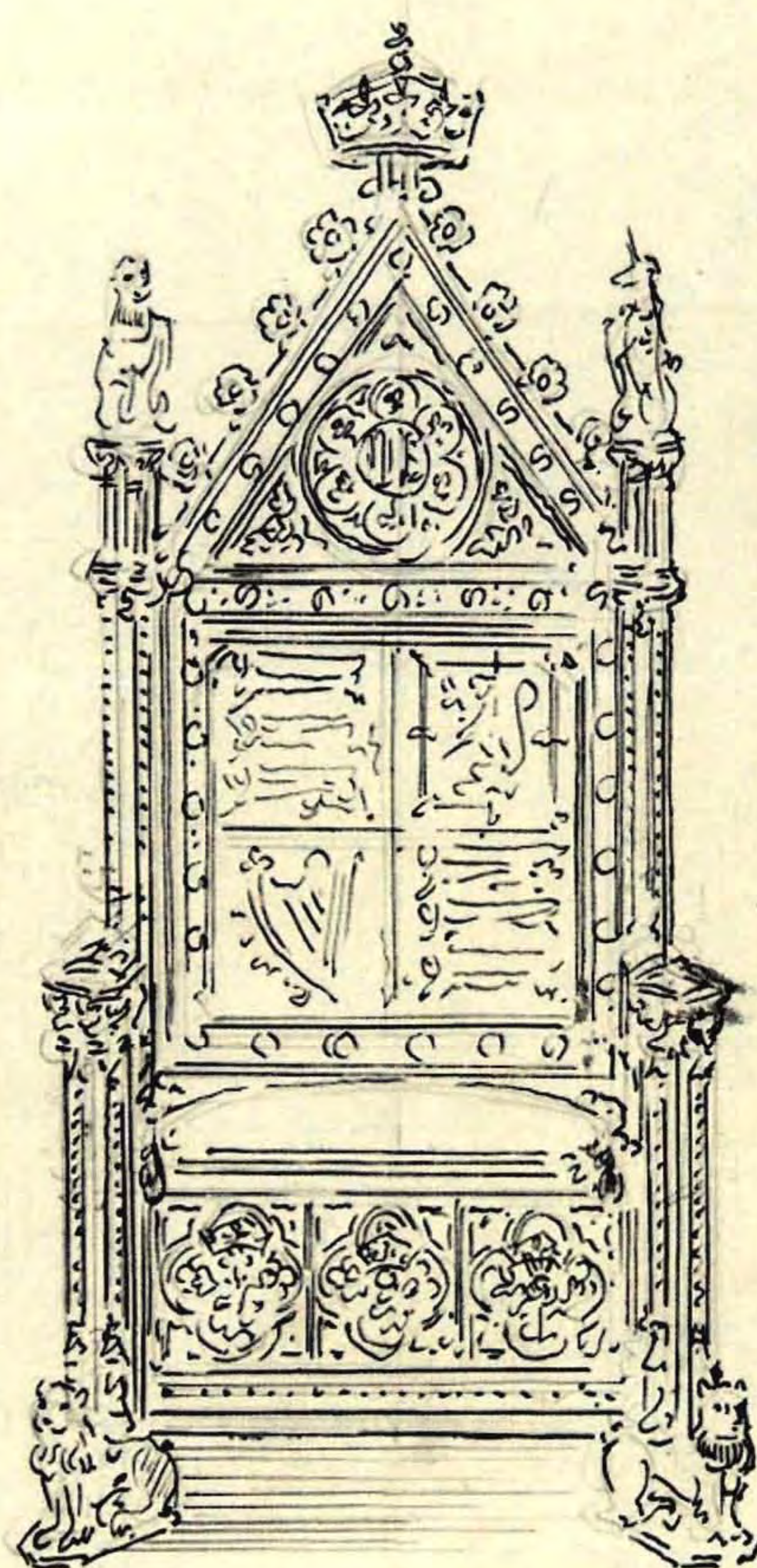


True Principles

The Journal of The Pugin Society

Autumn 2018. Vol 5, No 3



SPECIAL ISSUE

Letters from Pugin to Charles Barry

Transcribed and annotated by Margaret Belcher

With additional notes by Alexandra Wedgwood

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol v no iii 2018

True Principles is a peer review journal published by The Pugin Society

Editor: David Frazer Lewis

1080 Chapel Street

New Haven, CT 06510 USA

Email: editor.true.principles@gmail.com

Designed and Typeset by Rob Norridge (rob@norridgewalker.com)

Printed by Severn (www.severnprint.co.uk)

Published by The Pugin Society (www.thepuginsociety.co.uk)

Patron: Alexandra Wedgwood

President: Mrs David Houle

Chairman: Nick Dermott DipArch IHBC

Pugin Society members are reminded that the Editor will always welcome contributions on any aspect of Gothic Revival art and architecture from readers. All illustrations must be captioned and all credits and permissions to reproduce must be cleared by the writer. It should be remembered that the views expressed in True Principles are not necessarily those of the Editor or The Pugin Society, and that the Editor's decision is final.

A style guide can be provided.

Copy date for Spring 2018 number: 15th February 2019.

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.

All articles and reviews © the named authors 2018.

Other material © The Pugin Society 2018.

Cover image: Throne in House of Lords. Sketch design by Pugin, probably early 1845.

RIBA Collections

True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol v no iii Autumn 2018

Contents

Introduction	134
Letters from A.W.N. Pugin to Charles Barry	
13 June 1844.	139
8 February 1845?.....	140
7 June 1845.....	143
12 June 1845.....	145
1 August 1845	147
19 September 1845	149
7 October 1845	152
late February 1846?.....	154
April 1846.....	155
May 1846?	157
10 August 1846?	162
6 December 1846?.....	164
1846?	166
18 January 1847?.....	168
13 May 1847	169
22 May 1847	170
19 June 1847?	171
early 1847?	172
early January 1848?	173
7 December 1850?	177
16 December 1850?.....	181
January 1852?	183
January 1852?	185

LETTERS FROM PUGIN TO CHARLES BARRY

Margaret Belcher

Edward Pugin always maintained that Charles Barry insisted that all the letters A. W. N. Pugin wrote to him had been destroyed, and scholars accepted this assurance. Consequently it was a surprise when descendants of Charles Barry junior came forward in 2015 with a collection of Barry documents which included twenty letters from Pugin to Barry, together with the draft of a letter for publication in a periodical and three invoices. Five of the letters were already known; they were transcribed by Alfred Barry in his pamphlet *The Architect of the New Palace at Westminster* in 1868. The others were new, and all the manuscripts were bought by the Parliamentary Archives, formerly known as the House of Lords Record Office. Selections from this correspondence were printed by Caroline Shenton in *Mr Barry's War*, which came out in 2016. As they appear here, styled as if for *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin* and following the editorial procedure of those volumes, most of the letters are published for the first time.

The collaboration between Pugin and Barry was one of the most important architectural partnerships of the nineteenth century yet strikingly little is known about the daily dealings of the two men. Few though these letters may be among the hundreds that must have passed between them, they set forth Pugin's attitude to Barry with greater clarity than has been available before. The predictable respect is there, shown even in a small way like the quality of the writing on the page: it is more careful than, say, the texts of the letters to John Hardman. There is no need to demur to Pugin's straightforward declaration when he asserts to Barry that 'no one can better appreciate your skill & judgment than myself & no man has ever borne more sincere & willing testimony to them than myself'. You 'know I hold you in great honour', he writes on another occasion, '& am a most faithful Lieutenant' – the spelling still slips sometimes. He sees Barry as always in charge: he may supply ideas, but it is Barry who decides if a design is right. That established, theirs becomes a meeting of equals in Pugin's eyes, and his frankness and enthusiasm are winning and infectious.



Fig 1. Letter from A.W.N. Pugin to Charles Barry, 12 June 1845, verso showing postmarks and wax seal. Parliamentary Archives, London.

Pugin is confident in his knowledge and in his powers and confident that his contributions are appreciated; he works freely. He can tease Barry and jolly him along; Barry knew Florence but he did nothing to prepare Pugin for its riches: 'I wonder you never told me of all this. you have been here but I fear it was at a time when seeing you did not perceive – or you was too full of those accursed grecian Dorics'; again, from the same letter of May 1847, more surprise that Barry had been blind to the Tuscan city's Gothic beauty: 'what was you doing when you was here?' He is happy to correct Barry; a pattern given to J. G. Crace is 'too much cut up, you have commenced on a grand scale & you must work it out. avoid all small diaper ... I do not like the effect ... all positive colour should be avoided'; Pugin will draw out the pattern as he thinks it should be and send it to Barry 'for inspection'. It is above all in the revised design for the throne, the focal point of the Lords' magnificent chamber, that the fertility of Pugin's invention is displayed. His imagination leaping ahead of Barry's thought to envisage the last detail. For that, it is Barry who will have to provide the information needed: in the heat of the moment, the regular roles are reversed. Pugin clearly enjoyed designing objects of such importance, but he did expect to receive fair remuneration. In a letter of 10 August 1846 he wrote 'though it is capital fun making all these fine things I ought not to go leward'. It appears that Pugin's expenses were never paid.

Such friendship as Pugin's was founded on trust, and perhaps Pugin was sometimes naïve in relying on Barry to reciprocate in full. Having put his side of the bargain in writing at the outset, and made the refunding of expenses the subject of separate clauses in that statement, he expected Barry to deal with him in the same way but it is clear that Barry did not do so. Although Pugin asks and argues for reimbursement time and again, it is delayed, insufficient, grudging – if forthcoming at all. Sometimes Pugin looks as if he has nothing else on his mind, but his requests cover a period of about six years and the letters may have been selected to give just that impression: there is no indication of how they came to survive, who reserved them or with what purpose. Barry's voice is not represented, and who knows what else was written during that time? All the caveats entered, however, it is plain that Barry took advantage of Pugin's generosity. Pugin could have refused to make more drawings, yet it was not in his nature either to give up or to drive a hard bargain. Barry was the steely, ambitious one: he continues to call for designs, apparently knowing that Pugin will not be paid for them; he does not emerge from these letters as the

more attractive character. His justification for such unworthy treatment lay in his determination to secure for his country the best possible building to be obtained from the resources at his command.

Sandra Wedgwood has composed or completed notes for this submission where material was not available here, and I am grateful to her for her knowledge and help. How many times have I had reason to say that in the last thirty-five years!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sandra Wedgwood would like to record her thanks to the staff of the Parliamentary Archives, Mark Collins, Parliamentary Works, Charles Hind, Royal Institute of British Architects, Lauren Alderton, Victoria and Albert Museum and Daniel Johnson for his much-needed help with the computer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barry, Alfred, *The Architect of the New Palace at Westminster*, London, 1868.
- Belcher, Margaret (ed.), *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin*, vols. 1-5, Oxford, 2001-2017.
- Belcher, Margaret, *A.W.N. Pugin: an annotated critical bibliography*, London and New York, 1987.
- Port, M. H. (ed.), *The Houses of Parliament*, New Haven and London, 1976.
- Pugin, Edward Welby, *Who was the Art-Architect of the Houses of Parliament?*, London, 1867.
- Wedgwood, Alexandra, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, London, 1985.
- Wedgwood, Alexandra, *The Pugin Family: Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the RIBA*, London, 1977



Fig. 2. View of the House of Lords, looking towards the throne. Parliamentary copyright images are reproduced with the permission of Parliament.

To CHARLES BARRY

Nottingham. Thursday, 13 June 1844

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 15a¹ Address: none Postmark: none

✠ Nottingham Thursday.

My Dear M^r. Barry

on Saturday last I was suddenly seized with an attack of English cholera which has prostrated me and I can hardly hold myself up at all. I am getting better now. that is the actual complaint is stopped but I never was more pulled down. I got your Letter at Nottingham² – I am sure I can never do you real service except in absolute detail. you should fully make up your mind as to every arrangement & then turn the small work over to me. it is next to impossible for me to design any abstract portion of a great Whole in the same spirit as you have conceived the rest – & I know it is only a waste of time in me to attempt it. as to the bratishings above paneling I could make 50 patterns – and same for pendants &^c which should mostly consist of figures, the stalls at Amiens would furnish an infinite variety for the position of figures in Pendants – holding scrolls &^c. & these can only be done at Louvain by the Flemings the same men who executed the stalls at Antwerp.³ – I can do you far more service by adopting the best examples – & getting them carried out in execution than by making a Lot of drawings which could never be worked from.⁴ remember I never made a drawing which was of any real use to you yet,⁵ and it is a dreadful loss of time to me incessantly occupied as I am with church work to attempt it. as I said before I can do you no good except in actual detail – & in that more by feretting out the fine things that exist than composing new ones. I expect to be in town on Tuesday & will come over to you immediately that is if I am Strong enough to travel⁶ ever yours most sincerely

✠ A Welby Pugin

you must go to Antwerp & Louvain this year. if you wished it particularly I might manage to go with you as I know the men.

1 The MS is endorsed in what A. Barry states is Barry's hand '16 June 1844 From Pugin –'. The letter is transcribed in A. Barry, p. 53, and copied thence in Letters, vol. 2, pp. 208–9. Here as in his other transcripts, the MS makes it plain that A. Barry regularizes punctuation and spelling and introduces italics for his own purposes.

2 This is the first known surviving letter from Pugin to Charles Barry (1795 – 1860). He is replying to an unrecorded letter from Barry, who is asking for help in making drawings for the Houses of Parliament. Pugin had stopped working for Barry on this project in 1837 but they undoubtedly stayed in touch.

3 The carved wooden stalls in Antwerp Cathedral from 1837 were an outstanding example of revived Gothic woodcarving and later Pugin did employ some Flemish carvers for the House of Lords. See below.

4 It could be 'adapting' that Pugin writes.

5 Between 1836 and 1837 Pugin made a set of elaborate drawings for the purpose of forming an estimate of the cost of the building. These were not used in the executed work.

6 If the itinerary in his diary, which records a visit to Alton Towers on 14 June, is anything to go by, Pugin was quite cured before he reached London on Monday 17 June. They probably did meet in London before Pugin left on 20 June for Dover and a journey to Belgium and Germany. Barry clearly did not give up his desire for Pugin's help at Westminster, and he wrote to him again on 3 September from Brighton in a letter which is also given in A. Barry pp.39–40. Pugin was mourning the death of Louisa, his second wife, on 22 August, and this time Barry was successful in his request. They spent several days together in Brighton following this letter and thus Pugin was gradually drawn into working with Barry again, now on decorating the interiors of the Houses of Parliament.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, Saturday, 8 February 1845?

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 1¹ Address: none Postmark: none

✠ Saturday – Post Cineres[?]²

My Dear M^r. Barry,

1 by tomorrow Mondays night Coach I will send you all the detail drawings in Pencil for the 3 rooms you gave me – general patterns 1½ scale details real size.³ I hope they will be what you wish.

2 you will find a rough pattern Crown in London to offer up for the west[?] front[?]. it was directed to Mr. Groves the clerk of works.⁴

3 I want another order like the Last to send off with another man to squeeze.⁵

4th. I propose coming to London next week & see after the carvers.⁶

5 I gave wailes a good blowing up for his heavy glass & bad greens & he has offered to furnish another specimen on a different principle at his own cost to which I have agreed.⁷ It will be well to think of some of the square badges for the River front windows.

6. as we have now begun in good earnest with the work I wish to state exactly my views on the subject to prevent any misunderstanding.

First for the £200 a year I agree to furnish drawings & instructions for all the carved ornaments in wood that may be required.⁸

Secondly. that all travelling expenses whatever connected with the above work are to paid extra to that sum. My residence being at Ramsgate my journeys to London must be considered as travelling expenses & paid accordinly – unless I am compelled to take the journey for other purposes not connected with the work.⁹

Thirdly. I am empowered to send persons to collect squeezes &^c & all expenses connected with that object or the purchase of original models to be paid from time to time accordg to the accounts I will furnish to you and all journeys which I make for the purpose of finding out proper models.

Fourthly – all drawings for glass metal works & tiles &^c will be paid for in the estimates of the same acordg to the Rates we agreed.

Fiftly – you must include the expense of preparing these detail drawings in the estimate of the fittings and I will furnish you with the cost of them as you may require.

Sixtly – I am only responsible to you in all matters connected with the work. I act as your agent entirely & have nothing to do with any other person.

I mention all these things that we may have a perfect understanding at starting for it is a great work & will occupy the greater part of my time. there will be upwards of 1000 detail drawings of ornaments for the carvers at the house of Lords alone but I need not speak of these matters to you who know as well as I do what is required. only I mean to devote all my energy to the business & of course it must answer my purpose. I have covered My shop at Ramsgate so that I shall be able to have all the figures & difficult parts modeled under my own eye.¹⁰ this will cost me about £200 but I dont mind expense & trouble if we can obtain a good result.

I expect the Railing will be in London by the time I come up – so that a compartment may be tried.¹¹ you will see in the drawings of peers conference room I have indicated stencilling on the panels of ceilg.¹² I think you should introduce this. it is so easy – & cheap & yet so effective. fine inscriptions & &c.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ A Welby Pugin

- 1 The MS is endorsed in what is believed to be Barry's hand 'Terms of Mr. Pugins engagement in the works of the New Palace at Westminster'. The letter is copied in *Letters*, vol. 2, pp. 383-4, from the transcript in A. Barry and given a date of not later than April 1845.
- 2 A. Barry states that the letter has a postmark of Amiens but no envelope survives with the MS, nor is it folded as if for an envelope; there is no address panel. The two words Pugin writes after 'Saturday' could just be 'Post Amiens' but there is no record of a visit to that place in his diary between May 1844, which is too early for the collaboration with Barry, and March 1847 when Pugin was on his way to Italy. On the other hand, Barry notes in his diary for 1845, MS RIBA DC/Ba Fam 1(a). 6, that he had a 'Consultation with Pugin respecting wood carvings &c' in London on Monday 27 January, and for the following three days, 28 January, 29 January, and 30 January, when Barry records 'as yesterday', the discussion continued. It was a long meeting, the sort that would prompt the kind of setting down of terms agreed that Pugin sends in this letter. After he returned home on Saturday 1 February, there is just one entry in Pugin's diary for the three weeks before he notes his next journey to London on 24 February. That entry is placed at Sunday 2 February in the transcript in Wedgwood 1985 but belongs rather at Wednesday 5 February, and it precedes a long blank period which could have been dedicated to the drawings. It reads: 'Began carving for Palace of Westminster'. In 1845 5 February was Ash Wednesday. This letter may have been written on the Saturday after that, Pugin using the Latin form of the date, 'after the ashes'; especially in the early 1840s he was inclined to use the dates, usually in Latin, of the ecclesiastical calendar, although it was more often in writing to clergy of a Tractarian persuasion than to Protestant architects.
- 3 A. Barry reads 'portions' for 'paterns'.
- 4 A. Barry reads 'delivered' for 'directed'. F. H. Groves worked at Westminster as a superintendent for Barry until April 1845.
- 5 Pugin wrote to E. J. Willson on 23 February 1845 about obtaining squeezes, or casts, of wooden details in the cathedral at Lincoln. See also below more information on the collection of plaster casts at Westminster.
- 6 Pugin notes 'Left Ramsgate for London' in his diary at 24 February 1845. At 25 February 1845 Barry records that he was 'With Pugin at the Govt Shops at Thames Bank giving orders at the Works'. The date of this journey to the capital may argue for a later date for this letter.
- 7 William Wailes (1801-1881), stained glass maker in Newcastle, whom Pugin employed between 1841 and 1845.
- 8 Late in December 1844, Barry arranged with the government that Pugin should supervise the wood carving at Thames Bank Workshops for £200 per year.
- 9 Pugin moved to Ramsgate in August 1844 immediately after the death of his second wife Louisa, and soon after that moved into his new house there, now called The Grange.
- 10 The reference is to Pugin's workshop at the Grange; This was built in 1845, in the corner of the entrance yard against the north wall. A. Barry reads 'increased' for 'covered'.
- 11 Many letters to John Hardman about this date mention the railing, which is for the side galleries in the House of Lords chamber; Hardman was the Birmingham manufacturer for all Pugin's metalwork.
- 12 The peers conference room, where both Houses could meet, was planned for the Principal Floor on the River Front. This did not happen, but stencilling for ceilings was widely used.

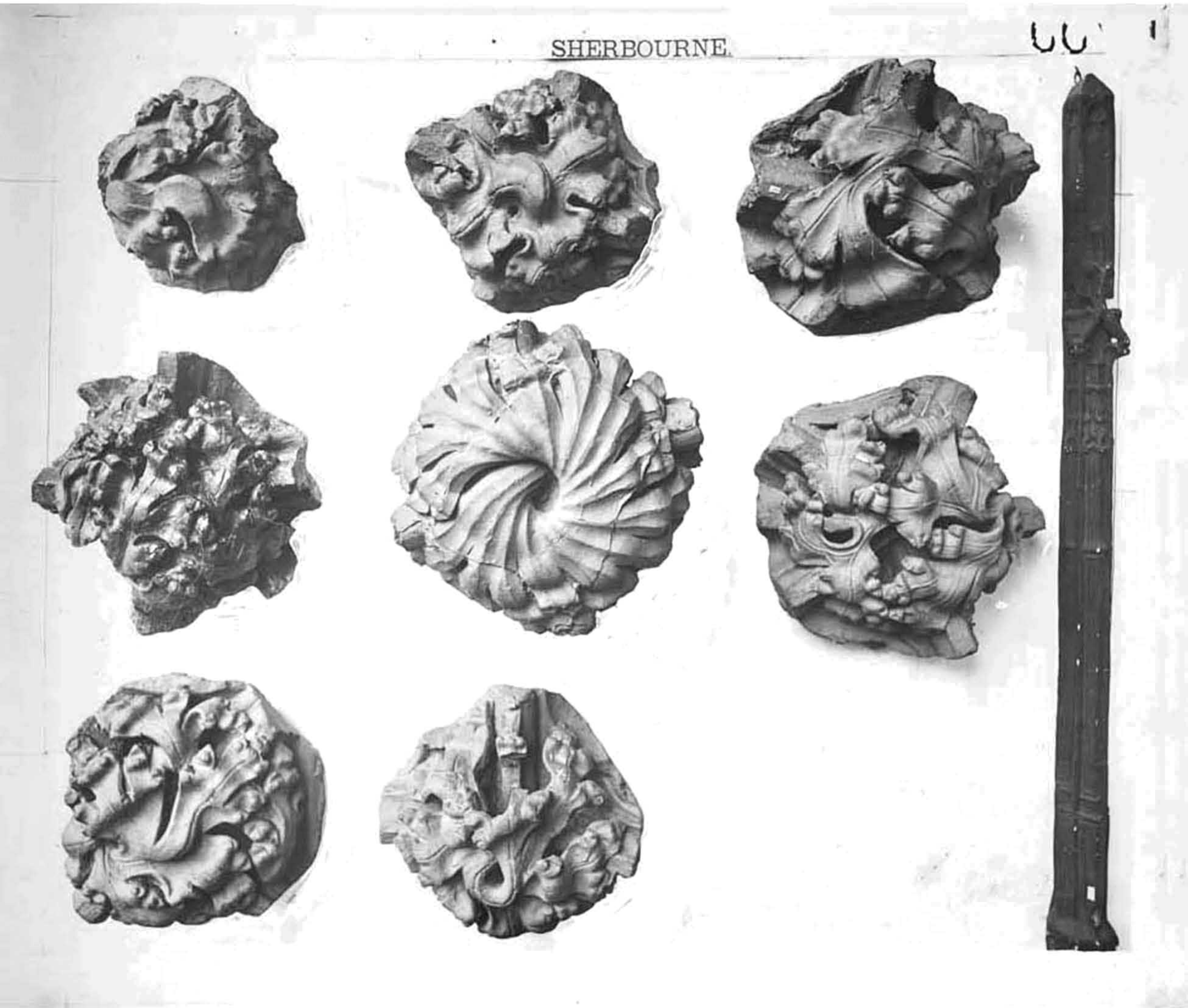


Fig. 3. Photograph of plaster casts of bosses at Sherborne Abbey, collected for Pugin to instruct the carvers at the Thames Bank workshops, Parliamentary Archives.

To CHARLES BARRY

En route, Saturday, 7 June 1845

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.4¹ Address: none Postmark: none

✠ Mercury – Steamer Saturday²

My Dear M^r. Barry

Scince I saw you Last night I have been informed that some most exaggerated statements respecting the nature of my employment at the Palace of Westminster have appeared in one of the papers. I need not tell you how distressed & annoyed I feel at it – for I have always been most careful to prevent any misconception on this head. I have most distinctly stated that I was engaged by you & for you to carry out into practical execution the minor details of the decoration according to your designs, that I did nothing whatever on my own responsibility that everything was submitted to approved, or altered by you, that in fine my occupation was simply to carry out your views in the practical execution of the internal detail. I can assure you I wish to serve you in this work with the greatest fidelity. no one can better appreciate your skill & judgment than myself & no man has ever borne more sincere & willing testimony to them than myself. now if you think right I will make a formal denial of these statements to put an end to all nonsense. I have not seen the article but M^r. Crace told me that one of your clerks had mentioned to him.³ it will therefore be easy to know when & where it appeared – & I really think it would be as well – to state the real state of the case. I would send you my contradiction for your approval. I am sure you know me too well to imagine that such statements would give me anything but great pain & annoyance but I should like at once to disabuse the public & Let them know the true nature of my employment at the palace.

pray Let me hear from you about this.

I sent yesterday a whole cart load of casts from Thames bank to the works at Westminster. I hope all there will be taken great care of that they may be united in one great collection when they are done with & they may form the commencement of a great National gallery – of ancient art.⁴

ever yours most sincerely

✠ A Welby Pugin

I see in the Times this morning that Reid AND Barry!!!! came in for their share of blame in the Lords.⁵

¹ The letter is printed in A. Barry, pp. 56-7, and copied in Letters, vol. 2, pp. 393-4.

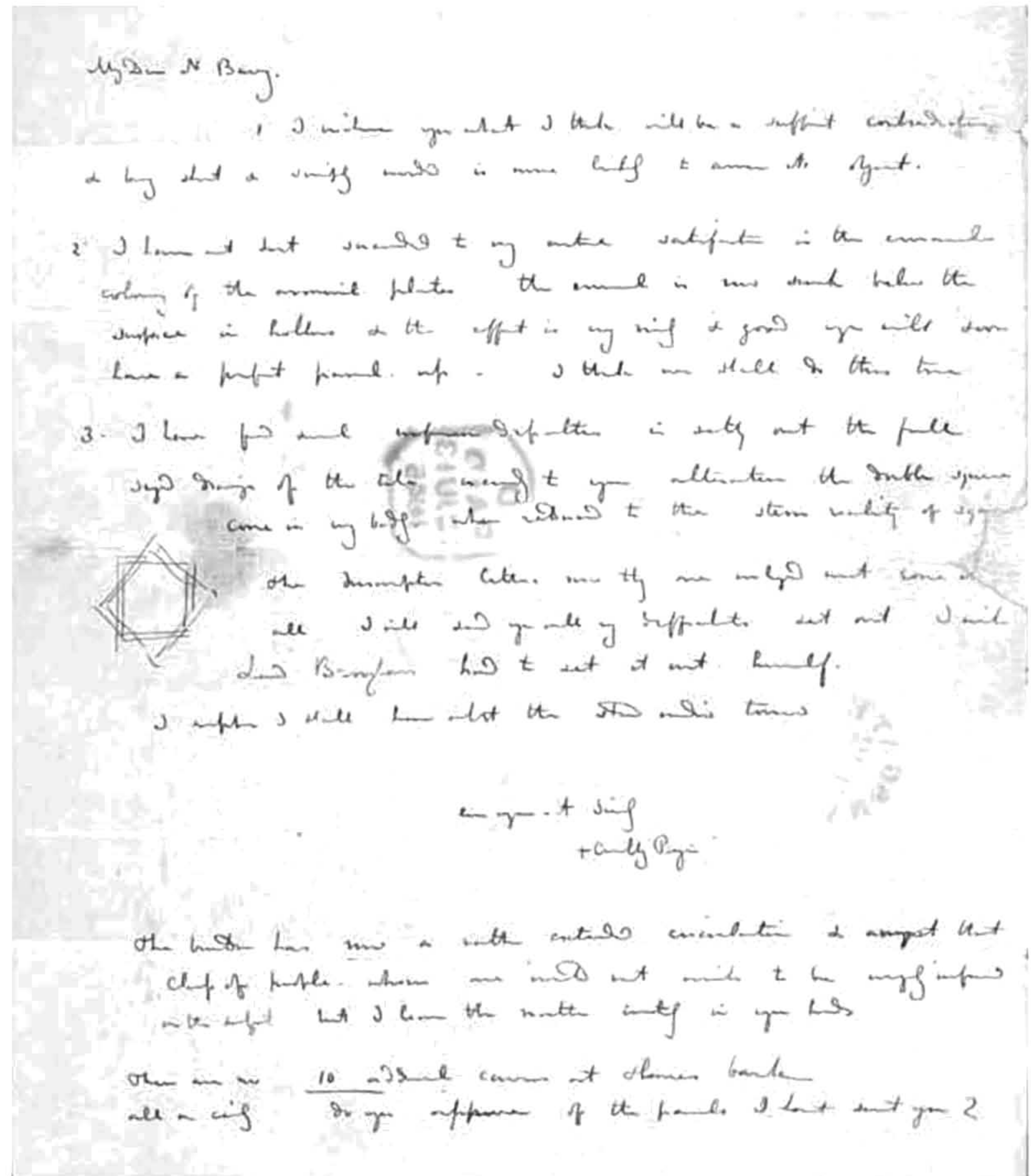
² A. Barry reads 'Morning'. Pugin was sailing in the Mercury, a steam packet operated by the General Steam Navigation Company and departing daily for Ramsgate from London Bridge wharf at 9.30 a.m. The name found illegible at 25 June 1847 in the transcript of Pugin's diary in Wedgwood 1985 is most likely to be 'Mercury'.

³ The interior decorator J. G. Crace (1809-1889) was employed widely on the new Houses of Parliament. He was the head of a well-known firm of decorators in London and Pugin had worked with him previously.

⁴ Between 1845 and 1846 Pugin made an extensive collection of these plaster casts which were brought to the Thames Bank workshops as examples and inspiration for the carpenters to work from. A careful catalogue of them was made in 1846, and when the workshops were closed in 1859 the collection was sent to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). Much information about the collection is to be found in PRO WORKS 11/16. There is also a volume of excellent photographs in the House of Lords Library, probably made in 1899-1900 to help identify the pieces which are sorted by place. They are all of English fifteenth-century stone and wood carving. Unfortunately very few of them have survived. See illustration.

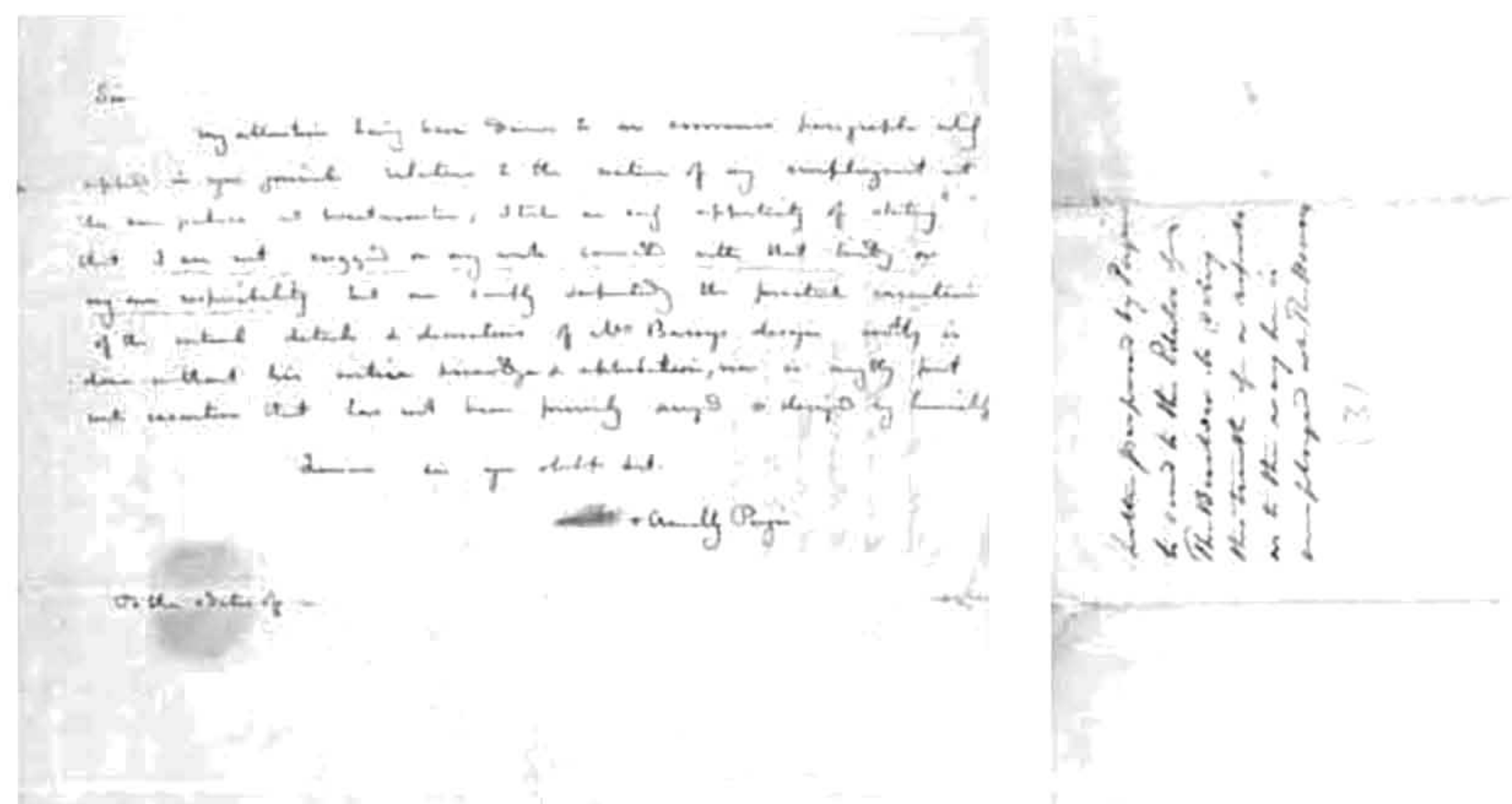
⁵ The House of Lords was debating the grant proposed for Maynooth College, the Catholic Seminary in Ireland. 'The house was crowded, the heat intolerable; REID and BARRY came in for much malediction and abuse.' (The Times 7 June 1845 p.4) David Boswell Reid (1805-1863) teacher of Chemistry at Edinburgh, was appointed in 1840 to arrange the ventilation of the new buildings at Westminster. He frequently quarreled with Barry who took over the ventilation of the House of Lords but Reid continued to do that in the House of Commons until he was dismissed in 1852.

Fig. 4. Letter from A.W.N. Pugin to Charles Barry, 12 June 1845. Parliamentary Archives, London.



Right: Fig. 5a. Draft disclaimer by A.W.N. Pugin intended for publication. 12 June 1845. Parliamentary Archives, London.

Far right: Fig 5b. Endorsement of the draft shown in Fig.5a in what is thought to be Barry's hand.



To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, Thursday 12 June 1845

Text: MS PA BAR 31. I. 3a¹ Address: Charles Barry Esqr / 32 George Street / Westminster / London Postmark: Addington Place: JU 12 1845 in Ramsgate: 13 JU 13 1845

My Dear M' Barry,

1 I inclose you what I think will be a sufficient contradiction & being short & simply worded is more likely to answer its object.²

2 I have at Last succeeded to my entire satisfaction in the enamel colouring of the armorial plates. the enamel is now sunk below the surface in hollows & the effect is very rich & good.³ you will soon have a perfect panel up – I think we shall do this time.

3. I have found several unforeseen difficulties in setting out the full sized drawings of the tiles according to your alteration.⁴ the double squares come in very badly – when reduced to the stern reality of square. [Sketch: one square with a second superimposed on it as a diamond] The Inscription letters now they are enlarged wont come in all.⁵ I will send you all my difficulties set out. I wish Lord Brougham had to set it out – himself.⁶

I suppose I shall hear about the stained window tomorrow.

ever yours most Sincerely

✠ Awelby Pugin

The builder has now a rather extended circulation & amongst that Class of people – whom we would not wish to be wrongly informed on the subject but I leave the matter entirely in your hands.

There are now 10 additional carvers at Thames Bank all on ceiling. do you approve of the panels I Last sent you?

1 The letter with its enclosure is printed in A. Barry, pp. 57-8, and copied thence in Letters, vol. 2, pp. 397-8.

2 The draft, identified as MS PA BAR 31. I. 3b, survives with its covering letter. The MS is endorsed 'Letter prepared by Pugin to send to the Editor of The Builder to deny the truth of a report as to the way he is employed at The Houses' in what is thought to be Barry's hand.

Sir

my attention having been drawn to an erroneous paragraph which appeared in your journal relative to the nature of my employment at the new palace at Westminster; I take an early opportunity of stating that I am not engaged on any work connected with that building on my own responsibility but am simply superintending the practical execution of the internal details & decorations of M' Barry's design. nothing is done without his entire knowledge & approbation. nor is anything put into execution that has not been previously arranged & designed by himself.

I remain sir your obedt Sert.

✠ Awelby Pugin

To the editor of—

If this statement was forwarded to the Builder it was not published there, but in September 1845 a fuller version expanding on it was published: see Belcher 1987. A34.

3 An early design for the decoration of the walls at the back of the peers' benches was for enameled armorial plates as in the stalls for The Garter Knights in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

4 Variant readings in A. Barry, such as 'some' here for 'several', are minor.

5 The MS has been torn here by the opening of the seal.

6 Lord Brougham, Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868), was the Lord Chancellor and severely criticised Barry for his delay in completing the chamber of the House of Lords (3 Parliamentary Debate LXXXI 5 and 9 June 1845).



Fig. 6. Mannheim Railway Station, c. 1845. Public Domain (Wikipedia).

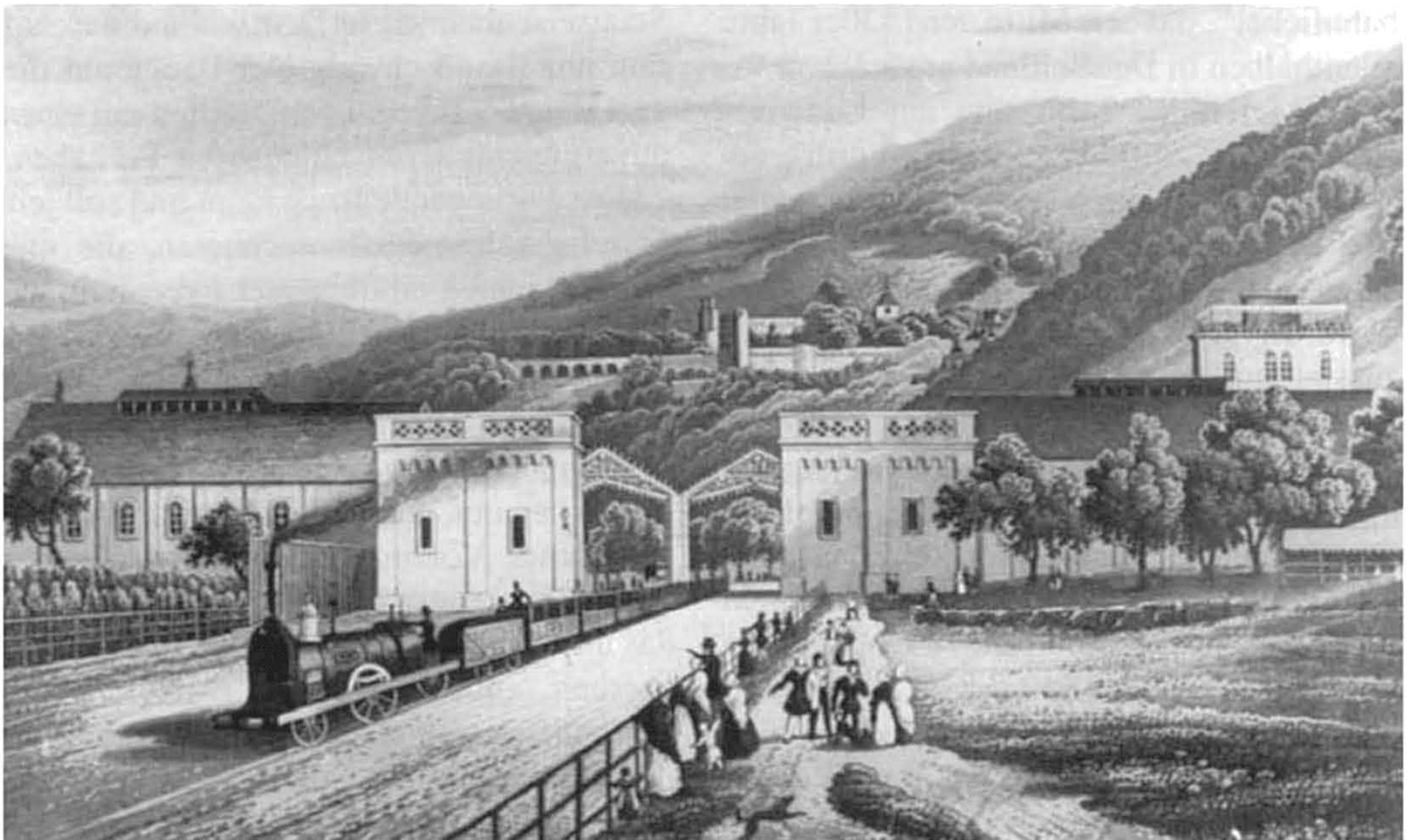


Fig. 7. Heidelberg Railway Station, c. 1845. Public Domain (Wikipedia).

To CHARLES BARRY

Basle. Friday. 1 August 1845

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 14¹ Address: Charles Barry Esq^r / 32 George Street / Westminster / London / Angleterre Postmark: 1 AO UT 1845 in Basel; 1 AO UT 45 in Suisse: 4 AO UT 4 in Paris: 5 AU 5 1845²

Basle – August 1

there is nothing that I have seen to compare to Basle except Nuremberg. lots of fine iron work. such clocks & Leaden turrets.³ do not you envy me? [Sketch: tiles and cresting, inscribed 'I peirced crocket to Each tile' and 'in tiles this is very like what you decided on']

My Dear M', Barry

I have arrived safe at Basle & begin to return on Saturday. I have seen a great deal in a litle time & much that will be applicable to the great work, after all there will be nothing like it for the Largest of the old works are small in comparison & not half so well carried out. I must own that I think you are right in the principle – of repeton of bays, all the great town halls &c are certainly so & I have paid particular attention to this point. you know I never hold out after I am convinced & now I can advocate it concentouly.⁴ The best moden architecture that I have seen is the Railway from Manheim to Strasbourg.⁵ the stations are beautiful. all **constructive** principle. if the Roofs had a higher pitch they would be almost perfect. I have seen some splendid metal work in brass & Iron – & have taken in a fresh supply from the fountain of medieval antiquity, you ought really to be forced away for 2 weeks to this country. it would do you a world of good & you would fetch up the actual time afterwards. remember life ebbs away – & every year some fine old thing is destroyed. you ought as a positive duty to come to these countries now & then. I am so up to everything that I could give you such directions that would enable you to see a vast deal even in 2 weeks. I expect to be back about the 14th. of this month & I shall come direct to you.⁶ I left them plenty of work at Thames bank well explained so I think they will get on well till I return. if you decide on the upper tracery panells it will make a deal of work both for joiners & carvers.⁷ I thought you would be glad to hear where I was & therefore I have sent you these few lines – & I only wish I could persuade you to follow my example. there is a great deal of fine old Heraldry about the buidings in Bale & in alsace. I see so much that I did not know of at all, that it really appears as if we know less the longer we study & I suppose by the time one is very knowing indeed, we shall be almost past profiting[?] by the knowledge.

ever yours most scincerely

✠ AWelby Pugin

- 1 The letter is written in pencil, and Pugin has pencilled 'Mr B' very lightly in the top left corner of the address panel to remind himself, when he is in command of ink, whose name is to be added to the already folded and sealed letter. Pugin has drawn a rough sketch on an otherwise unused part of the verso of 'iron doors', in which one panel features 'lions & Eagles'. The MS is endorsed in pencil in what is thought to be Barry's hand 'Foreign letters & disclaimers[?]'. The letter is transcribed in A. Barry, p. 54, and thence in Letters, vol. 2. pp. 424-5.
- 2 The address panel bears other foreign postmarks no longer legible.
- 3 A. Barry reads 'clocks in leaden turrets' but what Pugin writes is an ampersand.
- 4 Pugin may have been looking for 'conscientiously'; that is the reading in A. Barry.
- 5 This stretch of railway would have been brand new when Pugin travelled on it. Stations on the route included Mannheim, which was completed in 1840, and Heidelberg and Karlsruhe, which were completed in 1843. - DFL
- 6 A. Barry reads the date as '19th' but '14' is correct. Pugin next arrived in London on 19 August 1845.
- 7 Pugin refers to the canopy to the throne.



Fig.8. Detail of paneling in the chamber of the House of Lords, showing some of the kings' heads mentioned in the letter of 19 September 1845 .
Courtesy of Mark Collins.

To CHARLES BARRY

En route, Friday, 19 September 1845?

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.21¹ Address: Charles Barry Esqr / 32 Great George Street / Westminster Postmark: SP 19 1845 in Nottingham: 20 SP 20 1845

My Dear M' Barry

I returned from Ireland on Tuesday to have a long day at Thames bank & I think I have set all square again for a litle while.² I was very anxious to have seen you but was obliged to go to Nottingham this morning.³ I shall return I expect in 10 days & hope to find you all the better for your expedition. I enclose you Phyffers account for the models which appears to me out of all reason.⁴ he has more for the model of an angel than I get for an altar front and they are not very satisfactory jobs either. I am quite sure Myers would have made far finer things for less than half.⁵ £18 for the model of an angel!! we cannot estimate for such prices. I have slopped him for the present and told him to go on with kings heads acording to his agreement, till I had consulted you. you better tell him it cannot go on. if it was known we shoud have a strike among the English Carvers at once.⁶ the Elbows animals cost exactly £1. 17 each for the model & Phyffers has £1 2. I am sure you will think as I do that it is out of all character & it would do a deal of good for you to tell him so. [Sketch: an outline of an animal on the curved end of a bench]⁷ I see more stupid lies in the builder but I do not think it is necessary to say any more for ones whole time might be occupied in contradicting.⁸ give them line enough & they will hang themselves. I see Rogers is described in the last as only a Dealer in Carvings.⁹ ha ha ha. I roared at the description of you bowing out the applicant à la Tallerand. I should be very glad to have a line from you about Phyffers &c. please direct to me at Alton Towers near Cheadle.¹⁰

ever yours most sincerely

✠ A Welby Pugin

you will see casts of 3 splendid fire places from Tattershall castle at Thames Bank.¹¹

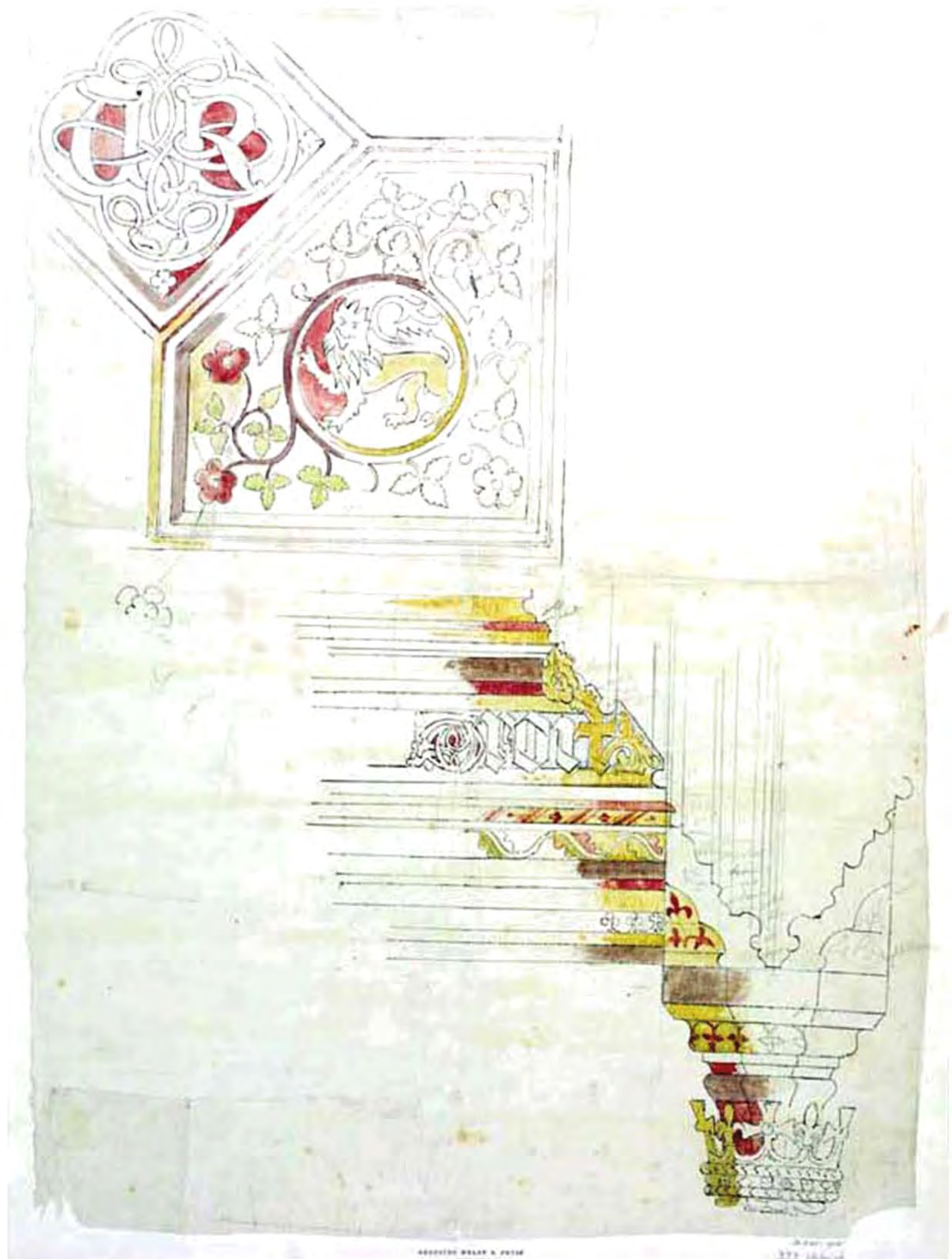
1 The letter is written in pencil. Pugin has pencilled 'Barry' lightly in the top left corner of the address panel before inscribing the address in ink. The MS is endorsed '19 Sept 1845'.

2 The dates in the transcript of Pugin's diary in Wedgwood 1985 need adjustment in September 1845. Pugin crossed from Ireland 'at night to Liverpool' in a 'fresh wind' on Saturday 13 September, spent Sunday in Liverpool, and after going to Scarisbrick during the day travelled 'on at night for London' on Monday 15 September; thus he was simply 'At London', as he says, on Tuesday 16 September.

3 Pugin left London on 19 September for 'Wymeswold, Nottingham and York'.

4 Theodore John Baptiste Phyffers (c.1820–76), born in Louvain, Belgium, came to England in the mid-1840s and lived there for the rest of his life, working first as a sculptor making models for the carvers at Thames Bank. Pugin notes the address of Phyffers in his diaries for 1845 and 1849, and in 1851 records him at '3 Ponsonby Place Mill Bank', close to the Thames Bank works. The 'Kings heads', perhaps the most intricate wood carving in the chamber, are below the cove to the galleries around the sides of the chamber. See illustration.

Fig.9 Design by A.W.N.Pugin for ceiling of the chamber of the House of Lords with colours added by J.G.Crace. Victoria and Albert Museum.



- 5 George Myers (1804–75) was the builder whom Pugin employed wherever possible.
- 6 Some sections of the press about this time complained about the employment of foreign craftsmen on the new Houses of Parliament; see Belcher 1987, D240, for example.
- 7 The ‘Elbows Animals’ are on the ends of the Peers’ benches. It seems that each model cost £1.17s.
- 8 It looks like a later hand than Pugin’s that pencils a vertical line in the left margin from ‘I see’ at the beginning of this sentence down to ‘themselves’ at the end of the next.
- 9 In the anonymous ‘English Decorators and the New House of Lords’, *Builder*, 3 (30 August 1845): 416, Barry is attacked for failing to engage English workmen for the decoration of the House of Lords. In particular, the Royal Commission judging specimens of wood-carving submitted to display their capacity singles out ‘Mr. Rogers’ as holding ‘the first place’ and being ‘the person best qualified to be entrusted with those parts of the woodwork of the House of Lords in which great richness of effect and delicacy of execution are required’. Yet when Rogers communicated with Barry as directed by the commission, ‘Mr. Barry says there is nothing for him to do at present; and bows out the applicant with this flattering excuse. – “There is nothing worthy the exercise of your talent, Mr. Rogers, in the House of Lords!”’ William Gibbs Rogers (1792–1875) ran a large wood-carving business in Soho, London, which employed as many as fifteen men and was engaged by eminent patrons; he was known, though, as a copyist of Grinling Gibbons. In a letter headed ‘Decoration of the New House of Lords’ and signed ‘Justice’, *Builder*, 3 (3 September 1845), Rogers is dismissed as ‘a dealer in carvings of good judgment but himself a very poor hand’ (p. 435).
- 10 Pugin was at Alton Towers, according to his diary, from 24 September, rather than 22 September as in Wedgwood 1985, until 3 October 1845.
- 11 Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire, now in the care of the National Trust, is known for its huge medieval fireplaces: Pugin’s diary records that he first visited Tattershall on 26 May 1841 and then not again until 8 August 1849.

To CHARLES BARRY

En route, Tuesday, 7 October 1845

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.22¹ Address: C Barry Esqr. / 32 George Street / Westminster / London Postmark: Addington Place; OC 8 1845 in Ramsgate: 9 OC 9 1845

SE Railway Tuesday

My Dear Mr. Barry

I have got so bad a cold in my head & limbs that I have returned home to nurse myself a little for I am fearful of one of my severe reumatic attacks.² after you left me at Cheadle I went with the revd Mr. Bagot to two churches that I am restoring about 16 miles apart & the rain pouring with a gale of wind in an open chaise.³ I was regularly soaked & for the last 6 miles had to get down & open a gate every ¼ of a mile or so. I felt very bad when I got to Birmingham in the evening & have not been well since.⁴ So much for myself. Now for Business. I came up by the night train from Birmingham on Sunday & got to Thames Bank very early. I was there all day yesterday & this morning.

1 I have made great alterations in the models for the throne & know you will approve of all I have done. with the exception of the pendant everything was more or less defective & some cripples in the setting out of the inverts which I have got right. [Sketch: a double ogee curve] I have ventured to widen the stringcourses. they were too narrow to admit of effective carving. the pinnacles were beastly. they will now come well. all this shows the necessity of having these deal models for they will never do right till they have wrong & then one can point out the defects. I think by the time I come up again I shall have the throne models all ready for you & then it may go on.

2 The stays under the railing the pendants. the sitting animals the bosses for side corridor ceiling the spandrels of bar end are all going on well as are the Large bosses. I think you will like the tracery cusps for the cove panels.

3 I am very well satisfied with the modellers. I gave a long lecture to the new modeler & I think he will turn out a capital hand in a little time. I broke up 2 beastly models of spandrels for the bar end & gave them instructions for 2 others on a better principle & not so relieved[?] & cut up.

4 I wish you would talk to Phyffers. his ideas are quite extravagant for he talks of only £5 less in rougher models. that is £11. now this will not do. the models of the sitting animals done in our shop have not exceeded £1. 10 each & I consider them better & the young fellow I have got is very anxious to work on angels. I am sure I can bring him on well & I have others & it would be better for you to talk to Phyffers at once & upset his ideas. I told him it could not go on & he made out that I wanted the models so much finished. now this is not true for I expressly told him to do no more than necessary.

1 The letter is written in pencil. as is the address. Pugin has ruled pencil lines across the page to keep his writing straight.

2 Pugin notes in his diary that he went home to Ramsgate on 7 October.

3 Barry had come to Staffordshire to go with Pugin to inspect Herbert Minton's ceramic works at Stoke-on-Trent. Minton was to make all of the tile pavements at Westminster. Barry also visited St Giles Church Cheadle, Pugin's masterpiece of architecture and decoration, which was nearing completion. After Barry departed, Pugin drove with H. C. Bagot; they visited St Leonard's, Blithfield, where Bagot was rector, and All Saints, Leigh, where the living was in the gift of the head of the Bagot family.

4 Pugin's diary records that he reached Birmingham in the evening on Friday 3 October and stayed there until he journeyed 'on to London at night' on Sunday 5 October.

5 I have private information that the carvers are going to get up a memorial for the alteration of their hours. they want to work 1 hour a day less in winter. this is too much. their present hours are from 6 till ½ past 5. 6 is certainly too early on winter morning considering the distance of the workshop & I should propose from 7. till 6 in the evening for the winter & their present times again in spring.

6 Crace has shown me his drawing for the painting of the house.⁵ I think it is too much cut up, you have commenced on a grand scale & you must work it out. I should avoid all small diaper on mouldings – it should rich but solid. I do not like the effect of the inscriptions running round the windows | & all positive colour should be avoided in the projecting parts & kept for grounds & panels. Crace is getting out an outline of a compartment for me & I will colour it according to this principle & send it to you for inspection. you have succeeded capitally in the ceiling & the same principle should go down.

7. I happened yesterday to see a lot of stone bosses which I expect are intended for the great tower. they are for the most part so vile that if it was my job I should break them up without mercy – even at my own cost. some of them look as if they originated in Louis 14th glass frames. do go & see them. they are under the air chamber under the house of Lords. they do not seem as if they had even looked at the fine set of bosses I sent up from Sherborne.⁶ this great tower ought to be a masterpiece in detail⁷ as well as mass & of a grand massive character in the detail. there is full twice too much work & that work bad.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ AWelby Pugin

I shall get a warm bath as soon as I get home. let me hear from you.

- 5 Crace's complicated colouring (see Fig.9) shows how successful Pugin was in simplifying colour in the chamber
- 6 Pugin visited Sherborne in Dorset on 15 May 1845. He had a very large number of plaster casts made of 15th century stone and wood details in Sherborne Abbey. See illustration.
- 7 The 'great tower' became called the Victoria Tower.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, late February 1846?¹

Text: MS PA BAR 31. I. 16 Address: none Postmark: none



My dear M' Barry

when I come up to town which will be I suppose this week I will endeavour to Look up all the scraps that form the accounts – but of course I have done. I have written to have the plasterer discharged in devonshire.² I will send Nash the balance due the man – & then I close 1 account.³ I have gone through this job with great zeal – and infinite trouble. the only benefit I have derived is the sight of several places I might not otherwise have observed – but beyond that it is a mere outlay of my own money which it seems I shall infinite trouble to get back. I am perfectly disgusted by the proceedings of these men – & it is only on your account that consent even put my foot in Thames bank or any place belonging to such a set of people.⁴ I am astonished how you can go on with them. no inducement in the world could make me transact business with persons who can act in this manner. In the whole course of my practice I never met with anything like it. they pay nothing. they dont even pay the common salary. I should be quite satisfied if they paid once a year providing they kept to their time. we shall now soon be in March – & the money was due the 6 of Janr. they dont even transact business in a regular manner – however it is no use talking. I have nothing directly to with them – most fortunately or else they would not have me long on any of their jobs.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ Awelby Pugin

- 1 Internal evidence points to the date, and letters to Hardman coincide.
- 2 The plasterer is unidentified. This seems to indicate the end of the project of making plaster casts of medieval details for the Thames Bank Workshops. Undoubtedly this was ordered for reasons of economy.
- 3 Nash was another wood-carver who exhibited for the commission but, unlike Rogers, successfully, for he was selected to superintend some work for Barry.
- 4 Pugin is referring to the commissioners and staff of the Office of Woods and Works (from 1851 the Office of Works) who were in charge of getting the Houses of Parliament built and also of the money with which to do it. This letter shows how unsuited Pugin was temperamentally to working in this sort of situation and that Barry's methods for dealing with commissioners and committees were better.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, April 1846

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 5¹ Address: none Postmark: none

My Dear M^r. Barry –

1°. I am sure you are mistaken about the amount of the balance due to me. it is short at Least of £100 of what we made it when we drew up the balance sheet.

2. I gave you Wailes stamped receipt for what I paid him at the same time & you entered it on the same sheet.

3. I inclose you a receipt for the £100 for the glass & for the travelling expenses &c. I believe I receipt the same things 2 or 3 times over.

4°. I really cannot believe what you think about Nash – for he took the work at a deal less than it came to by day work, very much less – and at what I thought would only leave him a very moderate profit such as he ought to have – and I can form a very good opinion.

5 – – you will never get such work as that done at Thames Bank done for much less. the only expensive men we have are Phyffers & autry[?] & yet we cannot do without them.² their work is first rate & they will be paid accordinly. I tried it, and could not get our people to manage the figures at all – it is not likely that such carving can be done without a considerable cost – there is an enormous quantity and nothing in modern times has been done like it.

I cannot get up to town for at Least a few days – I am so busy.

express trains twice a day – in 3 hours here – fine breeze.

ever yours sincerely

✠ AWelby Pugin

– if you look you will find Wailes receipt For £48 – 0 – 0. you will Find my balance is 248.

1 The MS is endorsed in an unidentified hand 'Thames Bank / April 1846. From Pugin as to his / Accounts &c'.

2 Autry, if that was his name, has not been identified. He was probably another Fleming who had worked on the stairs in Antwerp Cathedral.



Fig. 10. Throne in the Lords Chamber. Parliamentary copyright images are reproduced with the permission of Parliament.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, May 1846?

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 18 Address: none Postmark: none

My Dear Mr. Barry –

I send you the framing for the back of throne Set out according to the new dimensions. you will perceive that the panels will refer to the prince of Wales PW & feathers – which will distinguish them from the other panels. [Sketch: panel]

I am sending up to Thames bank

1 The bratishing between the ribs will be composed of the Prince of wales crown on one side prince Alberts on the other. [Sketch: bratishing]

2 The inscription for the string under it – ich Dien & Treu und fest.¹

3^d. 4 queens beasts.

if you will allow it I should like to make the panels at back of the throne of Lions – to give them a distinct character – but flat Like those on Henry 7th tomb.²

– when they have got the framing out I will set out the panels full size – but it is no use doing so before the work is set out on the board.

The 3 coats of arms must be modeled & I have kept the size near enough. I shall fill the whole ground with mantling.

I want you to procure – the list of orders which the queen is entiled to wear in order to arrange them in the upper panels.³ I also want the Prince of Wales arms **exact** like that of Prince alberts which you sent me – & any badges to which he is entiled as Duke of Cornwall &c. pray do not forget this as it will be essential for the decoration of this part of the Throne.

I return your pencil drawing of the Throne – & as soon as I have arranged the new panneled ceiling I will return the tracings.

I also send you a sketch of a light to know if the proportion & character meets your wishes. if so I can go on & should like to have the sketch back.

To carry out these cartoons I ought to have some money placed at my disposal for it is impossible to move without expenses as you know. oliphant is only an artist & of Course without money.⁴ I shall even have to advance his expenses down & here & his Lodging &c – & all these things take so much money that I do not like to be always advancing – I live in hope, but this job pays worse than the worst job I ever had – & I do not see any chance of fetching up. had I had the execution of the windows at my disposal I might have got some return but the mere cartoons will but just cover themselves & I have to find all authorities argmnts – & direct oliphant & all the troublesome part of the windows & the real dificult part.⁵ you know I am not an unreasonable man & I am most anxious to carry out all your ideas but I must consider my own interest a litle & when I

- 1 Two German mottoes, one for the Prince of Wales, 'I serve', and the other for Prince Albert, 'loyal and steadfast'.
- 2 The tomb is in Westminster Abbey.
- 3 Pugin refers to the figures of Knights bearing shields on the projecting part of the central canopy.
- 4 Francis William Oliphant (1818-1859) was an artist who exhibited at the Royal Academy and designed stained glass. He had worked for Wailes but left him late in 1845 and set up on his own account in London. Pugin employed him often to draw the figures for his windows.
- 5 Pugin had intended to put the execution of the stained glass in the building in the hands of his close friend and colleague John Hardman. The Commissioners of the Fine Arts however commissioned one of the successful competitors from their competition of June 1843 for the decorative arts, the stained-glass firm of Ballantine and Allan in Edinburgh. This prevented Pugin from taking a commission on the manufacture of the glass and lessened his influence over the design, although he was still expected to provide the full size cartoons. However, all the remaining glass in the nineteenth century was made by John Hardman and his successors.

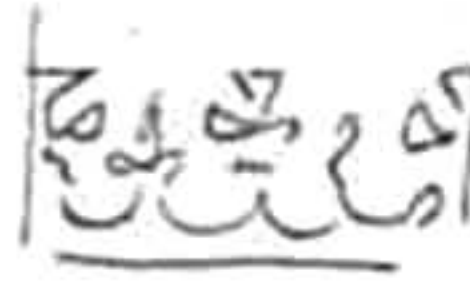
My dear Mr. Barry.

I send you the plan of the back of the
set out ready to the m. dimensions.

you will see that the panels will refer to the pair of wheels
P.W. & feathers. they will distinguish them from the
other panels.



I am sorry not to show the back.

The ~~backing~~ between the ribs 

will be covered of the Pair of wheels even on one
side from all the other.

2. The inscription for the story under it. Ich Dien
& Tren und fest. - 3. 4. Queens. but

if you will allow it. I should like to make the panels at
back of the three of drums - to join the & distinct elements
- but flat like those on Hay 7th tomb.

when they have got the planing out I will set out the
panels full size. but it is no use saying so before the
work is set out on the board.

The 3 coats of arms must be modified as I have kept the
size near enough. I shall fill the whole ground with
masonry.

I send you to preserve the list of orders which the queen is entitled
to wear in order to arrange them in the upper panels.

I also send the Pair of wheels arms as like that

Fig. 11. Letter from A.W.N. Pugin to Charles Barry, May 1846? (continued on pages 160 & 161). Parliamentary Archives, London.

come to reckon up the time expended & the returns they are very unsatisfactory. only consider the quantity of working drawings that have been prepared for fittings &^c which have not produced a shilling when had I passed the same time in my ordinary business would have brought in some hundreds – & drawings easily done, to all these very complicated work. the salary as you know does not pay for the time or anything like it – & positively up to this time I have only seen one hundred pounds with the income tax taken out of it – for the mass of work that has been done just about the price of a parsonage house plans knocked off in a day.⁶ I know you are a reasonable man and you must make things a litte better somehow or anyther for I dont see any way of fetching up. if we could have got these windows they would have squared us off well & nobody any the worse, in fact I believe they would have saved money, but this cannot be helped – but do think of me a litte. you have cut out all the embroidery all the ennamel work, everything in fact which could have produced a litte return – & I dont see anything better on the horizon. I am sure I do my best – & as regards all the model they pay to the shilling what I do – & have to find all the tin – & then I am minus when I want it. I ought to have about £100 in advance to carry on these cartoons. I make all private persons book up half the money when they order a window & I dont see why I should be taking my own ressources for this job. I am sure you must see that as it is this is really a bad job for me & that ought not to be. pray take this matter into consideration.

ever yours most Sincerely
 ✠ A Welby Pugin

6 On fol. 137 of his account book, MS V&A L.50–1982/3, Pugin notes an amount £3 paid as 'income tax' on 'March 21' but he does not record the year. Introduced during the Napoleonic wars, income tax was abolished in 1816 but brought back in 1842.

of Pinia alerts what you sent me.

- & my badges to what he is entitled as Duke of Cornwall &c

may not forget this as it will be useful for the
decoration of the front of the Throne.

I return your kind ring of the Throne.

As soon as I have any of the new painted ceiling

I will return the tracing.

I also send you a sketch of a light to know if the
proportion & character meets your wishes if so I can go on
I should like to have the sketch back

- To carry out these cartoons I ought to have done many
plans at my disposal for it is impossible to move without
as much as you have. I am an artist & of course
without money I shall ever have to admire his cartoons
done & have & his dignity &c. & all these things take
so much money that I do not like to be always asking

- I live in hope, but these jobs pay worse than the worst
job I can find. & I do not see any chance of getting up

as I had the execution of the medals at my disposal I
ought have got some return but the more cartoons will but
not come through & I have to find all authentic agents

- a direct object & all the troublesome part of the medals
& the real difficult part. you know I am not an unmanageable
man & I am not anxious to carry out all your ideas
but I must consider my own interest a little & when
I come to reckon up the time expended & the returns

they are my unsatisfactory. only consider the quantity of
 only designs that have been put in for fittings. I wish
 have not provided a shilly who had I had the same
 time in my ordinary business would have kept in some
 hundreds. I design easily done, to all these my complaint
 work. the salary as you have does not pay for
 the time or any thing like it. I put up with this time
 I have not seen one half paid with the income tax
 taken out of it. for the mass of work that has been done
 just about the price of a passage home please consider
 off in a day. I have you are a reasonable man and
 you must make things a little better somehow or another
 for I don't see any way of fetching up. if we could
 have got there under they would have signed us off
 well & nobody any the worse, in fact I believe they would
 have saved money, but then cannot be helped. but do think
 of me a little. you have cut out all the embroidery
 all the enameled work, exactly the fact which would have
 paid a little return. I don't see anything better on the
 horizon. I am sure I do my best. & as regards all
 the model they pay to the shilly what I do. & have to find
 all the tin. & then I am minus when I want it.
 I ought to have about £100 in advance to carry on these cartoons
 I make all printed forms. look up half the money when
 they add a word & I don't see why I should be taking
 my own expenses for this job. I am sure you must see
 that as it is this is really a bad job for me & that ought not
 to be. - please take this matter into consideration.
 ever yours most sincerely + John Pugin

To CHARLES BARRY

En route, Monday, 10 August 1846¹

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.71 Address: none Postmark: none

✠ Irish channel. 12 o'clock
on board the – Albert

My Dear Mr. Barry.

I have had a long talk with Hardman about lining the gas brackets & I fear it will not answer – for them although it may do for the great candelabra – everything that requires to be done by fine peircing &^c can be cheaper in brass than in iron the difference of Labour being greater than the value of the metal. The brass can be made very pale like the old brass work in flanders & this will perhaps answer your purpose. – I saw a spandril of the gates last night finished & it looked exceedingly well.² Hardman has written to you about the necessity of casting the frame peices in brass. I do not think it is possible to cure[?] them as originally intended or they will not be strong enough.

I Left Birmingham at one this morning & got to Sea by 5 so I have not lost a moment – & I will get back & sort out these gas fillings as quick as possible. I do not think that you sufficiently consider the very great expenses I am at for all this & before the house of Lords is finished they will even Encrease. only take Monday, between meeting you, going to Thames bank, Craces & oliphant, I was cabing all day & so late that I was forced to remain In town for the night – this is at least a pound paid – not to speak of time – I was obliged to send up for Powell to go at this window, pay his expenses, all sorts of things.³ I know that the aggregate is really considerable. You must get this somehow or another. I know that my expenses for the year will not be less than £100. That will hardly cover it – sending the drawings about by post is no small item & then again the moment I return I must come up to London merely on account of these fittings. I should stop at Cheadle only a few hours from Liverpool but I must come up & go back.⁴ there is £5, do be reasonable & look at these things, you rember I have no way of getting all this but through you – & I must have it for though it is capital fun making all these fine things I ought not to go to leward – if you will pay £50 now for the last half year & £50 again in January I shall be just clear – but nothing short of that will do – I am ready to make every exertion for you, but keep me square – & Moreover I wish the board of works would pay you for me – for they take no manner of notice of your orders. my banker tells me they have not paid anything since last spring – you see how litte consideration they show. not of course that £100 one way or other for a few months is an object – but punctuality is everything and I ought never to have to mention the subject.

1 Pugin tells Hardman in a letter postmarked 24 July 1846 to expect the working drawings for gas fittings for Westminster soon. The word Pugin writes in his first sentence could possibly be 'tining', for 'tinning', rather than 'lining'. Other correspondence proves that Pugin was in Dublin on 10 August 1846, a year for which his diary does not survive.

2 Pugin refers to the gates to the House of Lords from the Peers Lobby.

3 John Hardman Powell (1827-1895), the nephew of John Hardman, became Pugin's only pupil. He had arrived at the Grange in December 1844.

4 The church of St Giles at Cheadle, designed by Pugin, was due to be opened at the beginning of September 1846.

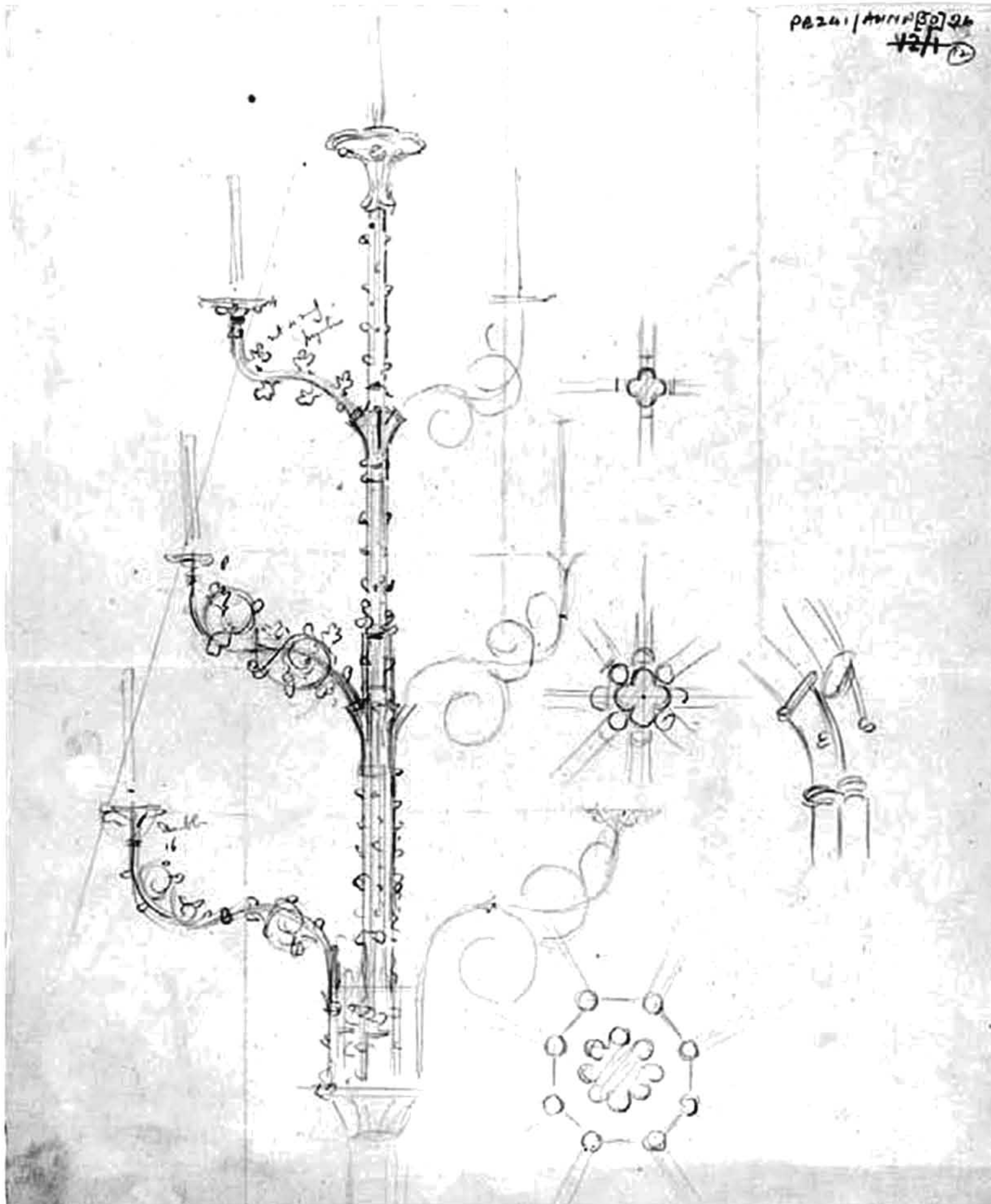


Fig. 12 Sketch design by A.W.N. Pugin for branches holding candles on the standard, or 'great candelabra', next to the throne in the chamber of the House of Lords, 1846. RIBA Collections.

now pray think of all this for money is not only the sinews of war but of architecture & I do not like to be paying away lots of money for the carrying on of this work – unless I see it coming back.⁵ it is disheartening. I shall be very anxious about the drawing of this window. I am obliged to leave it somewhat to chance. however I dare say it will answer your purpose but I fear they will not touch it in a sparkling maner.⁶ the manufacture of this variegated ruby of different shades in the same peice is perfectly successful. it is now quite attainable & I expect the effect will be splendid.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ A Welby Pugin

5 The phrase 'sinews of war' comes from the twenty-ninth of Francis Bacon's *Essays*, 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates'. In fact Bacon denies that money is the 'sinews of war'.

6 Pugin is expressing his doubts about the quality of work done by Ballantine and Allan.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, Sunday 6 December 1846¹

Text: MS PA BAR 31. I. 17² Address: none Postmark: none

✠ St Augustins Sunday Ev^g.

My Dear M^r. Barry

I am quite willing to own that as the gas is somewhat of a doubtful affair – Faraday could not throw the blame on others if he made his own brass work but it is a most unfortunate thing that you did not decide on this at first, for this sudden change will throw everything into confusion.³ if you remember I suggested to you originally to let Faraday do the work connected with his patent & Hardman the ornamental part, but you particularly wished the whole to be done by the latter. at that time I told you also, that if the fittings were to be done a number of gasfitters must be engaged, for that later in the year no good men could be obtained – and on the strength of what you told me Hardman engaged a strong body of men – with an agreement for several months and everything was thrust aside for this work. now all in a moment you take away above 2^{3/4} of the order and all the furniture of the doors as well – which has quite astonished me. you must remember that all my remuneration for making these drawings came out of the £5 per cent on the manufacture – and under present circumstances I shall get nothing. moreover it happens most unfortunately that the extra cost of the gates the cost of all the patterns that have been made – my own expenses were included in the gas fitting estimate according to a statement I sent up to you – & how all this is to be managed now I do not know – but it appears to me that it will be very difficult – the whole change has been so sudden that I am taken quite aback. Hardman has been driving on with the work as hard as possible – & seeing so much more before hand I have neglected all the church work as I did not think we should be able to attend to it for some time so – here we are with a great body of men – and your work just finished – all the work that was coming cut off – and I must now work day & night bad as I am to get the church work ready to employ the men – & we have to model it after my drawings are made & anyhow there must be a great loss. I assure you I had no conception of such an end as this or I never would have allowed hardman to have taken on such a Quantity of men especially gasfitters – who are not the best men for our purpose – however – I have written to him to desire him to send up the models &^c. & the standards themselves can soon follow – for I understand they are nearly finished – and the gates also.⁴ Hardman is the last man to solicit or expect work of any kind – but

1 The letter to Hardman to which Pugin refers here was probably written on Saturday 5 December 1846: see Letters, vol. 3, pp. 177-81.

2 The MS is endorsed in pencil in an unidentified hand 'As to Hardmans work being stopped'.

3 The lighting of the House of Lords chamber was a fraught question. Late in 1846 Hardman lost the whole order for gas branches in the galleries after a lighting trial had been pronounced a technical failure. The recommendations of Michael Faraday led to the employment of apparatus devised and manufactured by his brother James. For Barry's reply to this letter and further details see Letters, 3, pp.178-9. See also Port, 1976.

4 The standard lights, which in this correspondence are sometimes called 'the great candelabra', were to be lit by candles and so were not affected by this decision.

when the thing was all arranged & every other work thrown aside of course – it is annoying to have everything withdrawn at a days notice – as you must feel yourself – on considering the matter.

ever yours most Sincerely

✠ Awelby Pugin



Fig. 14. Sketch design by A.W.N. Pugin for the carpet for the throne in the Chamber of the House of Lords, to be executed by J.G. Crace, 1846. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 13. Sketch design by A.W.N. Pugin for one of the doors to the chamber of the House of Lords from the Peers Lobby, 1845. RIBA Collections.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, Sunday. 1846?

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.20 Address: none Postmark: none

✠ Ramsgate Sunday

My Dear M^r. Barry

I am quite in despair about the cartoons. I am sure you dislike everything that can be done – as for perspective and painting with less detail merely[?] for effect I am sure it will not answer. I really would suggest that you take into consideration whether you better not abandon figures for these windows altogether & have a simple sort of glazing with badges &c.¹ the fact is that the lights are too narrow to make a good job – that is the real source of all the difficulty. I declare most sincerely that I do not know how figures can be brought in as clear of the mullions as you wish & at the same time keep anything like positions of arms drapery &c. besides, excuse me but you are most inconsistent, one moment you tell me they should be monumental like Stodards drawn out, the next you say perfect drawing, perspective &c – and speak of the former as a barbarism.² what Can I do? I assure you I consider the case so hopeless that I am quite in despair. The lights of the S. aisle at Cologne which contain those fine figures of kings &c are 3 feet. 10 wide – & they do not look any too large for the figures & sides of canopy.³ I will make one more attempt when I return home if you wish it – & if that does not answer I would really suggest the transfer of these figures to one of the halls that has wider lights & to use more heraldic decoration instead for these windows.

I have sent up several more badges to Nash & a new panel for the wall framing. I am dreadfully distressed about these cartoons. I took so much pains with them, and as I mentioned to you in London – I really cannot get on with this sort of work. you must feel yourself that the work I do for you is very difficult & harassing & does not produce even a decent remuneration. I will go on for the present & at any rate get the house of Lords fittings all finished – but then I think you might let me off. the whole work pays so badly that really I should esteem it a favour to let me give up – after the heaviest part is over, of course I will not do anything to cause you increase of labour while you are so bothered & have so much on your mind, – but I see clearly that half the yearly money I receive will be swallowed up in attending Thames bank – & compared with even my most ordinary work the return is nothing, & circumstanced as I am you cannot blame me for wishing to attend to that sort of business which is of solid advantage. I am

1 There are only two figurative schemes for the 19th-century stained-glass in the Houses of Parliament, those in the Lords' chamber and the very different glass in St. Stephens Chapel.

2 Charles Alfred Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817), with a text by A. J. Kempe.

3 Pugin had visited Cologne Cathedral, where these windows are, in the summers of 1844 and 1845 and had made several watercolours of them.

unfortely obliged to go to the north again imedialy but perhaps you will send me a line wether you think it worth while trying another cartoon. I am certain it will not meet your ideas but I will do my best. you are aiming at an unatainable object.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ AWelby Pugin

- 1 The verso is inscribed in an unidentified copperplate hand 'N.H.P. From M^r Pugin respecting various works connected with the Ho. of Peers &c.'
- 2 The doors from the lobby to the chamber were sent up to London from Birmingham in February 1847, as were the grates which Pugin mentions later in this letter; the dials and hands for the clocks preceded them.
- 3 The 'Victoria Hall', the lobby at the south end of the Lords Chamber, where there is a statue of Queen Victoria, became known as the Princes' Chamber. Its decoration postdates Pugin's death.
- 4 The windows in the lobby were in place when the House of Lords was opened in April 1847.
- 5 Pugin records in his diary that he was at Rugby from 18 January to 21 January 1847.
- 6 The throne for the chamber was made by the firm of John Webb, a prominent antique dealer and furniture maker in Bond Street. Under the heading 'The New Throne in the House of Lords', *The Times* (18 January 1847), p. 5, prints a description of the new furniture, the designs for which were 'intrusted to Mr. Welby Pugin'; 'they are strictly Gothic', and 'entirely in keeping with the architecture of the building, and have been approved of by Mr Barry'. The author is given the nom de plume of 'Observer' and Pugin is doubtless correct in identifying him as 'somebody at Webb's' but his name is not revealed.

To CHARLES BARRY

Birmingham, Monday, 18 January 1847?

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 19¹ Address: none Postmark: none

✠ Birmingham Monday

My Dear M^r. Barry –

1. The gates are the finest job in the world & so will say – they look brilliant.²

The gate with the pinnacle will leave here on Thursday.

2. The standards are all ready for the tops.

3d. as regards the windows –

Each of the Peers lobby windows contain 65 feet – the one finished with the cartoons will cost £65 but if you have the whole done – they will be done for £55 a window.

Victoria hall. for one including cartoons – £40. for the whole – £35 apiece (will include alteration & all. if you will have these done they can be finished in 5 weeks. think they would improve the room amazingly.³

The peers lobby windows could be done for the opening if you make up your mind.⁴ I think it would be a great point. Hardman has put them at the Lowest price he can do them – allowing 5s a slight for cartoons for my trouble which you cannot complain of. If you decide on this let J. Hardman know for I need not say there is not a day to lose. The grates look very handsome.

2 clock faces go tomorrow & all the hands.

my adress till Thursday will be at Bilton Grange

Rugby.⁵

ever yours truly

✠ Awelby Pugin

I just open my letter to say that I have seen an account of the throne in the *Times* which must have proceeded from somebody at Webbs.⁶ I need hardly assure you that I knew nothing whatever about it & was as much surprised as annoyed – if you do not say something it will be made A show of – at his place.

some of the brass hinges for the swing doors are done & will do capitally.

the wording of that account is calculated to give an impression that I worked at the chairs independtly of you. would you wish me to notice it by a short letter.

To CHARLES BARRY

Florence, Thursday, 13 May 1847¹

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 15 Address: Ingilterra / Charles Barry Esq^r / 32 Great George Street / Westminster / London Postmark: 13 MAJ. 1847; 20 MAJ 47; 22 MY 22 1847

✠ Florence – ascension of our Lord
Rome is the worse place in all Italy
for architecture

My Dear M^r. Barry

I am in a perfect mine of medieval art. since I left Rome (which is a horrid place) I have seen most glorious things – the finest stained glass in the world – & some of the finest metal work. assisi azzezo – Perugia – Pistoia Prata Cortona are all full of fine things & Florence itself is very rich. I found such heraldry in what they call the Podesta – exquisite.² the mantling & crests are carved with such art as to make one writhe again. I wonder you never told me of all this. you have been here but I fear it was at a time when seeing you did not perceive – or you was too full of those accursed grecian Dorics – you would be as wild as I am if you were here.³ why Italy is the finest country for Gothic after all in the way of decoration – I have seen an altar to day of the purest decorated in silver parcel gilt 14th Centry 12 feet high!!!! I am getting lots of details & as for stained glass – I shall have a splendid collection. I shall have soon gas enough to burn out some time. I leave tomorrow for Venice & then by Milan home.⁴ I long to hear how all went off at the Palace – I think I shall have some capital hints for future operations.⁵ the pavements here are beautiful. there is a deal to be Learnt here. what was you doing when you was here? – you ought to come now.

ever dear M^r Barry
yours most sincerely
✠ A Welby Pugin

1 Pugin arrived in Florence on 8 May 1847.

2 The podesta was the chief magistrate of the city of Florence. The Palace of the Podesta is now the Bargello Museum.

3 In the Gospel of St Matthew 13:13-4 Christ defends his use of parables when he speaks to those who 'seeing, see not,' and who 'seeing', shall 'see, and shall not perceive'.

4 Pugin's diary indicates that he left Florence on 17 May headed for Venice and reached Milan on 28 May.

5 Presumably Pugin is curious about how the opening of part of the House of Lords in April 'went off'. The chamber was opened by Queen Victoria on 15 April 1847 to universal acclaim.

To CHARLES BARRY

Venice, Saturday, 22 May 1847

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 13 Address: Ingilterra / Charles Barry Esqr R A / 32 Great George street / Westminster / London Postmark: 25. MAG.; 2 JU 2 1847¹

✠ Venice Whitsun eve

if you can send me a line Post restante Dijon France
before the 8 I shall get it

My Dear M^r. Barry

I am now at Venice.² I have seen an immense deal since I wrote & I am very anxious you should keep back the fittings of the robing room as much as possible till I return.³ I think you will be able to effect some improvements – the effect of the venetian rooms is splendid though the style is debased but the same richness may be obtained. – I am returning laden with treasure. I assure you I look at everything with an eye to the great work & I have got a vast deal that will be very useful – a fresh supply of gas that will burn some time.⁴ I am going to return through Besancon Dijon Troyes chalons Rheims S^t Quintin Laon &c. & I expect a deal of wood work in those towns.⁵ pray do not let them do any new things till I return at Thames bank – I am coming as fast as possible & work from 4 till 8 in the evening – but I cannot be in London before the latter part of next month.⁶ I long to hear how all goes on. I have not seen a newspaper for weeks. the heat is intense here. I can hardly stand it. – you should visit these cities again yourself. you would look at them with fresh eyes & althgh you are very knowing man you would get a vast supply of fresh matter for you to distill.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ A Welby Pugin

- 1 Other postmarks are not legible.
- 2 Pugin arrived in Venice on 21 May and stayed there until 27 May, during all of which time he noted 'Intense heat' in his diary.
- 3 Pugin wrote to Crace on probably 12 August 1847 telling him he was ready to work with him on the Robing Room. The decoration and furnishing of this room were in fact among the last parts of the building to be finished, in the 1860's when E.M. Barry was the architect in charge.
- 4 Pugin here clearly describes his method of looking at earlier periods of art to inspire his designs in the future. In his final sentence he recommends Barry to do likewise.
- 5 Pugin made his way home through all these places, according to the record in his diary, which shows him in Dijon on 9 June and 10 June.
- 6 Pugin was in London again on 17 June.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate. Saturday, 19 June 1847?

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.8¹ Address: none Postmark: none

My Dear Mr. Barry.

I have just returned home.² I went to Thames Bank yesterday & set all right. I found you were not to return to town for a day or so. I did not think it worth waiting as I know all you want. if you will send me down the robing room I will take it in hand.³ But – I fear the details will not get on very fast unless I receive advices from my banker relative to THE balance. – I do not care where it comes from, if you like to advance it – I shall consider it as a sort of noble act – but at all events the pencils will not mark & the ink will not flow – till this is settled – & what I have paid Wailes and all. – I must strike – it will go on to next year if I dont – so – I have – struck.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ Awelby Pugin

1 The MS is endorsed in pencil in an unidentified hand 'From Pugin as to balances unpaid'.

2 Pugin crossed from Ostend to Ramsgate on 16 June and went up to London on 17 June; he 'returned home', according to his diary, on 19 June.

3 Pugin asked Barry to postpone the decoration for the Robing Room in his letter of 22 May 1847 from Venice.

TO CHARLES BARRY

early 1847?

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 9¹ Address: none Postmark: none

Stained Glass house of Lords.

one window compleat ²	56	0	0
4 unfinished cartoons for a second window	20	0	0
3 figures reduced	12	0	0
colouring one figure	1	0	0
Richard 2d Done in Paris	10	0	0
Carrige of the same		9	0
expenses. connected with the cartoons	6	3	0

a second set for the window window compleat. ³	56	0	0
a coloured drawing of the window	18	0	0
expenses connected with the cartoons	8	10	0
carriage of the light from Birmingham		9	0
	<u>£188</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>
Recd.	<u>100</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>£88</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>

1 The MS is endorsed 'Ho Lords Acct cartoons for windows' in pencil in an unidentified hand.

2 Pugin's account book, MSV & A L.50-1982/3, has an undated list of 'Stained glass' on a page headed 'H P', i.e., Houses of Parliament, fol. 137, which is virtually identical with the first seven lines of this list, except that the charge for Richard II is £6, not £10. No more is known about this figure.

3 Pugin first wrote 'a second window compleat' and then inserted 'set for the window' later.

To CHARLES BARRY**Ramsgate, early January 1848?**Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1. 10¹ Address: none Postmark: noneMy Dear M^r. Barry.

I purpose coming up next Monday.² I shall bring up the cartoons with me for the 4th window – I am quite out of heart about them. they are a great expense to me & I can do more unless there is better system – & I should be quite glad if I could give them up altogether.³ I have had to send another Cheque to Paris & I told the man to send me in all the account & not to do any more on my responsibility.⁴ I cannot find money for the Government. if they do not place proper funds at your disposal it is not my fault. I am out of all heart. I do nothing but pay & work – & it is enough to dishearten anybody. I know the government use you badly – but I cannot bear it. I ought Not to be at a shilling outlay for anything. I am sure I have always done my best for you. think of the Quantity of working drawings I have made & you know I have only charged you £150 for them and you know I have made the same sum in a day at my own work – I do not complain of this but when I am left to find money it is a hard case & one I cannot bear. now I just inclose you a statement of one window and then say in concience if I ought to have to advance the money.

oliphant coming to Ramsgate

time on the Road & resting[?]	3.	0	0
Board & Loding at Ramsgate 6 days	1	16	0
time preparing sketches of cartoons at Ramsgate	4	4	0
sketching from effigies at Westminster &c. time cabs &c	1	17	0
8 cartoons prepared for filling in with ornament	32	0	0
Powells time 18 days – filling in Detail at 5s/	4	10	0
Hendrens time 21 days – Diapering &c. at 4s/	4	4	0 ⁵
Carriage of cartoons from oliphants in 3 lots –		4	6
16 sheets of paper sepia &c		17	0
	<u>£52</u>	<u>12.</u>	6

This my cost to a shilling. deduct this from £68. 0. 0. it leaves £15. 7. 6 for all the arrangement getting the costume & setting out every detail full size &c – which takes up as you know a deal of time. this is the Last window – I do not say but what your remarks were very just – but only see.

1 The MS is inscribed on the recto in pencil In an unidentified hand 'From Pugin with remonstrance'.

2 Pugin notes 'To London' in his diary at Monday 10 January 1848 and continues 'Cartoons of 4th window'.

3 Evidently Pugin means he can do 'no more'.

4 This work in Paris has not yet been explained.

5 Edwin Hendren (one of Hardman's workmen) was sent from Birmingham to Ramsgate to learn and to help with the cartoons for Westminster.

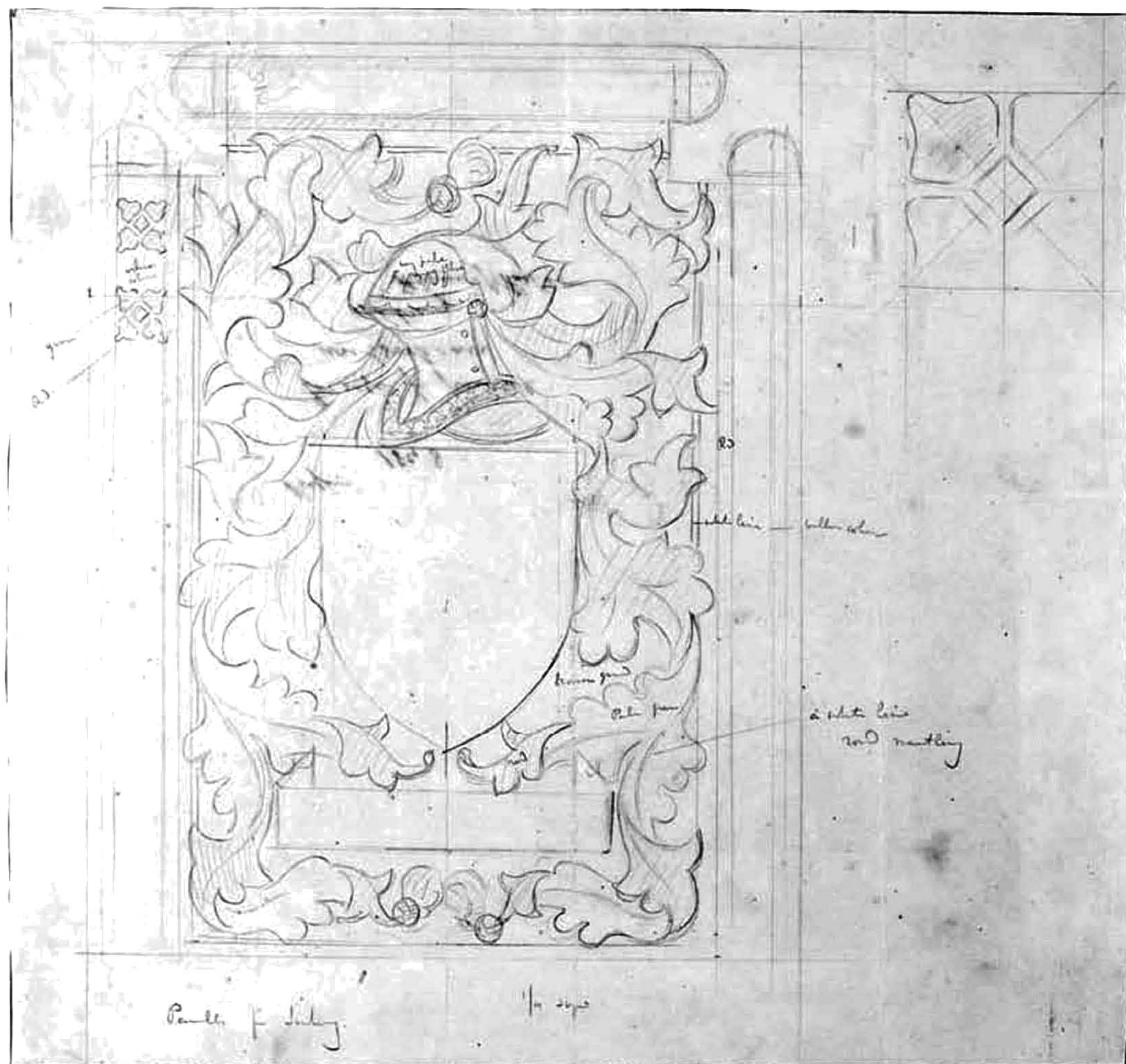


Fig 15. 'Design ¼ full size by A.W.N.Pugin for a panel of painted decoration showing the arms of Lord Chancellors to be executed by J.G.Crace. These were painted as a frieze above the bookcases in the House of Lords libraries, 1848. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

I paid for alterations	7.	0.	0
Carriage of 2 parcels		3.	0
Cab up to oliphants in kentish town			
about the alterations		3.	6
time in making good diapers & ^c			
where the arms & ^c had been altered 4 days		<u>1.</u>	<u>0.</u> <u>0</u>
	£8.	6.	6
deduct that from	15.	7.	6
	<u>8.</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	£7.	1.	0 – is what I get for the whole window.

I do not complain but I ask in justice ought I to find the money?? is it not enough to make me run away from the job & so I shall.

ever yours most sincerely

✠ AwelbyPugin

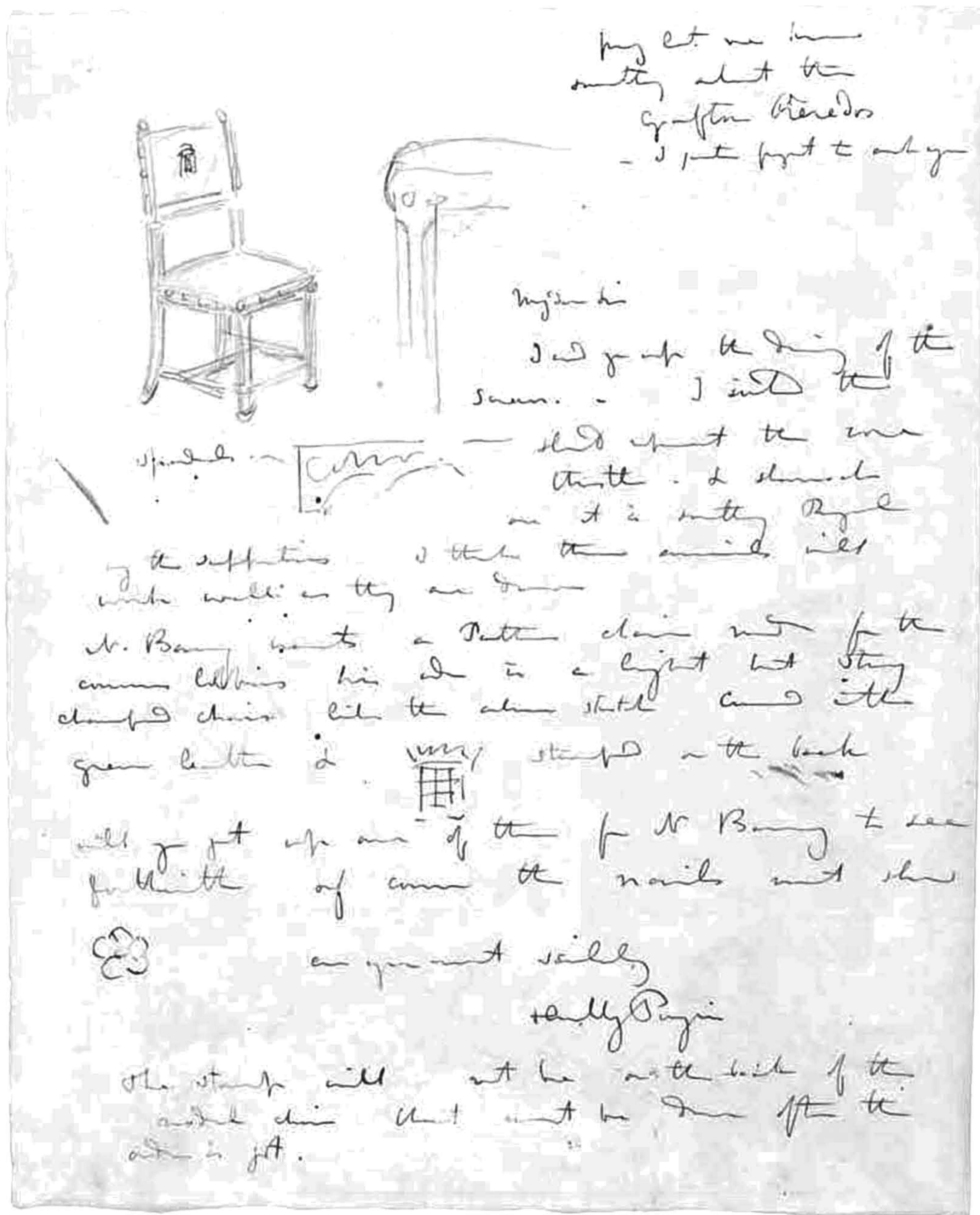


Fig 16. A sketch in a letter from Pugin to J.G. Crace with his design for the standard chair for the House of Commons, November 1850.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, Saturday, 7 December 1850?¹

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.2² Address: none Postmark: none

✠ S Augustins – Decg[?]

My Dear M' Barry.

I herewith send you up the working drawings for the Lamps River Front. The standards for the commons lobby & the Chandeliers for the house.³ I think these latter should be modeled roughly to enable you to judge of the effect – but it would be absurd to make finished wood models of what can be so much better produced in metal. it would take as long to cut a twisted pattern in Wood as to make the whole set in twisted tubes. I have been obliged to make an important alteration in the arrangement of the Gas tubes, they cannot depart[?] from the bottom of the main tube as drawn but they must come out of the sides of it as the main stem must be continued down to form the support of the Branches.⁴ [Sketch: four tubes in a circular base] you will perceive all this perfectly on examining the drawings.

I shall send off the stencil patterns of conference Room to Crace tomorrow – & I hope this week to finish all the full sized drawings of the tiles. And now I must draw your attention to a very important matter. it is quite impossible for all these details to be carried out & the models executed without my looking closely after them – and at the present rate I will not say of remuneration but payment it is quite impossible for me to do so.⁵ I you must have remarked a great falling off in a good deal of the recent carving at Thames bank & it is simply owing to the want of more frequent superintendence which I have been unable to give. Now as a reasonable man do reflect what is £100 a year for what I have to do – & for this I have to pay all journies expenses – postages (& this is not a small item sending about heavy drawings). I have to prepare all manner of drawings with the execution of which I have no concern but which go to strange manufacturers – & litterly I am quite satisfied that I sacrifice all my time & am out of Pocket besides. I cannot go up & return home under about £3. I have now to pay for assistance a considerable sum. for instance the full sized drawing of the arms for the conference Room will cost me – 3 – guineas for Powells time which of course I must pay for. look at what I have now to prepare. the decorations of the blank panells in the commons lobby

- 1 Pugin sends patterns for the conference room to Crace on perhaps 8 December 1850. Other items mentioned in this letter to Barry are referred to in letters to Hardman in December 1850.
- 2 The MS is docketed 'money Matters' in an unidentified hand.
- 3 Pugin is now designing the fittings for the chamber of the House of Commons. This Chamber was destroyed by bombing in May 1941 which also damaged the Commons Lobby. They were replaced by the work of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott.
- 4 Pugin wrote 'arrangement of the Gas branches' but cancelled the last word by smudging before continuing with 'tubes'.
- 5 Pugin's original salary of £200 a year was halved in 1850. Barry, hard pressed by the Government for economies, had suggested this reduction. (PRO Works 11/11/3 f.162 18 Feb. 1850 see Port, 1976, p.325) Pugin seems to have been informed of this decision by the Office of Woods and Forests towards the end of the year.

16 shieds all to be done full size like Cartoons besides patterns of mantling supporters & all full size. this must be done by the same people as do the cartoons. while they work at Cartoons Hardman pays them but when they work for me – I pay them.

it is the same with tile patterns. I cannot be filling up all these patterns in colour. I must have help & pay for it. What I have to do for you this last time will take 3 weeks of my time besides all the assistance & for all this I am to have £100 at the end of the year minus the income tax & pay all expenses & travel & find materials & everything. why my dear Friend if I was to give you a cheque for £100 to let me off doing anithing instead of Raising[?] the money I should be a great deal better off looking after my regular business.⁶ It is really too serious a matter for me – to go on under our present system. am a most faitful hard working man possible but if I am to live & support my house & familly I cannot work at a positive Loss which I am doing at present & have been doing for some time.⁷ Most tryly for the first 3 years the salary was swallowed up in expenses – & when there was a litte breathing time it is instantly cut down to half – & now we are quite as busy as ever. quite as much necessity to travelling to look after the work & half the money. Now I have thought very seriously over this business. I find I am going to leeward that I dont earn even my expenses at it & I must pull up. – I am quite satisfied that a few words from you would have prevented this reduction of salary – but you must excuse my saying that where money is concerned you neither speak up for yourself nor for others but put up with all sorts of ill usage – feeling this I have always done my best for you – but there is a limit to everything & I must now either give up altogether or be better paid – I dont ask you to do anything yourself – but what I do ask is this that you get speedy justice for me at the office that on the Forthcoming Xmass they pay me a full half years salary of £100 & continue it – & then I will go on as usual – otherwise I must give it up.⁸

6 Pugin first wrote 'if I you was' and then cancelled 'you' by smudging it.

7 It appears that Pugin himself has gone back immediately and inserted the 'h' to correct the misspelling 'faitful'.

8 The Office of Woods and Forests, replaced in October 1851 by the Office of Works, was responsible for paying Pugin's salary.

now pray dont think this is mere fit of savageness because it is no such thing. it is only justice to myself & to my familly. I am not in a position of life to sacrifice my time for worse than nothing even for the pleasure of seeing all this detail. I can shew you day by day the time I expend on all this & what I pay for assistance But you must know in your heart as a just man that I am entiled to a great deal more even than what I ask but all I do ask is the fulfilment of the terms originally agreed. there is no diminution of Labour neither ought there to be

any diminution of money – you know I hold you in great honour & am a most faithful Leiutenant but unless the money is restored I must resign My commission for I wont fight at the price.

ever yours most Sincerely

✠ AWelbyPugin

Postage 1s to night

same for craces templats

drawings sent to Thames bank 4d

2s. 4d in 3 days – postage only!!!



Fig 17. The Central Lobby, Pugin's "great octagon". Parliamentary copyright images are reproduced with the permission of Parliament.

To CHARLES BARRY

Ramsgate, Monday, 16 December 1850¹

Text: MS PA BAR 31. 1.6 Address: none Postmark: none

✠ S augustins Monday

My dear M' Barry

Great as you are in grand compositions & spanking outlines – it is nothing to your diplomatic Talents – if it were possible for Lord John to get out of his Dilemma & Employed you I believe he would succeed.² if I was not as poor & miserable as I am I should have fairly shook again when I read your exhortation to turn my mind to Nobler objects than that of realising some return for ones labour – why my dear friend I can shew you the counterpart of that letter 3 years ago in which you hold out indistinct prospects of future emolument & conclude also by – expressing a hope that I would not allow such sublunary considerations to weigh against more Glorious pursuits.³ since that time – the only result has been the reduction by one half of the litle I got before but the vision of futurity is held up & the same exhortation to nobler ideas – it is wonderful. the fact is I know it is a decided bad case. I could not sell the reversion of anything that you could give me for £1 per cent – the period of payment would be so indefinite that it would not even fetch the price of Indiana stock.⁴ – & if nothing more is to be got from the office it is a clear case that I am done – for in christian charity you should not conjure up a phantom of eventual returns which melts into air as soon as the application has passed over. – But some of these days when you touch the £5 percent on the 3 millions all in a lump you will be tortured by a horrible vision of enormous lists of Stencils & tiles patterns coronas[?] Cartoons diapers stuffs – Railway expenses lodging bills – held aloft by avenging Demons – pointing to a poor Gothic fellow who is fairly starved out. only conceive that about 12 at night particularly if you was coming alone through the great octagon.⁵ But I am afraid – your heart is steeled to Supernatural influence so there is no reaching you in any way. such being the case I must get something out of somebody – for I know there is no getting anything out of you how well I know your smile that dreadful smile by which one can see at once – that it means (I wish you may get it). how you must have smiled when you exhorted me to nobler objects – you finished up there. you had no argument beyond that to convince a man he should not be paid. you are the only man I ever knew on whom it is impossible to make an impression – I therefore abandon all appeals to you as hopeless – I am fairly beat at it – but by George When the estimates are made something must be put down

- 1 EWP prints a letter Barry wrote to Pugin on 18 December 1850 which is almost without doubt his reply to this letter from Pugin. Barry's letter is copied in Letters, vol. 4. p. 705.
- 2 Lord John Russell (1792–1878) was PM from 1846 to 1852; his 'Dilemma' was due to his anti-Catholic 'Durham letter', about which Pugin writes to J. B. Bethune in November 1850.
- 3 It was rare for Pugin to keep letters he received.
- 4 The Erie Canal built by New York State in the 1820s was a great success. In emulation, other states in America ventured on similar schemes in the next decade. Indiana was among them but like many others its project failed, and English investors were among those left out of pocket.
- 5 By convention at this date an architect received 5 per cent on the total cost of a commission and this is what Pugin assumes here, and what Barry expected to receive. In fact, the government never accepted that Barry should receive 5 per cent and, though Barry was given quite large sums for his work at Westminster, he also had many arguments over his pay – See Port, 1976. By the 'great octagon' Pugin means the Central Lobby.

for all the floor patterns for I have done nothing else for days & they are not half finished yet. – when I bring all up & you see the splendid variety – I think as it will not come from the privy purse you will pass a small grant – for it is a regular stopper on all other trade.⁶

I send you two Pamphlets – one Lord Shrewsbury's – a supposed real letter of Lord Johns.⁷ the other – will speak for itself & is the expression of the sentiments of a considerable number of Anglican churchmen.⁸

I see another window has come – with the large tracery for Worsely.⁹ I have filled that up also. I suppose that is right.

ever yours truly
✠ Awelby Pugin

I expect to be up on the 30.¹⁰

6 Indeed all the ceramic floors throughout the building are to Pugin's designs.

7 Lord Shrewsbury's letter to Pugin about the 'supposed real letter' is printed in a note to Pugin's letter to Hardman of probably 9 December 1850. See Letters 4. Lord John is Lord John Russell.

8 Pugin may allude to *The Appeal to Rome*, an anonymous publication which he also mentions to J. F. Russell and to J. R. Bloxam in December 1850.

9 Pugin designed stained glass for St Mark's church, Worsley, a commission Barry had from Lord Ellesmere.

10 Pugin's diary shows that he went up to London on 30 December 1850, although the entry makes no reference to Barry.

To CHARLES BARRY

January 1852 ?¹

Text: MS PA BAR 31.1.11

Expense connected with the work at Westminster for 1851

February travelling etc.	3.	15.	0
August	4.	12.	6
September	3.	12.	0
October	3.	8.	0
November	6.	4.	6

All this is Travelling and Lodging for the assistance on the work during the whole year. There are often 2 or 3 distinct attendances under the cost of a month

£21. 12. 0

This amount also includes all journeys taken to Birmingham on account solely of difficulties that had occurred in the execution of the work.²

- 1 It seems probable that this document and the following one were written at the same time, probably in early January 1852. By the end of February Pugin's health had finally broken down, and very little documentation survives for this year. These two documents were not transcribed by M. Belcher.
- 2 This is written verso on the document.

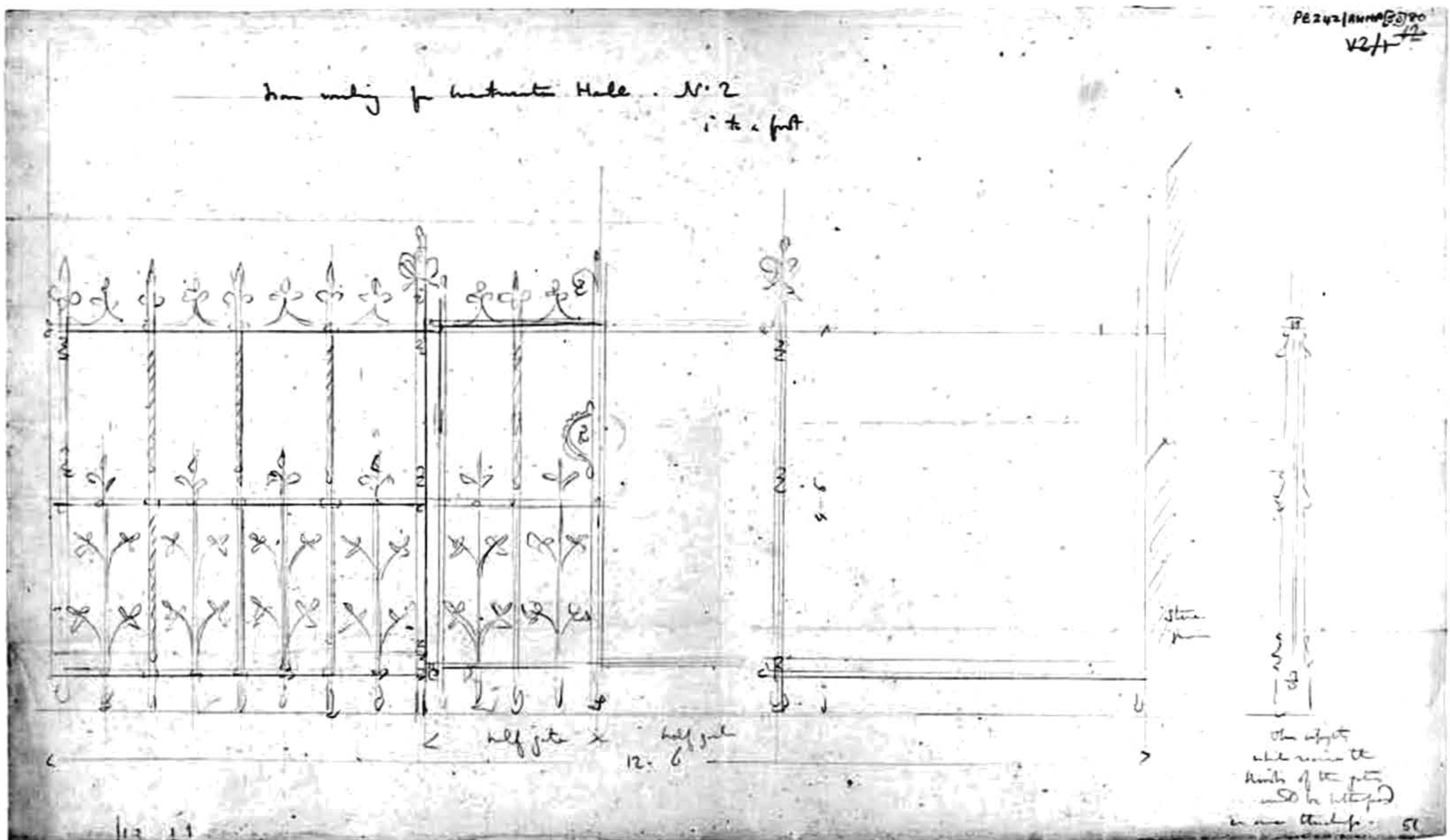


Fig 18. Sketch design by
A.W.N.Pugin for an iron railing
for Westminster Hall, 1851.
RIBA Collections.

To CHARLES BARRY

January 1852 ?

Text: MS PA BAR 31.1.12

Chandeliers for Waiting halls	3.	3.	0
Do for upper Do	2.	2.	0
The 4 small patterns of grates	4.	0.	0
Lanterns for staircase	1.	0.	0
Ironwork to the great door of Westminster Hall from Cloister	2.	10.	0
Drawing of iron work to a second large door	1.	10.	0
Escutcheons at 5s each pattern			
Finger plates at 7s each pattern			
Plates for Hooks	1.	10.	0
Plates for Doors of Members' cupboards ¹	2.	0.	0
Lock plates & handles at 7s each pattern			
You have to fill up the number ²			
Bell pulls at 5s each pattern			
Fire irons at £1 each pattern			
Wicket of house Door		7.	6
16 boxes for Letters for rooms on the whole lot	4.	4.	0
2 rich [ditto] for the Commons	4.	0.	0
1 very rich [ditto] for the Lords	2.	10.	0
Chandelier for Refreshment rooms	3.	3.	0
Patterns of Brass work for table tops.			
Moulds for leather stamping	3.	3.	0
frames for committee room doors for Papers to hang up	1.	0.	0
Escutcheons, locks, plates, etc.			
Conference room. Drawn twice over }	1.	10.	0
Drawing of arrangement of shieds & End [?] ³			
Expenses for the allocation of the tiles			
Letter 6d & 4s 2½d in Crace's list ⁴			
Cabs in London the last 2 days		7.	6 ⁵
Inscriptions for stone panels commons lobby ⁶	1.	0.	0
Crown [?] of Paper book [?]	1.	0.	0
Candlestick [ditto]	1.		
Funds [?]	3.		
	78.	12	
	41.	19	
	120.	11	

¹ It seems that every Member, of both Houses, was allocated one numbered wooden cupboard for their belongings. Some of these with their number plates survive in the House of Lords.

² This is written in pencil in margin, probably in Pugin's hand.

³ 'Minton' is written in pen in the margin in an unidentified hand.

⁴ 'In Crace's list' is written in pen in an unidentified hand.

⁵ This line and the proceeding 3 lines have been lightly crossed through in an unidentified hand.

⁶ 'B' is written in pen in the margin in an unidentified hand.

Working Drawings of the gates great tower	10.	10.	0 ⁷
Expenses of transport of Moulds [?] etc. corrected with this job		7.	6
Working Drawings of Railings and gates in Westminster Hall (for each screen) [?]	5.	5.	0
Expenses connected with the same.	4.	8	
Working Drawings of Bracket lights in Cloister And one to fit the iron work of window			
Altogether 3 sets of drawings	3.	3.	0
A set of full sized drawings of Grates For the 2 waiting halls sent to thames bank			
expenses connected with them } postage etc. of heavy drawings }		7.	2
on the 5 patterns of plainer grates	5.	0.	0
Expenses on postage of these etc.		5.	0
Expenses on trials & Drawings for the bars of Commons the great standards in commons lobby	4.	4.	0
expenses on these &c [?] alterations } Drawing of seat altaring [?] the same &c }	2.	2.	0
Queens entrance chandelier [?] for the centre of circles	3.	0.	0
Expenses and alterations on these		12.	0
fittings to the house chandeliers	5.	5.	0
chandeliers to division lobbies	4.	0.	0
ceiling lights to upper division lobbies	2.	0.	0
Brackets for closets [?] staircases [?] all the escutcheons are different }	2.	0.	0
bratishing in front of reporters	1.	0.	0
brackets by the side of galleries	2.	12.	0
ends of House	2.	3.	0
Bratishing round house gallery	1.	10.	0
Iron work of speakers chair	5.	5.	0
supports of maces for table	2.	0.	0
Iron work of table	1.	0.	0
Open brass work to Doors pannells 10s a pattern ⁸			
Query how many Patterns? I think 6 ⁹	3.	3.	0
	78.	12.	2 ¹⁰

7 This item starts the list
verso. The gates of the
Victoria Tower contain
splendid designs by
Pugin.

8 6d has been added in
pencil, probably by Pugin.

9 These words have been
added in pencil, probably
by Pugin.

10 These two documents
reveal the immense
amount of work that
Pugin was doing on this
project just before his
final breakdown.

PUGIN PUBLICATIONS CURRENTLY AVAILABLE FROM THE SOCIETY

Presenting Pugin

By Robin Fleet

A fully illustrated clear and simply written introduction to the life, work and influence of AWN Pugin in the UK, Ireland and Australia.

Price £4.50

Edward Pugin and Kent

By Catriona Blaker

Edward Pugin helped out in his father's office from the age of seven and, aged 18, took over the business on his father's premature death. Knighted by the Pope, his life was one of ambition, considerable architectural achievement and commercial reversals. This account considers the life and work of this talented but troubled figure within his home county.

Price £6.50

Pugin in His Home

Two memoirs by John Hardman Powell

Edited with introduction by Alexandra Wedgwood

A delightful and beguiling portrait of Pugin and his family life at The Grange, Ramsgate. The author joined the household in 1844 at the age of 15 and went on to marry Pugin's eldest child, Anne.

Price £5.50

A Flint Seaside Church

A Guide to St Augustine's Church Ramsgate (second, revised, edition)

Published jointly with the Friends of St Augustine's

By Libby Horner and Gill Hunter

This is the second edition of this detailed and informative account, originally published by the Pugin Society. The new edition reflects the various significant changes and additions made to the church in recent years.

Price £7.50 (all proceeds to the Friends of St Augustine)

The Stained Glass of St Augustine's, Ramsgate

Published in association with Potmetal Press

By Robin Fleet and Catriona Blaker

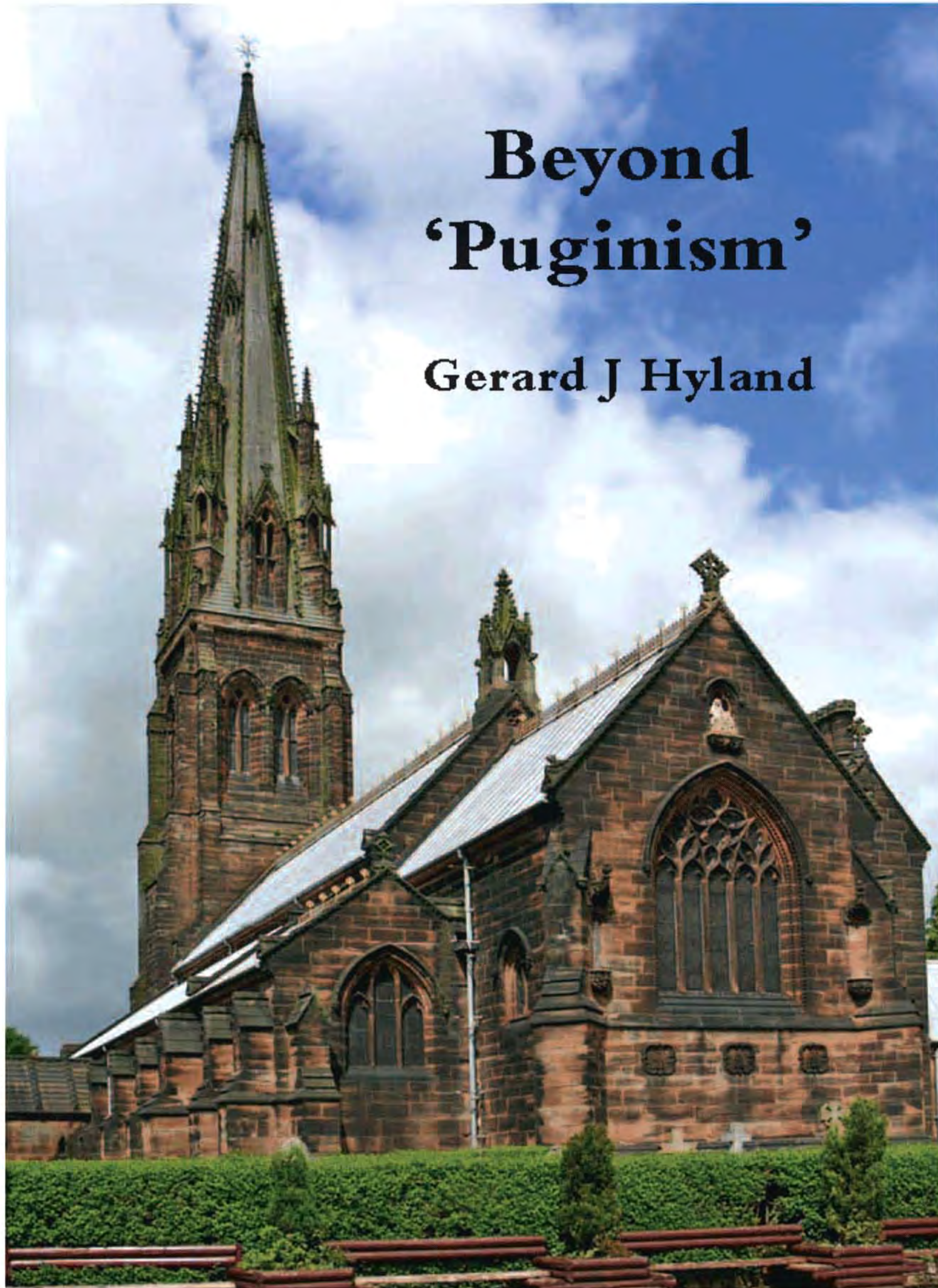
A full description, with introduction and many colour illustrations, of all the impressive windows in Pugin's outstanding church of St Augustine's.

Price £6.50

ALL PRICES INCLUDE POSTAGE AND PACKING

To place an order, make out a cheque payable to The Pugin Society and send to: The Pugin Society, 122 Grange Road, Ramsgate, Kent CT11 9PT. For any problems relating to ordering, contact Catriona Blaker, email address catrona@tiscali.co.uk

New publication by Spire Books & the Pugin Society



Beyond 'Puginism'

Gerard J Hyland

This 66 page work addresses a little-explored area of Pugin studies, namely the way in which, during the final years of his life, A.W.N. Pugin's ecclesiology underwent a significant development, possible reasons for which are identified. After the opening of St Giles', Cheadle in 1846, Pugin started to experiment with various forms of asymmetry, and began to relax his earlier strict compliance with the rubrical requirements of the Use of Sarum.

This was an implicit admission that his earlier conflation of Gothic with the Use of Sarum ('Puginism') had been flawed, and that Gothic could indeed be validly used in the service of the Tridentine Rite that was then normative in England. He made proposals as to how the 'all-seeing, all-hearing' liturgy that the Council of Trent had sought to promote could be facilitated by reconfiguring the chancels of Gothic churches.

Copies can be ordered from Spire Books, South Barn, Old Standlynch Farm, Downton, Salisbury SP5 3QR.

Price £14.95, cheques payable to J.P. & D. Elliott. It can also be ordered via Amazon ISBN 978-1-904965-56-5

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.

To join The Pugin Society, please contact the
Hon Membership Secretary or visit our website.

Hon Secretary: Joanna Lyall
307 Bunyan Court, Barbican, London EC2Y 8DH. Tel: 020 7920 9271
Email: j.lyall@ision.co.uk

Hon Membership Secretary: Fiona Newton
The Barn, St Mary's Platt, Sevenoaks, Kent TN15 8NL
Email: mem.puginsoc@gmail.com

Hon Treasurer: Mike Galloway
14 Blaidwood Drive, Durham, DH1 3TD
Email : puginsocietytreasurer@outlook.com

Events Organiser: Professor Julia Twigg
9 Nunnery Road, Canterbury, Kent CT1 3LS. Tel: 01227 766879
Email: j.m.twigg@kent.ac.uk

The Pugin Society website:
www.thepuginsociety.co.uk

ISSN 1747-9371