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True Principles

Pugin's Artisans
Lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture
Church Crawling
E.W. Pugin and Stephen Ayling, 1861-2

True Principles

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

Cover image: 160912, chalk and emulsion on canvas, 88 x 55 cm, Robert Dawson 2016

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AN EXCITING YEAR FOR RAMSGATE

David Frazer Lewis

The cover image and two further illustrations inside this issue are taken from the *En Avant* exhibition, which will be on show at the Shrine of St Augustine until September. To create the works on show, the brilliant ceramic artist Robert Dawson has taken the play of pattern in A.W.N. Pugin's tile, stained glass, and wallpaper designs for inspiration. Pugin repeated patterns to emphasise the flat planes of surfaces, enacting his belief that ornament should embellish essential construction. Dawson applies geometric transformations and distortions to make Pugin's flat surfaces appear to twist and curl like orange peel or explores the way that varying the scale, texture, and orientation of a single pattern can achieve a rich visual complexity. These are profound and spiritual pieces that speak to the way simple units can build up into greater wholes. They speak to the way geometry orders the universe—a theme of importance to Pugin and one appropriate to the reopening of a great shrine. And they speak to the way the world can at once be a place of both order and mystery.

The reopening of St. Augustine's—after a Heritage-Lottery-funded project that has created a new visitor centre and restored the chancel and Lady Chapel—and the expansion of Landmark Trust's offerings at The Grange with the opening of St Edward's Presbytery, mean that Ramsgate is looking resplendent. The presbytery, built by A.W.N. Pugin in 1850 on the grounds of The Grange, was intended to provide a home for the secular Catholic priest in charge of St Augustine's. However, a priest only lived there for a few years, and in the 1860s, Edward Pugin converted the building into his studio, adding a large oriel window. Like the main house at The Grange, the presbytery can now be let for short breaks by holidaymakers wishing to enjoy Pugin's Ramsgate buildings.

This issue of *True Principles* opens solemnly with obituaries for Pugin scholars Margaret Belcher and Peter Blundell Jones, both of whom made substantial contributions to the study of the Pugins and their legacy. It continues with a leading article by Michael Fisher, who taps into his vast knowledge of Pugin's

Figure 29 : *160921,*
clay and emulsion on
canvas, 88 x 55cm
Robert Dawson 2016

Staffordshire commissions to discuss the artisans who worked on Pugin's buildings there. This is followed by the reprinting of A.W.N. Pugin's 'First Lecture on Ecclesiastical Antiquities', which he gave in his role as Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at Oscott College. This will be the first of a series reprinting lesser-known texts by A.W.N. Pugin. James Alexander Cameron provides us with a witty column on church-crawling, and Rory O'Donnell explores a collaboration between Edward Pugin and the photographer, Stephen Ayling. Andrew Fisher writes about the little-known church architect Robert Barber. Book reviews include two important treatments of Pugin's legacy. Catriona Blaker reviews Michael Fisher's new book on the Hardmans, *Guarding the Pugin Flame*, and the issue concludes with a review of *A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence: Gothic Revival Worldwide*.

MARGARET BELCHER: A TRIBUTE FROM THE PUGIN SOCIETY

Catriona Blaker, Pugin Society Committee

The Pugin Society was formed in 1995, with high expectations. For those of us founders who were admirers of Pugin but not in the world of academe, where could we look for nourishing information and guidance? One source was *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, the publication produced by the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1994 to complement the major and influential Pugin exhibition there in that year. All the big names in the Pugin world at that time had contributed to this work, and one of them was Margaret's. It was from reading her article 'Pugin Writing' in this publication that I first became aware of her as a Pugin scholar. I found the article immensely interesting and beautifully written. It became clear that the author understood Pugin perfectly and sympathetically from a literary point of view. In her final paragraph she wrote of his published work: 'Typically Victorian in their earnest desire for social and spiritual amelioration, his publications are passionate, polemical propaganda, provocative and tendentious; they may be naïve, illogical or prejudiced upon occasion but they purvey the finest thing of all that Pugin thought of, a timeless and compelling ideal'. Many of these characteristics appear in his letters also, and it was Margaret's innate empathy with Pugin's vision, as expressed in this quotation, that surely made her the perfect person to undertake the massive task of editing his letters. Her professional, or 'other', life, as a university lecturer of nineteenth century English literature, gave her a very special understanding of the Pugin world, different to, but usefully complementing, the work of the art and architectural historians and others who make up the larger number of Pugin scholars. Indeed, Alexandra Wedgwood reports that Margaret said, in the first letter she ever received from her, *'It is in Pugin as a writer that I am interested and it is in relation to the mediaevalist literature of the Victorian period that I see him. I think he has been rather overlooked by literary historians and critics and deserves more of a place in the story of social criticism in the nineteenth century than he is usually given.'*

As a preliminary to her magnum opus though, in addition to an article by her in 1982 about Pugin, in the Australian journal *Southern Review*, Margaret produced

A.W.N. Pugin: an annotated critical bibliography, in 1987. All known publications by, and about, Pugin up to 1987 were catalogued by her in this book. It was far more than a catalogue, however. Each entry mentioned was summarized and commented upon in considerable detail, in pithy and insightful fashion. Indeed, the comments were such that this was a work one could just read for pure interest and entertainment. It was hugely helpful at that time for anyone wanting guidelines to find their way around the dauntingly extensive and diverse world of Pugin. I remember falling on this book with joy, its purple jacket standing out on the shelves, in a second-hand bookshop in the beautiful town of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and immediately buying it. Already it was becoming clear that Margaret was well on the way to making outstanding contributions to Pugin studies, although this was nothing compared with what was to come.

In the Introduction to the *Bibliography*, Margaret refers to the historian Macaulay's vision, penned in a review of 1840, of a New Zealander sitting on London Bridge, with the city in ruins and sketching what was left of St Paul's Cathedral. She goes on: '... there was a day, about 140 years later, when a New Zealander came and found that another cathedral, Pugin's St George's in Southwark, had been ruined. Across the river again, however, at Westminster, she saw the finest concentration of Pugin's work in existence, shown her by England's leading Pugin scholar (this was Alexandra Wedgwood), who stood by silent and smiling at the speechless Antipodean delight'. This moment, so vividly recorded, was perhaps a sort of Pugin epiphany for Margaret.

The first of the five volumes of every single known letter written by Pugin, edited by Margaret, appeared in 2001, and the last, as we probably all know, only recently, in 2015. Although the first volume came out in 2001, she had in fact been engaged upon this Herculean task from 1987 onwards, just after the publication of the *Bibliography*. No one could possible rate her dedication, her meticulousness, her scholarship, and not least her ability to actually read Pugin's handwriting, any higher. She has illuminated for all Pugin scholars and admirers not only the man himself but also the world and times of her subject. Her editing is beautifully and consistently organised. Each letter is footnoted where necessary, and quite often the footnotes alone take the reader off on a whole new line of discovery, which greatly enriches the texts. The volumes of letters take Pugin through from buoyant youth, triumphs and extraordinary achievements to, ultimately, disillusion, physical and mental illness, and death.

Here are revealed, in luxurious quantity, his turbulent emotional life, his humour, his heartiness, his frustrations, his friends, his enemies, his anger, his mood swings, in short all the sunshine and shadow of his wholly remarkable and unique personality. The letters are compulsive reading, and they and the editing of them are surely the definitive underpinning of Pugin studies. There is a wealth of reference here for others to draw on, concerning not only Pugin, but such subjects as, in particular, the state of the Catholic (and Anglican) church in his day, and also the art and design of the times, political and social issues , new technology ('I am such a locomotive, being always flying about' as Pugin said) and much more. It is possible that Margaret was not a 'believer' in any formal sense of the word, but it is abundantly clear from her writing that she had a most sympathetic and knowledgeable understanding of Pugin's Catholicism and of the complex, often confused ,and at times turbulent, issues within the Anglican and Catholic churches during his lifetime.

Of course there are other most distinguished scholars who have also made huge contributions to Pugin studies, but it is not those with whom we are concerned on this occasion. Suffice it to say that all those who study Pugin owe a massive debt to Margaret. Her comprehensive work is now the primary point of reference for all those entering the field.

The job of tracing and collating all the known letters involved Margaret in many trips to Britain, although by no means all the letters are in the UK, some being in the USA, some in Ireland and a few even in Italy. The fact that Margaret was living as far as away as New Zealand made her achievements all the more impressive. It is amazing that, despite major earthquakes, not to mention sometimes uncertain health, the great work has been accomplished. Although computers, transcripts and microfilm helped in putting the letters together, perhaps nothing could replace the thrill of seeing the sites from whence the letters emanated, or the actual letters themselves, some beautifully, and in some cases humorously, embellished by Pugin. Margaret was enormously assisted in England in particular by the generous repeated hospitality in Worcestershire of Sarah Houle, the great great granddaughter of Pugin, and also by her London-based friend, Miss Van Noorden. The visits to England were of course for work, but they were also occasions for fun and laughter, and for adventures and expeditions shared with other great scholars and with Sarah Houle, as the latter has herself told me.

I first met Margaret in 1999 on the Pugin Society Liverpool tour. It was exciting to encounter this unassuming and naturally friendly seeming person, who entered so happily into all our excursions on that occasion, but it would not take anyone long to see that behind her disarming appearance was a razor-sharp mind and a remarkable and accurate memory for facts. She was always a strong supporter of the Pugin Society, generously supplying, without any prompting, short and pertinent articles which she knew by instinct to be just right in pitch and length for our Society journal, *True Principles*. What was morale boosting for us was that she appeared to feel that our organisation had real scholastic value and standing, and by her involvement with us, and her support of us, helped to make us believe that what we were doing was really worthwhile. She would always answer queries, or aid in any way she could scholars and students at all levels. Only recently, indeed, she was advising Michael Fisher, Pugin expert, and commenting on the drafts of his forthcoming book on Pugin's assistant and son-in-law, John Hardman Powell.

I met Margaret again in 2006, when Pugin's house, The Grange, in Ramsgate, Kent had just opened, having been restored by an organisation called the Landmark Trust. The house could be rented, and Sarah Houle had hastened to be one of the first to take it, revelling in all its Puginesque qualities. Characteristically, she generously shared her stay with other Pugin people including Margaret, whose 70th birthday was made a celebration there on that occasion - a very special treat.

Perhaps Margaret's apotheosis could be said to have been the time when, in 2012 she was over for the international Pugin bicentennial conference, 'New Directions in Gothic Revival Studies Worldwide' at the University of Kent, organised by the University and supported by the Pugin Society. She was one of the keynote speakers, and it was my feeling that the sight of a whole auditorium filled with scholars and students whose overweening interest was Pugin and his influence, worldwide, was exhilarating to her. I think that seeing such a large audience must have made her feel justified indeed. Here was tangible proof that her labours were truly appreciated. She must have felt that she had come home. The small figure appearing on the podium showed no apprehension, only enjoyment at engaging with such an appreciative audience. She delivered a wonderfully entertaining and lively talk on Pugin's letters, which has appeared since in somewhat modified form in our Winter 2015 Journal. The talk concluded with a moving description, all based upon the material in the letters, of Pugin at

the Grange, opening the boxes containing the treasures he had designed for his Medieval Court in the Crystal Palace for the 1851 Great Exhibition. The treasures were now being returned to their owners. Margaret painted a most evocative picture of the hall at the Grange, and the awe of the servants as these remarkable objects from the Exhibition were unwrapped and displayed to view. Reporting from material in the letters, Margaret pointed out that Pugin's wife, Jane, told him that his cook had explained, in answer to a dazed query from an onlooking servant, 'Oh, he is one of the greatest men of England'. He certainly found one of the greatest scholars and editors to record his letters. It is good to know that the book of that Conference which has been recently published by the University of Leuven, edited by Tim Brittain-Catlin and Jan de Maeyer, with the title *Gothic Revival Worldwide*, is dedicated to Margaret (and also to Alexandra Wedgwood, another great Pugin scholar and Patron of the Pugin Society). Indeed, Margaret had been hard at work until very recently, with two articles appearing in the most recent number of the Society's *True Principles* (Spring 2016, Vol 5, No 1).

Many obituaries of Margaret appeared in distinguished periodicals in the weeks following her death. This brief account, which comes with every sympathy for members of Margaret's family, is however, the Pugin Society's own tribute to her work. Her achievements were immense, and we thank her a thousand times, and more, for such outstanding, and safely accomplished, work.

PETER BLUNDELL JONES

Timothy Brittain-Catlin

Architectural historians and countless former students were devastated to hear of the early death in August 2016 of Peter Blundell Jones, of cancer at the age of 67. Peter was amongst much else a great friend of the Pugin Society and took an interest in the theoretical and historical implications of Pugin's work well before it became fashionable to do so.

Peter grew up in Devon and was trained as an architect at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in the late 1960s. Early in his career as a teacher he established himself as the major authority on the work of twentieth-century German organic architects, with authoritative and beautifully illustrated monographs on Hans Scharoun, Hugo Häring and, later, Gunnar Asplund, that have never been surpassed. Peter worked closely with Peter Davey during the latter's long and influential editorship of the *Architectural Review*, on many occasions acting as guest editor and introducing new names such as the Stuttgart architect Peter Hübner to a wide international audience.

Peter was first and foremost a teacher, in particular as Professor of Architecture at the Sheffield School of Architecture from 1994 where he became a mentor to many talented doctoral students. He wrote and published prolifically, and his two volumes of *Modern Architecture Through Case Studies*, of 2002 and 2007 (the second co-authored with Eamonn Canniffe) are required reading for many students.

Peter was a member of the *True Principles* editorial board and a reviewer for our 2012 bicentenary conference 'New Directions in Gothic Revival Studies Worldwide' and its resulting book *Gothic Revival Worldwide*. His very last publication, *Architecture and Ritual* (2016) starts with a study of the Palace of Westminster. He was a lovely person, kind and approachable, and unfailingly supportive, and we will all miss him.

PUGIN'S ARTISANS

Michael Fisher

Those who have become acquainted with Pugin's copious correspondence through the published volumes of his letters[1] will know that it gives the most valuable insights into his relationships with the entrepreneurs to whom he entrusted the execution of his designs—John Gregory Crace, Herbert Minton, George Myers, and—above all—John Hardman. Woven into this rich tapestry are the lives of those who actually carried out the work of rebuilding Gothic England—the carpenters, decorators, masons and smiths. One geographical area in particular reveals Pugin's close dealings with these men-on-the-ground, namely the Staffordshire estates of Pugin's principal patron, John Talbot (1791-1852), 16th earl of Shrewsbury, for whom he created some of his most significant buildings.

Following his appointment as architect to Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin paid his first visit to the earl's great mansion, Alton Towers, in August 1837. He found a building that was not particularly to his liking, that had grown over the preceding thirty years at the hands of a succession of architects, and where construction work was still going on. Gothic it may have been, but it was the Georgian Gothic of the Fonthill variety, such as Pugin had lampooned in his recently-published *Contrasts* (1836). Nevertheless, Lord Shrewsbury had at his command a sizeable body of local craftsmen and artisans, some of whom had gained considerable experience and expertise through their work on the house and also on the many garden buildings located in the valley below. These included stonemasons Peter, John and Thomas Bailey, brickmaker William Alsop, plasterer Samuel Firth, carpenter and joiner Thomas Harris, and gilder and decorator Thomas Kearns. Given proper instruction and supervision, such men could be turned into 'True Principles' craftsmen, capable of completing the house in the correct style, with all of the features Pugin considered necessary for the home of England's most prominent Catholic nobleman.

Given the existence of a ready-made workforce, the question remained as to who would be able to deliver the necessary on-site supervision, and instil into

1 Belcher 2001-2015

them Pugin's principles of design and construction. An early clue appears in Pugin's diary for 1 July 1838: 'At Uttoxeter. Deny arrived'[2]. This is the first recorded mention of John Bunn Denny (1810-1892) who was to become the key figure in the building schemes undertaken by Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury in north Staffordshire. Little is known of Denny's background, except that he came from Swainsthorpe in Norfolk, that he was a Catholic, and that his wife's name was Jane. Given the proximity of Swainsthorpe to Costessey – the Norfolk home of the Catholic Stafford-Jernynghams who were also known to Pugin—it is possible that he had been employed by them in building work. Though originally a bricklayer by trade, Denny must have acquired sufficient skills in other areas of work to enable him to be appointed as clerk-of-works to Lord Shrewsbury, a post which he was to occupy for the next twenty years.

It is known from Pugin's diary and letters that, as the earl's architect, he was a frequent visitor to Alton Towers, sometimes staying for a week or more in rooms specially provided for him in the house. In 1840 and 1842 he was there almost every month, some visits lasting up to ten days or even a fortnight. It would have been during these visits that he worked most closely with Denny, training him in his own methods, including the preparation of working drawings. Pugin once told the earl that he had taught Denny 'everything that he knows,' while for his part, Denny acknowledged Pugin as his mentor and friend. Though Pugin only ever took on one apprentice in the formal sense, namely his future son-in-law, John Hardman Powell (1827-1895), Denny must surely be reckoned a very close second, and he was destined to become an architect in his own right.

Under John Denny, and between visits from Pugin, Lord Shrewsbury's workforce busied themselves learning and applying Puginian principles to the continuing construction and decorating projects at Alton Towers, and also in the church-building schemes which Pugin and the earl embarked upon in the neighbourhood: St John's Hospital in the village of Alton, and, next to it, the dramatically-placed Alton Castle; St Giles' at Cheadle, and St Wilfrid's, Cotton. It is an indication of the level of trust that Pugin placed in these men that he did not use his favoured builder, George Myers of Lambeth, on these new buildings, except for a few specialist items such as the huge chimneypieces in the Talbot Gallery and Banqueting Hall at the Towers, and the Easter Sepulchre at St Giles', all deeply carved in Bath stone from Myers' Wiltshire quarries. All other building materials were sourced locally from an area rich in building

2 Pugin was at this time building one of his first 'True Principles' churches, St Mary's, Uttoxeter, Staffs. The diaries are published in Wedgwood 1985.

stone and timber, and Pugin had the advantage of men with first-hand knowledge of existing and potential quarries.

One quarry deserves particular mention, namely the Counslow quarry, situated on a hill mid-way between Cheadle and Alton: a rich source of sandstone of a deep red colour and of other shades too. Here Pugin and Denny established a self-contained mason's community; a revival, so it would seem, of the type of medieval building lodge formerly attached to the greater churches and cathedrals, serving as both workshop and school where architects and craftsmen learned together and where skills were transmitted. Pugin wrote excitedly to Lord Shrewsbury about this community: 'I think they have as good a masons shed as any in England.... They have a capital refectory.'[3] A short railroad was laid down to transport the stone blocks from the quarry faces to the workshops which were heated so that the masons could continue working throughout the harsh Moorland winters. Remains of some of these buildings still stand (Fig. 30), along with traces of the wagonway, and the well from which fresh water was drawn. Dressed stone, finished mouldings and tracery pieces were then taken by road, eastwards to Alton and the Towers, and westwards to Cheadle. The masons' community at Counslow has close parallels with those advocated by the German Gothic Revivalist, August Reichensperger (1808-1895) who, having read Pugin's *True Principles* (1841), urged that these principles should be disseminated through *Bauhütten*, or building lodges.[4]

Figure 30: Remains of masons' hut, Counslow quarry. (M. Fisher).

3 Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, 24 December 1841, Belcher 2001, p.307. Several other letters to Lord Shrewsbury express Pugin's evident satisfaction with this quarry and its working arrangements: pp. 249 (30 June 1841), 276 (29 September 1841), 298 (5 December 1841).

4 For an account of Reichensperger, Pugin's influence on him, and the significance of the *Bauhütten*, see Brooks 1999, pp. 261-265. 'Pugin's *True Principles* broke on him like a revelation: here he discovered a practical basis for gothic building that made architectural theory coterminous with Catholic truth.' (p.263).

According to some authorities, Reichensperger was present at the consecration of St Giles', Cheadle, in September1846.[5]

Another local quarry, the Fauld mine near Tutbury, some nine miles south-east of Alton village, was a rich source of alabaster: This fine-grained material had been used extensively in medieval times for statuary and other ornamental work as it lent itself to detailed carving and was softer to work than marble, but its use in this context had all but vanished since the Reformation, and it was now being quarried for the manufacture of gypsum and plaster-of-paris. Both Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury wished to bring about a revival[6], and the opportunity presented itself in the churches at Alton and Cheadle. Pugin found a sculptor who was competent enough to work in this material, and whom he had already used at his church of St Augustine, Solihull (1838-9), namely Thomas Roddis (1797-1845), a pupil of Francis Chantrey, and who came from Sutton Coldfield; but before work could commence, Pugin had to send two quarrymen over from Alton to show those at Tutbury how to cut usable blocks of alabaster instead of simply blasting it out with gunpowder which produced only rubble[7]. From these blocks, Roddis was able to produce magnificent altars and reredoses for St John's and St Giles', with elaborate tabernacle work, crestings and statuary, picked out in colours and gilt: a revival indeed (Fig. 31). It is significant that the only memorial to an individual within the prestigious St Giles', Cheadle, is not to a member of the Talbot family who financed it, but to Roddis, who sadly died a few months before the church was complete. Pugin petitioned the earl to allow a memorial brass to his design in the form of a floriated cross and masons' tools, with an appropriate inscription, to be placed in the church as a tribute to the one who had executed so much of the fine carving.[8] Even the brassware had a local connection, for quantities of sheet brass, tubing, rods and wires which Hardman's used to make furnishings and ornaments for St Giles' and many other churches were sourced from the Cheadle Copper and Brass Company at nearby Oakamoor in the Churnet valley.[9]

As building work at the Towers progressed, Pugin's archaeologically correct Gothic features stood out in contrast to the earlier Georgian ones, and the difference is easily discernible in what remains of the house following the stripping-out of the interiors in 1950-51. For example, Pugin's window openings are constructed with finely-moulded ashlar set in horizontal courses, whereas those from a decade or so earlier have stone frames composed of vertically-set jambs

5 e.g. Belcher 1987, p. 360 giving details of Reichensperger's survey of Pugin's career, and O'Donnell 2002, p. 22. Reichensperger arrived in Ramsgate from Ostend on 8 September (i.e. a week after the consecration of St Giles') and called at The Grange (Lewis 1993), but unfortunately Pugin was not at home (Belcher 2009, p.119n). Pugin's diary for 1846 is, sadly, missing.

6 Pugin extols the qualities of alabaster in *Present State*, p. 88: 'It is to be hoped that the use of this beautiful material, which was constantly used by the Catholic artists in their more elaborate works, will be generally revived.....'

7 Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, 24 December 1841, Belcher 2001, p. 306

8 Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury 26 October 1845, Belcher 2003, p. 465. The brass is illustrated in Meara 1991, p. 155. The cross no longer exists, but the inscription plate is now located in the north porch of the church.

9 The Cheadle Copper and Brass Company was later renamed Thomas Bolton & Co. The Churnet valley had a long history of metalworking, using water-power and, latterly, steam, with the raw materials coming from mines in Derbyshire and north Staffordshire. Invoices in the Hardman Archive (Library of Birmingham) show that by the 1840s Hardman was a regular customer, ordering rolled brass ('latten') in sheet form, and 'gilding metal' which had a higher copper content, along with tubes, rods and wires.

Figure 31: St John's, Alton. Detail of alabaster Altar by Thomas Roddis, decorated by Thomas Kearns. (M. Fisher).

Figure 32: Contrasts: (left) Incorrectly-formed Georgian Gothic window at Alton Towers
(right) Correctly-formed window, as advocated by Pugin in *True Principles*, and applied in his additions at Alton Towers.

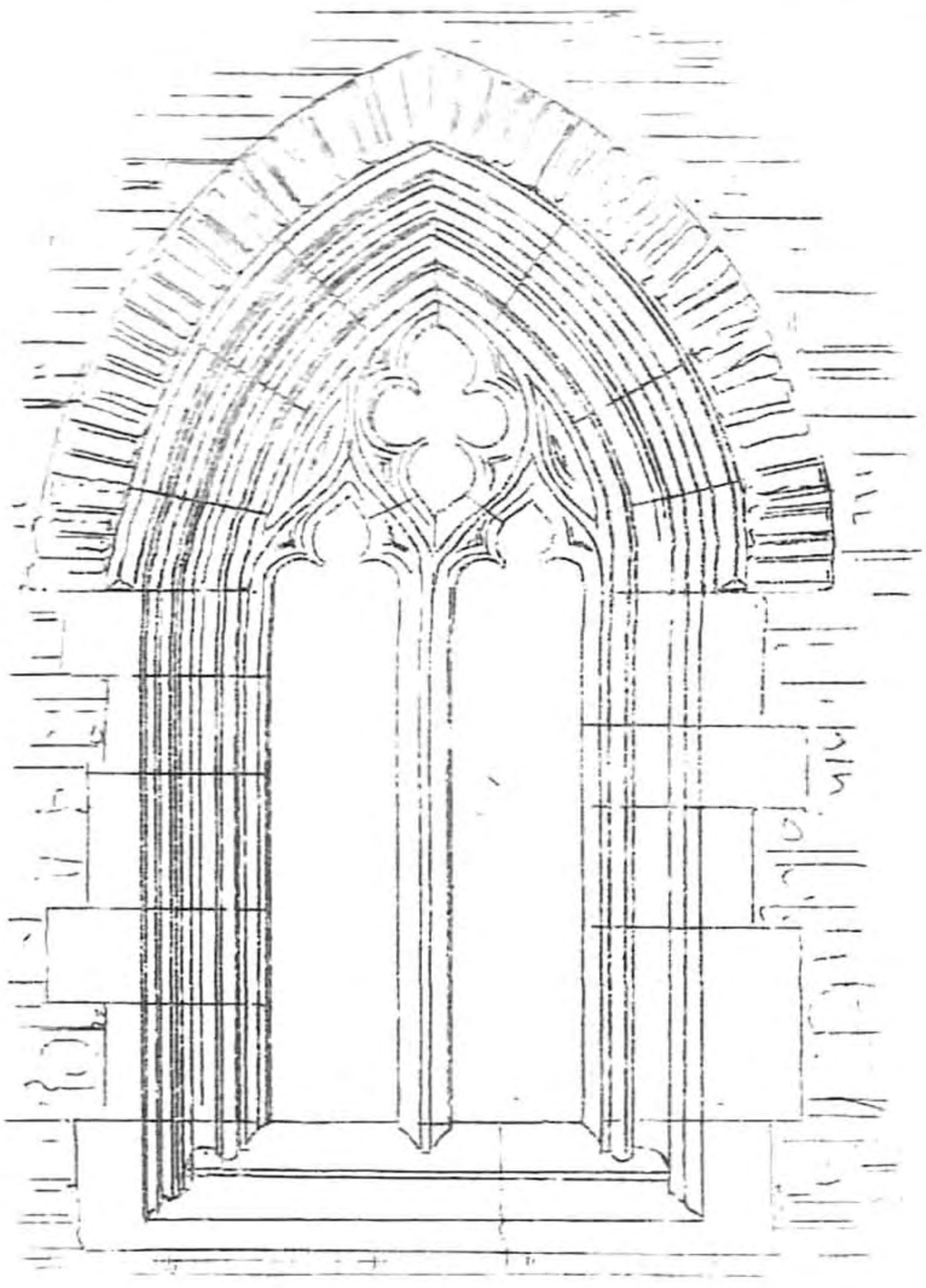


FIG 9.

ANTIENT IRREGULAR JOINTS

supporting curved head-pieces, much as one might construct a window frame from timber. In some of the larger windows, wooden and cast-iron tracery sit within the stone frames, whereas Pugin's have, as one might expect, tracery heads of moulded stone (Fig.32). Yet the same masons – notably John and Peter Bailey – would have been responsible for both types. Evidence for the re-education of Lord Shrewsbury's workforce may be found in contemporary sources. Pugin sent drawings of Gothic details to Bailey and to carpenter Thomas Harris for application in the Towers chapel[10], while the septuagenarian plasterer Samuel Firth, the creator of 'sham' Gothic vaulting in parts of the house, was dispatched to Norbury (Derbyshire) and Whitchurch (Shropshire) to take casts of medieval monuments, some of which were later given by Lord Shrewsbury to the Oxford Architectural Society.[11] Though Harris may have become just proficient enough to make what Pugin called the 'very tame' rood-screen at St John's, Alton, he

10 Diary, front end-papers, Wedgwood 1985, p. 43.

11 Fisher 2012, p. 88. Some of the casts were used to make replicas of Talbot and Fitzherbert tombs in the Octagon Hall at Alton, part of the romantic celebration of the Talbots' medieval past.

was firmly ruled out when it came to the more elaborate one for Cheadle: '...he is a capital mechanic. in tracery &c, and he is excellent, but he has not the Least idea of cutting foliage.'[12]

Multi-skilled Thomas Kearns (1799-1856) had been employed at Alton Towers since about 1820 as glazier, gilder, painter and decorator. He appears to have absorbed Pugin's principles of Gothic ornament and decoration quite quickly, and he became adept at applying the stencils and papers prepared by Crace to the interiors of the Towers, notably the new Talbot Gallery built by Pugin in 1839-40, and the chapel which Pugin re-furnished and redecorated at the same time. This cavernous building of 1832-3, designed, it seems, by the Catholic architects Joseph Potter (c.1756-1842) and Joseph Ireland (c.1780-1841) now had its dark oak ceiling decorated in blue, red and gold, and a gilded and diapered dado was added at the east end to relieve the plain wainscot of the lower walls. Having proved his worth at the Towers, Kearns was entrusted by Pugin with the gilding and decorating of St Chad's, Birmingham, in readiness for its opening in the summer of 1841. 'He is become a very useful man,' Pugin told the earl, 'and as we do not need him at the Towers I send him about from church to church with most of his men. So it keeps them together and keeps down Denny's bills in the painting line.'[13] So pleased was Pugin with Kearns' efforts that he sent him to carry out stencilling in churches further afield, such as St Barnabas', Nottingham , St Wilfrid's, Warwick Bridge (Cumbria), and Monica Tempest's private chapel at Ackworth Grange (West Yorkshire), while closer to home he undertook the decoration of St John's, Alton, and St Giles', Cheadle. The 1851 census shows that by then he had a team of seven employees, and that he had taken on his eldest son Thomas as an apprentice, although by this time he had been somewhat eclipsed by Thomas Earley (1819-1893), the Birmingham painter and decorator taken on by Hardman in 1845 and who oversaw the setting up of the Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition.

The Staffordshire Moorlands area around Cheadle had –and still has – an ancient dialect quite distinct from that of the Potteries towns and from that of the south Staffordshire 'Black Country', whereas Pugin spoke with a Cockney accent, tinged perhaps with French. How they understood him, and he them, is something of a mystery; but Pugin, equally at home in the stonemasons' shed as in the earl's drawing room, appears to have mixed socially with the workforce and their families on his visits to Alton, and joined in some of their festivities. In 1850 there

12 Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, March (?) 1845, Belcher 2003, pp. 362-3. Though the Cheadle screen remains *in situ*, the one at St John's was removed in the 1960s and is currently kept at the Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery.

13 Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, 17 June 1841 (?), Belcher 2015, p. 670.

were 'Balls in the *Guild hall*,' so he reported to his wife Jane, and 'dancing till 2 in the morning', with the Catholic chaplain, Dr Henry Winter, playing the French horn.[14] The Guildhall was part of a complex of buildings created in Alton village by Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury, known collectively as the Hospital of St John the Baptist. There was also an almshouse, chapel, schoolroom, library and warden's lodging, all designed to put the Church's spiritual and social care at the very heart of village life, and it produced remarkable results. 'Nobody now dies a protestant at Alton,' Pugin wrote triumphantly, 'even if they do not all live catholics.'[15]

As he also demonstrated at his home in Ramsgate, Pugin's care – particularly for those who fell on hard times - did not end with their death. The churchyard attached to St John's contains many small headstones inscribed in unmistakable Pugin-designed letters, invoking prayers for the departed as Pugin strongly believed they should[16]. Several of these mark the graves of masons and other craftsmen who worked on these buildings, always incorporating a cross, and sometimes the tools of their trade too. In a letter to Lord Shrewsbury in December 1841 Pugin included a sketch of the memorial he had designed for stonemason Peter Bailey, who had recently died 'very penitent and received all the sacraments'.[17] It was principally through the Bailey family of masons that the Pugin style continued to be used in Alton village for many years after Pugin's death, and it is easily recognisable in additions and alterations to

14 Pugin to Jane Pugin, 22 February 1850, Belcher 2012, p. 425. Yet this was the second Friday of Lent. He was, evidently, referring to some pre-Lenten festivities.

15 as above, n. 7.

16 *Present State*, pp. 15-17.

17 as above, n. 6. Since the projected Catholic cemetery attached to St John's was not yet open, Bailey was buried in the adjacent graveyard of St Peter's parish church, 'under the yew tree near the Hospital', as Pugin describes it. Sadly, the memorial is no longer there.

Figure 33: St John's Churchyard, Alton. Memorial to Thomas Kearns, 1856, and other memorials in the Pugin tradition. (M. Fisher).

houses and other buildings of the period. Within the churchyard of St John's, memorials continued to be made in the Pugin style, a notable one being that of the painter Thomas Kearns, who died in 1856. It is in the form of a fine coped ledger-stone of the kind recommended by Pugin in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture*[18] (Fig. 33).

The scale and scope of the building activities were astonishing. Within a five-mile radius of Cheadle, work was in progress simultaneously on five sites—six if one includes the masons' operations at the Counslow quarry—between 1840 and 1850. Four of the sites involved more than one building; for example St Giles', Cheadle, had a school, presbytery and convent attached to it, and reference has already been made to the several buildings which comprised the Hospital of St John at Alton. In addition to the principal craftsmen whose names we know, there would have been an army of bricklayers, joiners, plumbers and labourers, all drawn from the locality for, as Pugin said in connection with Cheadle, 'Everything for this church will be done of course by our own men, with the exception of the carving for which Roddis will be employed.'[19] A reflection of this increased level of activity is to be found in the Alton census returns for 1841 and 1851 which show a growth in the number of masons from 20 to 31 over the decade, and of builders from 17 to 33[20]. There were also many unskilled jobs to be filled, and this at a time of high unemployment elsewhere—the 'hungry forties'—and a good deal of social unrest. Ever fearful of revolution, Pugin fortified his own home at Ramsgate, while the equally apprehensive Lord Shrewsbury had him build a barbican and substantial curtain wall on the hitherto unprotected east side of the Towers, and excavate a fosse, or dry ditch, all along the north front, as defences against possible attack by Chartists and striking miners. This, of course, created even more work for masons and labourers, and not for nothing was Lord Shrewsbury remembered as 'Good Earl John'.

As clerk-of-works, Denny was obviously the key figure in this complex organisation, devising schedules, dividing the workforce between the different sites, interpreting and applying Pugin's designs and drawings, and handling the finances. He sent periodic invoices to Pugin as work was completed, which Pugin then paid out of money allocated by Lord Shrewsbury, sometimes having to make up the shortfall out of his own pocket pending reimbursement from the earl's bankers.[21] Pugin's absolute confidence in Denny is reflected in a letter

18 Present State, 1843, p. 17.

19 Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, (?March) 1841, Belcher 2015, p. 669. By the summer of that year Roddis had moved to Cheadle and set up what Pugin described as a 'capital shop' near to St Giles', where he was 'doing his work beautifully' from cast models which Pugin provided for him. (Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, 30 June 1841, Belcher 2001 ,p. 250).

20 Analysis of census returns (Staffs. County Record Office) in Robert Speake (ed.), *A History of Alton and Farley*, Keele 1996, pp. 312-349.

21 Pugin's letters to Lord Shrewsbury sometimes refer to these shortfalls, and make requests for additional sums. The endpapers in Pugin's diaries contain notes of payments made to Denny and to individual craftsmen such as Kearns and Roddis.

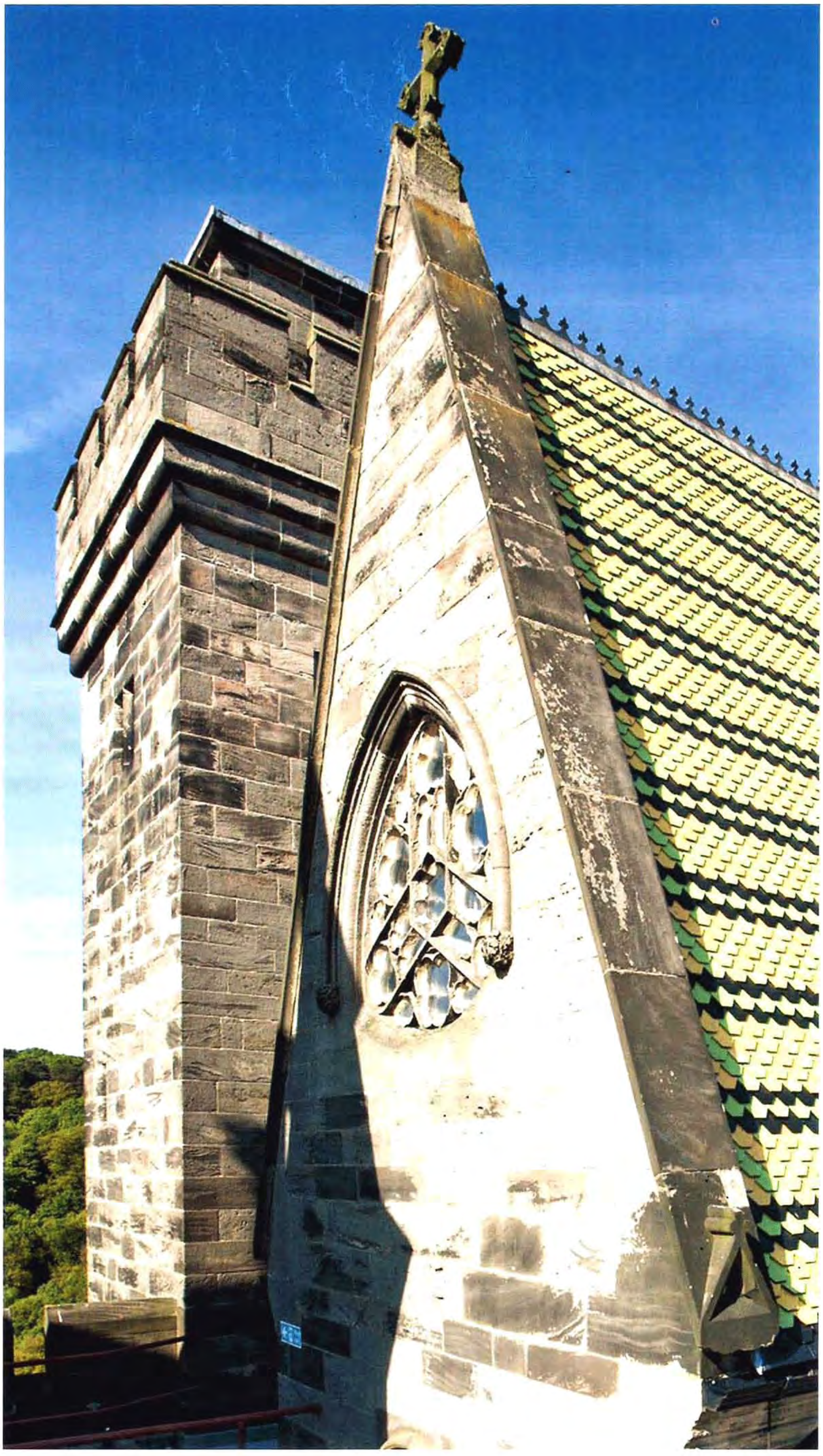


Figure 34: Alton Castle. West gable of chapel showing the controversial ventilator. (M. Titterton).

to Lord Shrewsbury regarding the work at Cheadle: 'Denny is constantly on the ground looking after the men. He is indefatigable. I cannot speak of his conduct to highly.'[22]

However highly Pugin might have valued and trusted Denny, he had no wish to share the limelight in respect of his 'perfect Cheadle', and he reacted somewhat angrily when his own account of St Giles, carefully prepared for publication in the Press, was anonymously embellished with a glowing tribute to Denny as the concluding paragraph:

> *'..It may be added, in completing a notice of this building, that the designs of Mr Pugin were ably seconded by the skill of Mr Denny, resident master of the works at Alton Towers, whose admiration of the Gothic style of architecture and acquaintance with its minutest details, has made the erection of this building a labour of love.'*[23]

Dismissing this as 'humbug', an indignant Pugin told Hardman, 'See what I am come to.... I should like to find out the fellow that got that up'.[24]

This incident was as nothing compared with the 'blowing up' that Denny received two years later over a window set into the west gable of the chapel at Alton Castle. The window is of curious form: a convex triangle filled with elaborate tracery (Fig. 34). In reality it is not a window at all, but a ventilator designed to allow air to circulate in the void above the stone vault and below the outer pitched roof, and therefore it cannot be seen from the inside of the chapel itself. Because it is not what it appears to be from the outside, Denny and Lord Shrewsbury shared a joke that it was a 'sham', and therefore a breach of one of Pugin's basic principles, and this was relayed to Pugin who took it all very seriously and reacted furiously to what he saw as an unwarranted assault on his integrity by someone in whom he had placed so much trust. Lord Shrewsbury was treated to a lecture on the absolute necessity of roof-ventilators in such buildings, with a list of medieval precedents, while Denny received such a severe reprimand from Pugin that he felt obliged to go straight to the Towers and tender his resignation to the earl. Lord Shrewsbury chose to laugh the whole thing out of court, and Denny remained in post. Having been satisfied that Denny had not seriously called the window a sham, Pugin wrote a conciliatory letter, and told the earl that he was now 'perfectly satisfied and happy again'.[25] Pugin's vehement disapproval of shams was no doubt compounded by the fact that he had been obliged to reinstate Samuel Firth's plaster

22 Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, ?March 1841, Belcher 2015, p. 666.

23 The report first appeared in the *Morning Post*, 3 September 1846, then in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, and the *Tablet*, both on 5 September. The *Staffordshire Advertiser* went even further. In describing a subsequent visit by some of the distinguished guests to Alton village to see work in progress there on the castle and the hospital, the anonymous writer added: 'It may be mentioned that Mr Denny, with laudable reverence for this interesting relic of antiquity [i.e. Alton Castle], has made use of portions of the old walls for the new buildings, wherever it could conveniently be done...'

24 Pugin to John Hardman, c. 8 September 1846, Belcher 2009, p. 118.

25 Belcher 2009, pp: 655-6 and 662-3 include the letters which passed between Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury, November 1848, and also Denny's letter of apology to Pugin, whom he describes as 'the only Friend, for I am indebted to you for everything that I know.'

rib-vault in the Octagon Hall at the Towers, having raised the level of that building in order to link it with the new Talbot Gallery on higher ground immediately to the west, because the Octagon walls were simply not strong enough to bear the weight of a stone vault. He had also had to live with other 'horrors' at the Towers dating from before his time, such as cast-iron tracery in some of the windows, and cast-iron mouldings in the chapel, varnished and painted to resemble wood. Even in St John's, Alton, where 'true principles' ruled, Pugin—surprisingly - allowed wooden statues of the apostles which had bought by himself for Lord Shrewsbury, to be convincingly disguised with paint to resemble the veined alabaster of the reredos to which they were fixed.[26]

Following the deaths of both Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury in the autumn of 1852, Denny remained in place as clerk-of-works to Bertram Arthur Talbot who succeeded his cousin as the seventeenth earl, while Edward Pugin undertook the completion of unfinished work in the house and at Alton Castle. A large coloured perspective drawing of the north front of the Towers as it was intended to be completed under Denny's supervision could well be by Denny himself (Fig. 35), and if that is the case it shows that he had become a proficient and experienced draughtsman.[27] This drawing is particularly interesting in that it includes projected features that were never actually carried out, such as a large new entrance and flight of steps leading up to the Long Gallery.

The seventeenth earl was unmarried, and he was the last of the Catholic earls. His premature death in 1856, and the subsequent failure of attempts to keep the titles and estates in Catholic hands were among the reasons for Denny's eventual resignation.[28] Building work at Alton and the Towers had ceased by 1860, and the skills which he had gained under Pugin were in any case leading him in new directions. He had come to the notice of the Catholic architect William Wilkinson Wardell (1823-98), for whom Pugin part-fitted out the church of Our Lady Star of the Sea, Greenwich (1851). Wardell emigrated to Australia in 1858, and two years later Denny followed, first assisting Wardell with the design and construction of churches in the Diocese of

26 Pugin wrote to Lord Shrewsbury on 5 December 1841, 'Roddis is working on the Altar screen for the hospital in alabaster. It is a series of niches to hold the beautiful small images of apostles that I purchased for your Lordship some time ago.' (Belcher 2001, p. 298)

27 The drawing (in a private collection) measures 45 1/2 inches by 24 1/4, and it is signed by John Wilson Carmichael (1799-1868) who was evidently the colourist, and the date would appear to be about 1850-55. Alexandra Wedgwood and others are of the opinion that it cannot be by Pugin himself, but it is evidently the work of someone who was thoroughly familiar with Pugin's work at Alton Towers and who had handled his working drawings. This points to Denny, and there are stylistic similarities in perspective drawings done by him later for churches in Australia. See below, n.29, and also Fisher 2012, pp. 102-3.

28 The succession to the titles was far from clear, the contenders being the Anglican Earl Talbot of Ingestre, and, from the Catholic side, the executors of the seventeenth earl, who advanced claims on behalf of the infant Edmund Fitzalan Howard, a younger son of the Duke of Norfolk. Investigations had to be made into the family's genealogy through various branches, right back to the fifteenth century. Widely reported in the press, the prolonged legal battle between rival claimants resulted in Lord Talbot being recognised as 18th Earl of Shrewsbury in June 1858; see Fisher 2012, pp. 259-62. There was then a second dispute as to which of the various properties were entailed, and it was not until 1860 that the 18th earl took possession of Alton Towers. Lord Edmund, who in 1876 changed his name to Talbot, succeeded to the unentailed properties and other possessions of the 17th earl. See also R. O'Donnell, *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands*, 2002, for the significance of the Shrewsburys' patronage, and the consequences of the dynastic changes.

Figure 35: North front of Alton Towers. Perspective drawing signed by colourist J.W. Carmichael, but possibly drawn by J.B. Denny. (Private collection, photo courtesy of Henry Potts)

Melbourne, and subsequently becoming an architect in his own right. Many of his buildings bear very close similarities in detail to those he had superintended for Pugin at Cheadle and Alton village, showing Denny to have been a faithful disciple.[29] Moreover, it is more than likely that, following the dynastic changes which led to his departure from Alton, he took with him the designs, working drawings and correspondence which had passed between Pugin and himself, intending that they should remain in a Catholic context. It is telling that almost nothing is known to exist in U.K. repositories or private collections relating to the churches of the Pugin-Shrewsbury partnership by way of drawings and correspondence of which a very large quantity would have been generated over the twenty years during which Denny was clerk-of-works.[30] Dare one hope that these might one day surface in some Australian repository, and illuminate still further the relationship between Pugin and Denny, and the lives of those who worked on their most significant buildings?

29 Brian Andrews, 'John Bunn Denny in Australia', *Pugin Foundation Newsletter*, Summer 2013-14; also Brian Andrews, *Australian Gothic*, Melbourne 2001.

30 The only complete set of drawings for any of these buildings known to exist are those for St Mary's, Uttoxeter, which remained in the hands of the Bailey family, stonemasons, of Alton, until 1987 when they were auctioned at Sotheby's and were bought by the Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, Santa Monica, California; See note in Belcher 2001, pp. 108-9. Working drawings for other buildings are often mentioned in accompanying letters from Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury who would have passed these drawings on to Denny. Chirk Castle (Clwyd) where Pugin was carrying out additions and alterations at this time, offers an interesting parallel in the letters which he sent to the head stonemason, J. Williams, with very detailed specifications of work to be carried out, and with reference to various working drawings (Belcher 2009, pp. 91, 96, 108) There must surely have been an even greater volume of correspondence between Pugin and Denny relating to the work at Alton and Cheadle.

LECTURES ON ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

A.W.N. Pugin

[When the late Margaret Belcher learned that she was dying of cancer, she sent her collection of rare Pugin articles to the Pugin Society with the suggestion that they be published in True Principles. *The hope was that these hard to find essays could thus be made more widely available. The series begins with Pugin's* Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture, *the first of which was originally published in* The Catholic Magazine, *vol II, no IV, in April 1838. These lectures came at an important point in Pugin's career, when he was beginning to become an established figure in the British architectural scene. Although he did not always have his facts right, the lectures were wildly popular. The first lecture is Pugin at his most intensely polemical, using fiery rhetoric to whip up the zeal of his audience. As is our policy, we have retained the original spelling and punctuation. - Editor]*

Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture

Delivered to students of St Mary's College, Oscott by A.W. Pugin, Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities in that College.

Lecture the First.

The subject on which I am about to commence a series of instructions is one of far greater importance, and possesses stronger claims on our attention, than is either generally supposed, or than you yourselves may be at first inclined to allow. The origin, progress, and history of *Ecclesiastical Architecture* will, I dare say, be considered, even by those most eager for the investigation, as merely an interesting or entertaining occupation. It is, therefore, my object, before entering upon the historical of practical part of my subject, to set forth the great *importance* of this study, the benefit to religion that must arise from the diffusion of such knowledge, and to show you the poetry of the art, and the sublime ideas from which all the mighty conceptions of our forefathers emanated. I feel assured, that if I can succeed in convincing you of the truth of these important

points, you will not only follow me through the whole of this intricate subject with far greater interest, but you will apply to the study with that energy which can alone ensure a successful result to your endeavours. To you, then, who are of the household of faith, and have the unspeakable blessing of preserving inviolate, amidst the various heresies of this distracted land, the holy religion which is received on its conversion, can I propose a subject more worthy of your consideration, or of higher interest, than the investigation of the glorious fruits of that religion throughout the countries where it has flourished, tracing out the origin and history of those wondrous edifices, raised by Catholic piety to the honour of God and the glory of religion in every age, edifices, venerable for their great antiquity, unequalled in the beauty of their design, and edifying from the holy recollections which they call forth in our minds?

This study, to the English Catholic especially, excluded as he is from those great churches which the piety of his ancestors erected, must prove a source of great delight. Through the history of these venerable piles, he traces back the antiquity of the faith, and the discipline of the church, to the very period of its foundation; he dwells with intense interest on the long succession of holy prelates, whose progressive labours raised these enormous structures, —their munificence, their piety and zeal; he perceives the devotion and faith of the people, and the excellence which had been attained in art. Every step made in this study is a fresh link to bind him to the faith of his forefathers; and I feel confident, that the man who holds communion with the ancient days of Catholic England, though he is forced to exist in the very hot-bed of Protestant infidelity, would never be entrapped by the modern delusions of pretend involvement and intellectual advancement; —delusions, dangerous as they are false, but delusions which, I grieve to say, have succeeded in deceiving even Catholics of these days. Yes! the great enemy of mankind, who has ever found means to instill poison through the purest channels, has converted the very supports of Christian piety into stumbling-blocks and pit-falls; and it is grievously true, that not only heretics have taken the holy splendour of the church as a pretext of levelling their blasphemous attacks upon her, but even some, who bear the name of Catholics, have joined with these traducers in condemning the brightest period of Christian history—the middle ages—and actually blush at the supposed ignorance of their ancestors, when, were they but acquainted with the truth, they would hurl defiance at such caluminiators, and bring forth such bright phalanx of saintly and learned men, as would shrivel into nothingness the philosophers of these pretending days.

But, while I deplore this fact, I can hardly feel surprised at it. The Catholic youth, however well he may have been instructed in the principles and practice of his holy religion, goes forth into the world unprovided with many weapons, almost equally as essential to the requisites which he already possesses, to enable him to preserve inviolate the sacred deposit he has received. How often does it happen that those, who in their youth had received the light of faith, have, in succeeding years, suffered that light to burn exceedingly dim, or even to become entirely extinguished, for want of the ability to supply it with that oil, drawn from external objects, which every ancient Catholic pile will supply to him, who had embued his mind with their excellence and history? Look around this country: where, I will ask, is consolation to be found to soothe the afflicted soul of the pious Catholic (when not actually in the retreat of some collegiate or religious house,) except in the contemplation of past glories, and prayer and hope for their restoration? To those who live in lands which still retain the ancient faith, where centuries have rolled by without impairing either the essentials of religion, or those external supports of devotion, which assist the Christian through the temptations of his mortal course, the case is widely different. But here, in England, Protestant England, where heresy in every shape walks abroad insolent and powerful, where every tongue is ready to add insult to calumny, when addressing those who retain the ancient faith, where every publication teems with the grossest slander and abuse, distorting the saintly deeds of men into black villanies, and perverting each fact of history to suit their own vile views and prejudice, I say, every Catholic, who wishes to preserve the faith and discipline intact, should fortify himself, by studying deeply the great works of his mighty ancestors in their days of glory, so that he may be able to refute each caluminiator on his own assertion, and convert the very points held up in ridicule against him, into so many powerful arguments to silence his shameless adversaries.

Such is the object of the study to which I now invite your attention. That it has been so long neglected by Catholics is hardly surprising, when we reflect, that every channel, through which information on the subject could be derived, has been completely poisoned by modern prejudice and ignorance. The Catholic clergy in this country, few in number, and incessantly occupied with the spiritual necessities of their flocks, have been utterly unable to devote either time or attention to the subject; and it has been almost exclusively treated upon by Protestants, most of whom have published their books as a matter of commercial speculation, written, of course, with a total disregard to truth, and suited merely to meet the reigning

opinions of the day. Indeed, such is the degraded state in which the Catholics *of England have been long kept, that they have almost lost sight of their ancient* greatness. Now, however, when neither the terror of the rack, nor any political restriction presents them from celebrating the holy splendour of their ancient ritual, now is the time to direct the attention of all, back to the days of former glory, and from the inexhaustible source, which the talents of the middle ages furnish, draw the materials of all future works. Is it a small matter that the Catholic erections of this day should be distinguished only by the badness of their design? —edifices, too, on which, through ignorance, sums sufficient to produce really excellent specimens have been lavished? Is not this a matter of reproach continually urged by our adversaries? and has it not all arisen from a complete indifference to the ancient principles of art, so successfully practiced by the old ecclesiastics of this land? Is it not our bounden duty to identify ourselves with their works, as far as the limited means of these days will permit, and, instead of erecting chapels which have the exteriors of dissenting conventicles and the interiors of concert-rooms, raise at least structures whose form and arrangement will proclaim them buildings devoted to ecclesiastical purposes?

Truly, from the appearance of the majority of Catholic chapels in this country, it would seem that Catholics have almost forgot that the glorious cathedrals of this land were, every one, Catholic churches, built and endowed with Catholic zeal and piety; yes, and every church, worthy of the name, throughout the country, and, every building really deserving admiration. By a tyrannical apostate were they first wrested from the church of God; by villany were they kept from it; by oppression and cruel persecution has the heresy, which robbed them, been maintained; and by injustice, calumnies, and love of gain, are they still kept in the hands of their usurpers. But let us remember, that, from the foundation stone to the top, they are Catholic; every shilling of their endowment is drawn from land bestowed by Catholic piety; every sculptured emblem that remains proclaims them Catholic, and stands an existing testimony against the robbers who have alienated and hold them. They have been plundered and desecrated, it is true; but they have been the scene of the most solemn and holy mysteries: they have become the spoils of the hypocrite and parasite; but they were raised by zealous and holy men, by men, whose names are dear to the faithful—an Augustine, a Wulstan, a Waynfleet, an Islip. Moreover, their feet have trod these very pavements, and their remains repose beneath them. Well, therefore, may we cry out, when looking on these glorious piles, "Their very stones are dear to us, though it grieveth us to see them in the

dust." From these very doors, now closed against us, has oft issued forth a long procession of holy priests; oft have the deep tones of the *Angelus* been sent from those ancient towers; and oft has their solemn peal ushered in some great festal day. That deserted nave has been thronged, from generation to generation, with faithful worshipers; that choir, now blocked up with pews, and disfigured by a table, was once graced with the tabernacle of the Most High, and has oft shown resplendent with rich and costly garniture; that altar stone, now trodden under foot, has been anointed with the holy chrism; that niche has not always been empty, nor that shrine defaced; the loud burst of the "Gloria" has oft resounded through those vaulted aisles; those damp and mouldering cloisters have oft re-echoed the falling footsteps of some holy man, as he recited his appointed office; those fretted vaults have been reddened with the glare of funeral torches, as some departed brother was borne to his tomb, while the deep notes of the "de profundis" have been chaunted for his soul's repose! Does not the remembrance of these things endear us to these venerable churches? Does not the "orate pro anima," on that time-worn slab, speak to the heart of the Catholic at this day, who, as he piously fulfils the humble request of the faithful departed, seems to hold communion with those ancient days of truth?

The feelings produced by viewing these wondrous piles, in the instructive light, are so full of sad consolation for the past, and animating hopes for the future, that I do maintain the possession of them to be estimable in the extreme. When we behold the apathy with which worldly men regard the most solemn offices of religion and the sublimest efforts of art, the cold and reluctant praise which even the most learned Protestants of our time bestow on such matters, and the savage fury of the fanatic, who is so blinded with devilish hate of all holy things, that they only serve to urge him to their destruction, —I say, when we reflect on all this, it must be allowed, that the man who really feels the glory of these holy places to their full extent is infinitely blest. Such feelings, however, can be experienced solely by Catholics; and the reason why they are not felt by *all* Catholics is, because their attention has never been directed to the course of study which is essentially necessary to produce such perceptions.

It is impossible for any Catholic of mind, who has directed his attention to this interesting subject, not to feel overpowered, when he contemplates the stupendous magnificence of one of these gigantic churches. What solidity of materials! What hardiness of construction! What elegance of design, and

intricacy of detail do they present! A whole quarry sunk beneath the ground for the foundation! Thousands of tons carried to a prodigious height! Buttress above buttress, pinnacle over pinnacle, arch over arch! Great masses carried up into towers; those towers surmounted with lanterns, crowned with tapering spires! The whole edifice growing up, as it were, out of the most massive solidity, into exquisite lightness! all the vast and necessary supports of the fabric, converted into so many elegant enrichments.

When seen from a distance, the outline of these churches is magnificent in the extreme. The cities which are built around them, sink into insignificance; the mighty pile towers over every other edifice, proclaiming by its grandeur the holiness of its destined purpose: one great imposing mass, it astonishes the beholder, before a single feature or detail is distinctly visible. But upon a near approach, what innumerable beauties are presented to the sight! what grand masses, and what intricate detail! what stupendous labour and what consummate art are here combined! See the images of saintly men, that fill each canopied niche, and adorn each pinnacle! prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, popes, bishops, holy kings, and confessors, glorious men who taught, and died for, and handed down from age to age, the holy faith! what elaborate bass reliefs and wonderful imagery cover the bevelled sides of the three enormous portals of the western front, whose subjects are all illustrative of Holy Writ, so that at one vast view the catholic may behold pourtrayed the history of the church, and of the holy men in whose footsteps he humbly strives to tread. Over the center of the doorway is seen the Divine Redeemer surrounded with the majesty of heaven; the glorified saints and spirits of the blessed, fill the background; angels, cherubim, bending in adoration before the throne, issue from the niches of the surrounding arches; while in the lower compartment, the dead are portrayed as rising from their graves, and the congregated world awaiting their final doom. This awful subject was always placed in this conspicuous situation, to remind mankind of the eternal reward or punishment which awaited them. Immediately under this, on the centre pillar dividing the doorway, beneath a superb canopy, is placed an image of our Blessed Lady, the divine infant supported in her arms; while the enemy of man, in the shape of a hideous dragon trodden under her feet, writhes in agony under the power by which he is overthrown. Not a space is left unoccupied by a subject conveying some most edifying moral. Thus was it that the minds of the people were prepared, as they approached the sacred threshold, for the holy mysteries that were celebrated within.

Placing ourselves in such a frame of mind, let us now enter the sacred edifice. What a perspective bursts upon the sight! an avenue of stately pillars and clustered shafts, some hundred feet in length, terminating in an apsis, whose radiating arches and aisles produce a combination of surpassing intricacy and richness of effect! Laterally, the eye is lost in extending aisles and successive chapels; while above, at an enormous height, is a vault of stone, supported in the air and intersected by moulded ramifications, centering in stone bosses of exquisite detail. 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 effect over the whole edifice. As you advance, the immense transepts, like other churches, open to your view, each terminated by a gigantic circular window, filled with radiating tracery and dazzling glass. Before you is a perforated stone screen or jubé, of richest workmanship, dividing off the choir from the body of the church. On it the sculptor has expended his most curious skill, and its minute details vie with the elaborate chasing of the brazen gates which hang within. Over the screen is placed a gigantic crucifix; angels seem to hover around the expiring Redeemer, receiving the precious blood; while at the foot of the cross stand images of the blessed Mother and beloved apostle absorbed in grief at the woeful spectacle. Through the arches of this screen or rood loft is the choir; a long succession of stalls, enriched with sculpture and surmounted by light and lofty canopies, line the sides. On brazen lectoriums and eagles, are laid ponderous volumes, clasped in silver—the Psalters and Antiphonals—every page blazing with the rich illuminations of some monastic scribe. Immediately in the centre of the apsis, approached by a long and lofty flight of steps, stands the high altar; its front is composed of precious metals richly chased and studded with jewels. Within its spacious sarcophagus, enshrined in costly feretrums, repose the holy relics of saints and martyrs. Over it is a *table* terminated by a ciborium or canopy of the most wonderful chasing and richest materials. Description fails in giving any adequate idea of the splendour of such an altar. Candlesticks of gold and crystal, groups of ivory carving, enamelled panels of the riches tints, cloth of gold and massive silver embroidery, all combine to produce one splendid effect; while the surrounding pavement is enriched with precious marble inlaid with intricate design. Beyond this, and almost lost in the distant perspective, is the chapel dedicated to our blessed Lady, where from the Annunciation of the angel Gabriel, to her assumption into heaven, is pourtrayed the eventful and edifying life of the holy Mother of God. Then come the diverging chapels that surround

the eastern end, each with its rich and splendid altar, on which the holy sacrifice is daily offered for the souls of the departed faithful, whose sculptured effigies are seen recumbent on the canopied tombs around, —prelates, priests, kings, nobles, and knights. Time would again fail me, were I to attempt a description of half the beauties contained in one of these wondrous piles. The splendid organs corbelling out on high over the entrances; the silver lamps that burn perpetually before the shrines and altars; the massive almeries of the sacristy with their precious contents; all are deserving of the highest admiration. Each corner, is fine, is filled with objects worthy of minute investigation; each tomb is an edifying history; every window is a chapter of instruction; every boss and capital contain some moral or religious emblem profitable for study. Nay, those which as first sight may appear but ludicrous conceits, will be found on investigation to convey some pointed and merited satire, where, under the mask of the buffoon, the sculptor has struck a powerful blow at some reigning vice or folly of mankind. From the minutest embroidery of a vestment or illumination of a missal, to the ponderous cross which surmounts the lofty shrine, we may discern that devotion to God was the feeling that furnished the funds and instigated the ideas and labours of the artists.

And how appropriate—how admirably fitted is the plan and arrangement of these churches for their holy destination. See, in the quiet recesses of those chapels, how the faithful assemble early for the sacrifice, kneeling in silence before the various altars, where, at the appointed hours, the celebrants, preceded by their assistants, arrive: —see how the supplicants to the Mother of God flock around the altar of our blessed Lady, and present their votive gifts in thankful remembrance of past deliverance. Look at the various groups scattered over the vast area of the edifice, all earnest in supplication, and say where it is not indeed the house of prayer. But, it is on some holy festival that these glorious churches are seen in their full splendour. Soon as the deep intonations of the ponderous bells proceed from the lofty towers, summoning the people to solemnity, the whole city flocks within the spacious walls of the vast edifice. Thousands enter after thousands; yet so extensive is the area, that is seems but scarcely filled. The high altar presents one blaze of light; tapers innumerable burn around; long suites of storied tapistry are hung from pillar to pillar, and line each wall. The organs send forth a loud burst of melody; the full chant of the choir is heard; and from an arched entrance, with slow and solemn step, the procession advances. A long line of venerable ecclesiastics, attired in copes of gold cloth,

pass in splendid succession; holy relics, shrined in gold and silver of finest chasing, and sparkling with gems, are borne along for the veneration of the people; while tapers of purest wax are burnt around them, and the fragrance of incense proceeds from the silver thuribles fuming all the way. The splendour of the Mass is beyond conception; and when the holy sacrifice is accomplished, and thousands at one instant, and on one marble pavement, adore the sacred Host, the whole scene is so sublime and overpowering, as to seem like some bright vision of the heavenly glories!

Such is a faint outline of the solemn grandeur of the great churches erected by our Catholic forefathers during the ages of faith—the days of their glory. I will not enlarge, at this part of my subject, on the many other structures of Catholic piety, such as the great monastic buildings, the parochial churches, the detached chapels, chantries, colleges, hospitals, cemeteries, and crosses. All these I shall particularly notice hereafter. At present I am anxious to draw your attention to the religious and sublime feelings of the ancient architects; to show you that their designs excel all others in poetic feeling, and that the Catholic artists have accomplished the highest achievements of art. It is a surprising fact, that, even in these degenerate days, men have latent ideas of the impressive grandeur of these venerable piles. Few persons, of even moderate intellect, can enter them without experiencing some feelings of reverential awe, for which, though they are at a loss to ascribe any positive reason, they will still admit the fact. The truth is, these edifices were built solely to the honour of God, and not from paltry motives of vanity and interested speculation. A close inspection of the buildings themselves will fully prove, that, so far from the applause of the multitude being the object sought for by these pious artists, they thought only of rendering their labours acceptable to the all-seeing eye of God. None but those who have examined the buildings by any means of scaffolding, can conceive of the immense labour bestowed on their execution; for, in situations utterly inaccessible in the ordinary way, by their great elevation, are found details of the most exquisite beauty and finish. I feel confident that the ultimate cost of a design was never considered at the commencement; the production of excellence was the only object; and, in the attainment of that glorious end, neither labour nor money was ever spared. Appeals to the pious always produced fresh supplies, and each additional effect, designed by the architect, was eagerly responded to by the contributions of the faithful. Those were, indeed, glorious days. Scarcely was the cross raised upon the intended site of a projected new church, than offerings poured in from the people, anxious to assist in its erection. They who

had lands felled timber and quarried for stone; the agriculturist sent his cattle and labourers to assist in the transportation of materials; masons and artificers of every sort devoted a portion of their time gratuitously to the good work, and thus arose, throughout all Christendom, those ecclesiastical structures, the wonder and admiration of succeeding centuries.

No calculations were then made, before commencing, on the probable return of interest on the capital expended; nor did the builders consider how the greatest possible profit might be drawn into their pockets during the execution of the work. No! the ancient Cementarii, as they were termed, were men of a different description. Such trading, under the cloak of art, belonged to the modern architects, or surveyors, (for the terms are now synonymous) —men, for the most part, utterly despicable; who venture to profess a noble art for the sole purpose of prostituting and degrading it to their own private interests; and they have so far succeeded, that, while immense fortunes have been amassed, their very name has almost become a reproach: men, without one particle of soul or feeling, except the hope of gain or the fear of loss. They proceed to design a church, a poor-house, or a tavern, in the same business sort of manner. They have a set of stale ideas, drawn from borrowed sources, which they keep as stock patterns, and transpose to serve all purposes. They do not understand any style, but profess themselves masters of all; and they will undertake any absurdity, to suit the caprice of an individual, provided they are well paid. I never behold one of those sprucely-dressed, ignorant, insolent pretenders, without a bitter rising of bile, on hearing the careless manner with which he speaks of the greatest efforts of ancient art, cloaking his ignorance of their merit by an affected indifference. Show him a splendid piece of sculpture, and he will talk of the material out of which it has been carved: tell him of some vast cathedral, he will ask if it proved a good job for the contractor. The superficial contents of a brick wall, or plastered ceiling, on which he gains so much a square rood, is of infinitely greater interest to him than the most elaborate production of an artist. In fine, he draws, looks, thinks, and lives, at so much per cent. This is the very acme of his ideas: and he would estimate the Raffael Cartoons by the yard, canvas included, and grid the limbs of Michael Angelo's 'Crucifixion' to price the labour.

But let us revert from such degraded characters back to ancient and better days; and I will now describe an architect of the olden time—a man admirable in every respect, and, of course, the very antipodes of the mercenary wretch I have just described.

About four centuries ago, halfway up the nave of Winchester, then a massive Norman structure, attached to one of the heavy clustered pillars, stood an image of our Blessed Lady, venerable for its great antiquity and admirable for its design. Beneath it stood an altar, where an aged and holy monk of the abbey daily offered up the Eucharistic sacrifice. Here, at the appointed hour, a poor scholar might be seen, distinguished by his constant attendance and fervent devotion. This poor boy was *William*, afterwards called *of Wickham*, Winchester's future bishop, rebuilder of its church, and Chancellor of England. Here, then, did this good youth plant the seeds of early piety, which brought forth such glorious fruits in his maturer age. Here, in the very spot where now stands, in gorgeous splendour, his Chantry tomb, did this poor boy pour forth his supplications to God, and invoke the patronage of his Virgin Mother. Nor were his prayers offered in vain: a blessing was on him, and all he did prospered. For, in a few years, his great talents having brought him to the notice of Edward the Third, at the age of twenty-four he was intrusted with the difficult and important charge of rebuilding the Royal Castle of Windsor. This great undertaking he accomplished with consummate skill; and now his pious mind, inducing him to undertake severer and more sacred duties, he was shortly afterwards ordained priest. Rising rapidly in church preferment, continually giving proof of his great munificence, he at length became bishop of the very church which had been the scene of his early piety, and towards which he seemed always to have borne a most lively interest. The exalted station to which he had attained, so far from rendering him proud and forgetful of his former lowly state, made him only seek to dispense the great wealth and power he possessed, for the benefit of his poorer brethren, and the greater glory of God. He now undertook three noble projects, all of which he not only lived to carry into execution, but to witness the beneficial effects resulting from them.

He entirely rebuilt the immense nave of Winchester cathedral, at his own cost; converting what was a dark, heavy Roman edifice into the present rich and imposing structure, unrivalled perhaps for purity of design and solidity of effect. Whilst this great undertaking was in progress, he was actively engaged in perfecting his two other great designs, the erection and endowment of his magnificent colleges at Oxford and Winchester; the whole of which enormous buildings, of a massive and imposing character, were designed by him, and raised under his direction,—wondrous proofs of his consummate piety, skill, and munificence. It would be impossible to hint at half of Wickham's acts of

charity and zeal for the glory of religion. He almost rebuilt the hospital of Saint-cross, and restored it to its ancient destination. Every church, either within his diocese, or with which he had the least connexion, was not only substantially repaired by him, but splendidly furnished with plate and ornaments.

The whole life of this great and good man presents a succession of such pious deeds: and when, after a long career of most active usefulness to his fellow men, this good Prelate tranquilly expired, all classes and ranks mourned the loss of him, who was at once the holy Bishop, the profound statesman, the munificent patron of art, and the father of the poor.

Such was Wickham—admirable in every respect, and most profound in architectural skill. And did not his excellence, I will ask, proceed from the pious tendency of his mind? and his great designs from his heartfelt zeal and devotion? But, now, hear the catalogue I am about to read of some of the venerable men who achieved the ancient works, and then judge how utterly impossible it is, that the mercenary hirelings of these degenerate days can rival their labours: —

John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, founder of Jesus College, Cambridge.

Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury

Elias de Bertram, Canon of Salisbury, mater of the works at that Cathedral.

William Birde, Prior of Bath, builder of Bath Abbey.

William Bolton, Prior of St Bartholomew's, master of the works of Henry VII. Chapel.

Thomas Castell, Prior of Durham.

Thomas Chillenden, Prior of Canterbury, builder of the great nave.

William de Clayton, Abbot of Evesham.

William de Croyland, master of the works at that Abbey.

John Druell, Archdeacon of Exeter, one of the architects of All Souls' College, Oxford.

Henry de Eastria, Prior of Canterbury.

Ednoth, a Monk of Worcester, and builder of Ransey Abbey.

Eustachius, Bishop of Ely.

Hugh de Eversden, Abbot of St. Albans.

Richard de Gainsbro', one of the architects of Lincoln Cathedral, where, in the cloisters, his effigy may still be seen, holding his compass and rule.

Thomas Goldston, Prior of Canterbury.

Roger Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln.

Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester.

Henry, surnamed Lathomus, or the stone-cutter, a Monk of Evesham, and principal builder at that Abbey.

Hugh de Grenoble, Bishop of Lincoln.

Thomas Ickham, Monk and Sacristan of St. Augustine's Abbey,

John de Lincoln, master of the works to the splendid chapel of St Stephen's, Westminster.

St. Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, and builder of the old cathedral.

Peter of Colechurch, Priest. Among other great works, he erected Old London Bridge, and was buried in a beautiful chapel raised on the centre pier, and dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham.

Alan de Walsingham, Prior of Ely, builder of the great Centre Lantern.

William of Wainefleet, and William of Wickham, Bishops of Winchester.

These are a few of the great architects of England's noblest edifices, whose names have reached these days; for, such was the modesty of these great men, who worked entirely for the glory of God, and thought infinitely more of exciting the devotion of others by their labours, than of exalting their own personal celebrity, that comparatively very few indeed of the host of great builders, that flourished during the middle ages, are at all known to us. But, though their names are lost in oblivion, their works still exist, and through them let us pay our just tribute of laud and admiration to the memory of their forgotten authors; for well, indeed, do they deserve such homage. Before the stupendous works of these great artists, all the edifices of modern times sink into utter insignificance, mere puny attempts, meagre and paltry imitations. Nay, I will assert, that the

justly extolled works of Egyptians and classic antiquity will lose much of their lustre, when compared with theirs. The far-famed pyramids of Egypt, the temple of Thebes, nay even Babylon itself, were al productions of mere brute force and bodily labour. Thousands of wretched captives, chained to their severe tasks, raised the ponderous stones, and excavated the deep recesses of the rocks. Gigantic works, it is true, from their enormous dimensions, but utterly devoid of real constructive science.

The Greeks, even, were so ignorant of geometric skill, that they were unacquainted with the mere principle of the arch, and their intercolumniations are no wider than will admit a single block of stone laid from column to column. The Romans, it is true, far surpassed the Greeks in constructive skill, and have left numerous edifices, proofs of profound talent. But it was reserved for the cloistered men of Catholic Europe to carry architectural art to its summit of perfection, to combine exquisite lightness with the greatest stability; proving that the art of construction consisted, not so much in the dimensions of the materials, as in the skill of their adjustment. It was they who first dared to throw their stone vaultings over slender walls, carrying the pressure, by means of successive flying arches, to the ground; it was they who conceived and executed the wonderful project of rising five or six hundred feet into the air, from a base of fifty, tapering up their spires into the very sky, and that with such admirable construction, as to have successfully resisted storms and tempests of many successive centuries, though exposed, from such enormous elevation, to their full and unbroken fury. It was they who first filled the capacious windows, otherwise mere yawning gaps, with intricate and flowing radiations of stone tracery, combining almost every geometrical figure: it was they who first hung their key-stone pendent in the air, and raised the massive towers on four slender shafts. In fine, it was they who, departing from every beaten track, struck out another path to excellence, novel as it was bold, astonishing as it was admirable. They, indeed, felt the poetry of art to its full extent; they understood the wondrous effects produced by the arrangement of light and shadow to perfection, which, during the daily course of the sun, is seen in these churches in the most enchanting manner, every moment producing a fresh effect. First, the burst of light at the eastern end, when the whole choir and apsis are illuminated from the rising sun; then the southern transept and lateral chapels receive the reflection of noon-day; the light gradually passing round, till the great western window, with its rich and varied glass, is lighted up with the glowing tints of sun-set, every projection, boss,

capital, and pillar catching the warm light which penetrates up to the choir, now wrapt in somber shade; till imperceptibly fading, as twilight comes stealing on, each detail becoming more and more indistinct, the whole perspective is lost in general obscurity, relieved only be the feeble rays of the flickering choir-lamp. Then the intricate arrangement of these vast buildings produces such a wonderful variety of outline and perspective, that they assume a varied aspect at every step. The same structure, seen from different situations, appears like a totally different edifice, both internally and externally. The long vista of the nave, the aisles, the crossing of the transepts from the choir, looking westward, the lady-chapel, the crypt, the cloister quadrangle, and the chapter-house, present perspectives as varied as they are beautiful.

Their sculpture, likewise, was admirable in the extreme; almost all the productions of the animal and vegetable creation were called into requisition, as models of their ever-varying details, which were cut in such flowing forms and intricate interlacing, combined with such boldness of execution and imagination of design, as to appear more like petrefactions of nature's choicest productions, than the artificial labours of man. Let us, likewise, consider the saintly men, and sacred objects, which they represented with such powerful and impressive effect; holy persons, who, filled with heavenly gifts and divine inspiration, were inconceivably difficult to pourtray; mysteries almost appalling by their sublimity, yet all this they accomplished.

That the Greeks and Romans were admirable sculptors is most true; but what were the divinities whom they laboured to represent? Any one acquainted with their mythology must be aware, that they are described as mere sensual beings; some remarkable for savage cruelty, others for gluttony, licentiousness, personal beauty, and bodily strength; models for all of which might easily be found among the generality of mankind. Will it not, therefore, be granted, that, however admirable the anatomy or proportions of the classic sculptor may be, the man who has succeeded in embodying the holy purity of the Blessed Mother of God, has achieved a far greater triumph in art than any that the ancients have acquired. Yes! truly, when we consider their wonderful imagination, in creating an entirely new and transcendent style of architecture, their poetical conceptions, the holy purpose for which they laboured, their sanctity of life, their great humility, and their profound science, it must be allowed that the artists of the middle ages—misnamed the dark—stand unrivalled by any. Their

merit, indeed, is now beginning to be generally acknowledged: no one, in fact, but a senseless wretch, blind to all excellence, could deny that the buildings themselves stand existing testimonies of their wondrous beauty. Even though they are fine *Catholic* structures, it must be confessed that they are exceedingly fine! But Protestant calumny, ever envious of Catholic excellence, is busy at work; and those who are compelled to acknowledge the glories of these fabrics still assail and vilify the *motives* and *means* of their erection.

I am particularly anxious to direct your attention to this important point; for you will find that Protestants, although they may profess great admiration for these edifices, will draw such a false and distorted picture of the pretended tricks and villanies resorted to in order to obtain the necessary funds, and such superstitions practised, as to make it clearly appear to those who are unacquainted with the falseness of such accusations, that it would have been infinitely better for the interests of Chirstianity, if such buildings had never existed.

The calumnies most commonly advanced are as follows: —

1st. —Superstition.

2nd. —That the sums of money, expended on the erection of ancient churches, were either exhorted from dying penitents, or received as compositions for past, present, or even future sins.

3rd. —That the splendour of the church proceeded, not from a desire of rendering homage to God, but from mere worldly ostentation.

4th. —The great ignorance of ancient churchmen, and that they practiced continual imposition on the people.

I will not deal with these vile calumnies singly, and so tear them to tatters, that the base utterers of them shall not be able to gather up one fragment, wherewith to return to the baffled charge.

1. And now of *Superstition*. This is a word which has a very wide and extensive signification among Protestants, every species of devotion or honour rendered to God, being thus denominated by the different classes of them; some even including prayer itself! It is not, therefore, surprising, that such men as these, utterly ignorant of zeal for God's glory, actuated only by the temporal motives

of worldly remuneration, or fear of punishment, should have applied this degrading epithet to those stupendous labours of our Catholic ancestors, which were raised solely for the honour and advancement of religion. They are unable to comprehend the pure motives which instigated the erection of these buildings: it is impossible for them to charge the men, who gave their all in order to achieve these works, with any motive of personal gain; they cannot find any reasonable or well-grounded charge; but, as they must calumniate all Catholic works of ancient days, they brand the results of the most zealous piety and consummate art with the term *superstition*! What a convenient word is this in the mouths of Protestants! What immense *temporal* advantages have they derived from it! When the tyrant Henry sought to convert to his own sacrilegious purposes the costly ornaments which the piety of nine centuries had contributed to decorate the worship of God, and enshrine the venerable remains of his most faithful servants, what was the pretext he urged in order to accomplish his vile purpose? *Abolishing superstition!* What did the concoctors of the Common-prayer Book, and articles of the Anglican church, assign as to the reason for making the new religion so easy and comfortable, and discarding every restraint and duty which they considered irksome, or entailing expense? *Abolishing superstition!* Are men's passions to be let loose, and the wholesome discipline of the church to be broken through? The regulations of the former, and the observance of the latter, are condemned as *savouring of superstition!* Nay, in our own time, but a very few years ago, the foul robbery of a large sum of Catholic money was justified by the legislators of this land, as a necessary measure to *prevent the increase of superstition!*

Oh, it is a useful word! so generally applicable, and with so profitable a result. But when we consider the manner in which this term has been prostituted by Protestants, to suit their own vile and mercenary views; and that not only all the great works of pious munificence, but the holy observances and disciplines of the church, have been thus designated, I really think that the nature of the word, when used by such men, will become changed in the mind of every well-informed person, and will be considered as implying an honourable instead of a degrading signification.

2. With regard to the second monstrous charge: one really would have imagined that, among the writings of men possessing any mind or pretending to information, such gross calumnies would never have found a place; and it almost appears an insult to common sense, and a waste of time, to enter into

a defence against such improbable accusations. But as I am well aware that they are not only thoroughly believed by almost all classes of protestants, but actually form the theme for their continual exultation and insult, I think it a bounden duty, not only to give a mere flat denial, but to shew, on the most authentic and undeniable historical facts and documents, their utter fallacy. Now it fully appears that, instead of the funds for ecclesiastical buildings being bestowed by dying sinners, hoping to purchase peace with heaven, by giving what they could no longer enjoy, they were the benefactions, while living, of men, whose entire conduct was as admirable as their liberality was unbounded; and we shall find that these great fabrics owe their existence to the pious exertion of *living saints*, instead of bequests made by *dying sinners*. It is likewise worthy of remark that nine-tenths of the noble founders of ancient religious houses, not only gave their lands for endowments while they were living, but frequently took the religious vows and ended their days within the conventual buildings which they themselves had erected. It is a glorious fact, that all the great Catholic establishments were the result of great self-denial and hearty zeal to God on the part of those who founded them. It is true that William of Wickham made immense provisions in his will, but he lived to supersede the necessity of such an arrangement, and he bestowed with his own hand all those munificent gifts which he had provided for in case of his sudden demise. So did the great Cardinal D'Amboise, Rouen's greatest benefactor. When he commenced rebuilding the spire of the cathedral, he was already far advanced in life, and his prudence induced him to prepare a will, bequeathing immense sums for the work, so that it might not receive any interruption in case of his decease; but, by the blessing of God, he lived to see the object of his labours completed. Indeed, we shall find that, so far from the desire of assisting the church and decorating the house of God being confined to the death-bed thoughts of men during the middle ages, all classes were eager to contribute throughout their lives to such glorious objects, and their testamentary bequests were almost invariably but crowning acts to a long series of munificence and zealous devotion to the service of God.

Then respecting *compounding for sin*. Whenever an unworthy abbot occurs in the history of these churches, what say the chroniclers? Not that such a bishop was a bad man and *therefore* he erected much building, by way of balance for his depraved course of life. No! such a character is always described as a waster of the ecclesiastical property under his charge; and a long suspension of the works

in progress was the constant result. Again, when do we ever find a noble, prince, or monarch suffered to erect or endow an ecclesiastical establishment by way of compensation for *remaining in a state of sin*? Assuredly, never! I am willing to allow that we are indebted for the foundation of many great churches and religious houses to men, whose conduct has been deserving of the severest censure: but none except a prejudiced mind, bent on misrepresentation, could imagine such acts to be meant as palliations for their crimes, and not rather as proofs of deep contrition for ever having committed them. All historical documents will tend to prove this fact. We find men, who, having been guilty of enormities, were brought to a just sense of their actions, deplored their past conduct, and anxious to appease the offended justice of God by hearty penance, consecrated to his service the wealth they had previously so badly employed: but how will any one dare affirm such an action, to be a composition for sin? It is a vile charge that cannot be sustained for a moment. Such a system is in utter contradiction to that well known line of conduct so gloriously pursued by the ancient ecclesiastics, who endured suffering, temporal loss, and even death in the conscientious and uncompromising discharge of their sacred duty; men who ventured to reprove the most cruel tyrants and powerful oppressors on their very thrones, and who refused the privileges of the most humble christian to persons of the highest temporal dignity, if their conduct had rendered them unworthy of participating in the holy rites of religion. Such vile practices as compounding for, or consenting to sin, were reserved for the Reformers of Germany, who granted a dispensation for polygamy,[1] and for the cringing churchmen of the English establishment, who in order to advance themselves in rich preferment and rise by courtly patronage, tacitly sanctioned the grossest violations of moral conduct, even in the very individual whom they acknowledged as their head.

Ostentation is the term by which the misrepresenting and calumniating writers of these times designate the holy splendour of the church, —splendour as far removed from worldly glory as day from night. The materials of the sacerdotal vestments are costly, it is true, and their appearance is dazzling; but why are they so? That the great dignity of God's holy worship may be in some degree manifested through his ministers. Follow the venerable man, who, while in the choir, wears such stately apparel; follow him to the sacristy, and beneath that splendour you will find the course frock of the monk, or even the hair shirt of penance. Go with him to his cell, and the narrow chamber and humble furniture, such as the meanest servants of our days would despise, will soon prove how

1 Mr. Pugin here alludes to the case of the Landgrave of Hesse, whom Luther and his brother *reformers* permitted to marry two wives! *Editor.* [note in the original text]

little worldly pride or even comfort has part in the mind of such a man. So far from pride or ostentation being produced in the soul of ecclesiastics by the splendid apparel used in the worship of God, a great moral lesson is conveyed to the mind through them. These vestments are not the gaudy trappings of the day; they are of ancient fashion. They have shrouded the forms of a long succession of venerable men, who have preceded them in their holy office, and whose dust lies in the tombs around them; and their successors will still wear them, when they themselves have been borne to the grave. Moreover, they are the badges which ever remind them of the sacred dignity of their office; and the mystical meaning conveyed by these vestments renders them as edifying to the people, as they are appropriate for the holy offices in which they are used.

Then, as regards the buildings themselves, either of conventual of cathedral establishments, how small a portion, both of extent or decoration, do the domestic buildings bear to that portion of the edifice dedicated to the worship of God? How do its pinnacles, roof, and spires tower above all the rest, shewing *that* to be the great object which caused the erection of the surrounding buildings. And of these again, what a trifling portion was occupied by the community themselves! Yet, how customary is it for persons in these days, when looking at some of those venerable remains to exclaim, 'Why such numerous chambers, and such lofty halls?' And when they behold the capacious chimneys, in the exultation of ignorance they exclaim—'Oh, the gluttonous monks! See their great kitchen!! See their cellars!!!' Fools! before these fires was prepared the food which nourished the poor for miles around: in these chambers were lodged the weary traveler and pilgrim: these great halls were ever filled with guests, entertained by noble and boundless hospitality, welcomed as brothers by those glorious men, who were at once the ministers of God, the supports of learning, and the fathers or the poor. Oh! how it does enrage me, to hear of some spruce parson, in whose house luxury is visible throughout every chamber to disgusting excess, whose half-uttered wish is responded to by the liveried minions who wait around him, whose table groans under delicacies to pamper his palled appetite, who can scarce drag his lazy limbs from bed at noon-day, rail at monks, terming them 'supine! ignorant! lazy monks!!' —men, who left their hard pallets at midnight, to sing lauds to God, men, profound in science and art; to whose indefatigable labours we owe the perpetuation of all literature and historical record: men exercising immense charity, full of zeal, and austere of life: men, in fine, living solely for the glory of God, and the benefit of their fellow-men. Is it not past all enduring, to hear such glorious spirits as these

for ever traduced and ridiculed by every upstart writer and pretending puppy of these times? to hear them termed 'ignorant impostors!'

In some respects, perhaps, we must allow they *were* ignorant. They were unacquainted, certainly, with the system of impudent calumny and lying, so successfully practiced by Anglican Churchmen, by means of which they delude the people and retain their lucrative situations: they were ignorant of that worldly policy which induced the Protestant clergy to sacrifice the spiritual interests of Christianity to political power and their own advantage: they were ignorant of tyrannical oppression, and of increasing their own worldly comforts, at the expense of the poor. Yes! of such policy they *were* ignorant; and we must allow that the moderns are wiser in their generation. But those glorious men of old possessed wisdom; less worldly and more severe to practice, it is true, but wisdom which taught them to persevere in every Christian virtue in this life, and which obtained a glorious reward for them in the world to come.

To their Christian simplicity, they combined consummate skill in art, and profound science. In the former of these they yet stand unrivalled; and in the latter, though great discoveries and improvements have since been made, it must be allowed that they laid the foundations of all subsequent advances.

Thus, the false charge of ignorance against these holy and venerable men is not capable of being supported for one moment; and, with regard to their practicing imposition, a very few words will serve to disprove this also. No one would play the imposter to his own detriment, or without deriving some personal benefit from his deceit. Is this, then, the case, I will ask, with the religious orders? Does not the austerity of life pursued by them, show, at once, the absurdity of attributing such practices to them? How very many individuals among even the severest monastic orders, had been once worldly men, possessing both great riches and temporal power, but who nobly resigned every thing, in order that they might devote themselves to the service of God; exchanging wealth for poverty, luxury for mortification, uncontrolled dominion for humble obedience!

I have now brought the introductory part of my subject to a close, and I trust I have succeeded in convincing you of the importance of studying ecclesiastical antiquities, and of the benefit that will result to religion, by its ministers being perfectly conversant with the subject. I beseech you to consider how earnestly the

ancient ecclesiastics applied themselves to every study conducive to the dignity of religion; and I implore you to profit by their great example, and not, for one moment, consider the minutest accessary of worship beneath your attention. The present degraded state of Catholic churches in this country has existed through *necessity*; but never let it continue through *indifference*. We are unable, at present, to rival the great efforts of our ancestors; but we may follow in their footsteps, be it ever so humbly, and, by persevering in that course, we may eventually attain an equally dignified station in art. At present, I am grieved to say, a dreadful absence of antiquarian knowledge is found among the English Catholic body, and modern ideas and innovations, almost equally dangerous as heresy itself, have spread in the most extended manner. With the stupendous labours of their Catholic ancestors before their eyes—with the glorious fruits of Catholicism, in its days of greatest splendour, every where to be found in ancient monuments and records—the English Catholics seek for models in the debased taste of modern France, or even in the absurdities produced by Protestant ignorance in this country. Let us, then, in this collegiate community, be the first in the glorious work of restoring the ancient and splendid Catholic taste, and identify ourselves, in art as well as doctrine, with our revered ancestors. The means are now opened to you. It is for you to avail yourselves of them. I am willing to devote my most earnest endeavours and unwearied exertions to the accomplishment of this most glorious object. Zealous co-operation on *your* part is all I solicit, and I trust I shall not solicit in vain. Be assured that the matter in question is one of no small import; it is one which must materially conduce to the re-conversion of this land to its ancient faith. The most eloquent sermons ever preached express, in fact, only the mere doctrines contained in the common catechism; yet, when thus set forth by the powerful splendours of eloquence, what effect do they produce in the mind? What conversions have they made? and what wonderful results have they brought about in the souls of men, whom the bare recital of such truths would never have affected? It is precisely the same with regards to the ornaments of the church. The Mass, whether offered up in a garret, or a cathedral, is essentially the same sacrifice; yet, who will not allow that, when surrounded by all the holy splendour of Catholic worship, these august mysteries appear ten times more overpowering and majestic? St. Augustine declares that, whilst hearing the solemn chaunt of praise, as melody was poured into his ears, truth flowed in his heart; may not we then confidently hope, in the like manner, that, while the senses are rapt in extasy, by the outward beauty of holiness, the divine truths will penetrate the soul thus prepared for their reception.

NEWS AND COMMENT

CHURCH CRAWLING

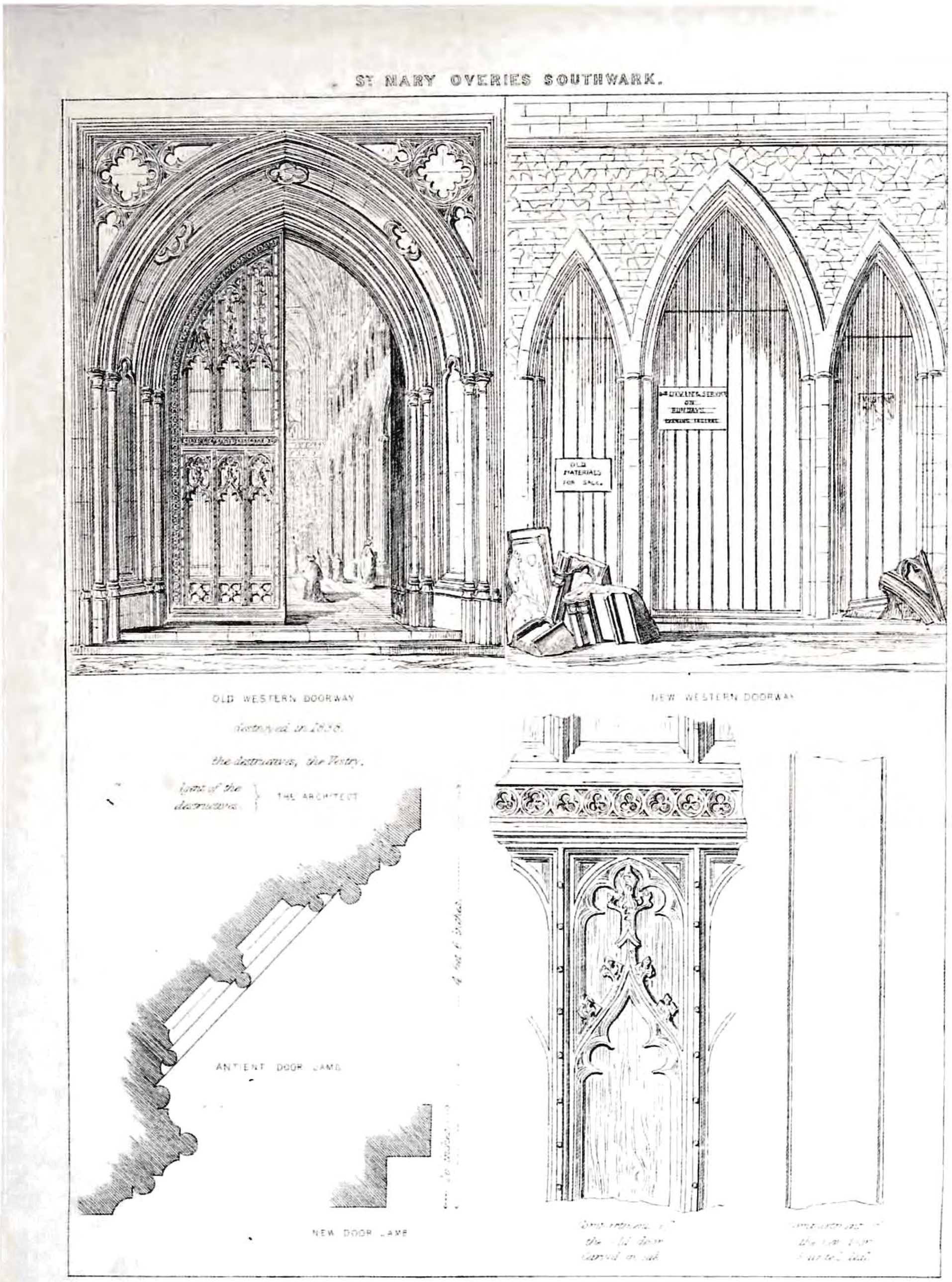
James Alexander Cameron

[James Alexander Cameron, who has taught at the Courtauld, has a biting and insightful wit, which at times reminds one of Pugin's own polemical tone. His blog, Stained Glass Attitudes, *examines ecclesiastical art and provides tips for church crawlers. This brief essay is a plea for accessible churches and the beauty of holiness. - Editor]*

No doubt anyone holding this journal in their hands has faced the frustration of impenetrable churches. There is always that one church—one with a parclose screen by the young Comper, one with a Romanesque pillar piscina allegedly kept in the vestry, one with the very nice Laudian linenfold—that seems to hold off a siege engine, and even phone calls to the team rector in the next town over cannot unfasten its padlock. Some churches, however, seem miraculously always open. It is not a mystery why, but a difference in attitude of its custodians that Pugin also understood and experienced.

Pugin, even by the standards of the Pevsner-packing church crawler with Google Maps on their Android phone sitting atop their car dashboard, showed a vociferous appetite for the remnants of English medieval art. His sketchbooks, now preserved in the RIBA library, show him drawing objects as far-flung as the remnants of a once-mighty microarchitectural tomb of a priest, relocated from a dissolved priory to the parish church of Welwick on the Holderness peninsula. In his *Apology* for *Contrasts*, Pugin rails against guardians of churches who unfairly restrict access to the glories of their buildings, those who seemingly chastise anyone who wants to look at stuff, separating prayer from aesthetic appreciation. Pugin particularly bemoans the way visitors are treated in St Paul's Cathedral: something that hasn't changed much. I recall once, after attending 8 am Holy Communion (I was going to a conference in London on a Sunday morning), I was told off by a passing verger for going into the south choir aisle to look at John Donne's memorial. 'Sight-seeing is Monday to Saturday', she said: as if one's eyes must be firmly shut when worshipping.

Figure 36: The medieval and early nineteenth-century doorways of St Marie Overie (St Saviour's), Southwark contrasted, from A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts. (Getty Research Institute).



Across London, Westminster Abbey is arguably worse, a revolving-door of church and museum, where all the congregation are hurried out immediately after Sunday services by the red-coated ushers, and not permitted to linger in the church. 'Tourists' who wish to view the medieval splendours are charged £20 for the privilege, except on the hour when a token prayer from the pulpit is enforced, and all must be still, save the cash registers. Photography is forbidden, but postcards are available in the shop. Seeing and praying are separated.

Pugin converted to Roman Catholicism and largely worked for Roman Catholic clients. And it is indeed the Catholic churches that do not make the same separation between Earthly and Heavenly visions. This is manifest in that in any given town, it is much more likely that the R.C. church is the one that is going to be open. You know how it is: the copies of *The Tablet* in the narthex, the racks of candles under sentimental polychrome statues of the Sacred Heart, donation boxes for alms/church restoration/other things you wonder if they're divvied-up quite as they say. But always there is an air of cleanliness, and the high altar—even if it has been brutally torn off the east wall in Vatican II and sits on something akin to Def Leppard's drum riser—is the austere, calm and precious focus of attention. A well-kept church gives the whole thing a feeling of surveillance and control, meaning that anyone who wanders in is very likely to behave. Churches kept frustratingly locked are likely to be of the lower-Church kind: piles of blue chairs (why are they always blue?) in the transepts, mic stands, and an actual drum kit (although probably only with pedal). Such interiors do not command the respect of a visitor, even if they can gain entry. It is a division that has been kicking around for a long time: see the *Deformation and Reformation* tract of 1870 by Augustine David Crake. Here, hypocritical Regency parsons in ramshackle interiors preaching to bored parishioners, are compared to beautified High Victorian altars, where all bow to Our Lord under the pointed arch. It's cartoonishly absurd—but that does not necessarily make it unrelated to divisions in today's Church of England.

Like Rowlandson's gross-out humour to Hogarth's deeper satire, Pugin's *Contrasts*, while outwardly a polemic of style, has much wittier and biting digs at the Low Church and their attitude to the access and appreciation of ancient buildings. One is the plate of Saint Saviour, Southwark, now known as Southwark Cathedral. The original nave was either a continuation of the early

Figure 37: Plate 1 from Augustine David Crake, Deformation and Reformation, 1885. (The Canterbury Project).

thirteenth-century east end which survives today, or an important lost work of earlier Early Gothic. No one can seem to decide, because all we have are a few drawings of it after it had been open to the elements since 1831, before it was essentially demolished except for a few measly fragments of walling in 1839. The new nave at Southwark was the sort of upside-down cardboard-box Gothick that Pugin despised. It was so bad, it's difficult to find a picture of it, because it only lasted 50 years until a correctly-proportioned, but rather dry replacement was built on top of the original medieval pier foundations by Blomfield in 1890-7. Pugin highlights the superiority of what was lost with perhaps the best, or only visual gag involving moulding profiles. The profile of the old door of the Priory of St Marie Overie had a multitude of rolls and hollows, all the play of light and shadow characteristic of medieval English Gothic. The new door of Saint Saviour's Anglican parish church is two right-angled corners: not even chamfered. It's a right howler for an architectural historian. But for Pugin, aesthetic vandalism also goes with a new, miserly approach to access. The depiction of the old west door not only shows it in its late medieval splendour, but also, slightly ajar, welcoming to the beauty inside.

By contrast, the door of the rebuilt nave is closed shut, with a sign passively-aggressively asking you to come back and pray at the allotted time. Bits of the old church are left outside, as they are fragments of the past that have no place in a church of the Holy Word.

Pugin knew quite rightly that the appreciation of beauty is a viable form of prayer. And how lovely it is when one does not have to leave messages on unchecked answerphones, ring doorbells, explain to churchwardens why you want to look at *their* church, but that a church whose door is open to all, no questions asked. Of course, as I have said elsewhere, a church should be locked at night, just show that it is cared for and checked on. But to close it to all but its Sunday congregation misses the point of the building. A church is not just a venue for the practice of faith, but a monument to it. If just one person—an architectural historian or a lost and abandoned-feeling soul—can be faintly inspired by even a simple building, it is doing its job.

E.W. PUGIN AND STEPHEN AYLING, 1861-2

Roderick O'Donnell FSA

The two volume 'Photographs from sketches by Augustus Welby N Pugin published by S. Ayling, 493 Oxford Street' (1865) is a rare and curious book.[1] It is the main evidence of E.W. Pugin's collaboration with the photographer Stephen Ayling. E.W. Pugin provided drawing for its frontispiece and a touching inscription to his father's memory, but it is unclear how E.W. Pugin expected it to further his campaign to rehabilitate his father's reputation. He must have provided the identification of the over five hundred drawings from Pugin's continental sketchbooks which are reproduced photographically and pasted into the two bound volumes.[2] Three photographs have now come to light which provide evidence of their collaboration as early as in 1861-2. The photographs are inscribed in E.W. Pugin's hand and two of them with the embossed stamp of the photographer Ayling.[3] The signed photograph is

1. Belcher 1987, pp. 321-2.
2. Wedgwood 2000, pp.92-98.
3. Photographs courtesy Charles Plante Fine Arts, London.

Figure 38: Inscribed; 'New Presbytery, Leith, E Welby Pugin archit [ect]; embossed 'S.Ayling Photo 493 New Oxford Street'. (Charles Plante Fine Arts).

Figure 39: Inscribed, 'Centre group St Edmund's College', embossed 'S Ayling....'. (Charles Plante Fine Arts).

of the presbytery at St Mary Star of the Sea church Leith, Scotland, where E.W. Pugin (with J.A. Hansom) had executed his father's church design (1852-4). In 1858 the parish was given to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, one of the so-called 'new religious orders', needing a large presbytery.[4] It is inscribed 'New Presbytery Leith E. Welby Pugin archit[ect]', and embossed with the stamp 'S Ayling photo 498 New Oxford St WC'. It is seen from the garden, with two top-hated frock-coated figures—the walking out dress of the Catholic clergy at the time—and a seated figure. The 3-storey L-plan building is built of dressed stone with basket-headed window openings for plate-glass sashes, examples of the 'Modern Gothic' E.W. Pugin championed (Fig. 38). Two further photographs are of details of a Holy Family sculptural group. One is inscribed 'Centre group St Edmund's College', and also stamped by Aylin. It shows the complete semi-relief group of St John the Baptist, the Virgin and Child enthroned and St Joseph with his staff and his lily. It is stamped 'W. Farmer' for the sculptor Farmer (later Farmer & Brindley). (Fig 39 The other is inscribed 'Portion of the centre group of altar St Edmund's College, showing

4. Hyland 2014, p. 81 and Hyland 2010.

Figure 40: Inscribed, 'Portion of centre group of altar St Edmund's College'. (Charles Plante Fine Arts).

a portion of the intrados of an arch, with deep relief angels alternating with sprigs of lilies with an outer moulding of ball-flowers. This too looks as if it is photographed in the workshop rather than *in situ*. (Fig. 40) (This photograph is not embossed by Aylin). The intrados and the group form a super-reredos to the altar which E.W. Pugin assembled in 1861-2 as part of an ambitious vaulted two-bay chamber inserted in the base of his father's unfinished tower and spire at St Edmund's College, Ware. This was altered in the 1920s to make an access through to another chapel, but its original form can be seen in the volume 'St Edmund's College from photographs'.[5]

The winged angels - here sculpted but as seen elsewhere in glass and metalwork – are very characteristic of E.W. Pugin's taste. Elsewhere I have argued that they would be evidence of Pugin's preference for the sculptor R.L. Boulton[6] —his angels at Stanbrook in 1870 Pugin called 'perfection'[7] —but the Ayling photographs (Fig 39) show that these were carved by Farmer. Here Pugin's earlier connection with Ayling seems to provide further evidence of E.W. Pugin's 'modern' approach to practice. The photographs showing the architect's and the sculptor's work were presumably to be circulated to clients, and no doubt there were many more of them.

5. 'St Edmund's College from photographs' 1876.
6. O'Donnell 2015, pp.4-5.
7. O'Donnell 2002, pp 116-7.

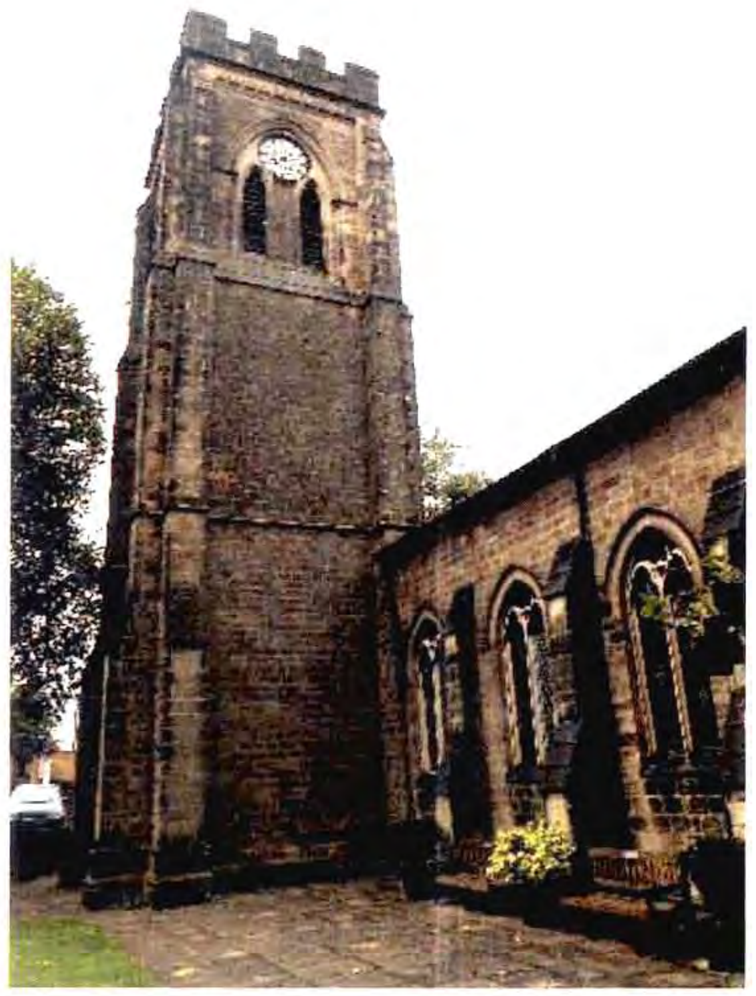
ROBERT BARBER, GEORGE BODLEY AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL CHURCH

The Revd. Andrew Fisher
Vicar, St Mary the Virgin and All Souls, Bulwell, Nottingham.

A church by G.F Bodley is generally recognizable. The style is often English Decorated Gothic and, in his best churches, Bodley develops the style with a mixture of flowing tracery in the windows and touches of Perpendicular Gothic. Such is Bodley's Church of the Holy Angels, Hoar Cross (1872), with its tower based on that of the medieval church at Ilmington, Somerset. However, Bodley was not the only proponent of this style of Gothic Revival church architecture. Neither was he the first. In this article I would like to draw reader's attention to an earlier Gothic Revival church, St Mary's, Eastwood, by the relatively unknown provincial architect, Robert Barber. St Mary's Eastwood bears many of the hallmarks of Bodley's late Gothic style, but was designed by Barber way back in 1856. Little is known about Robert Barber, except through the extant church buildings he designed around Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Even Barber's gravestone in St Mary's churchyard is relatively silent about the man (Figs. 41 and 42). The inscription reads:

+ Here resteth in hope the body of
Robert Barber [of] Eastwood Architect
Who departed this life in humble faith and trust
May VII, MVIIILXI, Aged LXIII years +

Figures 41 and 42: Tomb of Robert Barber. (A. Fisher).



Figures 43 and 44: All Saints', Ripley. (A. Fisher).

Robert Barber was a member of the family who owned the Barber, Walker and Company collieries. The firm was one of the oldest in the Midlands, having founded the Staveley Ironworks in the early 1700s. In its heyday, the company owned seven collieries in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire with an annual output of 2,500,000 tons. The firm employed 7,000 men. It also controlled the Doncaster Collieries Association with an annual output of 5,000,000 tons, and other coal property in South Yorkshire.

Barber's first church was All Saints, Ripley (Figs. 43 and 44), a Commissioner's style church built for the parishioners of Ripley, Derbyshire, close to the village of Pentrich where the infamous Pentrich Rising had occurred in 1817. The church was built by the nearby Butterley Company who, amongst other things, also provided the iron work for Barlow's great train shed at St Pancras railway station in London.

All Saint's is in an uncomplicated Decorated style, and its substantial tower can be seen for miles around. The tower is unusual in being placed asymmetrically to the southwest of the nave, the base forming an entrance porch to the church. *The tower was altered in appearance in 1861 when a ring of bells and a clock were installed, and the church re-ordered.*

Barber's next church was St James', Codnor, another Commissioner's style church built this time for the villagers of Codnor, Derbyshire. In 1836 the

Figures 45 and 46: St James', Codnor. (A. Fisher).

Lichfield and Coventry Diocesan Church Building Society identified the need to build more churches in deprived districts. Codnor, then in the parish of Heanor, contained 400 parishioners, all of whom lived more than two miles from the parish church at Heanor.

St James' was designed by Barber in 1843 (Figs.45 and 46). It is a small, simple yet charming, Early English Gothic building consisting of a nave, chancel, west tower with embattled parapet and pinnacles.

St James' was able to seat the 400 parishioners, and 250 of the seats were free and unappropriated. The church's bell was brought from Eastwood Old Church when it was pulled down by Barber in 1856, and it bears the inscription "God Save the Queen 1713". St James' was built, appropriately, on land at Crosshill, donated by members of the Clarke family. Most of the stone used in its construction came from a quarry on Codnor Denby Lane. The total cost of building the church and the nearby school (also by Barber) was £2043 10s 7½d. £2007 15s 7d was raised by the parishioners through donations, grants and bazaars.

Barber's magnum opus was St Mary's, Eastwood, near Nottingham, of which, sadly, following a fire in 1963 only the tower now remains. The rest of the church is a modern replacement by the late Eric Vernon Royle, built on the foundations of Barber's ruined church.

By the 1850s Eastwood Old Church was considered too small to serve the rapidly growing population of Eastwood. A meeting of the Vestry on the 3rd December 1855 agreed that additional church accommodation was needed, and the meeting concluded that this could be achieved only by building a new church capable of holding 700 adults. Money raising began immediately, and by the 3rd July 1856 the Ilkeston Pioneer was able to report that:

"The following were the tenders given for building a new church on the site of the present one at Eastwood, including the old materials.

Mr R Barber, architect.

Lindley & Son, Mansfield £4270

C C & A Dennett, Nottingham £4149

J S Ferguson, Nottingham £4129

J E Hall, Nottingham, £4082

J Fisher, Nottingham, £4054"

Perhaps not surprisingly, the estimate by John Fisher, of Thurland Street Nottingham, was accepted. The foundation stone was laid by John Pemberton Plumptre Esq of Fredville, Kent, on 24 October 1856, with a service conducted by the Bishop of Lincoln. By then £3,100 of the estimated £4,200 needed to build the new church had been raised. Subscribers included the patron, John Pemberton Plumptre (£1250), the Barber Walker Company (£250), John Godber of the Sun Inn (£100), and Lady Palmerston (£50).[1]

1 Arthur Coleman, 1972, 'The Fire Stricken Pulpit' Birlim Litho. Nottingham, p.39

Figure 47: St Mary's, Eastwood. (North East Midland Photographic Record).

Figure 48: St Mary's, Eastwood, tower. (A. Fisher).

The foundations of the new church were excavated around the Old Church which was subsequently demolished and its materials used in the foundations of its successor. Barber's new church was completed within two years (Fig. 47) and dedicated on 1st July 1858. This was rather too fast for the building fund, and there was a debt of £600 still to be funded in 1858.

The church was built with a deep chancel (a first for Barber), clerestoried nave 72 feet by 24 feet 6 inches and a chapel in the north aisle 16 feet by 13 feet.

Figure 49: St Mary's, Eastwood, west window. (A. Fisher).

There was also a small vestry. The roofs were open to the timbers and supported on stone corbels, and the spandrels of trusses were filled in with tracery.

The nave was 45 feet 6 inches in height from the floor to the ridge. The symmetrically placed west tower was 21 feet square externally with a turret stair, and 111 feet high (Fig. 48). It originally sported three crocketed corner pinnacles and a larger spirelet over the staircase turret. Because of this, parishioners called the tower the 'Three and One'. An old verse, written by an unknown author, waxed lyrical about:

The Village Church (mid West End Trees)
Where first their marriage vows were given
With merry peals enchant the breeze
And point, with 'Three and One' to heaven[2]

When built, the tower originally housed a ring of six steel bells by Messrs Naylor Vickers and Co of Sheffield. Unfortunately, the 'Three and One' were deemed to be unsafe following the fire in 1963 and were removed.

The tower arch, 25 feet in height, gave a complete view of the floriated tracery of the west window (Fig. 49). The top of the tower arch is still visible from the outside of the building today, it being higher than the modern church building below. The flowing tracery of the five-light window in the chancel was more elaborate than that in the aisles and clerestory. The clerestory windows were square headed and of two lights. The chancel was separated from the nave by a fine arch 31 feet high, springing from clustered columns, and each aisle by five arches, supported upon octagonal piers.

Barber gave the church two porches. The south porch contained stone benches. The church was built from stone from quarries at Cromford with Sydnope stone dressings. The upper string or cornice of the tower and nave were ornamented with gargoyles and four-leafed flowers.

2 Ibid p.46.

Above: Figure 50: St Mary's, Eastwood, clock face. (A. Fisher).

Right: Figure 51: St Mary's, Eastwood, detail of tower. (A. Fisher).

As built, the church had seating for 740 people. There were no galleries. The seats were plain and open, but those in the chancel had poppy heads. The whole of the fittings, including the pulpit, reading desk, altar rails, communion table etc, were of pitch pine and varnished. The lectern was of brass and featured an eagle with open wings mounted on a single brass column supported by three ball-and-claw feet. The lectern survived the fire of 1963 but was sold in 1967 because its design was not in keeping with Vernon Royle's new building. The chancel was paved with Minton's encaustic tiles, and the aisles with black and red diamond paving from the Potteries. The church was heated by hot water, and was lighted with gas from nine candelabra.

Only a few photographs survive of Eastwood St Mary's before the fire, but the tower survives intact apart from the removal of the pinnacles and spirelet. Architecturally, Barber's tower resembles the well-known tower of Coningsby church, over the border in nearby Lincolnshire. Like at Eastwood, Coningsby's tower is built in three stages, but the stages are differently proportioned. Perhaps Barber was trying to improve on the medieval exemplar. In the west wall of

the tower at Coningsby there is a circular sexlobe traceried light with moulded surround, similar in idea if not in detail, to the square, traceried windows in the tower at Eastwood which carry the clock faces (Fig. 50). There are single three-light Perpendicular Gothic windows to the belfry stage at Coningsby. At Eastwood, Barber combined single two-light Decorated Gothic windows with a moulded but uncusped transom (Fig. 51), taking his whole tower back to a transitional Decorated/Perpendicular style – the style to be employed by Bodley a decade or so later than Barber at St Mary's.

Barber's tower at St Mary's, Eastwood shares many features that Bodley was to take up in his later Gothic churches, including his towers like those at Eccleston (1897), Chapel Allerton (1897) and Long Melford (1898); plain surfaces contrasted with areas of finer detail, deep mouldings and precisely placed string courses, panelled and gabled buttresses, external stair turrets, square headed windows and late Gothic, gargoyled cornices. Even the square, traceried clock faces in the tower at Eastwood are echoed in Bodley's tower at Long Melford.

No architect of the second half of the nineteenth century was more successful or prolific than George Frederick Bodley, whose innumerable churches and restorations in the Gothic style represented the climax of the Gothic Revival in England. However, Bodley was not the only proponent of this style of Gothic Revival church architecture, nor was he the first. St Mary's church at Eastwood, Nottingham was designed by the self-effacing and relatively unknown provincial architect, Robert Barber in only 1856, but it already bore many of the hallmarks of Bodley's late Gothic style.

Bodley built many of his best, late Gothic style churches in the Midlands, including the Holy Angels at Hoar Cross, St Chad's at Burton-on-Trent, St Mary's at Clumber Park and St Alban's at Nottingham. One has to wonder if Bodley ever caught sight of the 'Three and One' at Eastwood, and if they made an impression on him as he went about his travels?

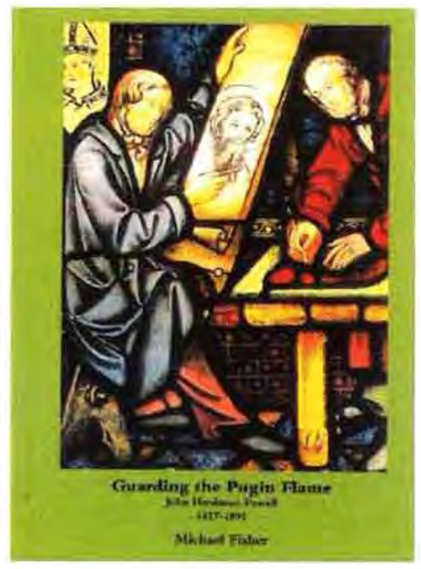
BOOK REVIEWS

GUARDING THE PUGIN FLAME

Guarding the Pugin Flame: John Hardman Powell, 1827 – 1895

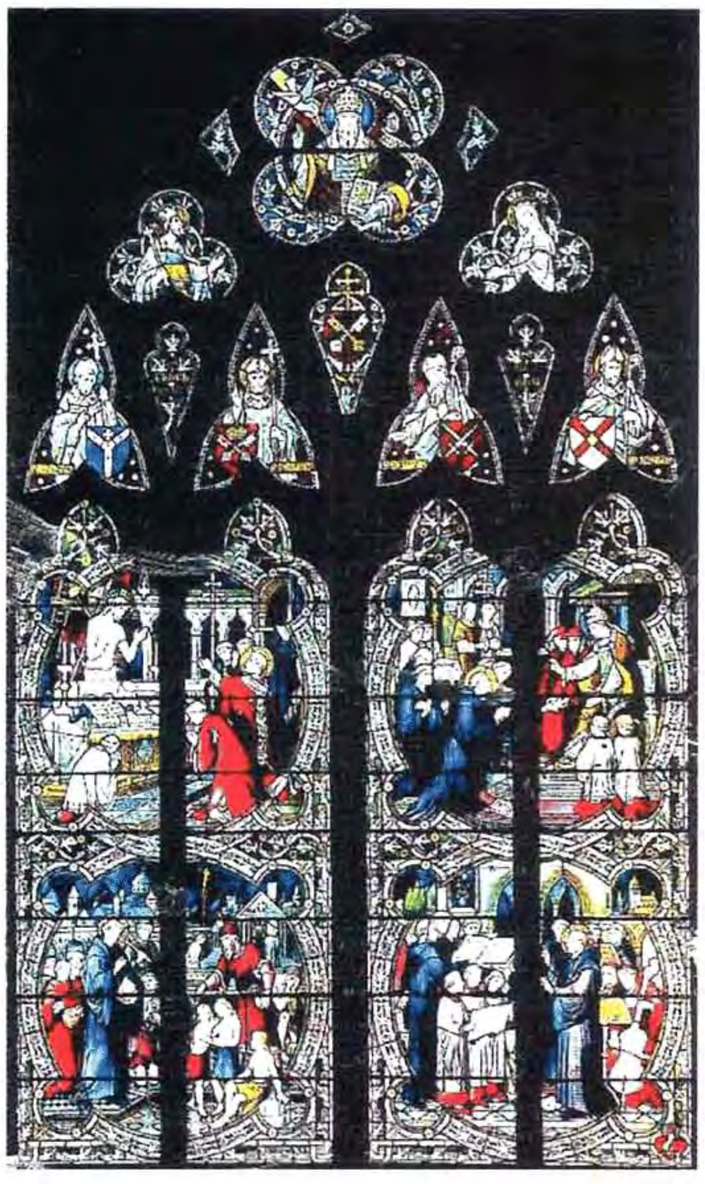
By Michael Fisher. Salisbury, Spire Books, 2017. 289 pp. ISBN 978-1-904965-51-0

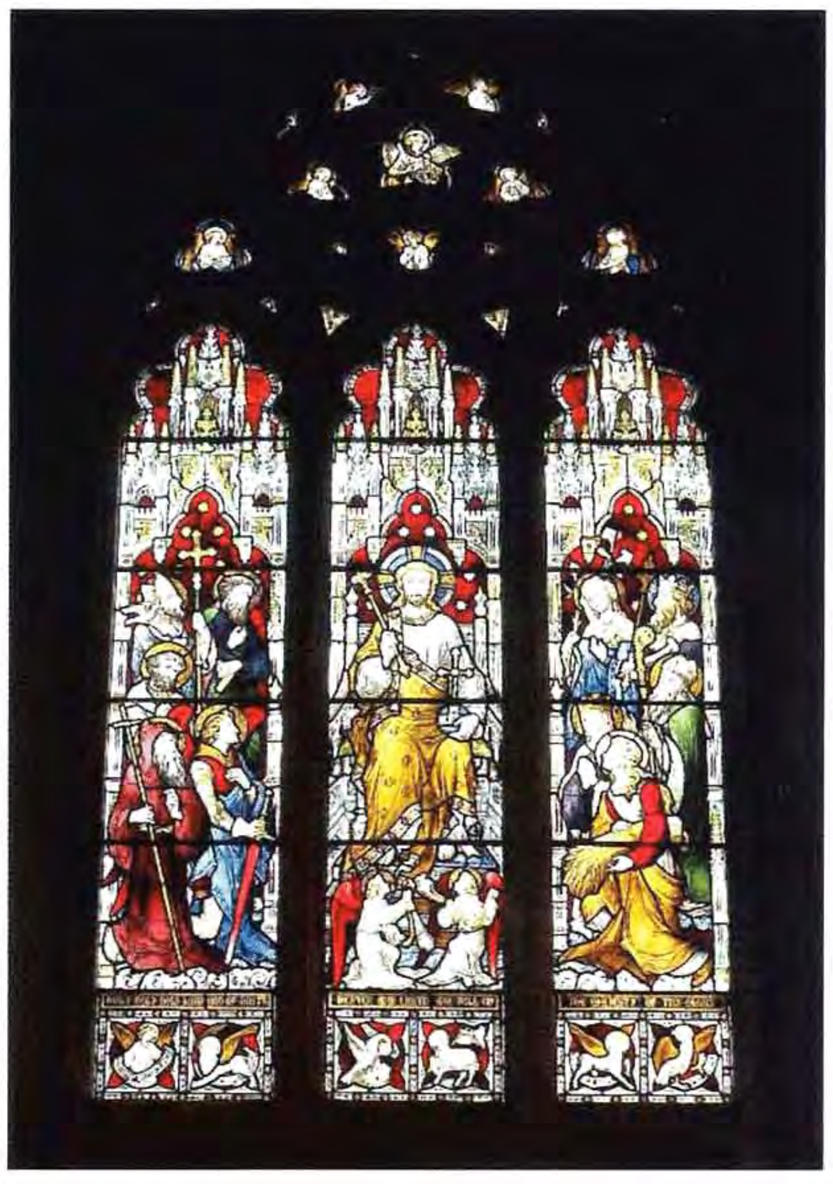
Reviewed by Catriona Blaker



Courtesy of Spire Books

Those who are already familiar with John Hardman Powell's account of his early life as Pugin's pupil at Ramsgate, *Pugin in His Home*, written in 1889, will be delighted that they can now discover so much more about him. Readers who meet Powell for the first time in Michael Fisher's book will be equally intrigued by what is a comprehensive account of this talented and appealing character. Powell, who became the chief designer of the Hardman firm in Birmingham after Pugin's death in 1852, now comes, fully rounded, out of the shadows. Michael Fisher has had access to a quantity of new source material, particularly relating to his subject's family life and social activities. For some scholars, the heady effect of this discovery might have affected the balance of the book as a whole. However, the author has kept a disciplined hand on the content,





Far left: Figure 52: South aisle window, St Gregory's Church, Cheltenham. (M. Shepheard).

Left: Figure 53: East window, St Cynllo's Church, Llangynllo, Ceredigion, Wales. (M. Fisher).

balancing the fascinating personal detail with a perceptive account of Powell's development as a stained glass artist and metalwork designer.

Whilst it was undoubtedly his early days at Ramsgate, under the rigorous eye of his master Pugin, that formed Powell as a designer and imbued him with the artistic principles that underpinned his work for life, his style and approach as a stained glass artist changed somewhat as he matured. His figure drawing became more flowing and expressive, and he did not always adhere so firmly to the conventions of Gothic art that he had been taught. This can be seen, for example, in the composition of the south transept window of St Gregory's Catholic Church, Cheltenham, showing scenes from the life of St Gregory, or in some of the later glass he designed for St Mary's Anglican Church in St Neot's, Cambridgeshire. It is interesting to compare these two windows with the fine one (1878) at St Cynllo's Church, in Wales, where Powell remains more closely within the Pugin tradition.

Powell was a skilled and imaginative designer of metalwork of all sorts, both for sacred – a good example is the gates to the Lady Chapel at St Augustine's, Ramsgate - and domestic purposes. A particularly fine piece of his work, demonstrating knowledge of various craft skills, is the tabernacle doors at St Chad's Catholic Cathedral, Birmingham. He was also, as Fisher writes, early involved with the concepts of the Arts and Crafts movement. As director, he was very anxious to educate along the lines of Pugin's True Principles the expanding work force at the Hardman firm, and also gave public lectures, which were later published in 1889 as *Some Stray Notes on Art*. These charmingly written talks, where the influence of Pugin (and even of Ruskin) can be clearly perceived, demonstrate Powell's in-depth knowledge of various fields of art and craft. He took the role of educator very seriously and this helped to ensure the standards and continuation of the Hardman firm, which only finally closed in 2009.

Powell's close early connection with Pugin was cemented by his marriage to Anne, 'Annie', Pugin's eldest child, in 1850. This was a loving and happy union, and the couple had twelve children, although two died in infancy. Humour and affection shine through Powell's many letters to his wife, which were often embellished by light hearted and whimsical drawings. Throughout Michael Fisher's account, the strong Catholic faith and devout nature of Powell and his family is evident, and was clearly central to him and his wife and family. Three of his daughters

Figure 54: 'Bad habit No.2': Powell, reading in bed, from a letter to his wife. (Private collection).

became nuns, and in Birmingham the Powells were connected closely not only with St Chad's Cathedral but also with the Birmingham Oratory, where the leading figure, John Henry Newman, whom Powell greatly admired, ordered artefacts from the Hardman firm and became a friend of the family.

In practical terms, although Hardman's and its leader Powell were celebrated, the firm's known Catholicism could occasionally lead to debate in Anglican circles when it came to commissions. The east window at Worcester Cathedral for example was designed by Powell, but not without initial discussion as to whether this was really fitting. Sometimes, too, scriptural iconography had to be adapted, in order to appear appropriate in a non-Catholic context; for example, in an Anglican church (and there were many who favoured Hardmans) the Virgin Mary could not be depicted as crowned. Powell's own knowledge of Catholic doctrine is demonstrated particularly in the fine Immaculate Conception window, in fact a memorial to his uncle, John Hardman junior, in St Chad's Cathedral. Fisher describes this window as 'reflecting his [Powell's] profound understanding of Catholic theology and development'. Nevertheless, a visit to Rome, on a tour of Italy in 1880 with his good friend Stuart Knill, was perhaps for Powell, as it had been for Pugin, in the latter's words, somewhat of 'a test act of a Goth's faith'.

Because of Powell's marriage to Pugin's daughter, the debt that he felt to Pugin himself and his long standing intimacy with the family, he did all he could to assist and stand by Pugin's widow, Jane, and his children after his master's early death in 1852. This was not always easy, and Edward Pugin, in particular, caused him much worry and embarrassment. Edward's claim that the Hardman firm still owed money to the Pugin family, led to much angst for Powell, and there was also the very public controversy that raged over the New Palace of Westminster between Edward and the Barry sons, in which Edward claimed that his father was the true 'art architect' of the edifice - a major issue into which Powell was also drawn. Powell's

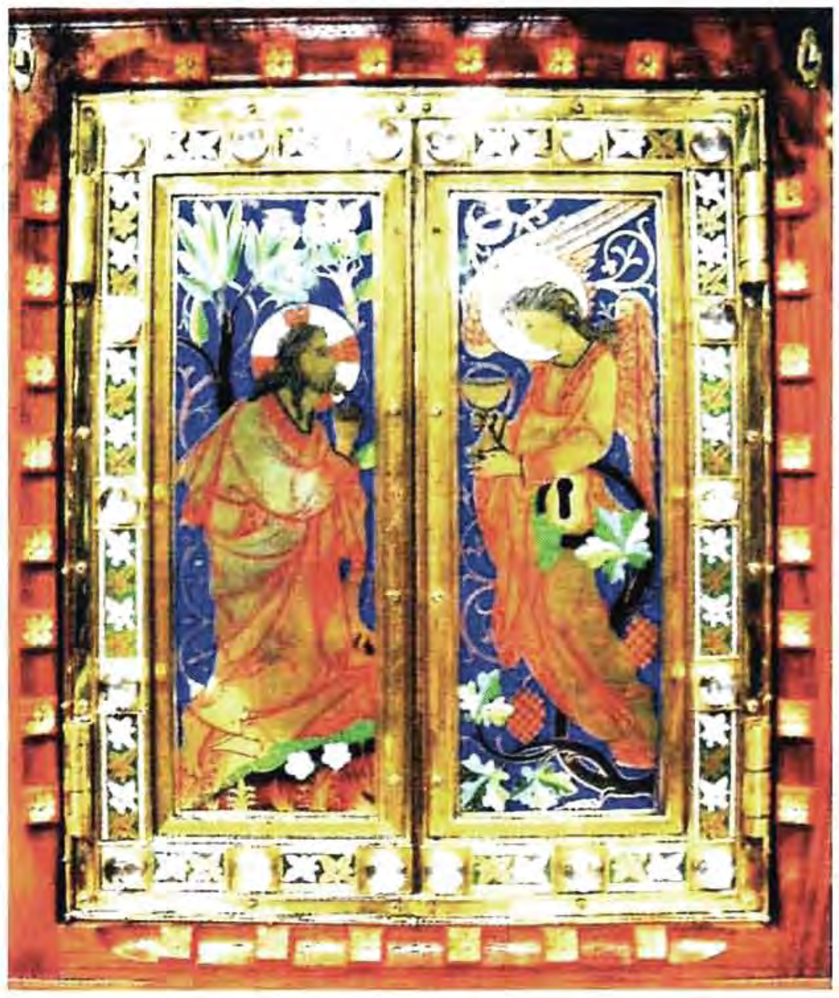


Figure 55: Tabernacle doors, St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham. (M. Fisher).

natural affection for Edward, whom he had known since his childhood, and whom he regarded almost as a brother, was often strained, but throughout their connection he demonstrated remarkable forbearance, generosity and good sense. The love life of the pretty but capricious Agnes Pugin, and from time to time the demands of her stepmother Jane, were further problems with which Powell also had to contend.

In addition to giving the reader such a detailed text, *Guarding the Pugin Flame* also benefits from the publishing for the first time, as appendices, the notes written by Powell about Pugin's approach to drawing and painting. These were written to form the basis of an introduction to the publishing in 1865 of photographs of Pugin's watercolours, but were not used. They bring Pugin, aspects of his personality, and his technique as an artist vividly to life—'Come out everybody and see the light and shade—worth a thousand pounds a minute!' Also included is Powell's journal for March-May 1860 which is full of interesting insights, often, sadly, relating to his and Annie's poor state of health. The third Appendix consists of a useful, though selective, gazetteer of jobs undertaken by the Hardman firm from 1853 to 1895, even then a very substantial quantity.

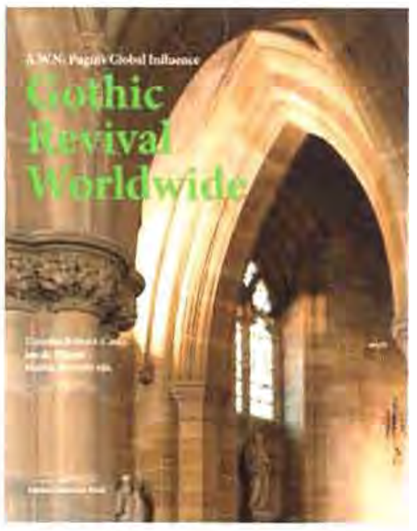
Until this book appeared John Hardman Powell had not really been given his due. Now, thanks in great part to *Guarding the Pugin Flame*, with its readable style, enjoyable chapter headings and copious illustrations, his art can be seen not just as a continuation of the Pugin aesthetic, but as work that brought to that aesthetic fresh qualities and personality all its own. Further, Michael Fisher has opened a window into a compellingly interesting world. In reading this carefully researched book we are privileged to be offered a vividly close-focus look at a unique section of nineteenth century society.

A.W.N. PUGIN'S GLOBAL INFLUENCE

A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence: Gothic Revival Worldwide

Timothy Brittain-Catlin, Jan De Maeyer, and Martin Bressani, eds. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2016. 256 pp. ISBN 978 94 6270 091 8

Reviewed by David Frazer Lewis



Courtesy of Leuven University Press

A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence is a compilation of essays that came out of the most important academic conference that has been held in the field of Pugin studies for a decade. *New Directions in Gothic Revival Studies Worldwide* was held at the University of Kent in July 2012. A book years in the making, the essays are carefully selected to make a volume that speaks to Pugin's global legacy with a series of case studies drawn from every hemisphere.

Stephen Bann explores Pugin's French roots, and he, along with Jessica Basciano in the following chapter explores the way Pugin shared and developed his ideas with Francophone architectural thinkers. The essays in the first section of the book all deal in some respect with the cultural battle that took place in Francophone countries between those devoted to Pugin's True Principles and the strict revival of medieval forms which they believed gave those forms their 'truth', and those who adhered to a more romantic strain of the Gothic revival advocated by Viollet-le-Duc.

But even greater than Pugin's influence in France was his enormous impact in Belgium. His continuing Belgian legacy is signaled by the participation of several Belgian scholars in the creation of this volume, and in its publication by Leuven University Press. Two essays on Pugin's disciple Jean-Baptiste Bethune tell the story of his Belgian involvement very clearly. Gilles Maury's essay covers Bethune's encounters of A.W.N. Pugin's work in England in the 1840s, his subsequent meetings and letters, and his continuing friendship and collaboration with John Hardman and Edward Pugin after 1852. The flavour of Pugin is often present in Bruges—and it is true that Pugin loved the town and it influenced his own designs. However, it is also true that its nineteenth-century Belgian restorers were directly influenced by his ideas and brought them to bear on the city's buildings. Thomas Cooman's essay carries that legacy through to the twentieth century, very clearly tracing Bethune's role in the founding of the St Luke Schools which trained Belgian artisans in the crafts, the translation of Pugin's ideas into French, and the

links of Puginism with Catholic political movements in Belgium. Coomans then tells the story of the style's eventual exportation to China at the hands of French and Belgian missionaries. The Jesuits built many churches in northern China and Mongolia that adhered to Puginian notions of Gothic Revival, but after the First World War, some began to worry that these forms failed to respect local culture, and began to construct buildings that looked to indigenous forms or used a 'modern' style less tied to ideas of national identity and culture.

In his essay, Alex Bremner explores the way Pugin's ideas influenced mission buildings in 19th-century Melanesia, particularly focusing on the way missionaries there sought to make the buildings familiar by incorporating native motifs into ecclesiologically correct church buildings. Karen Burns also writes about Oceania, building on Brian Andrews's work on Pugin in Tasmania, by exploring the way Gothic Revival forms were seen as 'moral technology', explaining why 'correct' Gothic forms were considered particularly important in a penal colony.

The section on the Americas leans heavily on Canada and the United States, although a chapter on Latin America does a whirlwind survey of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival from Argentina to Mexico (which although Gothic Revival churches are numerous, proves to be a region in which there is almost no trace of Pugin's ideas—instead Latin America drew from older Gothic Revival traditions or did not look to Northern European models).

One overall lesson of the book is that Pugin's international influence was usually indirect—channeled more often through ecclesiology than through British-trained architects who had read his work. However, his impact across the globe was surprisingly fast. The mid-Victorian era was a high point of Britain's empire and influence, and by the time of A.W.N. Pugin's early death in 1852, his ideas had already impacted church building in remote corners of the English-speaking world, from the Melanesian Islands to rural Alabama. Pugin's worldwide influence as the father of the Gothic Revival is expected, but it is extraordinary just how quickly it happened.

The opening chapter is a history of Pugin studies. It is nice to be reminded that Pugin has emerged from relative neglect in the mid-twentieth century to be a widely lauded and widely studied architect in the early twenty-first century. He is regarded as an essential figure in Britain's Victorian heritage. But the point of the book is that Pugin is not only an important part of British heritage, but of heritage worldwide.

Figure 56: 151126 detail, clay and acrylic on canvas, 142 x 86 cm, Robert Dawson 2015
In this painting, the tile design is from the Palace of Westminster.

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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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