

True Principles

Transactions of The Pugin Society

May 2023

**Switzerland:
In the Footsteps of
Augustus Welby
Northmore Pugin**



**Paul and
Laurent Pugin**

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Cover image: The Town Hall, Fribourg, seen from the steps of the Court-Chemin. *Ayling, ETH Bibliothek, Zurich, Image Archive, Public Domain*

Opposite: Front cover view, as seen today. *Photo, Oscar Pugin*



An Appreciation

It is a great honour to contribute this note to the excellent piece of scholarship and research by Paul and Laurent Pugin into the Swiss heritage of their distant relation, the hugely influential British architect Augustus Pugin. Pugin's iconic works include the Clock Tower for Big Ben and the interior of the Palace of Westminster in London.

This fascinating article traces his family connections back to the village of Echarlens in the Gruyère region of Switzerland, drawing on material both from the Fribourg archives in Switzerland and on documents held at the V&A in London.

It especially gives me, as British Ambassador to Switzerland, great pleasure to think that the seat of UK government, and so much else, was the work of an architect with Swiss origins, and that he drew inspiration from Swiss cities for what he created in the UK. Pugin's story is an example of how culture connects and underpins the strong ties between our two countries.

James Squire

British Ambassador to Switzerland and Liechtenstein.

Foreword

The name Pugin is unusual in Britain. Even today it is sometimes mispronounced – ‘Puggin’ or ‘Pewggin’ – but, as A W N Pugin himself knew, it is originally Swiss. In his lifetime Pugin made various efforts to trace his ancestry but he had little information to go on and what he had was not entirely reliable. It was not surprising that he made little headway. His biographers have got further, although they were sometimes sent down blind alleys because Pugin’s father, Auguste, had somewhat muddied the waters.

Auguste Charles Pugin was born (1767/8) in Paris and came to England during the French Revolution. Like many emigrés, he was tactically vague about his origins. It is easier to rise in the world if you imply that you have, in reality, come down. In 1802 he married Catherine Welby whose family, solid Lincolnshire bourgeoisie, were sceptical about this unknown foreigner. Catherine herself was not without snobbery and so Auguste’s depiction of himself as a dispossessed aristocrat became fixed in family myth. It was not until 1815, when the war with France was over, that Catherine and Auguste, with their three-year-old son, could visit the Pugin family in Paris. Here there was an attempt to weave fact and romance into a coherent whole. Auguste’s brother-in-law Louis Lafitte and his sister produced a ‘coat of arms’, and the young Pugin was told about his aristocratic Swiss forebears whose status entitled him to a piece of land on which to build a castle. This was an idea that much appealed to the budding architect in him and there was a germ of truth in it.

In my own researches for my biography of A W N Pugin, *God’s Architect*, (2007) I managed to establish Auguste’s actual background as a draughtsman and illustrator in the artisanal circles of Paris under the ancien régime, and his father’s position as a Swiss guard. I went no further however. Now, most excitingly, Paul and Laurent Pugin, distant relatives and diligent and skilled researchers, have opened the question up from the Swiss end. Their extensive work in the archives shines a light on the Pugin family, the society and politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and tells us more about A W N Pugin’s ancestors than he was ever able to know himself.

Rosemary Hill
January 2023



The Swiss origins of the architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, born in London in 1812, have long been known. Son of Auguste Charles Pugin and Catherine Welby, and grandson of François Joseph Nabor Pugin, his father Auguste was born in Paris before emigrating to the UK in about 1791. Many accounts, starting from the earliest biographical writings about his father, refer to his origins in Switzerland and more specifically in Fribourg, a Swiss canton with a capital city of the same name. Auguste Charles is sometimes described as the grandson of a ‘ploughman’, sometimes as the ‘Count of Pugin’ who was dispossessed by the French Revolution and whose ancestors were noblemen from Fribourg. It is even said that one of them led a hundred soldiers to the battle of Murten (or Morat, as referred to by Benjamin Ferrey) in 1477.¹ What is the truth of this? Who were the Swiss ancestors of A.W.N. Pugin and what was their background? While he was possibly trying to answer these questions himself when he visited Fribourg during his trip to Switzerland in 1838, there is little historical evidence to date that clearly establishes his ancestry. What did he hope to find when he came to Fribourg (or ‘Freybourg’ as he sometimes spelt it), the city described by Alexandre Dumas during his visit a few years earlier in 1832 as a ‘gothic city, built for war, and set on the top of a steep mountain like a bird of prey’s nest’?² Are Pugin’s noble origins and the legend that surrounds his ancestors the fruits of a romantic vision built up over time through layers of family anecdotes? Through our research, the result of which is the subject of this contribution, we shed new and documented light on the kinship of the famous architect, who remains to this day better known and recognised in Britain, the country where he was reared, than in the lands where his paternal forebears were born. To this end, we have also tried to retrace as precisely as possible the itinerary of his passage through Fribourg and to understand what he was able to see and, where possible, to learn about his origins.

Pugin’s Continental Tour, 1838

From his diary, we know that Pugin was in Fribourg in the summer of 1838 on a journey that took him to Germany, Switzerland and then France.³ His diary is very succinct and only mentions the dates of the cities visited. In Switzerland he passed through St Gallen, Zurich, Zug, Lucerne and Berne before a stop in Fribourg from 27th to 29th August. He then continued on to Lausanne, then Geneva. He thus stayed in Fribourg for two nights, which is short, but nonetheless more time than he spent in any of the other Swiss cities he visited except Berne. Although Pugin did not, as far as we know, leave any text describing his stay in Fribourg in any detail, many other visitors of the time did, and they give us an idea of the impression a nineteenth-century visitor to this city would have had. Dumas described Fribourg as the Catholic city par excellence, while Victor Hugo, who visited in 1839, described it as a “delightful Swiss and Gothic city full of convents”.⁴ Like many travellers of the time, they were struck by its religious characteristics, which would certainly not have left Pugin indifferent either, as he had recently (in 1835) converted to Catholicism and had undertaken this trip to immerse himself in the Gothic architecture of the continent. A tourist guide of the time notes that there were twelve churches, including those of five men’s and four women’s

Opposite: Fig.1 Fribourg: St Jean church, caserne of the Planche, the Bourguillon tower and Lorette, from the St Jean bridge. Stephen Ayling, 1865, ETH-Bibliothek, Zurich, Image Archive

convents, and more than ten chapels, and that the population was strongly attached to the Catholic religion of their fathers.⁵ On the map of Fribourg included in the guide, the religious buildings and the Gothic town hall are shown in black for emphasis. Several of them turn out to be buildings that Pugin sketched during his stay in Fribourg, when he produced a small number of drawings preserved in a book of sketches.⁶ Some of these drawings, as in **Fig.1**, were also reproduced in a book published by the photographer Stephen Ayling in 1865.⁷

The sketches representing views of Fribourg have been very well identified and described by Alexandra Wedgwood. The majority of these views have changed little to the present day, as illustrated by a comparison of some of these drawings with current photographs. In addition to the pictures of the town, the book also contains two drawings of sculptures and parts of buildings (sketchbook catalogue numbers f.24a and f.24b) and a drawing of a baptismal font. Which are the gothic buildings and architectural or ornamental features that interested Pugin on his walk through the city? We have carried out an identification exercise and are able to provide some details about his drawings.

We have been able to identify that the three statues of women in drawing f.24a are part of the south portal of St Nicholas' Cathedral, also known as the Sunday portal.⁸

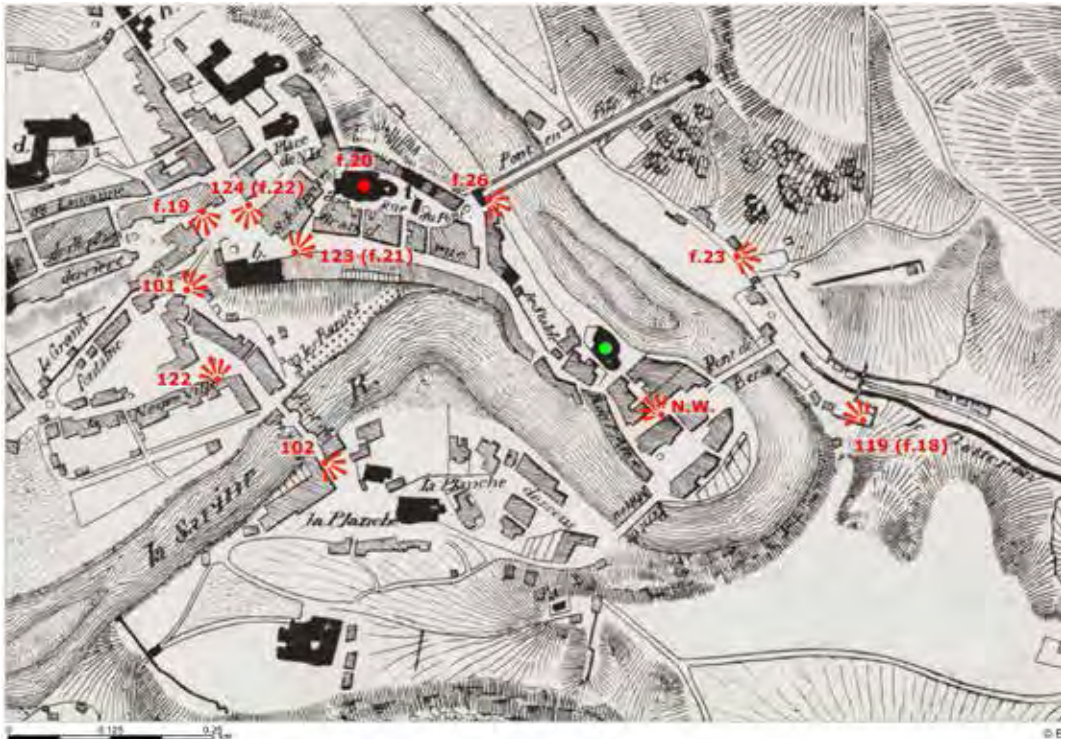


Fig.2 Map from *A Walk in Fribourg* (1837) with indications of the locations from which Pugin made some of his drawings. We have indicated on the map the plate numbers in Ayling's publication for which the location was identifiable, and, where appropriate, the concordance with the folio of the drawings listed in Pugin's sketchbook. N.W. marks the viewpoint of the drawing recently acquired by Nicholas Williams (see p. 26), and the green dot the Augustinian Convent Church.



Fig. 3 (a) Three statues on the south portal of St Nicholas Cathedral dating from the end of the fourteenth century. *Photo Oscar Pugin.* Fig.3 (b), rhs, Pugin's sketch of these figures, © *Victoria & Albert Museum, London*

This portal dates from the beginning of the construction of the cathedral and these sculptures are the earliest in the building.⁹ The portal dates from around 1340 and clearly shows the influence of the Upper Rhine style as found in buildings in Basel and Strasbourg. The statues in this portal are on average 115 cm high (**Fig. 3a**). The three figures sketched by Pugin are those of the three girls endowed by St Nicholas of Myra, the patron saint of the cathedral and of the city of Fribourg (**Fig. 3b**). The three girls each hold a golden ball in their hands, or, depending on the interpretation, a purse, which represents the gold that St Nicholas sent them to cover their wedding dowry. In addition to the legend attached to these figures and their unusual posture, it is interesting to note that Pugin chose sculptures from the south portal rather than the main portal (which is slightly later) and that he had probably noticed the particular importance of these figures. Indeed, the south portal constitutes a remarkable and very rare, if not unique, ensemble in Switzerland for this period.

The large Gothic window, the topmost section of which is shown in the same drawing, is also part of St Nicholas' Cathedral and is located to the left of the south portal. The detail in the drawing shows the tracery of a sexpartite window in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, built between 1433 and 1457 by the Mossu family.¹⁰ The tracery lights consist of a trefoil decorated with flames and two ornate curvilinear triangles. One of the particular features of this tracery is its fleur-de-lys termination. This most likely comes from the Mossu family coat of arms, which includes three fleur-de-lys and is also represented on the keystone of the chapel.¹¹

Drawing f.24a also shows various examples of blind tracery such as are found in several places in the old town of Fribourg (**Fig. 5 b**). The richness and diversity of the exterior ornamentation of the private houses in Fribourg is unique and has no equivalent.¹² The fact that Pugin made several drawings of them clearly shows that he himself had noticed this particularity. Drawing f.24b is entirely devoted to blind tracery

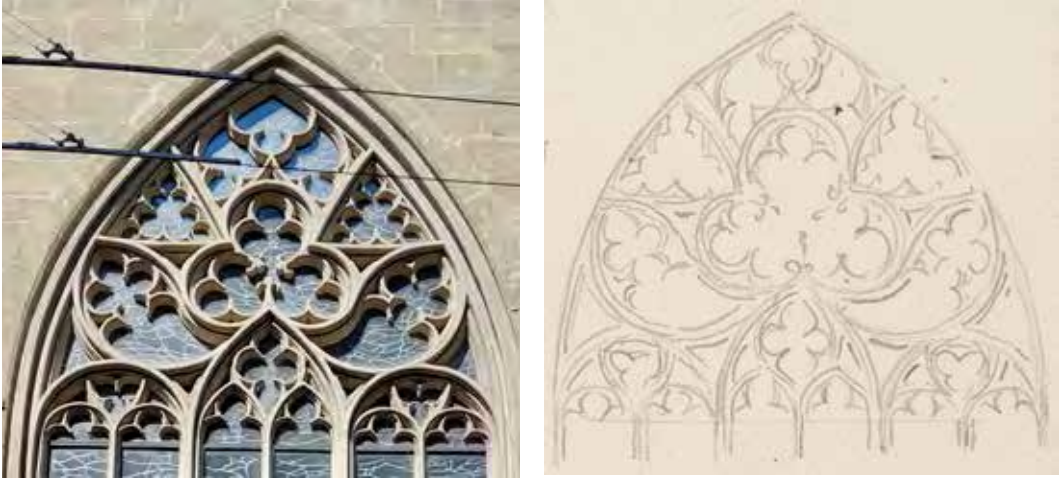


Fig. 4 (a) Uppermost section of large window of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in St Nicholas' Cathedral with fleur-de-lys tracery lights, *photo Oscar Pugin*. Fig. 4 (b) Pugin's study of this section of the window, © Victoria & Albert Museum, London

and a house facade.¹³ The tracery in drawing f.24b shows patterns that are found on many houses in Fribourg, as illustrated. Reiners notes that many of these tracery motifs were often replicated from one house to another, and those reproduced by Pugin in this drawing certainly were, because they can be found on several different houses.

Not surprisingly, Pugin spotted some of the most beautiful and original tracery designs. An example is that reproduced at the bottom of his drawing f.24a, which we have been able to identify (**Fig.6 a**) as belonging to the Deillon house and tannery at 46, rue de la Neuveville (formerly no. 92). The date of construction of this house has long remained very approximate. In fact it is precisely the richness and flamboyance of the ornaments that have directly influenced many dating hypotheses and led experts to believe that the construction was no older than the middle of the fifteenth century.

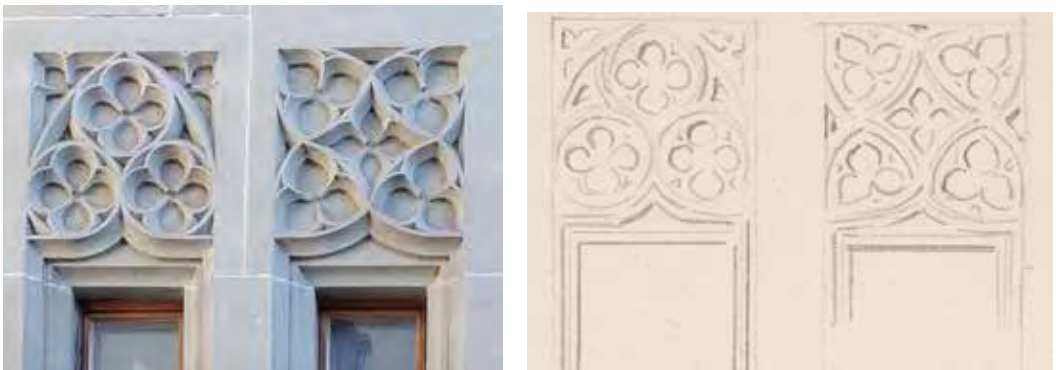


Fig. 5 (a) Examples of blind tracery on private houses common in Fribourg – from a house at the rue de la Palme 2. They show some of the typical motifs that have been clearly replicated from one house to another. *Photo, Oscar Pugin*. Fig 5 (b) right hand side, shows Pugin's rendition of the tracery. ©Victoria & Albert Museum. London



Fig.6 (a) Tracery of one house at the rue de la Neuveville in Fribourg. *Photo Oscar Pugin*. Fig.6 (b), Pugin's study of the traceries. © Victoria & Albert Museum, London

However, a thorough study of the house and a dendrochronological dating of the roofing framework have established that the house is much older, and that the construction date is between 1388 and 1389.¹⁴ Pugin had clearly noticed the architectural importance of this façade and the unique quality of its ornamentation.

Another drawing by Pugin (**Fig.7b**) that illustrates his ability to identify the most interesting elements is that of the baptismal font (**Fig.7a**) in St Nicholas' Cathedral

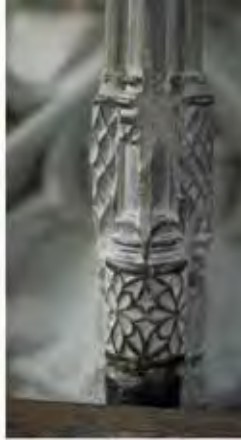


Fig. 7 (a) (left) Three details of the Baptismal font of St Nicholas' Cathedral by Aetterli, which dates from the end of the fifteenth century. *Photos, Oscar Pugin.* (b) (below) Pugin has drawn the aspect representing St Nicholas of Myra, and also a detail of one of the four pillars supporting the basin. © *Victoria & Albert Museum, London*



This font, and others, are the work of the masters Herman and Gylan Aetterli and are recognised as being remarkable both for their composition and for the consistent competence of their execution.¹⁵ They were built between 1498 and 1499.¹⁶ A cover, which is not visible on Pugin's drawing, was added in the 18th century.¹⁷ Pugin drew two sides of the octagon that makes up this font, which are those representing St John the Baptist and St Nicholas of Myra. What is particularly striking about this drawing is the detail reproduced. Pugin seems to have taken great interest in the complex structure of the octagonal basin supported by a central foot made of two interlocking pyramids and four finely decorated pillars. In addition to the general drawing of the font and a cross-section of the structure of the legs, he reproduced in detail one of the four pillars, from the front and also in the form of a cross-section.

The Family's Forebears

It is difficult to determine the extent to which Pugin knew that his Swiss origins could be found in Fribourg. However, we know from his travel diary that he was aware of a family and several individuals named Pugin. The following list is given in his notebook:¹⁸

*Famille Pugin de Riaz District de Bulle Canton de Fribourg
et Monsieur Félix Pugin Juge au Tribunal de District Rue de
Morat N° 182 à Fribourg
Monsieur Jean Pugin R[évêren]d Chapelain à Cournillens près
Fribourg
Monsieur le Docteur Pierre Pugin alliée Kolly à Fribourg*

The fact that these names are written in the middle of his travel diary, and also that they are clearly not in Pugin's handwriting, suggests that he was not aware of them at the time he set off for Switzerland. It seems far more likely that the names were given to him by someone encountered along the way. But would Pugin have been on the right track seeking out contacts in the city of Fribourg? Not quite. He would have needed to look a few miles further into the countryside.

In Switzerland, surnames often have the particularity of being directly linked to a region, or even to a particular town or village. This is the case for the surname Pugin, which is strongly linked not just to the canton of Fribourg, but more precisely to the village of Echarlens located in the district of Gruyère about twenty-five kilometres further south in the canton. Our study of the archives of this village has enabled us to establish that A.W.N. Pugin's origins are indeed to be found in this village. The birth certificate of his grandfather, François Joseph Nabor Pugin, born on 12th June 1727 to Jean-Claude Pugin and Marie-Thérèse Ardieu, appears in the parish register of Echarlens.¹⁹ To go further back in his genealogy we need to take into account another particularity of the canton of Fribourg already noted by Rosemary Hill on page ten of *God's Architect*, 2007, namely its strong links with France.²⁰ Although François Joseph Nabor Pugin was born in Echarlens, his own father was in fact born in France. We have been able to identify in the archives of Morteau in the Doubs department, France, the birth certificate of Joseph Nabor's father, Jean-Claude Pugin, born on 13th February 1687.

We must point out that it has proved particularly difficult to establish the descent from Jean-Claude Pugin because he was mainly known under the first names of François Claude. The former of the two names, Jean-Claude Pugin, is found several times in the parish registers of Echarlens and in notarial acts. It is also the first name recorded in the baptismal record of Grand'Combe Châteleu, 13th February 1687, in the Doubs department in France, but it was then modified with the addition of François Claude during the transcription of his baptism record dated 26th December 1703. This change of first name is therefore fully attested. It could have been motivated by a desire to be closer to the first name of his grandfather François Pugin, or, even more likely, of his godfather François Magnin.

Jean-Claude's father, Jean Pugin (A.W.N. Pugin's great-great-grandfather), born around 1648 in Echarlens, had emigrated to Morteau and married Catherine Millon on 9th January 1668; she had been born on 25th November 1649 to Guillaume and Antoinette (née Billod). Three daughters were born in Morteau from Jean and Catherine's marriage. Then the family moved to the neighbouring village of Grand'Combe Châteleu, where two more children were born: Georges, on 3rd March 1685, and Jean-Claude in February 1687. Catherine Millon died on 6th January 1706, and Jean Pugin on 25th February 1708, according to the death certificate of the parish of Grand'Combe Châteleu. Jean-Claude then returned to Echarlens in Switzerland, where he owned undivided property with his brother Georges. On 1st February 1712, at the

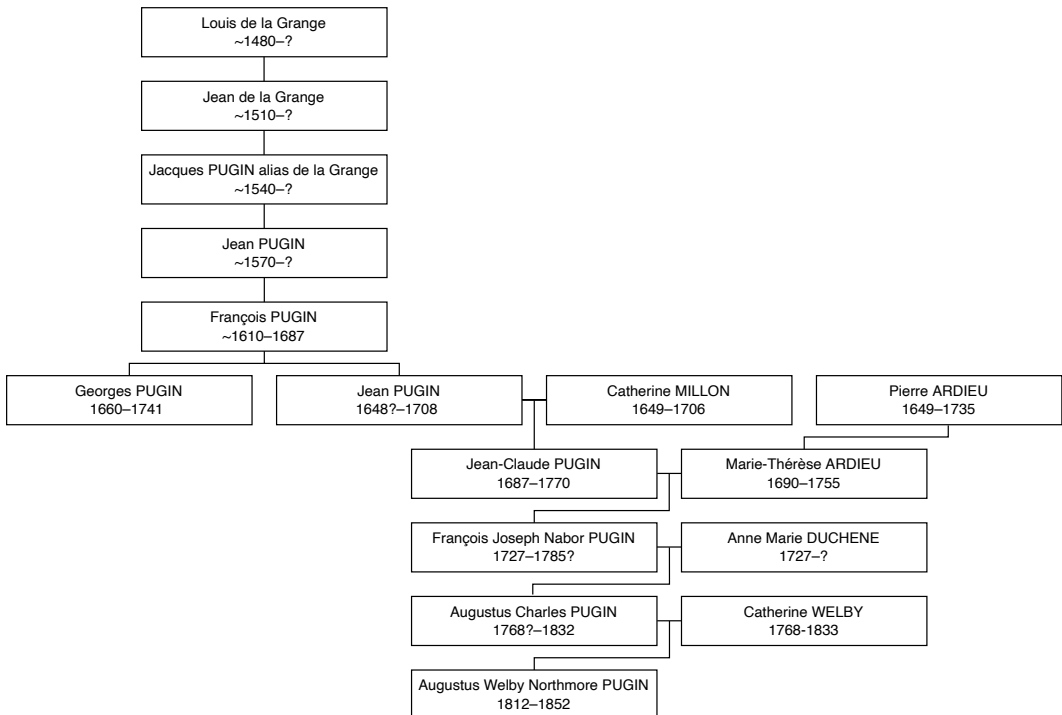


Fig. 8 Family tree of A.W.N. Pugin's ancestors. Jean Pugin in the seventeenth century and François Joseph Nabor Pugin both left Echarlens for France. Jean-Claude Pugin returned in the 1700s.

age of 25, Jean-Claude married Marie-Thérèse Ardieu, born on 28th March 1690. From this marriage eight children were born, baptised and found in the baptismal records of the parish of Echarlens, François Joseph Nabor being the last but one of them. There were therefore two departures of A.W.N. Pugin's ancestors to France. The first by Jean Pugin in the second half of the seventeenth century, followed by that of François Joseph Nabor in around 1750.

We do not know precisely what led Jean Pugin to leave Echarlens for Morteau, but emigration from Fribourg to France was common at the time. Many regions of France had been depopulated as a result of the Thirty Years' War, while at the same time Fribourg was suffering from difficult economic conditions. Departures in the middle of the seventeenth century were frequent, especially in late winter and spring when food was most often in short supply. Burgundy and the Jura were the most popular destinations, mainly for agricultural jobs. Ambitions changed with time, and the departure of François Joseph Nabor in the eighteenth century was part of the trend of that period, which saw more and more Fribourg emigrants taking up positions as domestics and caretakers.²¹

Although we do not know the exact reasons for Jean Pugin's departure for France, we have been able to establish that his son Jean-Claude was able to return to live in

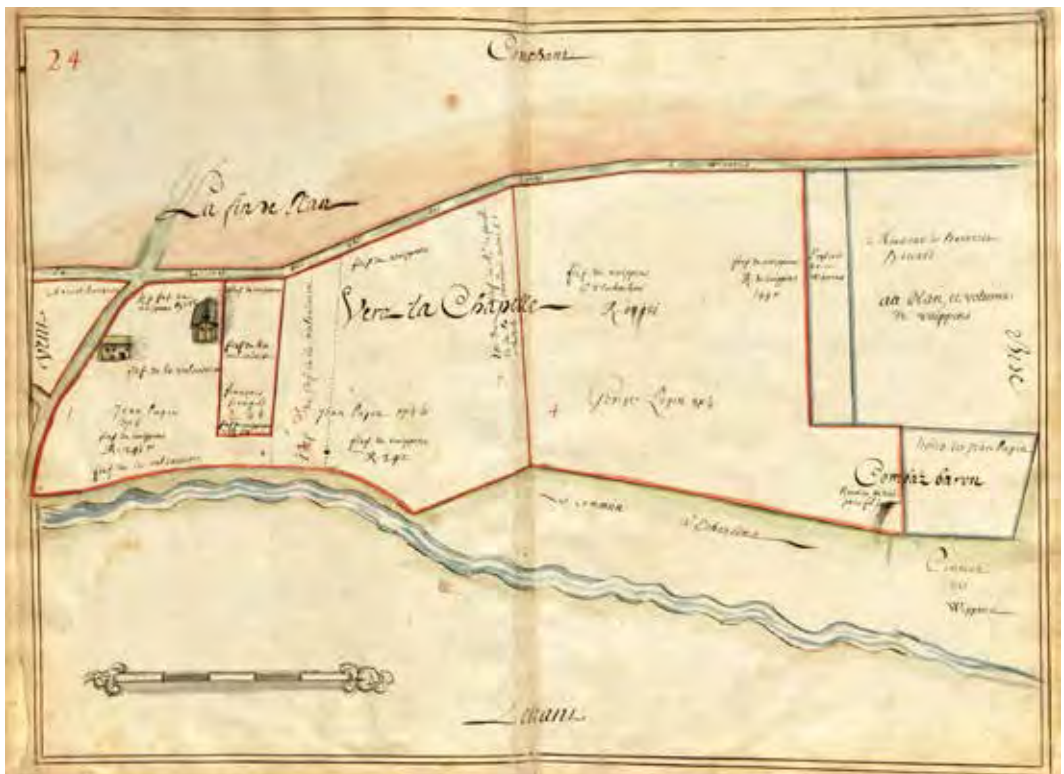


Fig. 9 The plan des dîmes of 1699 showing the land owned by Jean Pugin, the ancestor of A.W.N. Pugin, and his brother Georges. The chapel on the land owned by Jean Pugin is the chapel of St Garin. *Private collection, photo Laurent Pugin.*

Echarlens because Jean owned property there with his brother also named Georges. According to the plan des dîmes [similar to a tithe map] of Echarlens established in 1699 by Joseph Bosson, Jean Pugin owned 3 poses and 1/9 as well as 5 poses and 1/3 and 1/16, while his brother Georges owned 9 poses and 1/4.²² Georges Pugin, brother of Jean and uncle of Jean-Claude, was born in 1680 and died in 1741 in Echarlens. We know from the references to Georges Pugin in several documents that he was a juror of Everdes.²³ The lands of Echarlens belonging to the Pugin brothers located west of the river Sionge were part of the fief of Vuippens. It can also be seen from the map that on Jean Pugin's land there is a chapel. In many documents, Jean Pugin is identified as "Jean Pugin près La Chapelle d'Echarlens".²⁴ The chapel in question is the chapel of St Garin (**Fig.10**) which still exists today. This chapel was built in the fifteenth century or earlier and was rebuilt between 1679 and 1680. It has a painted altarpiece dating from 1712.²⁵

Jean and Georges Pugin were the sons of François Pugin who was born around 1610 and died on 26 August 1687 in Echarlens.²⁶ We know from a letter from 1644 that François Pugin was an important figure in the village since he was the syndic and governor of the commune of Echarlens.²⁷ François Pugin was himself the son of Jean Pugin, juror of Echarlens and son of Jacques Pugin, alias 'De la Grange'.²⁸ This alias 'De la Grange' for Pugin is found on numerous occasions in the writings mentioning Jacques Pugin and his father and grandfather Jean and Louis, born respectively around 1510 and 1480.²⁹ The earliest mention of the name goes back to 1435 in a parchment



Fig. 10 The chapel of St Garin in its present day form. It dates from the fifteenth century or earlier and is located on the land owned by Jean Pugin, as explained above. It is the reason Pugin's ancestors were identified as 'Pugin près la Chapelle' in documents referring to them. *Photo, Paul Pugin.*

referring to 'Jeannet de la Grange (alias Pugin)', who is likely to be the grandfather of Louis De la Grange, although we have no archival evidence of that.³⁰ The De la Grange, alias Pugin family, is also mentioned as a 'distinguished' family in the section on Echarlens in Apollinaire Dellion's 1886 dictionary.³¹

Of course, it is hard not to make a link with the name Pugin gave to his first house, St Marie's Grange, near Salisbury, although not with The Grange in Ramsgate, which was not called 'The Grange' but known as 'St Augustine's' in Pugin's lifetime; 'St Augustine's' was how he headed his letters. Was the connection with 'De la Grange' just a coincidence? Or did Pugin know about this other family name? It is difficult to say. In any case, if he knew of it - or had simply heard it from a relative - it was certainly prior to his trip to Switzerland. The first mention of The Grange is in September 1835, specifically 'First drew at St Marie's Grange' on 11th September, then 'Began sleeping at St Marie's Grange' on the 15th.³² In his correspondence, the first mention of it is in a letter sent from 'St Marie's Grange' dated 4th January 1836.³³ It must also be said, though, that susceptible Victorians loved the whole concept of an ancient grange, originally a barn on an outlying farm, often in monastic ownership, as being both medieval and romantic, and many people throughout much of the nineteenth century called their residence 'The Grange', such as the artist Edward Burne-Jones, and countless others, for this reason.

Links after departing for Paris

Several documents in the archives attest to the fact that François Joseph Nabor Pugin maintained links with his family in Echarlens after his departure for Paris. One of these documents is the marriage certificate of François Joseph Nabor with Anne Carmintran in 1751.³⁴ It seems quite likely that Marie-Anne Carmintran was also a native of the region, since Carmintran was a very common family name in Sorens, a village near Echarlens. We give our translation/interpretation of the text here:

Consent of marriage for François Joseph Pugin

Were present before me, Notary and Curial of Everdes and Vuippens in the Canton of Fribourg in Switzerland undersigned, the lord Jean Claude Pugin near the chapel of Echarlens, behind the said Everdes, and honoured Thérèse née Ardieu, his wife ... who have voluntarily, as they do by these [persons] present, consented to the marriage that their son François Joseph Pugin, resident in Paris, intends, and that the celebration be made in front of Our Holy Mother Church, wishing him an alliance happy and filled with heavenly blessings. Thus agreed, made and passed in the said Echarlens for all other clauses and formalities required in the presence of the sieurs Jean Pugin and Claude Joseph Pugin, father and son, millers of the said Echarlens, who, for being illiterate as well as the said consenting parties, have each signed by a cross. February 16, 1751

Another very interesting document is a copy of a letter from Jean Claude Pugin to

his son François Joseph Nabor. It tells us that François Joseph Nabor's brother, Pierre François, had also left for Paris and died there. It also tells us that Jean Claude Pugin had taken out a loan to support Pierre François' enrolment in the company of the Cent-Suisses. Jean Claude Pugin makes it very clear that he felt cheated by the promise made by Pierre François and warns François Joseph Nabor of any similar trickery in the repayment of a loan that Jean Claude Pugin had to make for the transfer of the bond. Jean Claude Pugin's distrust is explicitly given as the reason for this letter, of which we give our translation here, and which is kept in duplicate in the notary's register:³⁵

Letter from Jean Claude Pugin to his son François Joseph in Paris.

My dear son,

In execution of your letters of 9 June and 21 August of this year I am sending you the act of renunciation which I am making to the succession of my son Pierre François, your brother, who died in Paris, in which act is contained the power which you have requested to be able to demand this succession. And in addition to this I also send you the owner's obligation, which was drawn up by the undersigned, concerning the loan which I had made to Gruyère for applying for the acquisition of the charge of the Cent-Suisses which your said deceased brother claimed to reach, which loan I made him hold. And, as in order to withdraw and pay the said bond as well as the interest, I saw myself obliged to make another loan, I intend consequently that you will have the amount of the whole, amounting to 330 Fr, as soon as you have received your brother's estate, inasmuch as I withdraw from all the surplus of the estate, failing which I will hold you accountable for it, with the interest which will arise, until I reimburse you for your share of the property which you will be able to obtain from your father's and mother's estate, not intending that your brothers and sisters, nor I, should be fooled by it, nor that you should want to act in a deceitful manner towards me, as your deceased brother did. That is why I will keep the duplicate of this document, which I have signed by the hand of a notary, and I will keep with the said duplicate the copy of the said bond which I have paid, as well as your two letters here before dated until I have received the reimbursement of my money. I dare to think that you will act in everything with the appropriate truthfulness, without reserve, to preserve the friendship between your father, mother, brother and sisters, who all embrace you, and I in particular, who am your father Jean Claude Pugin.

In Vuippens on 23 October 1752.

In the appendix following this letter, various subjects are discussed. Jean Claude Pugin asks François Joseph Nabor for a half share in the purchase from an aunt of a



Fig. 11 *Courtesy St Augustine's Church, Ramsgate, photo C Blaker*

building, whose roof is to be renovated, and expects a rapid reply. He informs his son that an uncle Carmentran, expected in the country, has not yet arrived, and then makes another request for information about notarial acts concerning his sister Anne. These various requests from the recipients on both sides attest to the fact that François Joseph Nabor had, at least at that time, a regular correspondence with his father.

The Pugin “Coat of Arms”

We know that Pugin’s Swiss origins were relayed to him by his mother, Catherine Welby, at the time of the re-creation of the coat of arms in 1827, after they had been burnt during the French Revolution, for fear that links with the nobility would be discovered.³⁶ The coat of arms (or strictly speaking, the shield) features prominently in Pugin’s work, most notably in his own house, The Grange at Ramsgate, where elements of it (the bird, or martlet, and also the motto, *En Avant*, added by Pugin) are used in the wallpaper that covers much of the house. The device is also incorporated into several pieces of furniture. The actual process and significance of the reconstruction of the “arms” that was undertaken by Pugin’s aunt Jeanne Lafitte remains more or less an



Fig. 12 Variant of the coat of arms of the Pugin Family of Echarlens in the armorial of Joseph Combaz, manuscript, c. 1830. *Archives de l'Etat de Fribourg*

enigma.³⁷ An example of the ‘achievement’, as a complete coat of arms is called, with supporters in the form of lions rampant, and, above, a count’s coronet (a reference to possible noble descent) and below the motto *En Avant*, can be seen (**Fig.11**) hanging in the Pugin Chantry in St Augustine’s church, Ramsgate.

This is probably the most ‘official’ version, possibly painted by Pugin, and certainly demonstrating how he had adapted the arms for the Pugin family. What has already been established beyond doubt by Alexandra Wedgwood is the link the device appropriated by the Pugins has with Fribourg, as well as the similarity to the description made by a notary named Joseph Combaz (**Fig. 12**) in his armorial at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁸

The coat of arms is also strikingly similar to that of the Count of Corbières. Such a link with the seigneurie of Corbières would provide an explanation for Ferrey’s mention of Pugin’s ancestor as a nobleman who raised an army of a hundred soldiers and defeated a hundred horsemen at the battle of Murten, as the nobleman in this case would most likely have been Louis de Corbières.³⁹ However, there is no historical evidence to link the Pugin family of the village of Echarlens with the de Corbières, even though the two villages are neighbours and located either side of the Sarine river.

Where does the legend about the battle of Murten come from, if Pugin had no ancestor in the de Corbières family? We make here a hypothesis that the legend refers to another event. In the vicinity of Echarlens was also the seigneurie of Everdes, with a castle dominating the banks of the Sarine just opposite the seigneurie of Corbières. At the time of the Burgundy Wars, the lordship of Everdes was under the control of the House of Savoy. Our argument is therefore that the event to which Ferrey refers is not the Battle of Murten, but in fact another battle of the Burgundy Wars, namely the battle launched in 1475 by the Fribourgeois to take the seigneurie of Everdes. This hypothesis



Fig. 13 Bookplate, *courtesy St Augustine's Church, Ramsgate, photo C.Blaker*

is based on the fact that this battle took place, so to speak, in the village of the Pugin family.⁴⁰ What is more, it has been reported that it was fought by the Fribourgeois with the help of soldiers from neighbouring villages, of which we know there were about a hundred.⁴¹ The ancestor in question could therefore have played a key role in raising and leading these soldiers, which would have earned him this important reputation.⁴²

Territorial Claims

Another enigmatic point about the links to Switzerland that Pugin's mother reported to her son was the mention of the right he had in Switzerland to claim land extensive enough on which to build a castle.⁴³ One suggestion is that the conviction of possessing this right was rooted in the decision taken in Fribourg in 1782 to generalise the use of the particle "de" to all patrician families, whereas it had previously been reserved for noble families only. It is certainly possible that Pugin's father, Augustus Charles, was aware of this change.⁴⁴ However, there is no evidence that this affected the Pugin family in any way, at least in Switzerland or France, and we are not aware of any patrician branch of the Pugin family becoming 'de Pugin' as a result of this decision.⁴⁵ Pugin, though, did refer to himself sometimes as 'Augustus de Pugin', as can be seen, for example, in his [somewhat discoloured] personal book plate (**Fig.13**).

This could well have been because of his deep love of the romance of medievalism, or could he possibly have become aware from his father of the 1782 decision made in Fribourg? Our research in the Fribourg archives allows us to put forward another

Sauf pour les droits Seigneuriaux à l'avoir en
présence de M^r Claude Antoine Willmannax,
Jugem^e Curé dud^e Nippens & Jus^s Assessor Conciens
à Marsens témoins requise

Reconnoissance de Communier.

Le 1780 & le 12^e du mois d'Août sur la Reque-
rête faite par hon^{ble} François feu Jean Claude
Pugin de Charlens au nom de son hon^{ble} frere
Lef^s François Joseph Nabor Pugin id devant Jusse
de J. A. prubiscine Moncign^e Le Prince de Palm
Palm actuellement Jusse de M^r le Duc de L'Es-
pantado, à l'hon^{ble} Commune dud^e Charlens
de Vouloir Acquiesce pour Communier dud^e lieu
Les fils nés dud^e J^r François Joseph Pugin, nomme-
ment Auguste Charles, Baptiste Joseph Emmanuel,
Leopold de Puz Nabor, Pierre Marie Anne & François
Joseph Nabor Pugin; à ses causes Lef^s Pierre Ollor
Gouverneur de d^e hon^{ble} Commune a déclaré au jour
d'hui au Notaire Jure soussigné, que led^e François
Joseph Nabor Pugin aubié que ses cinq fils
id devant nommés ont été par Voie unanime de
tous les Membres de la d^e Commune assemblée
en Jure le 31^e juillet dernier, Reconnus & Déclarés
Communiers dud^e Charlens à pouvoir Les uns &
les autres Jouir de toutes les prerogatives, privi-
leges & Benefices attachés à la qualité de
Communiers dud^e lieu; Cest pourquoy les présentes
ont été expédiées aux d^s Pugin Père & fils à
Nippens en présence des hon^{bles} Jean Joseph Germain
de Marsens & François Chollet Cabaretier aud^e
Nippens témoins requise

Fig. 14 Decision to grant the right of 'communier' to François Joseph Nabor Pugin and his sons in 1780. Archives de l'Etat de Fribourg, Registre Notarial 3019.

hypothesis on this subject. In the notary's register, an act of 1780 mentions the decision to grant François Joseph Nabor Pugin and his five sons the right of 'communier' or bourgeois status, in the commune of Echarlens.⁴⁶ We reproduce the decision with our own translation below (**Fig.14**).

The year 1780, the 14th day of the month of August, on the requisition made by the honourable François son of late Jean-Claude Pugin of Echarlens in the name of his honoured brother the lord François Joseph Nabor Pugin, formerly Swiss [aide and assistant] to His Serene Highness the Prince of Salm, currently Swiss aide and assistant to M. the Duke of the Infantado, to the honourable commune of the said Echarlens to recognise the sons born of François Joseph Pugin, namely, Auguste Charles, Baptiste Joseph Emmanuel, Léopold Arsène Nabor, Pierre Marie Anne, and François Joseph Nabor Pugin, as members of the community of the said place, to these ends Pierre Ottoz, Governor of the honorable Commune, declared today to the undersigned Notary that the said François Joseph Nabor Pugin, as well as his five sons above named, were by unanimous decision of all the members of the commune assembled last July 31, recognised and declared communiers of the said Echarlens, and to be able, each one and the others, to enjoy all the prerogatives, privileges and benefits attached to the quality of communiers of the said place. This is why the present documents were sent to Pugin père et Fils in Vuippens in the presence of the honourable Jean Joseph Gremaud of Marsens and François Chollet Cabartier of Vuippens, required witnesses.

Catherine Welby would then have been referring to their right of commune, or bourgeois status, granted by the commune of Echarlens explicitly to Auguste Charles Pugin, and this at the request of his uncle François. The reality would certainly be less grandiose and chivalrous than the myth, but nevertheless not completely unrelated to it. Indeed, the right of commune did confer certain prerogatives on the beneficiary, and these prerogatives could typically be access to some wood, or to some land. In any case, it is understandable that the very official manner in which the decision was communicated - insofar as it reached them at all - contributed to the importance that this right subsequently assumed in the narrative of Auguste Charles and his wife.

This text clearly proves that there were still some connections between François Joseph Nabor and his family in Switzerland more than thirty years after he had left for Paris. The mention of the Duke of the Infantado is also very interesting and tells us more about the possible career of François Joseph Nabor Pugin. The Duke of the Infantado mentioned is very likely don Pedro d'Alcantara, Duke of Lerma, who married in 1758 the daughter of Prince Emmanuel de Salm-Salm, Anne-Marie, born in 1740. Therefore, François Joseph Nabor was initially special Swiss attendant to the Prince before taking on the same role to the Duke after his marriage to Anne-Marie.⁴⁷



Fig. 15, (above) 1 to r (a) High altar of the Notre-Dame de Compassion chapel in Bulle, and altars in (b) the chapel of Ste Anne in Essert and (c) the Vègre, close to La Roche. They are works by Pierre Ardieu, or assistants from his studio, the grandfather of François Joseph Nabor Pugin. *Photos, Paul Pugin.*



A Master Woodcarver

To conclude our journey through the meanders of Pugin's Swiss origins, and the traces of his passage through Fribourg, we would like to highlight one of his ancestors whom we have identified but who was probably not known to Pugin himself. This ancestor is Pierre Ardieu, the grandfather of François Joseph Nabor. The reason he deserves special mention here is that he was a woodcarver. A citizen of Bulle and active in the region, he left a number of important works, several of which were religious in



Fig. 16. Notre-Dame des Sept Douleurs by Pierre Ardieu in the church of St Maurice in the Augustinian convent in Fribourg. This work is one of the masterpieces of religious Baroque art in Switzerland. *Photo, Helen Stubbs Pugin.*

nature or were incorporated into religious buildings. Among these is a high altar for the chapel of Notre-Dame de Compassion in Bulle. This chapel was founded in 1350 and was transformed between 1688 and 1692. It was during this period that Pierre Ardieu worked there, and it is surely a sign of his great devotion that he worked on the high altar for free, for two years.⁴⁸ Ardieu was also the creator of altars in chapels, such as the chapel of Ste Anne in Essert and the chapel of the Vègre, close to La Roche. We do not know precisely, however, if these two are by him or by sculptors from his workshop.⁴⁹ The altar of the chapel of the Vègre was originally painted but was stripped in the nineteenth century.

Another important work by Pierre Ardieu is a calvary dedicated to Our Lady of Seven Sorrows. This statue brings us back to Fribourg: it was given to the Augustinian convent in Fribourg by Gaspard de Gady in 1705.⁵⁰ It was placed in the church of St Maurice of the Augustinian convent and is still there today (**Fig.16**). In view of the route Pugin took through the city of Fribourg - the position of the convent is shown in green on the map in **Fig 2** - he inevitably passed very close to this Gothic church.



Fig. 17 St Maurice, 'Freybourg'. Photo, N. Williams

Indeed, we know that he certainly saw this convent and church, as Nicholas Williams, in the Pugin Society's *Present State* No.18: Spring 2021 describes, in an article on Pugin's visit to Switzerland. Nicholas acquired at an auction the Pugin sketch of St Maurice about which he writes, and he was able, with some research, to identify the view depicted (**Fig. 17**).

Perhaps Pugin even entered St Maurice? It is likely, given his tastes, and if this was the case he would have had the opportunity to contemplate the sculpture of Pierre Ardieu. Although Pugin was certainly not a fan of the Baroque style, and would probably have been indifferent, or even resistant to, a late seventeenth-century statue of this type, the very idea that this encounter may have occurred, and that Pugin may have stood for a moment gazing unknowingly at a work by his forefather, undoubtedly lends an extraordinary character to his visit to Fribourg. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin was indeed on the trail of his ancestors, much more so than he ever knew.

Conclusion

Pugin came to the continent to draw inspiration from the Gothic architecture of various countries, including Switzerland. By examining the sketches he produced during his stay in Fribourg, we have been able to show where he went and to highlight some of the architectural details that caught his eye. The elements Pugin identified and reproduced are all remarkable in one way or another. Pugin knew on this visit to Fribourg that he might be able to find some information about his ancestors. Unfortunately he was not quite on the right track and none of the names he had been given were those of a direct ancestor. In one sense, however, he was very close, with his walk through the Augustinian Convent area. It seems incredible to imagine that he might have found himself hundreds of miles from his home in England, standing in front of a sculpture by his great-great-grandfather. In terms of where his origins were really to be found, we have been able to confirm that they lay in Echarlens. The baptismal certificate found in the archives shows that his grandfather was born there on St Nabor's Day, 12th June 1727. Another important fact is that François Joseph Nabor's grandfather owned land near the chapel of St Garin, on which Jean Claude returned to settle after a stay in Franche Comté. Examination of the notarial records has established that François Joseph Nabor remained in contact with his father Jean Claude, although their relationship does not appear to have always been one of complete trust. The background of François Joseph Nabor's brother, who died in Paris, was probably the cause of a certain mistrust. However, this did not prevent François Joseph Nabor's contacts with his family from continuing even after Jean Claude's death in 1770. The granting of communal rights to François Joseph Nabor and his children, requested by his brother François in 1780, attests to this. Auguste Charles was then twelve years old, certainly old enough to remember this event. Perhaps this was the beginning of the legend about territorial rights which was later reported in the family? This is our argument.

We have been able to establish a continuous genealogy of the family that goes back to the fifteenth century in Echarlens. At that time, Pugin was only an alias name of the De la Grange family, and several mentions in the archives and in texts seem to indicate that this family was of some importance in the fifteenth century. Because of this, and

the fact that Echarlens was next to the seigneurie d'Everdes, the role attributed to a Pugin ancestor in leading an army during the Burgundian Wars probably took place not at the Battle of Murten, since that was quite a distance away, but more likely, and more modestly, during the capture of the lord of Everdes. Coincidence or not, some land around the ruins of Everdes castle still belongs to the Pugin family today.

Our research illustrates the extent to which A.W.N. Pugin deserves to be better known in Switzerland, and in the canton of Fribourg in particular. The man behind much of the Palace of Westminster and its emblematic clock tower, as well as the designer of countless fittings there, including the very throne of the House of Lords from which the King delivers his speech to the Houses of Parliament to this day, has profoundly marked British architectural history. Pugin's fame remains too little known in Switzerland, and we hope that having been able to establish clearly the historical links he has with Fribourg will help to remedy this.

Note

Finally, as copy editor, I would like to say that it has been a great pleasure for me to work on this article with Paul and Laurent Pugin, whom I first met in 2019, when they came to stay at The Grange in Ramsgate. As Pugin had done in Switzerland in 1838, they were similarly on a quest, but in Kent, to find out more about Augustus and his relations and forebears. Since then much research has been carried out by them, and they have been unremittingly committed and industrious, and zealous in their wish to see Pugin better known in Switzerland, perhaps in Fribourg particularly.

Particular thanks are owed, both by me and by the authors, to Helen Stubbs Pugin for her excellent translation of the text, and for assistance generally.

I should especially like to thank Rosemary Hill, and I know that both authors would too, for her help and encouragement throughout and particularly for her thoughtful and generous Foreword. We are all indebted too to our Editor-in-Chief, John Elliott, for so skilfully designing and putting together this contribution, which forms the current issue of *True Principles: Transactions of the Pugin Society*. The authors would like to thank the commune of Echarlens for access to the archives and also the staff of the Archives de l'Etat de Fribourg for all their help and availability.

Who knows, perhaps the content of this article may become the inspiration for a Pugin Society excursion to Switzerland?

Catriona Blaker

Paul Pugin was born in Echarlens in the canton of Fribourg. He worked as medical doctor in haematology and oncology at the Cantonal Hospital of Fribourg. He was also director of the Regional Blood Transfusion Centre of the Swiss Red Cross until 2012. For several years, he has been passionate about genealogy and has undertaken important research work, mainly in the State Archives of Fribourg. This research has enabled him to establish a detailed genealogy of the branch of the Pugin family to which he belongs and which also includes the ancestors of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin.



Laurent Pugin, son of Paul, was trained as a musicologist and computer scientist. After obtaining a doctorate at the University of Geneva, he conducted research in Canada and the USA and specialised in the field of music archives and the digital processing of musical manuscripts. For several years, he has been co-directing a research institute in Berne that deals with the inventory and digitisation of music sources worldwide. He is lecturer at the University of Berne where he teaches in the field of digital humanities.

Endnotes

- 1 Ferrey Benjamin, *Recollections of A. W. N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin* (London: Edward Stanford, 1861).
- 2 Alexandre Dumas, *Impressions de voyage* (Bruxelles: Société belge de librairie, 1841), Tome II, 126.
- 3 Alexandra Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum London, 1985), 40.
- 4 Alain Chardonnes, *Le regard des écrivains voyageurs sur le canton de Fribourg : anthologie XVe-XIXe s.* (Montréal: Presses universitaires du Canada, 2016).
- 5 *Une promenade dans Fribourg* (Fribourg: Briquet et Labastrou, 1837), 6.
- 6 Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, 297-298. The sketches are numbered f.1 to f.31, as referred to in this article.
- 7 Stephen Ayling, *Photographs from sketches by Augustus Welby N. Pugin* (London: S. Ayling, 1865).
- 8 Marcel Strub, *Les monuments d'art et d'histoire du canton de Fribourg*. (Bâle: Editions Birkhäuser, 1956), Tome II, 74-78.
- 9 Heribert Reiners, "Das Südportal der Kathedrale zu Freiburg in der Schweiz: ein Ausläufer oberrheinischer Kunst". In *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, 31. Okt. 1926 (Bonn: Leopold Seligman, 1926).
- 10 Strub, *Les monuments d'art et d'histoire*, Tome II, 43.
- 11 Augustin Genoud, "La construction de la cathédrale de Saint-Nicolas au XIVE et au début du XVe siècle", *Annales fribourgeoises*, Vol. 31 No. 4-5.
- 12 Heribert Reiners, *Fribourg pittoresque et artistique* (Fribourg: J. & F. Hess, 1930), 28-31.
- 13 We have not been able to identify precisely the house reproduced in this drawing. Very few houses have five windows on the first floor - usually six, or sometimes three or nine, depending on whether the façade is very narrow or very wide - and none of those that we have been able to find correspond.
- 14 Christian Kündig et Gilles Bourgarel. "Neuveville 46". *Cahier d'archéologie fribourgeoise*, Vol. 7, 217-218.
- 15 Zemp even considers it "a bravura piece of complicated design worthy of the late Gothic period", a work "conceived entirely in the style of southern Germany". Joseph Zemp, *L'art de la ville de Fribourg au Moyen Age* (Fribourg: Josué Labastrou, 1905).
- 16 After that, Hermann and Aetterli worked on the construction of the Town Hall, also drawn by Pugin. Hermann was in charge until 1502, and Aetterli took over until 1506, when he presumably died. Marcel Strub, *Les monuments d'art et d'histoire*, Tome I, 252-254.
- 17 Reiners, *Fribourg pittoresque*, 35.
- 18 Victoria and Albert Museum, Sketchbook containing notes on buildings in Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Lucerne and Lyons. See Alexandra Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, 298.
- 19 We can note in passing that this birth certificate provides a possible explanation for the choice of the first name Nabor, which was extremely rare at the time. In the eighteenth

- century, 12th June was Saint Nabor's day. François Giry, *Les vies des saints, dont on fait l'office dans le cours de l'année* (Paris: Edme Couterot, 1715).
- 20 When Garampi visited Fribourg in 1762, he noted that Fribourg was able to gain the respect of the large neighbouring canton of Berne thanks to the soldiers and numerous officers it had in the service of the French court. It is even said that "the canton of Fribourg extended as far as Paris". Chardonnens, *Le regard des écrivains voyageurs sur le canton de Fribourg : anthologie XVe-XIXe s.*, 109.
- 21 Jean-Paul Moreau, "Un aspect de l'émigration alpine : les Fribourgeois à l'étranger aux XVII et XVIIIème siècles". *Revue de géographie de Lyon*, Vol. 34 No. 4, 315-339.
- 22 Archives de l'Etat de Fribourg (CH AEF), Plans levés en 1699 par Joseph Bosson, commissaire et notaire de Riaz (E 154) folio 24. A pose is an old unit of measurement used in Switzerland. It corresponds approximately to the surface that a ploughman could work in one day.
- 23 CH AEF, Grosse de Marsens n° 37 (1710) folio 202. We find also "justicier d'Echarlens" in CH AEF, *Registre des Notaires* (RN) 3001 (1708) folio 52.
- 24 CH AEF, RN 3001, ibidem.
- 25 Serge Gummy, *Chapelles Fribourgeoises* (Fribourg: Editions de la Sarine, 2003).
- 26 We would like to point out that François Pugin is the common ancestor of A.W.N. Pugin and of the two authors of this article. Moreover, they also share, on their maternal side, an ancestry with the Ardieu family since Georges Pugin married Jeanne Ardieu (1660-1738), sister of Pierre Ardieu and aunt of Marie-Thérèse Ardieu, in 1680.
- 27 CH AEF, Archives de la commune d'Echarlens, Cf-Finances, Cf1 1644.
- 28 CH AEF, Grosse de Vuippens n° 14 (1671) folio 183.
- 29 CH AEF, Grosse de Vuippens n° 24 (1613) folio 223, n° 30 (1570) folio 151, n° 39 (1510) folio 22. It also appears in the Grosse de la Valsainte n° 10 (1560).
- 30 CH AEF, Echarlens: Archives de la paroisse, Boîte G Parchemins, PG 1435. Another parchment from 1461 (PP 1461) refers to Jehan De la Grange alias Pugin, who might also be the father of Louis but also without any evidence.
- 31 Apollinaire Dellion, "Echarlens", *Dictionnaire historique et statistique du des paroisses catholiques du canton de Fribourg* (Fribourg: Imprimerie du Chroniqueur Suisse, 1886), Vol. 5, 21.
- 32 Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, 33.
- 33 Margaret Belcher also notes that this is the first letter by Pugin to be prefixed with a cross, see *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin*, ed. Belcher, (Oxford University Press, 2001, Vol. 1, p.57).
- 34 CH AEF, RN 2926 (Gaillard), folio 32.
- 35 CH AEF, RN 2926 (Gaillard), folio 257.
- 36 Stephen Bann, 'Pugin - The French Connection', in *Gothic Revival Worldwide. A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence* (Leuven: University Press, 2016), 20.
- 37 Véronique Mathis has recently brought up an interesting hypothesis on where the coat of arms might have come from. In the death inventory of François Joseph Nabor Pugin held at the Archives Nationales de France in Paris (MC/ET/XLIV/584), a coat of arms is mentioned in the list of twelve papers that include documents about the

- family. Véronique Mathis, “Louis Lafitte: un peintre d’histoire de la Révolution à la Restauration” (Université de Normandie: 2020), 324.
- 38 The oldest known coat of arms of the Pugin family comes from a painting of eight quarters by Jean Duding from the end of the seventeenth century. They are Sable with a cock Argent, beaked, crested and membered Or (Hubert de Vevey, “Quartier Duding”, *Archivium heraldicum*, Vol. 74 No. 2-3, 29). The other coats of arms, including that of gules with a bend Or and a raven Sable, are considered variants. They are later.
- 39 Alexandra Wedgwood, “The Pugin Coat of Arms”, *True Principles*, Vol. 1 No. 9.
- 40 Ferrey’s reference to the Battle of Murten is in any case unclear. The Battle of Murten took place in 1476, not 1477. It is therefore possible that the history passed down through the generations referred more generally to the Burgundian Wars which ended in 1477. The reference to the Battle of Murten would have become established over time as one of the most important victories for the Confederates in the Burgundian Wars.
- 41 François Reichlen, “Le comté de Gruyère et les Guerres de Bourgogne”, *Revue historique vaudoise*, Vol. 17 No. 11, 326-330.
- 42 Another hypothesis on the origin of this legend could be linked to Etienne Pugin de la Grange de Fribourg who, in 1629, accompanied a Fribourg detachment sent over the Gotthard and commanded by Jost Ammann. On his return, Etienne Pugin applied for the secret bourgeoisie of the town of Fribourg, which was granted to him in 1630 for services rendered during this expedition. However, there is no real evidence to support this hypothesis and Etienne Pugin de la Grange is not a direct ancestor of Pugin. Jean Niquille, “La combourgeoisie des cantons catholique et du Valais et son renouvellement en 1623,” *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. 16 (1922), 218-230.
- 43 Rosemary Hill, *God’s Architect. Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 199-200.
- 44 Bann, “Pugin”, 20.
- 45 Rita Binz-Wohlhauser, “Le mode de vie de la noblesse à Fribourg (XVIII^e siècle). Entre espérances et réalités”, *Revue suisse d’art et d’archéologie*, Vol. 72 No. 3-4,
- 46 Archives de l’Etat de Fribourg, Registre Notarial 3019, folio 143.
- 47 We know that the Duke owned a mansion at the corner of Rue Saint-Florentin and Rue Rivoli in Paris, and it is very likely that Francois Joseph Nabor was in service there at the time he was granted the right of communier of Echarlens. Armand Brette, “Papiers et correspondance du prince Emmanuel de Salm-Salm pendant la Révolution française”, *Revue Historique*, Vol. 71 No. 1, 1899, pp. 62-89.
- 48 P. Athanase Cottier, “Notre-dame de compassion et le couvent des frères capucins de Bulle”, *Annales fribourgeoises*, Vol. 3 No. 6.
- 49 Serge Gummy, *Chapelles Fribourgeoises*, 96-99.
- 50 The attribution of this work has been the subject of several controversies. Some have attributed it to Jean-François Reyff. Nevertheless, a study of the archives of the Augustinian convent confirms that its author was originally from Bulle and validates the attribution to Pierre Ardieu. Martin Nicoulin, *Invitation à la joie éternelle, L’église de l’Auge et ses saints* (Fribourg: Paroisse Saint-Maurice, 2016).

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 designed 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, organizes events and outings to raise awareness of this great architect, designer and writer.

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