

# True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol iv no iv Spring 2014

Double Issue 2013–2014

Brian Andrews:  
A House for Bishop Willson

CATRIONA BLAKER • GRAHAM BOOTH • ALEX BREMNER • HELEN CAFFREY  
JAMES STEVENS CURL • JONATHAN GLANCEY • MARY GRYSPEEDT  
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## Editor's news

It is a great privilege to be editing this issue of the journal, and I hope you will find it of interest. The delays with journal production were due to limited availability of editorial time, as Tim was overly busy since the last issue came out. I volunteered to help, to keep the TP flag flying, but also had the second part of our bicentenary newsletter to produce in 2013. This late issue of our journal has, therefore, become a double edition for 2013–14.

I am delighted to be able to announce the recent appointment of our new editor, David Lewis, and a short biography has been included at the end of this issue. We hope to resume a six-monthly distribution schedule, with *True Principles* coming out in the spring, and *Present State* in the autumn. In the past, delays have occurred when insufficient materials have arrived in time to meet production deadlines. Articles for both publications are always welcome but not necessarily forthcoming without gentle nudges, so your support on this matter would be greatly appreciated.

### The Pugin Society's new website

The Society's new website was launched in the autumn, and the old site will be closed soon. The 'Paypal' facility is now available to pay membership subscriptions online, and can also be used in the Pugin shop to purchase books, and back copies of *True Principles*. Interesting enquiries about Pugin continue to come in via the website, and it is good to see such interest from members of the general public. If you haven't yet seen the new website, please take a look, the address is given below. You might even like to consider visiting our online Pugin chat room, and exchange views and news with others, in an informal setting:

<http://www.thepuginsociety.co.uk>

### News from Cheadle

The committee has recently been informed that the Cheadle visitor centre remains open, is currently being run by a team of volunteers, and is open to the public for three days a week. It has been renamed *Cheadle Discovery and Visitor Centre*, with a wider remit than in 2012, and a trust has been set up to run it. One of the rooms at the Centre is dedicated to the work of Pugin and Hardman, with a rolling programme of small exhibitions. Neil Phillips (of the Pugin, Hardman and Powell company), and Michael Fisher are supporting the volunteers. The current display is on *American Gothic*, and shows how the Gothic movement crossed the Atlantic and, also, how *American Gothic* remained true, or otherwise, to Pugin's 'Principles'. The next display will be on *Australian Gothic*, and is planned for later this year. More information can be obtained from the Centre's website:

<http://www.discovercheadle.co.uk>

### Afternoon Tea in the Palace of Westminster

This service was launched in 2013 for the general public and has proved so successful that it is continuing in 2014. Another new facility, launched on 8th March 2014, is for audio guided tours. Further details can be obtained from the website:

<http://www.parliament.uk/visiting/>



# A House for Bishop Willson

by Brian Andrews

The close friendship between Robert William Willson (1794–1866), first Catholic Bishop of Hobart Town, and A.W.N. Pugin was a particularly fruitful one. In 1859, writing to Dean John Fitzpatrick, a Melbourne Catholic clerical colleague, Willson recalled Pugin's reaction some seventeen years earlier upon hearing the news of his appointment to the nascent Hobart Town diocese: 'Poor Pugin ... rubbed his hands, and smiling, said with great energy: "only think, the right thing will find its way at the antipodes"'<sup>1</sup> When Willson was preparing to depart England for Hobart early in 1844 Pugin wrote to his munificent benefactor the Earl of Shrewsbury:

Bishop Willson has gone down to Plymouth to join his ship. he takes out a great deal with him. 40 Large chasubles!!! Several tombs 2 altars compleat, fonts &c. & 3 *models of small churches* all to take to pieces with the roofs &c framed. simple buildings that can be easily erected. It is quite delightful to start in the good style at the antipodes. It is quite an honour.<sup>2</sup>

Willson more fully described Pugin's contribution when addressing a meeting of his clergy in Hobart on 23 October 1844:

Knowing that I was coming ... to a *new country* where Church furniture *could not be produced*, I determined upon making the greatest exertion and obtain whatever might be useful, or rather requisite for the service of AG. I therefore procured not less than 40 sets of vestments—linen of every description for several churches—such as albs, surplices, amices, Altar cloths, Chalice linen etc. common cloths ... Crosses, Chalices, Ciboriums, Pixes, holy oils stocks ... a portable Altar for use of the Bp when travelling—and in order to introduce the proper church style in this distant land, I also procured a font rightly constructed and fitted which will serve as a model for all other churches, also stone picinas, stone crosses, models of churches constructed on proper scales all by the great restorer of Church architecture and church furniture Mr. Pugin, together with a variety of things which I hope will tend & promote God's glory and your salvation.<sup>3</sup>

And he added that this had been achieved through the 'zeal talent and *unpaid* [author's emphasis] exertions of Mr. Pugin'.<sup>4</sup>

The three church models, which took forty-eight days to construct, and the pattern stone carvings, including gable crosses, sacrariums and holy water stoups, had all been made by craftsmen in the employ of George Myers, Pugin's favoured builder.<sup>5</sup> This means of furnishing the information to build churches in Tasmania in lieu of the usual plans was a consequence of Willson's understanding that the requisite skills to read and interpret architectural drawings were lacking there, thus obliging Pugin

1 Willson to Fitzpatrick, Shrove Tuesday [1859], Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

2 A.W.N. Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, 30.1.1844: Belcher 2003, p 161.

3 Draft of a speech by Bishop Willson on 'the state of church temporalities', given to a meeting of the clergy and others, Hobart, 23.10.1844, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives, Willson Papers, CA.6/WIL.12.

4 *Idem*.

5 Details of the items planned for Tasmania and of their costs are given in a document entitled 'Dr Willson things for Hobart Town Vandemansland', prepared by Pugin and Myers, Myers Family Trust.



to solve the problem in a manner which would be unique in his career. Willson's belief was more than likely the result of conversations with Fr (later Archbishop) William Bernard Ullathorne OSB in 1842. Ullathorne's view of Tasmania dated from visits there in the early 1830s and it was a rather bleak one, as evidenced from the dismissive tone about it in his memoirs.<sup>6</sup>

On 25 January 1847 Willson arrived back in England armed with almost three years' experience of life in Tasmania, including the nature of its climate and the sophistication of its colonial architecture, the latter proof that builders and artisans there were perfectly capable of reading conventional architectural drawings. His visit to Europe was 'for the purpose of procuring more priests for his Diocese, and of promoting at head-quarters the cause of the free and bond in the island'.<sup>7</sup> Towards the end of his time away Willson travelled down to Pugin in Ramsgate. On 14 November 1847 Pugin wrote to John Hardman setting out a long list of items which he intended to provide for Willson. He started the letter with the news that: 'Bishop Willson is here & is much delighted with all here. I am very anxious about his



Figure 175: A detail of the chancel east window, St Alphonsus, Barntown, Wexford  
*photographed by the author*

Diocese—he is so anxious to do all right ...', and concluded it by telling Hardman that: 'I am very anxious to establish a regular correspondence with Bishop Willson—so as to keep him supplied with such things as he may require.'<sup>8</sup> Writing again to Hardman the following day he finished with the exhortation: 'think of everything

6 See, for example, Ullathorne's description of the only Catholic chapel on the island in 1833, in Madigan, pp 67–8.

7 Kelsh 1882, p 54.

8 AWN Pugin to John Hardman, 14.11.1847: Belcher 2009, pp 310–11.



you can for Bishop Willson. it is a good work in which he is engaed.’<sup>9</sup> On 16 November Pugin wrote to Hardman with further thoughts on Willson: ‘I have a great mind to give him the annunciation in glass we were going to send to Barn town & make another—but even in that case I should like the *heads* repainted. what do you say to this?’<sup>10</sup> Two days later Pugin again wrote to him, saying: ‘I will give him the glass—so repaint the heads—it will be considered a treasure over there.’<sup>11</sup> The Annunciation lights sent to Barntown in 1847 were similar to those sent instead to Hobart, but not identical [figure 175].

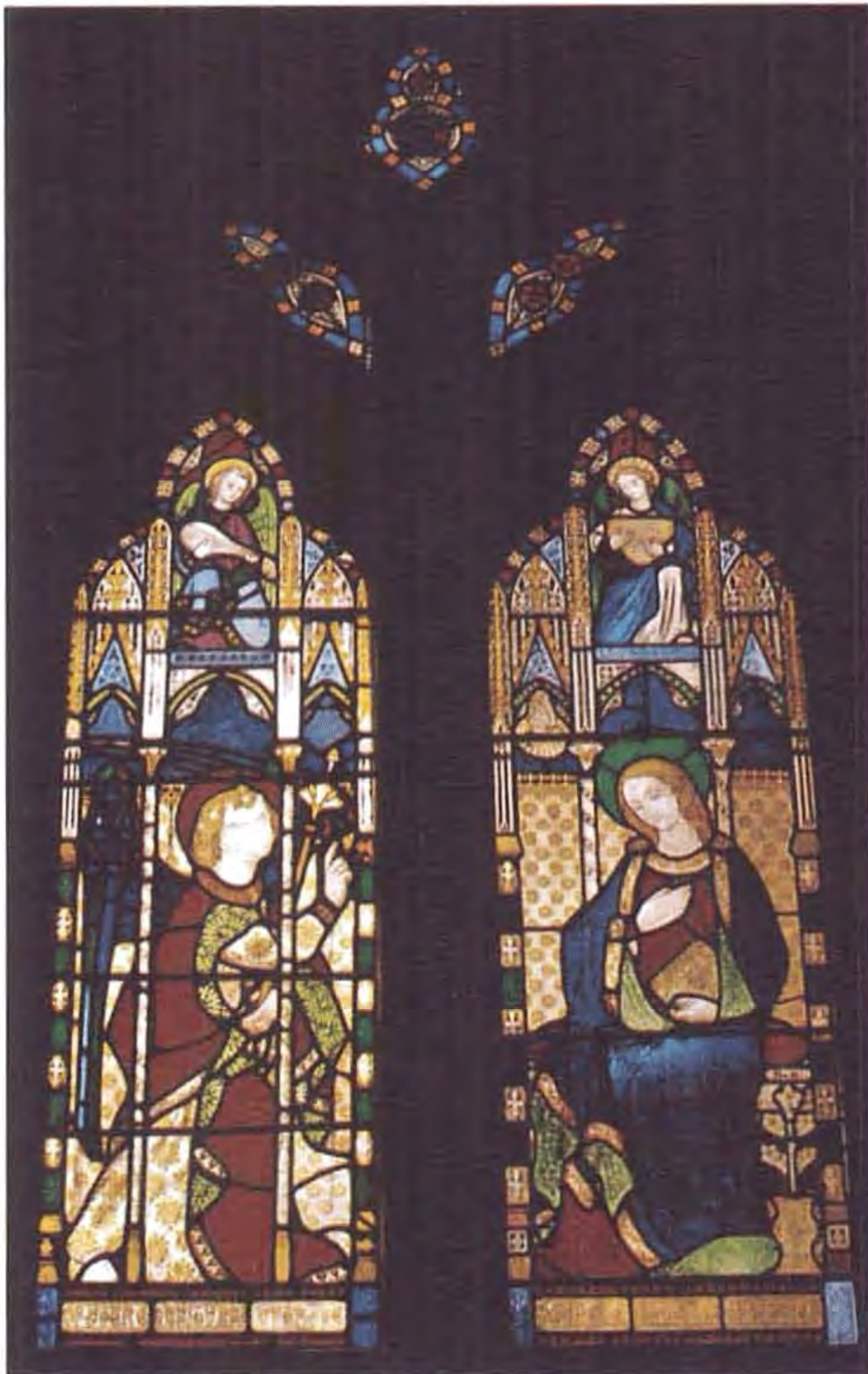


Figure 176: The Annunciation window, Ushaw College Chapel, Durham  
*photographed by the author*

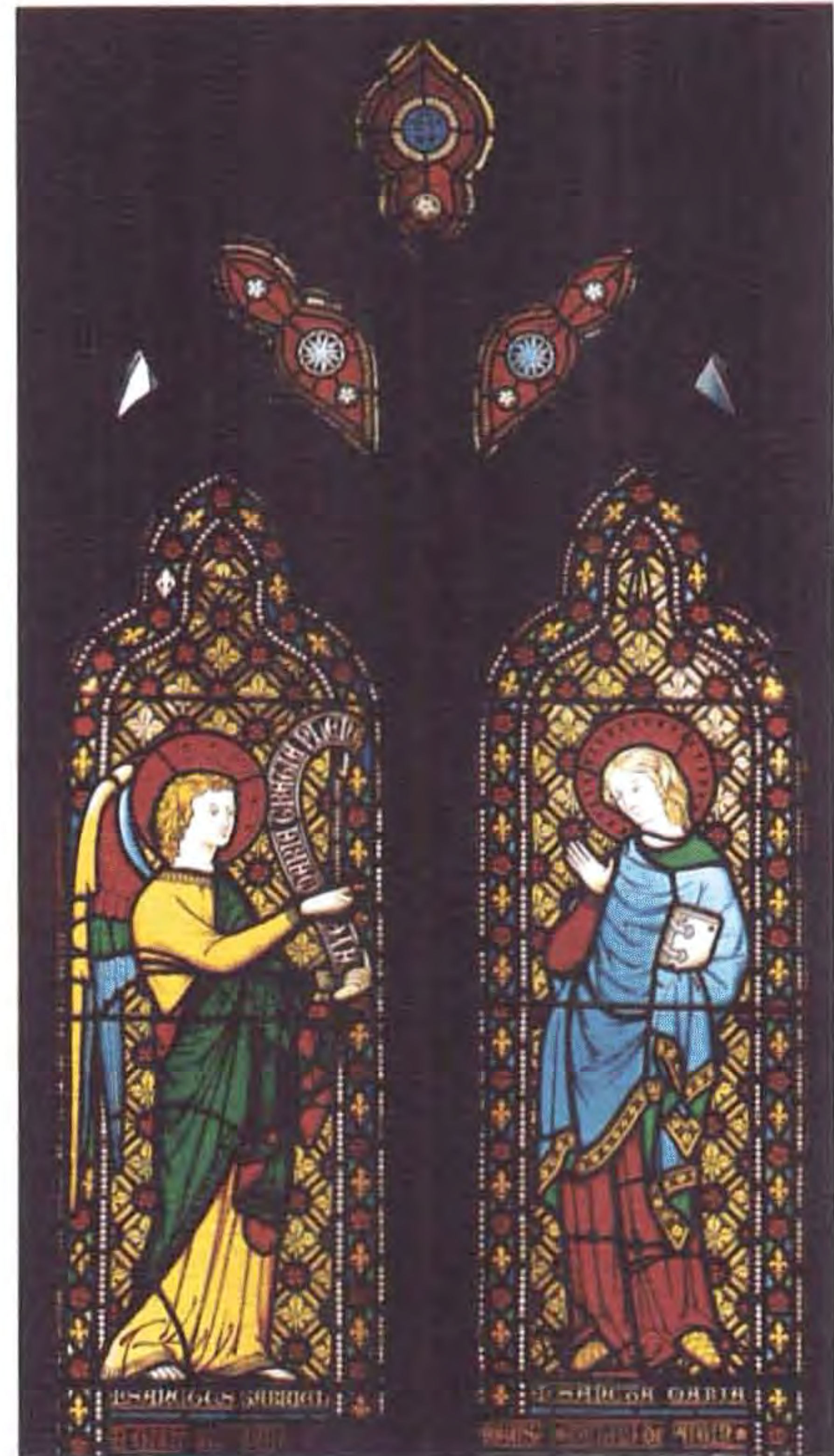


Figure 177: The Annunciation window, St Joseph, Hobart, Tasmania  
*private collection*

On 10 December Pugin again wrote to Hardman regarding the window for Willson: ‘I want the size of the window that was done for ushaw which I have given to Bishop Willson—as Myers is to make a stone window to put it in & I think there should be a bit of tracery for the top.’<sup>12</sup> He included a thumbnail sketch of the tracery in the letter. The building referred to was St Cuthbert’s College Chapel, Ushaw, which Pugin had designed, and the window was a south window in the Lady Chapel [figure 176].

9 AWN Pugin to John Hardman, 15.11.1847: Belcher 2009, p 313.

10 AWN Pugin to John Hardman, 16.11.1847: Belcher 2009, p 314.

11 AWN Pugin to John Hardman, 18.11.1847: Belcher 2009, p 315.

12 AWN Pugin to John Hardman, 10.12.1847: Belcher 2009, p 333.



Three days later Pugin was able to inform Hardman: 'I send you the tracery for Dr Willsons window, you will do it in no time.'<sup>13</sup> And so it was.<sup>14</sup> The Annunciation glass and Myers' stone window setting, along with vestments, carved stonework, church metalwork, brass rubbings, stencils and much more, were carried on the same vessel as Willson, departing England on 9 January 1848 and arriving in Hobart Town just over fourteen weeks later on 19 April. This two-light window had a unique entreaty across its base: '*Orate pro bono statu Augusti Welby de Pugin*' (Pray for the good estate of Augustus Welby de Pugin), and Pugin intended that this entreaty would literally be before Willson's eyes each day for the rest of his life [**figure 177**].

Pugin's intentions for the Annunciation window were spelled out in a set of plans with an accompanying letter which he sent to Willson towards the end of December 1847.<sup>15</sup> The first part of that letter reads as follows:

My dear Lord Bishop

I send you the working drawings of the house & church.

I think you will find it perfectly convenient & suitable for your purpose. I have kept tracings of the drawings so as to be able to send you the fixtures for doors locks hinges &c.

I am very anxious to have this sort of church adopted which I send you. it will be very useful & not costly. & as your Lordship takes out parts worked by Myers of my Patern. I fully expect it will be easily erected. I have referred to the different parts worked by writing on the drawing.

- Mr. Hardman will send up the stained glass window & I have introduced it in the *oratory* in the house – there will be folding doors opening into it from the upper corridor so many persons would have access there if necessary I have also made a door opening from your Lordships bed Room into the oratory. which will be both a comfort & convenience. I hope and trust to get up to town & see your Lordship before you sail. & I would explain everything more perfectly but the drawings are very clear & I have taken great pains with them.<sup>16</sup>

The church plans mentioned in the letter have not as yet come to light, but the complete set of six sheets of drawings for Bishop Willson's house have passed through eight hands in the 165 years since they left Pugin, miraculously surviving with all their associated documentation, and are now in the preliminary stages of conservation at the Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office. Their remarkable provenance trail is set out at the end of this article.

Four of the sheets are labelled 'Bishops House', one is labelled '+ Bishops house' and one is unlabelled. All have the familiar '+ AWPugin' monogram/signature over the date '1847' in the lower right-hand corner. On sheets measuring 325mm by 530mm the designs are executed in pencil and pen with some wash as follows, the sheet titles being Pugin's:

13 AWN Pugin to John Hardman, 13.12.1847: Belcher 2009, p 345.

14 Birmingham City Archive, Hardman Archive, Glass Day Book 1845–54, Hobart Town, 1845–21: 'Bishop Willson Dec 13 [1847] A window for church of 2 lights with figures 3 small tracery pieces'. The only price recorded is 5/- for the case and packing.

15 Copies of the plans, letter and supporting provenance documentation were supplied to me by Peter Cheney, custodian of the material for around forty years. He kindly gave permission for their publication.

16 AWN Pugin to Bishop Willson, [late] 1847, Peter Cheney.



- 'front Elevation towards East' [figure 178]
- 'Plan of Ground floor' [figure 179]
- 'Plan of upper story' [figure 180]
- 'plan of attics & roofs' [figure 181]
- No title, sections and details [figure 182]
- No title, sections and details [figure 183]

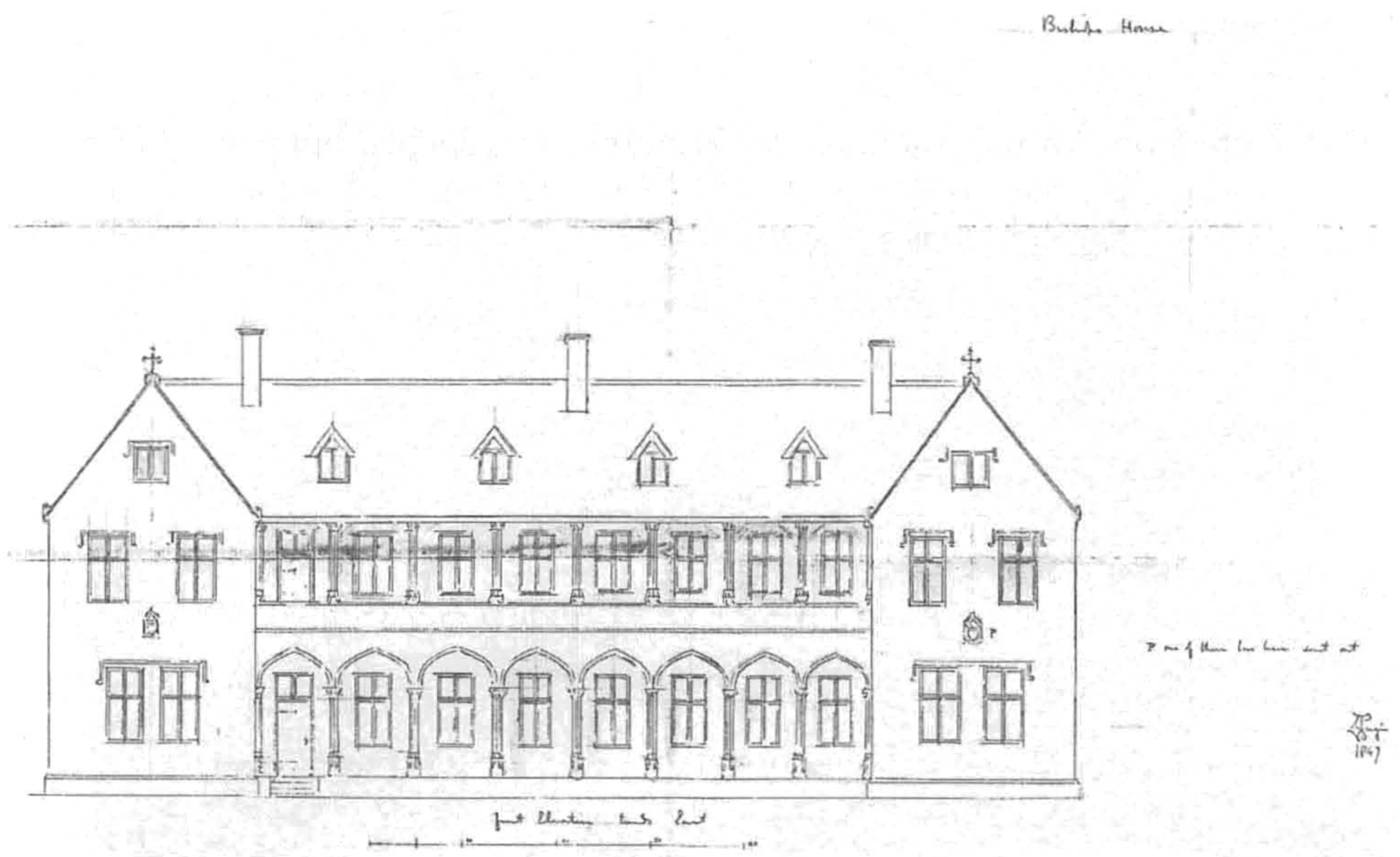


Figure 178: The Willson house, front elevation  
courtesy of Peter Cheney

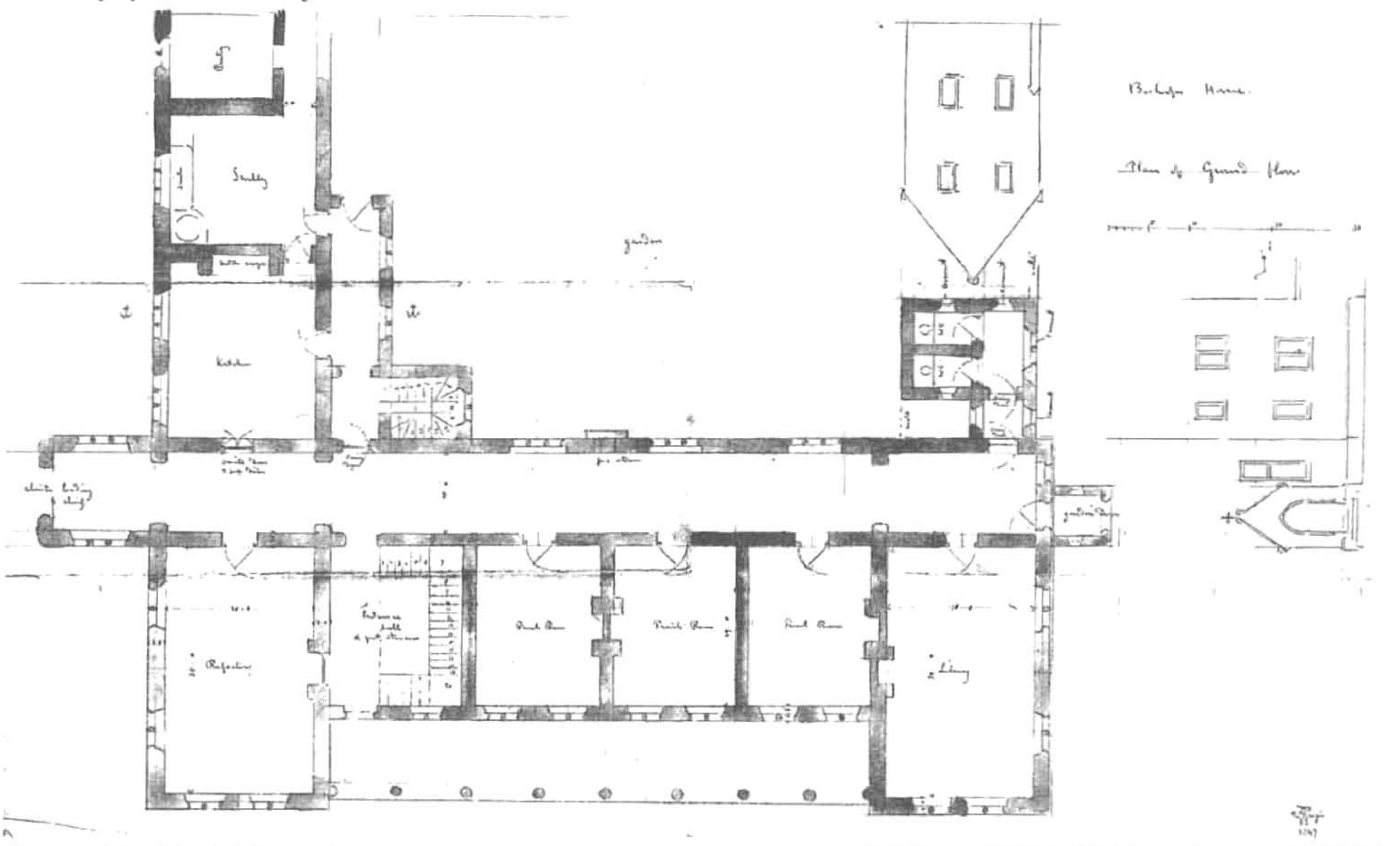


Figure 179: The Willson house, ground plan  
courtesy of Peter Cheney



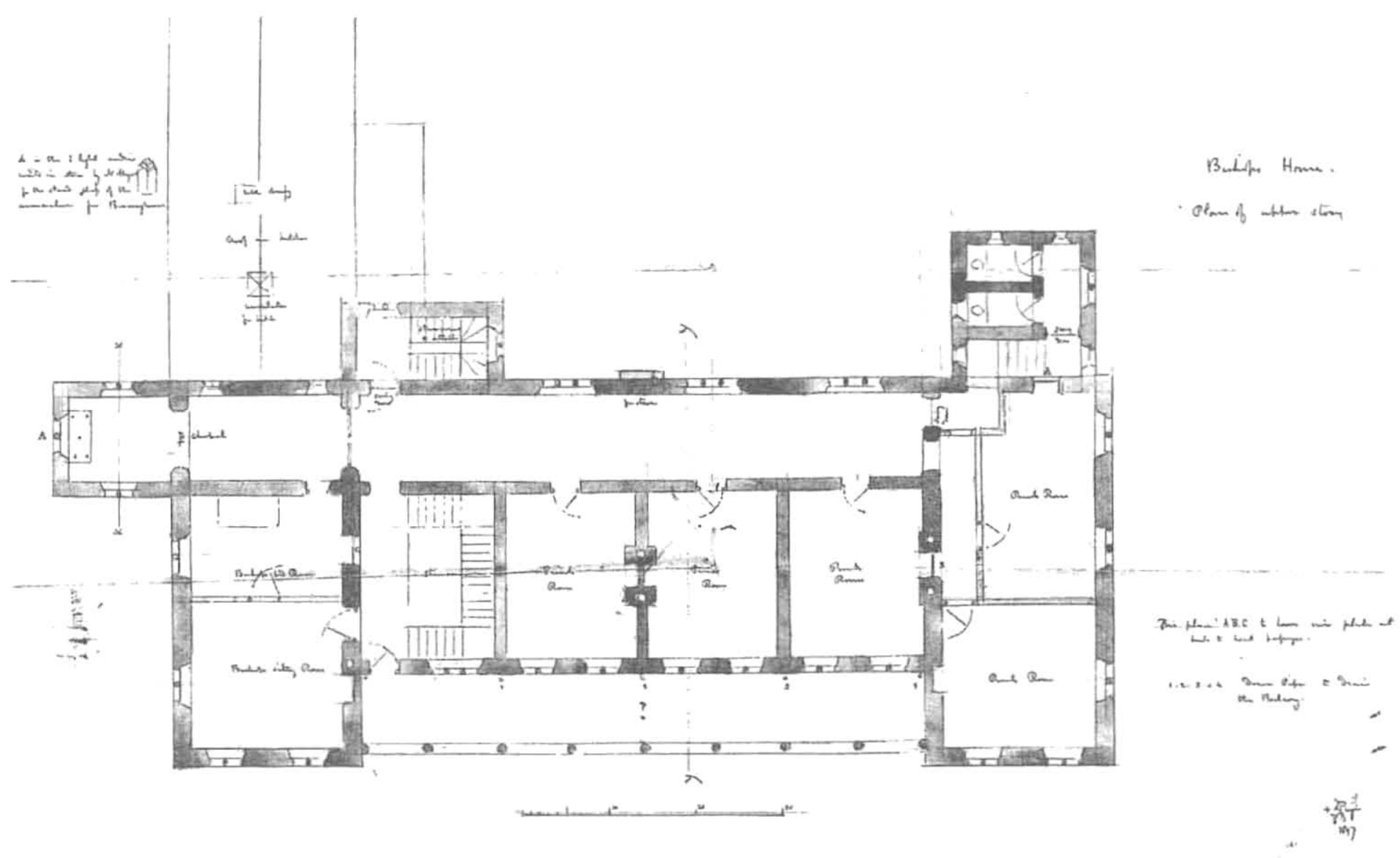


Figure 180: The Willson house, first floor plan  
courtesy of Peter Cheney

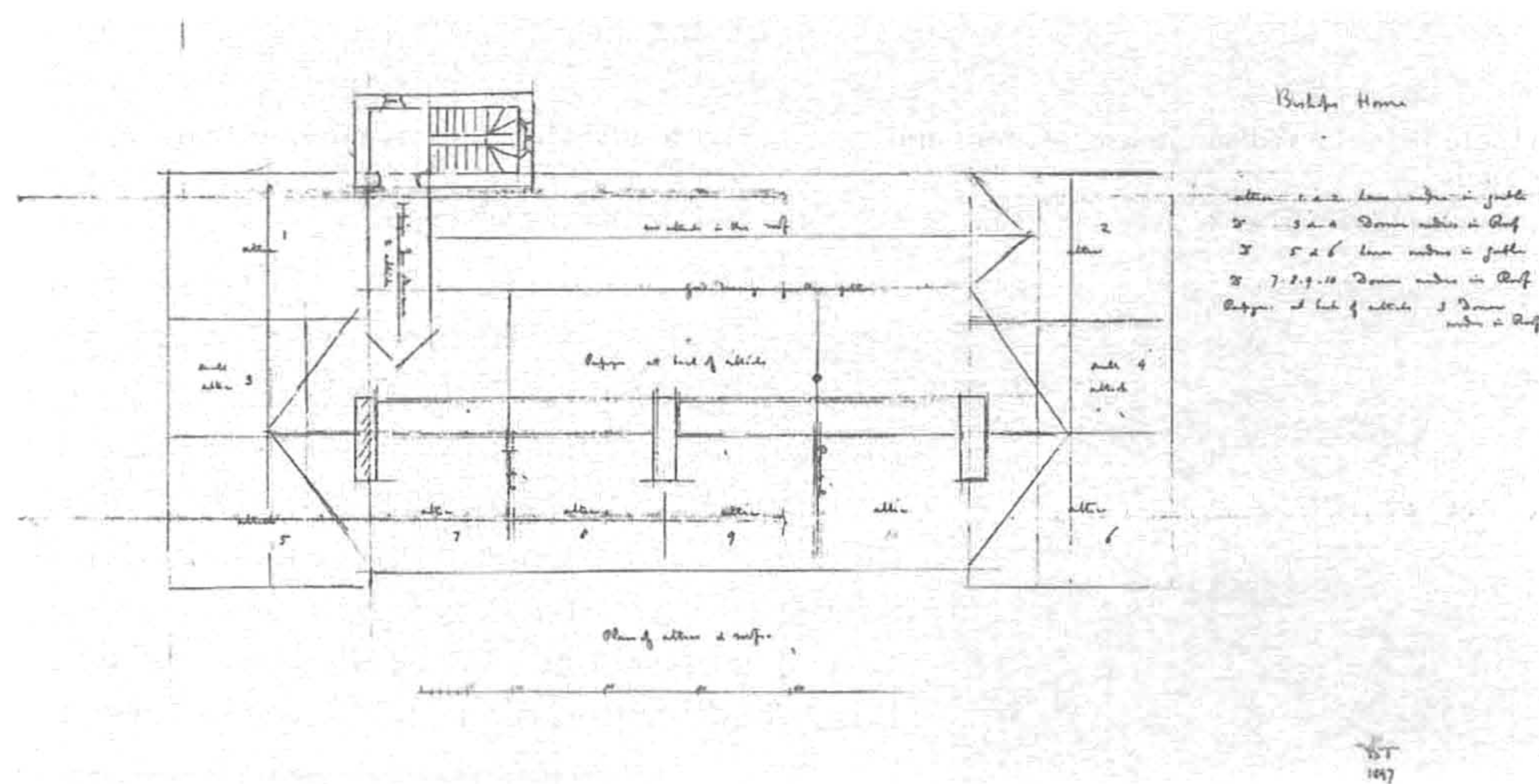


Figure 181: The Willson house, roof plan  
courtesy of Peter Cheney

One is immediately struck by the near-complete symmetry of the façade, the only exception being the entrance door at the left-hand end of the central section. It is clear from the plans of the ground and first floors that this location would give Bishop Willson the most direct access to his living quarters. But the most significant aspect of this composition was Pugin’s insertion of verandahs – or, as he labelled them, an ‘open gallery’ over an ‘open cloister’ – between the projecting gabled end elements. There is, to the author’s knowledge, no other instance where he designed verandahs,



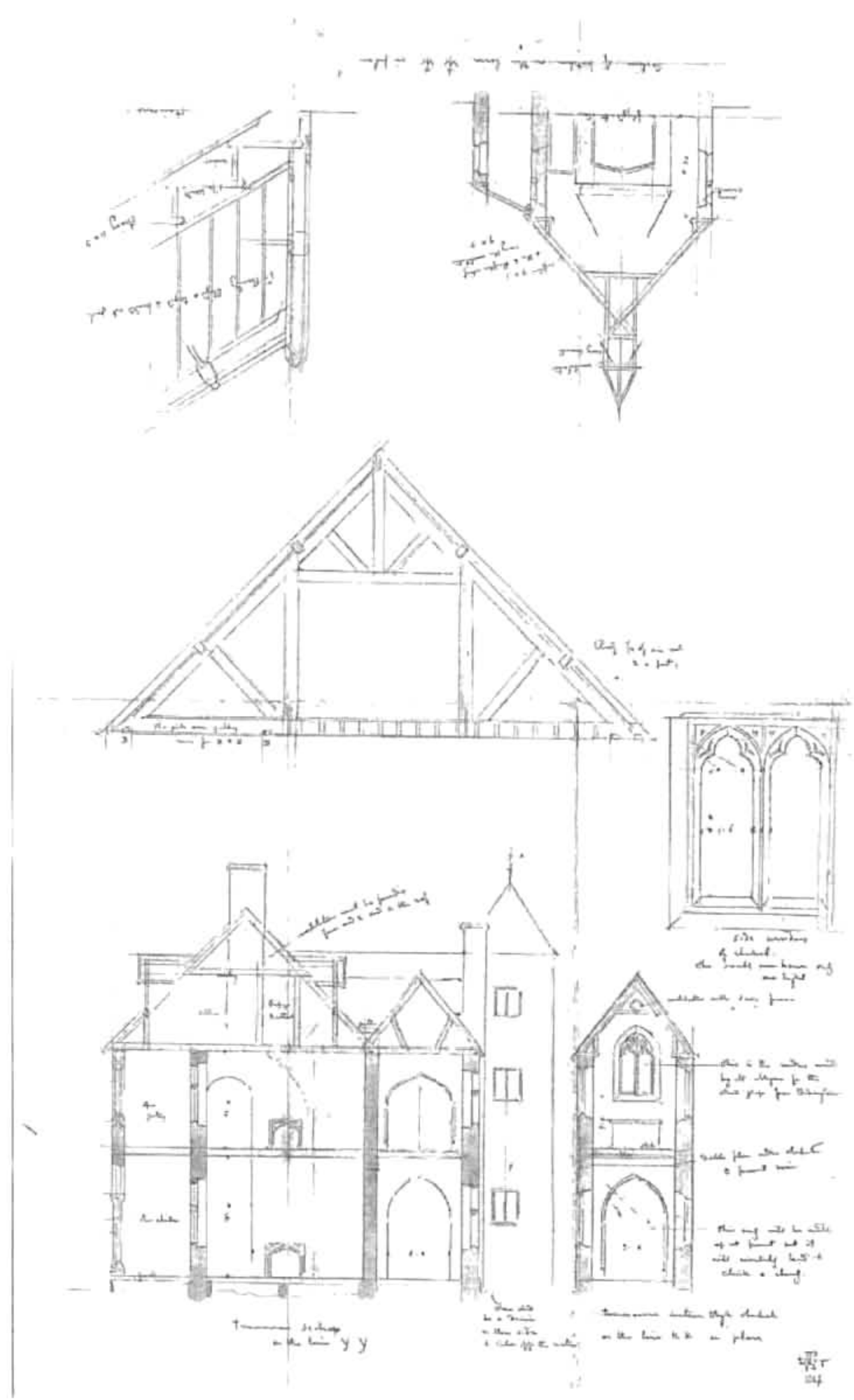


Figure 182: The Willson house, sections and details  
*courtesy of Peter Cheney*

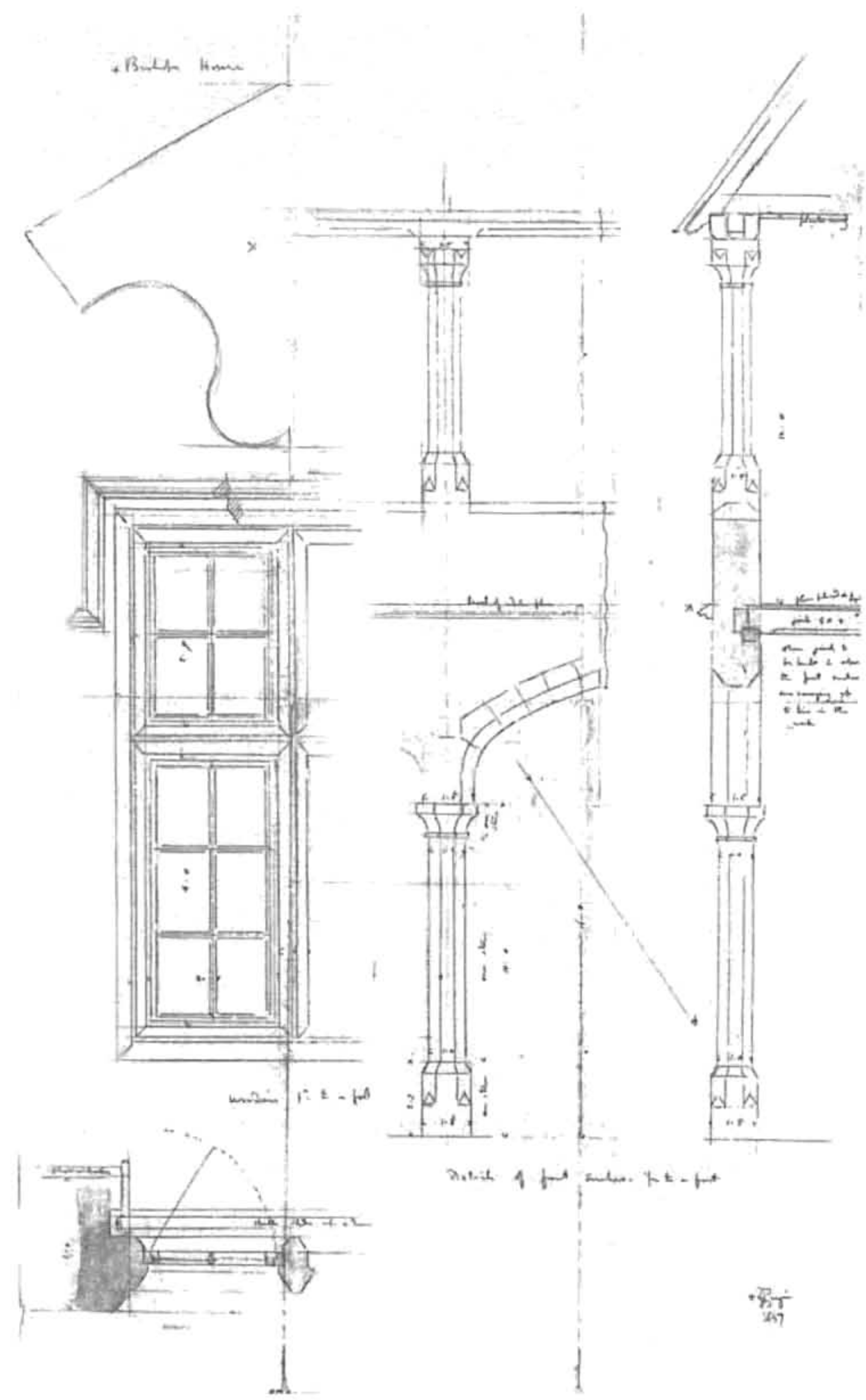


Figure 183: The Willson house, sections and details  
*courtesy of Peter Cheney*



Figure 184: Bishop Walsh's mitre and shield carving, Nottingham Cathedral presbytery  
*courtesy of Nicholas Callinan*

indeed 'there is some evidence that he disapproved of them'.<sup>17</sup> The most likely reason for their inclusion is that 'he must have had quite precise instructions from Willson',<sup>18</sup> and that must surely have been the result of his friend's three-years' experience of the Tasmanian climate. At the centres of the gabled ends were inset carved stone elements labelled 'P' for which Pugin had written the note, 'P one of these has been sent out [to Hobart]'. This referred to a pattern stone-carving produced by Myers' men, similar to one comprising a mitre over a monogrammed shield which he had designed for the façade of the Nottingham house abutting his St Barnabas' Church (later Cathedral) for Bishop Walsh, Vicar Apostolic of the Central District [figure 184]. The detail to the plain façade was very

17 Private communication from Timothy Brittain-Catlin.  
18 I am indebted to Sandra Wedgwood for this observation.



late, with four-centred arches to the ground floor veranda and square-headed inwards-opening casement windows with mullions and transoms, dripstones being only applied to those windows directly exposed to the weather, and hence not for decorative effect. In the roof space were no less than ten attics.

The ground plan did not adhere to the façade's symmetry, being dictated by a thoughtful disposition of the functional elements. Its spine was a broad transverse corridor at the rear of the principal rooms. The refectory occupied the long left-hand room, its fireplace having an iron back giving directly onto the 'Entrance hall & great staircase'. Pugin followed this practice throughout the house for spaces without fireplaces, explaining it in a note on the first-floor plan: 'Fire place A B C to have iron plates at back to heat passages'. For the same reason he made provision 'for a stove' midway along the ground and first-floor corridors. Pugin's practical concern for warming stone houses was recalled in later years by John Hardman Powell when, in describing the oratory in *The Grange*, he mentioned 'a small stove always burning in cold weather' and Pugin's reason: "'most people pray better when warm'".<sup>19</sup> Across the corridor from the refectory lay a single-storey range comprising kitchen, scullery and pantry with two 'small doors to pass dishes' to and from the kitchen. Access to these areas was via a pent-roof passage on their right flank, reached through a swing door and the ground floor of a stairwell reaching up to the attic spaces in the roof. This latter was set in a rectangular tower with pyramidal roof, the main vertical element in the house's composition. The central section of the ground floor had three priests' rooms and the long right-hand room was the library. Opening off the corridor at this end, and thus furthest from the kitchen, was a gabled two-storey projection entered via swing doors and housing two WCs on each level. The right-hand end of the corridor was accessible from outside via a gabled porch labelled 'garden door' while the left-hand end abutted the first bay of a projected 'cloister leading to church'. Pugin noted on a sectional elevation on another sheet that: 'This arch [opening onto the cloister] will be walled up at present but it will eventually lead to cloister & church'.

On the first floor were five priests' rooms and Bishop Willson's suite comprising 'Bishops sitting Room', 'Bishops bed Room' and 'Chapel'. The sitting room was entered via a door opening off the first-floor stair landing, conveniently adjacent to a door giving onto the verandah. The chapel, situated above the left-hand end of the ground floor corridor, was closed off from the upper corridor by folding doors so that, as Pugin described in his accompanying letter, 'many persons would have access there if necessary'. The letter 'A' beside the chapel east window referred to a note on this sheet: 'A is the 2 light window worked in stone by Mr Myers for the stained glass of the annunciation from Birmingham', just as described in the letter, and there was a thumbnail sketch of the window's elevation. Pugin's aforementioned entreaty was thus a little above eye level and Willson would face it every day as he celebrated his mass. Further proof of Pugin's thoughtful planning can be seen in a note beside the sectional elevation of the chapel and corridor below it (see figure 182): 'Double floor under chapel to prevent noise'.

<sup>19</sup> Wedgwood 1988, p 8.



From the time of his arrival in Hobart in 1844 Willson had designated the 1841 Gothick St Joseph's Church, Macquarie Street, as his pro-cathedral.<sup>20</sup> By 1856, with no funds available to erect either a cathedral or a residence, he arranged for the chancel of St Joseph's to be renovated in accordance with Pugin's and his ecclesiological ideals, and largely at his own expense. The Annunciation window was built into the chancel south wall facing Willson's episcopal chair against the north wall.<sup>21</sup> Despite this, Willson did not abandon his intention of having the house built. In 1860 he forwarded Pugin's plans to the Melbourne architect William Wardell, recently engaged to design a cathedral for him following a financial windfall, and sought his professional opinion of them.<sup>22</sup> Wardell's interesting response, dated 21 April 1860, is reproduced below:

My dear Lord

I have looked through Mr Pugin's plans for your Ldships House – which I think will be very convenient but I am not quite sure about the Rooms in the Roof – here they would be uninhabitable – but perhaps with you the heat is not sufficient. The arrangement also for the Bp's Bed Room seems to be a little undesirable It is a small room & no fire place – I would recommend that yr lordship should appropriate as a Bed Room one of the adjoining Rooms & so let these two be thrown into one.

In all other respects it seems everything you could desire – but I would suggest that the

Floor of the Upper Verandah should be made watertight, and well drained.

I return your Lordship by Post – the Plans for the House – How characteristic they are of their gifted author – the Letter which accompanied them I enclose<sup>23</sup>

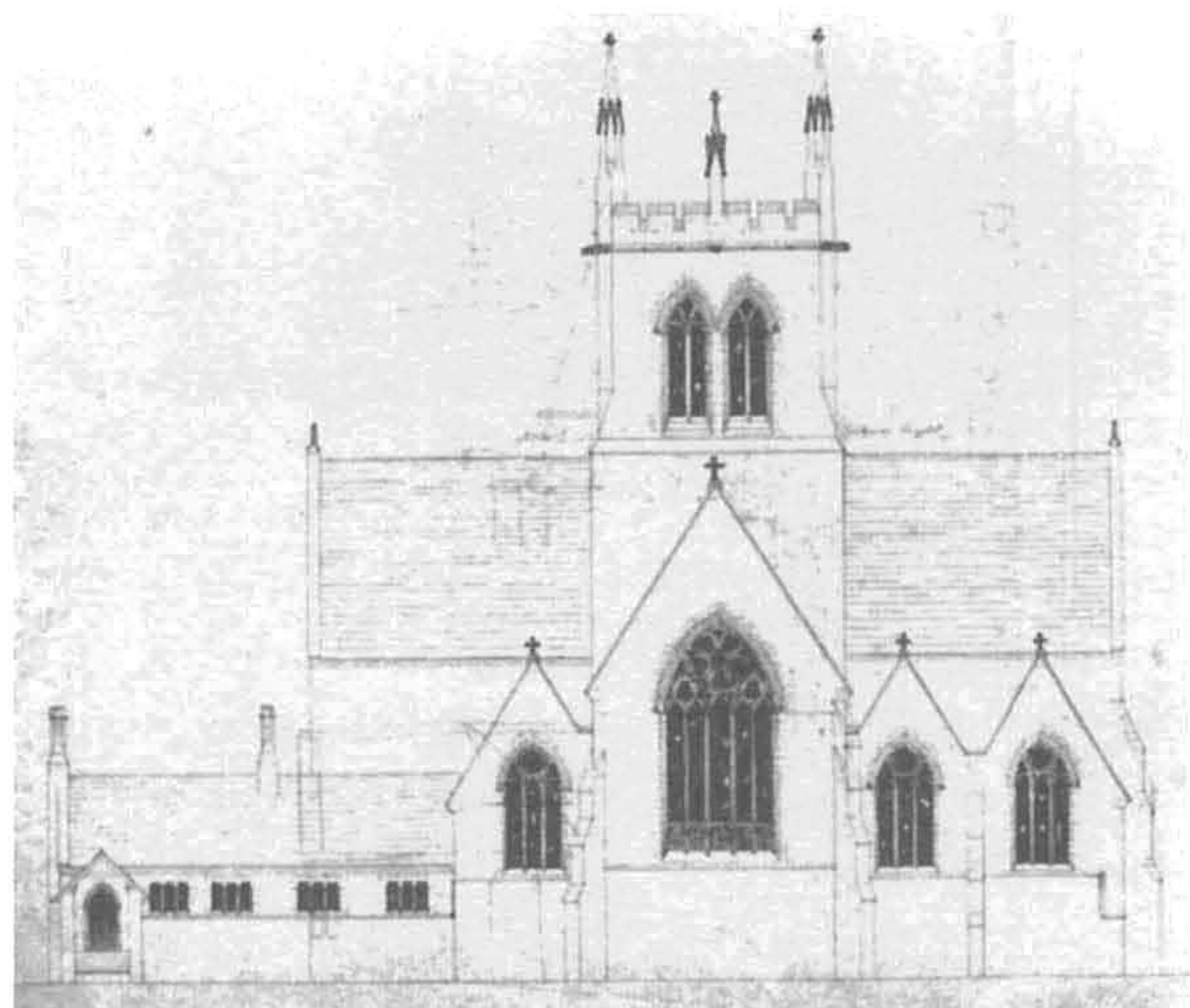


Figure 185: The east elevation of St Mary's Cathedral, Hobart, drawing by William Wardell  
*courtesy of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery*

Wardell's 1860 working drawings for St Mary's Cathedral, Hobart, bear further evidence of Willson's undiminished desire to have Pugin's house built. The east elevation [**figure 185**] shows a door at the south end of the sacristy east wall, opening onto a covered way shown in section, surely intended to lead to the house.<sup>24</sup>

20 Willson's Tasmanian experience and his relationship with Pugin are comprehensively addressed in Andrews 2002.

21 In 1877 the window was moved to the nave north wall in consequence of an archway being opened in the chancel south wall from a side chapel for the Sisters of Charity in the adjacent convent.

22 William Wilkinson Wardell (1823–1899) was a leading early follower of Pugin in England, migrating to Australia in 1858 for health reasons. Pugin designed furnishings for his Church of Our Lady Star of the Sea, Greenwich (1846–51). For his Australian career see Andrews 2001, pp 76–83.

23 William Wardell to Bishop Willson, 21.3.1860, Peter Cheney.

24 The principal entry to the sacristy was in its west wall.





Figure 186: Bishop Willson’s mitre and shield carving, St Thomas, Sorell, Tasmania  
*photographed by the author*

On 27 February 1865 Willson left Hobart on what was planned to be his last trip to England, having entrusted the Pugin plans and associated documents to his protégé architect Henry Hunter.<sup>25</sup> On the large envelope containing all this the bishop had written: ‘It is my hope / and desire, that / this plan may be / carried out / + RW Willson / Bp of Hobarton / 3 Feb 1865’. But this was not to be. Ten days out on the voyage he suffered a severe stroke, lingered on in England and died in Nottingham on 30 June 1866, just one day before the first stage of Wardell’s Hobart cathedral was opened.

Yet, in some ways the house design did take root in Tasmanian soil through the agency of Hunter, a devoted disciple of

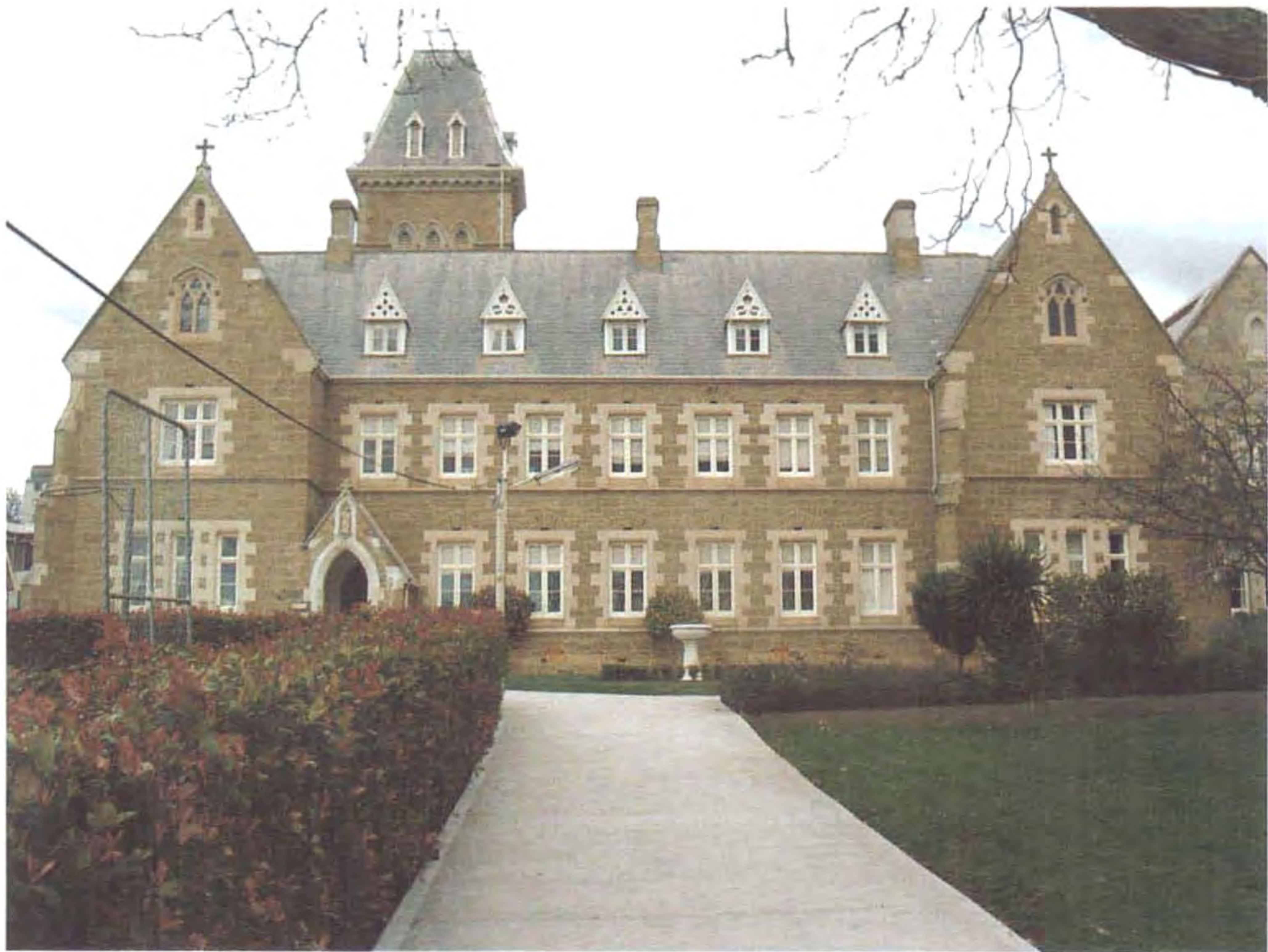


Figure 187: St Mary’s Convent, Hobart, Tasmania  
*photographed by the author*

25 For Hunter’s career as a church architect under Willson’s patronage see Andrews 2002, pp 142–59.



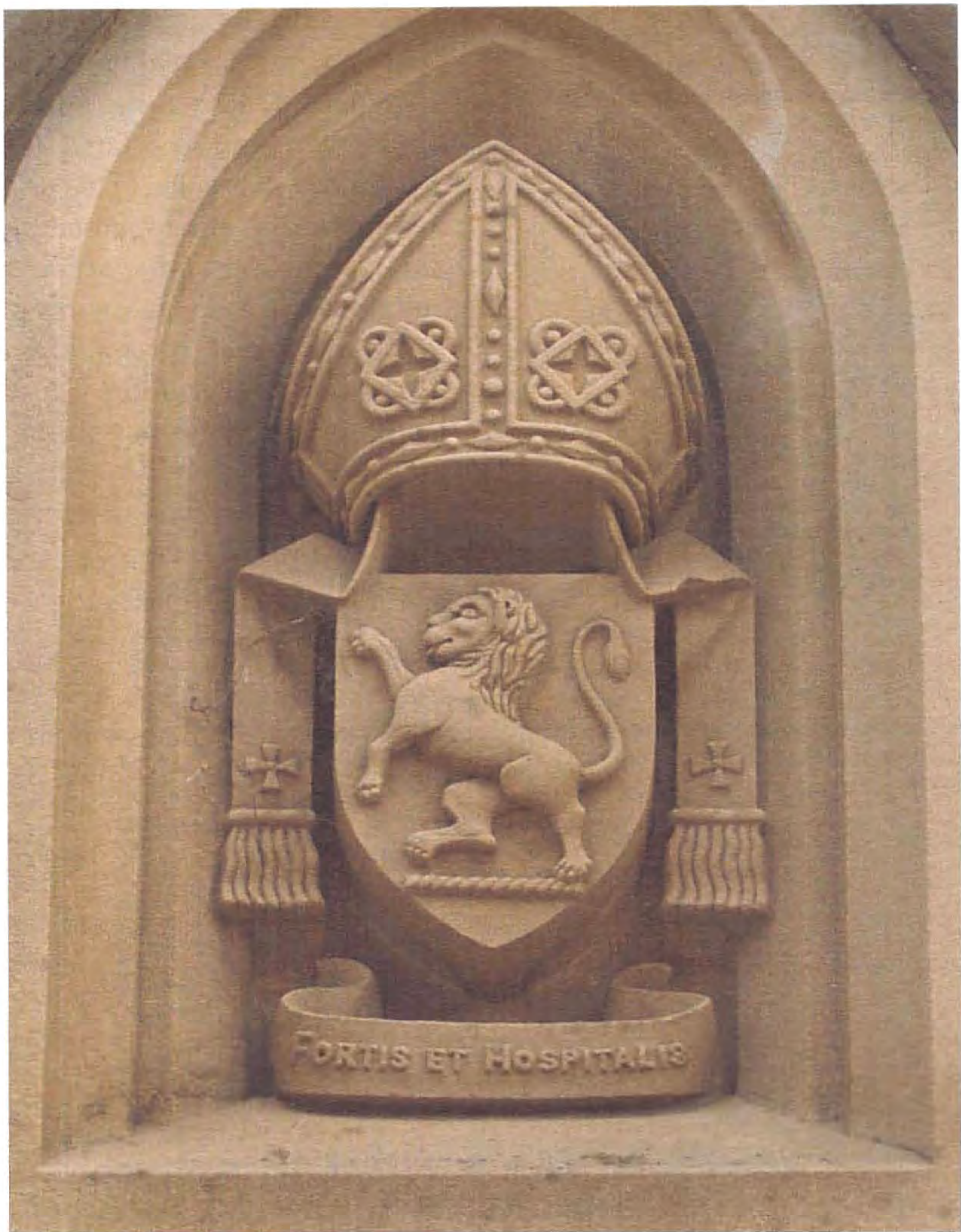


Figure 188: Bishop Murphy's mitre and shield carving, St Mary's Convent, Hobart, Tasmania  
*photographed by the author*

Pugin 'of whom he was a great admirer, and of whom he was ever fond of talking'.<sup>26</sup> He had copies of the pattern mitre and shield carving bearing Willson's 'W' monogram built into the sacristy south walls of three little Puginesque churches built under his bishop's watchful eye: St Michael's, Campbelltown (1856–7), St John's, Glenorchy (1858–9) and St Thomas', Sorell (1863–4) [figure 186]. Then, when tasked in 1866 with designing a convent for a community of Presentation Sisters on the same site as Wardell's St Mary's Cathedral and just a few paces from its east end, he turned to the Willson house plans and produced a building which in its overall composition and much of its plan form followed Pugin's design [figure 187]. By moving the main roof back he was able to cover the entire central section without the need for Pugin's

26 Walker 1928, p 421.



double roof with valley gutter (see figure 182), and having eliminated the verandahs he placed a simple gabled porch over the main entrance. Beyond this, the principal elements of Pugin’s layout were retained. Thus, a transverse corridor was situated against the rear wall of the ground and first floors, and the refectory and kitchen block remained as per Pugin. So did the two staircases; ‘a handsome massive staircase’ in the entrance hall and a rear one in an offset rectangular tower giving access to the attic rooms.<sup>27</sup> Hunter added one final touch of Pugin’s house design by installing another mitre and shield carving, in this case on the gable of a porch at the left-hand end of the ground floor corridor, but now it bore a detail from the arms of the new bishop, Daniel Murphy, and his episcopal motto [**figure 188**].

In recalling Pugin’s huge output of architectural drawings, this small remnant and its provenance trail, set out below, are a sober reminder of just how fragile is the survival of such precious ephemera.

1847	Pugin sends the house plans to Bishop Willson
1855	Henry Hunter commences as an architect under the auspices of Willson.
Between 1855 & 1865	Willson entrusts the Pugin house plans to Hunter.
1888	Hunter moves to Brisbane, taking the plans with him, and enters into partnership with a former pupil Leslie Corrie.
1892	Hunter dies, and his library (including the Pugin plans) is purchased by Corrie.
1918	Corrie dies and his estate is inherited by his widow Christina.
1922	Christina marries Queensland politician Hon. Andrew Thynne whose wife had died in 1918.
1927	Andrew Thynne dies.
1928	Christina passes the plans to Brisbane architect Theo Thynne, a son from Andrew Thynne’s first marriage.

<sup>27</sup> Verrier 1993, p 6, here quoting from an 1868 account describing the new convent. The ‘handsome massive staircase’ was later removed in one of many alterations to the building’s interior.



**Early 1970s**

Peter Cheney, a Brisbane architect and head of the Charles Fulton School of Architecture, Queensland Institute of Technology (QIT), writes a brief article on Pugin for the 'Chapter News' of the Queensland Chapter of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects. As a result, Theo Thynne contacts him and shows him the plans. With the plans he has some papers to do with their provenance including a letter from Pugin to Willson

**Early 1980s**

Howard Lawrence, a QIT final year architecture student takes for his thesis topic, on Cheney's suggestion, the question of how the plans for Old St Stephens Church came to Brisbane. Cheney thinks that there just might be a clue in the papers that were with the Pugin plans. Theo Thynne has passed away by this time so Cheney asks the son John Thynne if he still has his father's papers. John gives the plans and other papers into Cheney's keeping with a view to having them preserved.

**2012**

The plans and associated documentation are deposited with the Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office.



# Faith, Penitence and Charity: Pugin, Myers and Sibthorp at St. Anne's Bedehouses, Lincoln

by Helen Caffrey

*No one at that time was so likely to reconcile thoughtful consideration for the aged with medieval grace and beauty, as the elder Pugin, a man for whom Mr Sibthorp had an unbounded admiration. They had much sympathy on various subjects beside art. But with all his genius – shall we say, because of his genius – he was a man rather difficult to work with ... it must be owned that Mr Sibthorp himself must sorely have tried artists and architects, by his taste for eclectic effects in colour, etc.*<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The origins of this study lie in a decade of work on almshouses and, in particular, on almshouse buildings.<sup>2</sup> The approach has been archaeological: seeking an understanding of founders' motives and subjects' experiences through the material evidence. Named and known architects were seldom involved in these projects, with a few outstanding exceptions such as Wren at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. More architects are traceable from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, raising questions as to whose model for the genre was consulted.<sup>3</sup>

A.W.N. Pugin, above all, was an architect to speak his mind, through word and drawing. While his work was informed by religious conviction, and close attention to historical detail, it was the publication of *Contrasts* which effected the connection with charitable buildings. The second edition of 1841 included his vision of the idealised caring mediæval society compared to the contemporary official response to poverty.<sup>4</sup> Although his presentation is open to challenge on grounds of accuracy (Bentham's panopticon never being built whilst mediæval hospitals were far more complex) it seems reasonable to look for the buildings which implement his ideas. In this respect, lists of work and his own diaries proved disappointing, revealing only three, peripheral, schemes, though early sketches for 'brothers' lodgings' suggest his initial interest.<sup>5</sup> Of these, the almshouse element at St. Joseph's, Cadogan Street, London, was subsidiary to the school and remained incomplete, while the proposed almshouse within the complex at St. John's, Alton, Staffordshire fell victim to the

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1 J Fowler, *Richard Waldo Sibthorp: a Biography* (London: Skeffington, 1880) p 88. This is essentially a collection of letters compiled by Sibthorp's assistant, friend, admirer and successor. Some letters are dated only by month. 'The elder Pugin' distinguishes AWN from EW.

2 H Caffrey, *Almshouses in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1600–1900* (Kings Lynn: Heritage, 2006).

3 Selected new projects were reviewed in *The Builder* from its first issues in 1843 onwards, and other almshouses were illustrated as antiquities. Regions may show internal stylistic similarities, for example the Wakefield area in the 1880s. Trustee visits are also recorded in preparation for building/rebuilding.

4 This coincided with a press campaign against workhouse abuses.

5 Wedgwood 1985, cat no 96; Wedgwood 1977, [77] 1 and 2, p 85, figs 67, 68.



patron's changing interests.<sup>6</sup> However the third undertaking, though smaller in scope, was in Lincoln, where Pugin designed a new almshouse – subsequently named St. Anne's Bedehouses – but without maintaining an involvement in its construction. Rather than forming grounds for disregarding this building, the additional presence of George Myers, builder, and the Rev Richard Waldo Sibthorp as client presents a fascinating trinity, and offers scope for investigation into the implementation of their ideals. Some brief biographical information is now given for each of the players, to set the scene.

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, 1812–52, grew up in London but had connections with Lincolnshire through his mother, Catherine Welby, and had happy memories of childhood holidays there. The connection was reinforced by Edward James Willson, 1787–1854, a friend and colleague first of Pugin's father, then of Pugin himself.<sup>7</sup> Willson, who lived in Lincoln, was an antiquarian, architect and Roman Catholic, concerned over the preservation of mediæval buildings. Pugin's diaries record where he went (and his expenses) rather than what he did there, but he certainly visited Lincoln in 1836 (passing through), 1837 (including a meeting with Willson), 1842 (an overnight stop en route), and in August 1848, when he spent four days in the county of which two were in the city itself. He also, probably, made another overnight stop the following year, and visited again in February 1850.<sup>8</sup> His working practice was both traditional and modern: the impressive schedule of visits to current and prospective clients enabled by the growing railway network, with drawings produced almost entirely by his own hand without a supporting staff. During the period 1847–48, in which the first phase at St. Anne's was built, his work included the Houses of Parliament, and projects for the Earl of Shrewsbury after the completion of his beloved church of St. Giles in Cheadle, Staffordshire, in 1846. However in early summer 1847 Pugin took time out for inspiration on a three month drawing tour, then in 1848 married his third wife, Jane Knill, 1827–1909, and completed work at Southwark Roman Catholic Cathedral. Within this portfolio, St. Anne's Bedehouses was a relatively small-scale job, demanding his characteristic initial attention to detail, but one of a few which he did not go on to supervise personally.<sup>9</sup>

George Myers, 1803–75, deserves to be better known.<sup>10</sup> A Yorkshireman, he worked first on repairs at Beverley Minster, where he is said to have met Pugin, subsequently establishing his own business in Hull in 1829. With the national expansion in the

6 Wedgwood 1977, [48], p 60. These almshouses are described by William James Anderson, *A History of the Catholic Parish of St. Mary's, Chelsea*, (Chelsea: 1938), p 57. '24 houses for women were planned, but only 18 were ever built. It was intended to build a small court to which entrance was to be given by four archways' but only two sides were built and their archways were later blocked which 'adds to the comfort of the houses but destroys their original semi-mediæval appearance'. M Fisher, *Pugin-land: AWN Pugin, Lord Shrewsbury, and the Gothic Revival in Staffordshire* (Stafford: Fisher, 2002), pp 57–8, pp 75–6. The only almshouse to be mentioned in Pugin's obituary in *The Builder*, vol x, 1852, p 606, is St. Anne's Bedehouses, Lincoln.

7 Willson supplied the text for *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, vol II, 1836. His brother Robert later became Roman Catholic bishop of Nottingham.

8 Wedgwood 1985, cat no 96, pp 27–8.

9 AWN Pugin to JR Bloxam, Jan 1850: 'I never acted as architect in the building but only supplied the drawing', quoted in M Trott, 'St. Anne's Bedehouses – Sewell Road', *The Lincoln Enquirer* 12 (Newsletter of the Survey of Lincoln), Apr 2007, p 7.

10 To appreciate the nature and scope of his work, see P Spencer-Silver, *George Myers, Pugin's Builder* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2010).



construction industry, he moved to London in 1842 and from 1845, leased Ordnance Wharf, Lambeth, between London Bridge and Waterloo Station. During the following two decades he was one of the biggest contractors, in the capital and nationally. His work included warehouses, banks, three lunatic asylums (in response to the 1845 legislation requiring their provision within each county), construction projects for the army at Aldershot, Woolwich and Camberley, and lavish domestic building for the Rothschilds at Mentmore and in France. He worked with many architects, including G.G. Scott and S.W. Daukes, and on 55 projects with Pugin. The two men established a rapport both personal and professional, enabling Myers to realise Pugin's ideas from often minimal sketches. In 1845 Myers patented his machine for cutting stone and wood which assisted in creating gothic tracery and mouldings. Both Myers and Pugin appreciated the need for modern technology to reproduce what the mediæval craftsman did at length by hand. The building yard at Lambeth accommodated a substantial workforce of skilled craftsmen, again relevant to Pugin's design requirements. Myers was also a Roman Catholic and, by this time, after emancipation in 1829, it was much less of a bar to employment and success. He was known for careful estimates, thorough supervision of his numerous undertakings, a relaxed but direct manner with clients, and completion on time.

Richard Waldo Sibthorp, 1792–1879, came from a prosperous landed Lincolnshire family.<sup>11</sup> His elder brother, Colonel Charles Sibthorp, was the city's MP, giving the family a high profile in the county. Family was important to Sibthorp, especially his mother, and his choice of the site for St. Anne's may have been due to its view south to the family home, while Sewell Road itself bears the name of his aunt. Sibthorp was an Anglican clergyman, and his subsequent actions in this respect gave him a more-than-local notoriety, with lasting effect on his career. Noted as an eloquent preacher, he was also an enthusiastic letter-writer, his circle of friends overlapping with Pugin's.<sup>12</sup> More will be revealed about Sibthorp through his foundation and development of the Bedehouses. He appears essentially kind and generous, but not an easy man.

### The context: provision for the elderly poor

'Bedehouses' is one of several terms, including *maisonndieu*, hospital, and other vernacular forms, denoting an almshouse. This may be defined as charitable accommodation provided for the elderly poor, often accompanied by a small pension and some other benefits in kind. Post-Reformation almshouses were rarely religious institutions, and were generally run by a committee of local worthies, sometimes including local councillors. These trustees interpreted the founder's entrance requirements according to prevailing social conventions, local circumstances and demand, and their own personal preferences. An almsperson, male or female, received the tremendous benefit of security, removing the threat of eviction when age or infirmity rendered earnings insufficient to pay the rent. The provisions of the Poor

11 For a recent biography, see M Trott, *The Life of Richard Waldo Sibthorp (Evangelism, Catholicism and Ritual Revival in the nineteenth-century Church)*, (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

12 This is apparent from Fowler, *op cit*.



Law Amendment Act in 1834 had replaced outrelief for the destitute by removal to the workhouse, with particular impact on the elderly. This did not reduce private philanthropy, and almshouses continued to be founded throughout the century. Entry requirements varied but were usually on the lines of minimum age, local residence, 'of good conversation' (meaning decent and respectable), and sometimes Church of England affiliation was specified. Increasingly these foundations catered for female rather than male beneficiaries, with separation needed to ensure that proprieties were observed. Clearly, almshouses were not open to all the elderly poor, and numerically places were quite inadequate, distribution of philanthropists being unrelated to population.

The Charity Commissioners' report of 1839 shows that Lincoln had relatively few endowed charities for the elderly poor.<sup>13</sup> Doles for distribution were there, and Sutton (1611), Richier's (1728), Westby (1786) and Garmston (1799) could provide some out-pensions. But residential charity was only on offer at St. Giles and Meer Hospitals, perhaps significantly the oldest and both male, for 'five bedesmen' and 'six poor brethren' respectively, and even here the residential aspect was unclear to the Commissioners.

Obviously this left a gap in the market. The poverty and distress experienced in the county during the period are apparent to readers of the local press. *The Mercury* reported 249 paupers in the Union workhouse (built in 1839) during February 1847, an increase of 26 on the previous year; subscriptions were collected to help the destitute and old clothing sent to the starving Irish. Some of them brought their expertise to the Lincolnshire potato fields; some fell victim to the typhus epidemic of May 1847. Then, in November 1847, a meeting was held in Lincoln to establish a branch of the Chartist Land League. Those who took an interest in current events in Europe were to observe plenty of action in 1848 – later known as the Year of Revolutions. But perhaps more directly relevant here was the meeting in August 1847 of the Lincolnshire Architectural Society, 'as the demolition of an old building called *The Hospital* near the Swing Bridge was commenced; it was evidently a guild-house or a religious hospital. Some of the ornaments of the ruins have been carefully taken down for preservation'. However, 'attendance was not numerous'.<sup>14</sup> Against this backdrop St. Anne's Bedehouses were founded as another approach to alleviating poverty.

## Foundation

A common characteristic in the foundation of an endowed almshouse is its appearance in the will of the founder, often of comfortable fortune but with no direct heirs. Although Sibthorp never married, he did not delay foundation, which occurred at a very particular time in his life, affecting both the process of building and local attitudes towards him. In 1841, by then a well-respected Anglican clergyman on the

13 *The Endowed Charities of Lincolnshire: Reports of the Commissioners in pursuance of Acts of Parliament; 58 Geo iii c 91, 59 Geo iii c 81 and 5 Geo iv c 58 to enquire concerning Charities and Education of the Poor in England and Wales: Lincolnshire, 1839*, p 378, p 610.

14 *The Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 19.2.1847; 14.5.1847; 21.5.1847; 6.8.1847; 12.11.1847.





Figure 189: Foundation plaque. See footnote 21 for the text of the inscription.  
photo: Anthea Bickley, 26.6.2012

Tattershall, at a time when that historic landscape was still dominant.<sup>15</sup>

Sibthorp returned to the Church of England after only two years, but this placed him in a difficult position. Effectively unemployed, he went back home to Lincoln, hoping that the bishop might view him more favourably on account of his family connections.<sup>16</sup> In 1846 a Waldo family inheritance enabled Sibthorp to purchase land and by March 1847 he was ready to set up ‘a little charitable foundation’, ‘*ad majorem Dei gloriam*, but especially in memory of my mother, who, a widow herself, took a particular pleasure in relieving the distress of other widows, who were in less affluent circumstances’.<sup>17</sup> Local opinion was suspicious, and scandal-mongering was duly countered in *The Mercury*: ‘The statement which is going the round of the press, that Rev RW Sibthorp has again identified himself with the Roman Catholic Church, can have no foundation in fact’ nor does the claim ‘that, under the specious name of almshouses, Mr Sibthorp is founding a sort of Roman fraternity’.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile the buildings ‘were not to be raised without the aid of Mr Pugin’s taste, though I only employ his builder’.<sup>19</sup> Construction began in April, and the 13 bedeswomen and one male porter, composing the foundation of 14, had moved in ahead of the official opening on St. Anne’s Feast Day, 26 July 1848. This seems exemplary progress, whether helped or hindered by Sibthorp’s presence on site. He did succeed in acquiring some temporary employment, mainly at St. Peter’s, due to his reputation as a preacher, but remained a ‘clergyman without cure of souls’.<sup>20</sup>

Isle of Wight, he converted to Roman Catholicism. Back in his early ministry at Tattershall, Lincolnshire (1818–25), Sibthorp had been known as an evangelical preacher, involved in the (home) missionary movement, although this had not prevented him from acquiring a circle of Anglo- and Roman Catholic friends and acquaintances. These included Pugin, with whom he shared an enthusiasm for the mediæval. This may have been generated by his experience within that surviving enclave of the late middle ages – castle, collegiate church and bedehouses – at

15 They were built by Ralph Cromwell, 1393–1456, treasurer to Henry VI. The almshouses were rebuilt in the seventeenth century as a low row with tall chimneys.  
16 RW Sibthorp to M Routh, Mar 1847, quoted in Trott, 2007, p 6.  
17 RW Sibthorp to M Routh, 23 Mar 1847, in Fowler, p 85.  
18 *The Mercury*, 14.5.1847.  
19 RW Sibthorp to M Routh, Mar 1847, in Fowler, p 85.  
20 *The Census*, 1851, entry for Richard Sibthorp, Lindum Villas, Sewell Road.



There was plenty for the founder to do during these first 15 months. As building got under way, he selected the name for his charity, deliberately choosing the old-fashioned 'bedehouses' with its implications of a place of prayer. The dedication to St. Anne, mother of Mary, was perhaps partly in compliment to his own mother, but he wrote to Routh for advice on the theological niceties, as 'I fear in this place, with so many eyes upon me, to do



Figure 190: Looking along the main range of the Bedehouses towards the chapel

photo: Anthea Bickley, 26.6.2012

or say what may give occasion of cavil' [figure 189].<sup>21</sup> To place the foundation and its future finances on a firm footing, trustees were now appointed, with a sum in consols and a substantial mortgage assigned to them. In addition to their lodging, beneficiaries were to receive a weekly pension of five shillings and a lump sum of two pounds; a supply of coal; and a blue cloak as uniform. But the client who is on the spot and under-employed readily becomes the customer who is underfoot, with too many bright new ideas and too much, perhaps unwelcome, comment on the workmen and their progress. Fowler noted that 'bits of his own handiwork are to be found in the houses', though what precisely is not specified.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps impatient for the realisation of his vision, Sibthorp sent complaints to Pugin, who rather ungallantly but perhaps eager to get Sibthorp off his back, pointed out 'I cannot consider myself responsible for the defects that may have occurred' and 'I must say that I thought Mr Myers' price too low, making it difficult to enable him to build in a solid manner in which this kind of structure should be raised'.<sup>23</sup> Bearing in mind quality of workmanship, level of detail and prompt completion, in line with Myers' reputation, this seems unreasonable, while internal features (to be discussed later) could not have come cheap. Myers' laidback approach to clients, evidenced by his recent advice to Hardman, 'you should be like me, take things coolly', makes it surprising that Pugin felt it necessary to pacify Sibthorp in person.<sup>24</sup> But now, with the bedehouses inhabited, it is appropriate to explore them in greater detail [figure 190].

21 RW Sibthorp to M Routh, Apr 1847, in Fowler, p 85. The inscription reads: 'Ad maiorem Dei gloriam et in honorem Beatae Annae Viduae Hierosol, has aedes eleemosynasiae, anno sacro MDCCCXLVII structas et dotatas memoria matris suae amantissimae semper sibi deflendae dicavit Ricardus Waldo Sibthorp.' (To the greater glory of God and in honour of the blessed Anne widow of Jerusalem in the holy year 1847, Richard Waldo Sibthorp dedicated these charitable buildings, erected and endowed in memory of his beloved mother, for ever mourned by him.)

22 Fowler, p 88.

23 AWN Pugin to JR Bloxam, Jan 1850, quoted in Trott, 2002, p 176.

24 G Myers to J Hardman, Dec 1847, quoted in Spencer-Silver, p 50.



## The building<sup>25</sup>

Beyond the common pathway, the individual bedehouse within the red brick row beckoned its occupant. This was not by any variation in design, but by the name above the door, stating the district from which the resident gained her entitlement: Canwick, Harmston, Waddington, Washingborough and Heighington, or Lincoln itself [figure 191]. In administrative terms, this must have been impractical unless a steady supply of applicants came forward from each district (more from Lincoln) to avoid empty property. The front door is substantial, with attractive metal fittings, presumably the product of Myers' craftsmen. Through the door, the bedeswoman may go to her right to the living room or to her left to the bedroom, as the almshouses are effectively single room depth, with a small kitchen (and with modern improvements, bathroom) projecting to the rear wall and enclosing a small private yard.



Figure 191: Detail of doorhead showing parish name and founder's initials.

photo: Anthea Bickley, 26.6.2012

How generous, or appropriate, was this provision? Many almshouses, before and after the 1840s, were built as bedsits: an all-purpose living room of about 12 by 15 feet incorporating a bed alcove and with a rear outshot. Others were of the two-and-a-half room format, as here, while a much smaller minority were one-up-one-down, or one room behind the other in the case of a restricted frontage. The other option was a single room for sleeping and personal possessions, with communal living and dining space.<sup>26</sup> The chosen solution might reflect the overall space available for a predetermined number of units, any existing structures on site, and funds available. Less quantifiable – and probably seldom thought through – were assumptions as to what the elderly person might need. It was understood that the almshouse was likely to be better than the alternative. Number, rather than size, of rooms might also imply a recognition of status, supported by the charity's eligibility criteria. Perception of relative social status might be evident where a warden's house formed part of the complex, though the founder's own status could be deduced by an outsider viewing the façade.

25 The building is also described in L Crust, *Lincolnshire Almshouses: nine centuries of Charitable Housing*, (Sleaford: Heritage of Lincolnshire, 2002), and in the Listed Buildings List Entry Description, entry no 1388759, (English Heritage).

26 Caffrey, pp 36–42.



The easy way to make a choice is to rely on an almshouse seen elsewhere. Many early foundations had been rebuilt or modernised during the seventeenth century, and few retained the internal form of aisled hall, integral chapel and cubicles. Instances of the courtyard form with a regulated community life did persist (as at St. Cross, Winchester) and their high visual profile would not have escaped the passing architect. Topographical illustration, once a source of employment for Pugin's father, offered a possible armchair resource. The same J.C. or J. Buckler who later recorded St. Anne's had already published detailed images including God's House, Ewelme, Oxfordshire, a fifteenth-century chantry foundation. What the three strong-minded individuals involved at St. Anne's may have seen is largely speculation. However Pugin had visited Browne's in Stamford and Sibthorp had recently seen and approved of Sir William Turner's Hospital (founded in 1676) at Kirkleatham, but these are bigger establishments and bear no resemblance to St. Anne's. Myers was familiar with provision for yet larger numbers through his work on hospitals and barracks, but these were institutions presenting a very different face to that of personal charity. The almshouses he would certainly have seen in his native Hull, Trinity House and others, were predominantly civic eighteenth-century in style, catering mainly for the very different male client group of the port's seamen, though a half dozen earlier unassuming rows still stood.

In terms of space available to the bedeswoman, St. Anne's might be seen as 'middle of the range', with the enclosed yard offering some additional privacy. But the living room incorporates two special – and so far as known, unique – features. Heating as usual was provided by the open fire, but here the stone lintel is inscribed 'Rest and Watch', in legible Gothic lettering with a cross on either side. This, so long as unobscured by soot, provides a dignified message, simply and elegantly carved. The bedeswoman could sit before her fire, thinking her own thoughts, whether or not seeing this as an injunction to prayer. The words might seem a kind and homely message, a greeting from benefactor to beneficiary. Perhaps this is one of Sibthorp's personal touches. The second special feature also poses some problems of interpretation. Each living room is equipped with a wall-hung wooden corner cupboard, three chamfered panels to each door with attractive metal hinges, and three shelves within [figure 192]. Whilst a few almshouses were provided with basic furnishing which might include a cupboard or dresser, no other example has been found to incorporate a 'chalice cupboard'. Church plate would not be kept in these homes. Were they so named on account of a drawing made by



Figure 192: Chalice cupboard, height approximately one metre.

photo: Anthea Bickley, 26.6.2012





Figure 193: The well-house from the north east.  
photo: Anthea Bickley, 26.6.2012

Pugin on one of his sketching tours, then copied by Myers' craftsmen as something beautiful but only tangentially relevant? Despite the mediæval and religious overtones, they are notably 'upmarket' for their surroundings and must have added to overall costs. Present residents use them as china cabinets.

## The well-house

The bedeswoman could enjoy the comforts of her own self-contained home, behind her own front door, yet some activities must take her outside. St. Anne's no longer shows the fuel stores and privies (location not apparent), but water for drinking and washing was the other essential. In the 1840s, access to a common well or pump was to be expected. But here again St. Anne's is both unusual and

puzzling. A good many almshouses still have their hand-crank pump (challenging to elderly shoulder muscles), often found centrally placed in a courtyard layout, and with access routes clearly defined by converging laid paths. In some cases, location of an adequate and clean water supply was a prerequisite for siting an almshouse.<sup>27</sup>

Before and during the nineteenth century, philanthropists erected well-heads and well-houses for their local communities. Queen Victoria's jubilees, the temperance movement and concern for working horses led to a fresh flurry of basins and troughs, suitably inscribed. The basic function of the well-head was protection for the water, which might be emerging directly from a natural spring, and for the pump's mechanism; the more elaborate well-house, as the name implies, might place a decorative canopy on columns over the source, offering a sheltered meeting place. Such meetings and social interaction on common ground might be frequent: two buckets of water do not last long, even for the single consumer. What was the thinking behind the well-house at St. Anne's? Certainly water had to be available, and the two stone troughs, now displaced, may imply a common laundry facility. Yet if the well-house was intended as a meeting place for the community (before arguably the chapel, and more recently house number 12, fulfilled this function) it was both cramped and dark. Externally it is undeniably 'really very pretty' as Sibthorp claimed,<sup>28</sup> with three pairs of Gothic-traceried windows alternating with panels of carved coats-of-arms, topped by a rose motif border, and rising to a pyramidal roof terminating in a cross [figure 193]. It is curious that although the roof tiles echo the decorative patterning of those on the houses, the windows are more closely reflected – later – by those in

27 H. Caffrey, 'The Almshouse Experience in the nineteenth-century West Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 76, 2004, p 228. The water supply was investigated by bore holes before choosing the site to rebuild Archbishop Holgate's Hospital at Hemsworth, Yorkshire, in 1858. Almswomen at Beamsley Hospital, near Skipton, Yorkshire, expressed their appreciation when a neighbouring landowner extended his piped supply to their premises.

28 RW Sibthorp to JR Bloxam, Dec 1847, in Fowler, p 90.



the chapel and not the plain rectangular lights of the bedehouses. Well-houses certainly could be exploited as eye-catchers and landscape features, and this one retains a certain dolls' house charm, although the works have been removed and the original painted ceiling covered over.<sup>29</sup>

This feature has been discussed at some length, not only because of its rarity but because of the apparent imbalance between form and function. Which member of the construction trinity stipulated its inclusion? It has no overt religious connotations, and Gothic was one of many possible styles for a well-house. Well-houses of monastic origins, in Grantham, for instance, and in Lincoln itself, would have been familiar, but are not stylistically related. The off-centre positioning is also surprising, but could be explained by the water source itself or a pre-existing well. One can only speculate as to whether this was an imported design and why a decorative feature was desired. As usual, the users' opinions are not recorded. The value of convenience and beauty in the bedeswomens' lives might be differently perceived by providers and participants.

Site layout and development

Almshouses have too often been perceived as a single building with a set of rules for residents. Yet often that building was part of a complex, and life within the community was not only defined by written regulation. Relationships, material and personal, might change over time, and St. Anne's was no exception. The present visitor, or resident, enters by a discreet but ungated driveway from Sewell Road [figure 194]. To the right is the warden's home, an early twentieth-century addition to house the gardener, opposite the inturned end of the main

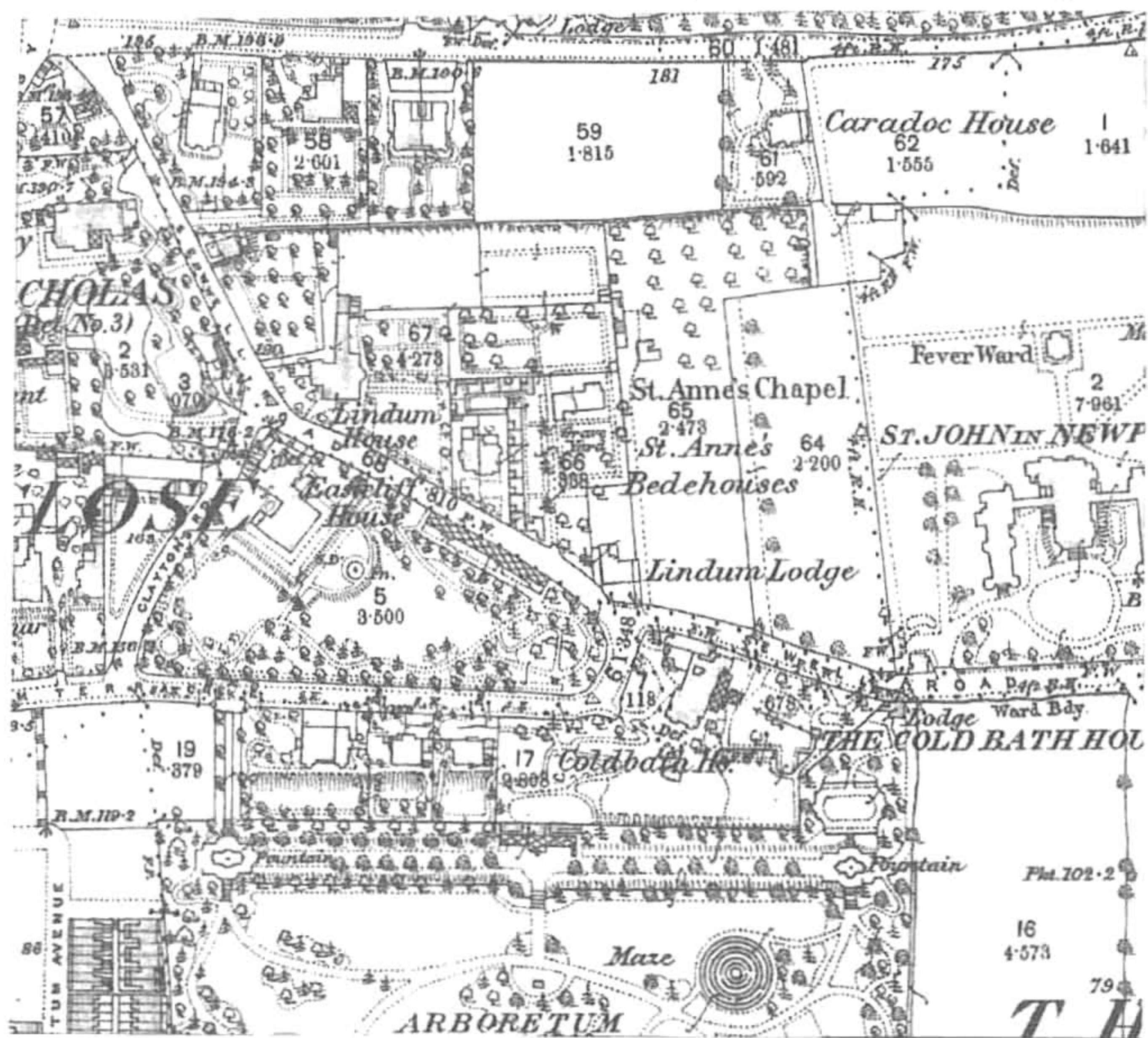


Figure 194: St. Anne's as shown by the Ordnance Survey (First Edition at 25 ins to the mile) in 1889.

north-south range, originally the porter's lodge and named accordingly over the door. Two paths cross the wide garden border from the driveway to the parallel path giving access to the front doors. Part way along, the level rises, but there is no break

29 For a range of well-house situations and designs, see [www.imagesofengland.org.uk](http://www.imagesofengland.org.uk)  
A springhouse was among the decorative agricultural landscape features provided by Pugin for Lord Middleton at Oxenford Farm, Witley, Surrey, c1841. Illustrated in P. Stanton, *Pugin*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971) p 173, it resembles a folly rather than a functional building.



in the building until a right-angled turn west leads into a covered passage: the 'cloisters', floored with the red and blue tiles (not Minton's encaustics) which so pleased the founder [figure 195].<sup>30</sup> The building plan has been described as an 'L' (Kelly's Directory) or a 'P' (Pevsner and followers) although neither is strictly accurate.<sup>31</sup> From



Figure 195: The cloisters, looking east. The blocked doorway may be seen half-way along on the right.  
photo: Anthea Bickley, 26.6.2012

the dark cloisters with their solid south wall, houses resume with a turn north and then east, to terminate more or less opposite the porter's lodge. Any alignment is obscured by the intervening well-house, and a view of the whole may only be obtained from east of the driveway. Here is the chapel, and between it and the present warden's house is a green lawn. A few remaining tombstones indicate the presence of former bedeswomen in the graveyard, now full.

But this is not how it was. When the bedehouses were first occupied, in 1848, there was no chapel or graveyard and an illustration shows a high wall and integrated pair of doorways running parallel with the front of the main range [figure 196]. Fowler noted that land was acquired piecemeal, and assuming the engraving to be accurate, this, as well as the need for the trustees to raise more money, would account for building in phases and for some of the apparent constraints in the layout.<sup>32</sup> Was the next stage part of the original concept, or wishful thinking successfully accomplished? The majority of

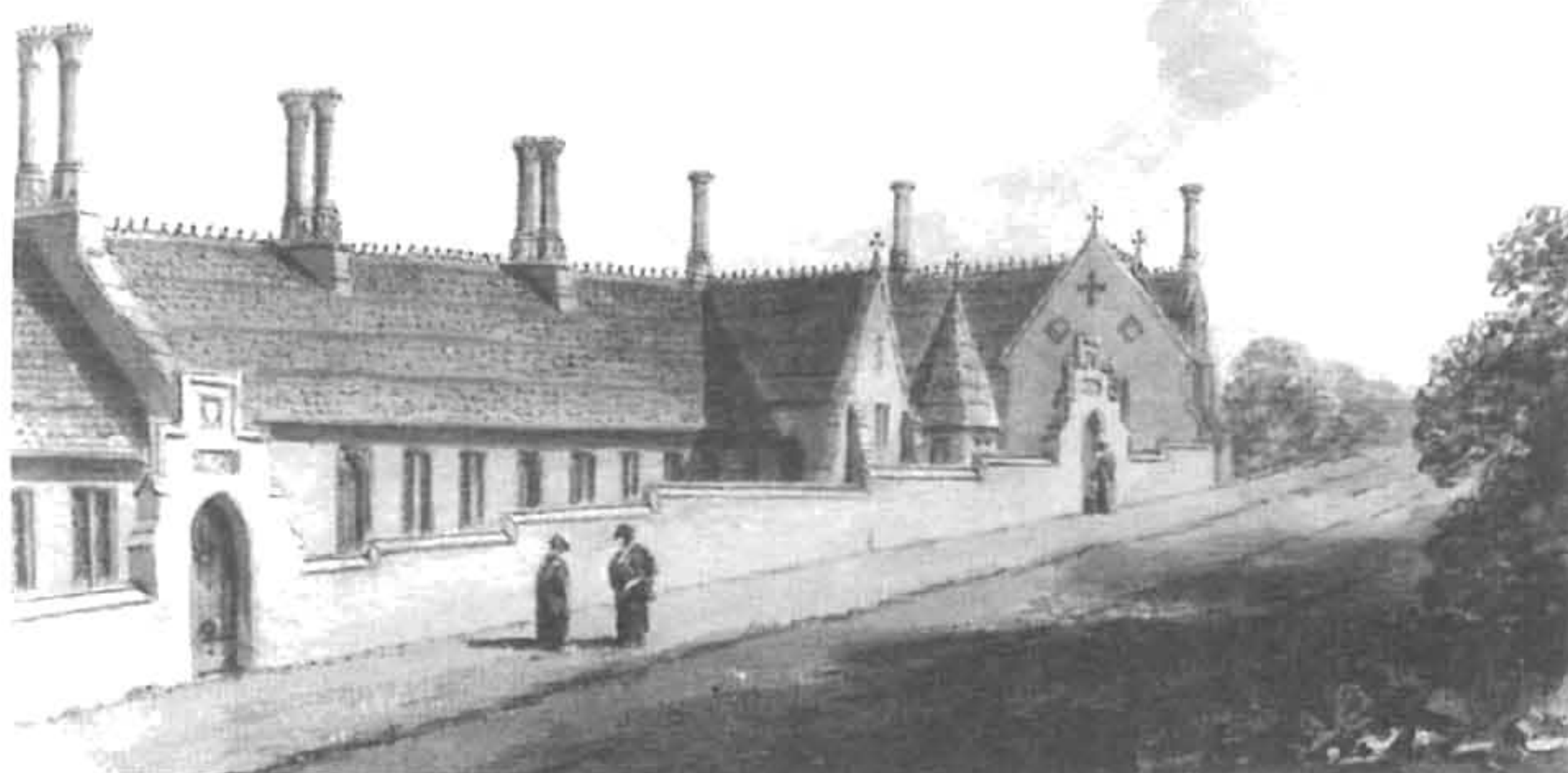


Figure 196: Engraving by J. Buckler, probably made in 1848, LCL116,  
reproduced with the permission of Lincolnshire County Council: Central Library, Local Studies Collection

<sup>30</sup> As in 28. For a discussion of Pugin's use of cloisters in controlling circulation routes in convent buildings see T Brittain-Catlin, 'AWN Pugin's English Convent Plans', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol 65, no 3, (Sept 2006), pp 356–377 (University of California Press).

<sup>31</sup> Kelly's *Directory* for Lincolnshire (1888) gives 'a range of fourteen neat cottages forming the letter L', while N Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964) sees a 'remarkably loose plan...like a P open at the back of the head'.

<sup>32</sup> 'The ground could only be secured piecemeal, which caused some irregularity of general design', Fowler, p 88.



almshouses which include a chapel treat it as a focal point within an integrated design.<sup>33</sup> At St. John's Hospital, designed by Pugin for his patron the Earl of Shrewsbury, the church and school came first, by which time Shrewsbury had changed his mind and the 'elderly brethren' never acquired their lodgings.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Sibthorp was responding to urgent need in providing housing first and over-spending accordingly. Although Sibthorp approached Pugin during the winter of 1849–50 for a design for a chapel and warden's house, the proposal was beyond his means. There was also the question of a builder as Pugin stated that 'people imagine that anyone can execute church work but it is not so and it takes years to bring a man into it', and Sibthorp did not wish to re-employ Myers.<sup>35</sup> The result was a chapel designed by Butterfield, cheaper and possibly more compliant, with a local builder.<sup>36</sup>

The warden's house was another matter. The Post Office Directories list Sibthorp as living at Lindum Villa, as 'gentleman' in 1855 and as chaplain to St. Anne's ten years later. This substantial house is recorded on Padley's map in 1842, and provided the warden-chaplain's home in one of the semis, first for Sibthorp himself and then for his successor, John Fowler. In 1856 the house was made over to the charity and the gateways to numbers 27 and 29 (now private houses) are still headed 'St. Anne's Houses' in gothic script. If the founder had achieved his original intention of a new warden's house, in front of the bedehouses, this would have established a different physical relationship between the two. A gate from Lindum Villa's garden led into the cloisters, but the warden's house otherwise faced away from the charity, according a separate and gentlemanly status to the warden. This indeed was the approach taken in some other nineteenth-century almshouses where the disparity in wealth and social acceptance are brutally stated.<sup>37</sup> However, a Gothic residence was required and a suitable design was sought from the knowledgeable Bloxam, on do-it-yourself lines, for 'a chaplain's house, to which a small chapel is attached'.<sup>38</sup> An appropriate manual for almshouses and parsonages had been published by T.F. Hunt in 1827, although the Picturesque style might have been unacceptable, despite some similarities over doorways.<sup>39</sup> Sibthorp's eventual solution was to gothicise number 29, duly renamed St. Anne's Lodge and dated 1864, the year in which he finally left Lincoln.

Both chapel and warden's house therefore were the products of compromise, but two final features still need to be mentioned. The first of these is the boundary wall, erected in 1850 repeating the diaper-patterned brickwork, and a considerable drain on finances. Substantial perimeter walls are a common almshouse feature, not only delineating property ownership but the unity of the enclave within, and representing security, and in some cases a curfew. They also facilitated a gateway indicative of the

33 For examples, see the Directory in Caffrey, 2006, pp 71–103.

34 Fisher, *op cit*.

35 Magdalen College Oxford, Pugin ms 528, letter 153, quoted in Spencer-Silver, p 50.

36 The chapel was consecrated in 1854.

37 Caffrey, 2006. Notable examples are Frank Crossley's Almshouses, Halifax, Yorkshire, and the rebuilt Archbishop Holgate's Hospital, Hemsworth.

38 RW Sibthorp to JR Bloxam, Jan 1849, in Fowler, p 103.

39 Thomas Frederick Hunt, *Designs for Parsonage Houses, Almshouses, etc, with examples of Gables and Other Curious Remains of Old English Architecture*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1827), p 19, viii, plates xiii, xv.



founder's status, with the wall perhaps also hinting at estate walling.<sup>40</sup> Another important item in the almshouse package was the garden, a healthy and peaceful place to sit and stroll and perhaps to cultivate. Almshouse gardens often include both common grounds and individual gardens, and a few are recorded as being used for market gardening, though this was liable to decline due to lack of physical ability, inclination and probably customers. At St. Anne's, the grounds were extended by an orchard, which might have been used in any or all of these ways. The fanciful may envisage the blue-cloaked bedeswomen strolling among the apple blossom, or crunching the juicy produce, teeth permitting!

## Discussion and Conclusion

To return to the starting point: do St. Anne's Bedehouses demonstrate Pugin's ideas for the re-creation of mediæval charity in the contemporary world? Pugin himself said that as artist he was his own man, but as architect worked for the client.<sup>41</sup> It has been suggested that in this case the client was kept at arm's length due to Pugin's disappointment over his reversion to the Church of England.<sup>42</sup> Yet it may simply have been pressure of work – and some inkling of his client's tendency to interfere – which dictated Pugin's handover of the project to Myers. On the other hand, he was never averse to open-ended projects, having told apprehensive clients that it took a long time to build a mediæval cathedral. However, Myers' professionalism saw the Bedehouses completed in record time, and without the sort of extensive rethinking that dogged the never-completed project at St. John's. Pugin's drawing for the latter, as originally intended, does show a marked similarity to his ideal in *Contrasted Residences for the Poor*, though both site and funding offered a good deal more scope than the limitations of St. Anne's.<sup>43</sup>

The Bedehouses have been commended as 'an unmodified Pugin conception' where 'informality, smallness of scale, and exaggerated medievalism may be seen in their most primitive form'.<sup>44</sup> This needs to be evaluated, both in relation to Pugin's other work and within the almshouse genre. Size depended on the client's specification and site. Any informality of appearance may be deceptive, as this paper has indicated, in regards to layout, cloisters, religious references and the well-house. In an almshouse context it is certainly not institutional in character nor of townhouse form, but neither is it purely vernacular nor within the simplest category of the unadorned row. As St. Anne's postdates St. John's inception it cannot be considered 'primitive' within Pugin's own development but located in the period in which he moved 'from historical forms to unhistorical ones' and may embody some reworking of his ideas on cloisters from the 1844 Convent of Mercy, Handsworth.<sup>45</sup>

40 Even 'lost almshouses' may be traced by such residual boundaries, as the writer has done elsewhere.

41 His comment was made in response to client concerns over denominational style.

42 R. Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2007), p 375: 'Pugin never quite forgave Sibthorp but he was pragmatic'.

43 *The present state*, 1843; *Contrasts*, 1841. Construction at St. John's, Alton, Staffordshire, had started before either drawing was published.

44 P. Stanton, *Pugin*, (London: Thames and Hudson), pp 161–2. She also comments on the 'small scale and informality without fragmentation that Pugin could attain when he worked with brick'.

45 Brittain-Catlin, *op cit*, p 373. Whether or not the access from the chaplain-warden's house was expected to be permanent, the cloisters fail to offer a continuous route for the almswomen to the well-house or subsequently to the chapel.



Indeed it may be that his continuing employment in designing convents – another type of female community – provides the explanation for the cloisters. Technically, cloisters offer a space for outdoor contemplation or conversation, whilst an ambulatory might provide a covered walkway on an essential route, practical or processional. Pugin's development from the mid-1840s of unduly long routes for the residents of his convents may reflect a conflation of these two aspects of religious life. But at St. Anne's this does not add up. The cloisters do not extend the full length of the building to encompass all the almswomen, and footpaths contribute shorter, brighter alternatives, avoiding a message of imposed order, while the warden's back-door access remains problematic. Nor is there any conclusion, but, just possibly, this may suggest Pugin's optimism towards the yet unplanned chapel, on land still to be acquired by his client.

The extent of mediævalism is a more subtle issue.<sup>46</sup> Despite Pugin's identification with Gothic, in historical terms these almshouses are nearer to Tudor Revival in style whilst their layout is original. There is no suggestion here of a collegiate-style courtyard nor of the communal way of life which might be associated with it. Later nineteenth-century almshouse developments which employ that approach may display a form of romantic mediævalism, stemming from the enthusiasm of Pugin and his imitators, but not dependent on his work at St. Anne's nor indeed upon early

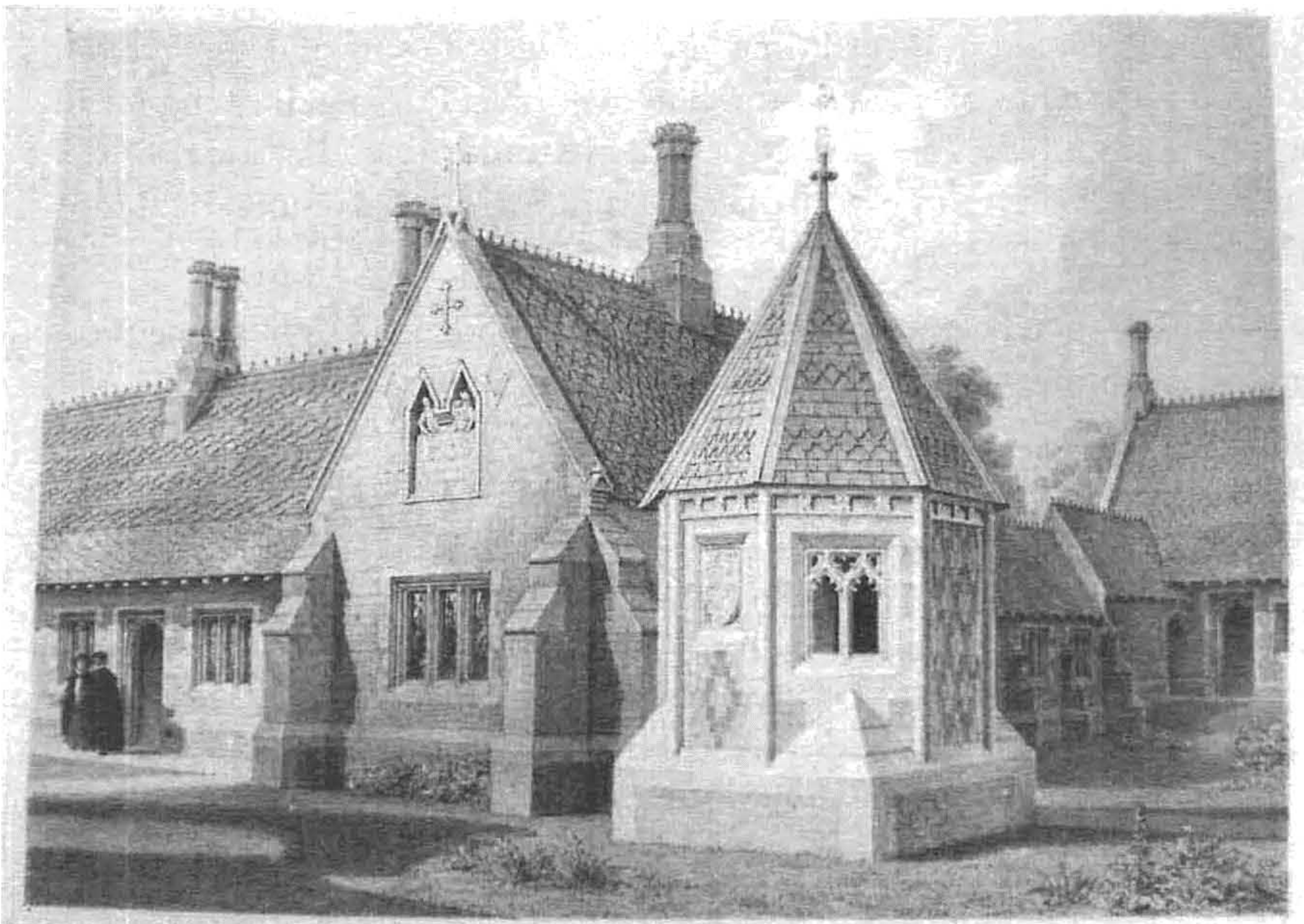


Figure 197: St. Anne's Bedehouses as Pugin and Sibthorp may have seen them, Ross manuscripts, Lincolnshire County Council: Central Library, Local Studies Collection, reproduced with the permission of Lady Monson on behalf of the Trustees of the 10th Baron Monson. This is probably the lithograph mentioned by Sibthorp in a letter to Bloxam on 4 June 1849, Fowler, p 104. He refers to it as 'a print of the conduit – little more ... and besides, has quite burlesqued the beautiful carving of the two angels'.

<sup>46</sup> This aspect is explored more fully in H Caffrey, 'St. Anne's: Medieval Bedehouse or Contemporary Almshouse', *Lincolnshire Past and Present* 91, 2013, pp17–22.



almshouse buildings as a whole.<sup>47</sup> Ultimately St. Anne's Bedehouses may be an opportunity lost by Pugin as a demonstration of the way in which a building may create a better way of life, a pointer to a more ethical society [figure 197].

Sibthorp's motives and achievement are also significant. Many almshouse foundations have a commemorative function, and by the continual expression and acceptance of charity form a type of memory both familial and social.<sup>48</sup> That is not so far removed from the pre-Reformation chantry and Sibthorp would certainly have been aware of that.<sup>49</sup> The chapel, in which he himself preached to the small congregation of bedeswomen in their numbered chancel stalls with a handful of followers (rather than the 120 for which it was optimistically designed) was decorated with a series of brass plaques in honour of members of his family, all buried elsewhere. Founders have seldom recorded their reasons for establishing almshouses (with some notable exceptions), but personal experience and family commemoration are the two explanations most often given.<sup>50</sup> While Sibthorp very properly chose to address his mother's particular concern for elderly women less affluent than herself, he also referred to his foundation as an expression of penitence.<sup>51</sup>

But these considerations are in a way external ones, manifestations of history 'top down', based on the more articulate. The converse is the residents' perspective. St. Anne's, like other almshouses, might truly be a boon to the select few who secured a place. In its early days, the founder took a personal interest in his bedeswomen, though this might be perceived equally as care or intrusion.<sup>52</sup> The location is still quiet and peaceful, the healthy environment now represented by a modern hospital in place of the cold baths and fever ward. The Bedehouses, warden and trustees continue to answer a need, albeit on different terms. Requirements as to place of origin, to wear uniform, and for extensive church attendance have gone, and as pensions come from the state, modern bedeswomen pay rent. The chapel is well used, and the

47 As in 33. The communal dimension of almshouse life is investigated in H Caffrey, 'Almshouse Buildings: Altruistic Endeavour, Monumentality, or Utopian Model for Communal Living' in *Almshouses*, eds N Goose, A Langley and H Caffrey (FACHRS: forthcoming). Perhaps ironically, the 'medieval' courtyard form is also found in non-conformist foundations

48 See H Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), chapter 1, for a theoretical discussion on ways of remembering the deceased.

49 Trott has recently claimed that the Bedehouses 'exist so that prayers may be said for the soul of their founder', M Trott, 'The St. Anne's Bedehouses' in *Uphill Lincoln11: the NE Suburbs*, ed A Walker (Survey of Lincoln Booklet Series 6, 2010), p 30. See J Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), p 6, pp 141–2, for similarities between the medieval chantry, college and almshouse. The number of residents – thirteen plus one – is also reminiscent of such medieval foundations, including Tattershall, but no longer common post-Reformation.

50 H Caffrey (forthcoming), op cit. This is also discussed in H Caffrey, 'Fabric, Layout and intention in the English Almshouse', paper presented to the International Institute of Social History, *Giving in the Golden Age: the European Almshouse*, (Haarlem, 2011).

51 The writer has not found any instances of an almshouse explicitly established as a statement of penitence. More generally, medieval penance might include the giving of alms or a donation of land to the church as well as the more personal expressions of prayer and fasting. By the later middle ages, charitable foundation could qualify as 'good works' to reduce time spent in purgatory.

52 Names of some individual bedeswomen appear in his correspondence, and after he left in 1864, Sibthorp nostalgically claimed that only 'the old ladies' would miss him. He continued to correspond with Fowler during the 1870s on suitable appointments of new bedeswomen. In discussing the contemporary issue of possible inclusion of 'decayed gentlewomen', Sibthorp expressed himself in favour though doubting their presence within the geographical limits imposed by the charity's trust deeds. He noted perceptively that 'consideration must be given to the admixture of two classes, which would cause annoyances to both', RW Sibthorp to J Fowler, 7 Dec 1871, in Fowler, p 223–4.





Figure 198: Ecclesiastical detail on the porter's house.

*photo: Anthea Bickley, 26.6.2012*

founder (probably) remembered. The 'cloisters' and buttressed and escutcheoned gable ends (inscriptions now eroded) may stylistically suggest to some residents a vision of a former religious community [figure 198].

Collectively, the role of almshouses, in recognising the needs and dignity of old age, contributed to the ideals that underpinned the welfare state. Whether or not an architectural landmark or the salvation of one man's soul, St. Anne's has its place. If faith and charity are to be evoked, the Bedehouses should be better known and understood. Such statements may still be made by those with money and (uneasy) consciences: the elderly poor are always with us.

### Acknowledgements:

The writer would like to acknowledge the help of the staff of Lincoln Central Library, Anthea Bickley for taking the photographs, Carmen Mangion for information on St. Joseph's in Chelsea, and above all, the warden and residents of St. Anne's Bedehouses.



# Alfred Luck

by Catriona Blaker

*Note: All quotations, from Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin, Volumes Three and Four, edited by Margaret Belcher, retain Pugin's original spelling and grammar.*

## Family and background

Described as a 'Retired Manchester Warehouseman' in the 1851 Census, the Rev. Alfred Luck was of Kentish/Protestant origin but became a Catholic convert after going to France to study French at Abbeville. He was born in Cornhill, City of London and the most recent research in baptismal registers shows that he was born on 2nd December 1807 and baptised on February 10th 1808 at the church of St Peter's, Cornhill. The 1841 Census reports him as living in Peckham with his wife Clementina Golding, who was born in 1814, and his children John, Mary, Sophia, Susanna and Thomas. Clementina was from Ditton Place, Ditton, Kent. In the church of St Peter ad Vincula, Ditton, near West Malling, Kent, there is a Gothicised wall memorial tablet to members of the Golding family, which includes Clementina and mentions her husband Alfred Luck. This tablet, and the information on it, suggest that Clementina came from a family of standing, and perhaps some wealth also.

Alfred Luck had seven children (although one died very young). After the death of his wife, on November 16th 1842, Luck moved to Ramsgate, where he became friendly with Augustus Pugin who had been living there permanently since 1844. In 1847 Pugin reported on his Christmas activities at the Grange, saying that he entertained 'a Crowd of children', 'Mr Luckes' among them.<sup>1</sup> The 1851 Census records that at 11 Nelson Crescent, Ramsgate, which was by now rented by Luck, two of his children, Helen (aged 8) and Francis (aged 9), were in residence, along with a governess/housekeeper, a cook, housemaid and nurse. However, Luck himself, whose age is given as 43 in the 1851 Census, was not in Ramsgate but visiting fellow Catholics John and Elizabeth Knill at Mill House, Lewisham, in South London. John Knill was the uncle of Jane Knill (1825–1909), whom he adopted, unofficially at least, and who became Augustus Pugin's third wife. John Knill had converted to Catholicism in 1842 and by this time Jane, too, was also Catholic, although she had been baptised Anglican.

At some point it seems that Alfred Luck moved from Ramsgate to West Malling, for a short period. In a letter to John Hardman, thought to be of 1849, Pugin, bemoaning the loss of a generous benefactor to his church, reports 'Mr. Lucke is talking of removing to Malling',<sup>2</sup> and slightly later that year, writing to his wife Jane, he comments: 'I think Mr Lucke will repent buying Malling for it will be very dull but that is his business'.<sup>3</sup> Could Luck have wished to move there since it was not very far from Ditton, where his wife and her family had come from? Margaret Belcher, in

1 Belcher 2009, The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin Volume 3 1846–1848, p 363.

2 Belcher 2012, The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin Volume 4 1849–1850, p 148.

3 Belcher, *ibid*, p 208.



a footnote to the first of these two letters, mentions his address in the Hardman metalwork daybook as: 'The Hermitage, West Malling, Maidstone'. This building, which was later extended, was listed Grade II in 1952 (English Heritage ID 392426). Interestingly, the address on the list description is, significantly, 'The Hermitage, Lucks Hill, West Malling'.

After Augustus Pugin's death, in 1852, Luck returned to Ramsgate and lived at the Grange, being in residence at least by 1854.<sup>4</sup> The house was let to him by the Pugin family, who had temporarily moved away from the town. One account reports, further, that: 'he [Luck] rented the house formerly occupied by Pugin's servants and later known as St Edward's, to the Benedictines, for £20 a year – it had just been vacated by the Rev. O. Chevalier'.<sup>5</sup> St Edward's was adjacent to the Grange and originally connected to it, and was used by the first monks to arrive in Ramsgate, in the 1850s, as temporary accommodation. When their leader, Wilfrid Alcock, arrived in 1856, however, this house was entirely unfurnished and so Luck offered him a room at the Grange.<sup>6</sup> The Luck family was recorded as still being in residence at the Grange – originally known as St Augustine's – in the 1861 Census, and included Luck himself, John Sullivan (chaplain), two visitors ('students') and four servants. By this time Luck is described as a 'fundholder', aged 53, and the house is referred to as 'St Augustine's/The Grange'.

One of Luck's sons, the Rev. Thomas Luck, became a secular priest and two others (John Edmund and Francis Augustine) became Benedictine monks, and were much involved with the activities of the Ramsgate Benedictines. John Edmund eventually became the fourth Catholic Bishop of Auckland, New Zealand from 1882–1896. In 1880 Abbot Wilfrid Alcock of St Augustine's Monastery, Ramsgate, went out to New Zealand to join the Ramsgate Benedictine mission based in Auckland, and died there in 1882. He was buried in New Zealand, but is commemorated in St. Augustine's. The Sacred Heart altar and reredos, designed by Peter Paul Pugin, and the full-length brass in the North cloister commemorate him. While visiting England in 1884, these were consecrated by John Edmund Luck, in his role as Bishop of Auckland.<sup>7</sup>

## Luck and St Augustine's Church, Ramsgate

Pugin said of Luck, in a letter to John Hardman, that 'He is the great I may say the only Benefactor to St Augustins'.<sup>8</sup> He contributed, together with the Digby family, to the completion of the north and west cloisters of the church, additions being undertaken by Edward Pugin. Luck also gave a pair of candlesticks, designed by Pugin, and with the Luck coat of arms on them, to St Augustine's, for the Lady Chapel.<sup>9</sup> These are well documented in letters and in the Hardman Metalwork Day

4 See a letter from John Hardman Powell to his wife Anne, which reveals that he is staying at the Grange (then called St Augustine's) with Alfred Luck. Michael Fisher Hardman of Birmingham p 79.

5 For this information see David Parry OSB 1965, *Monastic Century*. This, and the companion volume, *Scholastic Century*, are the main published sources for information about the monastery and school (known originally as St Augustine's College) of St Augustine's.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 Belcher, Vol III, *op cit* pp 586/587.

9 *Ibid.*, p 302.



books. They were made in 1849 and were exhibited at the Great Exhibition [figure 199]. In more recent times, two candlesticks with Luck's arms on them were, until a

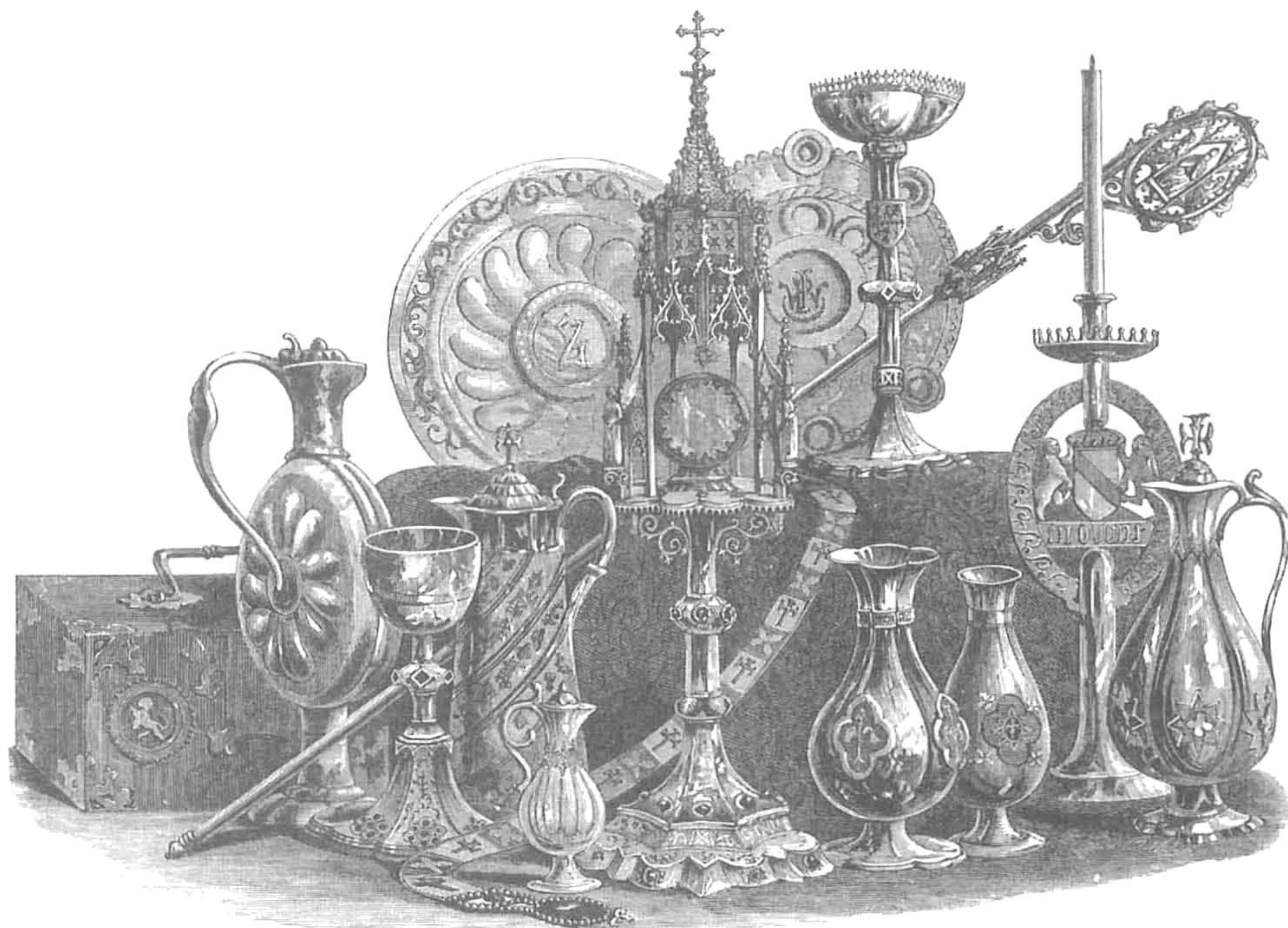


Figure 199: Engraving from the *Art Journal Exhibition Catalogue*, of church plate and other items designed by Pugin and made by Hardman, on display in the Mediæval Court in the Great Exhibition, 1851. One of the Luck candlesticks can be seen, with cresting, and the Luck coat of arms, raised, and to the right.

few years ago, often to be seen in St Augustine's church, and were accompanied by a matching crucifix. Were these the same two given to Pugin for the church? However, there is no mention before 1852 of the matching crucifix in the Metalwork Day books.<sup>10</sup> Could this have been given by Luck later, after Pugin's death? Further, although the candlesticks with the Luck coat of arms on them have the 'Saw-pierced Crestings' round their rims, as described in the Metalwork Day book,<sup>11</sup> and as illustrated in one of the catalogues to the Great Exhibition, the ones that were previously on display in the church did not. What are we to make of this? Was there a change in the finished commission, or is this not the same pair of candlesticks?

Luck also gave a window, showing St Catherine of Alexandria and St Margaret of Antioch, which was placed in the north wall of the main church. At the bottom of the window is inscribed *Orate pro bono statu Alfredus Lucke MDCCCXLIX* or 'Pray for the good estate of Alfred Luck 1849'. In 1861 he contributed the main lights of another window, in the south aisle, showing the Northern saints Wilfrid, Bede and Cuthbert, the names taken by three of the first nineteenth-century Benedictines in Thanet.

10 I am indebted to Margaret Belcher for this information.

11 Belcher, Vol III, *op cit*, p 303.



Other gifts for the church included a crown for the statue of Our Lady, and four flower vases.<sup>12</sup>

## St Gregory's and the founding of the Monastery, Ramsgate

When the Pugin family returned to Ramsgate in 1861 Luck had to move out of the Grange. He commissioned Edward Pugin to build him a house across the road, behind the site of the Monastery, to be named St Gregory's; this was finished in 1862 [figure 200]. In this attractive residence, Edward Pugin designed a special fireplace, with symbolic carvings on it, as his father had done in the Grange, referring to the interests of members of the Luck family.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 200: St Gregory's: the house designed in Ramsgate by E.W. Pugin for Alfred Luck. When this photograph was taken, St Gregory's had already become part of St Augustine's College and Edward had added an extension in 1871 to the rear of the building. The photograph is therefore c1880. (Private collection)

Luck became deeply involved with the Benedictines at Ramsgate and became an Oblate of the Order of Saint Benedict, or 'lay associate of the Order'<sup>14</sup> and eventually a secular priest in 1863. He was the founder of the Monastery which was built on land purchased by the first Benedictines in Ramsgate from the Pugin family, and paid sums amounting to £4000 for its construction. Work started on the Monastery in 1860 and it was, like St Gregory's, designed by Edward Pugin. Luck also left St Gregory's

12 Belcher, Vol IV, *op cit* pp 299 and 670.

13 Beveridge, 'A Pugin Link with New Zealand', True principles (the voice of The Pugin Society), Vol II, No 5. See also an interesting article relating to Bishop Edmund Luck, 'Bishop's House, Auckland', in Present state (the newsletter of The Pugin Soc), No 11, Summer 2013.

14 *Ibid.*



to the monks, to be used as a college, and, additionally, £17,500 to endow a 'house of the observance' with his sons as trustees, and with the proviso that two masses be said daily, one for his soul and one for his family.<sup>15</sup> This became known as 'the Luck endowment', but using it to the best advantage led to later difficulties for the Community: 'more was undertaken than could be sustained', as one chronicler put it.<sup>16</sup> Luck also bequeathed funds to his daughter Mary, who took the veil as Dame Benedict, to found a Benedictine convent in Ramsgate.<sup>17</sup> This was built by Messrs Whelan and Hayes, and later became the Convent of the Assumption.<sup>18</sup> By 1867 permission from the Benedictines' superiors had been given for the use of Luck's house as a school (a school of sorts had already commenced), and some boys and staff moved in. The building was extended in 1871 by Edward Pugin and there were further extensions in 1893 by Peter Paul Pugin. Years later, in 1971, all the pupils were moved to Westgate and, regrettably, the building was demolished in 1973. The school finally closed in 1995.

## Caroline

Augustus Pugin famously reported in an excited letter to his friend John Hardman: 'I have got a boat fit for any work. She is just six inches longer than my studio 40 foot six inches and will carry 36 tons – I shall have a red cross painted on the foresail ... She can carry out anchors for an Indiaman'.<sup>19</sup> On 21st February 1849, he wrote in his diary: 'Bought the lugger Caroline with Mr Lucke for £70'<sup>20</sup> but it was not until 7th March 1849 that a Bill of Sale records that Luck, together with Pugin, bought in equal amounts the major part of the shares in this substantial three-masted Deal lugger. Referring to the purchase of *Caroline*, Pugin said of Luck: 'He has got the tin & I the knowledge'.<sup>21</sup> By the 2nd July, however, Pugin had bought out Luck's shares in the boat, and so must have had some 'tin' himself at this point. By February 1852, however, she had been sold again, indicating probably that Pugin was by now too ill to have to worry about any added complications in his life.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to speculate on Luck's nautical interests: did he just want to help his friend or was he, like Pugin, seriously interested in the sea and sailing, or did he perhaps think, also like Pugin, that this would be a profitable venture?

## Finis

There is a full-length memorial brass of 1864 to Alfred Luck designed by John Hardman Powell (1827–1895), Augustus Pugin's chief assistant and son-in-law, just outside the entrance into the main part of St Augustine's Church, where Luck is buried. He requested this site to remind all those that came into the church to pray

15 For these two figures, see Parry, *Monastic Century*, *op cit*, p 41.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*, p 42.

18 Kent Coast Times, 2.1.1873, gives a description of this partially completed building and cites the architects.

19 Belcher, Vol III, *op cit*, p 44.

20 Wedgwood 1985, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family: Catalogue of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, p 66.

21 Belcher, Vol III, *op cit*, p 43.

22 For a good account of Caroline, see Robin Craig, 'Pugin's Caroline', *True principles*, Vol I, No 3, Winter, 1997.





Figure 201: The brass of Alfred Luck, west cloister, St Augustine's Church, Ramsgate

for him [figure 201]. The brass was an adaptation/modification, after several experiments, by Powell of one designed by Pugin for display in the Great Exhibition in 1851, which had shown a priest in full vestments in a canopy with saints above.<sup>23</sup> Alfred Luck is shown in Eucharistic vestments with inscriptions in Latin round all four sides of the brass and at the base is the further inscription: *Of your charity say one Hail Mary for the repose of the soul of the Revnd [sic] Alfred Luck Founder of St Augustine's Monastery, who died aged 56 years on the 10th June 1864. May he rest in peace.*<sup>24</sup> Powell's preparatory drawing for this brass was sold at auction, by Holloway's Ltd, in Banbury, in July 2013.

## Conclusion

The Reverend Alfred Luck was a most generous benefactor both to St Augustine's church and to the Benedictine community. In providing the wherewithal to found the Monastery at Ramsgate, and also the school associated with it, he contributed greatly to an important element in the town's history. The story of the Benedictines in Ramsgate has been a very significant one, starting anew in 1856, but also, in a way, harking back to Thanet and East Kent's mediæval Catholic past. The Benedictines have been very much a part of the life of Ramsgate, and it is sad that after so many years the Community has now moved. Perhaps a happier last thought would be to imagine Luck being entertained by his friend Pugin at the Grange, discussing the doings of *Caroline* and her crew, or planning further work on the building of St Augustine's church, with which he was so much involved.

## Acknowledgments

I should like to thank Sister Robertson of the London Family History Centre for establishing the birth and baptismal dates of Alfred Luck and Robin Fleet for his assistance with some Census references.

23 See Fisher, *op.cit.*, p 130, for an interesting account of the origins of this brass.

24 See also David Meara, *Victorian Memorial Brasses*, 1983, plate 29, for a good depiction of the brass.



# Pugin's heraldic revival

by J.A. Hilton

In the course of leading the Gothic Revival in architecture, A. W. N. Pugin brought about a revival in the art of heraldry.<sup>1</sup> With his knowledge of mediæval architecture and art, he not only decorated his buildings, especially his secular commissions, with splendid displays of heraldry, but also, by going back to its mediæval origins, he revolutionised the decorative use of heraldry. In so doing, he placed heraldry back at the centre of domestic and national life, encouraged the development of the heraldic decorative arts, and inspired heraldic artists to follow him back to heraldry's mediæval roots. George W. Eve, whose books, according to Parsons, 'became influential source books for later artists', remarked on Pugin 'furthering the revival of good heraldic treatment as an intimate part of the Gothic architecture for which he worked so strenuously', and pointed out that 'Pugin, whose

influence on architecture was so impressive, had no less strong an effect on the heraldry which accompanies it so appropriately ...'.<sup>2</sup>

Pugin's approach to heraldry was not without its forerunners. Both Horace Walpole's early Gothic Revival 'Strawberry Hill' and William Beckford's 'Fonthill Abbey' were bedecked with heraldry, no more correct than their architecture. Thomas Willement, however, an heraldic artist who worked on George IV's restoration of Windsor Castle, designing heraldic stained glass for St George's Chapel, also produced some scholarly publications on mediæval heraldry. As Woodcock and Robinson put it, 'The revival of heraldic art pioneered by Willement was perfected by A. W. N. Pugin'. It



Figure 202: Conventional forms of animals  
(Pugin's *Glossary*, 1868, Plate 66)

1 This paper is partly derived from my dissertation for the advanced examination of the Heraldry Society and the award of its diploma: 'The heraldry of the post-reformation English Catholic community' (2011). I am grateful to Mr Alan Fennely and the Rev. Michael Fisher for their help in the preparation of this article.  
2 Parsons 1989, p 37; Eve 1908, p 218; Eve 1907, p 226.



was Pugin, however, who first systematically revived the use of mediæval heraldry along with Gothic architecture.<sup>3</sup>

To assess the extent of Pugin's impact on heraldic art, we must first consider heraldry as he found it. Pugin argued that the revival of pagan classical architecture was the cause of the decline in architecture and so, by implication, was also the cause of the decline of heraldry. The Renaissance style of architecture against which he reacted had reduced the external use of heraldry, so that by the end of the eighteenth century it was largely confined to embellishing pediments. Internally, heraldry was confined to the entrance hall, where crests were painted on the back of wooden chairs, and carved crests might be used as decorative emblems in a frieze, for example as metopes between triglyphs (the word 'crest' is often used incorrectly as a synonym for a shield of arms. A 'crest' – the clue is in the word – is the device on top of the helmet on top of the shield).<sup>4</sup>

Not only was heraldry reduced in importance, it had declined in style and design. Indeed, according to Parsons, 'Heraldic art at this period reached its nadir', and, in particular 'Shields were square and their charges were often feebly drawn and failed to use the space at their disposal'. Eve pointed out that: 'Heraldic forms in most unheraldic attitudes dodge round weakly designed shields from above which tiny coronets topple, quite regardless of the balanced composition of good design.' Eve summed it up as: 'the general loss of grip is everywhere perceptible in the design'.<sup>5</sup>

Pugin, however, used heraldry extensively in both exterior and interior decoration, and his designs reverted to mediæval forms, including those used in the Tudor period. His description of Tudor heraldic glass amounts to a programme for his own heraldic practice in decorating buildings: 'During the dynasty of the Tudors, shields-of-arms, surrounded by circular borders of heraldic flowers, were frequently set in lights, filled up with the repetition of the motto, running bendy, with rows of quarrels between the scrolls, on which initial letters, or small badges, were generally painted.'<sup>6</sup>

More importantly for heraldic art, Pugin abandoned the Georgian practice, inherited from the Renaissance, of drawing objects naturalistically or realistically, and went back to the mediæval practice of drawing them conventionally or symbolically. Indeed, *The glossary* calls the relevant plate 'Conventional forms of Animals' [**figure 202**]. For example, he does not attempt to draw realistic lions but rather to draw their Platonic form or Aristotelian substance, their fundamental essence.<sup>7</sup>

In *The true principles* Pugin laid down that 'the smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose', and that heraldry had symbolic meaning. As he wrote of the mediæval palace of Westminster, in *Contrasts*, 'every chamber ... was adorned with

3 Woodcock & Robinson 1988, pp 181–82; Eve 1908, p 217; Woodcock & Robinson 2000, p 20.

4 Pugin 1841 (*Contrasts*), pp iii–v; Woodcock & Robinson 1988, pp 180–81.

5 Parsons 1989, pp 37–39; Eve 1908, p 2; Eve 1907, p 12.

6 Pugin 'Lectures on ecclesiastical architecture – lecture the third', Catholic magazine (1839), quoted in Shepherd, pp 109–110.

7 Pugin 1868 (*The glossary*), plates 66 and 67; fig 202 is reproduced from *The glossary*, plate 66.



emblems of [the monarchs'] faith and their country'. In *An apology*, he urged that the funeral monuments of the Victorian nobility should be ornamented 'with a profusion of heraldic devices illustrative of their birth and descent'. He argued that in the royal palaces 'the long succession of our kings, – their noble achievements, – the honourable badges and charges that they bore, – would form subjects which would naturally suggest themselves for the various hall and apartments', and 'The same remarks apply with equal force to the residences of the nobility and gentry'.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, the illustrations of his books frequently depict heraldic features or are decorated with heraldry. *Contrasts* displays the debased state of Georgian heraldry in the royal arms below a mediæval shield in a window, and records arms on King's College, the Guildhall, West Cheap conduit, Chichester cross, an episcopal monument, Ely House, and Ely Palace. The frontispiece of *The true principles* has the royal arms between the arms of St George and St Edward, and illustrates arms on a lock, on a fire-dog, on ceilings at Antwerp and Long Melford, rows of carved and painted arms on interior walls, on the walls of chimney stacks, and over doorways, and his drawing of St Mary Magdalen College is illustrated with arms. The arms of the earl of Shrewsbury and of Pugin decorate the dedication of *An apology*, and arms are shown on the gateway of the Chateau Gaillon, on sepulchral brasses, and on domestic exteriors. In *The present state* the drawing of St John's Hospital, Alton, is decorated with the arms of the Earl of Shrewsbury as well as the Agnus Dei on a shield, and the drawing of the convent of Our Lady of Mercy, Birmingham, with the arms of the Earl of Shrewsbury and the assumed arms of Hardman.<sup>9</sup>

Pugin claimed his own coat of arms – Gules on a bend or a martlet Sable (a black, legless bird on a yellow diagonal band on a red shield) – and this was not 'a crest' but 'a full coat of arms'. His father, Auguste Pugin, claimed descent from a fifteenth-century nobleman who had raised troops for the city of Fribourg in Switzerland. The arms may have been derived from those of the lords of Corbières in the canton of Fribourg: Gules on a bend Argent a crow Sable (a black crow on a white diagonal band on a red background) with the crest of an eagle issuing Sable beaked Gules (a black eagle with a red beak). Pugin did not display a crest (if he had one, he most certainly would have displayed it) but crests are uncommon in France. J. R. Herbert's portrait of Pugin (in the Pugin Room, Palace of Westminster) shows the arms surmounted by a helm, on which rests a coronet of tines topped with pearls (five of which are visible). This coronet may be due to the artist's ignorance (outside the ranks of heraldists, ignorance and confusion are widespread, although the basics of the subject can be mastered in a day – according to MacKinnon!). If not ignorance, then perhaps artistic licence was the cause. Pugin, however, sat for his portrait, and could have put Herbert right. It may, therefore, be a reference to the Pugins' claim to nobility and Auguste's nickname of 'le comte de Pugin' or, possibly, may be the result of the common Swiss usurpation of coronets of nobility. Auguste's sister, the wife of

8 Pugin 1841 (*The true principles*), p 1; Pugin 1841 (*Contrasts*), p 10; Pugin 1843 (*An apology*), p 34 n 18, p 38.

9 Pugin 1841 (*Contrasts*), contrasted college gateways, contrasted town halls, contrasted public conduits, contrasted crosses, contrasted episcopal monuments, contrasted episcopal residences; Pugin 1841 (*The true principles*), pp 36, 37, 52, 60, plates II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII; Pugin 1843 (*The present state*), plate 5, plate opposite p 102; Burke 1884, p 995; personal communication from the Rev. M. Fisher.



his friend, the painter Louis Lafitte, made the young Augustus, aged twelve, aware of these arms on a visit to France in 1824. Augustus added the motto 'En Avant' (Forward). As Hill remarks, 'these arms meant a great deal to him ... his arms connected him with the world of knights and castles that the novels of Scott ... and his study of architecture made ever more vivid to his imagination.'

In England, arms are only legitimate if granted or registered by the College of Arms, but in Switzerland and post-Revolutionary France, people were free to assume arms. The family of Pugin's third wife, Jane Knill, used, probably without right, the arms of the Knills of Knill, Herefordshire – Gules crusilly fitchee a lion rampant Or (a rearing yellow lion on a red shield, scattered with gold crosses, their bases pointed) – so Pugin impaled her arms with his, i.e. they were placed side by side on the same shield.<sup>10</sup>

Accordingly, the house he built for himself – The Grange, at Ramsgate – was filled with his arms, from the tiled floors, through the wallpaper and coloured glass windows to the banner flying from the tower. The frieze in his study was decorated with the arms of his patrons. The Grange, according to Hill, was in 'a modern kind of Gothic, suitable for the nineteenth-century family house'. Together with its domestic chapel and the church next door, it was, according to Webster, 'the nucleus for a future Catholic community'. Moreover, it served as a model, not only for the new houses of members of the middle class, like himself, but also for the re-modelled country houses of the landed gentry and aristocracy. The former are exemplified by Meanwood Towers, Headingley, Leeds, built for Thomas Stuart Kennedy, and filled with silverware engraved with the family arms, supplied by Hardman. The latter include Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, with its heraldic decorations by Pugin: its Cromwell hall's chimneypiece and stained glass, and its long gallery's painted ceiling.<sup>11</sup>

Alton Towers was re-built by Pugin for his principal patron, John Talbot, 16th earl of Shrewsbury and 16th earl of Waterford, and was decorated throughout with heraldry. The banqueting hall and the dining room had heraldic stained glass and chimneypieces. The Talbot gallery had heraldic chimneypieces and a painted paper frieze, the work of Willement. The Doria rooms had the Talbot arms impaled by those of Prince Doria-Pamphili, Shrewsbury's son-in-law. In the chapel there was a portrait of the earl in an heraldic tabard.<sup>12</sup>

As assistant to Charles Barry, Pugin, helped by John Hardman Powell and William Burges, was responsible for the decoration of the new Palace of Westminster. According to Hill, 'Pugin rifled his library for emblems suitable for every corner of the building ... he found crests, badges and images ... they gave the new palace a depth of allusion, a richness of visual texture that nobody else could have achieved.'

10 Hill 2007, pp 9–11, 65, 103, 327, plate 1; C. R. H-S 1999, p 5; von Volborth 1981, pp 109, 114; MacKinnon 1966, p 3; <http://theheraldrysociety.com/education.htm>; von Volborth 1991, p 218; Burke 1884, p 573.

11 Anon 2009, 'Pugin's heraldry', p 9; Hill 2007, p 201; Webster 2010–11, p 191; Fisher 2008, pp 100, 118–21; Woodcock & Robinson 2000, pp 66–67.

12 Fisher 1999, *passim*.



He also found a rich source for his work at the Palace in the Tudor heraldry in Henry VII's chapel in the nearby Westminster Abbey. Indeed, Eve remarked that 'However imbued with the mediæval spirit Pugin was, the Renaissance feeling unmistakably asserts itself in these designs .... They seem to associate themselves naturally with the Tudor heraldry rather than with that of an earlier time ... Tudor heraldry marked the close of the Middle Ages. In character it was a combination of the mediæval style with that of the Renaissance ...'

Particular examples are, perhaps, the use of heraldry on every otherwise empty surface and the use of engrailed shields in the achievements of royal arms. Pugin eschewed, however, the use of putti, classical columns and other features of renaissance art which Torregiano used on the royal Tudor tombs. In the coats of arms it is what Eve called 'the refined Gothic of the early Renaissance' that is most apparent. As Parsons wrote, the Palace is 'alive with a riot of splendid arms, crowns, beasts and badges ...'. Eve remarked that 'It is a wonderful mass of fine work in glass and stone and other materials. No less remarkable in that it succeeded a long period of such extreme weakness, and was itself but the firstfruits of the revived interest in the subject [of heraldry]'. Woodcock and Robinson also enthuse, saying 'Pugin's heraldic display in the Houses of Parliament is exemplary, and would have won the approval of Henry III himself. It set the standard for much of the Victorian revival of architectural heraldic decoration, which soon outdid the fourteenth century in scale and prolixity.' Moreover, the Palace placed Christianity, Gothic architecture and heraldry at the heart of national life.<sup>13</sup>

In originating this heraldic revival, Pugin also encouraged the revival of the necessary crafts. As Woodcock and Robinson explain, 'To Pugin, for instance, goes the credit for reviving the heraldic encaustic tile as well as brasses and enamelwork', and he also helped to revive heraldic stained glass. These crafts were pursued by firms, such as Hardman, Minton, and Crace, which worked with Pugin and his successors.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, Pugin founded a family firm, being succeeded by his eldest son Edward Welby Pugin, and then his younger sons Cuthbert Welby Pugin and Peter Paul Pugin, who were known as Pugin and Pugin. The family firm, together with the craft firms that supported it, are represented at Scarisbrick Hall, Lancashire. A. W. N. Pugin began work re-modelling the hall for Charles Scarisbrick in the 1830s. For the south library or red drawing room he designed a fireplace decorated with tiles painted with the Scarisbrick arms and initials. Charles Scarisbrick died in 1860, and was succeeded by his widowed sister, Dame Ann Hunloke, who changed her name back to Scarisbrick. She commissioned E.W. Pugin to continue his father's work. He gave his father's fireplace in the great hall an heraldic overmantel, and designed an heraldic fireplace for the blue drawing room, and an heraldic window for the great hall. Lady Ann's daughter, Eliza Margaret, married the Franco-Spanish Marquis of

13 Eve 1907, pp 11, 226–28; Eve 1908, pp 154–59, 163, 170–72, 217–20, figs, 173–76; Hill 2007, p 455; Parsons 1989, p 38; Woodcock & Robinson 1988, p 182; Simion 2010–11, pp 175–86.

14 Woodcock & Robinson 1988, p 182; Woodcock & Robinson, 2000, p 20; Shepherd, *passim*; O'Donnell, *passim*; Doolan, *passim*; Fisher, 2008, *passim*.



Casteja, and when they inherited, Pugin and Pugin designed heraldic glass, supplied by Hardman, for the south porch. After Eliza Margaret's death, her widower commissioned Pugin and Pugin to build the nearby St Elizabeth's church, Bescar, filled with the arms of Scarisbrick and Casteja.<sup>15</sup>

Other architects also produced heraldic art in the Pugin tradition. As Woodcock and Robinson write 'The great Gothic Revival architects of the mid- to late Victorian period produced superb heraldic art. At its jolliest this can be seen in William Burges's work at Knightshayes and its most progressively original in Hungerford Pollen's stained glass and firedogs in the Gallery at Blickling.'

Burges's work at Knightshayes was carried out by Crace, who was under the influence of Pugin. Hungerford Pollen's work at Blickling includes heraldic glass made by Powells of Whitefriars, and 'is among the finest heraldic glass of its date in England'. Other heraldic displays include that in Charles Alban Buckler's re-building of Arundel Castle for the 15th Duke of Norfolk, the earl marshal, at the head of the College of Arms, the governing body for English heraldry. At Arundel, according to Robinson, heraldry 'permeates the architecture in carvings, stained glass, tiles, ironwork and painted decorations'. A similar programme was carried out by de Haviland, York Herald, for the 9th Lord Beaumont, at Carlton Towers in Yorkshire. According to Woodcock and Robinson 'In these vast Gothic houses nearly every window glows with heraldic stained glass, every fireplace is lined with heraldic tiles, nearly every ceiling and cornice sport an array of carved and painted shields, coronets, quarterings, crests and supporters.'<sup>16</sup>

Dom Anselm Baker (1833–85) was outstanding among the heraldic artists who followed in the Pugin tradition. Indeed, Fox-Davies links them together: 'The work of Pere [sic] Anselm, and of Pugin, the first start towards the present ideas of heraldic art, embodying... so much of the beauty of the older work whilst possessing a character of its own, and developing ancient ideals by increased beauty of execution, has placed their reputation far above that of others...'

William Baker learnt painting and drawing in Hardman's workshop, and then joined the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St Bernard in 1857 as a lay brother, taking the name Anselm. He became known as 'the herald monk', producing a 'Liber vitae' (a record of the arms of the abbey's benefactors), 'The arms of the Cistercian houses of England', and 'The armorial bearings of English cardinals', in which he dispensed with the black outline typical of the stained-glass style in which he had been trained. These books were never published, though a selection from the last has been. However, his heraldic woodcuts had, of necessity, a strong black outline, and were published with Forbes Nixon's in Foster's *Peerage, baronetage and knightage*. According to Eve, their 'decorative quality ... was immediately recognized', and Baker 'was not content to copy the mere forms of his art, but succeeded in infusing some of the rude spirit of the earlier artist into what was largely his own'. According to Wood 'The

15 Hasted, *passim*; Hartwell & Pevsner 2009, pp 597–606.

16 Woodcock & Robinson 1988, p 182; Woodcock & Robinson, 2000, pp 20, 48, 108–111; Robinson, *Arundel Castle* (Arundel), *passim*; Robinson, 1994, *passim*.



achievements were often asymmetrical and full of movement and pattern. ... they brought a much needed freshness, vitality and freedom to English heraldic art.<sup>17</sup>

It is certainly true that the influence of Pugin did not extend far beyond the work of his immediate contemporary disciples. Eve remarked that 'the influence of the revival on heraldry at large was much less than might have been expected, and for long the "established" or popular style was generally insisted upon as it is in some measure to this day'. However, Fox-Davies denounced 'The tendency at the present time ... to slavishly copy examples of other periods', just as the heraldic writer and publisher Joseph Foster complained of 'the illustrations that nearly every genealogical compilation exhibits. These, and the coach-painters and silversmiths, with their weak and spiritless designs, seem to be the public leaders of heraldic taste'. Perhaps the progress of the heraldic revival in the twentieth century owes much to the decline in the popularity of horse-drawn carriages, and heraldic silver.<sup>18</sup>

Pugin's influence on the art of heraldry was as great, if not greater than his influence on architecture. It has been argued that Pugin's essential architectural principles have influenced modernist architecture with its insistence that form follow function, but no-one now builds in the gothic style. As in architecture, so in heraldry, Pugin's influence may not be immediately obvious, but most, if not all, contemporary heraldic artists work in his symbolic style rather than the realistic style prevalent during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pugin's mediæval gothic, including his 'refined gothic' of the Tudor renaissance lives on in modern heraldic art.<sup>19</sup>

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17 Fox-Davies 1909, p 397; Parsons 1989, p 38; Cooper 2004 III, p 422; Eve 1908, pp 219–21; Anon. 1885, p 301; Elvins 1985, *passim*; Elvins 1985, pp 165–66; Wood 2000, p 82; Forster, *passim*.

18 Eve 1908, p 219; Fox-Davis 1909, p 396; Forster 1881, p vii.

19 Brittain-Catlin 2003, 'Introduction' to *Contrasts*, p vii; 'Introduction' to *The true principles*, pp v–vi; Child, *passim*.



## News and comment

### A Night to Remember

from Jonathan Glancey

Just before the winter sun rose through a freezing sea mist, my bedroom was filled with a cacophony of insistent tappings on walls and windows. This was 1987, when The Grange, abandoned and empty, was in a very sorry state indeed. I had been sleeping here, before the tapping started, because I loved the idea of this singularly curious house and because I had been haunted, since I was fourteen, by the idea of the human dynamo who had designed it and lived here with his family for a few short years before illness, fatigue and madness caught up with him, and saw him dead at forty.

The late Dom Bede Millard OSB, a young monk of St Augustine's Abbey, across the road from The Grange, knew of my fascination with Pugin, and was only too happy to arrange for me to sleep, quite alone, in the house. 'Tell me if it's haunted', said Bede, smiling, before handing me the key to Pugin's house. Was it haunted? No. Despite the crepuscular atmosphere, and its myriad clanking cisterns (The Grange had been a children's home not long before I first came here, and awash with dark old lavatories). I slept perfectly happily where Pugin once slept, with my favourite of his many books, *A treatise of chancel screens and rood lofts* (1851), on the floor beside my torch and sleeping bag. That maniacal tapping on the windows gave me a start, yet it proved to be nothing more than a squadron of Gothic-beaked seagulls squabbling over roosts.



Figure 203: The Grange after restoration, rear view  
J. Al-Seffar September 2007

Three years later, Bede rang to tell me the monks were planning to sell The Grange. He knew I longed to live there. A price was agreed with the Prior: £175,000. This was quite beyond me, yet I persuaded my bank to promise me the money. And then I was gazzumped. At the time, I thought this less than Christian behaviour on the part of the monks, but it was, perhaps, all for the best. After some years,

and worries over its future, The Grange was bought, as we well know, by the Landmark Trust, who spent some two million pounds restoring it [figure 203]. Very kindly, the Trust let me sleep in Pugin's bedroom, alone in the house – this time in



a comfortable Victorian bed – just before its official opening and press launch. The Grange was sheathed in a morning mist again as I woke up, although the seagulls were silent. The Grange itself was very much alive, and ship-shape, as it deserved to be.

Looking back, I am still slightly amazed by the turn in Pugin's posthumous fortune – between my own discovery of him as a teenager, and the completion of the restoration of The Grange. When, entirely by accident, I first came across Pugin in the 1970s, I bought a good first edition of *The true principles*, for two pounds. At that time Pugin seemed the most obscure of all English architects. Soon afterwards, I found a lonely copy of Phoebe Stanton's Thames and Hudson World of Art monograph, *Pugin*; it was brand new, but, said the shopkeeper, it had remained resolutely unsold since its publication some years earlier. Guilelessly, I wrote to Phoebe Stanton, via the publisher, asking where I might find out more about Pugin; there was no answer.

At college I found a copy of Michael Trappes-Lomax's biography, *Pugin: a medieval victorian* (Sheed and Ward, 1932), and began to discover something more about the spirit of the man behind the wonderfully slashing and dogmatic sentiments of *The true principles*. Writing to parish priests up and down the country, I began a long sequence of train trips to find Pugin's buildings, culminating in a walk across the rood screen at St Giles, Cheadle, and that first, sleeping bag night in The Grange, followed by morning Mass in the glorious church next door. 'This is my own child,' said Pugin of St Augustine's, 'free from the devil in the shape of a committee.'

My first proper full time job was as a young assistant editor of the *Architectural Review*. My interview, at the romantic eighteenth-century Queen Anne's Gate offices of the Architectural Press, was conducted by the editorial director, Colin Boyne. He asked me to talk about an architect I was particularly keen on. Years later, Colin – an unrepentant Modernist – told me how bemused, and charmed, he was when I plumped for Pugin. Pugin!

Even then, Pugin still remained a shadowy figure. Gavin Stamp, one of the architectural historians I met through the *Architectural Review*, knew a great deal about the fiery Victorian Goth – 'the only good architect', he counselled, 'is a dead architect', although 'there was much' he said, 'that still needed discovering'. The thought crossed my mind that if I couldn't find books to tell me enough about Pugin, then, in time honoured fashion, I would write my own. I had just started to marshal my thoughts on paper when I learned that the enigmatic Phoebe Stanton (or so she seemed to me) had been writing a comprehensive biography of Pugin for some years. It was to be published by Yale University Press, and the manuscript ran to over two thousand pages. Believing that it would be impossible, even impertinent, to follow in Stanton's giant footprints, I gave up the idea, although I continued to tour every Pugin building I got to hear of. Stanton's book was never published.

In 1992, I met Alexandra Wedgwood for the first time. We lunched in a small fish restaurant in Covent Garden. Her extraordinarily detailed and immaculately organised and edited *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family: catalogues of drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* had taken a pride of place in my own library since its



publication in 1985. We plotted a Pugin exhibition because I wanted, as did Alexandra, to bring Pugin out of the shadows and into public consciousness. At the V and A, Clive Wainwright, another Pugin expert, took up the cause and *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, curated by Paul Atterbury and designed by John Outram, opened to the public in 1994.

From then on, and with widespread media coverage, Pugin became a well-known name. Pugin scholarship blossomed. The Pugin Society was formed in 1995. Pugin made national headlines in 1998 over the Derry Irvine wallpaper ‘scandal’ at the House of Lords, and Rosemary Hill has since written the biography – *God’s Architect: Pugin and the building of Romantic Britain* (Allen Lane, 2007) – that someone had to write, and to much acclaim. And, more recently, I watched (and quickly switched off) a populist TV documentary on Pugin. Sometimes the pendulum swings too far with important figures like Pugin becoming – remarkably – characters little different from soap opera celebrities.

True, Pugin’s swashbuckling, hectic life – ‘I am such a locomotive being always flying about’ – was operatic in many ways, and he continues, especially in the case of all the many women architectural historians so very keen on him, to woo the ladies just as he did in his *The true principles* heyday. ‘Like a sailor...’ wrote John Hardman Powell, his only pupil and son-in-law, ‘Pugin was susceptible with regard to women.’

Loved, I think, and admired today, for all his oddities and the limitations of many of his buildings, Pugin remains an exciting persona. Writing this, I open again my green and gold copy of *Chancel Screens* and revel all over again in its gloriously direct opening sentence: ‘The subject on which I am about to treat is one of far more importance than the generality of men may be willing to admit;’ Really? Chancel screens and rood lofts? In Pugin’s mind, certainly. And, as I turn the pages of this magnificent rant with its lovely line drawings, I find myself transported back to The Grange on that morning of freezing winter sea mist with seagulls rapping on the windows, and Pugin, as yet, a far off and forgotten figure.

## Turning Pugin Hall into a Twenty-First Century Home

*from Graham Booth*



Figure 204: Pugin Hall in 1947 (postcard)



Figure 205: Pugin Hall, SW view after restoration



As we drove away from the first estate agent's viewing of Pugin Hall, in Rampisham, Dorset, my wife said, 'We're going to buy this place. It's the only house we've seen that I've really wanted'; to which I replied 'You must be mad, it's a money pit!'. Five years later, I can confidently say that we were both right.

Although the house was listed grade I (English Heritage ref: 105472), and clearly of historical significance, I'm ashamed to admit I had never heard of Pugin. It wasn't long before I got to know about him. The seller enlightened me, the conservation officer for the area waxed lyrical, my mother-in-law bought me the Rosemary Hill biography, and my wife and I made a pilgrimage to The Grange, Pugin's own house in Ramsgate. It was becoming quite clear that this wasn't just another country rectory.

The house was in a poor state. Built in 1848 for the Vicar of Rampisham and Wraxall, the house had become a shadow of its Victorian self, since being sold out of the Church's ownership in 1946. That it needed complete internal restoration and refurbishment was quite apparent. What we hadn't bargained for was the work we would have to do to shore up the building's structure, before we could even entertain any thoughts of turning it into a house suitable for us and our four small children.



Figure 206: During restoration, chimney crane  
© G Booth c2009

The walls are of sandwich construction, with twin stone leaves and a rubble core. Over the years, this core had disaggregated in many sections and slumped towards the bottom of the walls, making them bow out badly at first floor level. Additionally, in a stroke of construction genius, the ends of the roof joists had been sited on the top of the outer leaf of the walls, while the top floor ceiling joists rested on the inner leaf. The result was that the sandwich was being pushed apart at roof level too. The solution was the installation of nearly 400 steel ties to hold the leaves of the wall together and anchor them to the floor and roof joists on the first and second storeys respectively. Can we blame Pugin for this fundamental structural error? Probably not. The drawings of the house, made in his own hand, and quite beautiful in their own right, show only small scale elevations and plans, with no indication of any construction details.

It appears to be a characteristic Pugin house design, wonderfully inspired but dashed off quickly, then handed over to the builder so that Pugin could move on to his next task. Pugin's trusted master builder, George Myers, had the skill to make Pugin's designs work in practice. However, he did not build Pugin Hall, which was to become very apparent as the house revealed its secrets.





Figure 207: Detail of porch (before)  
© G Booth c2009



Figure 208: Detail of porch (after)  
© G Booth c2010

The next problems were that the iron stanchions in the gable stones and chimneys had corroded, and the local Ham stone was in need of replacement. So, we had to have the gable cappings replaced and three new chimneys built, carved from newly quarried stone. It was in this process that the quality of construction was revealed. The stone chimney facings were removed to uncover what was little more than a random pile of bricks hurled together in a clump of lime mortar. We ended up having to rebuild even more of each stack than we had feared.



Figure 209: Revd Rooke's Crest  
© G Booth c2010

Additionally, the 'rainwater goods' were woefully undersized for our modern climate (did the Victorians really have better weather?) and needed replacing with cast iron gutters and down

pipes. Finally, all of the windows needed refurbishing. Part of the reason the house had been listed as a grade I building was that it was essentially intact. All the original diamond leaded windows were present, although warped and worn after 160 years, and almost all contained the original glass with its gorgeous refractions. Replacement was not an option; we had to have them taken away and carefully restored.

Before we had even started on the inside of the house, a third of our entire refurbishment budget had been spent. At least the EH listing

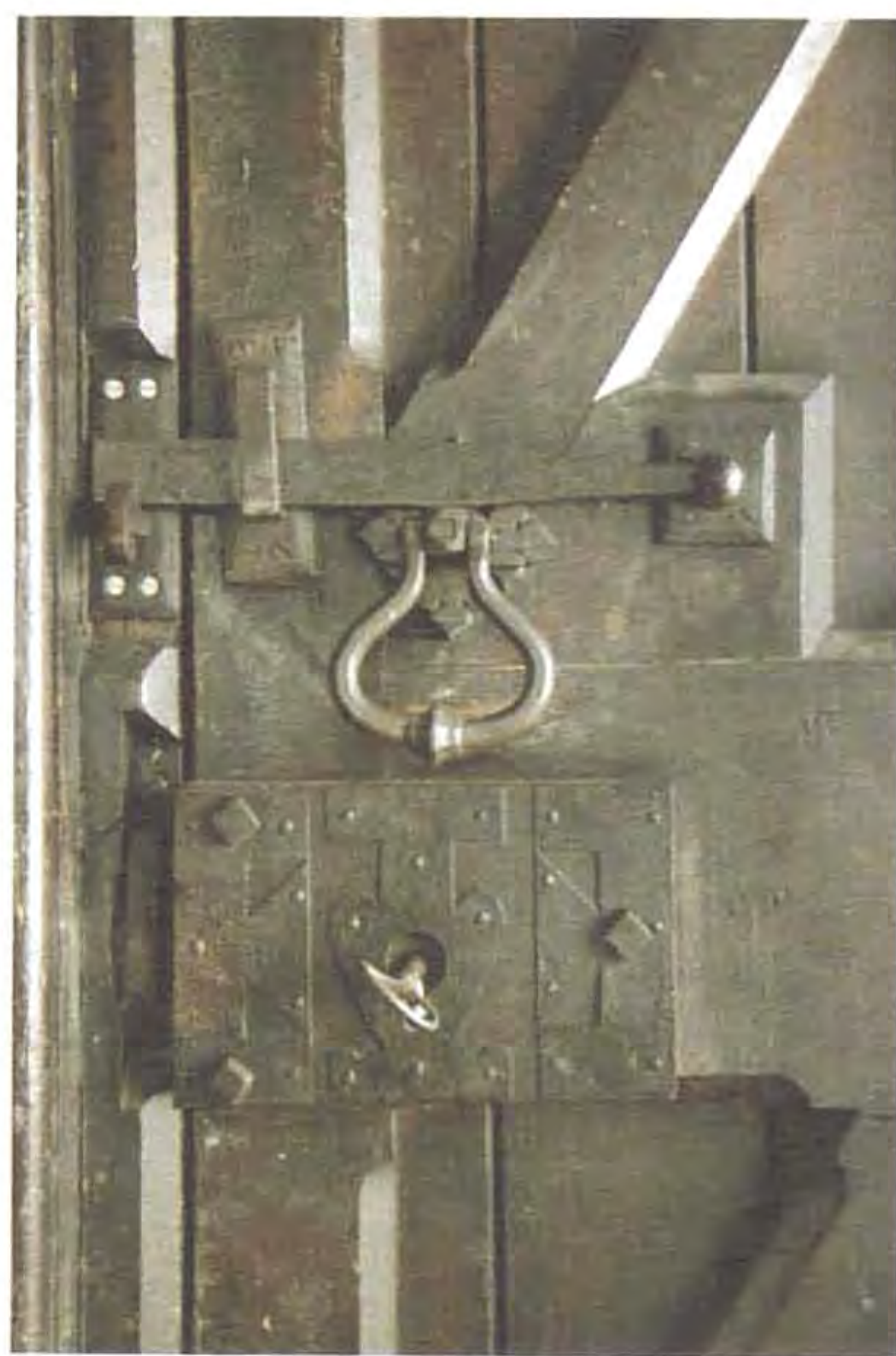


Figure 210: Original door latch  
© G Booth c2010



meant we couldn't entertain any plans for knocking out walls or reconfiguring the layout. In view of our new-found budget constraints, the fact that we had a limited canvas on which to create our dream home was becoming a virtue. Having redeveloped two period properties in London, we knew what we wanted: a contemporary but comfortable interior that respected the beauty of the original house. We carefully brought English Heritage and the West Dorset conservation office on board early, before we drew up any plans. Asking for their views and advice helped us build the trust that enabled us to realise our plans without falling foul of either. When we first saw the house, we had fallen in love with the light and the proportions of the principal rooms, and we had no need or desire to alter them. However, we were lucky that the previous owner had lowered the ceilings in the back part of the house, the servants' rooms, prior to the EH listing. This meant that we could use a dropped ceiling to accommodate a huge amount of service runs and down-lighting. Elsewhere it was a case of making good crumbling walls and ceilings with lathe and horsehair lime plaster; reinstating missing joinery; restoring the lustre of the original timber doors and beams, and careful painting, using breathable, water-based paint.

Prior to all of this, however, was the need to completely overhaul the basic services. Our original dream of having an energy efficient house was dashed – on the leaded



Figure 211: Drawing room fireplace after restoration  
© G Booth c2010

windows of Pugin Hall, possessed of all the insulating qualities of a sieve in a high wind. However, by installing a wood chip boiler, as well as solar water panels in the hidden valley roof, we were able to make the heating carbon neutral, and save ourselves over £6,000pa in heating bills (compared to oil). We installed underfloor heating in the parts of the ground floor with stone or tiled floors, lifting the tiles and having them restored in Staffordshire, before re-laying them over water pipes encased in limecrete. The house was now warm and dry, perhaps for the first time in its life.

We installed a pressurised system, to pump water from our spring-fed supply to all floors, while a new electrical

system was installed from scratch, along with data and satellite cabling to all principal rooms. If you are willing to take an historic building back to its bones, there is practically nothing you cannot do to install state-of-the-art systems in such a way that you won't even notice they are present.



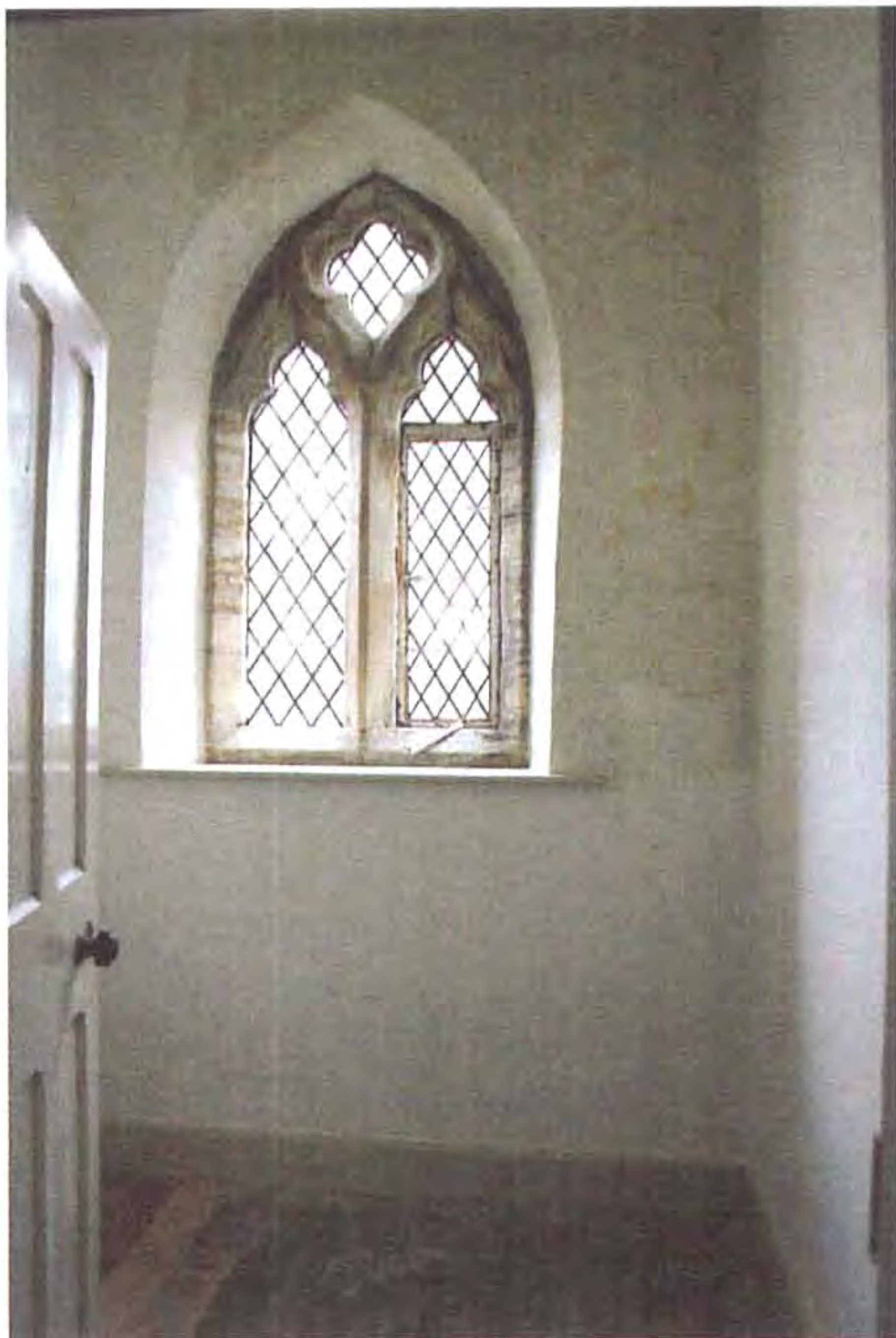


Figure 212: Chapel (before)  
© G Booth c2009



Figure 213: Chapel (after)  
© G Booth c2010

Only in one room did we have a difference of opinion with English Heritage. To configure our en-suite bathroom as we wanted, we had to conceal a Ham stone fireplace behind a shower wall. The lady from English Heritage wasn't happy, but she reluctantly conceded the point, once we had convinced her that this was the only practical solution, and that we would carefully adhere to the principle of 're-

versibility', ie: anything we did could be easily reversed, to leave the fabric of the building exactly as it had been before. So, we photographed the fireplace before carefully installing a false wall, a few inches in front, so that nothing came into contact with the stone. If future owners want an original fireplace in their bathroom, they can tear out our sleek, contemporary, two-person, limestone-lined shower and, hey presto: there's the nineteenth-century fireplace, as good as new.

Unlike The Grange, it seems that Pugin Hall was simply decorated. The doors, architraves, joinery, ceilings and fireplaces are detailed in exactly the same way, but we found no traces of lavish wallpaper design. I would guess, however, that the plastic and aluminium door handles we found on our arrival were not original! We decided to replace these with brass handles of the same design as those at The Grange and, after a long and laborious process, managed to track down the mould that had been used there, via Pugin's old glass and metalwork



Figure 214: Hall and staircase (before)  
© G Booth c2009



manufacturer, Hardman's of Birmingham. A full complement of beautifully formed brass door handles throughout were the finishing touches to the house.

Or were they? Pugin Hall may be a grade I listed house, but it is also our full-time home. We could not live in an unaltered monument to a Victorian architectural legend, however significant he, and the building, may be. The process of refurbishing had given us a new respect for the house and the need to preserve its integrity, but making Pugin Hall a home involved



Figure 215: Hall and staircase (after)  
© G Booth c2010

more than just meticulous restoration and updating. A few months after we had moved into the house, fully furnished and decorated, we still did not feel settled. My wife decided we must now unpack all of our pictures and hang them, and unwrap our objects d'art and place them around the house. Until that point, we felt we had moved into a beautiful house, but not a beautiful home. However, once we were surrounded by our own art and artefacts, Pugin Hall was transformed.

Perhaps this is the greatest lesson we have learnt from owning and restoring an historic house. Our work has probably given Pugin Hall another 160 years, and playing even a small part in this piece of our nation's architectural heritage has been a wonderful privilege. However, even a beautiful building is just a space. It only comes to life once animated by the people who live within it; and now, I am happy to say, Pugin Hall is alive once more.



Figure 216: Pugin Hall, SE view after restoration  
© G Booth c2010

However, soon it will echo to the voices of others. After five years, we are moving on to another house and another project. Ironically, Pugin Hall diverted us from our 'true principles'. Before buying this historic rectory, we had intended to build an environmentally sustainable house, a beautiful and characterful example of what modern, carbon neu-



tral architecture can be: true principles for a new millennium, perhaps. For all of Pugin Hall's uniqueness and beauty, our original desire still nags at us. So, the time has come to pass on the baton to another family, for someone else to pinch themselves when they drive up to the house on a summer's day and ask 'Is that really ours?', or to catch their breath at the beauty of the moonlight streaming through the magnificent hall window. A house like this will never lie down and leave you entirely alone, there will always be work needed to keep the building fit and healthy. But, the major work has been done and the next occupants of the house will, for the most part, be able to sit back, relax and fully enjoy living in a very special house.

## Pugin Chalice featured in a recent exhibition at the Bishop's Palace, Wells, in 2013

*from Valerie Pitt and Mary Gryspeerdt*



Figure 217: Pugin's chalice made by Hardman & Co.

© The Palace Trust, Wells, 2012

An exhibition of fifty church treasures, loaned by parishes in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, ran for over twelve months at the Bishop's Palace. As part of the Palace Trust's larger development project, launched in June 2011 by Prince Edward, this significant exhibition highlighted the rich heritage of the Church in Somerset, and will encourage parishes in the Diocese to feel part of the 'new' Palace. Research and interpretation was led by a team of volunteers drawn from the Diocese, involving two years of detailed exploration. A great many 'treasures' were revealed and there was a fascinating and eclectic collection on display, while other items have been recorded for future exhibitions at the Palace.

In March 2011 members of the Church Treasures Team visited Frome in search of objects for the exhibition. Amongst the items introduced to the researchers were an elaborate Victorian chalice and

ciborium, both in regular use for communion and believed to be a set made in London. It was immediately evident that the chalice [figure 217] was, in fact, made in Birmingham, as close examination revealed a hallmark for 1849/1850 and the telltale 'J H & Co' for John Hardman Junior (1812–1867), the leading maker of ecclesiastical metalwork, responsible for manufacturing many of AWN Pugin's designs.



The chalice is silver-gilt and decorated in a complex manner with engraving, jewellery and enamelling. There are knot bosses with blue enamel, and applied embossed foliage set with semi-precious stones. On the foot are six enamels – five green panels bearing images of saints, and one of red depicting the crucifixion – all interspersed with embossed leaves set with further semi-precious stones. Around the bowl is the inscription, *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen domini invocabo* (I will take the chalice of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord).

In decorative detail the chalice closely resembles others designed by Pugin. It is, in fact, very similar to one he designed for the 1851 Great Exhibition's Mediæval Court, and which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Its identity was, therefore, in no doubt and it was extremely exciting to the Church Treasures Team that such an important piece of work was being offered on loan for the exhibition in the Bishop's Palace. The chalice exemplifies how Pugin's designs were reworked to suit the requirements of individual patrons, the customer in this case being Reverend William James Early Bennett.

Oxford-educated Bennett was a pioneer of the revival of eucharistic worship. He achieved note as the founder of the church of St Barnabas in Pimlico, arguably the first purpose-built church in England embodying the principles of the Oxford Movement. As the church neared completion, Bennett commissioned this chalice, the entry for which appears in the Hardman Daybook on 5 June 1850. The consecration of St Barnabas' Church, at which Holy Communion was administered, took place just six days later, and it is tempting to see the chalice as part of the proceedings. Subsequent services at St Barnabas were characterised by a revival of ritual, occasioning accusations of 'Popery in Pimlico' and outbreaks of rioting. Bennett resigned and in December 1850 accepted the living of Frome, Somerset.

For Bennett there was an unmistakable link between the fabric of the church and the spiritual health of the congregation in Frome. In his *A History of the Old Church in Froome* [sic] he describes, at length, the 'ruinous state' of the building's exterior upon his arrival. Inside was evidently no better, since 'the altar was a secondary affair' and 'the pulpit assumed the highest place'. Services were consequently entirely unsatisfactory for Bennett: at the back of the pulpit schoolboys 'busied themselves with fighting, and with nuts and oranges', such diversions detracting from the devotion of the congregation. Yet the denigration of the altar, the magnification of the pulpit and the choking of the church with pews was not unique to this one church: 'All this is characteristic of poor human nature – universal – not peculiar to the parishioners of Froom' [sic].

Bennett clearly shared many of Pugin's ideals, describing him as the 'Architect, whom I have ever revered as the first and chiefest of Church Restorers'. He looked to Pugin for inspiration regarding 'the deep principles of such a work as ours'. Thus the restoration of his Somerset church was 'not to be considered as a mere aesthetic exercise, but as a work mediately [sic] yet surely tending to the good of souls'.

In due course Bennett became a modest patron of Pugin-Hardman metalwork. He subsequently commissioned an altar cross and, in 1866, gave directions for the





Figure 218: Plate at the church of St. John the Baptist, Frome, acquired by the Revd William Bennett. The chalice can be seen second from the right.

*Courtesy, St John's Church Archives, Frome, c1910.*

manufacture of a silver-gilt jewelled ciborium to match the chalice. In the inventory of Bennett's church plate, drawn up by his daughter after his death, the chalice receives no special attention. Perhaps this was when its provenance was lost. For the next 120 years it was believed to be a spiritually valued, but otherwise historically unremarkable, London-manufactured chalice.

## Book Reviews

### *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin, Volume 4, 1849–1850.*

Edited, with notes and an introduction, by Margaret Belcher. Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2012. ISBN 978-0-19-960784-6.

*reviewed by Father Marcus Holden*

Note: In this review all quotations from Pugin's letters are taken verbatim from the text. His punctuation, grammar and spelling are therefore left in their – sometimes erratic – original form. Where a letter was not dated, the citation includes the suggested year and month only. In all other instances, year, month and date are cited.

### **Introduction**

Volume Four of Pugin's letters covers the time when Pugin was principally focused on building his own personal church and burial place in Ramsgate. As the custodian of Pugin's church of St Augustine, I read these letters with a very personal, local and religious interest, savouring every detail. The following review should be read in that light. This period is for Pugin a sort of swan song, the final calm, if we could speak



of this in such a whirlwind of a life, before the last storm of his time on this earth. We already begin to see the signs of his final mental and emotional illness. Amidst it all, this period also shows Pugin fully active and his relationships, ideals and ideas clearly formed.

### **St Augustine's and Ramsgate**

From Volume Two of Dr Belcher's *Letters*, we already know that Pugin had stated his reason for moving permanently to Ramsgate, and it was 'because Blessed Austin had landed nearby'. Augustine's arrival and all that it stood for regarding England's identity had captivated Pugin's mind and invited a response. He writes, 'If my life is spared I fully expect to complete a work on this spot – where the catholic faith first took root that will at any rate revive the Long neglected honour to our great Kentish saints & where the old rites may be celebrated – in the antient splendor – if I accomplish this I shall be perfectly Satisfied and I am quite willing to devote the whole pounds of my Labours to this end' (9th February 1849). And again he writes, 'It is worth working all ones life for – to see a real church with all its fittings in the Isle of Thanet. The cradle of Catholicism in England' (15th November 1849). He saw the project as his reason for being throughout this period, 'The Labour of my whole life', he writes, 'is vested in this church & if it goes I have done nothing' (29th January 1850).

Today Pugin's church in Ramsgate is an official shrine to St Augustine. In the mid-nineteenth century Catholicism was only just emerging out of obscurity, suspicion and persecution and such a development then would have been unthinkable. That Pugin had an interest in the re-development of shrines and the renewed promotion of the cults of national saints is made clear in his letter to Bishop Gillis of Edinburgh. He offers the Bishop his opinion that a shrine would generate the necessary funds for the works that he (Gillis) desired for his Cathedral. 'If you had the relicks of S Margaret & could revive the old devotion with 10000 pilgrims a year there would be no difficulty in building anything but I cannot conceive in these times how it can be done' (5th February 1850).

The greatest flower – or tangible expression perhaps – of Christian faith for Pugin was the production of 'true Christian architecture'. St Augustine's church was to be the demonstration of the cultural fruits of faith. He saw, without doubt, an evangelical power in religious buildings. 'Crowds come every day to see it', he writes enthusiastically to Lord Shrewsbury about his church, 'It has astonished everybody & raised the credit of the old religion 50 per cent here' (15th November 1849). He writes elsewhere, 'I hope it will be the means of effecting great good' (24th December 1849).

Pugin was driven to create in St Augustine's something that was finally true to his whole architectural concept. 'I see the Church I am erecting at Ramsgate is described as an oasis in the desert...it is literally true. Kent, the land which first received the tidings of Salvation from Blessed Austin' (14th April 1850). This church which he elsewhere calls his 'child', his 'ideal', was to be the archetypal Gothic Revival church. He makes grandiose claims about St Augustine's, for instance on 31st October 1849,



he writes, 'It is the only *real church yet built* & I say so – & I will stand to it'. All that Pugin had completed up to this point was seen by him as merely a preparation for the project of St Augustine's and all that followed was intended to build on this church as exemplar of the revival. Very often he speaks of it as 'the true thing'. Even Cheshire, which Pugin loved so much, had been affected by the tastes of the Earl of Shrewsbury and was in his own words 'nothing' in comparison with his church in Ramsgate.

Often in these letters we find Pugin complaining about his financial woes and he sounds at times very mercenary. When we realize, however, in context, that the money he craved was almost desired exclusively to complete St Augustine's, which he intended then to give away, we realize the charity of the man. While St Augustine's was Pugin's passion it also provided his greatest woes. He described the church as 'like a millstone sinking me' (20th February 1849). He often speaks of it driving him to insanity and as the cause of all his troubles. Nevertheless, St Augustine's was his great consolation even when all else troubled his mind, 'I have been frantic all day but a Ray of the setting sun striking on the chancel arch has restored tranquillity to my soul' (May 1850). He defends the place like his own offspring. He writes in response to a slight in the *Rambler* journal (7th October 1849), 'I defy any man to examine St Augustins without prejudice & not to acknowledge that it is the revival of the true thing'. It was the St Augustine project that was motivating Pugin at this time, driving him forward, keeping him focused. He writes, 'I shall work for the future entirely for my own church...In such a cause as that of building my church I would clean boots if it brought in money' (28th October 1849).

### **Stained Glass and Sacred Worship**

The period covered by these letters involves the preparation for the Great Exhibition and also the continuing project at the new Palace of Westminster. Strangely, however, these major public works, for which Pugin today is so renowned, occupy so few of these letters in comparison with his critical ideas and his original writing and the building of his own personal church. Pugin is principally a revivalist and not merely a producer of works.

One clear area of revivalism which captured Pugin's mind was stained glass. His passion for the recovery of the methods and exact colours of traditional stained glass is evident in these letters. The art of stained glass making, in the mediæval manner, had been virtually lost after the sixteenth century. Pugin is one of the main figures behind its nineteenth-century revival. He pushed very hard to achieve the effect of the middle ages. 'This is a time of peculiar necessity for *great exertion*. it is of great importance to get some windows with the *real colours* in as speedily as possible' (23rd October 1849). He goes into great detail to acquire exactly the right colours, 'I am sure there is something about the blue which we don't understand' (1st August 1849). It is almost like a detective story to 'get the way they painted the glass' (22nd July 1849). In August 1849 he makes an important discovery which will aid the whole national gothic revival of stained glass. He recalls the exciting story to Jane in a letter of how on a visit to Paris he finds rare and diverse examples of mediæval glass in the



dustiness of an old shop. After rummaging away through the night he says that, 'I have succeeded past all expectation. I have got such a treasure. everything I wanted'. He also tells Hardman, 'We have now *the key* of everything for I think there is glass of every period & some *actually* from the *Sainte chappelle*'. There is intrigue in the story too, as Pugin recalls how he persuaded, by charm, the old woman at the shop to sell, despite her husband's misgivings; 'they tell me the old fellow never would have sold if he had been there instead of his wife'! He calls Hardman to come and see these old pieces because they are 'the real thing'.

Pugin's ecclesiastical revival campaign also concerned the sacred liturgy. He was working on a pamphlet against modern church music during this period. He thought that the effect of the revival in architecture would be wasted if modern hymns replaced chant in worship (3rd October 1850). He was intensely interested in every detail of worship and his exquisite designs for church ornamentation were created to serve the practical purpose of worship.

Pugin is intensely reverent and indeed pious. He baulks at a lax priest with no zeal, who fails to celebrate Mass on his visit to Ramsgate in 1849 and another in 1850 who chooses to offer masses in a front room of a house rather than in the church. He wants not only mediæval architecture but mediæval worship and the chant that accompanied it. He writes, 'A man may be judged by his feelings on Plain Chaunt' (12th August 1849). Within St Augustine's he is very determined that the worship is conducted correctly and according to true principles. He writes to John Bloxam on 17th December 1850, 'I wish you could see the service I have at St Augustin's. Everything sung in plain chant & in the chancel by choristers in surplices – it is quite the old thing revived'. He was delighted after the official opening of St Augustine's for Assumption 1850 that the chant sounded so well in the building; 'it is a famous place for sound & the Gregorian rolls through arches like an old church' (16th August 1850).

### **The Oratorians and rood screens**

Pugin was a man who made and destroyed many friendships. Unfortunately one of the friends he lost was the holy and intellectual, yet extremely sensitive, John Henry Newman. As an Oratorian, Newman, who had once favoured Pugin and the Gothic style, began to dispute the absolute claims of the Gothic for the future of English Catholicism. For Pugin this was worse than heresy, an evidence of corruption within. He spoke out too harshly and Newman and the Oratorians never forgave him.

If that oratorian movement spreads – it destroys all we have been building up for years. I would sooner risk my children in Protestant winchester than put them under those men... Religion in such garb is revolting to every man of true feeling & it is this system that has degraded the old faith throughout the world & peopled christendom with infidels (12th April 1850)

His fight with the Oratorians seems petty to a modern observer – we feel the need to comment that each period and well-meant form of worship and style has its own merits to show forth. All such arguments would be anathema to Pugin even from those who believe in a Gothic primacy. When we realize, however, in context, just how strongly Pugin felt about the revival of the Gothic and its national and religious



importance we can appreciate how the popular classical forms of the Oratorians were for him a complete jettisoning of the true, the good and the beautiful.

'A Man who would Italianise England' he writes on 14th June 1850, 'deserves *Death* as a traitor'. He comments on 23rd February 1850 that the Oratorians are 'dreadful', because they keep speaking openly, 'against pointed architecture'. Pugin believed that the Oratorians were leading some of the influential Catholics away from the true principles of authentic revival. He argues that 'the English Catholic body might have had the whole glory of the restoration & now they have thrown all away' (31st August 1850). He links the Oratorians' renting of the Lowther room, a theatrical hall in London, for religious services, as indicative of the Baroque's innate worldliness and paganism. He attacks also their attachment to theatrical music which was opposed to the revival of Gregorian chant. With Pugin, a man who himself walked out of a Beethoven mass, it was always a matter of an either/or, with no grey areas or compromises tolerated. This can be as exasperating for his reader as it was for his contemporaries and yet this is precisely the environment in which such a distinctive genius arose.

One architectural/liturgical controversy, which highlights the tension between Pugin and the Oratorians, was that of rood screens. The so-called 'rood screen controversy' comes to the fore during this period surrounding the validity or practicality of mediæval-style chancel divides. These screens were usually made of wood and were ornate. They demarcated the holy sanctuary or chancel in the church from the main body or nave. Behind this screen could be found the place where the sacred mysteries were unfolded and revealed and concealed appropriately. The screen was the place from which the Word of God was proclaimed. The screen developed in the west in parallel with the Iconostasis (a division made up of icons and ornate carvings, marbles and metals) which serves a similar purpose in Eastern liturgy and architecture. The western screen, usually made of carved wood, so prominent in English mediæval churches, although usually allowing a certain visibility and openness, was already being considered by the Counter-Reformation period as a barrier to congregational participation and exposure of the faithful to the mysteries of the altar. Few in Pugin's time believed in the practicality of rood screens. However, Pugin, through this period came to see them as ever more important to the authentic form of Christian architecture and worship. He argued strongly against writers, such as those in the *Rambler* journal, who saw the screen as a cause of the Reformation and as a barrier to prayer and the estrangement of the people. His ideal screen was the one created at St Augustine's, 'My Screen will be the one at St Augustins', he writes on 22nd January 1850, 'It is a Screen. The only good screen revived'. He believed that it made the church truly solemn and knew that it struck people powerfully (13th March 1850). By December 1850 his treatise on Chancel Screens was ready for publication and he believed he had 'a triumphant case' for their full restoration (12th December 1850).

On the whole, the Catholic Revival in the mid part of the nineteenth century disappointed Pugin. He lost most of the battles to set a defining style on modern



English Catholicism. While Pugin's influence is definitely present in the Catholic Revival mix it had a surprisingly disproportionately broad impact also upon general Victorian Britain and the Church of England. Perhaps in this fact alone he is proved right that the way to win hearts and minds to the Catholic cause was through the Gothic Revival. He lamented that he was more appreciated by those who were not his co-religionists. He writes to Hardman, 'I believe there is very little to be done in the household of faith. we must trade [with] the Philistines' (27th October 1849).

### **The inner Pugin**

We witness again in this period Pugin's heartfelt charity, for instance in his attempt to found a school for the Ramsgate poor. He wanted to develop the St Augustine's site for others, for education, for almsgiving and for the arts (he contemplated having a choristers school and to offer opportunities for those who could draw). Furthermore we see his tenderness when tragedy strikes the poor sailors or workmen, 'I am quite low spirited', he writes on 24th March 1849, 'the only fishermans boy here who was a catholic was drowned last night in the basin – he was a fine litte fellow 12 years old'. He had prayers said for the sailors when they drowned and gave them free burial. In October 1850 Pugin is devastated that a young Flemish man had died outdoors in the cold because no-one had helped him. Pugin had seen him at Mass and arranged for a full funeral and burial for him at St Augustine's. We also get in these letters rare glimpses into Pugin's rather restricted regular life, outside of his profession, how for instance he is reading Pepys' *Diary* and Charles Dickens' novels.

It is not surprising that this man of genius created loyal followers and also invited detractors and generated enemies. He got himself into trouble by suggesting that St Peter's basilica in Rome was unworthy of the centre of Christendom and had to defend himself against the charge that he was being anti-Papal and calling for the destruction of the Pope's basilica! He has a harsh tongue and the letters show how he can cut someone down to size. To say that Pugin was difficult to work with is an understatement. So many things are 'wrong', 'perfectly disgraceful' and 'a rascally vile job almost incredible' and he often sends things back several times and writes abusively. He often falls out with people in disputes which could easily have been resolved with more diplomacy.

Alongside Pugin's irascible weaknesses, however, it is equally clear how he relies on friendship and how he remains a man dependent on others, a man with deep love of friends and family.

A large proportion of these letters in Volume 4 are written to Pugin's good friend John Hardman. We begin to understand just how much Pugin relied on Hardman. On 3rd May 1849 Pugin adds a humorous picture of Hardman as 'the pivot on which all turns'. When Pugin sounds depressed, angry, moody, dejected, it is usually in a letter to Hardman. Hardman acted as a kind of soul friend to Pugin and not merely a very capable colleague. Pugin speaks to him with utter candor and feels even confident enough to be, what in other circumstances would be taken as, offensive!



Hardman in his obvious patience understood Pugin and appreciated his brilliance, his strengths and weaknesses.

We see also in these letters his deep love of Jane, who was his third wife and 'the true gothic woman'. He writes to her that there is 'no ... better wife in existence' (19th February 1850). He always laments when he is travelling and away from her. We often hear his fond tones, 'ever your devoted & affectionate husband'. His endearments were unusually uninhibited for a Victorian gentleman, 'I send you lots of kisses on Promise' he writes to Jane on 10th April 1850 and again on 2nd May of the same year, 'for saying such things – you must recant – & pay me 1000 kisses'. Although he wandered around looking for inspiration for his Gothic Revival, Pugin was essentially a home-loving creature. He writes from Alton Towers on November 29th 1849, 'Love to all little dears – & kisses for Margaret'. He expresses great hope in particular for his eldest son, 'Edward is a real good Lad full of the true old spirit- & will I have every hope carry out my views' (20th July 1850).

It is in this period that Ramsgate truly becomes Pugin's home. He longs for Thanet's climate, for the sea and for his house and family. He says to Hardman in May 1849, 'You should live on *the dry soil of Thanet* the most healthy *place in the world*'. When away from Ramsgate he feels bereaved. The sea gives him life. 'I think an inland place dreadful,' he writes from Alton Towers on 8th October 1849, 'No splendour. nothing can atone for the absence of the sea. I feel imprisoned by the surrounding country. give me the boundless expanse of ocean'.

Regarding Pugin's love of the sea, we have several very interesting letters which relate to Pugin's boat, or lugger. She was called *Caroline*, and Pugin thought her, 'the finest Lugger in the harbour'. He dreamed of acquiring his lugger for fishing in spring and autumn and making excursions in the summer. The idea of capturing vessels and gaining reward may seem mercenary, especially when he speaks of 'spoil', but it is clear that lives were often saved in this way, and Pugin was keen to use every penny for his godly causes.

### **The Development of illness**

Sadly in this period we begin to see the beginnings of Pugin's illness which would eventually claim his life. His moods are profoundly erratic. More often than not he is despondent, with a touch of suicidal temptation floating around. At one point he draws a sketch of himself jumping to death from St Augustine's and writes almost deliriously, 'I am working very hard – but I must see some tin somewh or I shall evaporate or jump over the cliff or *off the tower*' (25th September 1849). Also, we often see his habit of whirlwind activity spiral off into almost uncontrollable frenzy and dizziness. He writes, 'I am working now – 16 hours a day & shall hardly pull through at that pace' (15th January 1850). He resents anyone not working at the same speed. At times he becomes overbearing and critical to the point of obsession. In early March 1850 he begins to sound like one of the characters in a Dickens novel, 'look down with disgust at the mob of humbugs liars fools villains Hypocrites who composed the world'! On 15th June 1850 he writes, 'I live in one perpetual Rage & agony & disappointment'. He sometimes was bitingly sarcastic, 'I never saw glass



before that was calculated to inspire suicide' (9th April 1850). He writes on 7th December 1849, 'I am as wild as a man can be not to be Mad. You don't know what agony I suffer'. He lunges from one seeming crisis to another, and in matters which do not merit such melodrama. 'A miserable dark gloomy disheartening prospect' he writes regarding a rather ordinary challenge in December 1849. The sense of human proportion is beginning to wane. He is, however, able to joke about his growing anxiety and condition with Hardman, 'I expect you will see me in a straight jacket yet' (December 1849). He was aware of his decline, and by December 1850 he was falling asleep up to twenty times of an evening. He hoped to be blessed with a few more years to complete his works and make his contribution – he would not have long.

### **The Re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy**

In 1850 the English Catholic hierarchy was re-established after centuries of persecution and obscurity. This event caused a great anti-Catholic backlash. The controversy was stirred up by the few, in response, it may be argued, to the overly triumphalistic tone of the newly installed Cardinal Wiseman. Pugin predicted that the re-establishment would stir up 'all sorts of dormant or almost Extinct prejudices & fears' (October 1850). He felt that the re-establishment was too soon and that it sounded and seemed threatening to the populace, like a foreign invasion. He would be proved right regarding the social reaction. Very soon after an inflammatory article in *Punch* magazine the backlash was kindled. On Guy Fawkes night 1850 an anti-Catholic mob even arrived at Pugin's house, the Grange, with an effigy of the Pope to burn. The police managed to control things. Pugin wrote an open letter – *An Address to the Inhabitants of Ramsgate* – to the local residents to calm the situation. He defended Catholic teaching like a master apologist and dispelled popular social myths. We see here Pugin at his best, a bridge builder, a translator of Roman-style Catholic revival language into an English dialect.

I must solemnly entreat the co-operation of all good and reasonable men to suppress, as far as they are able, this unhappy state of things.

Unfortunately Pugin did personally face the colder side of anti-Catholic bigotry that reared its head in the wake of Wiseman's claims. Charles Barry was keen to remind him in a letter from Naples that he should count himself fortunate to have a job as a Catholic at this period. These were indeed difficult times and Pugin certainly suffered because of his newly found faith, but did so with great grace.

### **Conclusion**

In the letters of Volume Four, beyond the workaholism and the emotional instability we do also see the loveable Pugin and his charity for others and his wholly original brand of religiosity and devotion. We get another, perhaps the most mature, version of Pugin's genius. His giftedness and inventiveness are above all poured into the church which he called 'my child', St Augustine's. What emerges clearly in these texts is the depth of the religious motivation behind everything that Pugin did. This is what made his work so distinctive and why many believe it to be so richly blessed. In his own words, 'I am the only man who has gone to work with faith'.



Congratulations to Margaret Belcher for this penultimate volume of Pugin's letters. It is edited magnificently and is a huge contribution to Pugin scholarship. If I were advising someone to read just one of the volumes of Pugin's letters I would recommend this one!

### *Building a Great Victorian City: Leeds Architects and Architecture 1790–1914.*

Edited by Christopher Webster. Northern Heritage Publications, in association with The Victorian Society, 2011. ISBN 978-1-906600-64-8.

*reviewed by Graham Parry*

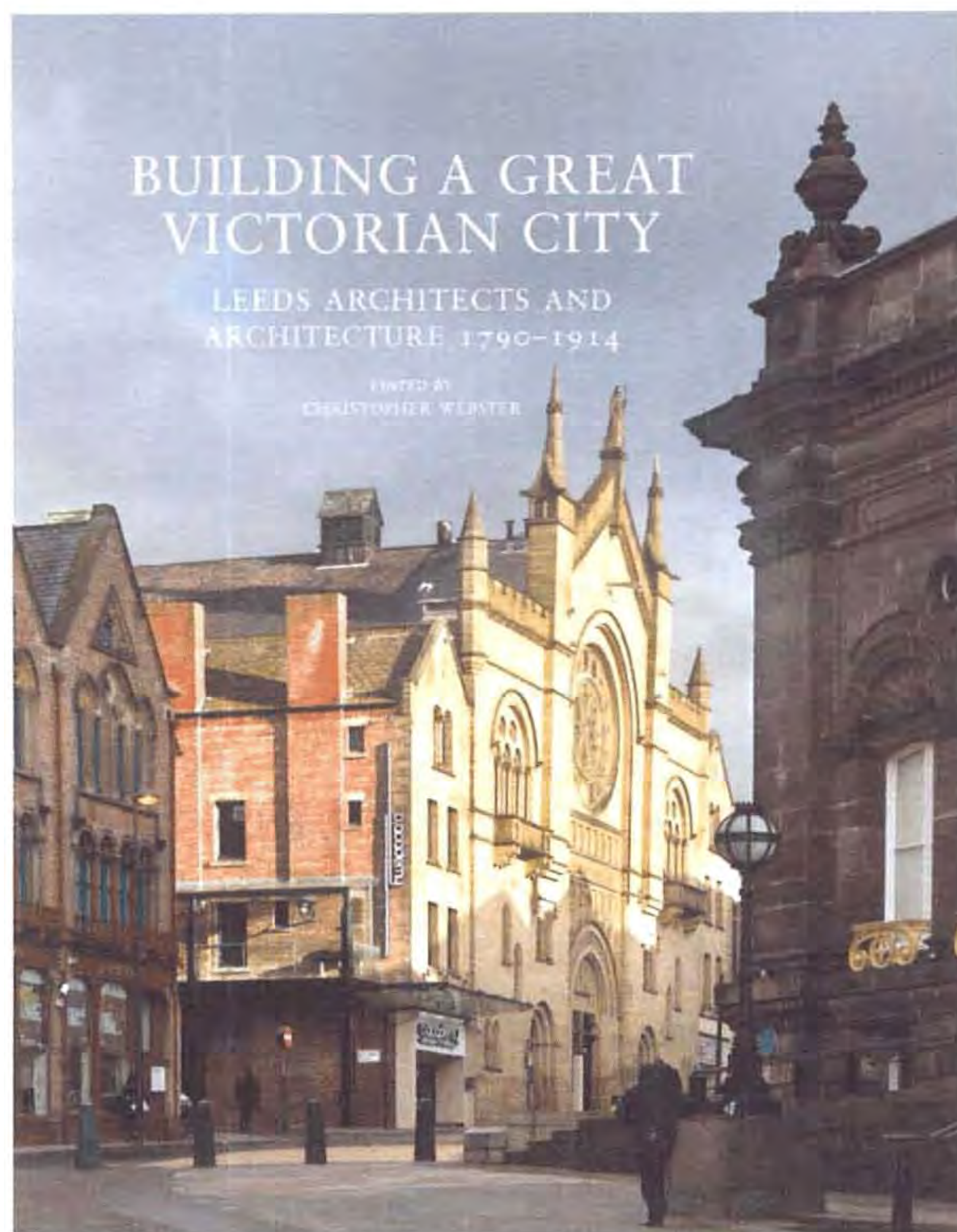


Figure 219: courtesy of Northern Heritage Publications

In 1876 a reporter for *The Architect* wrote: 'There are few, if any, of our manufacturing towns that possess stronger attractions for the architectural visitor... Leeds stands unrivalled'. Yet in 1850, the *Leeds Mercury* had complained that there was not 'a single building, except our places of worship, deserving to be shown to a stranger as an ornament to the town either from its architecture or from it containing monuments or works of art deserving admiration'. So what had happened in between times? Well, the Town Hall for a start, and Cuthbert Brodrick's other powerful contributions to the townscape: the romanised Corn Exchange, the frenchified Mechanics' Institute, and the exotic Oriental Baths. There had

been a proliferation of new building that demonstrated the prosperity and confidence of the fast-expanding town. The monumental, imperial town hall, that had attracted national admiration and had brought Queen Victoria to Leeds to perform the opening ceremony, was the symbol of this confidence.

Most of the new buildings, civic, commercial and religious, were by Leeds architects, for the profession had become well established: in 1800 there was only one architect resident in Leeds, but by 1853, twenty-three firms or individuals were listed in the town *Directory*. This new book surveys the careers of the foremost Leeds architects, with the aim of displaying the vigour and diversity of their accomplishments.



Names such as R.D. Chantrell, Thomas Ambler, and George Corson are not well known, even in Leeds, and Brodrick's reputation has only a limited circulation. Yet they, together with a cohort of other architects, gave the town a remarkably varied and eventful architectural aspect, which now makes Leeds one of the most rewarding of Victorian cities. It had grown steadily. There had been the gradual accumulation of handsome Georgian buildings and well laid-out cloth halls in the later eighteenth century. The Assembly Rooms were built in 1770 for the mercantile élite, and the Park estate was developed to house them. In Regency times a number of distinguished neo-classical buildings marked out the strategic points of the pre-industrial town, as Terry Friedman, Kevin Grady and Christopher Webster make evident in their fluent and highly informative chapters. The Philosophical Hall by Chantrell of 1819, the Leeds Library by Thomas Johnson of 1807 (now the oldest subscription library in the country), the Central Markets of 1824, the Court House by Thomas Taylor of 1811, churches, banks, insurance offices – all gave the impression of a civilised society that could mix commerce with culture. So many of these fine buildings were demolished by the Victorians, who wanted grander, more ostentatious structures in their town centre.

The vast expansion of Leeds in the Industrial Revolution, fuelled by the processing and sale of wool and flax, and the growth of engineering firms, brought uncontrolled development, along with innumerable opportunities for architects. Mills and factories proliferated, offices multiplied, villas went up in the healthier parts of town, while dense terraces blanketed the less fortunate areas. And when people were not working, they were worshipping – or at least, they were going to church. The competition between Church and Dissent was intense. Methodism was considered to be 'the established church' in Leeds at the beginning of Victoria's reign, but that dominance was challenged by the energetic Vicar of Leeds, Walter Farquhar Hook, who took up his post in 1837. He rebuilt the parish church, commissioning Chantrell to build a large edifice capable of accommodating a vast congregation. As Christopher Webster reminds us, this was the biggest new church in England since Wren's St Paul's. Since Hook was a High Church man, and *au courant* with the latest ecclesiological trends, he asked Chantrell, who usually worked in a neo-classical style (he had trained under Soane), to employ the gothic style, and design the church to meet the liturgical proprieties that were approved by the Tractarian Movement. The church was much admired at the time, and now that it has been cleaned, it has regained its place as the most attractive and distinguished church in the city.

Walter Hook had a mission to restore the primacy of the Anglican Church in Leeds. When he arrived, only eight of the thirty-five places of worship were C of E. But when Hook departed for Chichester, in 1859, there were eighteen town churches and eighteen suburban churches, all in the revived gothic style, and all giving welcome work to local architects. The Dissenters were equally energetic, however; chapels became numerous, although for the most part their architects were obscure or anonymous. The career of one of the few noteworthy designers of Yorkshire chapels, James Simpson, is rewardingly reconstructed by Ian Serjeant in this book. To my mind, the most attractive of the nonconformist chapels is the Mill Hill Unitarian



chapel on City Square, built by Bowman and Crowther, a Manchester firm, in 1847–8, a very accomplished, finely-detailed gothic building which is rich in stained glass, including work by Morris & Co.

The Catholics erected their first church in 1836: St Anne's, by John Child, a local man. St Anne's was rebuilt in 1901–4 in an Arts and Crafts Gothic style, but the new church, now a cathedral, retained the reredos of 1842 by A.W.N. Pugin. Pugin also designed the glass for St Saviour's, an Anglo-Catholic church of great richness that was an example of the Oxford Movement's habit of planting glorious churches in working-class areas. St Saviour's was paid for anonymously by E.B. Pusey, who hoped to fund a tower and spire patterned on St Mary's Oxford, but alas, his money ran out. The clergy also ran out, for the first two vicars and several of the curates converted to Catholicism, no doubt influenced by the high liturgical practices of the new church.

In the High Victorian period, Leeds expanded relentlessly, and its central buildings became ever more ambitious and metropolitan in character. Brodrick really put Leeds on the architectural map with his powerful and unorthodox buildings, which are effectively described by Colin Cunningham, who well catches the maverick nature of his activities. George Corson, whose practice is vividly evoked by Susan Wrathmell, put his stamp on the town by winning the competition to design the Municipal Buildings that were erected next to the Town Hall; he also designed the Grand Theatre and Opera House, which has recently been sympathetically restored. Corson was an early exploiter of the medium of terracotta for the external surfaces of buildings. The extensive use of terracotta for offices, hotels and shops is a distinctive feature of the Leeds cityscape, nowhere more effective than in the development that is now called the 'Victoria Quarter', by Frank Matcham, the glory of which is the County Arcade of 1898.

Perhaps the most exotic building in Leeds today is also an exercise in terracotta. This is the oriental fantasy inappropriately called St Paul's House on Park Square by Thomas Ambler, whose work in Leeds is informatively reviewed by Janet Douglas. She describes the style of this building as 'Venetian-Saracenic', but 'Moorish' would be equally appropriate. It was a clothing manufactory, built in 1877–8, but that mundane activity was made profoundly romantic by its architectural setting, with minarets at the corners, long lines of fanciful cresting along the roof that recall the Doges Palace, Venetian windows and Moorish arches and columns. (The minarets were the chimneys and boiler flues). This unique building was threatened with demolition in the late 1960s, but was rescued after protests, restored, and re-opened by Nikolaus Pevsner in 1976.

The delightful appearance of this vision on the south side of Park Square prompts me to remark that this is the only satisfactory square in Leeds. The city is notably deficient in good open quiet spaces. The grandeur of the Town Hall requires a spacious arena in front of it, but instead there is a busy road and a dreary set of shops, along with an Edwardian gin palace. The space before the Art Gallery should be a civilised square, but it is cut short by the same busy road. City Square, so named



when Leeds became a city in 1893, is not, as Kevin Grady maintains, 'one of the best civic spaces in the country', because people only use it to cross to the station. It is unusable as a social space because of the heavy traffic on three sides. It is given distinction by the Old Post Office, now a fish restaurant, and by the fine collection of sculpture on the square, but it is not a place to linger. Commercial values and property rights seem always to have prevailed over social amenity in Leeds – at least since Regency times. And roads have been considered more important than community, for the city is split by far too many major highways.

The final chapter in this absorbing book is on the contribution of London architects to the Leeds scene, by Kenneth Powell. Of necessity this has to be a condensed chapter, because so many buildings fall into this category. There was a distinguished beginning to the Leeds-London relationship when the industrial magnate Joseph Gott commissioned Robert Smirke to build Armley House in the Greek Revival style, in 1818. Humphrey Repton laid out the grounds. The result was sufficient to impress the German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, who declared it 'magnificent... in the best style, both inside and out'. This noble building is now semi-ruined and neglected.

An unexpected revival of ancient architecture ennobled the flax mill of John Marshall in 1838: Temple Mills were built in a robust Egyptian style, designed by the London-based Egyptologist Joseph Bonomi Jr. in collaboration with the engineer James Combe. Bonomi took his details from the Temple of Antaeopolis and the Temple of Horus at Edfu. The grand lotus-headed columns of millstone grit support a mighty entablature, and the factory chimney was an obelisk. This is the factory rumoured to have had a flock of sheep grazing on the well-grassed roof, so that all spaces should be rendered profitable.

The roll of London architects designing for Leeds is long and familiar. George Gilbert Scott, G.E. Street, Bodley, Pearson, E.W. Pugin, and Norman Shaw all made their mark. Waterhouse applied his immediately recognisable style to the new University in the 1890s. But predominately, Leeds was built by Leeds architects, and this book brings many of them out of the shadows. We learn about their professional associations and rivalries, and how they gave an architectural identity to a town that was growing, almost uncontrollably, all through the nineteenth century. Because of this lack of control, Leeds is not an architecturally coherent town, with the result that the streets are full of surprises, and sometimes of bathos. It is distressing to learn how many fine buildings have been lost, demolished as a result of the unrelenting commercial desire for expansion and 'improvement'. Replacements, particularly in recent times, have often been disappointing. Given the dirtiness of the industrial decades, it was easy to overlook merit in blackened buildings and, given a too compliant Council, much has been swept away that should have been preserved.

Leeds escaped heavy bombing in the war, and was a pretty intact Victorian city in 1945, but developers and the Council did an effective wrecking job in the 1960s and 70s. Matters have now greatly improved, and in these cleaner days there is a far greater appreciation of the architectural heritage, and a reuse of buildings such as



mills and warehouses that once would have been consigned to demolition. We should be grateful to Christopher Webster and his team for producing this prolifically illustrated volume, which employs engravings, old photographs and well-angled new photographs by Ruth Baumberg, that enable one to visualise the text immediately. The index is frustrating to use, but there is an excellent directory of Leeds architects and their works. The natural consequence of reading the book is to visit the city. Come and see for yourself.

### *Stephen Dykes Bower*

By Anthony Symondson. RIBA Publishing 2011. ISBN 9 781859 463987. RRP £20.00

*reviewed by Catriona Blaker*

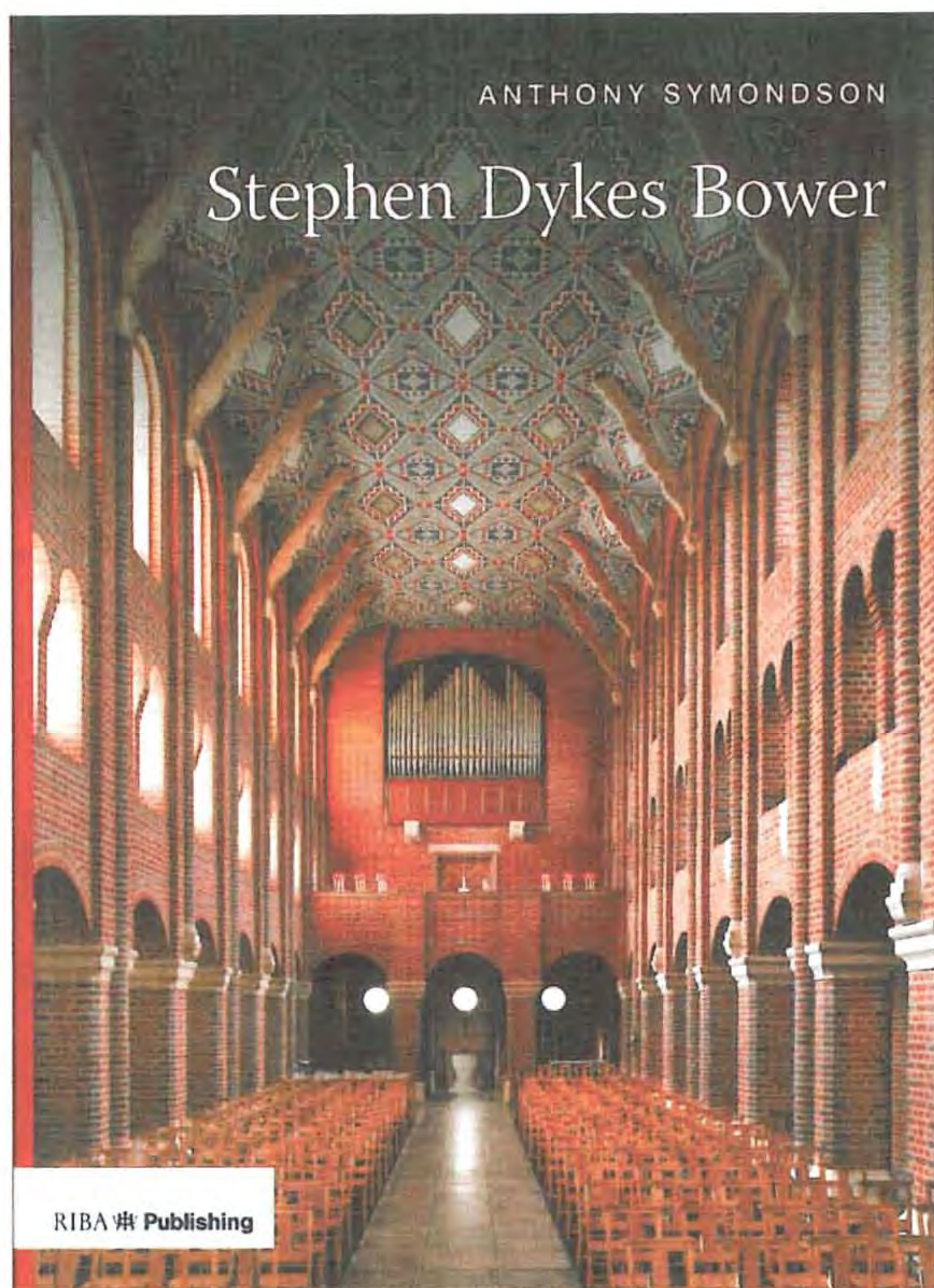


Figure 220: courtesy of RIBA Publishing

This book is part of a series on Twentieth Century Architects by RIBA Publishing, English Heritage and the Twentieth Century Society. The traditionalist Stephen Dykes Bower (1903–1994) might not be the sort of architect who immediately jumps to mind in such a series, and so it is good to see him there. For us Puginites, there is a sense of obvious continuity here; Dykes Bower is the man who designed the enlargement and extension, from the original building by John Wastell of 1503, of the church which eventually, in 1914, was designated St Edmundsbury Cathedral, in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk. This was a huge achievement in the Gothic manner, completed sensation-ally by Warwick Pethers, who owed all his training to Dykes Bower, with the building of the crossing

tower. Some members may, indeed, remember Warwick Pethers addressing the Pugin Society some years ago. Another Gothic project with which Dykes Bower was deeply involved was the outstanding Lancing College Chapel, Sussex. The chapel was designed by R.C. Carpenter in the early French Gothic manner, but not commenced until 1868, after Carpenter's death, and still unfinished in the twentieth century. Dykes Bower did not only design in the Gothic style, however, but was also responsible, with W. Godfrey Allen, for the design, for example, of the new High Altar and baldacchino – very Baroque – in St Paul's Cathedral, and for the rebuild-



ing and furnishing of Wren's similarly Baroque-influenced City church of St Vedast, along with its new and attractive Rectory.

This civilised, musical and aesthetically sensitive man, whose mentor F.C. Eden had studied in the office of G.F. Bodley, along with Ninian Comper, was steeped in the values espoused by these men, and, in particular, by their love of beauty in architecture and design, 'which', as Dykes Bower himself said, 'will lift people out of themselves and quicken their response to what a church stands for and has to offer'. It is interesting to think that Dykes Bower's appointment as Surveyor to the Fabric of Westminster Abbey, a post he retained for twenty-two years, occurred in the same year that the Festival of Britain was opened: 1951. The design values of these two worlds seem poles apart. The Abbey we see on major royal and other occasions is the Abbey as presented, to a considerable extent, by Dykes Bower; the colour of the stonework, the Jacobean (in particular) monuments, so impressive and unforgettable in the luxury of their colouring, and the pulpitum, and much more, all have his stamp upon them. His work was sometimes seen as controversial, in particular his repainting and restoration of some of the monuments, and his plans for the renewal of the Abbey floor. His views on restoration and conservation, and what these two things really meant, did not always meet with total favour, but he always worked with complete commitment.

Like Pugin, Dykes Bower was far from being only an architect but was also deeply involved in the decoration and furnishings of churches. Copes, screens, organ cases, altar frontals, and polychromatic decorative painting were all grist to his mill. Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume* must surely have been a bible to him. His appreciation of Victorian painted decoration led, for example, to his fine restoration of the interior of G.F. Bodley's magnificent church of St John's, Tue Brook, Liverpool, and, in Cambridge, of the hall of Queen's College, also originally by Bodley. Like Pugin too, Dykes Bower was concerned to revive skilled craftsmanship, and to gather round him and encourage craftsmen of the highest quality, such as Winifrid Peppiatt, an exceptional embroideress attached to the famous firm of Watts & Co, church furnishers, and William Butchart, painter and gilder.

Dykes Bower was also responsible for entirely new buildings and designed, for example, the impressive Romanesque church of St John's, Newbury, commencing work in 1954. This was built to replace an annihilated church, a Second World War casualty, by William Butterfield, and so the fine, rather massive, brick-built and patterned exterior makes due reference to Butterfield's own style. Although informed by what had gone before, this church is surely, however, still a strong and original statement.

Dykes Bower, a gentleman architect, living a somewhat squirearchical life in his house, Quendon Court, Essex, died in 1994. Through the vagaries of architectural style, the Modern Movement and all that this entailed, he had always remained true to his beliefs. As the author writes, he 'emphasised the imperative of beauty, and the value of continuity and style in place of originality and self-expression. He saw style in terms of language, with its own syntax and grammar and not pastiche or weak copyism,



believing in the enduring value of the Classical and Gothic languages of architecture'. He has found a perceptive, staunch, and erudite advocate in Anthony Symondson.

### *William White: Pioneer Victorian Architect*

By Gill Hunter. Reading: Spire Books, 2010. ISBN 978-1-904965-26-8. 338 pp 175 ills.

*reviewed by Alex Bremner*

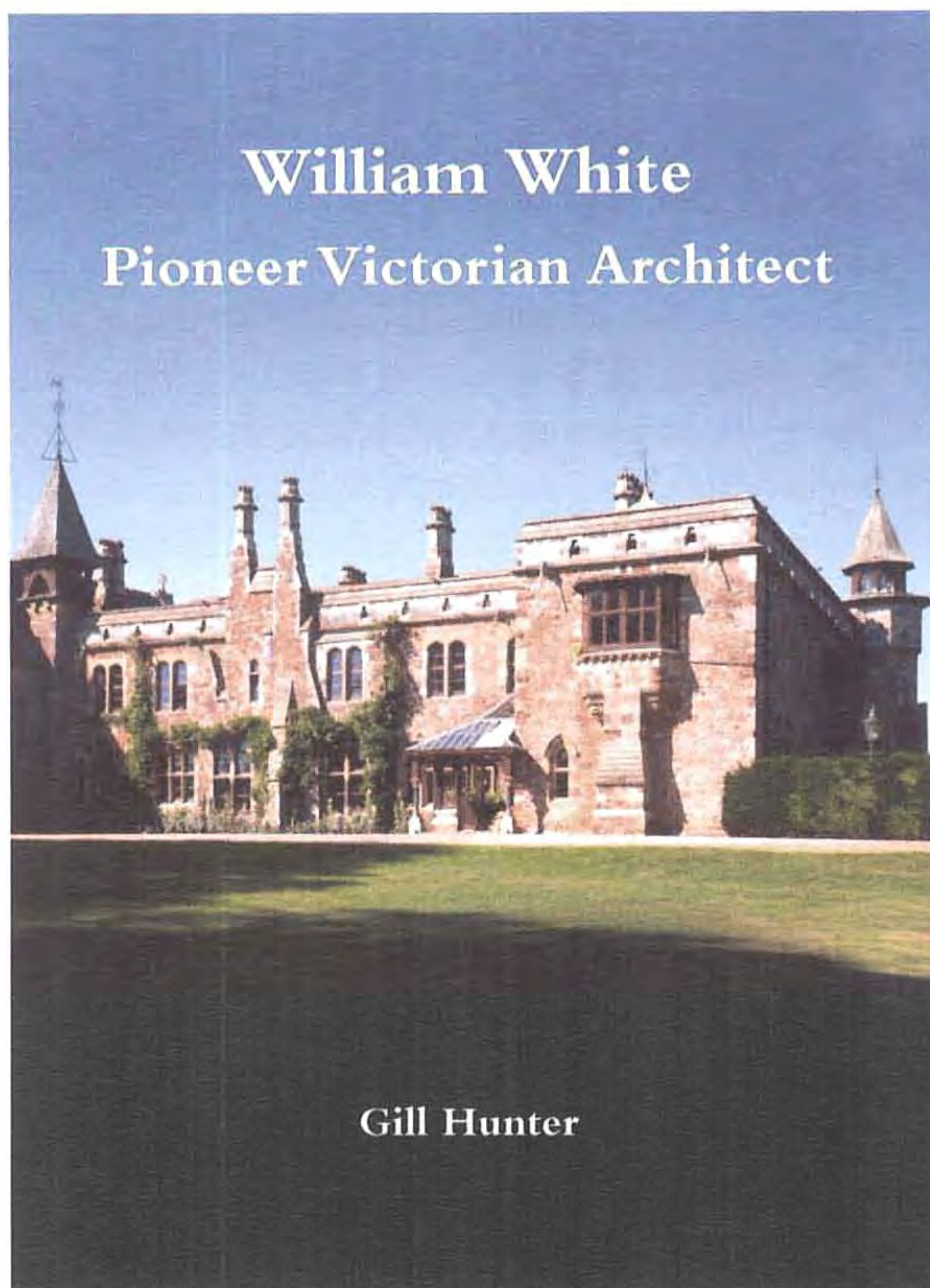


Figure 221: courtesy of Spire Books

For those familiar with the architectural scene in Victorian Britain, William White is a name that will be recognised. Indeed, he may be counted, for a time at least, among the leading lights of the profession, having known and worked alongside such luminaries as G.G. Scott, G.E. Street, and G.F. Bodley. He is best remembered for his numerous, well-appointed Anglican churches, the crowning glory of which is St Michael and All Angels, Lyndhurst (1868–9), or perhaps St. Saviour's, Aberdeen Park, Islington (1865–6). White was also involved in the design and reconstruction of several noted houses, including Bishop's Court, Exeter (1859–64) and Humewood, Kiltegan, Co. Wicklow in Ireland (1866–70). It is therefore somewhat surprising that more has not been written

about this intriguing and innovative architect, particularly given his role as both a practitioner and theorist in the ecclesiological movement of the 1840s and '50s. Aside from Paul Thompson's 1968 essay on White's architectural writings, very little exists.

Gill Hunter has, thankfully, put an end to this dearth with her recently published monograph on White's architectural career. In it we now have a thoroughly-researched and readily-accessible source on the contribution made to the world of Victorian architecture by this accomplished if underappreciated architect.

What strikes one foremost in reading the book is that White was clearly a thinking architect, and one that stuck to his guns. It is evident that he was concerned more with designing good buildings, adapted sympathetically to their context and conditions, than with aiming at prodigious output. The results speak for themselves.



As Hunter shows, White's concerns had much to do with his being seduced early on in his career by the ideas of Pugin, the underlying principles of which stayed with him throughout his life – to the point of detriment, perhaps, where he was seen as somewhat 'old-fashioned' by the 1870s. Old-fashioned or not, the up-shot of this 'philosophy' – this sensitivity to local materials and workmanship – was that he became a trailblazer of what would later evolve into the Arts and Crafts movement.

Here one gets a distinct sense that White's decision to leave London for Cornwall in 1847 had a lasting impact on his progress as a designer. A remote and comparatively underdeveloped place in mid-nineteenth-century Britain, Cornwall seems to have provided the perfect setting for White to hone his skills as an architect who appreciated the value and integrity of the vernacular. He would certainly have had little other option. This formative moment in White's career is ably handled by Hunter, as she introduces the reader to little-known works that clearly forced White to adapt and innovate. Here an architect had no choice but to come to terms with essentials, so it is just as well that White was intellectually prepared for the challenge. The robust simplicity of his designs for St Michael and All Angels, Baldhu (1847–8), and St Gerrent's, Gerrans (1849–50), as well as that for St Ive rectory (1852–4), are impressive, oozing vernacular character, particularly in their use of materials. This approach reaches something bordering on the sublime in his bench designs for Gerrans, which are satisfyingly sophisticated in the power of their muscular minimalism, 'constructed' in every sense through the perfectly rational and honest attitude toward materials.

This 'discipline' to context, as Hunter describes it, in so many ways characterised the man and his work. There is a definite spirit of restraint that runs through White's buildings, a type of masterly self-control, summarised in his own dictum that such discipline was, in a way, its own 'school of art. It teaches us the best, the most natural, the most simple modes of construction, and fits us for the better use of our higher opportunities' (p 113). Fascinatingly, Hunter even shows how this idea extended to a particular concern over bodily discipline and conformation in White's designs for seating, foreshadowing the age of ergonomics. 'I would specially commend to your notice,' he noted in a letter to the RIBA in 1881, 'in case of any future alteration in the seats of the Lecture Hall, which at present contribute to anything but the mental repose so needful for the ready reception of scientific information, or the relief of the backs of those who may be supposed to do a day's work' (p 222).

The early part of White's career shows him to have been a trailblazer in more ways than one, for in the late 1840s he was at the forefront in the export of ecclesiological ideas to Britain's colonies, in particular South Africa. It was here, in Cape Town, that his elder brother, Henry Master, was located, having followed the newly appointed bishop Robert Gray there in 1848. Installed as the first principal of Bishops College, Rondebosch (near Cape Town), it is hardly surprising that White's brother asked him to supply designs for new college buildings. Soon afterwards he was gaining commissions for church buildings at Grahamstown, in the Eastern Cape. Again, in all of these buildings White demonstrated his sensitivity to context, producing



designs that were 'appropriate', as *The Ecclesiologist* would have it, given the circumstances. In this respect, White was a key figure in spreading the 'gospel' of Anglican ecclesiology abroad, much like his brother-in-law, William Grey, had done for Newfoundland and Labrador. It is this side of the career of a Victorian architect, and the wider global associations that came with it, that is particularly welcome in Hunter's study, demonstrating the global reach not just of Victorian architects but of 'Victorian architecture' in general.

The other valuable aspect of the book is the way the author is always careful to show the various clerical and familial connections that led to White's commissions. This is a fascinating insight into the world of social networks and networking in Victorian Britain, and how it cemented class bonds. However, this does expose a tension between White's ability and reputation as an architect and the way he acquired commissions. To what extent did his reputation precede him, or was it more a case of 'jobs for the boys'? Given that so many of these connections are drawn in the book, it would have been useful for Hunter to have included more about how architectural patronage operated in Victorian Britain, thus placing White more firmly in the context of his peers and competitors.

Indeed, it is this narrowness of analytical scope that is perhaps the book's greatest shortcoming. Some will feel that it does not do enough in terms of placing White in a wider context, either professionally or theoretically. Biographically it is very good. One does get a good sense of the man and his personality here, but how this then translates into broader questions concerning reputation and reception is left hanging somewhat. For example, we only get fleeting glimpses of White's relationship with other architects, and how this might have affected his development as a designer and theoretician. To be fair, Hunter does a better job on the relationships that White maintained (or not, as the case may have been) with his builders, which is revealing. But it is on the subject of White's theories regarding 'modern design', in particular, that one thirsts for more. For an architect who wrote so much on the subject throughout his life, highlighted in the extremely useful bibliography of White's writings at the back of the book, it is surprising that Hunter all but sidesteps the matter (despite having a chapter entitled 'Theory and Practice'). Again, we get tantalising morsels here and there, on his understanding of colour, for example, or his approach to geometric proportioning (the triangle being key), but no in-depth, critical discussion of White's theoretical stance and how it related to the wider currents of architectural thinking in Victorian Britain. Such a wide-ranging and informed discussion would have gone a long way to rehabilitating White's reputation and restoring his presence among the pantheon of Victorian greats. To be sure, Hunter does an excellent job in debunking the long-held myth that White spent much of his life on the edge of insanity, eventually falling off 'on the wrong side', and this is one of the strengths of the study, but there is surely more to be said on the matter of his reputation, intellectually at least.

One could put this lack of wider, contextual analysis down to the format of the book. The chapter headings are broadly thematic, but the content of each is largely broken



down project by project, leading to a rather stilted read at times. This is a shame, for with greater editorial guidance, there is little doubt that each of the projects could have been woven into a broader and more discursive narrative tapestry.

Despite these shortcomings, there is no question that Hunter has filled a gaping hole in the historiography of Victorian architecture with this book. It is a very welcome and important addition to the literature. Well written, meticulously researched, containing, as it does, a full catalogue of White's works, it will remain the standard text on the architect for some time to come, and become the first port of call for anyone wanting to know more about the man and his work.

### *'Gothic For Ever': A.W.N. Pugin, Lord Shrewsbury, and the Rebuilding of Catholic England*

By Michael Fisher. Reading: Spire Books, 2012. ISBN 978-1-904965-36-7. RRP £49.95.

*reviewed by James Stevens Curl*

Spire Books have done much to bring the extraordinary phenomenon of nineteenth-century ecclesiology to a modern readership, and Fr Michael Fisher has been indefatigable in giving us studies of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52), his collaborators, and his buildings, especially in his (Fisher's) native county of Staffordshire, where he served as an Anglican priest until his recent retirement. Fisher's obvious affection for Puginian matter imbues this splendid book on virtually every page, and Spire Books have done him proud in what is a very handsome product. As the Archbishop of Birmingham writes in his Preface, Fisher 'has brought energy, enthusiasm and scholarship to his passion for Pugin', all of which 'is reflected in this remarkable and significant book', a 'major contribution to Pugin studies', and a 'fitting contribution to the commemoration of the bicentenary of Pugin's birth in 2012'. Lady Wedgwood, in her erudite and intelligent Foreword, notes that Fisher 'guides his readers through' the 'complicated story' of Pugin's insistence that English Gothic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries 'was the only appropriate style for the building and decoration of an English church', and also focuses closely on his relationship with John Talbot (1791–1852), 16th Earl of Shrews-

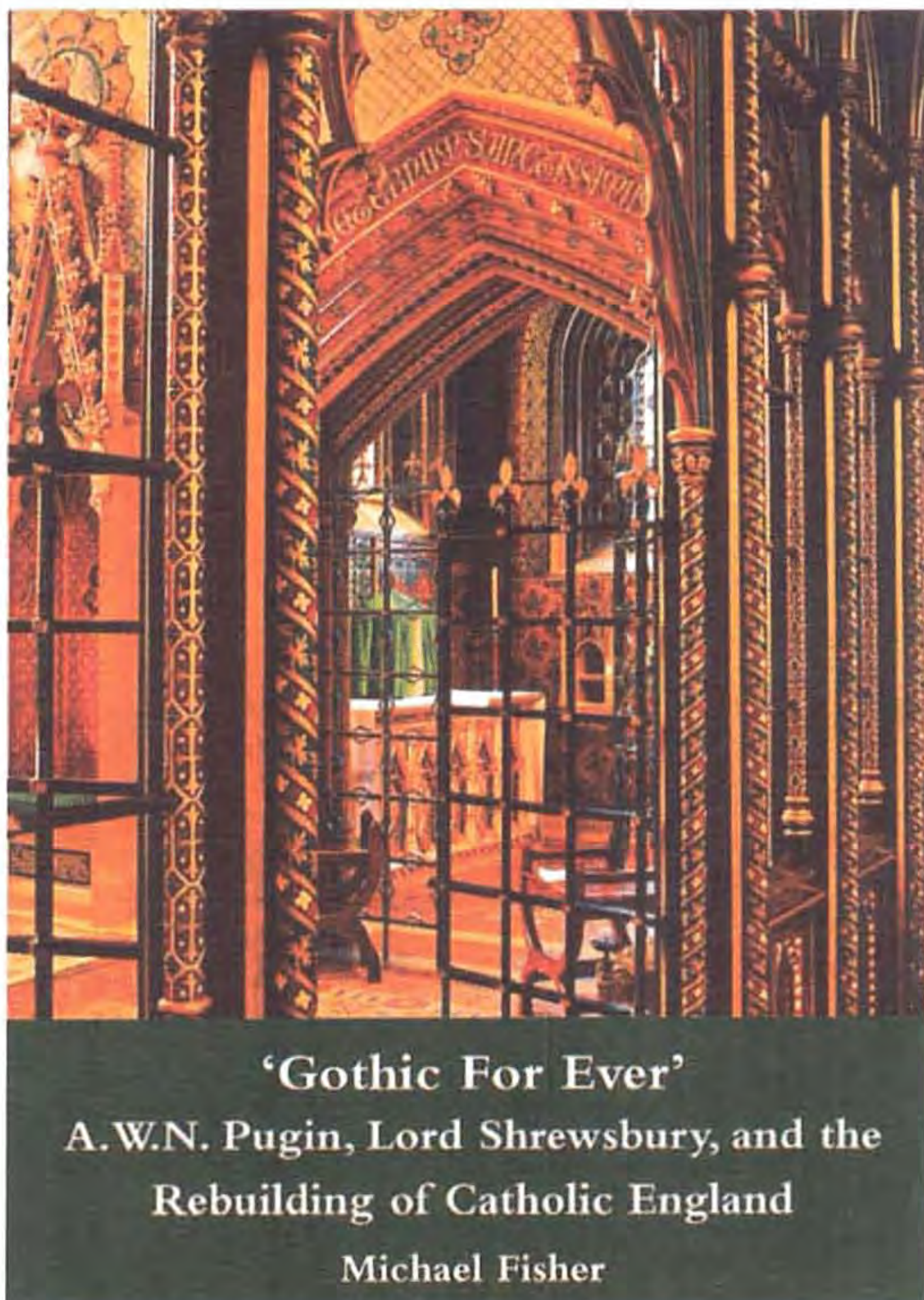


Figure 222: courtesy of Spire Books

bury. Lady Wedgwood, in her erudite and intelligent Foreword, notes that Fisher 'guides his readers through' the 'complicated story' of Pugin's insistence that English Gothic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries 'was the only appropriate style for the building and decoration of an English church', and also focuses closely on his relationship with John Talbot (1791–1852), 16th Earl of Shrews-



bury, and 16th Earl of Waterford from 1827. Shrewsbury's immense wealth and position as one of the leading Roman Catholic laymen of his day was of great importance in Pugin's career.

Steeped in knowledge of the personalities of the period who moved in the frantic glow of Pugin's ferocious work-ethic and passionate beliefs which often caused difficulties,<sup>1</sup> Fisher is also thoroughly conversant with mediæval church fittings and ceremonial, so he can successfully explain why the seemingly simple little church of St Mary, Uttoxeter, was in reality so revolutionary a building in that it was the first 'True Principles' church. Indeed, Fisher seems to have read just about everything in any way connected with Pugin, and the result is a fascinating and scholarly book, a mine of information, a sure guide through the treacherous quicksands of controversy, high passions, and heated exchanges between the protagonists of the Sarum Rite and English Gothic *versus* those who favoured Tridentine reforms and Ultramontaniam.

'*Gothic For Ever*' is finely illustrated for the most part, and includes several new photographs specially commissioned from Mark Titterton (of Ceiba Graphics) and Karl Barton. Some of Titterton's work illustrates the excellent chapter on St Giles's, Cheadle, the perfect and brilliantly-coloured setting for the performance of the Sarum Rite, complete with lavish Easter sepulchre, rood-screen, prismatory, glowing Minton tiles, high altar, font and baptistery, Lady chapel, Blessed Sacrament chapel, Doom, stained-glass windows, and fittings of all kinds, exquisitely made and coloured. Fisher describes the liturgical significance of the decorations, and sensitively records a great deal concerning the *meaning* of the building and its artefacts, although one wishes he would not refer to 'pillars' when they are nothing of the sort. He also gives proper dues to John Bunn Denny (1810–92), the Clerk of Works at Alton from 1839, a man who was a true disciple of Pugin, thoroughly immersed in the principles of Gothic design. After Pugin's death, Denny emigrated to Australia, and designed Gothic churches and fittings in the style of his one-time master.

Many will be aware of the zealous hopes for the conversion of England to Catholicism and Gothic held by Shrewsbury and many others with whom Pugin was linked, and Fisher is excellent on this, but he is also extremely interesting when he elaborates upon the absorption of Puginian principles by Anglicans, especially the phenomenon of Anglican architects looking to Pugin and John Hardman (1811–67) to furnish and decorate their buildings 'in accordance with the long-forgotten Ornaments Rubric of the *Book of Common Prayer*'. Pugin's Anglican friends included John Rouse Bloxam (1809–81), Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a founder of the Oxford Architectural Society. Bloxam *et al* persuaded Pugin that in spite of the massive changes of the sixteenth century and the surrender of the English Church to the secular power of the State, there remained in Anglicanism a 'dormant Catholic element that was...being stirred to life'. Pugin himself was well aware how his ideas

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<sup>1</sup> He was led into conflict with, among others, John Henry Newman (1801–90), Frederick Lucas (1812–55), editor of the Ultramontane-minded *The Tablet*, and Nicholas Patrick Stephen Wiseman (1802–65), Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster from 1850. See Gerard Hyland 2012, 'The Pugins, Newman, and the Tridentine liturgical rubrics', in *True Principles*, vol iv no iii (Spring 2012), pp 225–254.



were welcomed in some Anglican circles, in contrast with the hostile attitudes of many Ultramontane-minded Roman Catholics, yet he could hardly avoid the facts that there were many for whom even the placing of a cross on a 'Communion-Table' was an emblem of 'Popery', and that most Roman Catholics, who, 'owing to their long exclusion from the sacred buildings raised by their ancestors in the faith', had 'woefully departed from the principles which influenced them in the erection of their religious buildings', and so had as little understanding of, or sympathy for, Gothic.

Attacks on Pugin escalated from around 1846, when *The Ecclesiologist* published an article by Alexander James Beresford Hope (1820–87) on 'The Artistic Merit of Mr Pugin'.<sup>2</sup> Moves to restore the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales were gaining momentum at that time (and with them, a rejection of much of Pugin's sympathies for the Sarum Rite and English Catholicism), while vitriolic and insanely wrong-headed bigoted criticisms of Gothic-Catholic associations by John Ruskin (1819–1900) carried considerable weight (though many of Ruskin's utterances have always seemed to this reviewer to be fundamentally deranged). However, as Fisher points out, the restoration and furnishings of St Mary's, Stafford, by George Gilbert Scott (1811–78) and William Bonython Moffatt (1812–87) from 1842, shortly after Scott's 'awakening' as a result of reading *Contrasts* (1836), convinced Pugin that all was not lost within the Church of England. Other leading North Staffordshire Anglican families, such as the Bagots, encouraged 'True Principles': at Leigh, for example, a local architect, Thomas Johnson (1794–1865), who was a knowledgeable Ecclesiologist, rebuilt the church of All Saints, and the Bagots paid for the restoration and furnishings of the chancel there, incorporating designs by Pugin, with work by George Myers (1803–75), Herbert Minton (1793–1858), and William Wailes (1808–81). In 1851 Pugin was also working at St Leonard's, the church adjacent to the Bagot seat of Blithfield Hall, but the finest fruits of Pugin's influence may be found in the spectacular English Gothic church of Holy Angels, Hoar Cross, designed by George Frederick Bodley (1827–1907) and Thomas Garner (1839–1906), built 1872–1904, and financed by Emily Charlotte Meynell-Ingram, *née* Wood (1840–1904), as a memorial to her husband, Hugo Francis Meynell-Ingram (1822–71). Holy Angels has some echoes of Pugin's church of St Augustine, Ramsgate, Kent (1843–52).

The liturgical revolution that followed the Second Vatican Council drastically affected the 'internal appearance of many of Pugin's churches', largely because of what Fisher aptly calls the 'whims and fancies' of individual clergy 'whose enthusiasm for modernity ran beyond the mere shifting of altars and the removal of rood screens to obliterating stencilled wall decorations, demolishing reredoses, and disposing of tiles, statuary and metalwork. Not even the church which Pugin paid for himself and where he lies buried – St Augustine's, Ramsgate – was safe from the hands of those who pulled down his rood screen and removed his altar fittings'. He could have addressed comments on the unforgiveable vandalism vented on Pugin's cathedral at Killarney, scraped back to rubble walls (never intended to be exposed), a horrifying, ill-considered assault on a fine building, leaving it looking, as Pugin

<sup>2</sup> *The Ecclesiologist* v (1846) pp 10–16.



would have had it, like something 'sacked by the Calvinists', but then Pugin had a very low opinion, with good reason, of the Irish clergy, and Ireland is beyond the scope of Fisher's book: nevertheless, the fate of Killarney, though an extreme example, was paralleled by serious damage done to Pugin's legacy in England. Furthermore, the Anglicans were not slow to follow with their own iconoclasm, supposedly a well-considered revolution in liturgical stagecraft, but actually an excuse for untrammelled philistinism and destruction of beautiful things, just to ape the Romans. The irony of all this is that the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* of Vatican II did not actually *require* the removal of, say, a tall reredos fixed to an east wall, for such a feature is, as Fisher sagely observes, 'no obstacle to the celebration of Mass facing the people'. No, indeed, but it did provide a pretext for wholesale destruction by dimwits and knaves.

However, it is a pity that this otherwise excellent book has three weaknesses: it has a rudimentary two-page glossary of ecclesiastical terms which would have benefited from considerable expansion; similarly, the index at 4.5 pages is far too brief; and some of the pictures (notably 1.5, 6.22, 7.9, 7.13, 7.14, 9.10, and 10.4) are either out of focus or distorted, and it is a shame that they were not replaced. Nevertheless, any exploration of North Staffordshire by those in search of Pugin's legacy will be enhanced with Fisher's book to hand.



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## A New Editor For True Principles



Figure 223: David Lewis

David Frazer Lewis is an architectural historian specialising in British and American architecture of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. He has degrees from Stanford University and the University of Cambridge. Currently based at St John's College, Oxford, he has recently submitted his DPhil, which was funded by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain's Jonathan Vickers Bursary. In his thesis about the architectural theories of Giles Gilbert Scott, he studies the twilight of the movement for which Pugin was the sunrise.

David grew up in Macon, Georgia, USA, a town with an early nineteenth century Greek Revival core of the sort that Pugin would have loathed. The town's historical society offered a pioneering architectural education programme, in which students were taught to identify the different architectural orders by the age of eight. His interest in architecture was, perhaps, also encouraged by the house where he grew up – a Victorian wonderland, complete with its original working gas lighting (in addition to electric), a library with a rolling ladder, and at least two secret passages. His parents inadvertently prepared him for later life in England by exposing him to British culture from an early age. They ran a company importing British science fiction novels, played on a professional croquet team, and attended the Episcopal Church. His father also played in a bagpipe band and painted oil portraits in the style of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.



## NEW EDITOR

After high school, David attended Stanford University in California. Through Stanford's study abroad programme, he spent his third year at Magdalen College Oxford, where he took courses in architectural history and met the academics who would eventually become his DPhil supervisors. There, he began to develop an academic interest in the relationship between British and American architecture. Returning to California for his final year, he graduated in 2006 with degrees in Urban Studies and British Cultural History.

The following year, he completed an MPhil in Art and Architectural History at Clare College, Cambridge. His thesis was on Edwin Lutyens's church designs. He then worked for an architecture firm in San Francisco that specialises in historic preservation, where he authored part of the Preservation Plan for Charleston, South Carolina, helped to create preservation principles for the city of Foshan, China, (then in the process of replacing their mediæval core with a mass of skyscrapers), and surveyed the cultural resources of San Francisco's Japantown.

Realising that his interests lay in academia, he applied to PhD programmes. While waiting for the results of his applications, a local society commissioned him to write a booklet on Macon, Georgia's architecture, and he catalogued the architecture and decorative arts collection of the same city's Hay House – an important Italianate villa designed by an English-born architect in the 1850s.

He returned to Oxford in 2010, choosing to study Giles Gilbert Scott, a figure who not only represented an important juncture in the development of modern architecture, but also had interesting trans-Atlantic connections. At Oxford, he has served as Junior Dean for the Stanford University study abroad programme, and he has tutored undergraduates in British Architectural History. Last year, he co-organised a two-day international conference on British architecture between the World Wars.

David enjoys sketching, reading novels, and visiting old buildings.

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**Graham Booth** always wanted to be an architect and became a market researcher. He is now a freelance research consultant, specialising in developing marketing communications, while he also runs a business that records people's memoirs and turns them into books. In 2009, after living in and completely refurbishing two successive Grade II listed houses in London, he and his wife Anna, a former retail interior designer, moved to West Dorset in pursuit of peace and a large vegetable plot. There they embarked upon their greatest period home challenge: turning Pugin's Gothic rectory in Rampisham into a modern home for them and their four young children. <http://www.movementresearch.co.uk> <http://www.lifescapememoirs.co.uk>

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**Jonathan Glancey** is an architectural critic and writer who was the architecture and design editor at *The Guardian*, a position he held from 1997 to February 2012. He previously held the same post at *The Independent*. He has also been involved with architecture magazines including the *Architectural Review*, and is an honorary fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).

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*The Pugin Society, Registered Charity No. 1074766, was founded in 1995. It exists, to quote its Constitution, to further 'the advancement of the public in the life and work of A.W.N. Pugin and 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.*

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