

True Principles

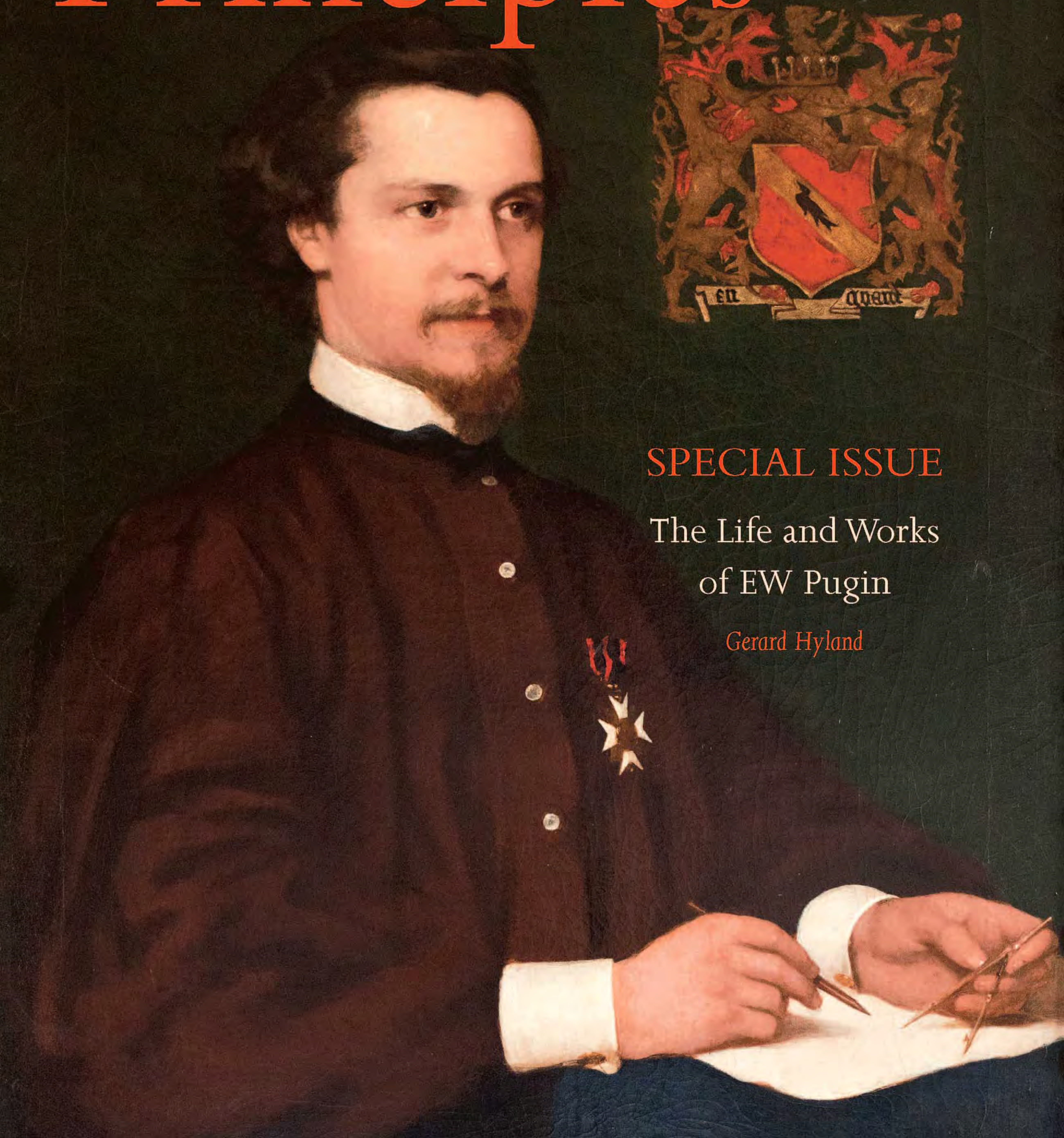
The Journal of The Pugin Society
Spring 2020. Vol 5, No 4



SPECIAL ISSUE

The Life and Works
of EW Pugin

Gerard Hyland



True Principles

The journal of The Pugin Society

vol v no iv Spring 2020

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St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh, by Pugin & Ashlin (*Wikimedia Commons*)

EDITORIAL

John Elliott, January 2020

This edition of *True Principles* is slightly different from normal and is devoted exclusively to EW Pugin (1834-75) who was the eldest son of AWN Pugin.

For many years Dr Gerard Hyland has been researching the works of EW Pugin, and this edition of *True Principles* contains a precis of his findings. Specifically there is a biographical sketch of Pugin's life which should enable members to understand why the work of AW Pugin's son is important. There is also a chronology, a listing of his works, and some information about his one-time partners. *True Principles* will be followed later in the year by publication of a book on EW Pugin by Dr Hyland, which the Pugin Society will be publishing, and which will provide a more comprehensive view of his achievements.

Pugin junior was, like his father before him, an architect and was responsible for around 300 works. These were mostly designs for churches, though there was the occasional excursion into the secular world. He achieved some significant successes, though during his lifetime these may have been masked as his final years were marred with unsavoury legal issues. Like his father he died young, aged just 41.

It is planned that the 2021 edition of *True Principles* will be devoted to the Palace of Westminster, its original construction and now its planned restoration. Contributions from members and others towards this edition would be welcome.

When Charles Barry and AWN Pugin started to create the current Palace of Westminster in 1840 they were replacing an earlier building that had been destroyed by fire on 16 October 1834. The destruction of the old building was met with cheers by many who saw it as representing an earlier corrupt age. In addition, James Wyatt had carried out extensive reconstruction work to the ancient building between 1800 and 1808, and by 1834 Wyatt was bad news, especially as far as Pugin was concerned. Pugin watched the conflagration with pleasure, while Turner energetically and enthusiastically sketched the scene from the river.¹

The process of industrialization which started in the mid-eighteenth century had changed Britain for ever, and would continue to do so. Yet the old Palace of Westminster was the manifestation of an electoral system that still favoured the few rather than the many. Industrialization had started to create a new entrepreneurial class who wanted a share of the franchise and saw a new Parliament building as a way of achieving that.

This groundswell desire for change led to legislative changes. The first Reform Act of 1832 had started the process of widening the franchise and further acts in 1867 and 1884-5 would continue this development, though it was not until 1918 that women over 30 were given similar rights, and it was 1928 before there was full equality with men.



St Aloysius' Schools, Ushaw College by EW Pugin (*Ushaw College*)

Perhaps today we are at a similar turning point as new technology makes things possible that could never have been dreamt of 20 years ago, and changed concepts of equality now make any idea of male supremacy redundant. Some will argue that in such a situation what we need is a new Palace of Westminster that represents the new age rather than the restoration of one that was created 180 years ago and whose architecture looked back a further 300 years to an age of Tudor greatness.

Should it be restored while continuing to operate as a Parliament; should the Houses of Lords and Commons move out to temporary accommodation while the restoration takes place; and if so how should the temporary accommodation be modeled; or should a new Palace of Westminster be created that takes advantage of current building techniques and modern technology? These are the kind of questions we will attempt to address in the 2021 edition of *True Principles*.

Note

- 1 Two of his sketches are held in the Drawings Collection of Tate Britain and an oil painting is held by the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

INTRODUCTION

Edward Welby Pugin (1834-75), the eldest son of A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52), was one of the foremost High Victorian Catholic architects of his day. Although his work was predominantly ecclesiastical, mainly for the Catholic Church, he nevertheless designed a number of significant secular buildings. Apart from a few essays in Romanesque and Classical (Italianate) styles, E.W. Pugin's designs are Gothic, and his early work conformed to his father's Decorated English Gothic. He soon developed his own highly idiosyncratic style, however, which was strongly influenced by Franco-Flemish Gothic, and he had no qualms about adapting Gothic to contemporary requirements.

In the case of his churches, he devised an internal configuration that ensured compliance with the rubrics of the Tridentine liturgy that the English Hierarchy promoted with great zeal following its restoration in 1850; this was a development that his father had initiated towards the end of his life,¹ but which he had been unable to bring to fruition on account of his premature death in 1852. Edward's success in this regard, said a contemporary press report on the progress of a church in Liverpool in 1859, 'exemplifies a new phase in ecclesiastical architecture.'

In his secular buildings, he pioneered what has been termed 'modern Gothic', characterised by 'big sash windows, as opposed to pokey casements, broad corridors and good ventilation'. Both genres of building are characterised by 'attenuated proportions and steep roofs';² these are particularly evident in the case of his churches, which are immediately recognisable through their vertical assertiveness.

The quality of the buildings varies enormously, depending on the funds that were available, which in the case of Catholic churches were rarely adequate to enable his projected designs to be realised in their entirety. Secular buildings fared better in this respect, particularly those commissioned by the landed gentry, although they sometimes lack the structural coherence of his churches, and some are of a kind (such as the Granville Hotel) that his father would never have sanctioned.

A small amount of work was produced during partnerships with other architects, the longest and most significant being that with his former pupil George Coppinger Ashlin, under the style Pugin & Ashlin, which applied only to work in Ireland where it produced some fine churches; the remainder of the work (the vast majority), however, he alone was responsible for.

To date, it has been possible to identify 273 realised works produced either by E.W. Pugin alone or in partnership whose provenance is established beyond doubt. 213 of these are entire buildings (ranging from cathedrals to terrace houses); the remainder include: i) 35 structural additions to/remodelling of existing buildings by other architects; ii) the realisation of 4 ecclesiastical buildings designed by his father (which were either left incomplete at the time of his death or had not been commenced); iii) 21 miscellaneous smaller works, such as altars & monuments of various kinds. 90% of the realised work is ecclesiastical or related, 98% of which is for the Catholic Church, the remainder being for the Church of England, from whom he received far fewer commissions than did his father.

There are another 64 realised works whose provenance is less secure, on account of the existence only of secondary sources; these are denoted as 'attributed'.

His executed works are spread over the UK (32 counties of England, Isle of Man, 1 county of Wales, 4 counties of Scotland), 11 counties of Ireland, 1 province of Belgium and 1 département of France. In the UK, the highest number of EW Pugin works is in Merseyside where there were (originally) 36 realised works (followed by 33 in Kent), whilst in Ireland, the largest number (11) is to be found in Co Dublin (followed by 10 in Co Cork).

The ecclesiastical and related work comprises places of worship, convents and monasteries, presbyteries and houses for religious communities, colleges and schools (the majority of the latter being associated with parish churches designed by EW Pugin), institutional buildings (such as orphanages and alms-houses), and many minor works. The secular output comprises both residential and commercial properties, as well as additions to existing houses by other architects.

It is a tragedy that the last eight years of this highly gifted, driven man were blighted by financial recklessness, increasing paranoia and a propensity for disputation and litigation. The combined result was a diminished architectural output and severe financial problems, the associated strain of which caused an irreversible decline in his already fragile health (both physical and mental), and almost certainly hastened his early death at the age of 41 – only one year more than attained by his father.

His highest qualities, however – again in common with his father – were a truly generous heart, coupled with a profound knowledge of his art, although as one obituary concluded, 'Mr Pugin would have been a wiser and happier man had he confined himself strictly to the duties of a profession for which he was so eminently qualified'³; nevertheless, as noted by another:

Welby Pugin was an architect whose works will carry his name down to a time when the unseemly squabbles with which he was mixed up will have passed out of memory.⁴

What precisely these unseemly squabbles were will become apparent from the following Biographical Sketch of EW Pugin, which, in the continued absence of a dedicated, critical biography, attempts, in so far as is possible at present, to set his work in its socio-historical context, based on the Chronology that precedes it. The Biographical Sketch is followed by a gazetteer of his realised works (including attributed ones) arranged, according to Country, by county (in the UK and Ireland) and by province and département (in Belgium and France, respectively). Finally, some information is given about EW Pugin's one-time partners and collaborators.

This contribution to *True Principles* is based on the author's comprehensive, chronological compilation and analysis of the architectural works of EW Pugin according to building type, which will be published, as a kind of architectural 'catalogue raisonné', by the Pugin Society in the near future.⁵

It is a pleasure to thank and acknowledge the pioneering contribution to EW Pugin studies of Catriona Blaker, Fr Michael Fisher, Dr Rory O'Donnell and Sandra Lady Wedgwood, and to thank Sarah Houle for her on-going interest and cooperation.

Notes

1 Hyland (2018).

2 O'Donnell (1999a).

3 *Art Journal* [(1875) 279].

4 *North Wales Chronicle* [(1875) 12 Jun].

5 Hyland (2020).

CHRONOLOGY

- 1834: Edward Welby Pugin (EWP) born, 11 March, to Louisa Button (the second wife of AWN Pugin) in Ellington Cottage, St Lawrence, Ramsgate.
- 1835: age 1: his father (AWN Pugin) designs St Marie's Grange near Salisbury, into which the family moves; AWN Pugin converts to Catholicism.
- 1838: age 4: sister Agnes born.
- 1839: age 5: mother converts to Catholicism.
- 1840: age 6: brother Cuthbert Welby born.
- 1841: age 7: the family moves from Salisbury to Chelsea; EWP starts helping his father, who buys land on the West Cliff, Ramsgate.
- 1842: age 8: sister Katherine born.
- 1843: age 9: his father starts building The Grange on the West Cliff, Ramsgate.
- 1844: age 10: sister Mary born. Mother dies in Chelsea on 23 August, and is buried in the Hardman Chantry in the crypt of St Chad's, Birmingham. The family moves back to Ramsgate, and EWP starts to be educated at home by a succession of governesses and clerical tutors. John Hardman Powell (1827-95) arrives at The Grange as AWN Pugin's pupil, and becomes a surrogate elder brother to Edward.
- 1848: age 14: father marries Jane Knill.
- 1849: age 15: half-sister Margaret born.
- 1850: age 16: half-sister Anne marries John Hardman Powell.
- 1851: age 17: half-brother Edmund Peter born (known as Peter Paul after 1868). EWP is probably involved with the setting up of the Mediaeval Court at the Great Exhibition, and assumes temporary responsibility for his father's work during his mental deterioration towards the end of the year.
- 1852: age 18: after his father's death on 14 September, EWP seeks admission to the office of Sir Charles Barry but is refused. Assumes total responsibility for his father's practice and unfinished commissions. Edward (followed a little later by the rest of the family) moves to Birmingham to be near his brother-in-law, John Hardman Powell, and John Hardman Jnr, his father's great friend and business associate.
- 1853: age 19: his father's friend Alfred Luck moves into The Grange.
- 1854: age 20: starts to exhibit at the Royal Academy, and continues to do so intermittently until 1874.

- 1855: age 21: 7 works commenced.
- 1856: age 22: by October, EWP has moved from Birmingham to 5 Gordon Square, Bloomsbury, London. George Coppinger Ashlin becomes articulated to EWP who forms a partnership (Pugin & Murray) with the architect James Murray.
- 1857: age 23: designs (initially with Murray) a large pilgrimage church in Dadizele, near Bruges, a later version of which by EWP himself is commenced.
- 1858: age 24: EWP is created Knight of the Order of St Sylvester by Pope Pius IX in recognition of his design of the Dadizele church. Returns to Ramsgate to continue work on his father's church. The Pugin-Murray partnership is dissolved in December.
- 1859: age 25: cooperates with Belgian architect J Bethune of Ghent in the design of a large chateau in Loppem (near Bruges), and with the building of the Dadizele church. Pioneers a large, innovative, Tridentine-compliant, city church in Liverpool – the first of many.
- 1860: age 26: forms a partnership (Pugin & Ashlin) with Ashlin to facilitate the management of large church commissions in Cork and Dublin.
- 1860-1: age 26-27: Alfred Luck vacates The Grange, which EWP starts to extend and adapt in preparation for the return of the rest of the large family, comprising himself, his step-mother Jane, and 6 children.
- 1861: age 27: the entire family returns to Ramsgate.
- 1862: age 28: is elected Fellow of the RIBA, and reluctantly forms a partnership with JA Hansom. He becomes engaged to Casilda Hunloke (a grand-daughter of Lady Scarisbrick), but she breaks it off to marry someone else. His sister, Agnes, marries Lewis Peniston, a lawyer (and son of a Salisbury friend of AWN Pugin) who was later (in 1870) to represent him in one of his many court cases.
- 1863: age 29: the Pugin & Hansom partnership is acrimoniously terminated. EWP is promised the Westminster Cathedral commission by Cardinal Wiseman, but he dies (in 1865) before it can be progressed.
- 1866: age 32: becomes a captain in the Ramsgate Corps of (the Cinque Ports) Artillery Volunteers.
- 1867: age 33: his youngest sister, Mary, marries Ashlin. EWP is not invited to submit a design for the new Law Courts in London. Start of a pamphlet war with the sons of Sir Charles Barry as to the relative contributions of their fathers to the design of the new Palace of Westminster. Onset of paranoia and compulsion to litigation and disputation. Becomes engaged for a second time, but it is again broken off. He is proposed (unsuccessfully) as an Associate of the Royal Academy. Designs Wiseman's tomb, in collaboration with JH Powell.
- 1868: age 34: Pugin & Ashlin win the Cobh Cathedral commission, but the partnership is dissolved later in the year; they nevertheless continue to collaborate on Cobh Cathedral and the

Augustinian church in Dublin. A range of houses is commenced on the East Cliff, Ramsgate, which would become the Granville Hotel, and the source of his financial downfall. He loses the Westminster Cathedral commission to Henry Clutton, who is himself later replaced by JF Bentley.

- 1869: age 35: Wm Collingridge Barnett becomes EWP's agent in Ireland, and oversees construction of EWP's final Irish church at Crosshaven, Co Cork. Dismissed from the Artillery Volunteer Corps for disobeying an order. His half-sister Margaret marries Henry Francis Purcell, Barrister-at-Law who, in 1874, would act for EWP in one of his many court cases involving John Barnett Hodgson, one of his former builders and a business partner in the Granville Hotel venture.
- 1870: age 36: start of litigation in connection with the Granville Hotel, which continues to intensify until 1874. Makes further alterations to The Grange, and builds a drawing office at the rear of St Edward's, the neighbouring former presbytery of St Augustine's.
- 1871: age 37: sister Katherine marries Dr Austin Meldon in St Kevin's church, Dublin, a Pugin & Ashlin commission.
- 1872: age 38: files for bankruptcy with liabilities in excess of £187,000.
- 1873: age 39: leaves for USA in October, setting up an office in Lower Manhattan, New York, in an attempt to raise money from new commissions, a number of which were forthcoming, and reported upon in architectural journals of the day, but none are known ever to have been realised.
- 1874: age 40: returns to the UK at the beginning of the year. He is expelled from the RIBA, and is found guilty of libelling the painter JR Herbert, RA, in connection with alleged underpayment for the house (The Chimes) that he had designed for him in Kilburn in 1869, and only just escapes receiving a custodial sentence.
- 1875: age 41: certain remarks made about him by a judge greatly distress him, and he vows to 'give up law, and to go in again for hard work', but dies of syncope of the heart on 5 June at his London residence after a 3-week illness, and is buried next to his father in the vault below the Pugin Chantry in St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, on 10 June.



Figure 1: Edward Pugin as a young boy, depicted in a window in the chapel at The Grange (courtesy Landmark Trust, photo Michael Fisher).

EDWARD WELBY PUGIN 1834-75

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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

The early years

Edward Welby Pugin, the eldest son of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52) by his second wife Louisa (née Button²) was born on Tuesday, 11th March 1834 in Ellington Cottage, St Lawrence, then on the outskirts of Ramsgate, and was baptised³ there as an Anglican in the parish church later that year on 15th June. Shortly after he was one year old, the family moved to Alderbury, near Salisbury,⁴ to St Marie's Grange, the quaint 'mediaeval' house⁵ with chapel, drawbridge and tower, which had just been built to his father's design – one of his first essays in domestic architecture. Whilst there, his father was received into the Catholic Church in 1835,⁶ followed by his mother 4 years later in 1839,⁷ and Edward himself was subsequently brought up Catholic.⁸

St Marie's Grange soon proved to be impractical, however, for a number of reasons, and, in 1837, after only two years, the family moved to Chelsea, finally settling in Cheyne Walk, where they remained for almost seven years until the death of Edward's mother in the summer of 1844.⁹ Augustus and his children then returned to Ramsgate, where the family had previously spent several winters,¹⁰ now occupying rented accommodation until The Grange – the house on the West Cliff designed by Augustus, which had been commenced in 1843 – was ready for occupation towards the end of 1844. Apart from a couple of short spells in private schools, Edward (who was known to his family as 'Teddy') was educated at home by a succession of governesses and clerical tutors,¹¹ and most significantly by his father who 'imbued him with some of that consummate love of art which completely filled his own mind'.¹² He was thus available to help his father in his architectural practice, which he reports¹³ having done since the age of 7 (when still living in Chelsea), learning much from him¹⁴ and eventually becoming his indispensable assistant¹⁵ (his 'right hand man') in matters relating not only to architecture, but also decorative design, particularly of brasses¹⁶ and stained glass.¹⁷ In the latter, Edward was mentored by John Hardman Powell,¹⁸ his father's only pupil (apart from Edward and his younger brother, Cuthbert)¹⁹ who became his surrogate elder brother²⁰ and a future brother-in-law. Upon his arrival in Ramsgate in 1844, Hardman Powell described the ten year old Edward in the following terms:

Teddy was a bright nine-year old miniature of his father, the same rolling sailor's walk, quick perception and energy, putting a dozen questions.²¹

A correspondent of his father described²² him as 'a fine lad', whilst another²³ as 'a most interesting lad of 15.' So well-trained had he been²⁴ that during his father's final illness²⁵ he was able, at the age of only 17, to assume full responsibility for his father's architectural practice, and

subsequently to successfully oversee the completion of some of his outstanding commissions.²⁶ Indeed, even before becoming ill, his father had often relied on Edward not only to manage his affairs whilst he was away on business,²⁷ but also to take care of his stepmother, Jane (née Knill, 1825-1909), whom his father had married²⁸ in 1848; she was only nine years older than Edward, and they appear to have had a good relationship from the start, it being said that he was delighted²⁹ at the prospect of her arrival at The Grange.

After his father's death in 1852,³⁰ Edward applied to join the firm of Sir Charles Barry, but was rejected,³¹ and so decided to set up practice on his own, being acutely aware that, despite the pension his step-mother had been awarded by the Government in recognition of her husband's monumental contribution to the new Palace of Westminster, the family depended on him. At Hardman Powell's instigation, he accordingly moved the family (comprising himself, his step-mother and six siblings)³² to 44 Frederick St in Birmingham in order to be near his father's closest friend and collaborator, John Hardman Jnr whose half-sister Lucy³³ (Hardman Powell's mother) then lived at number 55 in the same street. The Pugins stayed in Birmingham for 4 years³⁴ before removing to London in 1856, where they remained (at 5 Gordon Square, Bloomsbury) until 1861 when they returned to Ramsgate. Here, he set about adapting The Grange³⁵ to meet the requirements of his large family, whilst next door, at the rear of St Edward's (the former presbytery of St Augustine's), he later built a first-floor drawing-office/studio³⁶ from where he conducted his ever-expanding practice.



Figure 2: 17 year old Edward (*far left*), with his eldest sister Agnes (*far right*), stepmother Jane (*seated*), and half-sister Anne (*centre*) c1851 (*private collection*).



Figure 3: EW Pugin's drawing-office/studio at the rear of St Edward's (courtesy Landmark Trust)

Towards recognition

Once in London, Edward started to acquire a certain social and professional standing, as evidenced by: invitations to, and his attendance at, soirées given by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Nicholas Wiseman (notwithstanding the fact that his father's relationship with Wiseman had not always been felicitous); being invited to join the jury³⁷ of the Lille Cathedral Competition³⁸ in 1856; his membership of the Stafford Club³⁹ from 1857. In 1858, at the age of only 24, he was created Knight of the Order of St Sylvester⁴⁰ by Pope Pius IX in recognition of his design⁴¹ for the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception, a large pilgrimage church in Dadizele, near Bruges in Belgium, the building of which had commenced the preceding year.

Helped by the burgeoning in Catholic church building following the restoration of the English and Welsh Hierarchy in 1850, only two years prior to his father's death, Edward soon began to acquire an increasing number of clients of his own, and in his relatively short working life of just under 23 years established himself as one of the leading High Victorian Catholic architects of his day. On 16 June 1862,⁴² at the age of 28, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), and between 1854 and 1874 exhibited designs (some with GC Ashlin – *vide infra*) at Architectural Exhibitions in London, including some at the Royal Academy⁴³ to which, in 1868, he was (unsuccessfully) proposed⁴⁴ as an Associate by the painter Academicians JR Herbert and F Goodall.

Given his innate ability and the speed with which he could work (and, in particular, draw), he accomplished, through severe labour and intense application,⁴⁵ a vast amount of work, both ecclesiastical and secular, the latter mainly for Catholic clients (including members of the peerage and landed gentry),⁴⁶ not only in the UK, but also in Ireland and Belgium. Although, at various times Edward was in partnership with another architect, the majority of this work he alone was responsible for. The most significant partnership⁴⁷ (of 8 years duration, 1860-68) was that with the



Figure 4: Stanbrook Abbey chapel (*Stanbrook Abbey*)

Irishman George Coppinger Ashlin (a former pupil of his who, in 1867, married Edward's youngest sister, Mary).⁴⁸ In addition to many churches and domestic buildings, he also designed convents, monasteries, colleges/schools, orphanages, almshouses/convalescent homes, and was responsible for additions/alterations to existing buildings by other architects, including some⁴⁹ by his father; he also undertook numerous smaller miscellaneous works – no commission was too large or too small. Contemporary architectural and other journals (such as the Catholic weekly, *The Tablet*), as well as local newspapers, published quite detailed reports of the laying of the foundation stone and of the opening of a very large number of his buildings, particularly the churches, the genre for which he is best known, and which range from cathedrals to small private chapels. Church commissions came from both diocesan clergy⁵⁰ and Religious Orders and Congregations, predominant amongst which were the Benedictines and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and the Sisters of Mercy.⁵¹

Up to the mid-1850s, EW Pugin's ecclesiastical work followed the Decorated (English) Gothic style of his father, characterised by a square-ended chancel under a lower roof-line than the nave. By the late 1850s, however, the influence of Franco-Flemish Gothic had begun to assert itself, and he soon developed his own quite distinctive, more muscular style of Gothic, which, in the case of churches, was later characterised by a degree of interior polychromy. Externally, his larger churches are instantly recognisable from their physical assertiveness, achieved through a persistent emphasis



Figure 5: All Saints, Barton-on-Irwell, considered to be EW Pugin's masterwork (*Estrada*)

on the vertical element of their design, which is accentuated by both the acuteness of the roof pitch and often by a dominant W gable bell-cote or an off-centre tower supporting a spire.

Furthermore, he had no qualms about adapting Gothic to contemporary requirements, be they ecclesiastical or secular, nor employing what, for their date, were quite novel building methods, such as cavity walls, which he first did⁵² as early as 1861. Ecclesiastically, he brought to fruition⁵³ ideas that his father had formulated toward the end of his life⁵⁴ as to how Gothic might be reconciled with the rubrical requirements of the post-Reformation Tridentine liturgy, ideas that he had been unable to implement, however, owing to his premature death in 1852. This Edward achieved by dispensing with a distinct chancel in favour of a quite open sanctuary that was essentially an extension of the nave under the same roof-line. In the case of domestic commissions, he pioneered a modern Gothic, characterised by 'big sash windows not pokey casements, broad corridors and good ventilation, attenuated proportions and steep roofs.'⁵⁵

The quality of his buildings varied enormously, however, according to the funds that were available, which in the case of churches were usually inadequate; for the majority were built with the 'pennies of the poor', and what was often realised was but a shadow of what was originally intended on paper. Secular buildings fared better in this respect, particularly those commissioned by the landed gentry, although they sometimes lack the structural coherence of his churches.⁵⁶



Figure 6: Edward Welby Pugin, in theatrical costume – early 1860s (*private collection*).

Edward differed from his father not only stylistically, but also in the nature and tenor of his writings. His father's passionately written, well-researched, if somewhat polemic, scholarly treatises – devoted to such serious subjects as the promulgation of Gothic architectural principles,⁵⁷ antiquarian research⁵⁸ and theological/liturgical matters⁵⁹ – were replaced by Edward's impulsively written strident pamphlets⁶⁰ on less academic subjects of more personal concern, such as criticising⁶¹ (*vide infra*) the work of fellow architects, or attempting to secure proper recognition of his father's contribution to the design of the new Palace of Westminster;⁶² in addition, many letters were published in which he aired financial and other grievances.⁶³

Other more pragmatic differences were also evident, such as: having a number of pupils, the best known being his half-brother Edmund Peter (invariably known as Peter Paul),⁶⁴ George Coppinger Ashlin, and Edmund Kirby; allowing his buildings to go out to tender to local builders⁶⁵ (although Smith and Sons of Ramsgate were often used for commissions in SE England) and by appointing, on occasion, a local Clerk of Work;⁶⁶ working not solely from home⁶⁷ in Ramsgate, but maintaining offices also in Dublin⁶⁸ (with Ashlin), Liverpool⁶⁹ (the centre of the Catholic heartland of NW England, from where many commissions originated) and Westminster.⁷⁰ In addition, he entertained a much wider range of activities than did his father, and once described⁷¹ himself as 'architect, builder and warehouseman'. To these should be added those of designer, not only of stained glass/encaustic tiles (sometimes in collaboration with JH Powell) and other decorative work, but also of furniture⁷² and other fittings, some of which (e.g. church benches and some stone items, such as Holy Water stoups) were often supplied by his own factory, The South-Eastern Works,⁷³ situated on the outskirts of Ramsgate. Indeed, as was remarked in his obituary in *The Architect*,⁷⁴ 'he eventually had in his hands a business so extensive⁷⁵ that no ordinary brain could control it.'

Edward's life-style also differed significantly from that of his father, possibly as a reaction to the quasi-monastic domestic regimen in which he had been brought up, and to the oft-commented-on unkempt appearance of his father.⁷⁶ Edward, by contrast, appears to have been something of a dandy⁷⁷ to whom dress sense and personal cleanliness were important (as evidenced by his fondness for Turkish baths), and who, apart from during his final years, appears to have been something of a *bon vivant* – a larger-than-life, if not eccentric, character, well-known locally in Ramsgate, after his family's return there from London in 1861, for his hospitality,⁷⁸ liberality, and social engagement;⁷⁹ it has been intimated⁸⁰ that his more extrovert life-style was perhaps driven by the desire to gain social acceptance, particularly given his religion.

His exploits in Ramsgate⁸¹ included his membership (as Capt Pugin, from 1866-69)⁸² of the Ramsgate Volunteer Artillery Corps, and his organisation of numerous firework displays to celebrate local events. He was also keen to improve local housing conditions via various building projects covering a wide social scale, such as the commodious row of luxury 5-storey modern Gothic terraced houses he had built on land purchased in 1867, in partnership with others, including JB Hodgson (*vide infra*), from the Albion Estate on Ramsgate's East Cliff. Realising that houses would not sell, he decided, in 1868, to convert them into a hotel that he envisioned as the centre-piece of a completely new resort to be called St Lawrence-on-Sea.⁸³ The opening of the hotel, with which he was much



Figure 7: The Granville Hotel, Ramsgate pre-1899, showing the now partly dismantled water-tower (*Wikipedia*).

involved,⁸⁴ and which he named the Granville⁸⁵, was celebrated by a Ball,⁸⁶ on 7 December 1869, in the recently completed Granville Hall, which had been inaugurated⁸⁷ in October. The extensive facilities of the hotel (which included a wide range of hydropathy treatments and, later, electro-chemical baths)⁸⁸ were regularly advertised in the *Pall Mall Gazette*⁸⁹ during 1869-70.

The climactic years

EW Pugin's architectural output peaked in the mid-1860s when it was claimed⁹⁰ that over a five-year period he earned around £40,000 (about £2.5 million today); 1866, for example, saw the commencement of 8 churches, 2 convent chapels, 1 cemetery chapel, 1 college chapel, 1 dual-purpose chapel/school-room building, 1 convent, 3 presbyteries, 2 schools, and additions to a house designed by his father.

In 1867, despite his national eminence (and possibly because of his religion), he was not amongst the twelve architects⁹¹ invited to participate in a competition for the design of the new Law Courts. He responded by publishing a trenchant criticism⁹² of the submitted designs, all of which (including that of the winner, GE Street)⁹³ he considered to be a failure – that submitted by EM Barry (a son of Sir Charles Barry who on the latter's death in 1860 had succeeded him as architect of the Palace of Westminster) being subject to particular criticism. This marked the beginning not only of a pamphlet war⁹⁴ between the two men concerning the relative contributions of their fathers to the design of the new Palace of Westminster.⁹⁵ but also of an ever-increasing paranoia and propensity for litigation, both as prosecutor and defendant, which was to reach its peak in 1874.



Figure 8: Ss Augustine & John, Dublin Augustinian church (*Wikipedia Commons*).

1867 saw also the rejection⁹⁶ of his design for a new chapel at the Venerable English College (Venerabile) in Rome (which had been commissioned by Cardinal Wiseman in 1864) despite having adapted Gothic to suit the warmer and brighter Italian environment⁹⁷ – a rejection that Pugin, in a letter⁹⁸ to Mgr George Talbot (the Pope's confidential advisor on English affairs) blamed on Dr Henry Manning, Wiseman's successor as Archbishop of Westminster:

From all I hear, I firmly believe that the Archbishop has been in this, as well as in everything else, my unrelenting enemy, and probably the principal cause of my not having the work. I wish you could discover and let me know the cause of this extraordinary persecution.

Indeed, as early as 1862, Pugin had complained to Wiseman about the lack of commissions in London, blaming the influence of 'Dr Manning and the Bayswater clique';⁹⁹ his suspicions proved



Figure 9: E W Pugin, mid-late 1860s (private collection).

not to be unfounded when, in 1868, Manning appointed his nephew Henry Clutton architect of Westminster Cathedral,¹⁰⁰ despite Pugin having been promised the commission by Wiseman in the early 1860s. In a letter to the *Tablet* in October 1868, Pugin wrote:¹⁰¹

... the late Cardinal over and over again intimated to me that whenever the cathedral was erected it should be entrusted to me; and on one occasion during a visit to The Grange in Ramsgate ... he formally appointed me architect, and commissioned me to obtain ground.

Before 1867, he had been generous and warm hearted, although impetuous and known for his easily provoked fiery temper (from which even his closest friends were not immune),¹⁰² and was a hard-working and successful architect. Not having been invited to participate in the competition for the design of the new Law Courts, however, seems to have triggered the onset of a dramatic transformation of his character, demeanour and behaviour,¹⁰³ which was later exacerbated by accumulating financial problems arising from his reckless speculation in the Granville Hotel venture that proved to be his nemesis. In 1872, he mortgaged the hotel to Coutts and Co in order to secure advances in excess of £100,000; when he failed to repay, Coutts entered into possession of the hotel. Owing, however, to pressure from difficult creditors, he subsequently informed the Bank that he was about to sign a Petition to be adjudged bankrupt, and in October filed for liquidation of his estate¹⁰⁴ (including not only the Granville Hotel,¹⁰⁵ but also The South-Eastern Works)¹⁰⁶ with liabilities of £180,000 (about £11 million today). The Petition, on which he described himself as 'architect, builder and warehouse man', was accepted by the creditors and a trustee appointed.¹⁰⁷ By February the following year, however, he was able to report through the press¹⁰⁸:

I am now pleased to state that I have been enabled to make arrangements for payment of my creditors in full, and hope to make the last payment within three months.'

His propensity for litigation and disputation was often the subject of newspaper reports throughout the UK, and by 1871 his name had nationally become so familiar (even in non-architectural circles) that he was mentioned,¹⁰⁹ for example, as being amongst the passengers of a train that suffered derailment near Bletchley. Even as early as 1863, *The Times*¹¹⁰ reported that he had attended a reception hosted by the Prince of Wales at St James's Palace, to where he was again invited¹¹¹ in 1866 as Capt Pugin.

He became increasingly vindictive in controversy, however, and his unbridled tongue, lack of prudence and ever-increasing passion for litigation made him the subject of many uncomplimentary articles in the national press, whilst the local press in Ramsgate seized upon eccentric incidents, such as his furious horse riding and carriage driving, not to mention incidents involving his fearsome dogs.¹¹²

On 23 September 1873, in an attempt to improve his financial circumstances, he left Liverpool aboard the Cunard steamer *Calabria*¹¹³ for the USA where he did obtain quite a number of commissions, some of which were described and illustrated in various contemporary architectural journals,¹¹⁴ although there is no evidence that any were ever realised. Reporting on his departure to USA, a contemporary newspaper¹¹⁵ described him as follows:

Mr Pugin is the favourite architect of the Americans; but they treat his plans as they treat the dramas and novels of English authors – simply reproduce them without asking permission or paying a farthing in the form of royalty to the originator.

His arrival in the USA drew the following comment in a New York newspaper:¹¹⁶

Mr Pugin may learn something of architecture even in the Western hemisphere. In the United States we have one prevailing style of church architecture, the Pointed Gothic, from which he might derive some fanciful ideas. The Early Sclavonic has broken out in a few places in New England, but the 'heft' of our church buildings is of the former sort.

During his stay in New York, he set up an office¹¹⁷ in Brevoort House,¹¹⁸ 5th Avenue in Lower Manhattan.

Annus horribilis

After his return to England, which was announced at the beginning of January 1874,¹¹⁹ things deteriorated even further, following the publication of yet more pamphlets – this time against those whom he believed had been responsible for his financial demise. The contents of these pamphlets was often deemed to be malicious and libellous, resulting in frequent, regrettable court appearances in both Kent and London.¹²⁰ These continued to attract much adverse publicity and ridicule,¹²¹ leading the writer of his obituary in *The Building News* to state: 'Mr Pugin was best known to the general public as a litigant of a most energetic character.' The highest profile case involved his father's friend, the painter JR Herbert RA, who brought against EW Pugin a charge of publishing false and defamatory libels, arising from a financial grievance over the house (*The Chimes*) that Edward Pugin had designed for him,¹²² and which had been built in Kilburn in 1869. This led to two appearances in the Central Criminal Court in London, in the first of which, in July 1874 when Mr Gladstone¹²³ was called by both parties to give evidence, EW Pugin was acquitted, but after offending again was found guilty in September 1874, and only just escaped a six months custodial sentence.

The longest running court case was that involving JB Hodgson,¹²⁴ EW Pugin's former builder and business associate, in both the Granville Hotel enterprise and the South-Eastern Works, which extended over five years, and with which both his stepmother and his secretary, Bernard Whelan,¹²⁵ became embroiled. Although of more local interest, it was, nevertheless, extensively reported in the national press.

In what proved to be his final court appearance, as a witness¹²⁶ in the case of *Hayes v. King*¹²⁷, in 1875, his assertions brought upon him some observations¹²⁸ from the Lord Chief Baron, Fitzroy Kelly, which greatly disturbed him and continued to prey on his mind, so much so that in a conversation shortly before his death he said he intended to 'give up law and go in again for hard work.'¹²⁹ Virtually the last words he uttered on that occasion – 'Put on my gravestone Here lies a man of many miseries' – proved to be prophetic, for he died a few weeks later. Amongst his many miseries must surely have been his dismissal in 1869 from the Ramsgate Volunteer Artillery Corps for disobeying an order,¹³⁰ and his expulsion in 1874 from the RIBA,¹³¹ of which he had been a member for twelve years, for his alleged violation of a bye-law¹³² of the Institute – an act that his obituary in the *Irish Builder* considered 'uncharitable and uncalled for';¹³³ Pugin himself disputed the legality of his expulsion, and threatened to indict for libel¹³⁴ the President (Sir G Gilbert Scott) and other members of the RIBA, but this never happened.



Figure 10: Scarisbrick Hall additions, to RHS of the porch (*Wikimedia Commons*)

A further source of misery must have been his unsuccessful attempts to marry on at least two occasions,¹³⁵ firstly, in 1862 to Casilda Hunloke,¹³⁶ some thirteen years his junior; she was a grand-daughter of Lady Ann Scarisbrick, one of Edward's most enthusiastic and indulgent patrons for whom he did much work at Scarisbrick Hall during 1861-65, including replacing his father's clock-tower¹³⁷ by a much higher tower surmounted by a Franco-Flemish chisel spire. His association with Lady Scarisbrick is commemorated at Scarisbrick Hall in a stained-glass window (by JH Powell) – see Figure 11.

His second attempt at marriage (to someone else) was in 1867¹³⁸; it would also appear that he had earlier been romantically involved with a Jane Joyes, describing her in his diary of 1856¹³⁹ as 'an old flame'.

Towards the end of his *annus horribilis* of 1874, a public meeting was convened in Ramsgate¹⁴⁰ to invite 'subscriptions from working men and others, of the parishes of Ramsgate and St Lawrence, for the purpose of presenting a testimonial to EW Pugin, Esq, to evince their esteem and sympathy for him, and also their appreciation of the great benefits derived by them and the town of Ramsgate generally from the extensive works carried on by him in its vicinity.' In January the following year, he was presented with a silver salver fulsomely inscribed to reflect these sentiments.



Figure 11: Lady Scarisbrick and E.W. Pugin, by J Hardman Powell, in a window at Scarisbrick Hall (*Lancashire County Museum*)



Figure 12: St Anne's, Rock Ferry, EW Pugin's final church (*Wikimedia Commons*)

Decline and death

By now, however, the accumulated stress was starting to have a detrimental effect on both his work and his health, which was already in a precarious state on account of the punishing work schedule he had sustained over many years,¹⁴¹ his brother-in-law Lewis Peniston¹⁴² noting in a letter¹⁴³ of 1870:

Edward was very unwell yesterday, and today has gone out on a three day cruise on a fishing smack. He wants to freshen up before the libel case comes on.¹⁴⁴

Indeed, he had been quite ill already in the autumn of 1868, giving rise in some newspapers to exaggerated claims¹⁴⁵ in October that he was lying 'dangerously ill in Malvern', a report that he rapidly denied,¹⁴⁶ but not before the following amusing incident had been reported in several newspapers:¹⁴⁷

One day last week, a Birmingham paper, acting on incorrect intelligence, informed its readers that Mr Welby Pugin, the eminent Roman Catholic architect, was lying dangerously ill at Malvern. It was reported to the inmates of the convent at Stone, near Stafford, that Mr Pugin was no more. The convent bell was accordingly ordered to be tolled, and whilst this tribute to the memory of their late friend was being paid by the inmates, a gentleman knocked at the convent gate, inquired for the Rev Father D----, and sent in his card. The joy and astonishment of the rev father may be conceived when he read the inscription, 'Mr Welby Pugin', and the amazement of the latter on hearing, in reply to his question 'For whom is the bell tolling?' that it was for himself, may also be realised by the dullest imagination. The reports of Mr Pugin's illness and death were equally without foundation.

By December 1868, his health seems to have deteriorated further, describing himself in a letter to one of his clients as 'so plagued and ill', and going on to state: 'I am regularly down-hearted'¹⁴⁸

and have lost my pluckmy hand has lost its force¹⁴⁹ and my mind its vigour; if I don't improve shortly, I don't suppose I shall do much more.'¹⁵⁰

Although far from well, he was still travelling on business to Ireland¹⁵¹ at least as late as February 1875. Despite his intention to 'give up law and go in again for hard work', it was, however, too late. At about 8pm in the evening of Saturday 5 June at his Westminster residence, Victoria House, 111 Victoria St, he told his confidential assistant (his younger brother, Cuthbert)¹⁵² that he felt tired and would go to bed, requesting his medicine. Whilst this was being brought, he suddenly fell back into the arms of his brother, and died instantly, aged 41; his stepmother, Jane, was also present.¹⁵³ The cause of death was syncope of the heart, provoked, it was claimed, by injudicious use of chloral hydrate.¹⁵⁴

Edward had been ill for about three weeks prior to his death, and on 29 May went to Ramsgate for the weekend in the hope that the sea air might revive him. It was noticed, however, that he was still in a somewhat precarious state of health when he left Ramsgate to return to London the following Monday,¹⁵⁵ although his condition appears not to have given rise to undue concern. Indeed, on the morning of the day of his death he visited Kilburn, where his OMI Juniorate College (St Marie's)¹⁵⁶ was under construction, and in the afternoon had relaxed in the Grosvenor Turkish Baths¹⁵⁷ in Buckingham Palace Road near to his home, which he had designed a few years earlier.

His death was entered in the Liber Defunctorum of his local Catholic church in Palace St, Westminster, dedicated, appropriately enough, to St Edward the Confessor:



Figure 13: Entry of EW Pugin's death

He never managed to recover financially from his reckless investment in the Granville Hotel, and this coupled with expenses incurred through his many law suits effectively beggared him, and he left less than £600 in his Will.¹⁵⁸

Whilst it was his impetuosity, irascibility and volatility that invariably attracted attention¹⁵⁹ and adverse comment, there was another side to his nature, as the author of his obituary in the *Thanet Advertiser*¹⁶⁰ was at pains to point out:

He was a good hater and a firm friend – impetuous to a degree and generous to a fault.

He was much loved by his workmen who, said the obituary, 'speak of him with reverence'. As his funeral cortège made its way through Ramsgate to St Augustine's church on 10 June 1875 for his funeral at 11.30am, it was followed by a great crowd of admirers, including many of the poor who showered his coffin with flowers. In the Royal Harbour, fishing smacks flew their flags at half-mast, and in the town many shops were closed out of respect.¹⁶¹ After a Requiem Mass sung by the Bishop of Southwark in the presence of numerous clergy, both Regular and Diocesan, he was

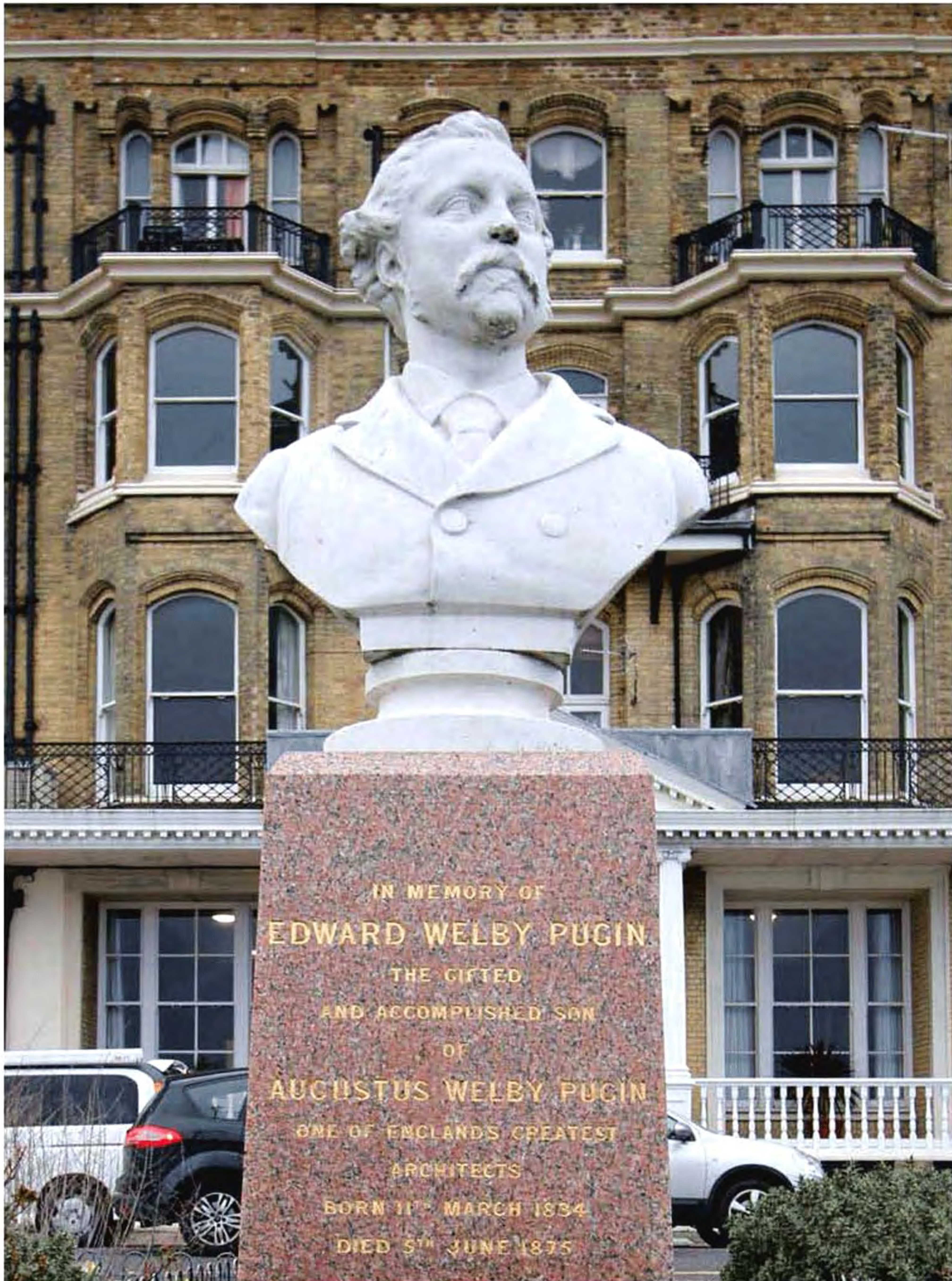


Figure 14: Bust of Edward Welby Pugin by Owen Hale of London, erected outside the Granville Hotel in 1879 by Edmund Davis who bought the hotel in 1873 (*Wikimedia Commons*)

buried in the vault beneath the Pugin Chantry, wherein his father had been laid to rest 23 years earlier; the pall-bearers were his brother Cuthbert, his half-brother Peter Paul, his brother-in-law, GC Ashlin, and three friends. The outer coffin of polished oak in Gothic shape, made by Friend, Vinten and Son of Ramsgate, carried the following inscription:¹⁶¹

Here lies the body of
EDWARD WELBY PUGIN
Eldest son of the Founder of this church
Who slept in the Lord June 5th AD. 1875, in the 41st year of his age.
'On whose Soul, Jesus, have mercy'

Notes

- 1 Letter from AWN Pugin to Wm Osmond, 30th Jan 1834 – Belcher [(2001, Vol 1) 21].
- 2 Louisa Button (1813-1844). In earlier literature her surname appears as Burton, but this is incorrect, as inspection of her marriage certificate clearly indicates, as was first noticed by M Egan, and reported by Wedgwood [(2005) 67].
- 3 His mother arranged for him to be baptised as an Anglican during an absence of his father – Hill [(2007) 127]. His Godfather was Capt. John Warman of 4, Wellington Cottages, Ramsgate – Belcher [(2012, Vol 4) 695].
- 4 Belcher states that Ferrey [Wainwright (1978)] implied that Louisa came from Salisbury, and that was the main reason Pugin decided to move to near there – Belcher [(2001, Vol 1) 25, n14].
- 5 Houle [(2010) 134].
- 6 AWN Pugin was received into the Catholic Church on 6 June 1835 in the Catholic Chapel in Salisbury.
- 7 Louisa's reception into the Catholic Church took place in the chapel at Alton Towers in May 1839 – Hill [(2007) 210], *Orthodox Journal* [(1839, 8 Jun, Vol 80) 364].
- 8 It was almost 13 years before Edward was baptised a Catholic (by Fr Thomas Costigan in St Augustine's, Ramsgate on 16 January 1847) – Belcher [(2009, Vol 3) 218].
- 9 Louisa died of rheumatic fever on 22 August 1844 after a one week illness, and was buried on 30 August in the Hardman Chantry in the crypt of St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham.
- 10 Blaker [(2003) 4].
- 11 Such as Fr Costigan (the parish priest of Margate who became chaplain at St Augustine's), Miss Holmes and Fr Luigi Acquaroni, the latter arriving at The Grange in Dec 1844, having been possibly recommended by Fr Gentili, a Rosminian priest well-known to AWN Pugin – Belcher [(2003, Vol 2) 243, 246, 266]. A proposal to send Edward to Oscott never materialised – Belcher [(2003, Vol 2) 467]; his brother Cuthbert, however, was educated for a short time (Oct-Dec 1852) at Ratcliffe College, Leics.
- 12 *The Thanet Advertiser* [(1875) 12 Jun].
- 13 see EW Pugin: *Who was the Art-Architect of the Houses of Parliament – a statement of facts, founded on the letters of Sir Charles Barry and the diaries of Augustus Welby Pugin*: Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1867; *ibid* 2nd edition, 1868, p.32.
- 14 During the building of St Augustine's in Ramsgate, Edward's father told him: 'I am giving you the best architectural lesson I can; watch the church, there will not be a single "True Principle" broken.' [Wedgwood (2006) 36]. 'I believe Edward will soon do fine things.' – Belcher [(2012, Vol 4) 367].
- 15 'I cannot bear to lose the society of my son', wrote AWN Pugin in a letter of 1844 to the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, Dr Thomas Griffiths [Westminster Diocesan Archives]. His protective attitude towards Edward upon the death of the family cat suggests he was a sensitive child, even at the age of 16, perhaps in consequence of having lost his mother at the tender age of 10 years.
- 16 Belcher [(2015, Vol 5) 34].

- 17 'Edward has now so greatly improved that he is really one of our best hands ... I believe he will soon become one of our best figure painters.' – Belcher [(2012, Vol 4), 691; see also pp.269, 386]; his father's preference, however, was that he should stick primarily to architecture – Belcher [(2012, Vol 4) 694]. Elsewhere, he writes: 'Edward is a real good lad – full of the true old spirit.' – Belcher [(2012, Vol 4) 580].
- 18 see Fisher [(2017) 38].
- 19 Cuthbert Welby Pugin 1840-1928.
- 20 Edward and his eldest sister Agnes later stood as godparents to Hardman Powell's second child, Agatha.
- 21 Wedgwood [(2006) 11].
- 22 Belcher [(2009, Vol 3) 89].
- 23 Belcher [(2012, Vol 4) 268].
- 24 Belcher [(2015, Vol 5) 512]. At the same time, however, his behaviour was on occasion reckless, such as boarding a train without a ticket (only avoiding imprisonment on the strength of his father's reputation) and staying in unsuitable lodgings: 'He was only away from home 3 days and he seems to have got in a succession of regular messes'. He was a source of continuing concern to his father who compared him to David Copperfield: 'His Copperfield adventures are quite disheartening.' – Belcher [(2015, Vol 5) 356], and declared him 'totally unfit to go about.' – Belcher [(2015, Vol 5) 350].
- 25 Before his father's death, Edward wrote to *The Times* of 20 Jul 1852 to contradict a statement in *The Builder* that 'his father had been beggared by his religious zeal, and removed to a public hospital for want of funds to support him'. He stated, on the contrary, that 'Mr Pugin has received every assistance from those with whom he has been connected, professionally or otherwise ... I trust I may be able to carry out my father's professional engagements, and with the continued assistance and encouragement of his friends, to maintain the family until such time as it may please God to restore him to us.' A similar rebuttal was issued by J Hardman Powell in a letter to the editor of the *Daily News* of 12 Jul, 1852. As late as Feb 1862, Edward was still attempting to set the record straight in a letter to the editor of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*.
- 26 Such as the church at Leith – see Belcher [(2015, Vol 5) 525], the estate chapel at Medmenham, which Edward had visited already in May 1851 – Belcher [(2015, Vol 5) 220], and possibly also that at Edermine in Co Wexford, Ireland. It has, on occasion, been said, however, that he inherited his father's practice before he was mature enough to be able to handle it properly – Architect [(1875) 350].
- 27 Belcher [(2012, Vol 4) 187].
- 28 Their marriage took place in St George's, Southwark, and was the first to be solemnised there; Edward and his half-sister Anne, were present.
- 29 Belcher [(2009, Vol 3) 557].
- 30 AWN Pugin died intestate on account of an error made by Edward who signed only the envelope containing his Will, but not the Will itself.
- 31 Pugin [(1867) viii].
- 32 At the time of AWN Pugin's death, the family in Ramsgate comprised his step-mother Jane (1825-1909), his brother Cuthbert Welby (1840-1928), his sisters Agnes (1836-95), Katherine (1841-1927), Mary (1843-1933), his half-sister Margaret (1849-1884), and his half-brother Edmund Peter (1851-1904). Edward's other half-sister, Anne, had married John Hardman Powell on 21 Oct 1850 in St Augustine's, Ramsgate (the first marriage to be solemnised there), and had moved with him to Birmingham already in early 1852, following Augustus' hospitalisation, so that Powell could take over as Chief Designer at Hardman and Co. <http://www.thepuginsociety.co.uk/family-tree.html>
- 33 Lucy supervised the making of ecclesiastical vestments at Hardman and Co from 1842 until about 1862.
- 34 Whilst in Birmingham, Edward designed a number of significant buildings, such as Shrewsbury Cathedral, abbey churches at Oulton and Belmont, Madresfield Anglican church, Aston-by Stone presbytery, Burton Manor, and numerous notable works at Ushaw College, which continued until 1874.
- 35 After AWN Pugin's death and the removal of his family to Birmingham, The Grange was let to his friend Alfred Luck who occupied the house until the Pugin family returned from London in 1861.
- 36 St Edward's and EW Pugin's drawing-office/studio have recently been beautifully restored by Landmark Trust

- see: <https://www.landmarktrust.org.uk/search-and-book/properties/st-edwards-presbytery-25316>
- 37 O'Donnell [(1994) 260]; *Tablet* [(1856) 325].
 - 38 The Competition for the cathedral church of Notre Dame de la Treille et St Pierre was won by Clutton and Burges, but the design actually realised (partially) was that by Jean Baptiste Lassus, who had come third – Bergdoll [(1995) 116]; see also *Ecclesiologist* [(1856, Vol 14) 288].
 - 39 The Stafford Club (founded by Henry Stafford-Jerningham, 9th Baron Stafford) was a liberally biased political club formed in 1851 to coordinate Catholic resistance to the allegation of 'Papal Aggression', following the restoration of the English Hierarchy in 1850; Edward's membership is noted in *Freeman's Journal* [(1857) 18 Jun].
 - 40 He was invested by Cardinal Wiseman at Ushaw College during the celebrations marking the Golden Jubilee of its foundation – *Builder* [(1858) 627]; *Tablet* [(1858) 484].
 - 41 EW Pugin's designs for an altar and Lady Chapel in this church were exhibited at a soirée at the house of Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, in Jan 1857.
 - 42 see the entry for EW Pugin in Dictionary of Scottish Architects: http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=201413
 - 43 see e.g. *Builder* [(1855) 229] and *Ecclesiologist* [(1854, Vol XII) 166; (1855, Vol XIII) 150].
 - 44 Together with PC Hardwick, W Burges T Wyatt and Ch Barry – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1868) 25 Jan]; *Daily News* [(1868) 27 Jan].
 - 45 It is said that from early morning until late at night, without relaxation, he worked at the drawing-board – *Builder* [(1875) 523].
 - 46 e.g. the Dowager Duchess of Leeds, Lord Beaumont, Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Lady Scarisbrick and Ambrose Phillips de Lisle.
 - 47 His other one-time partners were JA Hansom (1852-54, 1862-63), J Murray (1856-59) and J-B Bethune (1857-62).
 - 48 Mary was given away by Edward who was referred to as 'Capt Pugin' in contemporary press reports, being, at the time, an officer in the Ramsgate Volunteer Artillery Corps. The wedding was reported in the *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1867) 28 Nov] and in the *Tablet* [(1867) 763].
 - 49 Such as St Marie's, Rugby, St Joseph's, Nechells, and Scarisbrick Hall.
 - 50 In the *Tablet* [(1866) 549] it was announced that the Bishop of Shrewsbury (Rt Rev James Brown) had appointed EW Pugin his Diocesan Architect.
 - 51 A total of 23 religious orders, congregations and societies (both male and female) commissioned work.
 - 52 In his church in Haddington, Scotland.
 - 53 How EW Pugin achieved this is considered in some detail in Hyland (2020).
 - 54 Hyland [(2018) 43].
 - 55 O'Donnell [(1999a)].
 - 56 EW Pugin's external work at Carlton Towers, for example, when viewed from a certain angle, is claimed to be 'a disturbing experience.' – Girouard [(1974) 349].
 - 57 Such as *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (2 Lectures given at St Marie's College, Oscott), John Weale, London, 1841; *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, Dolman, London, 1843 (Both republished by Gracewing, 2003, 2004, respectively, with introductions by R O'Donnell).
 - 58 For example: *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume compiled and illustrated from Antient Authorities and Examples*, Bohn, London, 1844, 1846.
 - 59 Such as *An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of Ancient Plain Song*, Charles Dolman, London, 1850; *An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy*, Charles Dolman, London, 1851; *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts*, Charles Dolman, London, 1851.
 - 60 see, e.g. Pugin (1867a,b).
 - 61 see, e.g., his remarks in the Press concerning the Manchester Town Hall Competition, such as: 'During the last 20 years the profession has forgotten much and learnt nothing.' – *Building News* [(1867) 710], *The Times* [(1871) 19 Dec]
 - 62 *The Times* [(1867) 7 Sept]

- 63 Such as EW Pugin's letters to JR Herbert RA, published in the *Westminster Gazette* (1874).
- 64 Having been born on the Feast of St Peter and Paul, he took Paul as his Confirmation name, and was known thereafter as Peter Paul.
- 65 Carving, however, was usually reserved for his preferred sculptors, in particular, W Farmer and RL Boulton – although he preferred Boulton's angels to his foliage carving, saying: 'Boulton can do angels to perfection, but his foliage carving is certainly not stone carving.' [Letter of 16 May 1870 (see also 26 May 1870), Stanbrook Archives]. For stained glass and metalwork, Hardman and Co were often, but not invariably, used.
- 66 Such as Br Patrick Dalton OFM at Gorton [A(IIIa)-52], and Dom Laurence Shepherd OSB at Stanbrook.
- 67 EW Pugin adapted The Grange and St Edward's (the adjacent house and former presbytery of St Augustine's church) to suit his needs and those of his large family – O'Donnell [(1999b)], Dermott [2001] 3], Blaker [(2003) 14, 17].
- 68 At 90 Stephen's Green, and various other Dublin addresses.
- 69 Initially at 1 Oxford St, Liverpool; later at 23 Lord St, and in Seel's Building, Church St, Liverpool.
- 70 Initially (with J Murray) at 31 Buckingham St, Strand 21; Savile Row, Burlington Gardens; later at Victoria House, 111, Victoria St, Westminster, where he also had an apartment (wherein he died).
- 71 On the Petition for liquidation of his estate in 1872 – Welsh [(1975) 3].
- 72 'Welby Pugin's Gothic Furniture' was advertised in newspapers of 1870, particular mention being made of the so-called 'Granville' Chair, which was described as 'the greatest novelty of the year' – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1870) 23 Jul, 20 Sept].
- 73 So named because of its proximity the South-Eastern Railway line to the east of the St Lawrence district of Ramsgate. Founded by EW Pugin c.1860, it was managed for a time by John Knight Morley (once described by EW Pugin as 'not a brilliant talent, but energetic.' [Letter of 21 Dec 1869 in Stanbrook Archives]); it is possible that also EW Pugin's younger brother, Cuthbert, was involved in some capacity. The South-Eastern Works had a London agency (L. Poole) for 'Welby Pugin's Gothic Furniture' at 13-15 Holden Terrace, adjoining Victoria Station – *Daily News* [(1872) 15 Jun]. Furniture was made also by C and R Light of Shoreditch; Shoreditch borders Hoxton, a district well-known at the time for joinery, and where EW Pugin designed a church in which the nave arcade is constructed in timber. The Ramsgate business was also known as the South-Eastern Furniture Co.
- 74 Architect [(1875) 350].
- 75 For example, in 1871, he was listed as a Director of Barnett's Patent Asphalt Paving Co (*Daily News* [(1871) 20 and 23 Oct]), whilst in 1873 he and his brother Cuthbert were described in *The Times* of 2 April as architects of The Eastern Counties Aquarium Co in Great Yarmouth.
- 76 Notwithstanding these differences, Edward held his late father in the highest esteem, as is evident from the following dedication in S Ayling's *Photographs of Sketches by Augustus Welby N Pugin*, which Edward was instrumental in having published in 1865: 'To the memory of a dear and affectionate father, in dutiful remembrance of his instructive words, kind acts, and encouraging example; in filial gratitude for the love of art received from him, and the practical knowledge received from his teaching ...' – Blaker [(2003) 63 n25]
- 77 O'Donnell [(2001)] – cited in [Blaker (2003) 44]
- 78 Cardinal Wiseman, for example, was entertained to dinner at The Grange on 11 Nov 1863 – *Tablet* [(1863) 743].
- 79 For example, his organisation of charity concerts, such as those held at St Gregory's (the home of Alfred Luck) in September 1865, and at The Grange the following September, which featured the internationally renowned operatic soprano Mme Lemmens-Sherrington – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1866) 15 Sept]; in January of that year, EW Pugin and his step-mother hosted a lunch at The Grange for the 'gentlemen and yeoman of the Isle of Thanet', following their New Year Hunt, which was reported in the *Kentish Gazette*, of 2 Jan 1866, under the title 'Seasonal Jolities at The Grange'. Mention might also be made of his membership of a delegation to the Board of Trade in March 1869 in connection with the Ramsgate harbour dues, and making available the grounds of the Granville Hotel for a firework display to celebrate the Ramsgate Regatta of 1869.
- 80 Blaker [(2003) 2, 58].
- 81 These are vividly described in Blaker [(2003) Chapter 2].
- 82 On Wednesday 8 August 1866, the 1st Cinque Ports Volunteer Artillery Corps, of which he was captain, succeeded in carrying off the Blue Ribbon in a competition at Shoeburyness where they won the Queen's

- Prize – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1866) 10 Aug], Blaker [(2003) 12]; in April 1867, he was chosen as a member of the Council of the National Artillery Association of Great Britain – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1867) 30 April]. Later, *The Times* of 3 Aug 1867 and 18 Aug 1870 referred to ‘the beautiful cups designed by Capt Welby Pugin’, which were presented to the winners – Blaker [(2003) 13].
- 83 This name was perhaps motivated by the fact that EW Pugin’s birthplace was in the parish of St Lawrence, on the west side of Ramsgate, and by the success of St Leonards-on-Sea as a resort in E Sussex.
- 84 He even acted as his own Musical Patron, ‘making arrangements with an efficient bandmaster to provide Ramsgate with an efficient body of performers for the coming season.’ – *Architect* [(1870) 230].
- 85 see Blaker [(2003) Chapter 4]. The hotel was named after Lord Granville (George Leveson-Gower, 1815–91, 2nd Earl), a prominent Liberal who served in Gladstone’s Administration (1868–74), and who was three times Foreign Secretary. Edward himself had strong Liberal sympathies – see End-note 123. The facilities of the hotel (which was promoted as ‘The most economical, comfortable and recherché Family Hotel in the Kingdom’) were advertised in great detail in the 1870 issues of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Over the entrance to the hotel was sculpted ‘Through this wide gate, none can come too early, none depart too late’)
- 86 Advertised with a list of eminent Patrons, including Earl Granville, Duchess of Leeds, Lady Scarisbrick and Mrs Washington Hibbert – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1868) 3 Dec].
- 87 The inauguration featured Mr and Mrs German Reed in a production of *No cards and Cox and Box*, for which occasion PP Pugin painted a drop-scene – *Daily News* [(1869) 20 Oct]. This Hall is to be distinguished from the new Hall of 1874 by JT Wimperis, which was demolished in 1982.
- 88 see [Blaker (2003) 46].
- 89 e.g. *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1870) 15 Oct].
- 90 *Builder* [(1875) 523].
- 91 Those invited to compete included EM Barry, W Burges, GG Scott, GE Street and P Waterhouse.
- 92 Pugin (1867a) – see also *The Times* [(1867) 15, 19 Aug].
- 93 Referring to the Government project of changing the site of the new Law Courts, *The Westminster Gazette* openly and gravely suggested that Mr. E Welby Pugin should be substituted for Mr Street – *Building News* [(1869) 470].
- 94 see, in particular, Pugin (1867b).
- 95 What most likely instigated the pamphlet war – as much as EWP’s exclusion from the competition in which EM Barry was invited to participate and whose submitted design he detested – was the fact that Barry had been responsible for the new covered arcade (cloister) along the E side of New Palace Yard, the style of which had become apparent by 1867, which EWP (and others) considered disfigured the building to which his late father had contributed so much. EWP protested that it was inharmonious and out of proportion with the original façade that it abutted.
- 96 Richardson [(2001) 20].
- 97 This he did by reducing the size of the windows, and specifying that they be double-glazed (with deeply coloured stained glass), a technique not known to have been introduced in the UK (in Scotland) before the 1870s; in this, as with his introduction of cavity walls already in 1861 (see End-note 52), he was well ahead of his time.
- 98 see Richardson [(2001) 20].
- 99 see O’Donnell [(1994) 262].
- 100 *Tablet* [(1868, 3 Oct) 265].
- 101 *Tablet* [(1868, 17 Oct) 667].
- 102 As an example might be cited his serious quarrel with J Hardman Powell in 1861 – Fisher [(2017)].
- 103 ‘That he had been grievously wronged took possession of his mind.’ – *The Thanet Advertiser* [(1875) 12 Jun].
- 104 *The Times* [(1873) 1 Mar, 11 Apr]; *Daily News* [(1873) 11 Feb]; *Freeman’s Journal* [(1873) 11 Feb]. On the Bankruptcy Petition, EW Pugin described himself as a partner of Coutts and Co, forcing them to apply for an injunction to restrain him from describing himself as such – *Building News* [(1872) 432].
- 105 The Great Tower at the rear of the Granville, ‘admitted to be one of the most remarkable pieces of brickwork in existence’ was completed only the preceding month – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1872) 18 Sept].
- 106 The South-Eastern Works was put up for sale in 1873, and was bought by WW Martin, a local firm of builders (who are still in business in Ramsgate) – Blaker [(2003) 67 n127]. The following year, in August 1874, Messrs

Fuller, Hornsey, Son and Co were 'instructed to sell by auction, at the South-Eastern Works, the remaining stock of Art Furniture designed by eminent architect EW Pugin ...' – *Pall Mall Gazette* [(1874) 5 Aug].

- 107 Welsh [(1975) 3].
- 108 *Daily News* [(1873) 11 Feb]; *Freeman's Journal* [(1873) 11 Feb].
- 109 *Liverpool Mercury* [(1871) 23 May].
- 110 *The Times* [(1863) 26 Feb].
- 111 *The Times* [(1866) 20 Jun].
- 112 *Kent Coast Times* [(1870) 27 Jan, 21 Jul].
- 113 A fellow passenger was the spiritualist-poet Gerald Massey – *Birmingham Daily Post* [(1873) 24 Sept].
- 114 *Architect* [(1874) 188; (1875) 158] and *Building News* [(1874) 163].
- 115 *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* [(1873) 1 October].
- 116 *Building News* [(1873) 471].
- 117 Contrary to what is stated in Floyd [(1995) 201], EW Pugin could not have set up an office in New York with JW Walter, since at this time Walter was known to have been in London, as pointed out by Andrew Saint [(2010/11) 111]; Walter did, however, visit New York after EW Pugin's death in connection with the visit there of PP Pugin, c.1881.
- 118 *Architect* [(1874) 188]. Brevoort House was most probably Brevoort Mansion at the junction of 5th Avenue and 9th Street, completed in 1834 for Henry Brevoort to a neo-Grecian design of Town & Davis; it was demolished in 1925. In Pugin-related literature, the name of the building is invariably misspelt as Brevort. <http://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.co.uk/2013/04/the-lost-brevoort-mansion-5th-ave-and.html>
- 119 *Building News* [(1874) 56].
- 120 A considerable number of the cases were reported in the press.
- 121 In 1874, EW Pugin brought a charge of libel against the *London Lantern* for publishing a cartoon that depicted him as a jester holding up a mirror in which his face was reflected, and which carried the Shakespearean caption 'Good morrow fool.' – *The Times* 1 Dec 1874. Already by December 1867 *Punch* had published the following under the title A TRIFLE FROM RAMSGATE: 'Why is Mr Welby Pugin likely to give up the profession as an architect? Because he's lately made a Barry stir.' – *ManchesterTimes* [(1867) 21 Dec].
- 122 At the beginning of 1852, it had been arranged that AWN Pugin would build a house for Herbert, but this never happened on account of Pugin's hospitalization in February and death in the September of that year. Ironically, as it turned out, AWN Pugin described the commission as 'a fine thing for Edward and all of them.' – Belcher [(2015) 583].
- 123 EW Pugin actively campaigned on behalf of the Liberals, accompanying Mr Gladstone on a political tour of his Constituency in SW Lancashire towards the end of 1867 (when he stayed for a night at Scarisbrick Hall, which Lady Scarisbrick had illuminated in his honour), and was with him at a meeting in Southport in October 1868 (*Liverpool Mercury* [(1868) 22 Oct]), prior to the General Election after which Gladstone became Liberal Leader and Prime Minister. During the 1867 tour, Pugin reported that he had promoted, with some degree of success, the cause of Irish Reform – Society of the Holy Child Jesus Archives [(Vol. 21) 57]; the Irish Church Act, disestablishing the Irish Church, was passed in 1869, and came into force in 1871, when the disestablished Church became known as the Church of Ireland. Another prominent Liberal, after whom EW Pugin named his hotel in Ramsgate, was Earl Granville, who served in Gladstone's first administration, 1868-74. As a Liberal, Pugin, in a letter to *The Tablet* of 30 May 1868, vehemently registered his disdain for the East Kent Conservatives' attempt to procure votes by inciting anti-Catholic feeling.
- 124 John Barnett Hodgson (1820-1908) was a Ramsgate builder (who as such, during 1867-68, built EW Pugin's convent chapel at St Leonards-on-Sea); he was also one-time overseer of the South-Eastern Works, Postmaster of Ramsgate, and later its Mayor.
- 125 During this period, Whelan (who himself had become an architect) provided designs for a new W end, baptistery and and spire to EW Pugin's St Marie's, Rugby.
- 126 Against doctor's orders, and when, according to friends, his bodily state was such that he scarcely knew what he was doing.

- 127 A case of financial grievance in which Austin Hayes, a quantity surveyor employed by EW Pugin, brought an action for work done amounting to £234 against the Rev John King OMI, Rector of St Anne's, Rock Ferry, EW Pugin's final church commission.
- 128 Although not explicitly stated, these observations most likely refer to his mental state to which earlier references had been made, such as by the carver HH Martyn who, when at Stanbrook doing carving for RL Boulton c. 1870-71, recalls 'being slated by the mad architect' – Howell [(2007) 37]; another is to be found in a letter of 23 May 1870 to Canon Friedrich Schneider from Sir John Sutton (of Norwood) who stated: 'E Pugin is mad ... I hear he is very cracked at the moment.' – Jacobs [(2002) 11].
- 129 *Builder* [(1875) 522].
- 130 He was replaced on the Council by a Col Milward RA – *The Times* [(1869) 8 Jun].
- 131 *Building News* [(1874) 545, 565, 623].
- 132 Specifically Bye-law 16, Section 3, which prohibited architects from receiving any benefit derived from clients other than their recognised commission.
- 133 *Irish Builder* [(1875) 157].
- 134 *Building News* [(1874) 565] – see also *Building News* [(1874) 623] and Welsh [(1975) 4].
- 135 A number of sources state that he was engaged two or three times – Gillow [(1885, Vol. 5) 380]; Welsh [(1975) 5].
- 136 Five years later, in Nov 1867, Casilda married William Michael Ince Anderton (1825-84) of Euxton, twenty-two years her elder; he was a principal benefactor of St Mary's, Euxton. Casilda was his second wife, his first wife Emma having died in 1866. Casilda was the illegitimate daughter of Henry John Joseph Hunloke, 6th Bt of Wingerworth Hall, Derbyshire, and a grand-daughter of Lady Ann Hunloke (1788-1872), self-styled Lady Scarisbrick after 1861; Ann was a sister of Charles Scarisbrick, one of AWN Pugin's important early Catholic patrons, and widow (since 1816) of Sir Thomas Hunloke, 5th Bt, of Wingerworth Hall, Derbyshire, who was Casilda's grandfather – see Edwards (2010) whose private publication cites letters in the Lancashire Record Office [The Anderton Collection DDAN acc. 1642] between EW Pugin and Lady Scarisbrick, which reveal that he was starting to court Casilda in 1862, notwithstanding that she was then at most only 16 years old. The previous year he had travelled by train with Casilda and Lady Scarisbrick from London (where they and Pugin then lived, they in Sydenham, he in Bloomsbury) when Lady Scarisbrick took possession of the Scarisbrick Estate in June 1861 – *The Preston Guardian* [(1861) 8 Jun]. <http://gw.geneanet.org/barbierd?lang=fr&dp=annandn=scarisbrick>
- 137 Hyland [(2019) 2]
- 138 In a letter from EW Pugin to Cornelia Connolly dated 23 Dec 1867, he states: 'I will tell you all about my own marriage when I come down. The details are most interesting, or at least they will be when there is anything to tell.' – Society of the Holy Child Jesus Archives [(Vol. 21) 57]. This letter is dated one month after the marriage of Casilda Hunloke to Wm Anderton, so Pugin was presumably referring to someone else.
- 139 O'Donnell [(1994) 209, end-note 10].
- 140 *Building News* [(1874) 743].
- 141 The church of Ss Peter and Paul in Cork was open to competition, six weeks being allowed for the submission of designs. Pugin did not make up his mind to enter the competition until three days before the closing date; but having decided to so do worked three days and three nights at his drawing-board to produce the design that was finally chosen. On other occasions, he would frequently leave home and travel all night, have a bath, work all the following day, and then travel the next night and work the next day; this incessant night travelling and day working was kept up for weeks, often resulting in illness and fits of depression. His church in Stafford, for example, he saw only at night-time when he would arrive by train and get torches to inspect it – *Kent Argus* [(1875) 12 Jun]. His visits to Stanbrook provide another example, where, on one occasion, he arrived at 5.30am and left on foot at 8.45am [Letter of 28 May 1870, Stanbrook Archives]. Yet another example is one of his visits to St Leonards-on-Sea in Jan 1874 during the completion of the convent chapel there: 'Pugin arrived at 9pm, had a talk with Our Mother, took his measurements for the reredos and was off to London at 10.' – Society of the Holy Child Jesus Archives [(Vol. 61: Diaries of MM Ignazia Bridges, Jan 1855-Jan 1877) 71]. Given the amount of time spent travelling, one wonders when he had time to make his many designs! He was certainly what in today's terminology would be described as a 'workaholic'.

- 142 Lewis Peniston married EWP's sister Agnes in 1862. As a lawyer, he represented EWP on at least one occasion (in 1870), but they became estranged after Peniston brought an (unsuccessful) lawsuit against him in 1872; he died young, later that year aged 37.
- 143 Cited in Blaker [2003] 50].
- 144 Probably the case of Hodgson vs Pugin (Aug 1870).
- 145 Birmingham Daily Post [(1868) 7 Oct]; Liverpool Mercury [(1868) 8 Oct].
- 146 Pall Mall Gazette [(1868) 10 Oct].
- 147 Daily News [(1868) 14 Oct]; The Scotsman [(1868) 15 Oct].
- 148 His obituary in the Builder [(1875) 523] mentions that he was 'subject to fits of depression'.
- 149 Earlier that year, he had been unable to write because of a disabled hand, which had to be treated with leeches - letter from EW Pugin to Cornelia Connolly, dated 23 May 1868 – Society of the Holy Child Jesus Archives [(Vol. 21) 112].
- 150 Letter from EW Pugin to Cornelia Connolly, dated 14 Dec 1868 – Society of the Holy Child Jesus Archives [(Vol. 21) 217].
- 151 Freeman's Journal [(1875) 2 Feb]; the visit was probably in connection with Cobh Cathedral, which was then still under construction, and continued to be so (long after Pugin's death) until 1915, when the spire was completed.
- 152 In the Kent Argus [(1875) 11 Jun] it is stated that Cuthbert 'has for 15 years worked with him, and for some considerable time past has been of great assistance to him.'
- 153 The Thanet Advertiser [(1875) 12 Jun].
- 154 Builder [(1875) 523]. The sedational properties of chloral hydrate were first recognised in 1869, and its use to treat insomnia, in particular, soon became widespread and greatly abused. One of its reported side-effects is extreme irritability and unusual excitement, both of which were characteristic of EW Pugin's behaviour, particularly during his later years.
- 155 The Thanet Advertiser [(1875) 12 Jun].
- 156 Demolished during the 1960s.
- 157 In Buckingham Palace Road.
- 158 O'Donnell (2000).
- 159 'Pugin was difficult to deal with; he was temperamental, and had a volcanic temper – on the other hand, his enthusiasm was inspiring, and nothing but the best would do.' – Hueffer [(nd) 165]. According to some obituaries, he was 'lively in temperament and prone to fits of depression.' – Builder [(1875) 522], and had 'an impetuous temper' – Art Journal [(1875) 279]
- 160 The Thanet Advertiser [(1875) 12 Jun].
- 161 The Tablet [(1875) 792].



Figure 15: Holy Cross, Liverpool, destroyed by enemy action, 1940-41 (*Private Collection*)

GAZETTEER OF REALISED WORKS OF EW PUGIN & PARTNERS, ACCORDING TO COUNTRY, COUNTY/PROVINCE/DÉPARTEMENT

Of the 337 works listed below, the EW Pugin provenance of 273 is authenticated beyond doubt, whilst the remaining 64 are less securely established, and are thus entered as 'attributed'.

† denotes demolished/destroyed; (†) denotes demolished but rebuilt elsewhere; \$ denotes converted to secular/other use; * denotes closed but extant.

When only a dedication is given, it is of a place of worship, which is Catholic, unless stated otherwise.

ENGLAND (222 authenticated, 50 attributed)

All these works are by EW Pugin alone, apart from those executed in partnership with James Murray at Albury, Croston Hall, Great Harwood, Stoke-on-Trent, and Woolwich, and in collaboration with JA Hansom at Croston Hall, and possibly at Ripon.

Berkshire

Medmenham, SL7 2EY: Completion of AWN Pugin's estate chapel of St Charles Borromeo †

Buckinghamshire

Gt Marlow, SL7 1NQ: Attributed convent \$ and associated attributed school \$

Cambridgeshire

Ramsey, PE1 7 1EQ: Sacred Heart of Jesus and associated presbytery †

Cheshire

Macclesfield, SK1 1 8DJ: Attributed pulpit and reredoses in St Alban's church

Warrington, WA1 2NN: St Mary and associated school †

Widnes, WA8 6DD: St Marie \$

Cornwall

Sclerder, PL1 3 2JD: Attributed (Franciscan) conventual adaptations of a former chapel and presbytery

Cumbria

Barrow-in-Furness, LA14 1XA: St Mary of Furness

Cleator, CA23 3AB: Our Lady of the Sacred Heart

Cleator Moor, CA25: St Patrick's school †
 Egremont, CA22 2BD: St Mary's school-chapel †
 Whitehaven, CA28 7TD: St Begh (Bee)
 Workington, CA14 3EE: Our Lady Star of the Sea & St Michael

Derbyshire

Derby, DE1 3AU: Chapels, High altar, screen(†) and sanctuary decoration at St Mary's
 Bakewell, DE45 1BG: Unspecified attributed work at Burton Closes (house)

Durham, County

Brooms, DH8 6RS: Our Blessed Lady & St Joseph
 Crook, DL15 9DR: Our Lady Immaculate & St Cuthbert, associated presbytery, and school with master's house attached \$
 Darlington, DL3 8RY: Cemetery monument to Bishop Hogarth
 Framwellgate, DH1 4SF: Our Lady of Mercy & St Godric
 Ushaw, Durham, DH7 9RH: 13 diverse works (including chapels, junior seminary, infirmary and museum) at Ushaw College – some now derelict, others converted to other uses.

Essex

Barking, IG11 8HG: Ss Mary & Ethelburga † and associated attributed presbytery
 Harwich, CO12 3ND: Our Lady of Mount Carmel †

Hampshire

Woolton Hill, RG20 9XG: Attributed Winterbottom Memorial Chapel † in the graveyard at St Thomas' (CofE) church

Herefordshire

Bartestree, HR1 4DU: Convent \$, associated House of Refuge \$ and attributed lodge \$
 Breinton, HR4 7PF: Attributed partial rebuild of 'Warham House'
 Clehonger, HR2 9RX: Belmont Abbey church of St Michael the Archangel
 Belmont (Benedictine) Abbey monastic buildings
 School-chapel of Ss Peter & Paul \$ (associated with Belmont Abbey)
 Attributed domestic chapel \$ and other attributed work at Belmont House
 Dinedor, HR2 6NR: Additions to Rotherwas (Bodenham Estate) chapel
 Old Longworth, HR1: Attributed restoration of the Mediaeval chapel (†) at the Manor Old House, and associated attributed presbytery (†)

Hertfordshire

Ware, SG11 1DS: Lady Chapel, Scholefield Chantry and minor works (including two attributed ones) all at St Edmund's College

Isle of Man

Peel, IM5 1BR: St Patrick



Figure 16: Monastic buildings at Belmont Abbey, Clehonger

Kent

Ashford, TN24 8TX:	St Teresa of Avila
Bapchild, ME9 9NL:	Attributed altar and font in St Laurence's (CofE) church
Dover, CT16 1RU:	St Paul
Hales Place, CT2 :	Byzantine rebuild of the Hale Estate chapel interior †, stained glass and attributed High altar (†) and reredos (†)
Kingsdown, ME9 0AS:	St Catherine (CofE) Estate church *
Maidstone, ME14 1RH:	School-chapel of St Francis \$
Margate, CT9 1LP:	Alterations and repairs at Ss Austin & Gregory's and associated school
Ramsgate, CT11:	Attributed Chapel of Ease
CT11 9NY:	N cloister, attributed W cloister, Digby Chantry, tomb-chest for AVN Pugin, and attributed work in the Lady Chapel, all at St Augustine's
CT11 9PA:	House† (St Gregory's) for A Luck St Augustine's (Benedictine) Priory \$ Enlargement of St Augustine's Abbey school (Alfred Luck's former house) † Attributed mural designs in St Mary's (High Anglican) church †
CT11 8DE:	Private houses in Victoria Parade
CT11 9SP:	Private houses in Codrington Rd



Figure 17: AWN Pugin's tomb-chest in St Augustine's, Ramsgate (*J Evelyn*)

- CT11 8PT/8PU: Attributed private houses in Artillery Rd
- CT11 8DR/8DW: Attributed private houses in Albert Rd
- CT11 7RR: Isle of Thanet Stearn Flour Mills \$
- CT11 8DF: Granville Hotel \$
- Attributed observatory †
- CT11 9NY: Alterations to 'The Grange'
- CT11 9NX: Work at 'St Edward's' (including drawing office at rear)
- Sheerness, ME12 1TS: Ss Henry & Elizabeth and associated school \$

Lancashire

Birkdale, PR8 2JY:	St Joseph and associated presbytery
Blackpool, FY1 1QU:	Sacred Heart
Burnley, BB10 4AU:	Attributed High altar† and reredos†
BB12 7BN:	School-chapel \$
Croston, PR26 9HB:	Croston Hall Estate chapel (Holy Cross) *; Croston Hall †
PR26 9HH:	Attributed lodge on Croston Hall Estate
Dunsop Bridge, BB7 3BG:	Ss Mary & Hubert
Euxton, PR7 6JZ:	St Mary; attributed Anderton Estate chapel \$
Fleetwood, FY7 6DU:	St Mary
Great Harwood, BB6 7EN:	Our Lady & St Hubert and associated presbytery \$
Ormskirk, L39 3RD:	Restoration of Scarisbrick chapel in Ss Peter & Paul's (CofE) church
Preston, PR1 1LA:	English Martyrs
Scarisbrick, L40 9RQ:	Extensive work at Scarisbrick Hall Coffin for Lady Scarisbrick
Skelmersdale, WN8 8BX:	St Richard, and associated presbytery
Westby, PR4 3PL:	St Anne, and associated presbytery

Leicestershire

Charnwood Forest, LE12 8XA:	Monument † to Lieut EA Lisle March Phillipps, VC
Coalville, LE67 5UL:	Attributed lodge; attributed Chapter House and Guest House / Almshouse extension; attributed clock-tower, all at Mount St Bernards (Cistercian) Abbey
Ratcliffe, LE7 4SG:	Chapel \$, presbytery \$ and study range at Ratcliffe College
Shepshed, LE11 4SH:	Work at Garendon Hall †; attributed conversion of garden Temple of Venus to a chapel
Thringstone, LE67 5UG:	Attributed tower † and other work at Grace Dieu Manor
Wymeswold, LE12 8HP:	Attributed continuation of AWN Pugin's restoration of St Mary's

Lincolnshire

Boston, PE21 6NW:	Attributed font in St Botolph's (CofE) church
Burton-le-Coggles, LN4 3 LZ:	Restoration of St Thomas Becket's (CofE) church

London, Greater

Brockley, SE4 1DZ:	Cemetery Mortuary Chapel † (Knill family)
Chelsea, SW3 2QP:	Blessed Sacrament Chapel at St Mary's
Clapton, E5 8BS:	St Scholastica's Retreat †
Greenwich, SE10 8HG:	Tomb-chest for the founder of Our Ladye, Star of the Sea and other miscellaneous attributed work here
Hanwell, W7 3SU:	Our Lady & St Joseph †
W5 2SU:	St Joseph's Convalescent Home †
Hoxton, N1 6EN:	St Monica, associated attributed presbytery; school †

Kensal Green, W10 4RA:	Attributed Weld Mausoleum Tomb for Cardinal Wiseman (†) (both in in St Mary's RC Cemetery)
Kensington, W8 4BB:	Our Lady of Mount Carmel & St Simon Stock †
Kentish Town, NW5 2XT:	Our Lady Help of Christians † and associated attributed presbytery §
Kilburn, NW6 4PS:	OMI Community House † and associated Juniorate College † 'The Chimes' † (house for JR Herbert)
Kingsland N1:	Re-roofing and other work at Our Lady & St Joseph's †
Peckham, SE15 1RH:	Our Lady of Sorrows
Southwark, SE1 7HY:	Knill Chantry in St George's Cathedral
Tower Hill, E1 8BB:	English Martyrs
Turnham Green, W4:	Catholic Schools †
Victoria, SW1W 0SR:	Turkish and Vapour Baths †
Woolwich, SE18:	St Peter's school

Manchester, Greater

Ashton-under-Lyne, OL6 7DG:	St Ann
Barton-upon-Irwell, M41 7LG:	All Saints', de Trafford chantry and presbytery
Birchley, Billinge, WN5 7QJ:	School
Gorton, M18 8UJ:	St Francis § and associated (Franciscan) friary †, §
Greengate, M3 7EW:	St Peter †, associated presbytery † and school †
Hulme, M15 5BJ:	Attributed confessionals and sacristy extension at St Wilfrid's §
Ince-in-Makerfield, WN1:	Estate chapel at Westwood House (†)
Mossley, OL5 0HB:	St Joseph's school-chapel † and associated presbytery †
Rusholme, M14 5SG:	St Edward the Confessor
Stretford, M32 0HE:	St Ann, associated presbytery and school

Merseyside

Bootle, L20 8BH:	St Alexander †, associated presbytery and school †
Birkenhead, CH41 8ED:	Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, associated presbytery † and schools †
Childwall, L16 8NQ:	Our Lady of the Annunciation and extension of the adjoining (Redemptorist) monastery Extension at 'Oswaldcroft' (house)
Ford, L21 0DD:	Cemetery chapel of the Holy Sepulchre † Good Shepherd Convent † and associated House of Refuge †
Huyton, L36 5SR:	St Agnes † and associated presbytery
Liverpool, L1 0AB:	St Vincent de Paul, associated presbytery and school †
L1 1DA:	Seel's Building
L1 9BH:	Institute and Oratory of St Philip Neri †
L3 2AP:	Holy Cross † and associated presbytery †
L3 6AA:	Altar and tomb-chest in side-chapel at St Mary's †
L3 6BR:	Our Lady of Reconciliation de la Salette



Figure 18: Two contrasting presbyteries: top, All Saints, Barton-on-Irwell (*The Greyfriars*); bottom, St Vincent's, Liverpool (*Private Collection*)



L5 ORR:	Our Lady Immaculate † St Louis Gonzaga Boy's Orphanage †
L5 9TN:	St Alban's schools †
L6 5EH:	St Michael
L7 3AE:	Novitiate wing † and other attributed work † at Mount Vernon Convent †
Old Swan, L13 5SB:	Presbytery at St Oswald's
Rock Ferry, CH42 2BY:	St Anne, associated OMI Mission House † and school (†)
Toxteth, L8 8DX:	Our Lady of Mount Carmel school-chapel †
Woolton, L25 5JF:	Attributed High altar and reredos in St Mary's, and attributed presbytery

Norfolk

West Tofts, IP26 5EW:	Chancel and chantry at St Mary's (CofE) church
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Northamptonshire

Northampton, NN1 3RL:	Cathedral of Our Lady & St Thomas
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Shropshire

Shrewsbury, SY1 1NP:	Cathedral of Our Lady Help of Christians & St Peter of Alcántara
Wellington, TF1 3AP:	St Patrick's school †

Staffordshire

Alton, ST10 4AH:	Additions and alterations at 'The Towers'; fittings and decoration of the Towers' chapel for the funeral of John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury Minor attributed works at the Hospital of St John the Baptist
Aston-by-Stone, ST15 0BJ:	Renovation at Holy Michael, Archangel †; adjoining Lady Chapel; presbytery \$
Hanley, ST1 3DB:	Presbytery
Longton, ST3 5RD:	St Gregory †
Oulton, ST15 8UW:	Abbey church (St Mary's Benedictine nunnery)
Stafford, ST17 4DX:	St Austin
ST18 9AT:	Burton Manor \$
Stoke-on-Trent, ST4 7QE:	Attributed Herbert Minton Testimonial Building

Surrey

Albury, GU5 9AD:	Almshouses \$
GU5 9BB:	Work at Albury Park
Camberley, GU15:	St Tarcisius school-chapel †
Croydon, CR0 2AR:	Our Lady of Reparation, associated presbytery and school †

Sussex, East

Mark Cross, TN6 3NJ:	St Michael's Girls' Orphanage \$
Mayfield, TN20 6PH:	Conversion of Mediaeval Archbishop Hall into a convent chapel



Figure 19: Harrington House, Leamington Spa, demolished 1967 (*Coventry Evening Telegraph*)

Near Mayfield, TN20 6PW: Holy Trinity & St Francis Xavier Boys' Orphanage \$ and chapel \$
 St Leonards-on-Sea, TN37 6EG: Holy Child Jesus Convent chapel *

Tyne & Wear

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE1 5HH: Cathedral presbytery

Warwickshire

Leamington Spa, CV32 4HN: 'Harrington House' †
 Rugby, CV22 6DR: St Marie and attributed presbytery
 Stratford-on-Avon, CV37 6UJ: St Gregory the Great
 Warwick, CV34 6AW: St Mary Immaculate

West Midlands

Birmingham, B4 6EU: Erection of SW spire and minor internal works at St Chad's
 B4 7LX: St John's Catholic school †
 Brierley Hill, DY5 3AE: St Mary
 Camp Hill, B12 0BZ: Mercy Convent 'Ravenhurst' Boarding School †

Handsworth, B19 1EB:	Mercy Convent Boarding School †
Nechells, B7 5HT:	St Joseph, presbytery and school †
New Oscott, B73 5AA:	Weedall Chantry at St Mary's College Attributed over-mantle in students' refectory
Stourbridge, DY8 1PA:	Our Lady & All Saints', associated convent * and school †
Willenhall, WV13 1PL:	St Mary's school-chapel † (in Hall St)
Wolverhampton, WV2 4DT:	St Joseph's Convent \$ and associated chapel \$
WV10 0QQ:	St Patrick † and associated presbytery †
WV6:	Ss Peter & Paul school † (Wadham's Hill)

Worcestershire

Callow End, WR2 4TY:	Abbey church \$ and Via Crucis cloister \$ (Stanbrook benedictine nunnery)
Madresfield, WR13 5AA:	St Mary's (Beauchamp Estate church, CofE) †

Yorkshire

North

Ripon, HG4 2AB:	High altar; attributed possible collaboration with JA Hansom in chancel design at St Wilfrid's
Selby, DN14 9LZ:	Work at 'Carlton Towers'
Sicklinghall, LS22 4BD:	Attributed NW porch and N transept at St Mary Immaculate
Skipton, BD23 1NT:	Attributed installation of AWN Pugin's High altar and reredos in St Stephen's

East

Beverley, HU17 8DL:	Attributed completion of AWN Pugin's restoration at Mary's (CofE) church
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West

Dewsbury, WF13 2RW:	Our Lady & St Paulinus, and associated presbytery
Leeds, LS9 8JU:	Apse and transepts at church of the Immaculate Conception * 'Meanwood House'

WALES (4 authenticated, 2 attributed)

All these works are by EW Pugin alone

Clwyd

Wrexham, LL11 1RB: Our Lady of Sorrows, tomb-chest and presbytery

Chirk, LL14: Attributed additions to Girls' School \$

LL14 5AF: Minor works at Chirk Castle and attributed work in its chapel

SCOTLAND (6 authenticated, 1 attributed)

All these works are by EW Pugin alone, apart from the church in Leith which was executed in collaboration with JA Hansom.

Edinburgh

Edinburgh, EH9 1BB: Ursuline Convent Boarding School \$

Leith, EH6 6BD: Completion of AVVN Pugin's St Mary, Star of the Sea; associated Community House

Inverness-shire

Glenfinnan, PH37 4LT: Ss Mary & Finnan



Figure 20: Ss Mary & Finnan, Glenfinnan (Geograph/Adam Ward)



Figure 21: Ss Peter & Paul, Cork, Ireland (*Andreas F. Borchert*)

East Lothian

Haddington, EH41 4DA: St Mary

Perthshire

Blairstown, PH10 6DE: St Stephen, and associated attributed school \$

IRELAND (37 authenticated, 11 attributed)

All these works were executed in partnership with GC Ashlin, apart from those in Ballyhogue, Birr, Cork City, Crosshaven, Endermine, Killarney, Nenagh, and Waterford City, which are by EW Pugin alone.

Co Cork

Ballyhooley:	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary
Clonakilty:	Mercy Convent chapel *
Cobh:	St Colman Cathedral
Cork City:	Ss Peter & Paul
Crosshaven:	St Brigid
Fermoy:	Loreto Convent chapel
Kinsale:	Orphanage †
Monkstown:	Sacred Hearts of Jesus & Mary, and associated presbytery
Skibbereen:	Mercy Convent chapel *

Co Dublin

Donnybrook:	Sacred Heart
Drumcondra:	Carmelite Convent chapel *
Dublin City:	Ss Augustine & John
	St Kevin
	Westland Row Christian Brothers' Community House \$
	St Paul's Christian Brothers' school \$ (North Brunswick St)
	St Vincent's Girl Orphanage \$ (North William St)
	Mount Joy Estate (laying out)
Dundrum:	Sacred Heart Convent chapel
Glasthule:	St Joseph
Monkstown:	St Patrick

Co Kerry

Fermoy:	External rebuild of St Patrick's
Killarney:	Attributed Franciscan Friary church and adjoining attributed friary; High altar † and reredos † in St Mary's Cathedral
Listowel:	W front extension to St Mary's
Tralee:	Holy Cross

Co Laois

Arles:	Sacred Heart
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Co Louth

Drogheda:	Christian Brother Community House \$
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Co Offaly

Birr:	Attributed completion of AWN Pugin's Mercy Convent \$ and its attributed chapel \$
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Co Tipperary

Cashel:	Attributed chapel \$ at Presentation Convent
Fethard:	Attributed Presentation Convent
Nenagh:	Mercy Convent extension *

Co Waterford

Dungarvan:	St Joseph altar † in St Mary's
Ferrybank:	Tower and spire at Sacred Heart church
Mount Sion, W'ford:	Attributed Christian Brother Community House
Waterford City:	Attributed completion of AWN Pugin's Presentation Convent and attributed fittings therein Attributed minor work at Manor of St John

Co Westmeath

Fore: Greville-Nugent Mausoleum (rebuild) and restoration of adjoining Mediaeval Tower House

Co Wexford

Ballyhogue: Bellevue Estate chapel

Ballymurn: Meagher mausoleum

Edermine: Attributed Edermine Estate chapel

Kilanerin: Ss Peter & Paul

Our Lady's Island: The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

Co Wicklow

Glenealy: St Joseph

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

BELGIUM (3 authenticated, no attributed)

These works were executed in partial collaboration with J-B Bethune

West Flanders

Bruges: Kasteel St Michiels †

Dadizele: Basilica of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady

Zedelgem-Loppem: Kasteel van Loppem

FRANCE (1 authenticated, no attributed)

This work was executed in collaboration with JH Powell

Alpes-Maritimes

Nice: Cemetery tomb monument

ONE – TIME PARTNERS/ COLLABORATORS OF EW PUGIN

At various periods of his career, EW Pugin was in partnership/ collaborated with other architects and designers, the most significant being George Ashlin, James Murray, and John Hardman Powell, whose connections with EW Pugin are summarised below, together with those of 3 others: J-B Bethune, W Collingridge Barnett and JA Hansom.

George Coppinger Ashlin (1837–1921)

Ashlin was born on 28 May 1837 at Carrigrenane, Co Cork, the 3rd and youngest son of John & Dorinda (née Coppinger) Ashlin. He was educated first in Liège, Belgium (1850–51), and thereafter at St Mary's College, Oscott, near Birmingham. He left Oscott in 1855, and became articled to EW Pugin¹ the following year. Later that year, he moved with EW Pugin to London (where Ashlin's family were then resident), entering the Royal Academy Schools in March 1858.

Around this time, EW Pugin obtained the prestigious commission for the church of Ss Peter & Paul in Cork, Co Cork, a parish with which the Coppinger family was much involved, but being aware of the difficulties his father had experienced in controlling his Irish commissions decided, in 1860, to send Ashlin to Dublin (upon completion of his articles) to set up an office² from where the commission could be managed. Later the same year, having secured a commission to design another large church – this time in Dublin for the Augustinians – he decided to take Ashlin into partnership³ with him, under the style Pugin & Ashlin, although the partnership applied only to work in Ireland.

Within one year of Pugin & Ashlin obtaining their most prestigious commission in 1867, St Colman's Cathedral in Cobh, and within one year of his marriage⁴ to EW Pugin's youngest sister, Mary, Ashlin decided, in August 1868, to terminate the partnership and to practise on his own account. The first mention of a work by Ashlin alone would appear to be in the *Irish Builder* of 1 Dec 1868, in connection with his modified design of an earlier projected one by Pugin & Ashlin for a church in Brosna, Co Kerry, dating from 1866. On 1 September 1869, it was announced in the *Irish Builder* that a church in Crosshaven, Co Cork, for which Pugin & Ashlin had submitted plans in July 1868, was now to be built, to a different design of EW Pugin alone under the superintendence of his new Irish representative W Collingridge Barnett (*vide infra*).



Figure 22: GC Ashlin, 1837-1921 (*Irish Architectural Archive*)

Despite the dissolution of their partnership, some kind of informal working arrangement was maintained in order to progress the Augustinian church in Dublin and Cobh Cathedral.

Around 1876, after the death of EW Pugin, Ashlin went into partnership (until c.1880) with CW and PP Pugin under the style Pugin, Ashlin & Pugin, who oversaw, in the UK, the execution (to their own design) of a number of projects that had originated with EW Pugin, such as the OMI church in Kilburn, and the Franciscan Church in Glasgow. Just as the original Pugin & Ashlin partnership applied only to works in Ireland, so that of Pugin, Ashlin & Pugin was confined to work in the UK.

In 1903, Ashlin went into partnership with his former pupil and manager Thomas Aloysius Coleman under the style Ashlin & Coleman⁵, Ashlin's nephew and former pupil, Stephen Martin Ashlin, joining them as a partner in 1911.

Charles Henry Cuthbert Purcell (1874–1958)⁶ – a grandson⁷ of AWN Pugin, and the last member of the firm Pugin & Pugin – was trained in Ashlin's office.

By 1880, Ashlin had exhausted his Gothic repertoire, and thereafter confined himself to Romanesque. He was elected President of the Royal Institute of Irish Architects in 1902, and died on 10 December 1921 in the house he had designed for himself at Killiney, Co Dublin.

- In its 8 years of existence, the Pugin & Ashlin partnership was involved in at least 40 projects exclusively in Ireland, including some 26 places of worship (cathedrals/churches/chapels), all but 7 of which were built (but not always to the original design – e.g. the church at Monkstown, Co Cork).

Sources: Dunne (2001); *Irish Builder* [(1921) 841, 1018]; O'Dwyer (1989); *Tablet* [(1868, 30 Nov) 763]
<https://www.dia.ie/architects/view/72/ASHLIN-GEORGE COPPINGER>

William Collingridge Barnett (1845–1923)

William Collingridge⁸ Barnett was born in York in 1845 where his father, Francis⁹, was a stained glass artist in firm of his father. In 1853, William entered Ampleforth where he was educated, after which he worked as an Architect's Clerk in Leith to where his father had moved his stained glass business in 1853. After the dissolution of the Pugin-Ashlin partnership, towards the end of 1868, Collingridge Barnett became EW Pugin's representative in Ireland, and between 1869 and 1873 superintended the building of what proved to be last Irish church that EW Pugin designed, namely that at Crosshaven. Prior to this, William's father had supplied stained glass to a number of EW Pugin churches, including some in Ireland. In 1870, William married Mary Anne Vinten, daughter of Isaac¹⁰ & Marie Mary Vinten of Ramsgate, with whom they lived until at least 1871 (the Census of that year describing William as 'Architect').

In order to be near Crosshaven, the couple then moved to Cork, where his 4 children were born. He subsequently returned to Leith, and after his father's death in 1880, continued the business under the style Barnett & Son, the Census of 1881 describing him as a 'Stained Glass Artist', resident at his father's old address, 101 Constitution St. He continued the business until his own

death around 1923, when it passed to his sister Annette and his two daughters Frances and Mary. The most comprehensive scheme of glass by the firm is considered to be that at St Mary, Star of the Sea, the OMI parish church opposite their studio in Constitution St, Leith.

- The Crosshaven church is the only building that Collingridge Barnett is known to have been involved with on behalf of EW Pugin.

Sources: Builder [(1869, 4 Sept) 712]; Building News [(1869, 3 Sept) 196]; Irish Builder [(1869, 1 Sept) 205]
<https://www.dia.ie/architects/view/6781/BARNETT-WILLIAMCOLLINGRIDGE%23>

Jean-Baptiste Bethune (Baron) (1821–94)

Bethune was architect, painter of religious subjects and murals, painter of glass, watercolourist, draughtsman, and a relative of the Bishop of Bruges, the Rt Rev J-B Malou. Originally destined for a career in either politics or administration, he received his artistic training firstly at l'Académie de Coutrai in his home-town, and then as a pupil of Verhaegen and Génisson. Under Lauters, he distinguished himself as a draughtsman and watercolourist of landscapes. It was the sculptor Geerts who first introduced him to Mediaeval Art, and, after contact with AWN Pugin and others, Bethune went on to become the foremost exponent of Gothic Revival in Belgium.

With the help of J Hardman Jun, he established a stained glass workshop in Bruges in 1854, which moved to Ghent in 1858. His work includes the abbey of Maredsous, stained glass in numerous cathedrals, and mosaics in Aix-la Chapelle. Bethune's neo-gothic work was promoted as 'Christian Art' par excellence, and its principles were spread by the St Luke

School of which he was a founder. The School's principal merit was to develop, thanks to its broad antiquarian knowledge-base, a typically Belgian version of Gothic revival architecture, thus opening the way for a revival of associated local artistic traditions.

- Apart from his involvement in the building of the basilica¹¹ at Dadizele, and to some extent also with that of the Kasteel van Loppem near Bruges, the Kasteel St Michiels is the only known Belgian collaboration with EW Pugin. In England, he provided stained glass for the domestic chapel in Burton Manor.

Sources: Clemen [(1996) 884]
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Baptiste_Bethune
https://wikimili.com/en/Jean-Baptiste_Bethune

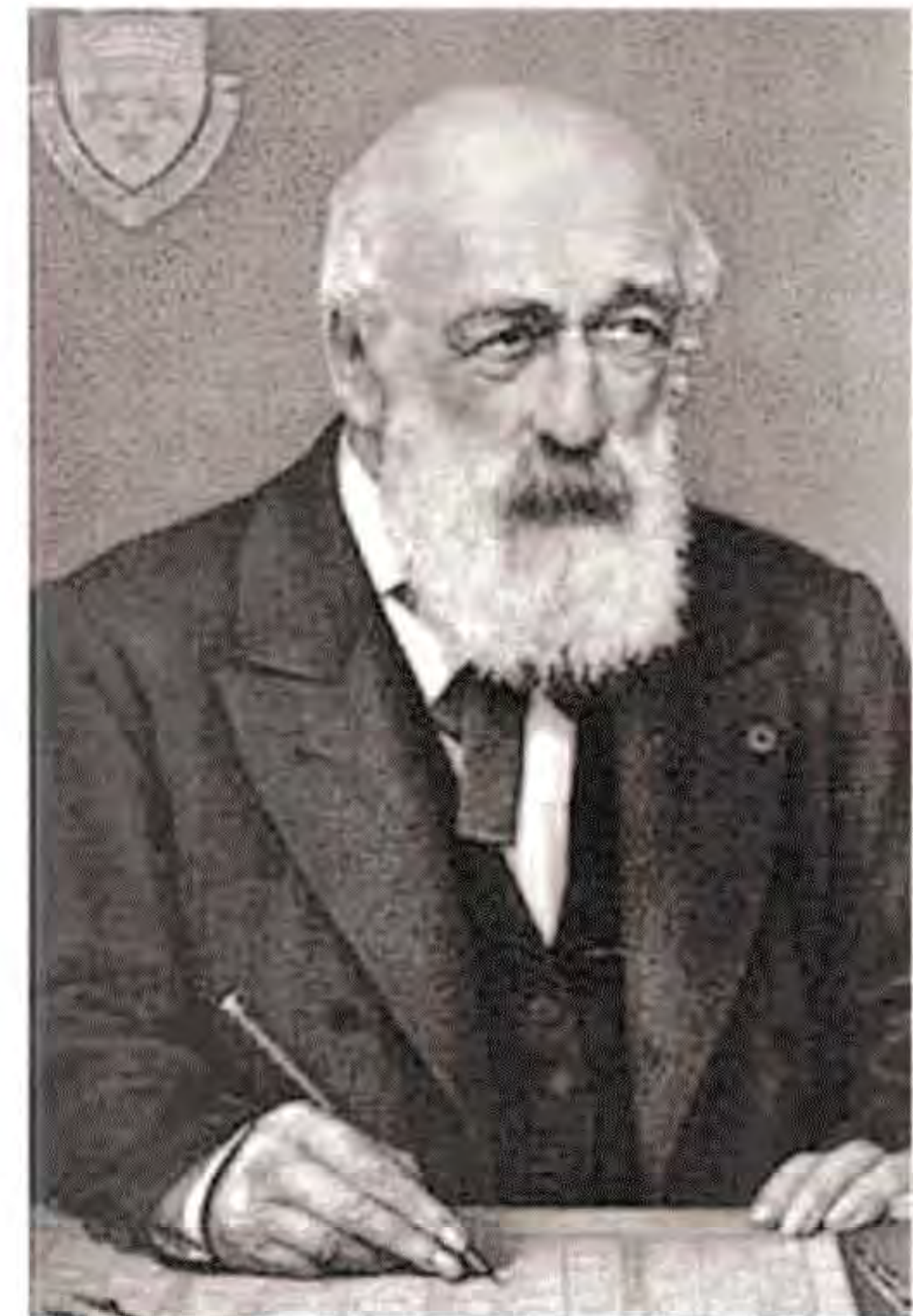


Figure 23: J-B Bethune, 1821-94 (Wikipedia)

Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803–1882)

The architect and inventor JA Hansom was born in York on 26 October 1803, and was first apprenticed there to his father as a joiner. Displaying some ability as a draughtsman, he was released from his articles, and took up new ones with a Mr Phillips, an architect of some standing in York, and after completing them, he continued as a clerk in the same firm. After his marriage¹² in 1825, he settled in Halifax where he became an assistant to the architect John Oates with whom he received his first opportunity to work in Gothic.

In 1828, he went into partnership with Edward Welch, a former colleague in Oates' office, a partnership that produced a quantity of work, both ecclesiastical and secular. In 1831, they independently submitted designs for Birmingham Town Hall, Hansom's (in a Classical Roman style) being accepted, but it resulted in his bankruptcy in 1834, after which he espoused radical socialism; 1834 saw also his invention of the famous 'Patent Safety Cab' that now bears his name. In 1842, Hansom founded the architectural journal *The Builder*, and between 1847 and 1852 practised from Preston where his church of St Walburge was built, 1850–54. After working briefly with AWN Pugin shortly before his death, he moved his practice to London where he took his younger brother Charles Francis¹³ into partnership in 1854, an early significant commission being Plymouth Cathedral (1856–58).

The partnership lasted until 1859 when Charles established his own practice in Bath with his son Edward Joseph as apprentice. JA Hansom then went into partnership with his eldest son, Henry John, which lasted until 1861, when he approached EW Pugin with view to forming a partnership with him, to which, in 1862, the latter reluctantly agreed. Given the conditions imposed by EW Pugin,¹⁴ however, the partnership was a very one-sided affair, which not unsurprisingly broke up acrimoniously after only one year. Hansom then took his youngest son, Joseph Stanislaus (who had earlier been articled to him), into partnership, producing some of his best known works, including St Mary's (Servite) Priory (1874–75, 1879–80), London; Holy Name (1869–71), Manchester; St Philip Neri (1868–73), Arundel (now Arundel Cathedral); and St Aloysius (1875), Oxford (originally Jesuit; Oxford Oratory since 1990).

In addition, he was responsible for a large amount of secular work. This final partnership with Joseph Stanislaus lasted 11 years until Hansom's retirement on 31 December 1879; he died in London on 29 June 1882.

- There is only 1 confirmed collaboration with EW Pugin, namely, St Mary, Star of the Sea, Leith, 1852–54; this probably arose from the fact that Hansom had worked briefly with AWN Pugin shortly before his death, during the time Pugin was preparing the designs for this church at the



Figure 24: A Hansom, 1803–82 (Wikipedia)

request of Bishop Gillis. A much later joint project of 1863 for a Franciscan Friary church in Gorton was not realised, and the church was built 1866-72 to the design of EW Pugin alone.

Sources: Builder [(1882, 8 Jul) 43]; Harris (2010)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Hansom

James Murray (1831–1863)

Murray was born in Armagh on 9 December 1831, less than three years before EW Pugin. He began his architectural pupillage with W Scott of Liverpool in 1846. After completing his articles, he was, for a time, in partnership with TD Barry¹⁵ in Liverpool, after which he set up his own practice in Coventry. This lasted until 1856 when he left to join EW Pugin in London as his partner,¹⁶ practising from 41 Buckingham St, Strand, London.

In the same year, at the age of only 25, he was elected¹⁷ (the youngest ever) Fellow of the RIBA, six years before EW Pugin. The Pugin-Murray partnership lasted only two years, being dissolved in December 1858, after which Murray returned to Coventry to practise on his own account, producing a considerable volume of interesting work, including Corn Exchanges in Banbury and St Albans. He died from consumption five years later, at the age of 31 on 24 October 1863. Although Murray was denied his last wish to be buried in the shadow of AWN Pugin's church of St Augustine in Kenilworth, EW Pugin was present at his funeral in Coventry, having returned specially from Belgium.

- There are 5 confirmed collaborations with EW Pugin: Our Lady & St Hubert's, Great Harwood, St Peter's School, Woolwich, Albury Almshouses, Croston Hall, Albury Park, and an attributed one – the Herbert Minton Building, Stoke-on-Trent. Unexecuted are designs for: churches in Dadizele, Westby and Warwick; a convent at Bantry; Kasteel van Loppem, Belgium (first design); Market Halls in Dundalk and Berkhamsted; whether their design for the Headquarters of the Ulster Bank was ever realised is not known.



Figure 25: James Murray, 1831–1863 (David Fry & Peter Walters)

Sources: Builder [(1863, 31 Oct; 14 Nov) 780, 807]; Liverpool Mercury [(1863) 5 Nov]; London Gazette [(1858) 3 Dec]; Tablet [(1863, 14 Nov) 727]
<https://news.coventrysociety.org.uk/2018/11/23/james-murray-coventrys-gothic-architect/>
[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Murray,_James_\(1831-1863\)_\(DNB00\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Murray,_James_(1831-1863)_(DNB00))

John Hardman Powell (1827-95)

John Hardman Powell (JHP) was born on 4 March 1827, the fifth son of William & Lucy Powell of 55 Frederick St, Birmingham; his father was a brass-founder and his mother was a half-sister of AWN Pugin's great friend and collaborator John Hardman Jnr. In the early 1840s, after some time at the Birmingham School of Art, JHP joined GR & H Elkington, a firm of art metal-workers specializing in bronze statuary, where he developed his skills in designing and modelling; these were noticed by his uncle, John Hardman Jnr, who took over the family button-making business on his father's death in 1844, and which had earlier developed into the 'Medieval Art Manufactory', following John Hardman's association with AWN Pugin, dating from 1837. At Hardman's instigation, Pugin was persuaded to take on JHP as a pupil-assistant, and he left Birmingham for Ramsgate in



Figure 26: John Hardman Powell, 1827-95 (private collection)

1844, aged seventeen; Pugin's only other pupils were his sons Edward and Cuthbert. Edward was ten years old when JHP arrived, and JHP acted as a surrogate elder brother and mentor.

In 1850, JHP married AWN Pugin's eldest daughter, Anne. On AWN Pugin's death in 1852, JHP returned to Birmingham to resume work for his uncle at Hardman's, where he eventually became chief designer and artistic director. He was soon joined in Birmingham by Edward Pugin and his step-mother and siblings, who took a house in the same street in which the Powell family home was situated. The two men collaborated in a number of projects during the 1850s, involving not only stained glass, but also metal-work, encaustic tile design, and funerary monuments. Relations between them later deteriorated somewhat once Edward became embroiled in law-suits during the 1860s; he nevertheless remained a loyal friend to Edward and a staunch supporter of the Pugin family.

In 1883, when Hardman & Co was split into separate companies, one dealing with stained glass, the other metal-work, Powell remained involved with the stained-glass company, and in the mid-1880s left Birmingham, moving to Blackheath to facilitate management of the London office. His son, Dunstan John Powell (1861-1932), succeeded him as partner and principal designer for the company. Another son, Sebastian Pugin Powell (1866-1949) became an architect, continuing the firm of Pugin & Pugin after the death of his uncle Peter Paul Pugin in 1904.

JHP died in his home in Blackheath on 2 March 1894, a victim of an influenza epidemic that swept across London, and was buried in the Pugin vault at St Augustine's.

- JHP is known to have been involved with the following works of EW Pugin: Furnishing & decoration of the chapel at Alton Towers for the funeral of John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury; the wrought-metal chancel screens at Oulton Abbey church, St Mary's Derby, Stanbrook Abbey

church and possibly at St Marie's, Rugby and at the chapel of Ratcliffe College; stained glass designs for the chapel at Hales Place; tomb monuments for Cardinal Wiseman in Kensal Green Cemetery, Georgiana Lamb in Cimiez Cemetery, Nice, and possibly that for Ellen Thompson in Our Lady of Sorrows, Wrexham; encaustic tile designs for Stanbrook Abbey church and cloister, and probably also for the Pugin Chantry in St Augustine's, Ramsgate; wrought-metal gates to the Lady Chapel at St Augustine's, Ramsgate, for which he was awarded a prize at the 1862 International Exhibition.

Source: Fisher, M (2017): *Guarding the Pugin Flame*, Spire Books, Salisbury

Notes

- 1 EW Pugin probably knew of Ashlin through AWN Pugin's influential connections in Counties Cork, Waterford & Wexford, such as the uncle of Lord Shrewsbury's wife, John Hyacinth Talbot of Co Wexford who was a son-in-law of Sir John Power Bt, two of whose other daughters were married to Ashlin's maternal (Coppinger) uncles. It is possible that Power commissioned AWN Pugin to design his domestic chapel at Edermine, Co Wexford, the realisation of which after the deaths of both AWN Pugin and Power fell to EW Pugin during 1858-59, after the baronetcy had passed to Sir John's son James in 1855. Another connection was via Lord Midleton who commissioned work from AWN Pugin both on his English estate in Surrey at Peper Harrow, and in Midleton, Co Cork, where the Coppingers had business interests, and where the future Bishop of Cloyne, Dr Wm Keane had been Parish Priest during the 1840s; later as Bishop of Cloyne (1857-74), Keane was responsible for aggrandizing the elevations of Cobh cathedral.
- 2 At 90, St Stephen's Green South, Dublin, 1861-79.
- 3 The Builder of 26 May 1860, reporting on the Royal Academy Exhibition of that year, states: 'The view of "St Augustine's Church, Dublin", exhibited by Mr EW Pugin, represents a design by Messrs Pugin & Ashlin.' EW Pugin's partnership with James Murray (*vide infra*) had ceased in Dec 1858.
- 4 On 27 Nov 1867 at St Augustine's, Ramsgate.
- 5 Ashlin & Coleman designed the spire of Cobh Cathedral (built 1911-14).
- 6 Purcell (the last surviving partner of Pugin & Pugin) was architect of a post WWII replacement of a church (Holy Cross) in Liverpool by EW Pugin, which had been destroyed by bombing; he had earlier designed altar-rails for three other Merseyside churches by EW Pugin.
- 7 Purcell was the son of Henry Francis Purcell (d.1877) and his wife, Margaret, AWN Pugin's daughter by his third wife, Jane (*née*) Knill. Henry Purcell was a barrister-at-law who represented EW Pugin on at least one occasion.
- 8 Collingridge was William mother's maiden name.
- 9 Francis (1814-1880) was a third generation glazier, both his father (John Joseph, 1786-1859) and grandfather having worked as glass-makers in the firm of Prince & Prést. By the early 1840s, JJ Barnett and his 3 sons had gone into glass staining, later restoring Mediaeval windows in York Minster. In 1853, after JJ Barnett's retirement, the firm broke up, and Francis went to Leith where he established an extensive glass staining business and studio premises, finally settling at 101 Constitution St in 1867.
- 10 Isaac Vinten was the founder of Friend, Vinten & Son, originally Cabinet Makers, Upholsterers and Undertakers of 165 High St, Ramsgate, who were engaged for EW Pugin's funeral in 1875; they later became Auctioneers, Land & Estate Agents.
- 11 After EW Pugin's death, Bethune furnished a design for the spire (a much simplified version of those projected originally by Pugin & Murmy and by EW Pugin, which was built 1892-95).
- 12 One of the daughters of this marriage (Winifrede Mary) married George Edward Hardman, the youngest son of John Hardman, Jun.

- 13 Charles was the protégé of the Bishop of Birmingham, the Rt Rev Bernard Ullathorne OSB, who was Godfather to Charles' son, Edward, a relationship that was the source of much acrimony between EW Pugin and Ullathorne whom he accused (on more than one occasion) of nepotism in appointing Edward Hansom architect of a number of diocesan churches in preference to himself.
- 14 These conditions were revealed in a letter by EW Pugin to *The Tablet* dated 26 November 1863, wherein he explicitly stated that '... Mr Hansom was in no way whatever to be connected with any designs of mine or commissions given to me, or to be allowed to visit my clients or works, and that the partnership regarded only works brought in by him.' Consistent with this is the report in *The Building News* (15 May 1863) of the opening of a church in Liskeard, Cornwall, which explicitly states that the architect of the building was Mr Hansom of the firm Pugin & Hansom of Ramsgate and London. Further, although the report of the opening of the church of St Wilfrid, Ripon (1862) gives the architect as 'Joseph A Hansom, Esq., of St Augustine's, Ramsgate', there is no mention of him being of Pugin & Hansom, despite the stated address being that of the firm (*loc. cit*) and, in particular, that of EW Pugin who designed the High Altar and reredos for the Ripon church; evidently, they worked quite independently. Indeed, given Hansom's seniority in age and experience, the *mison d'être* for the partnership and Hansom's evident acquiescence to EW Pugin's conditions remain something of a mystery. A response to EW Pugin's letter by Hansom's son-in-law (GB Maycock) was published on page 779 of *The Tablet* of 3 Dec 1863.
- 15 TD Barry was involved with the design of additions to Burton Closes, and was awarded a cemetery commission in St Helens in preference to EW Pugin.
- 16 Ashlin was a pupil of EW Pugin at this time.
- 17 He was sponsored by George Gilbert Scott and Philip C Hardwick.

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Figure 27: The former infirmary at Ushaw College (*M Galloway*)

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

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ISSN 1747-9371