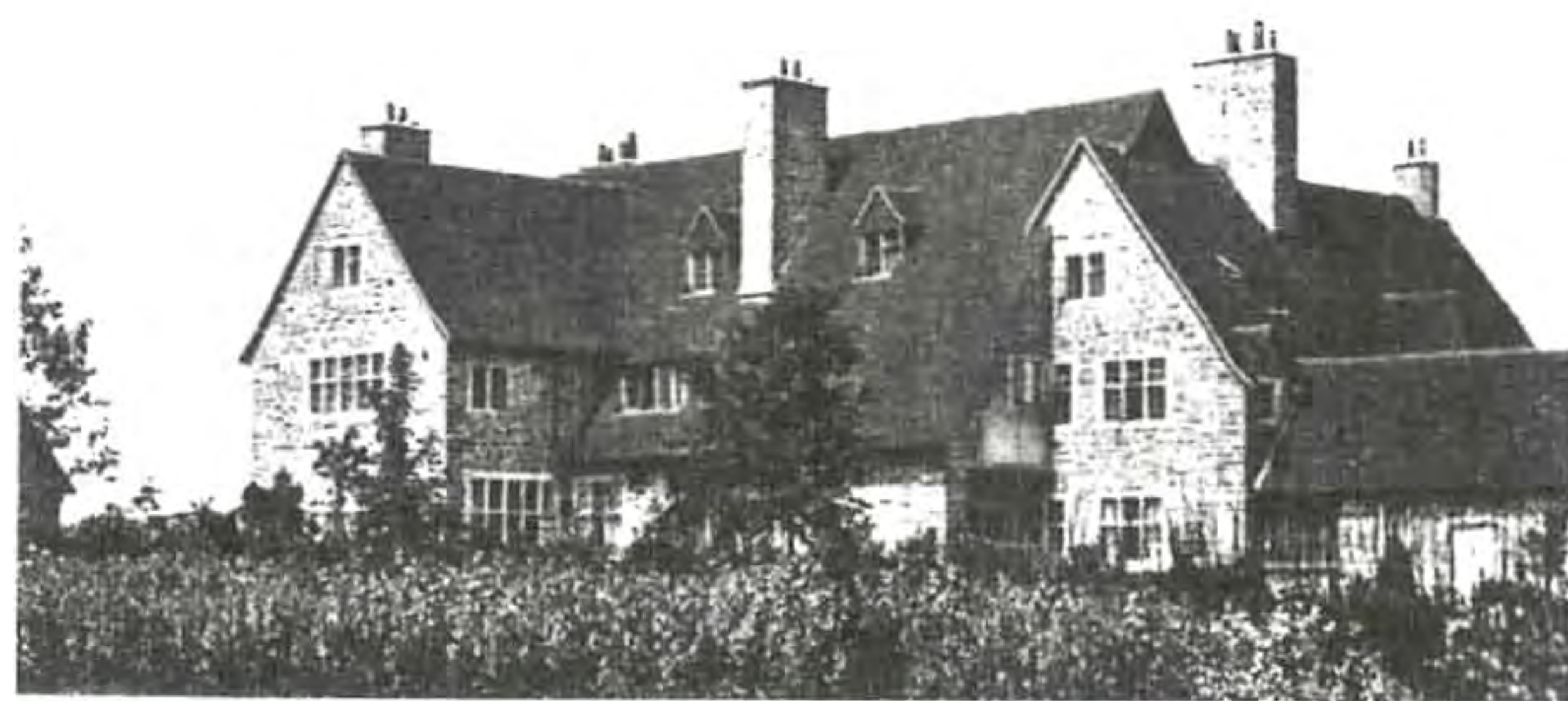


Figure 71: An example of 'le style anglais': Thackeray Turner's country house at Westbrook, Godalming

Louvain, KADOC. From Van Santvoort, De Maeyer & Verschaffel 2008.

as London. The argument is that nineteenth-century nationalism begat a range of 'new republics' whose constitutional and democratic centralism left regions bereft of identity. In England that then had to be invented for them by a medley of geographers (Colls is interesting on early textbooks of English regional geography) and pundits like Orwell. This line of reasoning sits aslant to the second half of the essay, a rambling panegyric to the independent identity of Newcastle and Tynesiders generally. But here at least a rationale is given for the book's preoccupation with buildings. 'Regional architecture' says Colls 'is the central theme of *Sources of regionalism*', because 'Next to biology (itself a form of architecture) architecture was the most outstanding expression of 19th-century regional-national identity'.

A quite other tone and approach follow, in the shape of a trio of articles on regionalism in French architecture by Yves Schoonjaans, Geert Palmaerts and Benoît Mihail. None of these authors is French or based in France, which may be why their approach is confined to what can be gleaned from magazines, not what is built on the ground. So their view is largely the view from Paris, and their framework the one set by a very Parisian book of essays on French regional architecture published by François Loyer and Bernard Toulhier in 1997. The Schoonjaans article is about the great César Daly, founder-editor of the *Revue générale de l'architecture*. If the author is right, regionalism for Daly (he seems not to have used the term, so one must be wary) had nothing to do with faithfulness to local materials, roots or traditions. It just meant an extra set of styles for the art-architect to deploy – much the same as cosmopolitanism or eclecticism. Emotions or loyalties were neither here nor there; it was a matter of giving artists the freedom to pick and choose and of using modern archaeological knowledge to escape the straitjacket of the old styles. (One can imagine what A.W.N. Pugin would have said about that.)

The Palmaerts article picks up from where Schoonjaans leaves off. It traces Daly's role in the decentralisation of French architectural societies in the 1870s and '80s, before picking up on a series of articles published by his son Marcel Daly in *La construction moderne* about architecture in the Geneva region, in other words part of the Suisse Romande. These articles confirm the queer intellectualism of the French position about regional building. So far from alluding to alpine materials and weather or Swiss traditions of construction, the whole analysis is about how rationalism and eclecticism can offer the key to a regional architecture.

After a theoretical preamble, the final French article touches on how Viollet-le-Duc tried to reconcile his rationalist doctrines with his growing sentiment for regional French architecture. Then Mihail changes tack and gets on to what seems to be his real interest – the French nineteenth-century appropriation of Renaissance styles in homegrown form. There is knockabout stuff here about the arguments over rebuilding the Hôtel de Ville in Paris after the Commune. But they tell us nothing about regionalism, only about nationalism, unless France is defined as just one of many regions to which the renaissance was diffused. Indeed none of these three articles explains what regions or regionalism really meant in nineteenth-century France. What about 'le style normand', for instance, on which a lot has been written? What about Brittany, or Alsace before and after it was annexed by Germany? At least one region should surely have been explored. Nor is there more than the briefest allusion to the French regionalist political movement developed by Jean Charles-Brun. Altogether these essays are an opportunity lost.

Next comes a disappointing essay by the able John McKean purporting to show that Greek Thomson was a regionalist but C. R. Mackintosh wasn't. It reads like something out of McKean's bottom drawer, or a rather *passé* squib from the 1990s campaign to persuade Glaswegians and the world that Thomson was as good as or even better than Mackintosh. McKean cannot be boring, but there is a touch of egotism, not to say perversity, about his arguments; and in an international book about regionalism, it is a pity that he does not define or explore the Scottish position in any breadth.

It's a relief to turn from the above to the four Flemish essays. Their authors seem to have talked to one another, and by dint of density they build up a convincing collective picture. The first (by no fewer than four authors) is a manifesto-plea for reconsidering Flemish (perhaps one should say Dutch, but most of the authors cited seem to be 'Vlaams') regional writing as proper literature, not just genre. Though the quality of the works in question cannot be judged by an outsider, it is interesting that the biggest inhibition for the modern Belgian reader appears to be the fact that they are mostly about farmers and farming life.

Celebrating peasant arts and culture was of course a common strand in nineteenth-century regionalism (and nationalism), as industrialisation and urbanism eroded rural lifestyles. In architecture this took a different course from literature. The middle classes may have enjoyed lingering over pictures of country cottages, but they were not expected to live in them. In the buildings which they inspired, features were borrowed from them but conditions were not. Stories about peasant life were different; writers took pride in their realism, and so they were often gloomy or turgid. In England one might compare the novels of Mary Webb or Sabine Baring-Gould, little read now, while the parody-peasant novel *Cold Comfort Farm* does not want for admirers.

The next essay, by Linda Van Santvoort, is precisely about the connection between rural ideals and Flemish architecture from the 1890s. It introduces figures unfamiliar beyond Belgium and Holland, notably Stijn Streuvels, a regionalist writer touched on in the previous essay. Streuvels built himself a small house called Lijsternest ('thrush nest' in English), not far from Brussels and open as a museum today. In updated Flemish peasant style, it is just what the English would call an arts and crafts house, and indeed Van Santvoort sets out the links and parallels with England clearly. (If these are oversimplified, that is because no adequate book on arts and crafts architecture has appeared since Peter Davey's.) Such Flemish-revival houses were in part a reaction against what was delightfully known as 'la villa ostentatoire', the kind of trashy seaside residence put up all along the Belgian coast at places like Knokke. Doubtless too they were supposed to counter the modern art nouveau rootlessness of Brussels architects like Horta and Hankar. An interesting discussion follows on the Ghent exhibition of 1913, at which old-style and new-style mock Flemish villages were built alongside one another for comparison and contrast [figure 69]. Then came the Great War and the regionalist dream imploded, or at least took a more troubled form.

Next up is Jan De Maeyer, who takes forward into the secularising Belgian world of the 1880s onwards a theme he has previously explored, the architecture and crafts of the Catholic Guilds of St Luke and St Thomas. Puginians may sit up at this point, for the essay makes plain once more that Pugin's ideas had a bigger impact on Flanders than anywhere else. How that first happened, through the French translations of T. H. King and the enthusiasms of Baron Bethune, is quite well known now, but De Maeyer shows how long Pugin's influence endured. His Catholicism, his Gothicism, and the part which the English find so odd that inverted commas are needed, his 'rationalism', went down a treat in church-dominated Flanders. As late as 1901 the Ghent-based architect-engineer Louis Cloquet, the leading figure in the St Luke movement, could call Pugin 'a radical rationalist ... His theory of architecture was based entirely on that of the Middle Ages and on the revival of national and local traditions in art.' So Pugin was regarded by the Flemings as a kind of Gothic rationalist-regionalist. Not just churches but secular buildings like post offices were still being built in a trenchant Gothic, well after that kind of thing had been given up in England for other 'regional' styles like the 'Wrenaissance'. That was possible in part because Catholic parties were in power in Belgium all the way through from 1884 to 1914.

Ellen Van Impe's piece, last of the Belgian essays, mainly amplifies De Maeyer and Van Santvoort, offering more about magazines and theory. Here we see the tension and confusion caused by the phenomenon of art nouveau. As good Catholics and conservatives, she explains, the St Luke's people and their journalistic supporters were stoutly opposed to the kinds of cosmopolitan art nouveau masterpieces produced by Horta for liberals, socialists and industrialists. 'Who will free us from the graffiti, the mosaics and the balconies of twisted wood?' cried one author. English arts and crafts architecture was a safer model, but it could not be transplanted wholesale, because English traditions and temperament were different. The Flemings found it 'a child of the mist' with 'a cold but poetic physiognomy'.

The obvious answer was to build up a regionalist tradition of their own, and this they tried to do. But in a country that was half Francophone, art nouveau was partly a substitute for the regionalist or arts and crafts architecture which France had signally failed to evolve. Besides, art nouveau elements were bound up with the regionalist movements all the way across Europe, even if purists tried to keep them apart and argue that one was evil and came from false urban consciousness, while the other was good and rooted in tradition.

By about 1910 there was a convergence of advanced architectural viewpoint across northern Europe. Cloquet, Lethaby and Muthesius all believed in a pared-down or rational architecture rooted in Gothic and local traditions, while using modern materials to face modern problems.

That did not leave much leeway for truly regional or local solutions. On the other side of the fence, the immaturity of art nouveau had caused its collapse. The alternative architectural agenda was now being set by a resurgent classicism, as later buildings by Horta and others show.

The last essay, by Eric Storm, is a pleasurable *bonne bouche* on regionalist painting. How to cover so vast a topic briefly? The focus on France, Germany and Spain is rewarding, if at odds with the rest of this book. What makes a regionalist painter in Storm's view is not just the depiction of local provincial life (Millet, Courbet and countless others did that) but a permanent or semi-permanent base in the region and a rejection of the national system of academy exhibitions. Around 1900 there were of course many artists' and craftsmen's colonies, but the ones that cut their links with the salons were really quite few.

Storm argues that regionalist painting in the pure sense began in northern and eastern European countries without a strong academic tradition, notably the Scandinavian ones, and spread from there. Among the best-known such painters he cites are Anders Zorn in Sweden, Akseli Gallén-Kallela in Finland, and Alfons Mucha in Bohemia. The French, German and Spanish painters of the 1890s onwards whom he goes on to explore are not well known but certainly worth a look. The outstanding artist featured seems to be Ignacio Zuloaga, whose vivid yoking of El Greco's and Manet's styles brings a balance of gusto and grief to scenes from Castilian provincial life. And if you are going to New York, look out the murals of Joaquín Sorolla depicting the regions of Spain on the walls of the Hispanic Society's premises there. The reviewer is grateful to *Sources of regionalism* for introducing him to two lively artists whom he admits he had never heard of before.

Crystal humbug

Victorian glassworlds: glass culture and the imagination 1830–1880. By Isobel Armstrong. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0-19-920520-2. RRP £32.00

reviewed by Andrew Rudd

The ubiquity of glass in nineteenth-century writing and painting is such that it can often pass completely unnoticed. Reflections, refractions and stolen glances through window panes are the stuff of almost every Victorian novel. In *North and South* (1854–5) by Elizabeth Gaskell, the heroine Margaret Hale only has to survey Mrs Thornton's sitting room with its 'great alabaster groups' 'safe from dust under their glass shades' to appreciate the *arriviste* vulgarity of her prospective mother-in-law. There is no social weight beneath the superficial lustre of these ornaments: 'Everything reflected light, nothing absorbed it'. Elsewhere, we find an obsession with mirroring and optical illusions. The daylight to which the fallen woman is drawn in William Holman Hunt's 'The awakening conscience' (1853) is visible only in the drawing-room mirror, which projects an imaginary reflection of the woman's back as if to confirm the viewer's superior power to see the tragedy in the round. Isobel Armstrong's book is fully alert to the cultural significance of such moments of figuring, doubling, distortion and division as she mines a wealth of material relating to the nineteenth-century manufacture, sale, utility and wonderment of glass.

Thus we read of visitors to the glass factory of Chance Brothers in Smethwick, in the West Midlands, pioneers of cylinder blown sheet glass, which provided windows for the rebuilt Palace of Westminster, as well as the 300,000 sheets (all of them hand-blown) for Joseph Paxton's Great Exhibition building of 1851. After her tour of the factory Harriet Martineau wrote in the journal *Household words* in 1851 of the 'fire caverns, the dim vaults, the scorching air, the rush, roar, glare, and appalling handicraft from amidst which that light and graceful creation came forth to lie down on the grass of Hyde Park'. Armstrong regards this as part of a narrative of bourgeois voyeurism in which the anxieties of modernity were distilled: were the glass-workers human beings or machines? There is a brief mention of Pugin's 'mediaeval court' in the Great Exhibition (for which he won one of 170 prestigious council medals) accompanied by a tantalising remark from Armstrong that the nineteenth-century revival of stained-glass 'was intended as a rebuke to glass culture'. The work of Hardman of Birmingham, William Warrington and others can be seen as a rebuke to an industrialised model of glass manufacture, certainly, but neo-mediaeval stained-glass was still part of 'glass culture', and its awkwardness in relation to modernity could have generated some fruitful

ideas here. Pugin described the Crystal Palace as a 'crystal humbug and glass monster'. In other chapters we read of shop displays and covered arcades, magic lanterns and the 'radically ungrounded world' of lens optics with their capacity to deceive the eye. Armstrong gives several compelling readings of nineteenth-century poems in which the new perspectives afforded by innovations in glassmaking were put to ingenious imaginative use.

In her overall argument, Armstrong takes her cue from Walter Benjamin's conception of a twentieth-century 'culture of glass', which he felt was characterised by transparency and the modernist paradox of form without visible mass (there is some discussion of the work of Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart). Glass culture in the nineteenth century was different, Armstrong contends, because it retained traces of the human labour, 'the worker's breath', that underpinned its manufacture: blown glass showed 'grit in the crystal'. This being so, glass could act as a class signifier, for workers expended their lives making it while the well-to-do raised it as a barrier against the world outside. Armstrong aims to expose the fallacy of glass as an egalitarian and socially fluid material. The person on the inside looking out is always in a position of relative privilege, and in most light conditions cannot be seen (despite the continual claim of architects that glass allows public scrutiny of an interior). Window-breaking thus became an act of bodily protest; a refusal to be abstracted, as when the London mob broke the windows of Apsley House in 1831. *Victorian glassworlds* narrowly avoids being a very pretentious book, mainly thanks to Armstrong's brilliance as a cultural interpreter and the sheer range of examples she produces, which do indeed dazzle. Some readers may find the book's insistence that any action or artefact whatsoever can be read as a text problematic, for it has the effect of flattening the aesthetic particularities of literature, art and architecture. But the book embodies its subject matter by casting prismatic rays of thought in a myriad of unexpected directions.

A kind of pattern house

The English parsonage in the early nineteenth century. By Timothy Brittain-Catlin.

Reading: Spire Books, in association with English Heritage. ISBN 1-904965-16.9. RRP £30.00

reviewed by Peter Howell

Timothy Brittain-Catlin's Cambridge PhD thesis was on 'A.W.N. Pugin's residential architecture in its context', and this fine book is its offspring. There have been two previous books on the parsonage, both published in 1964 (by Anthony Bax and Alan Savidge), but neither was anything like so scholarly, or so architectural, as this one.

Brittain-Catlin's focus is on the 1830s, which he describes as 'one of the most obscure chapters in English architectural history', but one of particular interest, when architects had 'access for the first time ever to accurate drawings of the historical buildings of England, even if they do not quite yet know what to make of them', and, 'in an increasingly demanding professional atmosphere', were required for the first time to think hard about how exactly the parts of the building fit together and how exactly the thing is to be paid for' (p 9). He is fortunate in having a wonderful source of material, namely the papers of Queen Anne's Bounty, which from the 1820s onwards provided mortgages for new parsonages. The architect or builder was required to supply full drawings and a specification for approval by the bishop. Full use is also made of the various publications of both historical architecture and new designs, of which so many appeared in these years.

Brittain-Catlin points out that the information available on ancient buildings included few examples of smaller houses, because hardly any survived (p 74). Among the exceptions were the 'Jews's House' and 'Aaron's House' at Lincoln, and 'Moyse's Hall' at Bury St Edmunds: why were these attributed to Jews? There were also half-timbered examples (published by Matthew Habershon from 1836), but these were not imitated, perhaps because architects did not fully understand this type of construction.

Brittain-Catlin's training and practice as an architect enable him to make detailed and perceptive analysis of the planning of these houses. Sometimes one feels a bit bogged down in the differences between back-corridor, central-corridor, L-corridor, L-plan and pinwheel plans, but the author's light touch comes to the rescue, and the 270 illustrations are a splendid help. They show many of the architects' drawings, with plans either original or redrawn, and these are supplemented by superb photographs by Martin Charles. One of these is already

(happily) out of date: Casterton Grange, Westmorland, built by Ewan Christian in 1848 (p 218), has had the top of its tower put back by the new owners. Brittain-Catlin's experience of designing his own house must lie behind his remark (referring to the Grange) that 'there is no period more critical for an architect to assess his own work than the first few months of living in his own house' (p 145).

A.W.N. Pugin comes at the centre of the book. Brittain-Catlin rightly dismisses the misconception of him as a decorator rather than as an architect (which he sees as having been

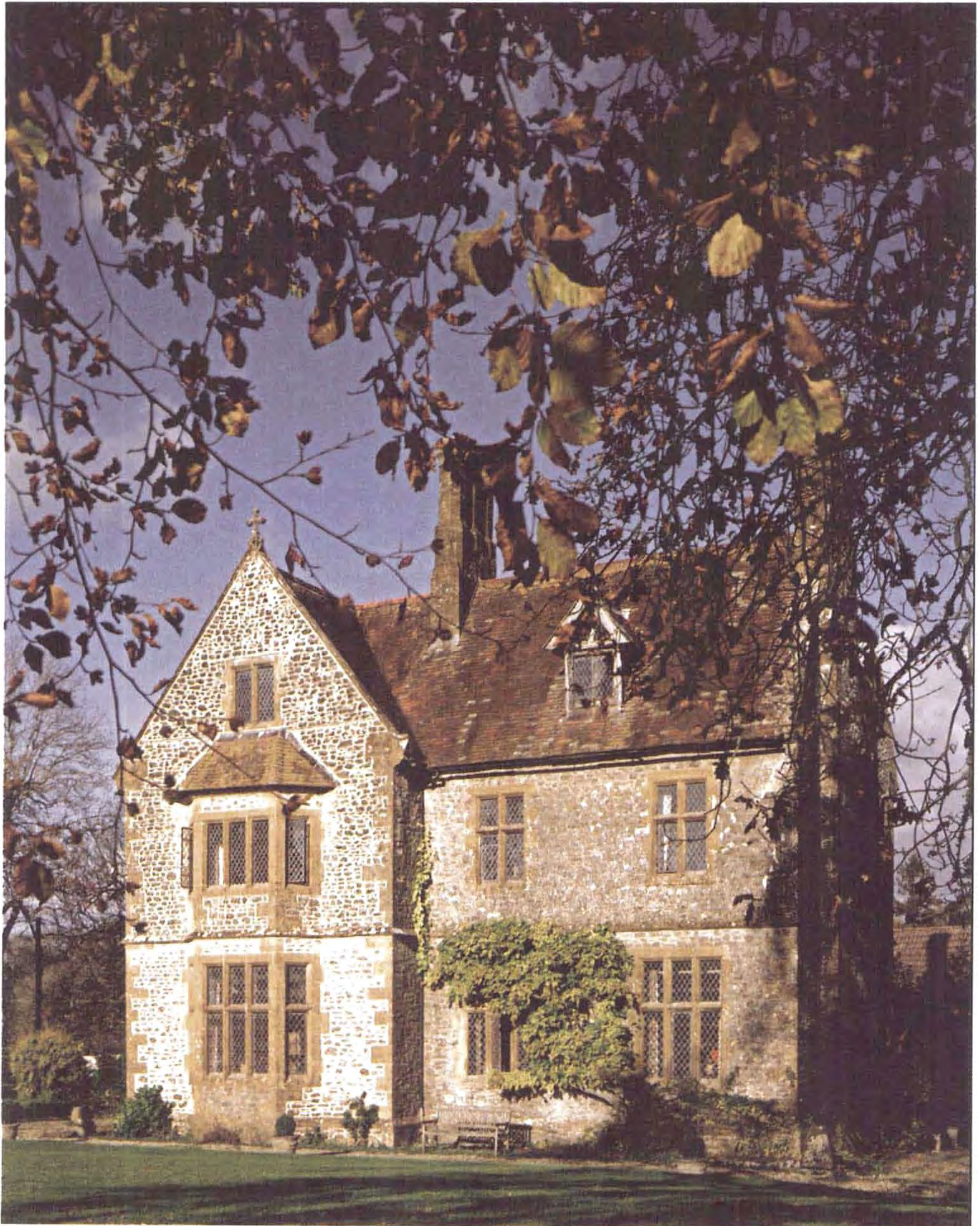


Figure 72: A.W.N. Pugin's rectory at Rampisham, Dorset, designed in 1846
photographed by Martin Charles in 2007 for The English parsonage in the early nineteenth century.

encouraged by the Victoria and Albert Museum exhibition). His beloved Rampisham rectory gets the full treatment: he notes that the drawings for the diocesan application are 'the only surviving complete record' of Pugin's working method for one of his buildings, as he 'was otherwise too busy to prepare a full spare set of drawings and specifications' (p 27).

In his discussion of the Grange, he draws attention to the 'mannerism' of the small window between the bottom of the gable and its adjacent wall' on the garden front (p 256): it is chilling to remember that the Landmark Trust's first proposals for the house involved its removal. (Those of us who deplore the loss of most of E.W. Pugin's work there will sadly agree with note 10 on p 321, referring to the fact that his partnership with Joseph Hansom 'had a disagreeable termination'. Oh dear! – so much did, where E.W. Pugin was involved'.

Brittain-Catlin points out that Pugin's work was rarely mentioned by 'his contemporary professionals', suggesting that this was because Anglicans did not dare to praise a Catholic (pp 249–50). This is borne out by the *Ecclesiologist's* notice of his death, which frankly admitted: 'Now we have lost him, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing him the most eminent and original genius of his time'. Those who regard Pugin's writings as more important than his buildings should note the interesting remark that Pugin rarely drew examples of English, as opposed to continental, examples of domestic architecture, with the comment: 'It was ironic that English domestic architecture was deployed in this new way by someone who had almost nothing to say about it: and it reminds us that architectural history is made by those who build, rather than by those who theorise' (p 166).

Brittain-Catlin writes that 'architects are not generally particularly deft with words' (p 303) but he is an exception to his own rule. Only occasionally does something go wrong (the first sentence on the previous page is an example). Readers will be intrigued to learn about 'transsexual architecture' (p 113). There are apposite references to contemporary literature – Jane Austen, Mary Russell Mitford, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and even Frankenstein.

On the whole the book is remarkable accurate, but a few slips have crept in: 'Harvey Egerton' for 'Eginton' (pp 49; 320, n 199); 'Pritchard' for [John] Prichard (p 106); 'Moffat' for Moffatt (p 109 – correct on p 110); 'Hopper' for Hoppner (p 230).

A lasting monument

Victorian architecture, invention and diversity. By James Stevens Curl.
Reading: Spire Books. ISBN 978-1904965060. RRP £69.95

reviewed by Roderick McDonagh O'Donnell

How should the story Victorian architecture be written? It has been attempted by architects, such as Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Robert Furneaux-Jordan, by architect-and-historian teams such Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius; it has been tackled by clergymen such as Canon B.F.L. Clarke – and poets, especially John Betjeman; and of course by professional art historians, many of whom are members of The Pugin Society. It is a notoriously difficult task: should the approach be thematic – a style, a building type, a monograph on a leading architect? Or chronological? Can it be confined to England? Will any pattern in fact emerge? What is the *clou*? Professor Emeritus James Stevens Curl has been publishing on Victorianism for almost 40 years, notably on cemeteries; the Egyptian revival; freemasonry; model-housing, 'new materials', and the architecture of the north of Ireland, and especially church-buildings. All is brought together in his *Victorian architecture* (2008), a text book written with a rigour that can be as engaging and rebarbative, according to taste, as was A.N. W. Pugin's own. His style is orotund and the author demonstrates the niceties and exactitudes for which he is renowned. Personal names are cited in full: for example John Roderick Warlow Gradidge, who is saddled here, without qualification, with responsibility for the reordering of St Augustine's, Ramsgate, in 1970; and church dedications too are fully rendered: the Cathedral-Church of Christ in Liverpool in Honour of His Resurrection. Sir George Gilbert Scott is given the soubriquet 'Great' on p 49 and is invariably 'Great' Scott.' 'True Picturesque' (p 100) is introduced as a Pugin-derived category, but without providing it with real paternity; is it Pugin's phrase or Curl's gloss? The 30 pages of footnotes – *aperçus* rather than mere references – do much to throw light on the author: this is a public pulpit of his long-held views, and as weighty as the family bible, with double-column print over 562 pages. It is copiously illustrated and includes magnificent colour photography by Martin Charles, some of which

was first seen in Curl's *Book of Victorian churches* (Batsford, English Heritage, 1995), a book curiously omitted from the bibliography. Surprisingly, for a book by an architect, there are no plans.

Three introductory chapters (the first published in 1995, second dating from 1963) give a *longue-durée* view of Victorian architecture, through antiquarianism, founding myths for the Church of England, and eighteenth-century architecture. In the third chapter, 'The early Victorian period, 1837–51', not only Pugin's career but even William Butterfield's All Saints, Margaret Street (admittedly begun in 1849) is crowded. Another chapter deals with the non-Goths, and two other chapters with 'style' as sub-phases of the Gothic and Domestic revivals. Confusingly, further styles – the 'round-arch' styles, the 'rogue' styles, and the *Runbogenstil* lurk elsewhere. If style is not to be the key, then perhaps the use of new materials or model housing, both of which have chapters each, give the answer. Two other chapters and the epilogue deal with 'urbanism' of the sort developed by the *Survey of London*, on which the author was an editor (1970–3).

This structure does not make for easy reading, and negates chronology. For this author, the *clou* to the age is churches, and by that he means emphatically those of High Church Anglicanism, here called Anglo-Catholic. Their politics and ritualism occupy many pages (pp 16–30; 50–65; 334–6; 349–64; 387–92). The forte of the book is the weighty and detailed analysis of Anglican churches from Margaret Street (1849–59) to Liverpool's Anglican cathedral (began 1904). Curl has already laid out this position in his *Victorian churches* and his *Piety proclaimed* (2002) to which he now adds the insights of Anthony Symondson's, especially of his *Sir Ninian Comper* (2006). But quite how these beautiful churches were used, and what their 'mediaevalism' meant in practice, is not always easy to grasp. Ritualists (p 132) appealed to the authority of the so-called 'ornaments rubric' of the Book of Common Prayer of 1559 which stated that chancels should remain as 'in the second yere of the raygne of Kyng Edward the vi.' – ie, the 'Catholic' status-quo-ante of the 1549 prayer book. But which Victorian churches were designed to perform the first 'Anglican' liturgy of 1549? Curl complicates this by citing Pugin's mistaken suggestion (in *An apology*, 1843, p 25, and further perpetuated in his later *A treatise on chancel screens and rood lofts*, 1851, p 69) that this rubric had appeared in the earlier Prayer Books of 1549 or 1552. In any case, as Symondson has shown, advanced Victorian Anglicans culled their sources even from Counter-Reformation Catholic service books and manuals to justify their arcane practices. Curl illustrates a real piece of neo-medievalism, a drawing of a squint meant to be used as a squint by John Francis Bentley (pp 291–2) for a pair of back-to-back altars, through which, as the section shows, the priest on the visitors' side could position the monstrance for exposition on the nuns' side without disturbing their convent enclosure. Neither in the entry in his North Kensington *Survey of London*, (1973) volume on the now demolished Poor Clare Colettine Convent, Notting Hill, where these drawings were first published, nor in this book, does the author (who now owns them) make this clear.

What does this book hold for the Pugin Society reader? Analysis of Pugin's writings is dispersed (pp 61–3; 91–3) and his buildings are given only seven columns; there are no illustrations of any of his completed domestic or conventual buildings. Only three of his churches are photographed, and while Cheadle has one colour photograph, Butterfield's Margaret Street has four. St Augustine's, Ramsgate, merits 13 lines (and no illustration) while Margaret Street has 10 pages and provides the climax of the chapter 'Early Victorian'; it also reappears in the title of a later chapter ('Gothic ...after All Saints Margaret Street'). Making this church pivotal seems curiously dated; doing so is usually thought of as a mid-twentieth-century position and a canonisation of its role in what Pevsner called 'High Victorian' style – a position which Curl in fact dislikes. Butterfield's Coalpitheath vicarage – rather than Pugin's St Augustine's Grange – is similarly positioned in domestic architecture, just where Hitchcock left it in 1954. Curl was writing before Timothy Brittain-Catlin's *The English Parsonage in the early nineteenth century* (2008) and the Rosemary Hill's biography of the previous year, so there is no role here for a 'Great' Pugin. 'Roman Catholics' as the author terms them, do not much feature: he emphasises the singularity of a return to classicism by J.P. Sedding at Holy Redeemer (Anglican), Clerkenwell, (1887–95); and yet the ground-breaking Brompton Oratory (1878–84) is placed amongst the exotic non-Gothic styles in an also-ran position following the neo-Egyptian. And if the oratory is seen only as 'Roman Baroque', its many and complex sources are ignored; and its role, 10 years earlier than

Sedding's, in liberating church architecture from the Gothic Revival straitjacket is underestimated. Westminster Cathedral, a building which cries out for a plan, is better analysed, but represented by a mere two black and white photos. Whereas Richard Cromwell Carpenter, 'the Anglican Pugin', is named on six pages (pp 120–6); James Justin McCarthy, the 'Irish Pugin', appears only in the bibliography. Perhaps most dishearteningly for our Society's work, Edward Welby Pugin and Peter Paul appear nowhere.

Curl's writings make a singular contribution to Victorian studies, and, most unusually, he writes with an enthusiasm for both the Classical and the Gothic Revivals. This textbook will confirm his authority in the field for many years to come.

Into the next century

Aldo van Eyck: Writing. Volume 1: The child, the city and the artist; Volume 2: Collected articles and other writing. Edited by Vincent Ligtelijn and Francis Strauven. Amsterdam: Sun Publishers. ISBN 978 90 8506 262 2. €99,95

reviewed by Peter Blundell Jones

Shortly after the Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck (1918–1998) had died Giancarlo De Carlo remarked sadly that nobody seemed to have taken much notice; but this volume shows that his old friend is far from forgotten. Two dedicated Dutch historians have painstakingly assembled and edited his writings, adding introductions and notes to explain the circumstances of their production, and published them as two volumes in a handsome slip-case. The 236-page *The child, the city and the artist* is a whole book written by van Eyck in 1962 but left unpublished, while the 743-page *Collected articles and other writings* contains besides general theoretical texts his contributions to the journal *Forum*, the documents and correspondence connected with CIAM and Team Ten, and reviews of work by other architects, artists and writers. There are some descriptions of his own buildings with illustrations, but for the architecture readers should refer to Ligtelijn's earlier *Aldo van Eyck: works* (Birkhäuser, 1999).

If the new books concentrate on van Eyck the theorist, they also include a great deal of background history, which will make them a primary source for everyone working on van Eyck, Team Ten, post-war Holland, or architectural developments of the 1950s and 60s. The editing is deft and accurate, helpful notes are added, and astute and measured introductions answer crucial questions without interrupting the master's voice: it has evidently been a labour of love.

The book of 1962 shows how early van Eyck was on so many issues, and how sharp his criticism was of the way modernist architecture had developed. His ideas about the interdependence of city and house, the substitution of place and occasion for space and time, the lessons of the vernacular, and the reciprocal relation of part to whole are all already present, and remain equally pertinent today. Less familiar and therefore now more striking are the sections

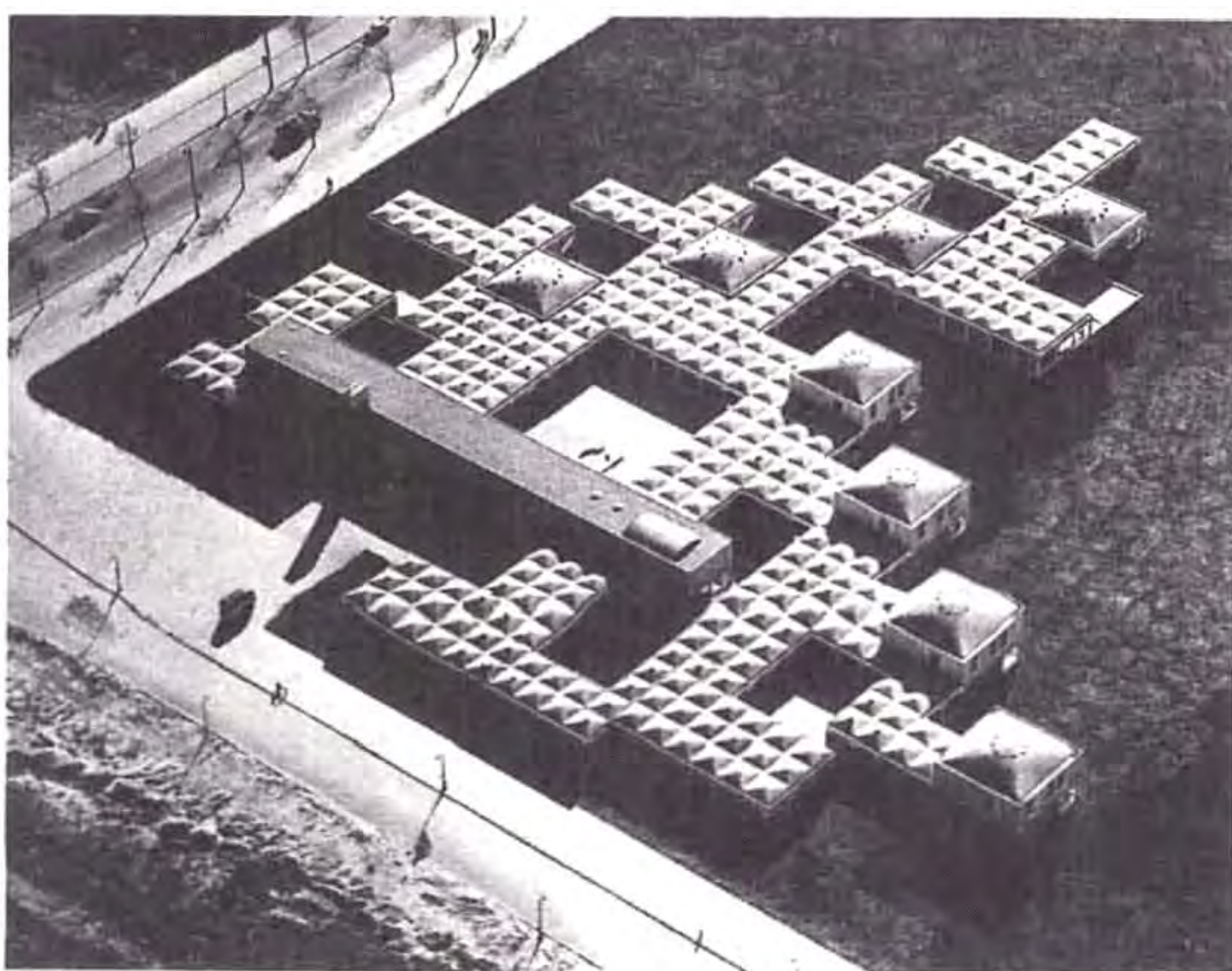


Figure 73: Orphanage, Amsterdam, by Aldo van Eyck (1959)
Aldo van Eyck

on time and duration which, drawing on the French philosopher Henri Bergson, illustrate the ubiquitous roles of memory and anticipation in dealing with the world, and therefore stress the need to engage the temporal dimension. The larger volume is too overloaded with gems to describe and repays much dipping, but there is also an index to help you find your way around. Often lively and outspoken, if at times also preachy and repetitive, van Eyck's writing conveys both his humour and humanity, and if you want to hear his actual voice, a CD of a lecture from 1967 is tucked in at the back. That both disc and book are in English is a reminder of van Eyck's British education, and of the

great ease with which he traversed four or five languages along with the cultures that went with them. He was a key Dutch figure but also a great European.

An Irish garland

Studies in the Gothic Revival. Edited by Michael McCarthy and Karina O'Neill. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008. ISBN 978-1-84682-022-9. RRP €49.50

reviewed by Peter Howell

It is surely very unusual for a scholar to edit his own festschrift. The ten papers in this book were given at a conference held at the Irish Architectural Archive in 2005 to mark the retirement of Michael McCarthy as professor of the history of art at University College, Dublin; the subject was chosen because McCarthy's principal work is *The origins of the Gothic Revival* (Yale UP, 1987). The authors of this new book were his 'collaborators or colleagues' in Canada and in Dublin – some of them his former research students.

The only essay directly concerned with A.W.N. Pugin is Barry O'Leary's 'Richard Pierce, architect and acolyte of the Gothic Revival'. Pierce is first recorded as builder, in 1825–6, and 'possibly the architect', of a church at Bunclody, Co Wexford. He certainly designed a new wing for St Peter's College, Wexford, completed in 1837. Its two-storey front is interrupted by a tower that is disproportionately large, and very crude. Attached to the building is the chapel by Pugin, designed in 1838, who made his first visit to Ireland for the laying of the foundation stone in the next year. Construction was supervised by Pierce, and he was to act in the same capacity for Pugin's churches at Gorey, Barntown, Taggart, Enniscorthy and Killarney, and at St Patrick's College, Maynooth. O'Leary gives Pierce credit for much of the quality of these buildings, praised by Phoebe Stanton. He does not refer to Pugin's letter to Pierce of 22 June 1839, published by Margaret Belcher in 2001; on the other hand he does quote from a letter from Pugin to Fr O'Sullivan of 29 June 1840, previously published in 1984, and from a letter from Pugin to J.H. Talbot of May 1842, previously published in 1984 and in 1996 (where O'Donnell dates it to April 1843), neither of which is included by Belcher. In the 1840 letter Pugin writes that he will not undertake the design of Killarney cathedral unless Pierce supervises the building.

Maynooth was Pierce's last job for Pugin. O'Leary thinks this was because of his decision to practise independently as an architect. His most celebrated works were the twin churches of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption in Wexford, begun in 1851 as an identical pair at the insistence of the bishop to avoid 'jealousy and unpleasant comparisons among the townspeople'. Their superiority to Pierce's work at St Peter's College shows how much he had learned from Pugin. Glass and painted decoration were by Thomas Earley; O'Leary oddly writes as if there were two men of the same name. On the other hand, he takes pains to distinguish the career of a younger Richard Pierce, also builder and architect of Gothic churches, and possibly the elder man's nephew.

The other papers are a curiously mixed lot. Much the longest is Frederick O'Dwyer's sleuth-like reconstruction of the career of Christopher Myers (1717–89), holder of various public offices, who is revealed here as designer of a number of minimally Gothic churches and other buildings, not without charm, of which the most important is Moore Abbey, Kildare. Megan Aldrich gives a foretaste of her forthcoming book on Thomas Rickman in her account of his big Gothic house Lough Fea, Co Monaghan, designed in 1825 (with Henry Hutchinson), for E.J. Shirley of Ettington Park, Warwickshire. It is strange that she refers to Geoffrey Tyack's 1989 article on Warwickshire country houses, but not to his book of 1994. She too misspells John Prichard, the name of the architect who remodelled Ettington for Shirley, and suggests that he might have been related to T.F. Pritchard. Odder is her reference to Michael Port's 'definitive book' *Six hundred churches* of 1961, rather than to its much amplified and revised edition of 2006.

The other contributors are Joseph McDonnell on fan vaulting, in particular that of John Semple's idiosyncratic Monkstown parish church (1821–31); Desmond Guinness on 'Batty Langley in Ireland'; Andrew Tierney on the mid-eighteenth-century gothickisation of Leap Castle, Co Offaly; Barbara Arciszewska on 'Neo-Gothic residences in Poland and the English pattern books' (her colossal footnotes crammed with Polish titles); Lynda Mulvin on the Sligo assizes courthouse, a jolly high Victorian Gothic building of 1876–9 by James Rawson Carroll

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

Mary Blackburn, H.M.B. Busfield, Greta Cerasale, Gary Codd, Mary Hayes, Kay Horne, Jamie Jacobs, Pat Kinsella, Paula Heisman, Loretta Hurley, Joanna Lyall, Rev Thomas McGlynn, Anne Miglorine, Joseph Mirwitch, Rev John Pascoe, Laurence Cunningham & Canon Jeremy Pemberton, P. Pryse, Laura Sandys, The Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, Lindsay Schusman, Rosemary Schwoebel, Janet Smith, Royden Stock, David Thomas, Dr Corinna Wagner, Elizabeth Williamson & Malcolm Higgs and Stephen Wise.

All members are reminded that back numbers of *True principles* are available for purchase. Please contact the Editor on tjb33@kent.ac.uk for details.

Contributors to this number

Peter Blundell Jones is professor of architecture at the University of Sheffield, and the author of many books on European architecture including monographs on Hans Scharoun, Hugo Häring, Gunnar Asplund and Peter Hübner.

Michael Fisher is the author of several definitive books on the Gothic Revival in Staffordshire. His most recent work is *Hardman of Birmingham: goldsmith and glasspainter*.

Robin Fleet is a graduate of University of St Andrews and 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.

A.O.M. Gordon studied architecture at the University of Cambridge and developed an interest in the Gothic Revival in Ireland, having lived there for 10 years. She graduated in 2008 and currently lives in Norfolk.

Peter Howell is a former chairman of the Victorian Society and has a particular interest in church architecture.

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

Jack Kleinot is the Society's Hon Membership Secretary. He has been pursuing an interest in the Pugin family since his retirement.

A.J.C. (Wies) van Leeuwen has a doctorate in the history of art. He is former chairman of the Cuypersgenootschap (www.cuypersgenootschap.nl), the Dutch equivalent of The Victorian Society. He publishes on art theory, restoration and cultural heritage, Gothic revival architecture and art. He wrote about Pierre Cuypers as a restorer of historical monuments (1995). He also published the biography *Pierre Cuypers architect 1827–1921* (2007). He works as a civil servant at the Provincie of Noord-Brabant.

David Meara, the rector of St Bride's, Fleet Street, is the author of several definitive books on memorial brasses. His latest book, *Modern memorial brasses 1880–2001*, is reviewed in this number.

Roderick McDonagh O'Donnell was the Nationalist and Catholic cicerone on the Society's annual tour of Ireland. He is writing up the E.W. Pugin work at Belmont for its 150th anniversary, and the Pugin and Dunn & Hansom involvement with the abbey church for Downside's 400th anniversary, both for books to be published in 2010.

Anthony Ossa-Richardson is a doctoral candidate at the Warburg Institute, London. He officially works on the historiography of the ancient oracles, 1500–1800, but his interests extend in most of the usual directions: art, literature, philosophy, datestones.

Gerard Purnell is a committee member of the South Wales group of the Victorian Society, and his interest in J.J. Scoles stems from having been a parishioner of St Mary's, Newport.

Andrew Rudd teaches English Literature at the Open University in London. He holds a PhD from Trinity College, Cambridge.

Andrew Saint is the general editor of the Survey of London.

Joseph Sharples was formerly a curator at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. He wrote the *Pevsner architectural guide* to Liverpool (Yale University Press, 2004), and is currently a Leverhulme Research Fellow at the University of Aberdeen, writing on that city for the *Buildings of Scotland* series.

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

To join The Pugin Society, please contact the
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