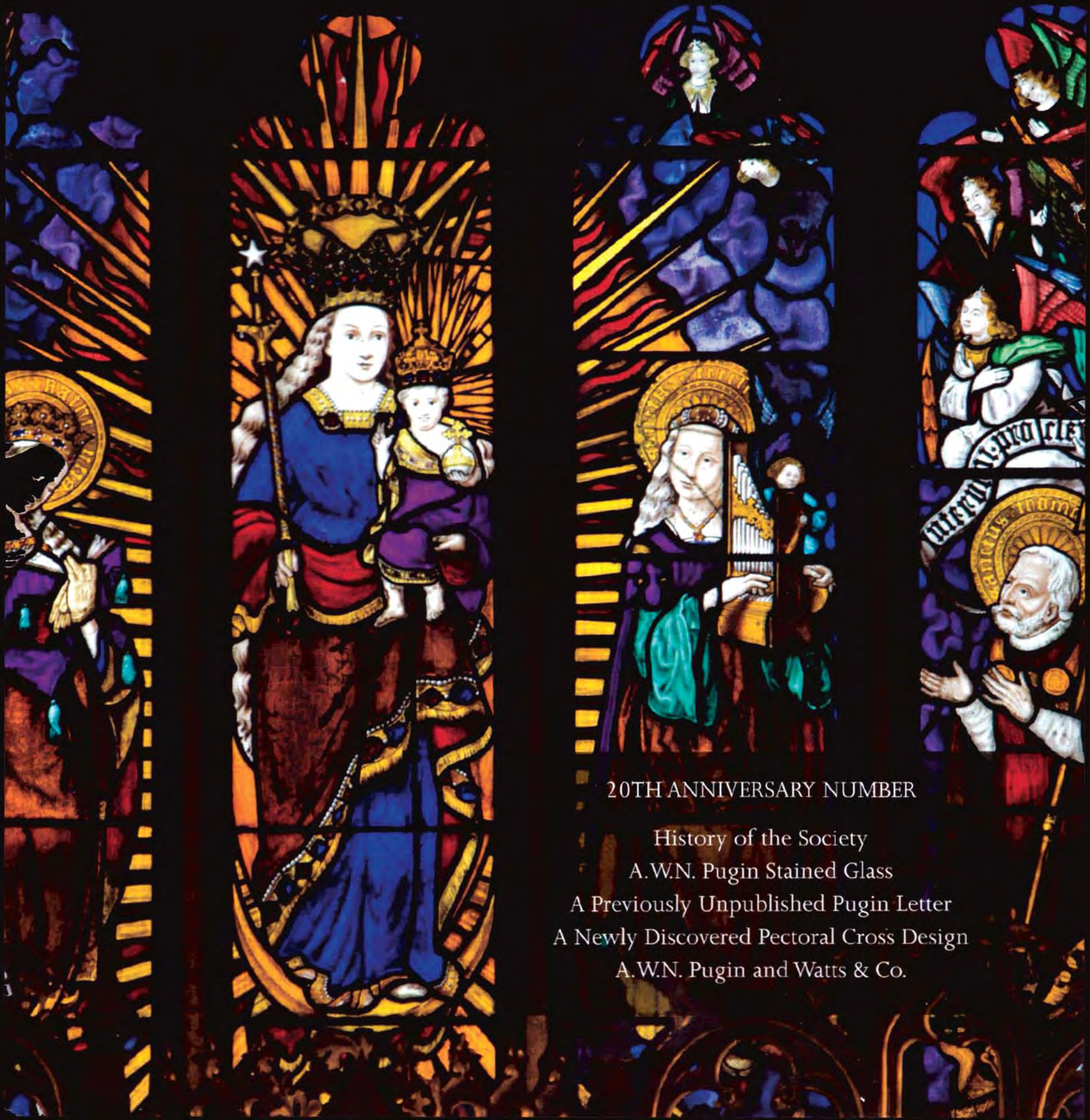


True Principles

The Journal of The Pugin Society

Spring 2016. Vol 5, No 1



20TH ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

History of the Society
A.W.N. Pugin Stained Glass
A Previously Unpublished Pugin Letter
A Newly Discovered Pectoral Cross Design
A.W.N. Pugin and Watts & Co.

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol v no i 2016

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Cover Image: Detail of east window at Oscott Chapel. (Fr Lawrence Lew, O.P.)

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CELEBRATING TWENTY YEARS

David Frazer Lewis

In 2015 the Pugin Society marked two decades of exploring and celebrating the work of A. W. N. Pugin and his family. Over the past twenty years, members of the Society have shared a love of the Puginian via trips, parties, and publications. They have advised on the conservation of buildings and art across the country. They have spread knowledge about Pugin and his world to schoolchildren, Ramsgate holidaymakers, scholars, church-crawlers, and many others in between. They have supported Pugin's legacy for the future and hopefully had fun in the process.

The Society has been effective in its mission: the past two decades have seen <ahem> a renaissance of interest in Pugin with the renovation of a number of his buildings. A vast number of books and articles have been published (often with the Society's support), and Pugin has provided inspiration to artists, designers, clerics, and writers around the world. The Society's contribution to that momentum is a big achievement for what began as a small local organization. But I am paraphrasing the words of one of the founding members, Catriona Blaker, who fittingly opens this issue with a history of the Society, chronicling its beginnings in Ramsgate and its achievements up to the present day.

The great Pugin scholar Margaret Belcher, who has done more than most to advance scholarship about the man and his works, has provided two contributions to this issue, including a transcription of a newly discovered letter that came to light too late to be included in her five-volume edition of the complete letters of A. W. N. Pugin.

Jasmine Allen, Curator of The Stained Glass Museum, contributes an article about the display of stained glass in Pugin's Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition. D. J. Gazeley, Creative Director at Watts & Co. Ltd., explores the story of Pugin's wallpaper and fabric designs at Watts & Co. Nick Beveridge writes from New Zealand to tell of the discovery of an A. W. N. Pugin drawing for a pectoral cross. Andrew Saint has written a review—that could have been an article in its

own right—of recent publications about Pugin’s French contemporary, Viollet-le-Duc. Those seeking to develop a greater understanding of Pugin’s medieval sources may wish to read Paul Binski’s new book on English Gothic architecture, which is reviewed by Arabella Szala. And finally, there is a review of G. J. Hyland’s *The Architectural Works of A.W.N. Pugin*, the first complete catalogue of Pugin’s known architectural works, the publication of which was partly supported by a grant from the Society.

You may have noticed that in parallel with the twentieth anniversary we have unveiled a new design for the journal. We hope that the design conveys more of the visual power of Pugin’s work through larger and more legible illustrations. The design is sleek and modern, yet perhaps I am not alone in feeling that the wide margins and placement of the text evoke illuminated manuscripts?

Here’s to a future that learns from the past.



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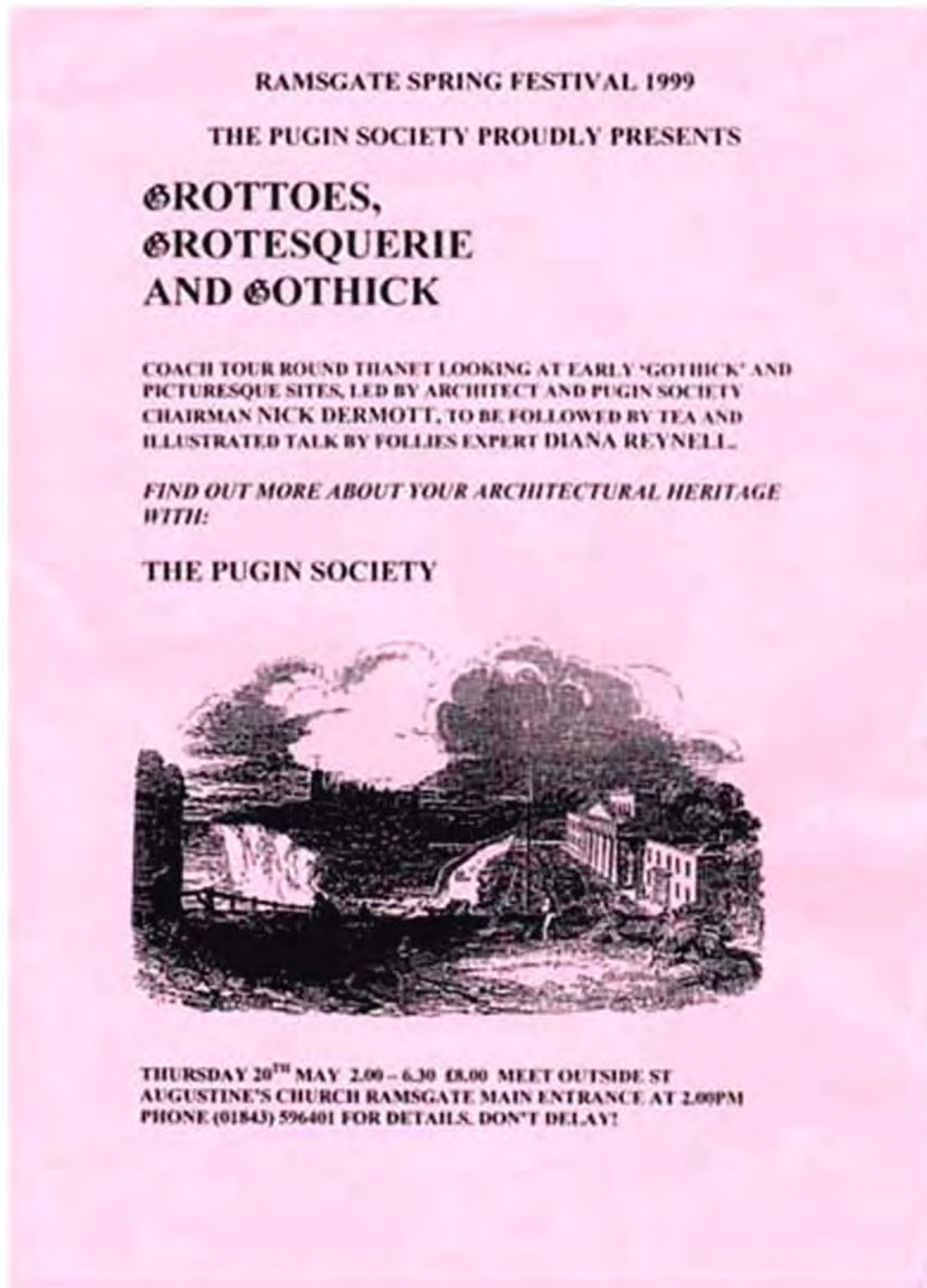
THE PUGIN SOCIETY, 1995–2015

Catriona Blaker

It all started in 1993, the year before the great Pugin exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, when Dom Bede Millard OSB, of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, died. He had always found the Pugin story and the Ramsgate connection compellingly interesting and was also very knowledgeable. He—a lone voice in Ramsgate in that era (apart from a local resident's Pugin Bookshop) where Pugin was concerned—had always been most generous with his time if anyone applied to him to have a look round St Augustine's Church. Although he left notes of what he said when guiding visitors, there appeared to be no one remaining after his death to continue his valuable work. One of the parishioners, Judith Crocker, whom I met in 1994 at Bede's memorial concert, felt that a way should be found to rectify this. At the same time, having recently been introduced to Pugin through a course I had embarked upon at the University of Kent, I thought that here was a remarkable man in every respect whose story had not been celebrated as it should have been, particularly locally.

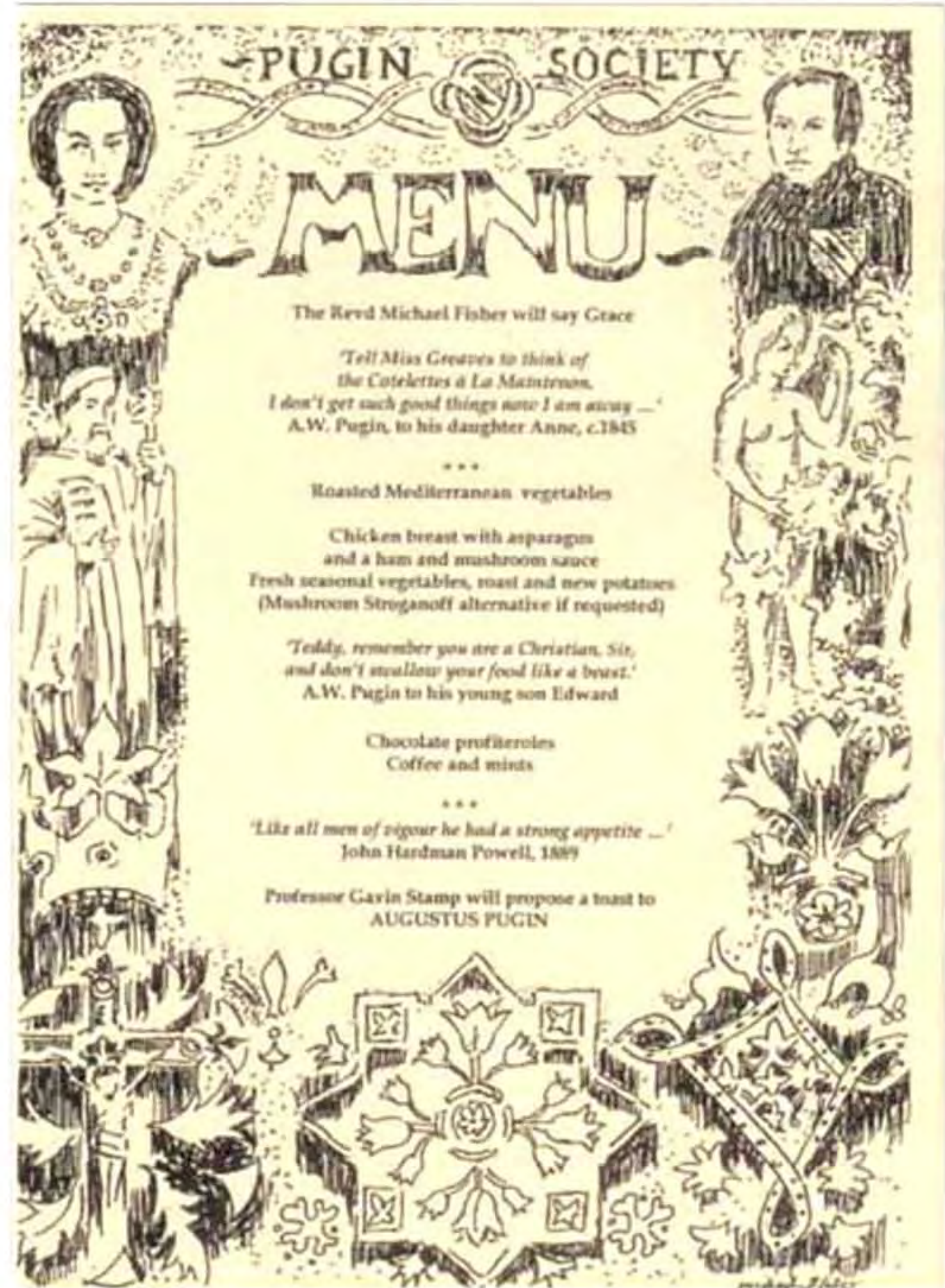
Judith and I were joined at our first informal discussions in 1995 by two further local Pugin fans and parishioners, Oonagh Robertson and Pat McVicker, the last named sadly no longer with us. At our first official committee meeting, Nick Dermott, architect and conservationist, appeared, swelling our ranks and giving us more professionalism. From there, the whole concept started to take off, although at first, of course, we encountered the usual problems which new societies experience—how best to create a constitution and elect officers, and, importantly, how to become a Registered Charity. Whilst Judith regarded our endeavours as local, I thought they should be national; but from the beginning I think we all recognised that we would not get anywhere, nor have any credibility, without the support of leading Pugin academics and specialists—the gods of our unusual and very special world. We have always been blessed with the interest and encouragement of such people as our Patron, Alexandra Wedgwood; Rosemary Hill, Pugin biographer; Margaret Belcher, editor of Pugin's letters; Roderick O'Donnell, historian of Pugin and Catholicism; Michael Fisher, Staffordshire Pugin expert; and many others. These scholars have helped us to keep up standards, shown us what to aim for, and given us practical support by

Opposite page: Stained glass design by A. W. N. Pugin, 1837. Watercolour. (Yale Center for British Art)



Above left: Poster for an early Pugin Society event. Our graphics have advanced since then! (C. Blaker).

Above right: Menu card, designed by Michael Blaker, for a Society dinner celebrating Pugin and the completed restoration of the Grange by the Landmark Trust, Ramsgate, 2006. (C. Blaker).



generously writing for us, leading tours, and generally boosting our morale. Scholarship is so important, and in 2012 we were proud to help support the Pugin Bicentennial Pugin Conference at the University of Kent, which clearly illustrated, at the top academic level, the world-wide influence of the Gothic Revival. Pugin family descendants, and in particular our President, Sarah Houle, have also been closely involved and immensely helpful throughout, and it is always good to welcome members of the Pugin family in Ramsgate.

One of the Society's stated aims is 'to educate the public in the life and work of Augustus Welby Pugin', and I have often thought that whilst we have, hopefully, managed to achieve this to some extent, our committee alone, quite apart from the general public, has learnt an enormous amount. This is not least because the Society is continually being sent queries about Pugin and his world, ranging from the bizarre to the scholarly. Researching and answering these has taught us so much. When sometimes worrying about the fact that one evening's television programme about Pugin may be said to do more to educate the public than our Society could possibly achieve, even in twenty years, I console myself with the thought that perhaps—just



perhaps—the founding of our Society was a trigger for all the good things that have happened in the Pugin world since, the immense boost given to Pugin by the work of the Landmark Trust in Ramsgate, for example; and the recent, electrifying news that St Augustine's has received a Heritage Lottery Fund grant of nearly £600,000 to create the Pugin and St Augustine Education, Research, and Visitor Centre. Perhaps we have been a sort of John the Baptist, preparing the way.

The Society has always had a good publishing record. We have produced *A Flint Seaside Church*, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, *Edward Pugin and Kent*, a newly edited version of *Pugin in his Home*, the *Ramsgate Pugin Town Trail*, and a second edition of *The Stained Glass of St Augustine's Church, Ramsgate*. Most recently, we have published the useful *Presenting Pugin*, an introduction to Pugin's life and work; and *Operation Pugin*, an educational pack for schools. We were also responsible, in association with Spire Books, for a hardback publication containing both Pugin's *Contrasts* and his *True Principles of Christian or Pointed Architecture*. We have been supported twice by the Heritage Lottery Fund in our publishing ventures, and also by Thanet District Council, the Tourism section of which has, in particular, always been very helpful and encouraging.

A meeting with Ramsgate dignitaries, the Abbot of St Augustine's, and others, following the presentation of the Ramsgate Town Image Award to the Society in 1997. Our chairman Nick Dermott may be discerned second from the left, along with other faces who will be familiar to some of our more long-standing members. (Incorporated Kent Newspapers).

In addition to these publications, we have also produced, in varying and gradually maturing forms, a newsletter, *Present State*, and a substantial peer-reviewed journal, *True Principles*. These are something to be proud of, I think. They make a remarkable record. Back numbers are often requested and the earliest issues are now rare, and well on the way to becoming collectors' items.

Where actual Pugin buildings are concerned, we have quite often been approached for assistance. We will willingly write letters to back up an appeal to save a building or to object to an application and will try to give publicity to any worthwhile cause, either in one of our periodicals or on our website. We are not, however, a National Amenity Society—unlike the Victorian Society or the Twentieth Century Society, or a handful of others—and this means that we do not have to be consulted by law over planning applications for Pugin buildings, nor do we have the same degree of influence. Nevertheless, we are still consulted as specialists, and we hope we carry some weight in the field of conservation of buildings designed by Pugin or otherwise connected with him.

Our events have also helped to define the character of our Society, and over a period we have built up a loyal corps of friendly and supportive members who attend these, whilst at the same time we are also attracting new members. Indeed, our Society has always been considered a very sociable and inclusive one, where members are made to feel welcome and at home. Our first residential event, a visit to Staffordshire, was organised by me in 1996. This pioneering trip involved setting off into the unknown from Ramsgate in a minibus (our numbers were small then) and staying in a suitably Gothic Revival building, the Woodard Foundation school, Denstone College, not far from Alton Towers. The first glimpse of the Towers, in stark silhouette under a black and rain-soaked sky, was exactly right. I organised four such trips, with expert guides such as Dr Roderick O'Donnell. But at a certain point I was approached by our current events officer, Professor Julia Twigg, who most kindly offered her assistance, which I was indeed glad to accept. She has planned many wonderful visits since then. Those which stay in the memory particularly include one in 2009 to Dublin and Cork, led by Roderick O'Donnell again, in conjunction with Professor Alistair Rowan; two to Belgium, where we were fortunate to make contact with Flemish Catholic and architectural expert Jan de Maeyer, who gave us invaluable help; and a splendid one to Scotland in 2004, led by Rosemary Hill. On these visits, I think we all learnt an immense amount. Not only that, but there has been fun,

camaraderie, and laughter. Another pleasant feature of the early days was the Society sketching days, started in memory of Pugin's own expeditions to draw the local Kent churches. These produced some very attractive studies.

Since the Society started the world has changed. The internet has profoundly altered and hugely increased access to knowledge and almost redefined what 'knowledge' is. When the Pugin Society began our aim was to inform our members, in enjoyable and sociable ways, about matters Puginian and related subjects. In doing this we would be reaching approximately four hundred people, our core audience, although our publications were a form of wider outreach. Now, 'the public', as referred to in our Constitution, means the world, not just our members. With the aid of our own website we can reach, inform, and recruit with no limit at all. A one-time committee member, Victoria Farrow, usefully added a section about the Pugin Society to her own website, but eventually it became clear that we needed our own dedicated site. As many societies have found, constructing the perfect website is challenging, but our

Below left: Breaking for a picnic at Bartestree, Herefordshire. Pugin Society study tour, 'A Pugin Pastoral', in 2000.

Bottom left: Looking at Muckross Friary, Killarney: our President Sarah Houle and others on the Irish tour, 2009.

Below right: Admiring the Gothick: Society members at the Waterloo Tower, Quex estate, Birchington, 1999. (all photos C. Blaker).



present site, designed by committee member, PhD student and Pugin scholar Jamie Jacobs, is something we can all be proud of, and it is well used.

Because so much information has become available on the internet, inevitably it comes at different levels and with different degrees of accuracy. One might ask, are we all Pugin experts now, and can what can be accessed online negate the need for a Society? I don't think so. The actual—not virtual—conversations with experts in the field and other like-minded people; the on-site visits, where we see buildings and climb all over them rather than look at images on a screen; the quality talks we attend; and the comprehensive notes we are given on tour form an irreplaceable experience. So, whilst we can all access the internet for backup and general interest, and value its immense worth, nothing, surely, can ever quite take the place of a Society such as ours. Professor Gavin Stamp, when proposing a toast to the Society on our twentieth anniversary celebratory outing on the Thames, indeed made a point of stressing the value of such relatively small but characterful institutions as ours.

However, to continue to be successful in the future we do need to consider how best to relate to changing times. We cannot, sadly, afford now to be the sort of cosy association that meets in book-lined rooms, delightful though this would be, to sip claret and swap information—a kind of antiquarian group such as those with which Pugin himself would have been familiar. To connect successfully with the outside world we should become more familiar with social media and use such facilities to help spread our message. To attract funding, which all societies need to do at times, we have to be aware of the conditions set by the Heritage Lottery Fund. The buzzword is 'accessibility', and whatever our reaction is to that word, we do need, I think, to be fully aware of its implications. If, as Kipling might say, we can adapt to changing times, but still keep our rigour and our cool, ours will be a Society to conjure with.

Finally, to spend twenty years in the company of one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century has been a very special experience. Unique, brilliant, paranoid, difficult at times but always compelling, Pugin leads us into a diverse and many-faceted world we never knew existed—or certainly I never did—and I wouldn't have missed that for anything. And I think I speak for all of us.

En Avant into the next twenty years!

A. W. N. PUGIN, STAINED GLASS, AND THE 1851 MEDIEVAL COURT

Jasmine Allen

The Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851 played a key role in the burgeoning Gothic Revival and the development of stained glass in the mid-nineteenth century.¹ By examining A. W. N. Pugin's motives for selecting individual windows for display and by discussing both the successes and difficulties of displaying stained glass in an exhibition context, this article reveals Pugin's own attitudes towards stained glass and public exhibitions as well as contemporary critical responses to the Gothic-inspired furniture and decorations on display. The Medieval Court presented an integrated display that influenced the reception and development of the Gothic style, and had a lasting influence on the reputations of exhibitors and the contextual display of stained glass in temporary exhibition settings.

Pugin and the Crystal Palace

The Crystal Palace was erected in Hyde Park, London, to house the world's first international exhibition, The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, which took place between 1 May and 15 October 1851. The large glass and

1 On stained glass at the international exhibitions see Allen 2012 and Allen 2013.



Figure 1: A View of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London: watercolour by Edmund Walker, 1850. (©Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

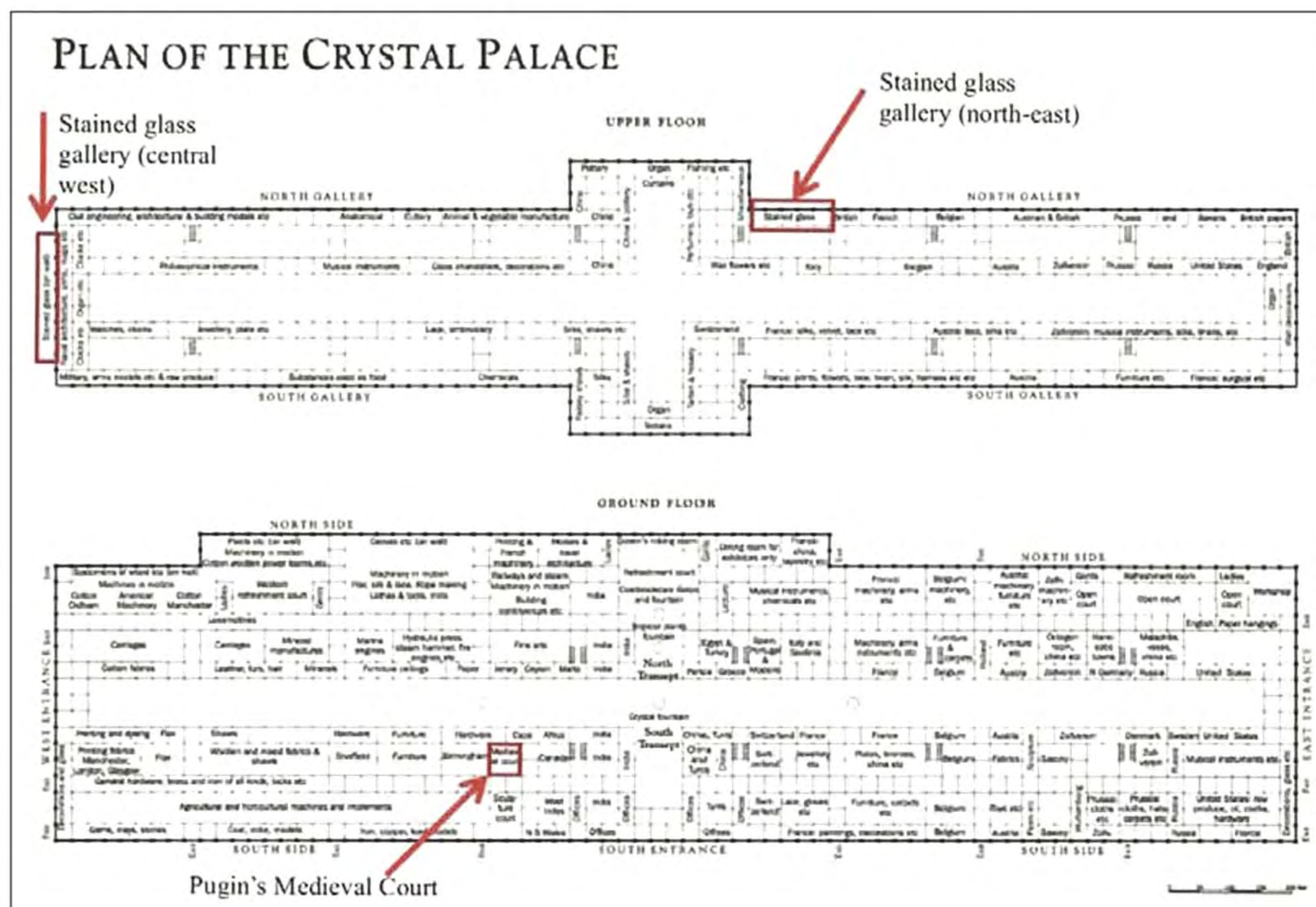


Figure 2. *Plan of the Crystal Palace*, showing locations of stained glass exhibits in upper galleries and Pugin's Medieval Court, 1851. (Wikimedia).

iron building designed by Joseph Paxton is today considered a great monument of nineteenth-century architecture, a striking symbol of Victorian modernity (Fig. 1). However, at the time of its inception, the building drew many critics. An article in *The Ecclesiologist*, the journal of the Cambridge Camden Society, proclaimed that Paxton's Crystal Palace was 'engineering of the highest merit and excellence—not architecture'.²

These views appear to have been shared by the Gothic Revival architect and polemicist A. W. N. Pugin, who after visiting the Crystal Palace for the first time, referred to the building as the 'Vert Monstre' ('green monster').³ In a letter to decorator John Gregory Crace, he stated that:

The building appears to me a great failure, and the Length should have been archd. The transept is not half so important – it is a capital place for plants. What is it? A large greenhouse, very ingenious, a great credit to inventors, wonderful mechanism &c but a beastly place to show off gothic work.⁴

² 'Design of Crystal Palace' 1851.

³ Wedgwood 1994, p. 238, n. 9

⁴ Wedgwood 1994, p. 238, n. 9

Pugin's remarks were echoed by eminent art critic John Ruskin a few years later, when the Crystal Palace relocated to Sydenham.⁵ Ruskin compared the building to 'a giant cucumber-frame' and remarked: 'We suppose ourselves to have invented a new style of architecture, when we have magnified a conservatory!'⁶ Both critics alluded to Paxton's experience designing horticultural buildings, and his inspiration for the ridge and furrow roof of the Crystal Palace, which had been inspired by the rib-structured leaves of the Victoria Regalia water lily.⁷

Medieval Court

In spite of his opinions of the design and origin of the Crystal Palace, A. W. N. Pugin was keen to take part in the Great Exhibition. Shortly after plans for the Great Exhibition were announced, he wrote to John Gregory Crace in March 1850 declaring his intention to apply for a room to showcase the work of his closest collaborators.⁸ A year later they began setting up the Medieval Court, which occupied a 48-by-48-foot (14.6m by 14.6m) exhibition space on the ground floor of the Crystal Palace along the south-western side of the building, near the central crossing (Fig. 2). The court was screened off from the rest of the building with framed canvas.⁹ Besides Pugin, who had designed many of the objects on display, the other exhibitors whose works were represented in the Medieval Court included Royal Decorator John Gregory Crace of Crace & Sons; Herbert Minton of Minton & Co. ceramics, Stoke-on-Trent; glazier and metalworker John Hardman of Birmingham; and George Myers, a stone-carver and builder. Each side of the court was labelled identifying the four contributors and their trade (Fig. 3).

It is likely that Pugin managed to secure his own separate exhibiting area in such a prime location through his connections with Henry Cole, a member of the Executive Committee and one of the key organisers of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The two men would have known each other through the Society of Arts and were brought into close contact when Pugin was asked to lend several exhibits from his own collection to the Society's 1850 Exhibition of Ancient and Mediaeval Art, which Henry Cole had helped to organise.¹⁰ By bringing together several exhibitors' wares in a single exhibition space, Pugin and his collaborators avoided the rigorous rules of classification and arrangement that other exhibitors were subject to. The Great Exhibition classification scheme divided exhibits into four categories demonstrating the progressive stages of the manufacturing process: raw materials, machinery, manufactures, and the fine arts. These four categories

5 When the Great Exhibition closed, the Crystal Palace was dismantled and rebuilt in a different formation on Sydenham Hill, London. It reopened to the public in 1854 amongst landscaped park grounds and was destroyed by fire in 1936.

6 Ruskin 1854, p. 5.

7 The Victoria Regalia was discovered in 1837 in Guyana. Paxton successfully cultivated it for the first time in England while head gardener at Chatsworth House. He demonstrated the strength of its leaves by floating his daughter Annie on one of them, as depicted in 'Gigantic Water-Lily' 1849.

8 Wedgwood 1994, p. 238, n 9.

9 Hill 2007, p. 461.

10 Wainwright 1994, p. 357.

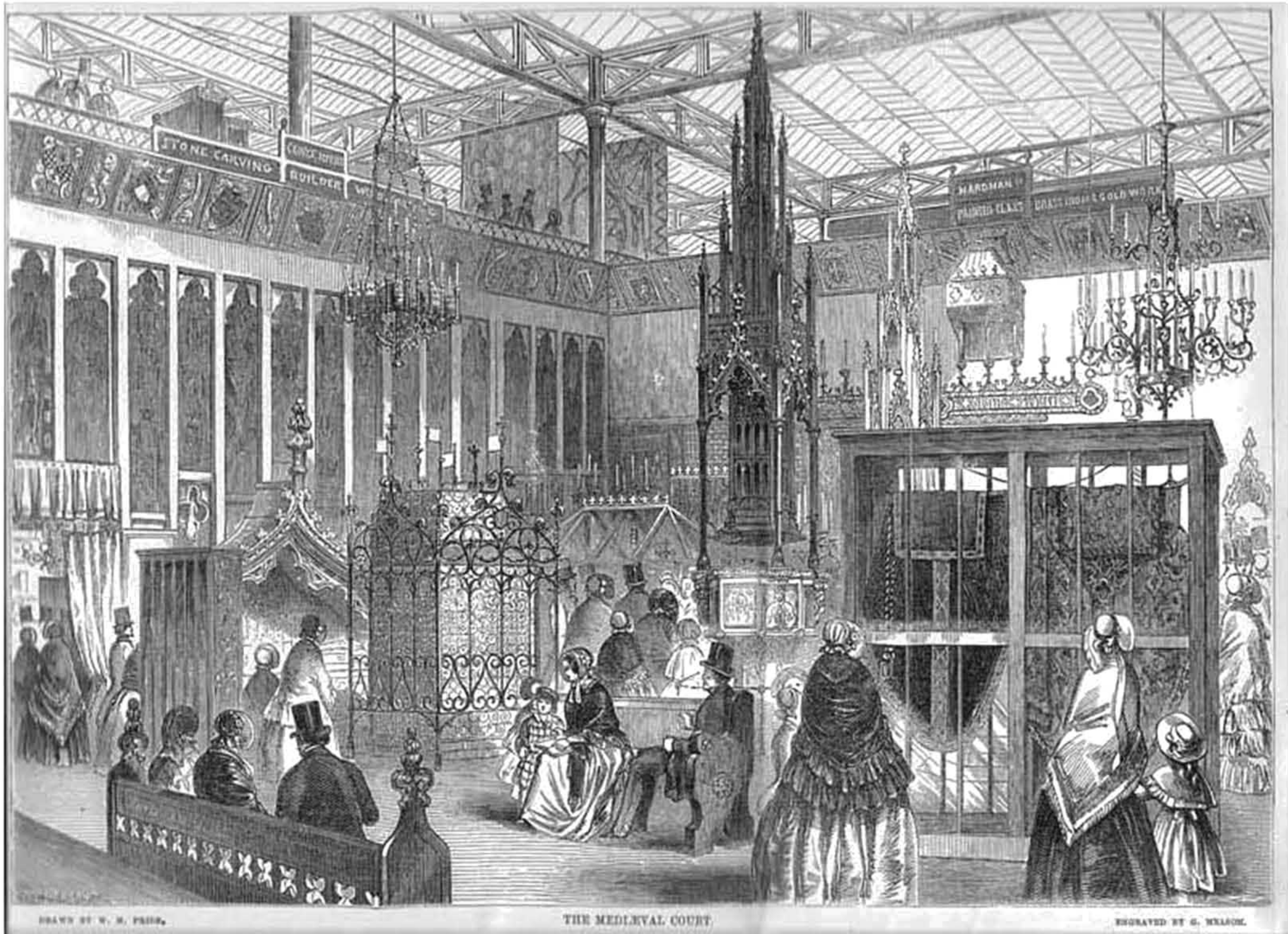


Figure 3: *The Medieval Court*, 1851: drawn by W.M. Prior, engraved by G. Measom. Wood engraving, in Cassell 1851. (Author's collection).

were then subdivided into a total of thirty classes.¹¹ This scheme organised the exhibits and dictated where they would be placed within the building, how they would be listed in the Official Catalogue, and what objects they would be compared with and judged against by the awarding juries.

Most of the exhibits within the Crystal Palace followed a plan of arrangement which saw British exhibits placed in the western portion of the building, displayed according to their classification group, while 'foreign' exhibits were placed in national groups on the eastern side.¹² There were very few exceptions to this rule, but both the stained glass exhibits and the objects shown in the Medieval Court broke conventions. Although stained glass was categorised in Class 24 with the Glass manufactures, the majority of stained glass exhibits were displayed separately in a long gallery along the north-eastern wall on an upper level of the Crystal Palace where they were illuminated by natural sunlight transmitted through the outer glass walls of the building.

¹¹ Allwood 1980, pp. 450–51.

¹² Such a display has been interpreted as demonstrating British superiority. Buzard 2007.



Similarly, the exhibits in Pugin's Medieval Court were listed in the Official Catalogue under Class 26 dedicated to 'Furniture, upholstery, paper hangings, and papier maché and japanned goods', but they were not displayed with the objects in this classification and instead formed a separate collective display on the ground floor on the south side of the building.¹³ Here, the Medieval Court was located opposite the Sculpture Court and adjacent to 'those inexhaustible mines of bad taste, Birmingham and Sheffield', that Pugin abhorred.¹⁴ 'With its medieval-inspired exhibits, the Medieval Court offered an alternative to the display of modern manufactures from industrial Birmingham.

The Medieval Court provided a modern showroom of Gothic-styled goods for decorating the home and church, including fabric and wallpaper, encaustic tiles, furniture, stone- and woodcarving, metalwork, and stained glass (Fig. 4). The Illustrated Exhibitor concluded that it was a 'strikingly-harmonious combination' that suggested 'the fullness of beauty and character, and the homogeneousness,

Figure 4: *The Medieval Court*, 1851: chromolithograph by John Nash, 1852, in Dickinson 1854, v 2: pl. XII. (©Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

¹³ Yapp 1851, p.137

¹⁴ Pugin 1841 (*True Principles*), p. 24.

of medieval design, however applied, to domestic as to ecclesiastical purposes'.¹⁵ Amongst the pieces of domestic furniture exhibited were Minton's large Gothic stove for Alton Towers, home of the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, John Talbot; and some Gothic jardinières, tiles, wallpapers and wooden cabinets (Fig. 5). But ecclesiastical furnishings formed the majority of the display, and included Bishop Thomas Walsh's tomb for St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham; a high altar, a niche with statue of the Virgin and Child, and an altar and reredos of the Lady Chapel from the Catholic Church of St David at Pantasaph; a font, a tabernacle, and part of the oak screen to the A. W. N. Pugin chantry from St Augustine's, Ramsgate; much ecclesiastical metalwork; and the Great Rood from the screen at St Edmund's College, Ware.¹⁶

Controversy

The presence of the Ware Rood cross, which was exhibited without the figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St John, caused a stir for appearing 'Popish'. In order to reassure the public that the Medieval Court was not a Roman Catholic chapel, Lord Granville, President of the Board of Trade, released a statement explaining:

¹⁵ Cassell 1851, p. 92.

¹⁶ 'Medieval Court' 1851.

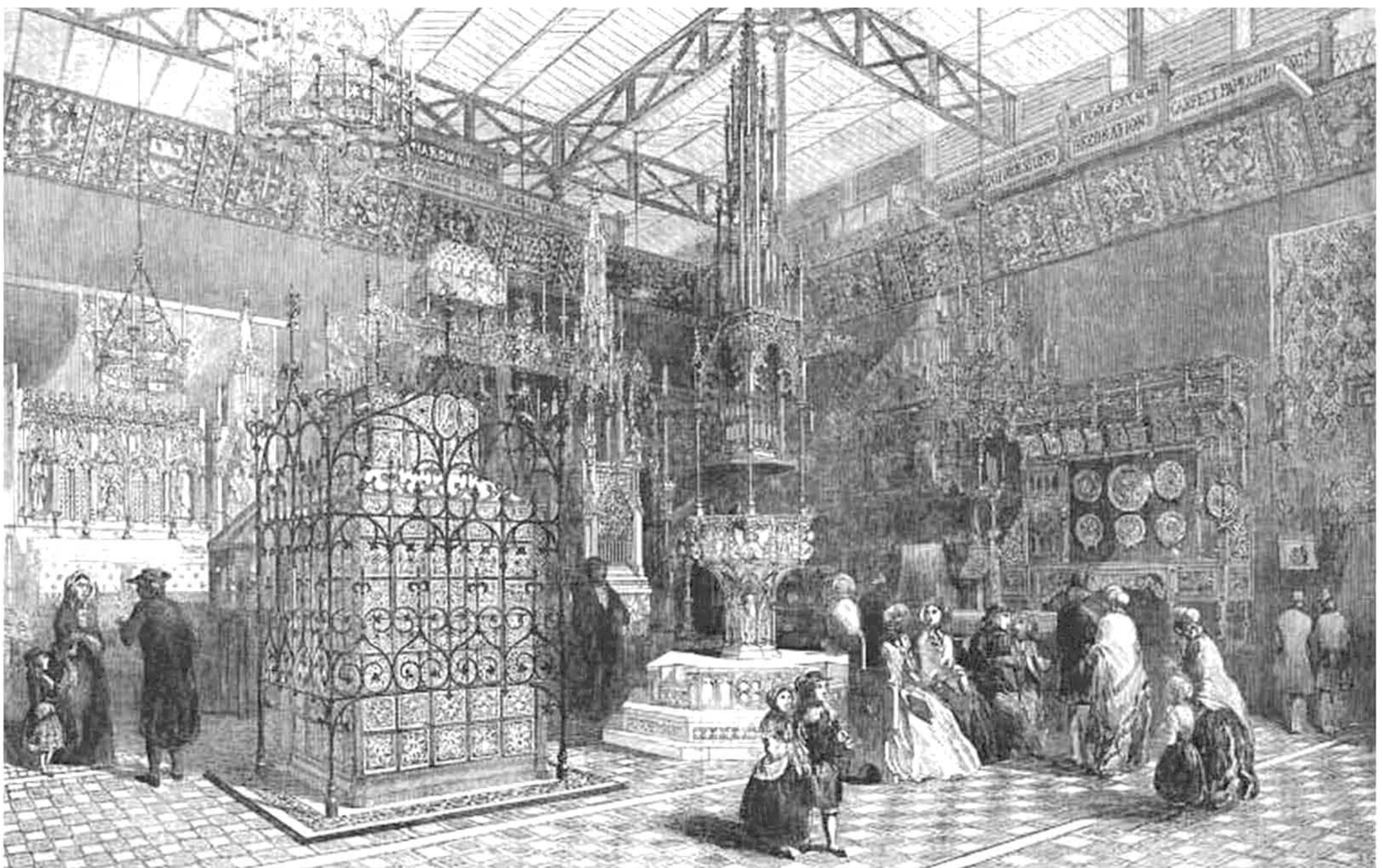


Figure 5: *The Medieval Court*, 1851: in *The Illustrated London News*, September 20, 1851, p.362. (Author's collection).

The only thing that has been brought into this court is a Cross, not a Crucifix. [...] One side of this Court will be hung with Ecclesiastical ornaments, the other three sides with Domestic furniture, and in the middle there will be a mixture of Fonts, stoves, flowerpots, armchairs, sofas, tables & c & c, which I hope will give it a sufficiently secular character.¹⁷

Such fears that Pugin was erecting a Catholic chapel were steeped in widespread anti-Catholic feeling.¹⁸ In September 1850 the Catholic hierarchy had been re-established in England and, in the years following, there were many violent clashes and verbal disputes between Protestants and Catholics.¹⁹ Pugin's desire to revive the Gothic architecture of England's Catholic past, and his own conversion to the Roman Catholic faith in 1834, made many Anglicans suspicious of his intentions with the Medieval Court.

In 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, *Punch* published a satirical poem and sketch entitled 'The Pilgrims to Rome', a parody of the Prologue to Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.²⁰ The accompanying illustration depicts a line of notable pilgrims riding to Rome, led by a plump Cardinal Wiseman. A. W. N. Pugin clearly provided inspiration for the 'architecte', who is depicted second from last in the line, holding an architectural model with a Gothic spire (Fig. 6). The satirical poem highlights that Pugin's church-building and taste for the medieval period was conflated with his Roman Catholic faith. Many visitors brought these preconceptions with them when they entered the Medieval Court.

17 Wedgwood 1994, pp. 238–39.

18 Catholic Emancipation was achieved in 1829 through the Catholic Relief Act, which enabled Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament for the first time since 1688.

19 The government responded by introducing the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which prevented anyone outside of the Established Church from using an episcopal title. This Bill was repealed under Gladstone in 1871. Hill 2007, p. 26; Wedgwood 1994, pp. 238–39.

20 'Pilgrims to Rome' 1851.



Figure 6: *The Pilgrims to Rome*: in *Punch*, v 20, (1851), p 230. (Author's collection).

The presence of a number of stained glass windows produced by Hardman & Co. under Pugin's direction, arranged along the north side of the Court (filling 1,360 sq. ft. [126 sq. m] of wall space), may have also contributed to people's perceptions of the Medieval Court as a chapel.²¹ At this time stained glass was typically associated with ecclesiastical settings rather than secular environments, and thus the Great Exhibition, devoted to the world's industry, provided a new type of environment for viewing stained glass.²²

A. W. N. Pugin and Stained Glass

A. W. N. Pugin played a key role in reviving and promoting the art of stained glass.²³ During his lifetime he worked closely with four significant nineteenth-century stained glass artists: William Warrington from 1838–41, Thomas Willement for a brief period in 1841–42, William Wailes from 1842–45, and finally John Hardman from 1845 until his own death in 1852.²⁴ Pugin persuaded Birmingham metalwork company Hardman & Co. to begin making stained glass to his designs in 1845, and this was his final, most successful and long-lasting collaboration with a stained glass artist.²⁵

In 1849 Hardman and Pugin participated in their first public exhibition—The Birmingham Exposition of Arts and Manufactures.²⁶ Amongst Hardman & Co.'s exhibits, which occupied an entire upper end of the exhibition room, were four stained glass windows, which were favourably received by critics.²⁷ The Art Journal described them as 'wonderful productions ... on a par with those of the best antique originals'.²⁸ The Art-Union singled out Hardman's display and described the firm's stained glass as 'extraordinary in the texture of the glass, the colours employed, and the drawing of the figures introduced', acknowledging the fruitful partnership between Pugin and Hardman.²⁹

The Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851 developed this successful display but was a larger, more international affair. At the time Britain's stained glass industry was in the early stages of its rapid development, and the stained glass in the Medieval Court designed by A. W. N. Pugin and made by Hardman & Co., signalled the direction that High Victorian stained glass would take in the following decades under the auspices of the burgeoning Gothic Revival movement.³⁰ The Great Exhibition presented Pugin with an opportunity to demonstrate how the medieval techniques, principles, and function of stained glass might be revived for a modern era. Like other important figures in the

21 Fisher 2008, p. 62.

22 Cheshire 2004.

23 Shepherd 1997.

24 For A. W. N. Pugin's relationships with these glass painters see Fisher 2008, Fisher 2009, and Shepherd 2009.

25 Fisher 2008, pp. 61–63. By November 1845 Hardman's were making their first stained glass, which was for St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.

26 Fisher 2008, pp. 61–63.

27 Hardman's showed two memorial windows destined for St Nicholas, Copperas Hill, Liverpool (no longer extant); some panels for St Augustine, Ramsgate; and an armorial window for the hall of St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw. Shepherd 2009, pp. 87–88.

28 'Birmingham Exhibition' 1849, p. 320.

29 'Birmingham Exposition' 1848, p. 349.

30 Besides Hardman & Co. and Powell & Sons, many of the major stained glass firms we associate with the Victorian Gothic Revival (Clayton & Bell, Lavers & Barraud, Heaton, Butler & Bayne, and Morris & Co.) had not yet been founded.

revival of stained glass, Pugin cared about the type and quality of the glass he used. He travelled to Evreux and Rouen to study medieval stained glass, and visited Chartres to obtain some samples of thirteenth-century glass for examination. He worked with glass manufacturers Hartley of Sunderland to produce glass to match the desired colours, translucency, and texture of these medieval samples.³¹

Above all, Pugin recognised the important role that medieval stained glass played in its architectural and religious environment. In his post as Professor of Ecclesiastical Art and Architecture at St Mary's College, Oscott, Pugin described the empowering effects of medieval churches to theological students in a series of lectures on 'Ecclesiastical Architecture' delivered in 1838. In a shortened version of the first lecture, later published in the *Catholic Magazine*, Pugin described the important educational, aesthetic, and symbolic role of stained glass windows in sacred buildings where 'Every window is a chapter of instruction':³²

Between the lengthened mullions of the windows are seen glowing masses of the richest hues; whole acres of brilliant imagery sparkle before you, throwing the most variegated reflections and enchanting effects over the whole edifice.³³

In his third lecture of the same series, Pugin spoke of the decline in the art of stained glass from the late sixteenth century onwards, and drew the students' attention to 'the miserable attempt [of glass painting] in the west window of New College Oxford' designed by Joshua Reynolds and painted on glass by Thomas Jervais in 1777 (Fig. 7).³⁴ Although now a celebrated example of monumental Georgian glass painting, this window in the antechapel of New College Chapel was, to Pugin and later advocates of the Gothic Revival, the antithesis of medieval principles of stained glass design.³⁵ The whole window is formed of numerous small rectangular panes of white glass painted with washy coloured enamels, and the lead lines around each pane of glass form a 'net-work' over the entire picture.

The New College Chapel window features in much nineteenth-century discourse on stained glass, but Pugin was one of the first and most witty, outspoken critics of this window, which he described as 'two-thirds dirty brown clouds'.³⁶ He objected to the techniques and principles employed, as well as its overall design in which the large Nativity scene in the upper

31 Shepherd 2009, pp. 51–60.

32 Pugin 1838, p. 199.

33 Pugin 1838, p. 199.

34 Pugin 1839, p. 33.

35 Gilchrist and Barley 2013.

36 Pugin 1839, p. 33.



Figure 7: (above) Joshua Reynolds (designer), Thomas Jervais (painter), *Nativity with allegorical figures*, c.1787, west window, Antechapel, New College Chapel, Oxford. (J. Allen).

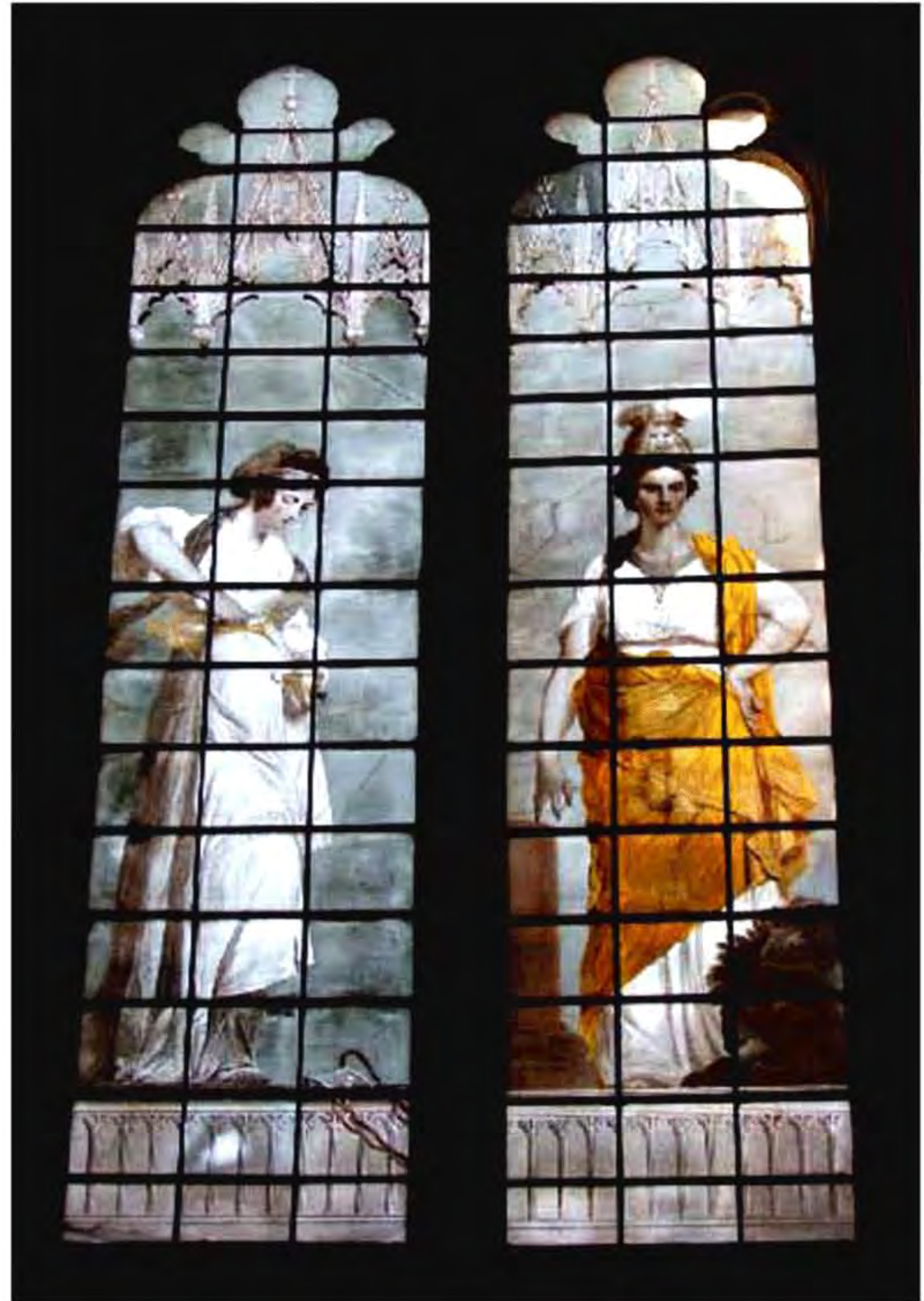


Figure 8: (right) Joshua Reynolds (designer), Thomas Jervais (painter), detail of west window c.1787, Antechapel, New College Chapel, Oxford. (J. Allen).

tier spreads across the stone mullions, ignoring the Gothic architectural framework. The allegorical figures of the cardinal virtues in the seven lights in the lower tier are depicted standing on plinths underneath Gothick canopies, but are full of drama and affectation; Pugin thought they had 'the appearance of third-rate actresses' (Fig. 8).³⁷

Stained Glass in the Medieval Court

Around a quarter of the stained glass exhibits on show at the Great Exhibition of 1851 were pictorial windows painted with enamels, so the display of medieval-inspired stained glass by Hardman & Co. in the Medieval Court stood out precisely as Pugin had intended it to. When selecting which stained glass panels to exhibit Pugin suggested to Hardman, 'we ought to have something of each kind'.³⁸ By this he meant exhibits to represent the three main Gothic styles: Early, Decorated, and Late. But ever business-minded, he reminded Hardman that it would be most cost-effective if 'you will only

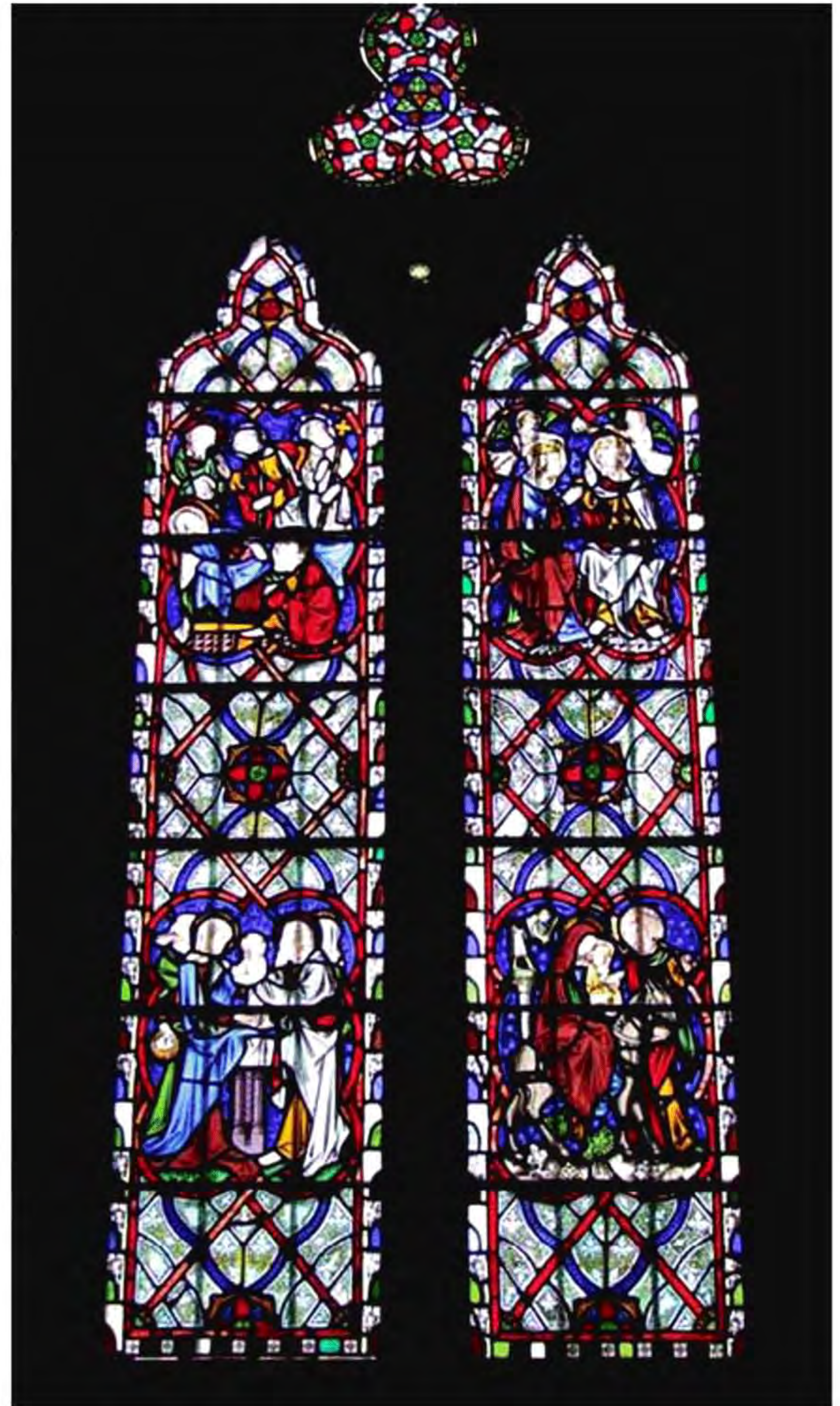
³⁷ Pugin 1839, p. 33.

³⁸ Shepherd 2009, p. 89.

show windows ordered [which are not yet made or installed] and which will be paid for'.³⁹ Yet Pugin also needed the permission of the donors and clergymen who had commissioned the windows to display their stained glass panels in the Medieval Court prior to installation.

The Early Style (defined by Pugin as c.1190–1300) was, in the end, not represented at all because the Dean and Chapter at Hereford Cathedral refused to lend a light from their typological east window, which they were anxious to have in place as soon as possible.⁴⁰ Consequently, most of the glass exhibited in the Medieval Court was in the Decorated Style. A two-light window depicting St Thomas the Apostle and St Thomas the Martyr for the chantry chapel of St Edmund's College, Ware (now destroyed), was exhibited, as Pugin explained to Hardman, 'because we can have it & it is an easy subject 2 Large Saints under canopies'.⁴¹ Three windows from Pugin's home church of St Augustine's, Ramsgate, were shown, two of which were for the south wall of the Lady Chapel showing scenes from the Life of the Virgin. In these windows each narrative scene is enclosed in a geometrical shape composed of a large circle intersected by four smaller circles at each corner, with a diapered blue foliage background and ruby border, set against a background of painted foliate grisaille. Both windows now show some signs of paint loss (Fig. 9). The third window from St Augustine's, Ramsgate, was for the south aisle west wall and depicts the standing figures of saints Ethelbert and Bertha under architectural canopies. This style of stained glass was reminiscent of the early fourteenth-century glazing at Evreux, France, which Pugin visited and studied in 1849.⁴² Another unidentified window in the Decorated Style, depicting the Virgin Mary under a canopy, was also exhibited.

Figure 9: Pugin (designer), Hardman & Co. (manufacturer), *The Life of the Virgin*, 1848, (tracery) 1851 (main lights), sIV, south wall of the Lady Chapel, St Augustine's, Ramsgate. (J. Allen).



³⁹ Shepherd 2009, p. 89

⁴⁰ This glass was replaced in 1871.

⁴¹ This window was destroyed by bombing in World War II. It depicted St Thomas the Apostle and St Thomas of Canterbury, the patron saints of Bishop Griffiths, the founder of the Chapel. Shepherd 2009, p. 89

⁴² Shepherd 2009, pp. 51–52.

Figure 10: Pugin (designer), Hardman & Co. (manufacturer), *Transfiguration and Crucifixion*, 1851, east window, St Andrew's Church, Farnham, Surrey. (S. Hutchings).



Stained glass exhibits representing the Late Style (c.1390-1540) included some panels for windows being made for St Andrew's Church, Farnham, Surrey. The three-light chancel north window depicting the life of St Andrew was exhibited (Fig. 10), along with two lights containing the Transfiguration and Crucifixion from the five-light east window. Pugin was unhappy with the execution of this glass, which he felt was not in keeping with the Late Style. Letters from Pugin to Hardman complain that the three-dimensional canopies were painted with too much shadow instead of half-tints, revealing his hands-on approach to the manufacture of his designs for stained glass by the Birmingham studio:

The Farnham light is diabolical disgraceful I have heard the comments of the man who painted it. It is not the least like the cartoon they have put powerful shadows where there are half tints & half tints where there are strong shadows it is a most infamous careless caricature of the cartoons & all painted with black instead of brown shadows which I have begged & prayed for, but nobody in the place has the remotest idea of Late Work & this is damnable it will be a discredit & a shame. My dear Hardman if you don't turn over a new leaf about Late Work the jobs may be given up at once.⁴³

These comments demonstrate Pugin's high artistic standards and his business acumen. Hardman & Co. began producing stained glass upon Pugin's instigation and he played a key role in developing this enormously successful commercial enterprise. From his home in Ramsgate he made the initial sketches for stained glass and oversaw the production of cartoons by designers such as John Hardman Powell and Francis Oliphant.⁴⁴ This allowed him to exercise control over the design stage. Once complete, the cartoons were posted to Hardman's studio in Birmingham where Hardman oversaw the glass cutting, leading, and painting. Pugin became increasingly involved in the selection of coloured glass and the methods of glass painting employed. He directed Hardman & Co.'s stained glass department until his death in 1852; the Hardman panels exhibited in the Medieval Court were the results of this successful collaboration.

As other examples of the Late Style, Pugin also wished to display panels destined for the south chancel windows of Jesus College, Cambridge (no longer extant), but the Chaplain and College donors refused to let the panels leave Hardman's studio.⁴⁵ A letter from James Stewart Gammell, an undergraduate of the College and one of the window's donors, explained:

43 Shepherd 2009, p. 345, n. 466.

44 Shepherd 2009, pp. 61–80.

45 Shepherd 2009, p. 198. The Hardman windows in the south chancel were replaced by two windows from Morris & Co. in the early twentieth century. Both the east window (completed by Hardman to A. W. N. Pugin's designs in 1848) and the north chancel windows (completed in 1852) remain in situ.

The result is that I regret I cannot accede your request to allow them to be sent to the approaching exposition ... Tho' the reasons are various in the minds of the different subscribers[,] the conclusion they draw from them is the same—Many are unwilling that these windows executed especially for a church & so in a manner already consecrated shd. be made objects of exhibition among a collection & in a manner so purely secular. Others object to the time that would elapse before they could be placed in the chapel & some even speak of withdrawing their subscriptions if they are not to see the first of them before they leave College.⁴⁶

By this time, preparation for the Great Exhibition and ongoing work for the Houses of Parliament had delayed work in Hardman's studio. Jesus College wrote several times to ask why their windows were not yet finished, revealing the pressures and strains of the growing business.

⁴⁶ Shepherd 2009, p. 201.



Figure 11: Pugin (designer), Hardman & Co. (manufacturer), *Talbot window*, 1851, Great Dining Room, Alton Towers, c.1951. (© English Heritage, NMR AA52/7052).

In addition to ecclesiastical windows, secular stained glass was represented by parts of a window recently provided to one of Pugin's major patrons, John Talbot, the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, for his dining room at Alton Towers. The Talbot window glazed the main Perpendicular-Style opening in the dining room and celebrated the Earl's family lineage. The central light depicted the standing figure of the First Earl of Shrewsbury, the Great Talbot, crowned and dressed as knight of the garter and holding a sword and sceptre. It was exhibited along with some panels of heraldic glass supported by Talbot hounds from the outer lights (Fig. 11). Although the main lights of this window were removed in 1952 and subsequently lost, fragments remain in situ at Alton Towers, rearranged and reinstalled in the tracery lights and main light borders.

Only a few illustrations of the Medieval Court survive and only one engraving, published in *The Illustrated London News* (Fig. 3), shows the stained glass windows arranged along the wall, so it is difficult to ascertain how prominent the windows were. The *Ecclesiologist* lamented that the windows were 'barely visible from their internal position in the medieval court'.⁴⁷ This may have been a criticism of the lighting conditions in the building. The Crystal Palace, with its glass walls and ceiling, let in too much light from all sides of the building; light was reflected onto the interior surface of the stained glass exhibits as well as transmitted from behind, causing viewing difficulties. Pugin had anticipated such lighting problems. Two months before the exhibition opened he wrote to Hardman: 'since I have been to see the Crystal Palace I am quite out of heart / It will be impossible to exhibit painted glass there / It will be all light'.⁴⁸ He feared that, 'in such a flood of reflected light', Hardman's stained glass would not be seen to its full advantage.⁴⁹ Upstairs, in the stained glass gallery, special measures were taken to ensure better viewing conditions. The roof was darkened, and dark canvas was placed in between the exhibits to limit the amount of light admitted between the panels.⁵⁰

Yet in spite of these practical problems, the context of the Medieval Court, with its Gothic-style furnishings, appears to have had an advantageous effect on the appreciation of Pugin and Hardman's stained glass exhibits. The *Ecclesiologist* placed the quality and design of the windows produced by Hardman under Pugin's direction in a class of its own, and the jury for stained glass awarded Hardman & Co. a prize medal, the highest accolade.

47 'Ecclesiologist Aspect' 1851, p. 182.

48 Shepherd 2009, p. 89.

49 Shepherd 2009, pp. 201–202.

50 'Stained Glass Gallery', 1854.

French glassmaker Georges Bontemps, who was working at Chance Brothers glassworks at the time, wrote an extensive report on the glass and stained glass exhibited at the Great Exhibition. Bontemps considered Pugin and Hardman to be ‘trop avancés dans leur art’ (‘very advanced in their art’) and praised the composition of their stained glass exhibits, but observed imperfections in the colouring and translucency of the glass.⁵¹ This was also something that the official Jury Report picked up on:

In the window glass exhibited by this establishment in the Mediaeval Court, the true principles of the style have been faithfully observed; and the execution of the work is very careful. It may be noticed, however, as a defect in these windows, that the glass of the backgrounds between the figures is too transparent; they are consequently inferior in repose and harmony of colouring to the mediaeval windows of the best time.⁵²

The fact that the jury report gave a balanced opinion with both criticism and praise is important, given that Pugin was on the exhibition jury for the class in which the stained glass exhibits were judged. Fellow stained glass exhibitor Edward Baillie of Baillie & Co., Wardour Street, London, lodged an official complaint with the Commissioners against the fact that Hardman & Co. had received a Prize Medal for stained glass, because Pugin had active involvement with the firm.⁵³

Regardless of this, many critics alluded to the fact that Hardman’s stained glass successfully struck the balance between slavish imitation and modern invention. In particular *The Illustrated London News*’s critic praised Hardman for not deliberately antiquating the glass by applying matte paint, as was widespread practice at the time.⁵⁴ More importantly, Pugin and Hardman’s display revealed how stained glass, a medieval art form, could be successfully revived for a modern era following old principles. As the critic in *The Illustrated London News* proclaimed, Pugin ‘has marvellously fulfilled his own intention of demonstrating the applicability of Mediaeval art in all its richness and variety to the uses of the present day’.⁵⁵ For many of Pugin’s contemporaries, and for recent historians, the Medieval Court represented a unified style—the apogee of the Gothic Revival interior.⁵⁶ The selective placement of stained glass within this integrated display, ‘which appeared aesthetically as a unity’, was evidently successful.⁵⁷ As Michael Fisher has pointed out, in Pugin’s Court, Hardman’s glass ‘was seen in the broadest

51 Bontemps 1851, pp. 51–52.

52 Winston 1852, p. 695.

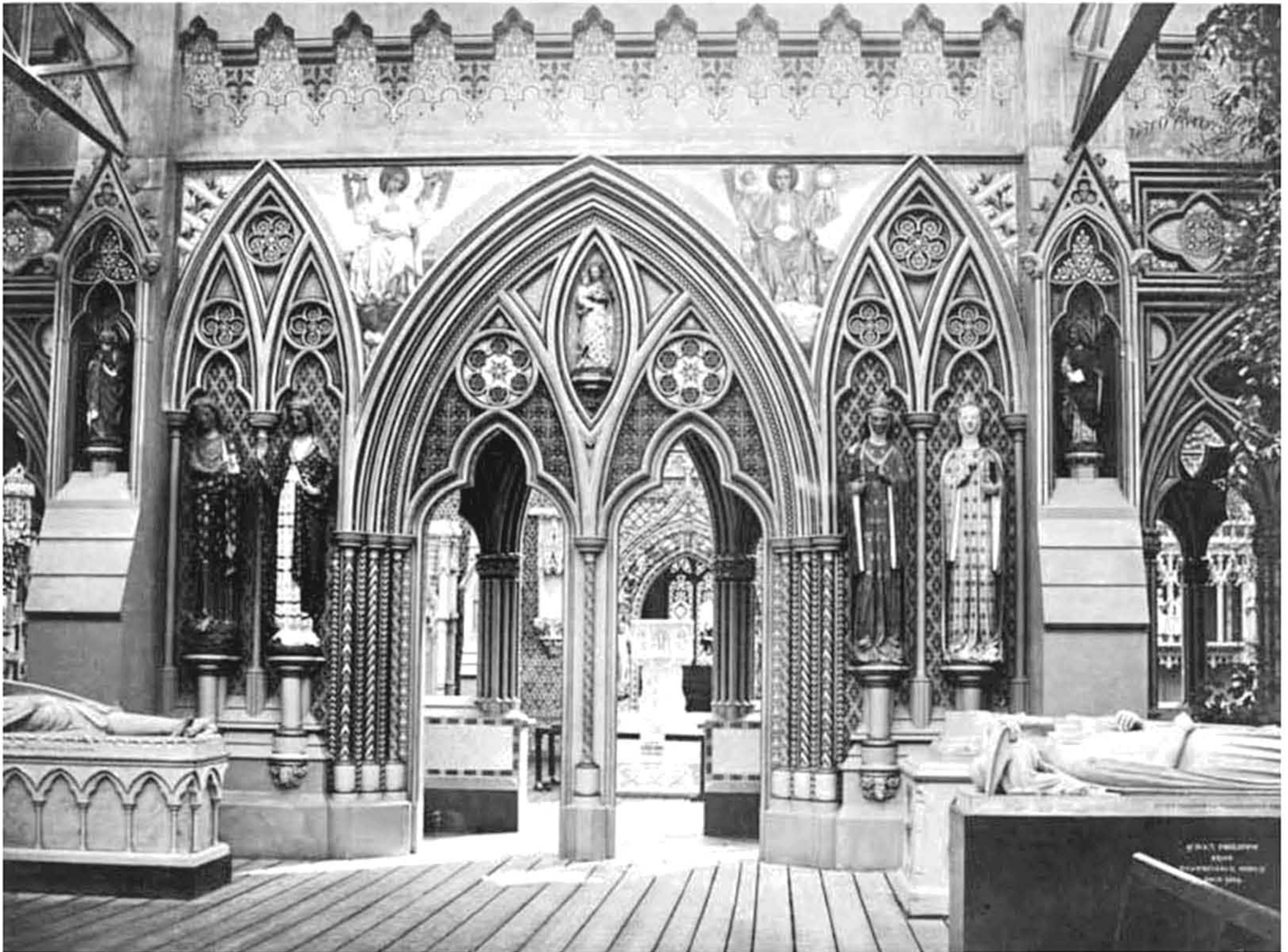
53 Leapman 2001, p. 260.

54 ‘Medieval Court’ 1851.

55 ‘Medieval Court’ 1851. Similar sentiments were expressed in Cassell 1851, p. 91.

56 Wedgwood 1994; Brooks 1999; Lewis 2002; Fisher 2008; Shepherd 2009.

57 Pevsner 1951, p. 50.



context of the Gothic Revival, and he was the only Englishman to receive a prize medal for stained glass'.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Although Pugin was not able to show the full range of stained glass panels in the 1851 Medieval Court that he had wished, the display evidently helped gain new commissions. After the Exhibition Pugin commented: 'It rains windows ... if our glass trade is well managed it may be made a real good thing in spite of all these terrible people at the Exhibition who do not consider our work even worth notice'.⁵⁹ After Pugin's death Hardman & Co. continued to make stained glass and went on to become one of the most prolific and successful stained glass manufacturers in the world. They received prestigious awards for stained glass at international exhibitions in London (1851 and 1862), Paris (1867), and Philadelphia (1876), which furthered their reputations at home and abroad. As demonstrated by a letter to John Hardman from Mrs Paine, on behalf of her

Figure 12: Philip Henry Delamotte (photographer), The Entrance to the Medieval Court, late-nineteenth century, Crystal Palace, Sydenham, London. (©Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

⁵⁸ Fisher 2008, p. 77.

⁵⁹ Shepherd 2009, p. 87.

husband, Rev J. M. Paine, who had ordered the stained glass for Farnham Church in Surrey, clients viewed their success at this exhibition as a mark of distinction. Mrs Paine wrote, 'We were pleased to see our opinion as to the superiority of your glass over that of any English Artist confirmed by the opinion of the Jurors at the Exhibition'.⁶⁰

The Medieval Court helped cement and further the reputations of the individual artists and craftsmen involved, and none more than John Hardman. When the Crystal Palace reopened in Sydenham with a permanent Medieval Court containing casts of medieval sculpture and furnishings, Hardman & Co. were commissioned to make some modern panels of stained glass in the medieval style (Fig. 12).⁶¹ John Gregory Crace, who had also contributed to the 1851 Medieval Court, was responsible for decorating many of the courts in the Sydenham Crystal Palace.⁶² Medieval courts, exhibiting both ancient and modern works, became a prominent feature at later exhibitions held in Britain, Australia, and the United States.⁶³

The Medieval Court had a lasting influence on the development of the Gothic Revival and ecclesiastical stained glass. In the decades following the Great Exhibition, Gothic became the dominant architectural style for ecclesiastical, civic, and domestic buildings across Britain and its colonies. Several examples of furnishings in the Gothic style were included amongst the 244 works purchased from the Great Exhibition for the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) by a committee including Richard Redgrave, Henry Cole, John Rogers Herbert, Owen Jones, and A. W. N. Pugin.⁶⁴ A. W. N. Pugin did not live to see the full impact of his Medieval Court on modern design, but it was a successful venture that boldly demonstrated the beauty and suitability of the medieval style for stained glass and other furnishings, and put into practice his ideals of collaborative artistic partnerships. This unique exhibit drew upon Pugin's multiple talents and varied experience as theatre designer, serious church architect, devout Catholic, and shrewd businessman.

⁶⁰ Shepherd 2009, p. 345.

⁶¹ Digby Wyatt and Waring 1854.

⁶² Crace was also appointed Superintendent of Decoration for the building which housed London's second International Exhibition of 1862.

⁶³ Ganim 2002; D'Arcens 2008.

⁶⁴ Wainwright 1994, pp. 357–364.

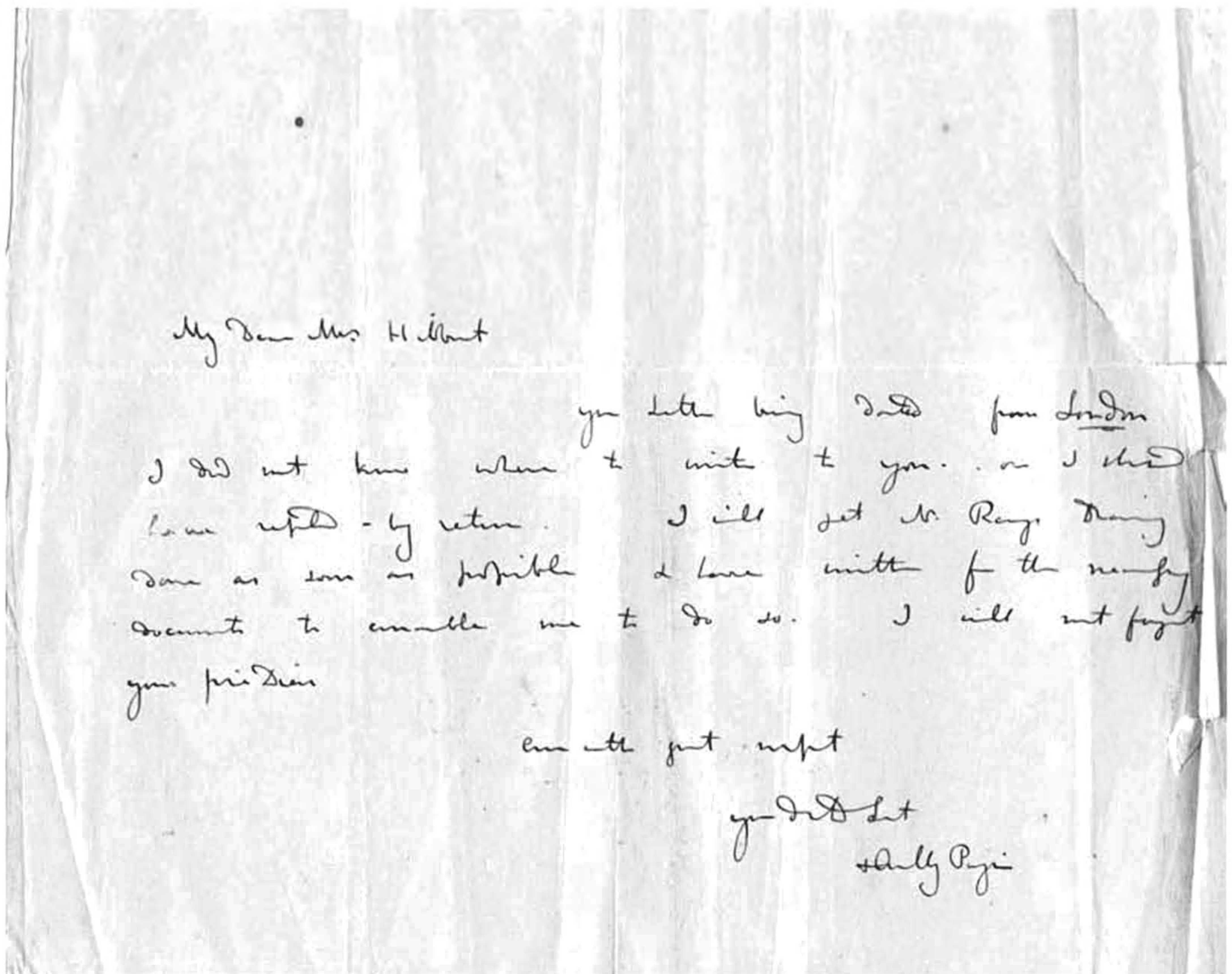
NEWS AND COMMENT

'MY DEAR M^{RS}. HIBBERT'

Margaret Belcher

Pugin sent this happy, confident letter to Julia Hibbert and, since no other letters to her are known, it represents a new correspondence; it is also one of only a handful directed to women clients. Pugin seems completely at ease with Mrs Hibbert, whom he addresses on equal terms; there is no hint of the strain which overtook his later dealings with her husband.

Figure 20: The letter from Pugin to Julia Hibbert. (N. Beveridge).



The manuscript came to light too late to be included in the edition of Pugin's collected Letters but is set out here as if it were an entry there. I am grateful to Nick Beveridge for allowing me to transcribe and edit it.

To JULIA HIBBERT

Ramsgate, summer 1847?

Text: MS PC Nicholas Beveridge⁶⁵ Address: none Postmark: none

My Dear M^{rs}. Hibbert

your Letter being dated from **London** I did not know where to write to you — or I should have replied — by return.⁶⁶ I will get M^r. Rays Drawing done as soon as possible & have written for the necessary documents to enable me to do so.⁶⁷ I will not forget your prie Dieu.⁶⁸

ever with great respect

your devoted Sert

✚AWelby Pugin

⁶⁵ The manuscript was put up for sale on the internet auction site eBay not later than November 2014; the dealer, by the name of Moss, stated that the letter came from a collection of autographs gathered early in the twentieth century and recently put on the market by descendants of the collector. The letter is written on paper of a cream colour, not Pugin's everyday blue.

⁶⁶ Laura Phillipps's diary provides evidence, cited in volume 3, p. 245, n 1 of the Letters, that Captain and Mrs Washington Hibbert were in London, staying in Mayfair, in June 1847. The front end-paper [b] of Pugin's diary for 1847 carries a note of the address of Mrs Hibbert at '19 grafton Street'. After he returned to England on 16 June 1847 from his long journey to Italy, Pugin hastened up to London; there, it may have been A. L. Phillipps, whom he met on 18 June, who told him where Mrs Hibbert was. Captain and Mrs Hibbert, with whom Pugin became acquainted not later than October 1841, lived at Bilton Grange near Rugby.

⁶⁷ As noticed in volume 3, p. 141, n 3 of the Letters, a memorial brass was made for H. B. Ray, who lived in Mayfair, in September 1847. Ray's address, at '20 Hill street', is recorded on the front end-paper [b] of Pugin's diary for 1847, immediately below that of Julia Hibbert.

⁶⁸ The prie-dieu would probably be carved in George Myers's workshop in London. The metalwork daybook of John Hardman of Birmingham records that he supplied a mahogany gilt and painted cross costing £1. 18s. and perhaps some candlesticks too 'for Oratory, M^{rs}. Hibbert', at 17 December 1847. The provision of an oratory for Julia Hibbert, Catholic by birth, may be assumed to have been part of the alteration and extension of Bilton Grange that Pugin supervised from 1846 onwards.

ANOTHER PUGIN DISCOVERY

Nick Beveridge

Life, they say, is full of surprises, but the outcome of this sequence of events was, to say the least, truly unexpected. Also, it highlights the connection between A. W. N. Pugin and another nineteenth-century ecclesiastical architect, George Goldie.

It began in December 2013 when I purchased, on the eBay online auction site, an undated drawing of a small cross. The reason for doing so was that the cross appeared to be a more elaborate version of (and I presumed from the same drawing board as) the one designed in 1872 for Abbot Alcock OSB and later worn by Bishop Luck OSB of Auckland, New Zealand.⁶⁹ Indeed, the seller claimed that it was by John Hardman Powell as it had what was taken for 'Powell' written in the bottom left-hand corner.

In November 2014 I purchased, also on eBay, an original letter, again undated, written by Pugin. The letter is printed elsewhere in this publication.

Subsequently, in a chance re-reading of volume 3 of Pugin's Letters I came across a letter written to John Hardman and dated Friday 3 November 1848[?]: 'I send you a drawing of the sort of cross that I think would do for M^r. Chadwick to give to Dr Goldies son. the arms in the centre are a tortoise. it shoud be silver parcel gilt—I think you will understand it'.⁷⁰

When I compared the handwriting on the drawing with that in the letter I found that they were identical, particularly in the distinctive way both Mr and the letter d were written. This exciting discovery was confirmed by Margaret Belcher.



Figure 21: Pugin's design for a cross for George Goldie. (N. Beveridge).

⁶⁹ Beveridge 2003, p. 29.

⁷⁰ Belcher 2009, p. 632.

John Hardman junior was of the firm of Hardman & Co., Birmingham.

The drawing (Fig. 21) is in pencil and is of a very elaborate cross, approximately 3.5 inches high by 2.4 inches wide (90mm by 60mm). The most distinctive feature is a dorsal representation of a tortoise placed horizontally within a shield at the intersection of the arms.⁷¹ Also in pencil are an enlarged detail of two of the bosses and a side view showing the detail of the cinquefoil decoration.

There are also the pencil annotations: 'Cross for Rev^d M^r. Chadwick', with a line to the shield at the intersection of the arms of the cross; 'tortoise argent shield vert' (heraldic for 'silver tortoise on a green shield'); and, with a line to the piercing between the arms, 'pierced'.⁷² The word that has been faintly written in the lower left-hand corner is actually 'Jewellery' rather than 'Powell' and seems to be by another, and probably later, hand.

The Reverend James Chadwick was at Ushaw from when he entered as a lay boy in 1825 until 1850, having been ordained as a priest in 1833. He became a teacher—of classics, then philosophy, and finally moral theology—and in such a capacity he would have come into contact with George Goldie, for whom the cross was intended as a gift.⁷³

George Goldie was born in 1828 and was the son of a York GP. He was at the secondary school at Ushaw when Pugin began building the chapel there in 1844.⁷⁴ Because he took so much interest in the work he attracted Pugin's attention, and a friendship sprang up between them, which only ceased with the death of the latter.⁷⁵ On Pugin's advice Goldie became a pupil of Weightman & Hadfield, architects of Sheffield, from 1845 to 1850 and subsequently became a partner in that firm.⁷⁶ After John Gray Weightman left in 1858, Hadfield and Goldie remained in partnership for a further two years. Goldie then practised alone until 1867, when Charles Edwin Child joined him.⁷⁷

When I googled the Goldie coat of arms I found that there were two versions of the shield. Both have the same two green trifoliate elements that might be called spriglets. In one, they appear above a red chevron, below which is another green spriglet; in the other, they are placed above a green chevron, below which is a red, and to use the correct heraldic terminology, tortoise standing.

Margaret Belcher's annotations to the previously mentioned letter from Pugin to Hardman refer to a letter from Chadwick—also to Hardman—written sometime

71 Known in heraldry as a tortoise displayed tergiant barwise (Parker 1894).

72 The title Mr was used for Catholic secular priests until Archbishop/Cardinal Manning of Westminster (1865–92) replaced it with Father, which had previously been limited to regulars (Reynolds 1959, p. 197).

73 Milburn 1964, p. 285.

74 Ushaw College near Durham was a Catholic secondary school for boys as well as a seminary for the northern dioceses of England.

75 'Late Mr Goldie' 1887.

76 Matthew Ellison Hadfield was a contemporary and follower of Pugin.

77 'George Goldie' 2015. See also Eastlake 1872, pp. 345–350.



Figure 22: Rood from the former chancel screen, St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle. (Wikimedia).

in November 1848, which mentions this 'little pectoral cross'. And in December 1848 Chadwick was charged £7 for 'A Silver, richly gilt & Enameled Cross for hanging Cross for Neck'. His letter of 23 December 1848 confirms that the cross arrived that day.⁷⁸

It is interesting that by the time Chadwick had provided the order for the pectoral cross, Goldie would have been twenty years old and working in the office of Weightman & Hadfield. Perhaps Chadwick thought the gift might inspire the young architect in his profession. It is also interesting to note that Chadwick received the cross on 23 December 1848, which might suggest that it was to be a Christmas present; George would not have had his twenty-first birthday until 9 June the following year.

⁷⁸ Belcher 2009, p. 632, n. 2. ML stands for the metalwork letters and MWDB for the metalwork daybook (Hardman Archive).

The cross may have influenced Goldie's design for the Rood at St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle, which has similar, diagonally-set square bosses terminating the arms (Fig. 22). Although Pugin had always intended a Rood screen for St. Mary's, Newcastle, it was never realised to his own design.⁷⁹ Instead, Goldie designed the Rood screen in 1853. When this Rood screen was later demolished, Goldie's Rood was removed and eventually suspended from the chancel arch.

Although it was hoped that the cross might still be in the possession of the Goldie Family, enquiries in that direction have so far been unsuccessful.

In conclusion, not only would it appear that the drawing is an original Pugin design but also (since it is essentially a pectoral cross, which is normally part of the pontificalia of the Latin Rite Church) it represents, as far as I am aware, the only known existing design by Pugin of such.⁸⁰ Also, the design seems to have been recycled, probably by John Hardman Powell, for Abbot Alcock OSB in 1872.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my grateful thanks to fellow New Zealander Margaret Belcher for her encouragement and helpful suggestions in the preparation of this article. I would also like to thank Mrs Beatrice Goldie for graciously replying to my letter to her late husband, the great-grandson of George Goldie.

Postscript

Since I wrote this article, some further information has come to light from *The Tablet* of 10 November 1866, which provides an account of the consecration of James Chadwick as Second Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.

The consecration took place on 28 October 1866 in Pugin's chapel at Ushaw. As part of this rite Chadwick was invested with the episcopal insignia, including the ring. 'The episcopal ring, which was designed by George Goldie, Esq., was presented to the bishop by his brother, John Chadwick Esq. It is of very elegant design, and is set with a pale amethyst. It has also engraved upon it the bishop's initials, J. C., and a mitre, with the date of his consecration'.⁸¹

This information adds another dimension to the relationship between Goldie and Chadwick and might be interpreted as a gesture on Goldie's part to reciprocate Chadwick's earlier gift of the cross.

79 O'Donnell 1994, pp. 68, 69.

80 Beveridge 2003, p. 29.

81 'Consecration' 1866.

A. W. N. PUGIN AND WATTS & CO.

D. J. Gazeley

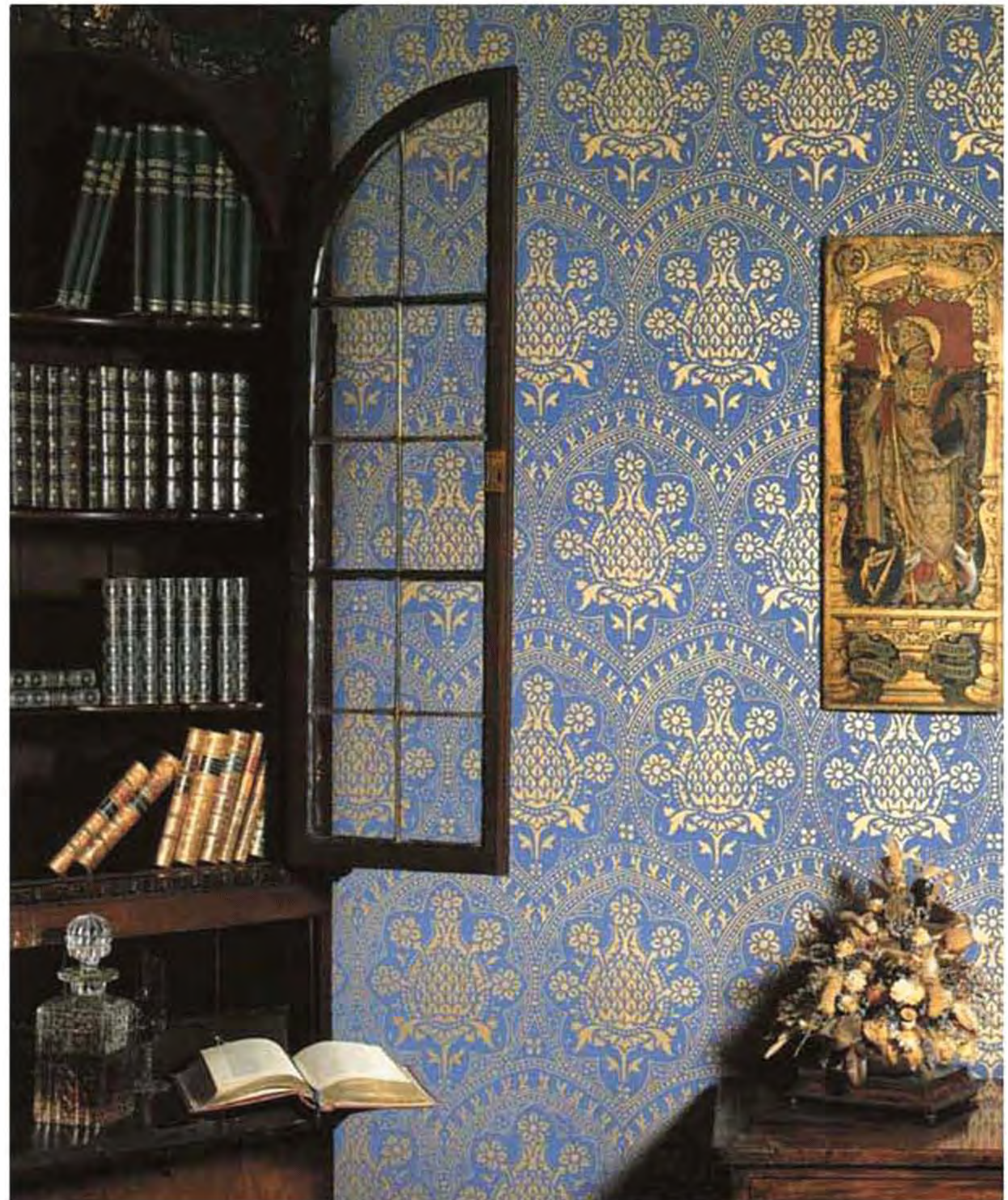
There never was any direct collaboration between Watts & Co. and A. W. N. Pugin, but the story of how a connection between the two came about is extremely interesting and indicative of the change of taste during the latter part of the twentieth century

Watts was founded as a decorating company in 1874 by architects G. F. Bodley, Thomas Garner, and George Gilbert Scott Jnr. Their aim was to provide the furnishings and decoration for their own buildings, over which they should have complete creative control. This was partly as a result of an increasing dissatisfaction with the firm Morris & Co. and more specifically with Leach of Cambridge, who had carried out much of Bodley and Scott's decorative work including the Hall of Queens' College, Cambridge, and All Saints, Jesus Lane.

Bodley and Scott had been important members of the vast offices of Sir George Gilbert Scott and, as such, began their careers within the context of the mid-Victorian High Gothic tradition towards the end of the 1860s. Both Scott and Bodley moved towards a more refined English style of fourteenth-century Gothic architecture for their ecclesiastical work and a mixture of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century brick design, which became known as 'Queen Anne', for their secular work. This change of style was quite ground-breaking and reflected the social and religious changes taking place at this time. The second phase of the Anglo-Catholic revival became at once more ritualistic and more scholarly, and Foster's Education Act of 1870 and the Second Reform Act of 1867 paved the way for considerable social change. All this was reflected in the architectural expression sometimes referred to as 'all sweetness and light'.

Both Bodley and Scott had some experience of designing wallpapers for Morris & Co. It is certain that two papers, still in the Morris collection, were originally designed by them: 'Venetian' by Bodley and 'Indian' by Scott. It was therefore a natural development that they should include wallpapers in the portfolio of designs for their new company, Watts. From 1874, for the next thirty years, further patterns

Figure 23: 'Pineapple', one of the five original Pugin designs rediscovered in the mid-1970s. (Watts & Co.)



were added reflecting their developing style. The papers appear to have been mainly used by the partners in their own projects, although C. E. Kemp used them at Temple Newsam, and the architect Temple Moore also did so in the Treasurer's House at York. So to the secular world Watts & Co. was identified with wallpaper.

Fashions change; tastes change. Watts survived, unlike Morris & Co., by concentrating on its ecclesiastical work in collaboration with many of the leading Gothic Revival architects of the twentieth century, including Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, Sir Walter Tapper, and Stephen Dykes-Bower. Watts wallpaper was very much in the doldrums and out of fashion.



Figure 24: Pugin-inspired vestments. (Watts & Co.)

During the 1950s, interest in the Watts wallpapers was revived by Sir John Betjeman who, discovering Watts in its Baker Street days, ordered papers for his house, 'The Old Rectory at Farnborough', which he described as 'like living in the Nottingham Castle Museum'. Further orders came from his friends and admirers. Cecil Beaton turned up one afternoon tipsy, to order papers for his Pelham Place house. The Duchess of Devonshire had papers for Chatsworth, and Lady Pamela Berry, the wife of the chairman of the Telegraph newspapers, decorated her house in Lord North Street with them. But one could not run a business on grand names alone.

In 1963 Mrs Elizabeth Hoare, granddaughter of George Gilbert Scott Jnr, took over control of the company. She soon attracted a group of young, enthusiastic admirers of the nineteenth century, such as Anthony Symondson and Gavin Stamp, both early members of the Victorian Society. It was through them that Mrs



Figure 25: Talbot Brocade, woven from a fragment from St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate. (Watts & Co.)

Hoare came into contact with Clive Wainwright of the furniture department of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In May 1973 Peter Thornton, Keeper of the Department of Furniture and Woodwork at the V & A presented his report to the House of Lords Works of Art Committee on the furniture of the House of Lords. He acknowledged that it was largely the work of his two colleagues, Mr Clive Wainwright and Mr John Hardy. This report was fundamental to the re-appreciation of Pugin furniture in the Palace of Westminster, and, by association, all the Pugin decoration.

It was Clive Wainwright who suggested to Elizabeth Hoare that it might be advantageous to include some small-scale Pugin wallpaper designs in the Watts collection, as Pugin was to be the coming thing. Armed with Watts's impeccable credentials, Mrs Hoare descended on Mr Hall, the manager of the John Perry wallpaper printing works in Islington, and asked to see what they had by way of original Pugin wallpaper designs which she could print. John Perry's had acquired the

printing blocks from the firm of Scott Cuthbertson, which had closed in the early '30s but had previously printed all the Pugin papers of Frederick Crace.

As well as the large-scale heraldic designs, Pugin had produced much smaller patterns for the less important rooms and for the many 'apartments' which the Palace contains. It was from among these that Mrs Hoare selected five designs. These designs, which originally had no names, were given the following: 'Trellis', 'Triad', 'Shrewsbury', 'Rose & Crown', and 'Pineapple' (Fig. 23).

Equipped with these five new designs, 'suitable for flats, you see', she immediately embarked on a sales campaign with tremendous success. Early clients included Sir Robert Cooke, who used many of the papers within the Palace of Westminster;

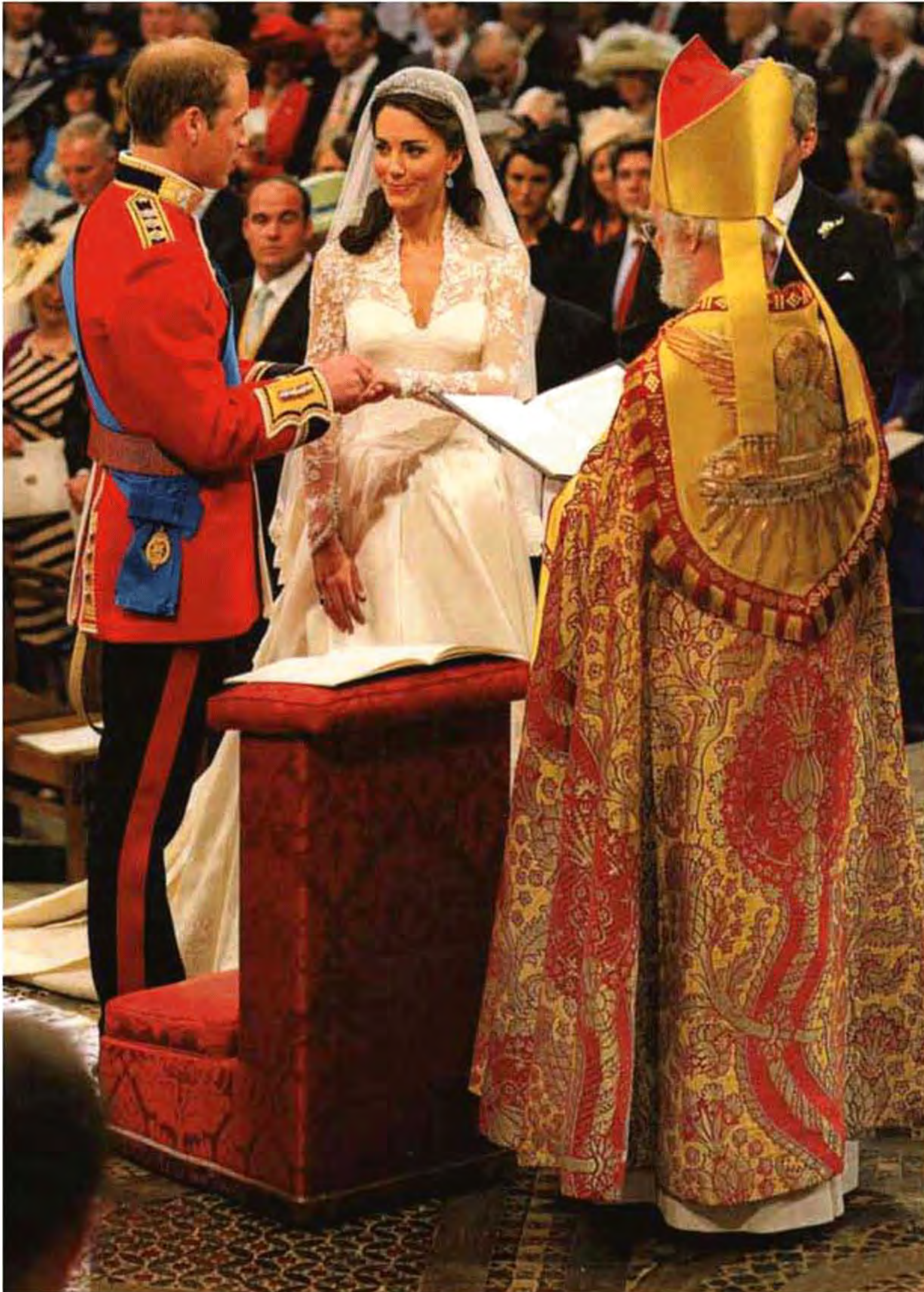


Figure 26: Pugin 'Gothic Tapestry', exclusively re-woven and used as a cope by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge. (Watts & Co.)

the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, of which the entire auditorium was papered in graphite/gold 'Trellis'; and Lord Lloyd Webber, who commissioned the 'Pineapple' in conjunction with painted decoration by Campbell-Smith & Co. in the entrance hall of his Berkshire home. The papers were all carefully printed, reproducing the original colours. Over the years, Pugin 'Trellis' became the company's biggest selling wallpaper.



Figure 27: Vestments in a shape designed by Pugin, including a reviving of an original orphrey panel (Watts & Co.)

In 1981 Watts acquired a fine copy of Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*. Its glowing chromolithographic pages provided an almost inexhaustible source of motifs and designs which they have used both in the production of original textiles and as inspiration for embroidery on church vestments (Fig. 24).

Computerisation of weaving looms has had the result of reducing the cost of reproduction. Formerly jacquard cards needed to be cut, costing thousands of pounds, making it economically unjustifiable to produce small high-quality runs of specialist textiles. Computerisation has revolutionised textile production to such an extent that it is now possible to recreate designs and weave as little as ten metres at a time with minimal design costs involved. In this it could be argued that we are following in Pugin's footsteps in using, as he did, up-to-date manufacturing techniques (Fig. 25).

In the arena of our church work, it has been necessary to reproduce original Pugin textiles in order to preserve and repair church vestments. These generally take their form from surviving textiles, which are reproduced as faithfully as modern-day weaving will allow. The finest example of this was the re-weaving of Pugin 'Gothic Tapestry', which was used as the fabric for the cope worn by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge in 2012 (Fig. 26).

More recently they have launched a new range of Eucharistic vestments wholly based on Pugin originals (Fig. 27).

The undeniable strength of Pugin's designs, his extraordinary energy and vitality, drove the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival—including the efforts of Bodley, Garner, and Scott—and continues as a driving force to this day at Watts & Co.

SCOTT'S MODEL

Margaret Belcher

Like, I am sure, other members of the Pugin Society, I enjoyed David Frazer Lewis's review of *Sculpture Victorious* in the last *True Principles*. His appreciative account made me wish I had seen that exhibition. But one remark in his survey caused considerable surprise. Towards the end of his piece there is reference to a model designed by George Gilbert Scott for the restoration of a tomb in Westminster Abbey; this model was shown at the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the review states that it was 'displayed at the original Medieval Court'. That is, in Pugin's Medieval Court. I had always thought that that space contained objects designed by Pugin and by Pugin alone—that there was nothing there by any other artist. All my notes to his correspondence had been written in that conviction, as had everything else. Had I been wrong all this time?

I wrote to David. He had studied later members of the Scott dynasty and perhaps in the course of his research he had found evidence for this disturbing statement. In answer, he explained that the information was not his but was taken from the catalogue of the sculpture exhibition, and he kindly forwarded a copy of the relevant section of that publication. There in the entry concerning Scott's model I could read that his 'reconstruction was exhibited in the Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition in 1851'. So there it was, in black and white, unqualified, unequivocal. But was it correct?

I turned to Sandra Wedgwood, a mentor from my beginning. Her immediate reply brought relief: she did not think Scott's work was shown in Pugin's court, either. Comforting though her agreement was, we were no closer to knowing the whereabouts of the model. At the ends of the earth, I could take the matter no further, but Sandra was in the heart of things. She went to the library in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the official catalogue of the Great Exhibition is kept on the open shelves of the reading room. The publication runs to several volumes, so a search takes time. The objects shown in the Great Exhibition were grouped into classes, and the catalogue follows that scheme. Class 30 comprehended 'Sculpture, Models, and Plastic Art'; that is where one could expect Scott's model to be recorded, and that is where it—eventually—turned

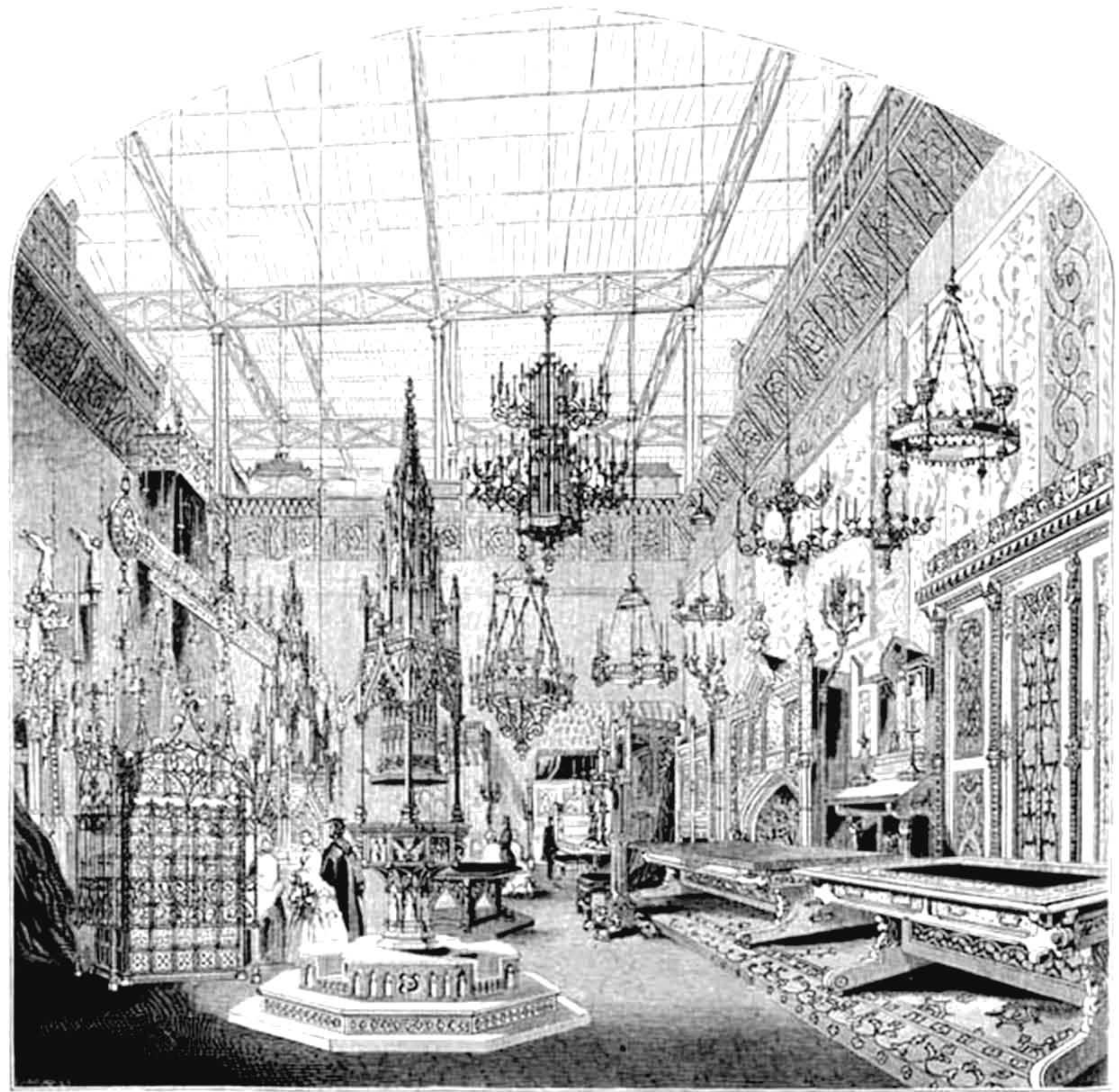


Figure 28: The Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition. (Yapp 1851, p. xxiv).

out to be. Not that Scott's name was conspicuous. Presumably because they were 'not Classified' although why this should have been so is not declared, a number of items are lumped together under the heading of 'Miscellaneous Objects of Interest'. One of these belittled articles is the model of the tomb, credited first and foremost to its 'Producer', the mason Samuel Cundy, with Scott mentioned only later and not given any prominence. All of these 'Miscellaneous Objects' are said to be 'Placed in the Main Avenues of the Building'.

Thus, the greater part of the mystery was cleared up. Whatever the Sculpture Victorious catalogue might say, and for whatever reason it might say it, Scott's model was not in the Medieval Court; it was consigned to an unspecified avenue. Sandra and I could feel comfortable again and reassured, continuing to visualize Pugin's space as we had always done, seeing it as entirely his work.

The Medieval Court was exceptional in the Great Exhibition because of the way it was organized. The principle governing it was not the system of classification by which other exhibitors had to abide; their goods were grouped mainly according to kind and purpose, with a few articles gathered according to material. Pugin's arrangement was quite different. When the authorities of the exhibition allocated the space he and his colleagues asked for, Pugin reported to John Hardman that they had been given a 'court to oursels'; he knew they had been granted a privilege. Cutting through the boundaries which constrained other manufacturers, the court brought together items of varying nature and substance, so that glass, stone, wood, ceramics, textiles, and metalwork were set out side by side. Not only was Pugin responsible for all the exhibits, he had control of their setting and disposition; he chose what was seen and how it was seen. There were flowerpots for outdoors and candlesticks for in, church windows and memorial brasses, a font and a tomb, salt cellars and jewellery, carpets, curtains, chairs, chalices, and more. It was a huge, colourful array of secular and sacred, public and private, ecclesiastical and domestic. What held the assembly together was Pugin's design. No wonder the area was often referred to as 'Pugin's Court'. Consideration of the total aesthetic effect of a display was a luxury unavailable to other exhibitors, who had to watch their scattered products contrasted with incongruous aliens and outshone by immediate rivals. A 'court to oursels' on the other hand meant substantial, harmonious unity; and a collected representation of the wide-ranging output of one designer could have—did have—a concentrated and intense impact upon visitors. Intruding the work of another hand, be it Scott's or anyone else's, would have diminished that brilliant impression. Its extensive stylistic uniformity, its homogeneity, was a critical factor in making the Medieval Court an outstanding success in its own time; our perception of it would have been altered, our estimate reduced, had the Sculpture Victorious catalogue been correct. That is why it was important to find out where Scott's model was.

REVIEWS

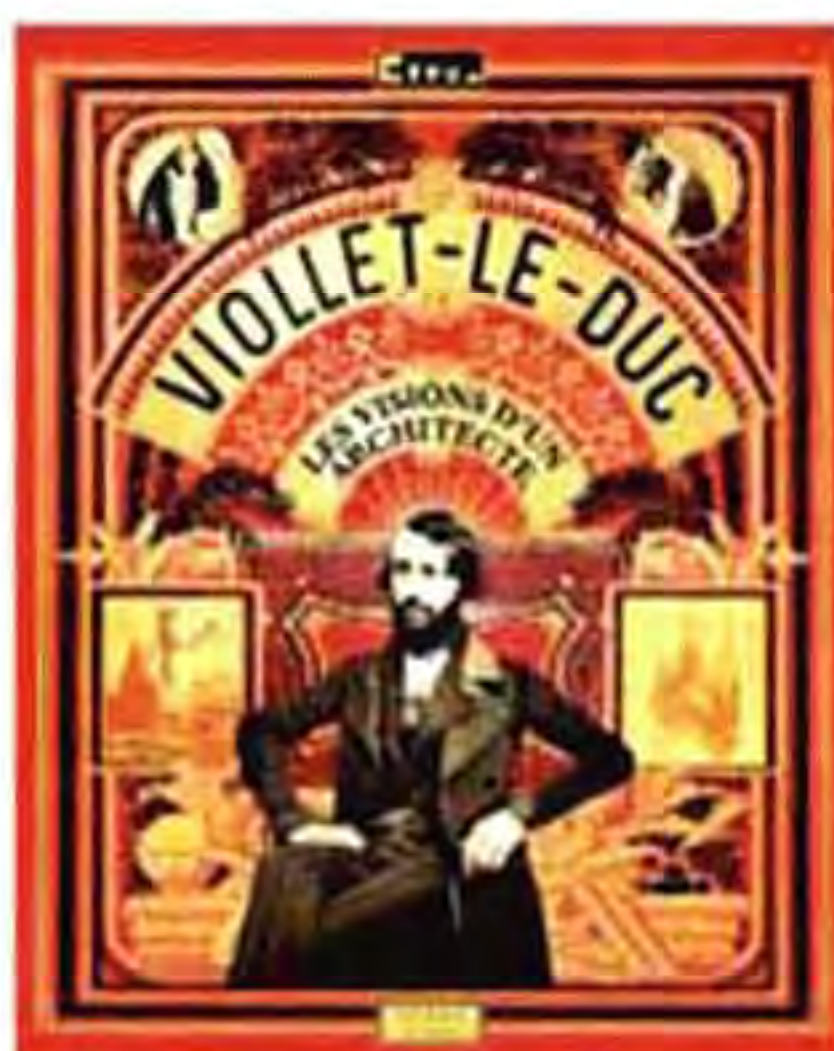
VIOLLET-LE-DUC



Courtesy of Editions du Patrimoine



Courtesy of Editions Sud Ouest



Courtesy of Norma Editions



Courtesy of A. & J. Picard

Viollet-le-Duc

By Françoise Bercé. Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2013. 224 pp. ISBN 978-2-7577-0292-5

Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), La passion de l'architecture

By Denis Blanchard-Dignac. Bordeaux: Éditions Sud Ouest, 2014. 299 pp. ISBN 978-2-8177-0340-4

Architecture and the Historical Imagination: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc 1814–1879

By Martin Bressani. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014. 593 pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-3340-2

Viollet-le-Duc, Les visions d'un architecte

By Laurence de Finance and Jean-Michel Leniaud. Paris: Norma Éditions, 2014. 239 pp. ISBN 978-2-9155-4266-0

Eugène Viollet-le-Duc 1814–1879

By Georges Poisson and Olivier Poisson. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 2014. 352 pp. ISBN 978-2-7084-0952-1

Reviewed by Andrew Saint

You've been waiting ages for a book about Viollet-le-Duc, then five come along together. It's an old joke; and unlike buses, which ought to be regular, books have their reasons for arriving in bunches. These days, rival dispatchers like to hang about for a centenary, preferably accompanied as in Viollet-le-Duc's case by an exhibition, then send out their drivers to pick up anyone they can. It's all a bit baffling if you happen to be waiting at the bus stop, which anyway is on the less familiar right-hand side of the road. So this review aims in the first place to help the potentially bewildered English-speaking passenger pick his French, or in one case Canadian, buses or books. That is the more worth doing, because till now there has been no full book in English on Viollet-le-Duc, the outstanding figure of the French Gothic Revival and, some would say, of French nineteenth-century architecture altogether.

The last time there was a clutch of publications about Viollet—as I shall call him for short (following the practice of his friend Mérimée but none of the

authors under review, who either wreck their sentences on his mouthful of a surname or go for Eugène)—was around the time of the centenary of his death in 1979, when there was also an exhibition in Paris. Since then so much water has flowed through the Channel that the Gothic Revival on both sides of it presents an almost entirely different perspective today. In France, less full-hearted in the first place about the return to Gothic and therefore slower to respond to renewed enthusiasm, the tendency thirty-five years ago was still to lay weight on Viollet as a rationalist and proto-modernist. Architects then were still in charge of architectural history and, needy as ever, wanted historical affirmation. The outstanding Viollet scholar was Robin Middleton, actually living in London and writing in English. Though profoundly immersed in French architectural debates, Middleton cared little for buildings *per se* or the ins and outs of Viollet's life and career as a restorer. Few people in Britain knew much about his researches or indeed French nineteenth-century architecture at all. But Middleton had his admirers and acolytes in Francophile America and eventually swanned off to teach there.

The result was a rather forbidding picture of a dogmatic superman, charging about the place over-restoring French cathedrals, writing two massive dictionaries about the Middle Ages packed with close print and pedantic line engravings, then turning his pen to contemporary architecture and laying down the law about that too in his famous *Entretiens* (or *Lectures*), translated into English by his admirer Benjamin Bucknall. His buildings got less attention, though there was wary respect for his secular work at Carcassonne and Pierrefonds. The best of Viollet seemed to be about principles, the worst about practice.

Much has changed since then. The voluminous Viollet archive, long in the care of Geneviève Viollet-le-Duc, great-granddaughter of the architect and keeper of the grail, who died in 2011 at 102, has opened up and is now generally accessible. A lot more has been written about what Viollet actually got up to in his restorations, and how he procured and managed a workload that makes Pugin and Sir Gilbert Scott look like slouches. That is the side of his career that takes pride of place in the books of Françoise Bercé and the Poissons. But the uncontested leader of the new Viollet pack was Jean-Michel Leniaud, a scholar from the august French archival stable of the *École des Chartes*. Since 1994 his *Viollet-le-Duc, ou Les délires du système* has been the standard work. Leniaud got to grips with the intricate mechanisms of official architecture and showed

how Viollet steered his path through the various lurches of political régime as adeptly as a French vicar of Bray. On the intellectual side, he argued that Viollet's whole achievement, even his prodigious inventiveness, relied upon powers of organization and assimilation and a knack for putting everything, not least Gothic architecture, into a kind of mental box. A know-all, and not just about architecture, he had a theory for everything from the origins of the feudal system to the geological formation of Mont Blanc. He suffered from the nineteenth-century bug of wanting to make the world consistent.

Leniaud's control freak is not much more endearing than the old proto-modernist. So it is to the credit of all the present works, notably the 2014 exhibition at the Palais Chaillot and the book that went with it, *Viollet-le-Duc, Les visions d'un architecte*, that they open Viollet up and present him as the dashing, engaging, and indeed inconsistent artist he really was, alongside the indomitable restorer, controversialist, and pedant. *Visions* is the right word, because what the exhibition showed as no book can adequately do is how visual was his world and how panoramic, from breathtaking mountain landscapes to tiny details of ornamental decoration and symbolism. Perhaps there were better designers in Gothic than Viollet, but none equalled the scope of his vision.

First, something of his background, as thoroughly documented as everything else about him. All the authors cover it well: Blanchard-Dignac (a biographer of romantic Frenchmen) with dash, Bercé cursorily, Bressani with an eye to psychology. Viollet was born in Paris from high bourgeois stock with a silver spoon rammed well into his mouth. His father, a government functionary and historian of French poetry, looked after the Tuileries for King Louis Philippe after 1830; his mother's father was a successful architect and builder, Jean-Baptiste Delécluze, who built the capacious apartment house where Viollet was born. On another floor lived his uncle, Étienne-Jean Delécluze, a pupil of David's who turned out to be not a good enough painter and so became an influential art critic instead. The ménage was close and sociable, sometimes over-intense and quarrelsome; the precocious Eugène was pressure-cooked, more by his controlling bachelor uncle than by his amiable father. His mother seems to have been depressive, and died when he was eighteen. He reacted by falling in love. When that did not work he right away found another girl, Élisabeth Tempier, and married her at the age of twenty. There is an echo of Pugin in all this coddling followed by the impulse to escape, but not about the sequel. The

romance faded but Élisabeth Viollet-le-Duc (unlike Pugin's hapless wives) lived on, inured to solitude with her two children as her husband careered addictively all over France. She was still plugging on when Viollet died in Lausanne forty-seven years later, close to if not in the arms of another woman, Alexandrine Suréda. Ultimately women seem not to have mattered much to him—or perhaps he put them in one of his boxes.

Viollet was trained in art by his uncle, and proved good enough to win a well-paid commission to paint one of Louis-Philippe's balls at the Tuileries in 1835. His powers of illustration were superb, his sketches invariably lucid and meticulous, but they were always means to an end. Architecture was always the goal. After studying briefly with one or two architect-friends of the family, he taught himself through a series of sketching tours during the 1830s, at first in different parts of France and then at greater length in Italy. Why did Viollet not enter the *École des Beaux-Arts*, like other ambitious young men? He complained rightly enough that the *Beaux-Arts* system was rigid and narrow, yet fine architects came out of it. The real reason seems to have been a deep craving for independence. Quick learners often cannot grasp that slower ones need the security of imperfect institutions to sustain them. In 1837 Viollet was already betraying his arrogance towards the *Beaux-Arts* prize-winners ensconced under Ingres at the Villa Medici in Rome, for ever drawing the same old classical ruins.

By then he was all for Gothic. Victor Hugo had fired the starting gun for the French version of the Gothic Revival with his *Notre Dame de Paris* in 1831, followed by Montalembert's *Du vandalisme en France*. The antiquarians were devilling away, especially in Normandy. Government action was needed next, since under the Concordat of 1801 responsibility for maintaining church property seized under the Revolution lay with the state. Now the silver spoon came in handy. Viollet got back from Italy just as the Commission des Monuments Historiques was swinging into action. The key figure in the new commission was a habitué of the Delécluze salon, the brilliant Prosper Mérimée, novelist, scholar, cynic, and, eventually, senator and courtier. Mérimée befriended the untried Viollet, did much to sophisticate him, and lumbered him with some hair-raisingly tricky jobs. Among them were the proposed completion of Narbonne Cathedral and saving the great church at Vézelay from collapse. Unperturbed, Viollet accepted and proved himself.

How, from this starting point of virtual *ingénu*, did Viollet emerge as supreme champion and exponent of French Gothic? When all the arguments about drive, stamina, and sheer capacity are exhausted, most to the point is his mastery of the politics of restoration. These were byzantine and kept changing. Besides the *Monuments Historiques* there was another Commission, the *Bâtiments Civils*, which despite its name poked its nose into some churches, such as St Denis. There was one administration and set of budgets and procedures for restoring and maintaining historic churches and another for extending or embellishing them for religious purposes, the latter not fully established until *architectes diocésains* were appointed after 1848. Cathedrals fell into a special category. Then there were local interests to consult or ride roughshod over, as Viollet often did, sometimes with justice, sometimes not. With the authority of Paris he crushed the mayor of Vézelay, and over the famous Saint Sernin he repudiated the antiquarians of Toulouse, who had their revenge by undoing in the 1980s much of what he had done to their basilica. At Narbonne he never got his way, that being one of the few places where Mérimée did not support him.

For two-thirds of Viollet's career Mérimée's diplomacy was the key to his success. In the early years they often travelled and investigated buildings together, for Mérimée was an excellent antiquarian as well as functionary. An Anglophile, he took his more chauvinist friend to England in 1850. The big early jobs, notably Viollet's pairing with Lassus in the restoration of Notre Dame, could not have happened without Mérimée's backing for the voting of sufficient credits for the costly works. Then when the Second Empire came in, it was Mérimée's friendship with the Empress Eugénie that ensured Viollet, despite his Orleanist family connections, a smooth transition to Napoleon III's favour and a role as semi-official court architect; co-ordinator of occasional entertainments at the trumpery festivities each autumn at Compiègne; and above all master of works at Pierrefonds, foremost in the international array of nineteenth-century castle recreations, from Cardiff to Neuschwanstein.

Budgets got more generous for church restorations too under the Second Empire because to maintain his grip on power Napoleon III knew he needed to keep the clergy on side. So, with episcopal connivance, the curious French fix persisted of a bunch of agnostics like Mérimée and Viollet running the national church-restoration show. It produced some curiosities, as at Amiens, where Viollet knocked together a chapel in the cathedral to a local pseudo-saint,

Theudosie, with imperial and Christian symbolism mixed up, to the immense mutual satisfaction of emperor, empress, architect, and bishop. Mérimée was there behind the scenes again when Viollet pushed his political luck and vainly tried to reform the whole Beaux-Arts system in the 1860s. But Mérimée was ailing by then, dying at Cannes just as the Second Empire collapsed, and Viollet got ready to change his spots again, mutating first into an ardent defender of Paris against the Prussians and then into a robust republican.

None of these shifts could have been pulled off if Viollet had not been in constant demand, sure of what he was doing, efficient, sometimes brilliant. The question is often asked, how good an architect was Viollet really? The English Gothic Revivalists in their hauteur thought him not up to scratch, a restorer with hobnail boots, and a clumsy designer. Bressani cites Burges, the English architect with whom Viollet is most often compared, as finding a lodge by the latter at Coucy ‘the most hideous thing he ever saw ... something frightful, something awful’. And indeed the little building would not flatter someone like Edward Blore. Bressani also illustrates a tomb to the Duc de Morny at Père Lachaise, which to British eyes displays touches of positively Pilkingtonian elephantiasis and zero refinement. Then there are various Paris houses which no one has ever really much cared for, the run-of-the-mill villa in Lausanne where he died, and the famous yet possibly unbuildable designs in the *Entretiens*, with stumpy iron columns barging out of stonework at indigestible angles. Some of all this is clever, much of it is rebarbative; none of it conveys genius. To Summerson the awkward eclecticism of the lecture designs suggested ‘a sort of Esperanto’.

Many architects prefer strength to prettiness, and Viollet is certainly among them. Allowing for all possible differences of intent and taste, I think it must be admitted that Viollet belongs to that sizeable category of architects who do not flourish when given a *tabula rasa*. But once confronted with a structure to recondition or improve on, he could harness his imagination to his penetrating analytical and archaeological skills, and something extraordinary could happen. The cathedral restorations prove that, even where, as in the choir of Notre Dame, they go too far.

It is in the secular work, where fidelity of historical detail somehow matters less, that Viollet is at his best. Near the top of the list comes Pierrefonds, as felicitous as anything by Burges; and at the summit, Carcassonne. Viollet first

reported on the ruinous fortifications of Carcassonne in 1853; the restoration was finally completed by the Monuments Historiques in 1910, almost exactly in accordance with his vision. This gigantic task was executed with a devotion and empathy that Viollet never quite felt for the churches under his care. At heart he was after all a secularist, who believed that French Gothic culture only flowered when the masons shook off the monkish yoke. If the English are inclined to be snooty about Viollet, let them ponder how much both Windsor Castle and the Tower of London, as recast to their present external form by Salvin, owe to the Frenchman's wonderful studies for the *enceinte* of Carcassonne. The clues are there and the case could be proved in detail, if anyone felt like doing so.

The other outstanding feature of Viollet's design skills was his fertility as an ornamentalist. Here he was like Pugin, and like Pugin too in gathering craftsmen around him and compelling them to realize his visions in all manner of materials. The full story of how Viollet operated as an architect and who were his assistants and collaborators is nowhere tackled systematically in the books under review, though hints appear here and there. For decorative work, like other architect-ornamentalists, Viollet found or created a circle of trusted collaborators early on, largely Paris-based and in connection with Notre Dame, then stuck to them for the rest of his career. In the Viollet-le-Duc exhibition unfamiliar names, many of them mouthfuls again like the sculptor Adolphe-Victor Geoffroy-Dechaume and the metalworker Placide Poussielgue-Rusand, happily recouped some limelight. Then there were Frémiet, Gaudran and Zoegger, the carvers of the marvellous bestiary for Pierrefonds from Viollet's inspired sketches (very like Waterhouse's for the Natural History Museum in London). That was a reprise of the programme at Notre Dame, where Viollet had huge fun restoring and enriching the gargoyles and other monsters of the celebrated Galerie des Chimères. It is extraordinary to learn from the Poissons that the po-faced art critic Yvan Christ proposed in 1947 that all these grotesques should be scraped off the face of the cathedral. That sort of attitude helps explain why Viollet, despite his immense fame and success, was always against the French art establishment.

Now for a summary of the virtues, vices, and uses of the books under review. Blanchard-Dignac is what you want if your French is good and you are after a holiday read. He writes with vim, and being a Gascon is at his best on Viollet's restoration of the château at Roquetaillade in the Gironde. His pictures are thin, and he has no index. The other French books all have characteristically French

indexes, in other words bad ones. Bercé lists only a few people's names, not even places. She also has a chronology and a feebly partial catalogue of works. But she is a veteran scholar of the *Monuments Historiques*, so she is good on the major restorations. Hers is also by far the best illustrated of the books from the architectural standpoint, replete with Viollet's drawings and wonderful old photographs by Marville, Mieusement and others. The exhibition book is much wider in range and also very well illustrated. It embraces many unfamiliar drawings, objects, and projects to remind the reader of Viollet's amazing range and versatility. However the essays have the usual air of pieces flung together for the occasion.

If you have the patience for a solid sequential narrative in French about Viollet's career, much the best is the book by the Poissons (surely mostly by Olivier Poisson, as his father, the distinguished conservateur Georges Poisson, is now over ninety). It is very poorly illustrated, but the compensation is a richness of historical detail omitted by the other authors, and plenty of wit to boot. We learn for example that the celebrated imperial train designed by Viollet was one of three slavishly offered by different French railway companies to Napoleon III around 1855. He was brought in by the well-known engineer Polonceau for the interiors of the Paris–Orléans line train. But the table in the dining car was too narrow, say the Poissons, and fixed too far away from the seating for everyone except the emperor, who was jammed against a pointed end sticking into his stomach. You can check that out if you like in the museum at Mulhouse where the car is preserved.

One little gripe about all these books. If the British are still backward on French architecture, French scholarship remains, as it always has been, insouciantly ignorant about things English. Blanchard-Dignac thinks Ruskin was an architect; Bercé believes St Paul's is the 'royal cathedral'; the exhibition organizers repeatedly mistranslated *archevêché* as 'archdiocese' instead of 'archbishop's palace'. Even the estimable Poissons write Bersani instead of Bressani.

And so to Martin Bressani, the one English-language author, whose formidable book weighs in at almost six hundred pages. If you after an intellectual performance in the Middletonian tradition, this is a masterpiece; if you want to have details about Viollet's buildings, it's a lost opportunity. What fascinates Bressani is what was going on in Viollet's prodigious head and why. He offers

an in-depth psychological study which interprets Viollet's commitment to restoration as a compensatory activity for loss—his own loss of his mother and childhood security, France's loss of a holistic culture through Renaissance and revolutions. Like many such hypotheses, it is plausible but unprovable. The documentation of Viollet's early life certainly abounds with evidence of a neurotic side to his egotism. And the last of his many books, the fictional *Histoire d'un dessinateur*, is obsessed with precocious childhood. But is that enough? Does it illuminate Viollet's activities much to think of them in that light?

Fortunately Bressani allows his theory to take a back seat for a lot of the book. When that happens, the writing stops being earnest and essay-like and becomes fluent and compelling. Generally he gets better and simpler as he goes on. His breadth of learning and sense of context are both impressive. As none of the other authors do, he takes account of the full breadth of French intellectual culture, and he builds on the work of such American scholars as Barry Bergdoll, Neil Levine and David Van Zanten, on Viollet's contemporaries who stuck with the classical tradition: architects like Labrouste and Vaudoyer. He is excellent on the political complexities of the Second Empire, and so is able to supply a calm and lucid revisionist reading of Viollet's campaign to reform the *École des Beaux-Arts*, details of which have often been got wrong (by this reviewer among others). And because Bressani cares more for books than for buildings, he is able to sustain the reader's interest as Viollet's career winds down in the 1870s and he becomes primarily a writer, turning out *inter alia* a series of zestful children's books, two of them translated into English by the faithful Bucknall as *How to Build a House* (1874) and *Annals of a Fortress* (1876). This then is not a book for a Viollet beginner, but it will reward the dedicated reader. At all events it is tremendous to have something thoroughly authoritative and stimulating on Viollet in English.

GOTHIC WONDER

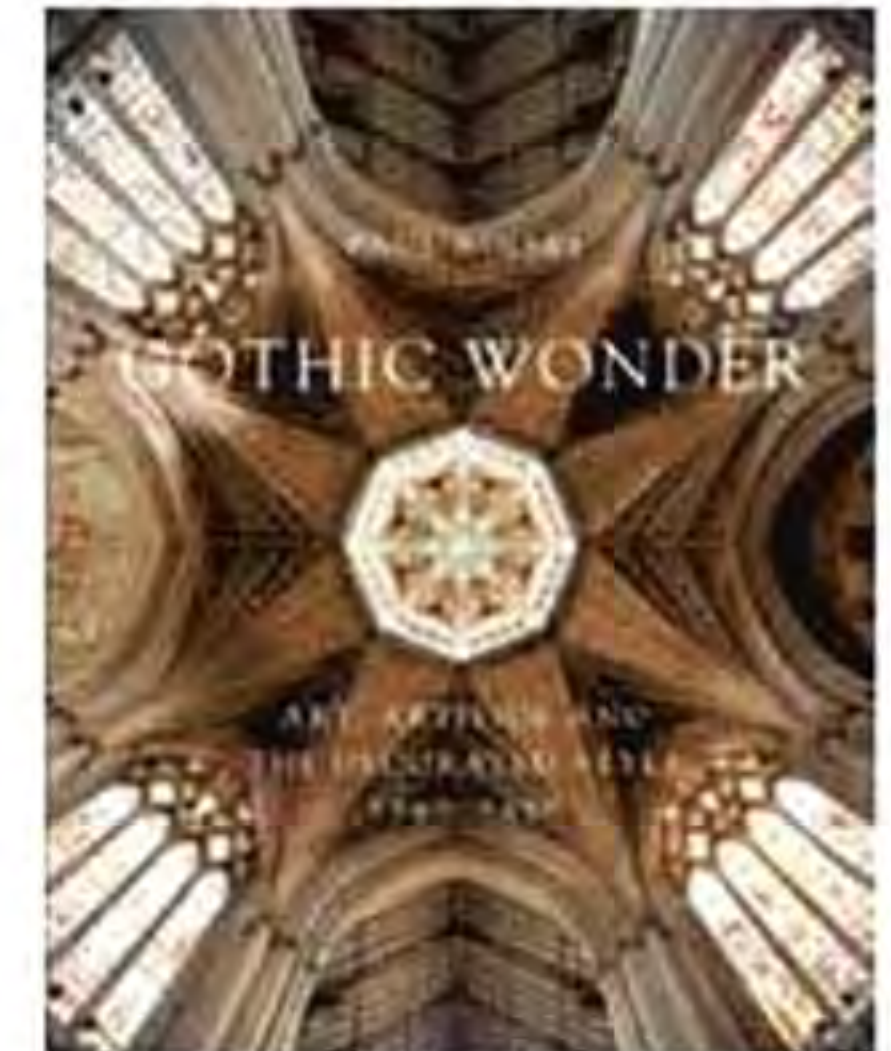
GothicWonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290–1350

By Paul Binski. London: Yale University Press, 2014. 448 pp. ISBN: 978-0-300-20400-1

Reviewed by Arabella Szala

The lavishly illustrated pages of *GothicWonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290–1350* is Paul Binski's most substantial work since his 2004 monograph *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300*. In this latest release, Binski examines the period of art that Thomas Rickman first designated as the 'Decorated English', latterly known as the Decorated Gothic period of c. 1290–1350. Written with gusto in his typically engaging style, the book is undergirded by a raft of scholarship, and represents the most comprehensive examination of the architecture of the period since Jean Bony's 1979 study *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250–1350*. Indeed, Binski's work must be understood to a considerable extent as being in dialogue with Bony's, although he rigorously interrogates Bony's ideas, chief amongst them that the Decorated Gothic was an irrational English reaction to the cool rationalism of French Rayonnant. For Binski, 'ludic' is a more helpful term when considering the period, as it connotes the spontaneity, playfulness, and freshness of the style's creativity.

In the first part of *GothicWonder*, Binski considers the rise of the Decorated Style by examining the architectural stock both extant and underway c.1300. Here, concepts of authority are examined: firstly the enduring cultural authority embodied by great buildings, and how this precipitates/allows/denies new creative insight. The Decorated Style is seen as being in 'intelligent dialogue' with ecclesiastical architecture, the large scale of which, Binski argues, was the inspiration for surface decoration. This idea is explored in greater detail in chapter six, which looks at the majestic octagonal tower of Ely Cathedral and the extensive surface complexity of its Lady Chapel. For the author, the intricately worked surfaces of (inter alia) the Chapel's south wall typify *varietas*. The richness, the sheer variety of surface decoration, is seen as an attribute of architecture that impresses human accomplishment upon the viewer in the same way that sheer architectural mass does. This idea lies at the heart of what Binski terms the



Courtesy of A. & J. Picard

‘aesthetics of the wondrous’—our wonder at the human achievement of these ‘great things achieved by stupendous technologies ... in whose presence we as humans are enlarged, not diminished’.

Guarding against counterarguments of superficiality and superfluity, Binski convincingly sets out that *varietas*, the chief characteristic of the Decorated Style, troubles the pure categorisation of architecture as a discrete form. Binski notes that those architects working in the Decorated Style were responsive to what could be learnt from other art forms. In chapter seven, he makes particular reference to the rich surface detail of English embroidery, *opus anglicanum*, which itself was influenced by gold-working, as a main source of inspiration. He notes and agrees with Bony’s claim that ‘much is gained in the interpretation of the Decorated Style by looking at media other than architecture’. Binski’s approach throughout *Gothic Wonder* therefore champions a holistic reading of medieval artistic media. The pigeonholing of media into strict categories of architecture, sculpture, and painting may therefore be discarded.

Throughout the book, Binski interrogates and attacks the understanding of fourteenth-century Gothic, current since Panofsky’s *Architecture and Scholasticism*, rooted in the dialectic of centre and periphery. This model posits that around 1300 there was a shift of creative initiative from (central) France to (marginal) England. When considering the flow of influence in Gothic style throughout Europe, Binski looks further afield. He draws attention to the similarities in style between major churches in English maritime towns like King’s Lynn and Bristol, pointing to what he describes as ‘port Gothic’. Moving a step further, he draws attention to similarities between Trondheim Cathedral in Norway and Gothic structures along the east of England, such as York Minster, Lincoln Cathedral, and churches in London and Kent. Elsewhere referencing the work of Peter Parler at Prague Cathedral, he convincingly sets out that the specifically English style of Decorated Gothic, rather than merely being an offshoot of and reaction to the French style, had its own creative force, the results of which can be found in the furthest reaches of Europe.

This far-reaching approach questions and reorients the entire centre–periphery dialectic set out by Bony. A further excoriation of the ‘shift to the periphery’ argument is conducted in the final section of *Gothic Wonder* via an examination of the colourful marginalia of several early fourteenth-century manuscripts,

such as those of the Luttrell and Macclesfield Psalters. Earlier in the book, Binski comments on how recent scholarship of marginalia has been used to prop up the importance of the marginal, the little, the small, the periphery as a source of creative energy, to the detriment of the centre, i.e. more obvious and therefore more lastingly authoritative artworks. For him, this exemplifies what C. Stephen Jaeger has decried as the effect in scholarship of a view of the Middle Ages as being diminutive and therefore somehow unimportant, ‘a period of small, quaint things and people, of miniatures, humble, little, overshadowed by its big neighbours, antiquity and the Renaissance’. For Binski, the small and decorative is vital, vigorous, worthy of being given central importance, as it is key to uncovering a deeper, richer understanding of the Decorated Style.

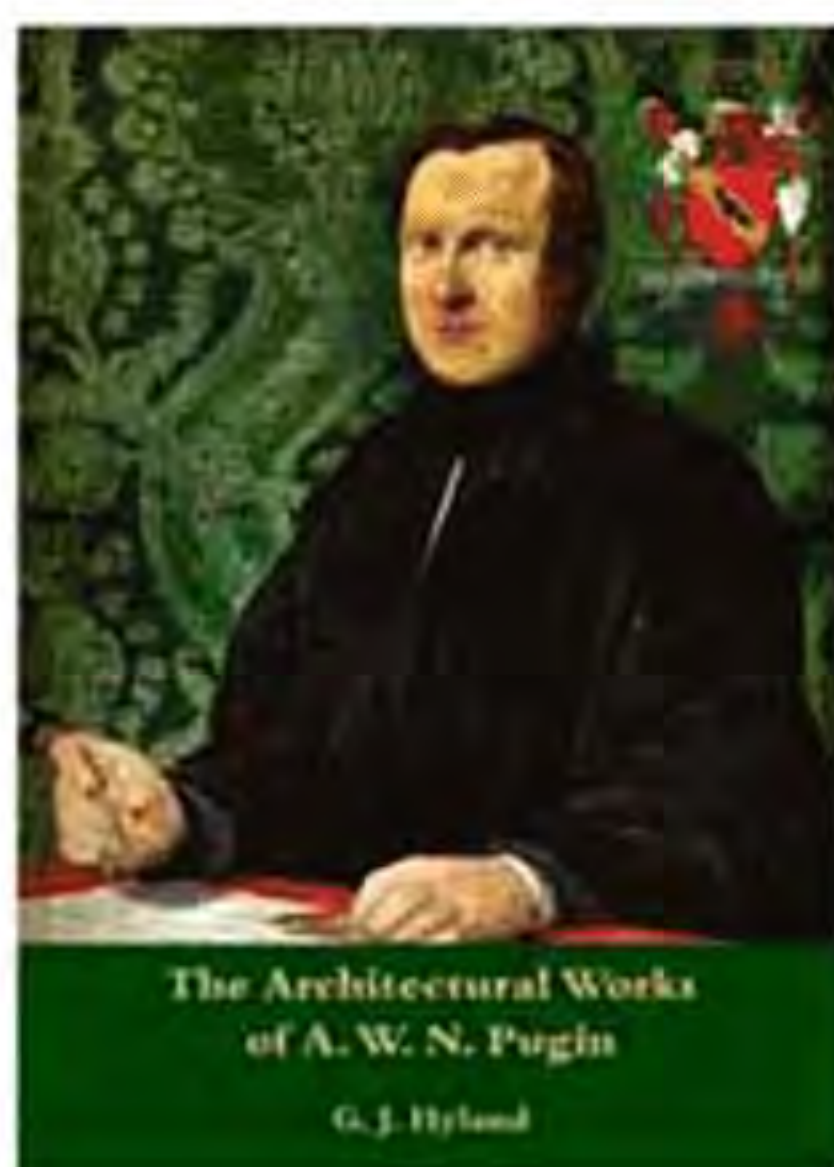
In the final chapters of *Gothic Wonder*, the author considers the architectural in literary texts such as Geoffrey Chaucer’s *The House of Fame*. Here the rise of imaginary buildings in fourteenth-century literature is understood as being a vehicle for satiric comment (versus the older panegyric tradition of writing in praise of real architecture). He also looks at *Pierce the Plowman’s Crede*, which is a critique of the legislation against excess in building put forward by mendicant orders such as the Dominicans. ‘Clean’, an adjective used at the time to describe a simple, uncluttered architectural style, is used here ironically to express perfection bordering on the luxurious. Binski notes that the discontinuation in use of decorative mouldings in the Divinity School at Oxford University is a kind of ‘slamming on of the brakes’ reflective of a concern about excess in architectural design that was perhaps too late in coming.

The book ends by looking at the impact of the Black Death on English architecture (Binski’s earlier work *Medieval Death* examines this at length, and is well worth reading). The author returns to the theory, first put forward by Millard Meiss, that the quality of artistic output took a nosedive after the first major outbreak of the disease in 1348. This happened not so much because of the deaths of many skilled artisans (although this of course took its toll), but primarily because the general mood in the aftermath was one of grief and a desire to repent of excess, perhaps also of an excess of architectural decoration. Binski does not however adopt the traditional view that the more sombre Perpendicular Style, which arose after 1350, was simply the new architectural mode for a chastened, remnant population. Comparing ‘incorporated memory’ with ‘inscribed memory’, he suggests that the rise of the Perpendicular style at Westminster and Gloucester,

major urban centres, had more to do with the existence of workshop drawing archives, whereas the curvilinear Decorated Style, spread throughout eastern England, had no known central repository of designs. In other words, when the artisans and their repository of knowledge ceased to exist, so did the Decorated Style. 'Is it perhaps right [therefore] to see the eventual success of Perpendicular as the success of a more impersonal, bureaucratic mode, a system in the true sense?' Was the ludic creativity seen in the Decorated Style superseded, then, by common-sense bureaucracy?

Gothic Wonder comprises a wealth of ideas on the Decorated Style and must be considered as the entry-point work on the subject. More than anything, it serves to illustrate what must be the *crie de cœur* of authors writing on this period: that the Middle Ages are a field of study worthy of the mainstream, not the margins. For even the non-expert, the book will provide a stimulating read, and will certainly inspire readers to reconsider the period in the energetic and prismatic ways put forward here by this preeminent scholar of the medieval age.

THE ARCHITECTURAL WORKS OF A. W. N. PUGIN



Courtesy of Spire Books

The Architectural Works of A.W.N. Pugin: A Catalogue

By G. J. Hyland. Reading: Spire Books, 2014. 320 pp. ISBN 978-1-904965-47-3

Reviewed by David Frazer Lewis

This slender, useful book is as far as is possible a definitive catalogue of buildings built or decorated by A. W. N. Pugin, both executed and unexecuted. Above all it is a reference, an *Encyclopedia Puginiana*. The information is neatly categorized and organized so that the essential details of each commission are easily located and the reader directed onward to relevant literature and archival materials. Buildings are organized by type, and an appendix arranges them by geographical location. The reader should not expect narrative historical text about each building; entries are on the model of Pevsner's *Buildings of England*, but without criticism. Each entry provides a concise architectural description ('single-bay square-ended sanctuary, and SW tower with an angle-pinnacled spire'), relevant dates, and, when

available, information about clients and benefactors, artisans involved, building use, and current condition. The marvelous appendices include a biographical dictionary of the characters of Pugin's world: patrons, clerics, artists, family members, builders, and others; a list of titled patrons organized by rank; and a typological analysis of Pugin's church designs. Even the acknowledgements are categorized to help the reader find relevant contacts in the pursuit of Pugin.

The combination of the main text and appendices make the book a wonderful source of typological statistics. These can provide a window into Pugin's design decisions—not simply what he said he was doing, but what he actually did. Here is the 'big data' on Pugin in an easily accessible form. It is possible to see, for instance, how many of his churches contain clerestories and what types of spires he designed most often. I was surprised to learn that the majority of Pugin's churches are in a broadly Early English style rather than the Decorated Gothic.

The book is only sparsely illustrated. The text often excited my curiosity about a building's appearance, and a greater number of images would have helped in the comparative understanding of Pugin's works. This clearly was not possible in the printed volume. Perhaps sometime in the future someone will be inspired to create a digital version with linked images. However, the lack of images will not limit the usefulness of the guide—Pevsner's *Buildings of England*, after all, has hardly any illustrations and remains an essential reference work.

Hyland's work will be of great benefit to scholars, clarifying the extent of Pugin's oeuvre and even correcting a few misattributions. The book is a road map to the world of Pugin, and if a road map, it is so detailed and precise that it is surely the Ordnance Survey.

The publication of G.J. Hyland's *The Architectural Works of A.W. N. Pugin* was supported by a grant from the Society because of its important contribution to Pugin studies.

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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 education 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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