THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN SOUTHERN LANCASHIRE

The Pugin Society
Summer Study Tour
Thursday 24th - Sunday
27th July 2014

A.W.N. Pugin. Design for wall-paper, dated to *c.*1845, for Scarisbrick Hall, Lancashire. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

✠Prologue & Synopsis: Southern Lancashire & Aspects of the Gothic Revival ☙

THE County Palatine of Lancaster retained a strong Catholic presence after the Reformation. It is therefore not surprising that with the expansion of Catholic congregations in the Nineteenth Century, their confessional identity was redefined by reference to the mediaeval past. Indeed, several of the region's prominent recusant families were to emerge as patrons to first and second-generation Pugin buildings. In architectural terms this gravitation is marked by a clear distinction from the deliberately under-stated chapels built prior to the passing of the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act. Based in the coastal resort town of Southport, this Study Tour will allow several inter-related strands to be explored in depth. Outstanding buildings of national significance are prioritised, but due balance is given to lesser known works which embody certain influences and ideas. These provide the key themes of this Study Tour, divisible into the following categories.

In primary place the works of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, (hereafter A.W.N.P.) the material embodiment of his principles in design and convictions of faith. They are here placed within the existing context of Catholic architecture, where the influence of the Gothic Revival was already a powerful force. The efforts to create a new confessional identity, harnessing the associative powers of Gothic architecture, had been pursued by both lay and clerical patrons prior to A.W.N.P's conversion in 1835. His aims and works therefore build upon earlier achievements rather than marking a complete break with existing expectations of Catholic ecclesiastical architecture. The works of both Catholic architects and patrons both before and during A.W.N.P's ascendency provide valuable points of comparison and contextualisation.

Secondly the evolution of a Gothic Revival semantic based upon local precedents will be explored, with specific reference to the work of Austin & Paley. Recent scholarship has highlighted the significance of this Lancaster-based firm, which whilst it remained provincial in scope consistently produced buildings whose inventiveness and high standards of design and execution are instantly apparent.[1] Austin & Paley's work also allows the evolution of the later Gothic Revival as a whole to be considered. In tandem with the rising generation of architects in the 1870s, this firm's output displays a move away from the characteristic features of High-Victorian towards a refined and more nuanced architectural aesthetic. This was grounded upon knowledge of local precedents, combined with an originality of treatment, which became the firm's hallmark manner into the Twentieth Century.

Thirdly, the course of Catholic architecture after A.W.N.P's death will be examined with reference to the work of his eldest son, Edward Welby Pugin (hereafter E.W.P.). His pursuit of an aesthetic, at once distinct and idiosyncratic, is manifest in the latter's works from the early 1860s onwards.[2] This has long been interpreted as a growing confidence to step out of A.W.N.P's shadow and adopt a distinctive High-Victorian approach to both architectural aesthetics and the requirements of contemporaneous Catholic liturgical design. Indeed, the distance travelled between father and son and been so long emphasised that only recent examination has found in E.W.P's last works an apparent rapprochement between these opposing design approaches. Was this influenced by the fraught circumstances in his final years, or does it rather suggest the nascent hand of Edmund Pugin, better known as Peter Paul (hereafter P.P.P.), within his elder brother's practice?

Fourthly, whilst a due prominence has been given to the ecclesiastical manifestations of the Gothic Revival, due focus has been given to its influence across the wider spectrum of building types. Therefore such exemplary a building as Scarisbrick Hall is included as an evocative instance of domestic architecture, built to encapsulate the antiquarian, 'Waverley' phase of the Revival, and its consequent reassessment of country house design. The place of institutional architecture is represented by Stonyhurst College; a key factor in Roman Catholic affairs throughout the period. This latter presents an unparalleled instance of sustained building by the Society of Jesus on a single site. The College's endorsement of the Revival's cause was first manifest in its main chapel. Built before A.W.N.P. began work on Scarisbrick's interiors, it set the tenor for Stonyhurst's new buildings throughout the Nineteenth Century.

Finally, to provide a valuable point of comparison to the Revival's achievements and originality, specific buildings are included to serve as exemplars of mediaeval architecture. These are essential for understanding the points of reference and potential influence for the Revival, and are frequently overlooked in most standard accounts of the latter. Buildings such as Samlesbury Hall and All Hallows, Great Mitton, provide examples of mediaeval methods of design and construction. Embodying regional characteristics of materials and style, they allow the flavour of the Study Tour's topographical base to be absorbed. Points of similarity and radical departure in Revival buildings can therefore be contextualised with greater scrutiny and perceptiveness.

To explore these aspects of the Gothic Revival in the region, this Study Tour is constructed of three parts; each reflecting key themes as found within geographical areas, examined on a day-by-day basis. Day One explores the evolution rural church design from the mediaeval period to the mid-Nineteenth Century, ending with the magnificent buildings and collections of Stonyhurst College. This is centred upon the Ribble valley. Day Two, traveling further afield to the foothills of the Pennines, considers the Revival's diverse role within urban settings, by contrast to the requirements of rural architecture, as well as issues of restoration and the dialogues created between the Revival's work and the Middle Ages. This ends with the richly-appointed Scarisbrick Hall, where both A.W.N.P and E.W.P. undertook significant work. Day Three, orientated around the County's coastal plains, focuses upon the development of new and distinctive types of urban centres and the ecclesiastical architecture created for them. Two magnificent examples of pious munificence serve to illustrate this idea: Saint Walburge's, Preston and Holy Trinity, Southport. These vast churches will prove a fitting coupling with which this exploration of the Gothic Revival in Southern Lancashire ends. Whilst the individual narratives behind each site will be touched upon, due prominence will also be given to their place within the thematic envelope outlined above. ☙

✠Preliminary Evening Introduction & Lecture: Samlesbury Upper Hall, Samlesbury Village ☙

DESPITE the vicissitudes of time and fortune, this building remains one of the finest surviving late-mediaeval manor houses in the County; its story as chequered as the quatrefoil covered exterior. The Hall shares features with other timber-framed houses south of the Ribble, most notably Rufford and Little Mitton Halls.[3] These family resemblances suggest a cohort of carpenters whose buildings are the result of dynastic ties between local gentry. The Hall ably illustrates both the key component of prestigious domestic architecture in the Middle Ages and the ruthless, not to say destructive attitudes, towards 'restoration' of the early Victorian period.[4] The Hall's history is inextricably linked to that of the Southworth family, and to understand the surviving fabric some account of the latter's rise and decline is necessary. The Southworths held the manor of Samlesbury since the early Fourteenth Century.[5] Through marriages amongst local families and military service, by the late early Sixteenth Century it was one of the county's most prominent families.[6] One John Southworth (†1517) was knighted in February 1504 and witnessed the Battle of Flodden Field. By this date the Hall had attained to its greatest extent. Surrounded by a moat, traces of which still survive, the prominent Great Hall was perhaps the oldest part of the house. This was linked to the family apartments and chapel in surviving south wing, and to now vanished kitchens and servants' accommodation in a northern wing.[7] The Hall therefore formed three sides of a Π figure; the eastern face being left open. It is with John Southworth (†1595) that the recusant Roman Catholic history of the family begins. He had seen active military service during the 1540s and 1550s, and was knighted during the Scottish Wars in 1547.[8] Though made sheriff in 1562, his unwillingness to conform to the Elizabethan Settlement came to the attention of the Privy Council in 1576. He was committed to prison in Manchester five years later, and then moved to London for greater security.[9]

However, Thomas Southworth's early standing is ably testified by the surviving fabric of the Hall. The chimneypiece of the former Dining Room is carved with his name, his armorial bearings and the date 1545.[10] At this date the southern wing's weather-ward face was encased in brick, ornamented with blue diaperwork lozenges. This is one of the earliest, if not the first, appearance of substantial brick construction in the county, implying the family's far-reaching connections. The windows are of dressed stone; that of the chapel has elaborate reticulated tracery, allegedly from the dissolved Whalley Abbey.[11] The Great Hall also bore witness to Thomas Southworth's *largesse*, when a vast Passage Screen (dated 1532) was installed at its lower end to shield the High Table and its canopied dais from draughts. It consisted of a dado with elaborate traceried panels, carrying a bressummer from which arose three great pinnacles of forceful, almost barbaric, spiralling foliage. The Screen was recorded by the antiquary S.J. Allen in 1833 (*Figure 1*) and it bore a strong resemblance to the surviving screen at Rufford.[12] These arrangements are typical of a late-mediaeval manorial hall, and had a strong influence upon A.W.N.P.'s notions of domestic architecture. In his *True Principles*, A.W.N.P. noted that in their timber framing: "we do not find a single feature introduced beyond the decoration of what was necessary for their substantial construction".[13] This, of course, stands in contrast to the meagre efforts of A.W.N.P.'s contemporaries.[14] Similarly, the "old English Catholic mansions" had each aspect of their separate purposes clearly expressed.[15] The complete ensemble demonstrated to A.W.N.P. "a standing illustration of good old English hospitality".[16] It was the arrangements of such halls as Samlesbury which A.W.N.P. successfully created for John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, in the Great Dining Hall at Alton Towers (begun 1849),[17] and earlier for Charles Scarisbrick (1837-1845).[18]

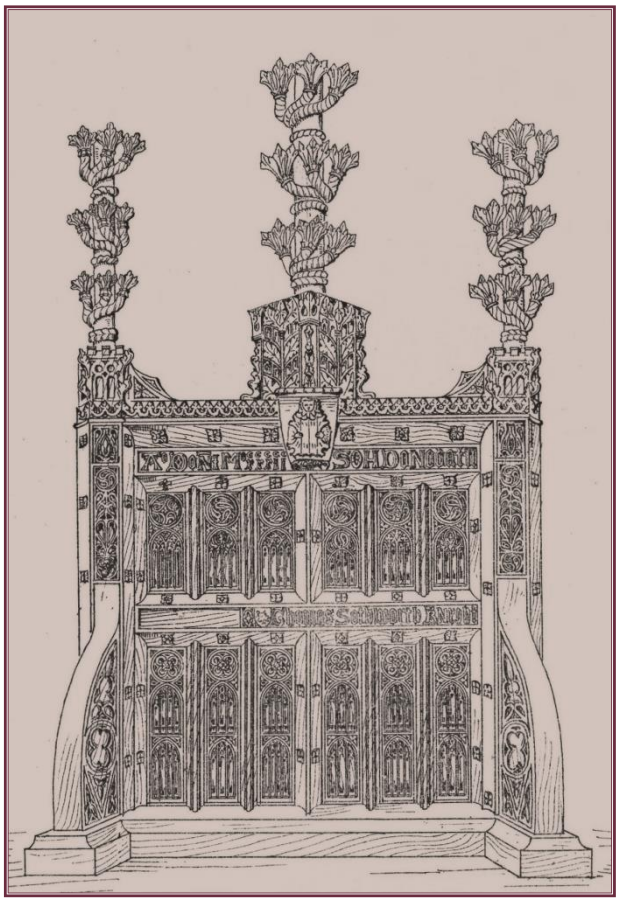

Figure 1:- After S.J. Allen. The Passage Screen, Samlesbury Hall, as in 1833, prior to dismantling & partial incorporation into the "Minstrels' Gallery".

Such evocations of faded customs came late to Samlesbury. The family remained largely recusant into the Seventeenth Century; the most famous being Bl. John Southworth S.J, executed at Tyburn on 28th June 1654.[19] When the Southworths finally sold the Hall in 1679 its new owners subdivided the ranges into tenements.[20] In 1825, the turnpike road was cut within yards of the south-east corner, and the Hall became a coaching inn.[21] Ten years later the surviving fabric underwent a radical 'restoration', for which no subsequent commentator has expressed anything but opprobrium.[22] Much surviving fabric and carving were irrecoverably lost, and the Great Hall truncated. In a perverse response to the popular antiquarianism of the decade, the Passage Screen was cut down and the High Table dais partly demolished, to create a "Minstrels' Gallery". This invocation of false history was augmented with random fragments from unknown sources, resulting in what Henry Taylor called: "a most incongruous medley, which reminds us of the last scene in a Christmas Pantomime".[23] Though unforgivably destructive, this *bricolage* of fragments is not dissimilar in intent from A.W.N.P. introducing original mediaeval objects into his interiors. The incorporation of numerous fragments at Scarisbrick Hall perhaps marks the apogee of such evocations of 'Merry Olde Englande' and the romance of Walter Scott's *Waverley* novels.[24] ☙

✠Day One: The Rural Church & College - Roman Catholic Church of Saint John the Evangelist, The Willows, Kirkham ☙

On 23rd September 1843 A.W.N.P. wrote to his liturgical mentor Dr Daniel Rock, informing him of a new commission: "the church at Kirkham would please you very much & for a real old Catholic congregation".[25] Here then are two inter-related strands of A.W.N.P.'s ambitions for ecclesiastical architecture. The first is for exactness in matters of archaeological fidelity. The second is to restore them to the use of Roman Catholic congregations, and thereby reassert the latter as legitimate successors to the Faith of the Middle Ages. In artistic terms, St John's Kirkham betrays the maturing confidence of A.W.N.P.'s architectural *oeuvre*, where the taut, linear, largely late-Gothic churches of his early career, gave way to a greater intensity of mass and volume, expressed in English Decorated Gothic.[26] Kirkham embodies the sentiments expressed in A.W.N.P.'s articles for the *Dublin Review*, later reprinted as *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* (1843). These ideas reached their zenith in the richly-funded St Giles, Cheadle.[27] The influence of A.W.N.P.'s words and works would long influence the notion of a Gothic Revival country church, as distinct from the difficulties of cramped urban sites.[28] This pervasive influence perhaps underscores the disappointment some commentators felt when recording their impressions of Kirkham. Pevsner was dismissive: "It is a modest building and, like so much of Pugin, really very impersonal".[29]

A.W.N.P.'s client at Kirkham was the Revd Thomas Sherburne, who had hitherto administered to his congregation in a small chapel built in 1809.[30] This rural priest came into a legacy, and discussions for a new church began in 1842.[31] The building contract was awarded to George Myres, A.W.N.P.'s favourite builder, and the furnishings undertaken by John Hardman, for whom A.W.N.P. had "written 3 close sides in your defence to M[r] Sherburne".[32] As realised in buff Longridge stone, St John's refashioned the architectural identity of its rural 'Old Catholic' congregation, sweeping away the deliberately under-stated practices of Recusancy with an assertive evocation of a mediaeval parochial church. This stands to challenge a *status quo* where "Modern Catholics have frequently abandoned *Catholic architecture* for the *Genevan*, and even make light of this melancholy decay".[33] The expression of component parts - nave, aisles ending in chapels, south porch, chancel under a separate roof, a west tower with broach spire - all embody a reunification of the celebration the Rites of Catholicism with the architecture which accommodates and expresses them; a crucial premise in the 'Dublin Review' articles.[34] Such churches were therefore designed to be didactic; to actively inform their congregations, whilst being both beautiful and mystical. St John's also demonstrates a new assuredness in handling the underlying architectonics of church design, and could be drawn from A.W.N.P.'s earliest impressions of ecclesiastical architecture as a child amongst the rural churches of Lincolnshire.[35]

Fundamental to A.W.N.P.'s liturgical planning was the recreation of distinct chancels and sanctuaries for the High Altar. In the face of established conventions for complete visibility, implicit in the Tridentine liturgy, mediaeval models were: "truly solemn and impressive, and those who have souls to appreciate the intentions of the Old Catholic builders, must be edified with their wisdom and

Figure 2:- Saint John the Evangelist, Kirkham (A.W.N.P, 1842-1845).The epitome of a 'Dublin Review' parish church, exterior from the south-west.

propriety, in keeping the seat of the holy mysteries at a reverential distance from the people".[36] The ancient enclosed sanctuaries, demarked by chancel arch and rood screen stands in contrast to their modern successors, "wretched recesses substituted for chancels", in churches scarce discernable from theatres, where "the only difference … is the substitution of an altar and altarpiece for a proscenium and drop scene".[37] This question of enclosed *versus* open sanctuaries was, of course, to prove a long-standing contentious matter between A.W.N.P. and his supporters and the increasingly distrustful Roman Catholic clergy. Known under the moniker of 'the Rood Screen controversy', to A.W.N.P.'s *chagrin* his greatest opponents came from the ranks of converts from Anglicanism. Their aesthetic and devotional tastes were marked by ultramontanism and an admiration for contemporaneous practices of Rome, not those of Fourteenth-Century England.[38]

The mixed success of A.W.N.P.'s attempt to graft his mediaeval ideal into Roman Catholic notions of ecclesiastical propriety is evidenced in the subsequent treatment of this church's interior. The elaborate stone roodscreen has been displaced, serving to draught-proof the narthex beneath a west gallery. The Rood and its attendant figures survive suspended in the chancel arch. The simplicity and proportions of A.W.N.P's interior are strongly countered by the series of marble furnishings, introduced in *c.*1906, and characteristic of the work of Pugin and Pugin.[39] The prominent Communion rails, pulpit and High Altar are on a forceful scale, utterly dissonant from the architecture around them. They reflect the firm's *penchant* for thinking in terms of large urban churches.[40] The contrast between these furnishings (perhaps early works of A.W.N.P.'s grandson, Sebastian Pugin Powell) and A.W.N.P.'s relocated High Altar could not be more marked. The contrast eloquently demonstrates the distance travelled between different generations of the Pugin family, in the evolution of their ecclesiastical designs into the Twentieth Century. ☙

✠Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady & Saint John the Baptist, 'The Priory', Pleasington ☙

THE passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 (better known as the 'Catholic Emancipation Act') is often taken as the starting point for ambitious church-building by Roman Catholic congregations and patrons. This Act of Parliament extended the earlier reforms embodied in the Papists Act (1778) and the Roman Catholic Relief Act (1791).[41] The latter actually permitted the celebration of the Mass in public, and therefore of necessity the building of Roman Catholic places of worship. However, a clause of this Act forbade any the erection of belfries or steeples, thereby limiting their potential architectural prominence.[42] This legislation therefore accounts for the shared characteristics between Roman Catholic churches built prior to 1829, whether Gothic, Classical, or with no pretensions to architectural style. Whilst poverty and discretion still coloured much that was built in the first decades of the Nineteenth Century, one notable exception is the church at Pleasington (*Figure 3*). As such it more than merits our attention.

This vast church, on a scale and sumptuousness unprecedented in earlier Roman Catholic architecture, was built as a thanks offering by local grandee, John Butler of Pleasington Hall.[43] Prominently sited on a natural eminence, it is the *meisterwerk* of the Manchester-based architect, John Palmer (1785-1846). From humble origins in County Durham, Palmer was first apprenticed to his uncle as a mason.[44] Being brought into the sphere of the York architect William Atkinson, he set upon a career as an ecclesiastical architect and antiquary. His sizable collection of antiquarian documents and researches survives at Cheetham's Library, Manchester.[45] Palmer published a detailed account of the Collegiate Church of Manchester (elevated to Cathedral in 1847) which he had 'restored' from 1814-1815.[46] In these formative years of the Gothic Revival, the disjunction between antiquarian interests and architectural practice (a gap which A.W.N.P. arguably closed) could be sizable. Conditioned by prevailing notions of taste, Palmer re-cast the church's interior with

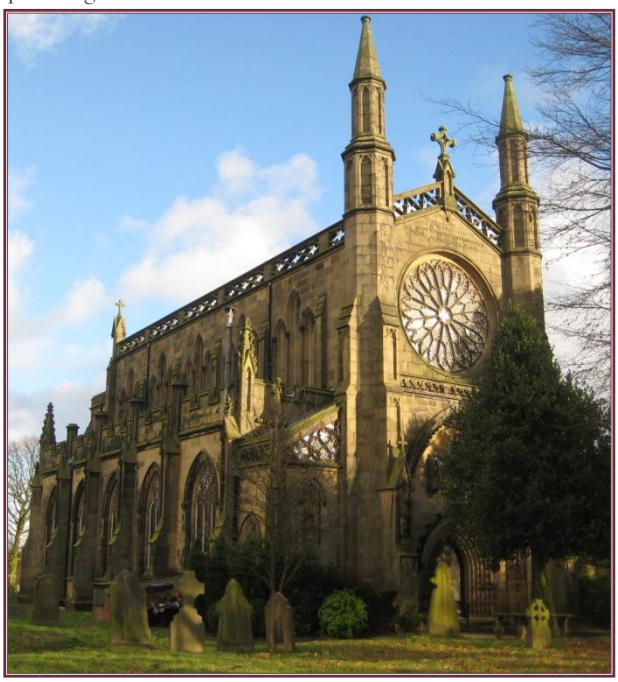

Figure 3:- Our Lady & St John the Baptist, Pleasington (John Palmer, 1816-1819). A monument to pre-Emancipation *ex voto* piety, exterior from west.

Roman cement and demolished the surviving mediaeval Rood beam.[47] Later commentators have called his work "disastrous alterations",[48] the traces of which subsequent renovations strove to eradicate. Palmer's design for Pleasington is likewise indicative of the early decades of the Nineteenth Century. The building employs a broad gamut of stylistic elements, stretching from Thirteenth-Century lancet lights in the clerestory to Fifteenth-Century Perpendicular tracery in the aisle windows. Such eclecticism should not deflect from the design's sincerity, since the established taxonomy of English Gothic was not decisively codified until the appearance of Thomas Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* in 1817, one year after construction began.[49] The prominent west front, set between pinnacles and containing a rose window (loosely modelled on that of Westminster Abbey's South Transept),[50] stands as an invocation of the Middle Ages, composed of architectural references whose collective result is, despite its forcefulness, far from persuasive. The figures of the Good Shepherd, Saint Mary and Saint John the Baptist are more indebted to Classical precedents than to Gothic sculpture. The dedication prayer carved into the gable is more reminiscent of Classical temples than mediaeval churches; exactly the kind of misdirected piety on the 'Revived Pagan principle' which so exacerbated A.W.N.P.

However, it would be mistaken to judge this impressive church solely by the aesthetic standards of a later generation. Though the realisation is utterly different, the sentiments which this vast building articulates are not so far removed from those of A.W.N.P. as might at first appear. They primarily served to weld the piety of the Middle Ages to the identity of pre-Emancipation Roman Catholicism. The church and mission were spuriously styled a 'Priory', and this link to a monastic past found expression in the church's west door. This was closely modelled upon a surviving Fourteenth-Century portal at the nearby ruins of Whalley Abbey,[51] suggesting a linear institutional inheritance, guaranteed by a shared Faith. Indeed, Palmer ensured that his mason, Thomas Owen, was supplied with casts from the portal to guarantee fidelity to the original in his work.[52] Such sentiments are borne out by Palmer's own account of his and Butler's intentions: "to build … on a model of which all our ancient churches were built before the pretended Reformation".[53] In realising this goal, Palmer had no compunction in drawing upon "every period of architecture from the Saxons to the so-called Reformation".[54] With the longer course of mediaeval architecture and its pious connotations in mind, the apparent solecisms of Pleasington become comprehensible. The various period elements of Gothic architecture stand to invoke the longer mediaeval past to consolidate the religious identity of the Nineteenth-Century present. It is the aims of antiquarianism and the spirit of Romanticism combined into a single expression.

The interior likewise reflects many of these characteristics. The compound piers are technically Perpendicular, though they support Early English arches, which in turn support a plaster vault with sizable relief bosses. Nothing survives of the original High Altar, though its positioning within a polygonal apse anticipates similar arrangements A.W.N.P. was to find awaiting him at both Oscott College and at Alton Towers' chapel.[55] However, two large reliefs portraying the Beheading of John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene, also carved by Owen survive.[56] Here again, the sentiments for mediaeval piety find expression in ways more indicative of the post-Reformation era. If nothing else, Pleasington ably attests to a vein of mediaeval Romanticism which pre-dates A.W.N.P's conversion. ☙

✠Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady & Saint Hubert, Great Harwood ☙

THE course of E.W.P's architectural career has long been presented as that of a duteous son, emerging from his father's shadow in the 1850s, and becoming a more assured, if idiosyncratic, practitioner of High Victorian Gothic in the 1860s.[57] Though initially perpetuating A.W.N.P.'s mature idiom in his church designs, and indeed inheriting many of his late father's projects,[58] already by the late 1850s, E.W.P. was moving away from Fourteenth-Century English Decorated Gothic towards a design vocabulary inspired by the Geometrical Gothic of the Thirteenth Century.[59] This period of transition is ably demonstrated by E.W.P.'s imposing church at Great Harwood (*Figure 4*). Though more celebrated for his large urban churches, this building offers a valuable insight into E.W.P.'s approach to designing a rural parochial church. In many ways the designs both responds to and revises the model A.W.N.P. had established in his *Dublin Review* articles, and which he realised at Saint John the Evangelist, Kirkham (see above). Great Harwood marks an adventurous step in the evolution of E.W.P. individual design idiom; given the possibility of elaboration thanks to a single wealthy benefactor. Further to this, the sanctuary's visibility for the whole interior and the abandonment of English mediaeval precedents indicated how, as his contemporaneous critics noted, E.W.P. was able to unify the Gothic Revival to the basilica plan of the Counter Reformation.[60] Many experimental ideas were to reappear in his large urban churches, demonstrating the attainment to a personal lexicon which subsequent commenters characterised as an urge to attenuation and a 'fussiness' of detail.[61] The church also stands as an indication of how far the impact A.W.N.P.'s architectural, if not liturgical, legacy still influenced Roman Catholic patrons beyond his death in 1852.

Our Lady and Saint Hubert's was funded by the wealthy Roman Catholic James Lommax (†1886). Thanks to his generosity E.W.P.'s church is richly finished in its detailing. Especially prominent are the gabled windows to the transept chapels and polygonal apse.[62] Such features, indicating the greater importance of the east end, were to become an instantly recognisable trait of E.W.P's urban church design, as exemplified at his All Saints, Barton upon Irwell, begun seven years later.[63] Externally, the separate rooflines are pulled into cohesion by the prominent north-west steeple. Positioned off-axis and acting as a porch, at first glance it reiterates the broach-spire formula of A.W.N.P.'s churches of the early to mid-1840s. Closer examination reveals those aesthetic characteristics which were to mark out E.W.P.'s ecclesiastical works in the following decade. In comparison to his father's works the proportions, especially of the spire, have a novel vertical drive, particularly apparent in the steep angle leading to the corner niches. The treatment of the belfry windows, composed of tiers of trefoils, similarly has no clear precedent in A.W.N.P.'s *oeuvre*. Indeed, the vertical emphasis of the steeple also acts as a counterbalance to the width of the nave and sanctuary, and the low, long proportions of the bays are ably reflected in the aisle windows. Firmness is emphasised in the massing of the angle buttresses at the building's corners, and in particular those supporting the western façade. Whilst the *exemplum* for E.W.P.'s design here can be traced back to the type of church expounded by A.W.N.P's *Present State*, its realisation here shows a marked shift in aesthetic temper from the balanced 'Middle Pointed' of his father. E.W.P. is clearly aware of the burgeoning appetite

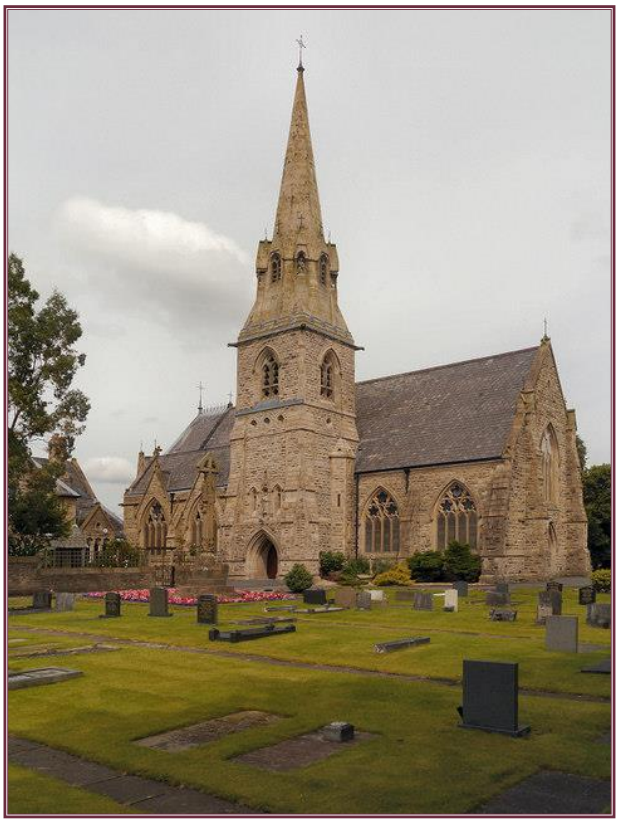

Figure 4:- Our Lady & Saint Hubert, Great Harwood (E.W.P, 1858-1859). A rural church with characteristic touches, exterior from north-west.

for everything now associated with the 'vigour' and 'go' in Revival architecture in the 1860s. His design for Great Harwood displays a young architect coming into his own; a fact more readily perceivable from the church's interior.

The first impression of E.W.P.'s modelling of internal volume is the almost undue emphasis placed upon roof construction. Here is displayed a timber-framed design constructed on what became known as "double backed principals"; a dynamic and expedient touch, given the width of the space to be spanned.[64] As with so many experimental elements, this was to become characteristic of E.W.P.'s subsequent church designs. All the more startling is the reduction of the nave aisles to a notional division, rather than one emphatically divided by a pair of stone arcades. Whilst A.W.N.P. would dispense with aisles for economy, it would be inconceivable for him to conceive of a parochial church of this scale in such a manner. Here again is a telling difference between the designs of Pugin father and son; the latter ably responding to the pressures for visibility, and Great Harwood can be seen as a rich companion piece to E.W.P.'s Our Lady of La Salette, Liverpool (1859-1860).[65] This church for an impoverished dockside congregation was hailed for exactly the same qualities of openness and uninterrupted views of the sanctuary which Great Harwood possesses. Though the situation and circumstances for both buildings were polar opposites, the intention to respond to the requirements of the Tridentine liturgy is consistent.

The joy of the interior is the richly-coloured sequence of windows by Hardman & Co. Though disrupted by removal during the Second World War, they perhaps represent a unique combination of figural subjects at the eastern end and purely abstract foliate designs in the nave. Their dense yet jewel-like hues are imposing. ☙

✠Anglican Parish Church of All Hallows (*olim* Saint Michael), Great Mitton ☙

THIS ancient church stands on the steeply sloping hillside overlooking the confluence of the Rivers Ribble and Hodder in the valley below. Whilst the standing fabric can be dated back to the late Thirteenth Century, it serves as a valuable example of original mediaeval church architecture, embodying several regional characteristics, which both compliment and contrast with the works of Nineteenth-Century architects. In addition to this, All Hallows demonstrates the continuation, or adaptation, of pre-Reformation practices of sepulchral commemoration in its prominent Shireburne (*sic*) chapel. The proprietorial rights of this chapel were vested in the Shireburn family of nearby Stonyhurst, and the collection of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century monuments is one of the finest in the County. Whilst the aesthetic and moral pretentions such monuments were firmly castigated by A.W.N.P. (most famously in his *Constrasted Episcopal Monuments*), the conversion of the chantry chapel type into the *locus* for dynastic memorials is a significant factor in the transition from the *diriges* and *requiems* of late-mediaeval England to the Protestant abolition of prayers for the dead during the Reformation. Great Mitton also displays an interestingly early instance of 'restoration', the quality of which departs radically from what A.W.N.P. could achieve when commissioned to work on an original mediaeval church.[66] As such, this subdued rural church entwines numerous strands of the Gothic Revival's longer history.

Surviving from the Thirteenth-Century building campaign are the aisles, nave and chancel, demarked by their simple intersecting Y-traceried windows. The fall of the land to the south and east led to the unusual expedient of the chancel being lower than the nave, the result being than it is stepped *down* into, rather than being elevated on a series of levels, as was customary in pre-Reformation church design. The five-light east window contains glass by Messrs Clayton & Bell, depicting Saint Michael vanquishing the Dragon. The tower was erected in the Fifteenth Century, and is an unusually fine specimen of its type, when compared to the unadorned if robust character of surviving mediaeval towers from later in that century (such as those at Walton-le-Dale or Broughton).[67] The reticulated tracery of the west window appears to be the same work of masons who built the more much elaborate tower of Saints Peter & Paul, Bolton-by-Bowland, dated to the mid-1460s. As is the case in domestic architecture, such shared characteristics could indicate the close ties of kith and kin amongst patronal families in this period. The aesthetic distinctiveness of the tower could also suggest the involvement of the nearby Cistercian abbey of Sawley, who held the advowson of the living throughout much of the Middles Ages.

Of greatest interest is the north-east chapel built onto the chancel. This is the Shireburne chapel, built of finely-dressed ashlar and of a more affluent architectural character than the adjoining church. It is dated to 1594, by courtesy of the escutcheon carved over its west door. Externally, the off-set buttresses and four-centre arched windows suggest an earlier date, perhaps the late-Fifteenth or early-Sixteenth Century, though there seems no corroborative evidence to suggest that an existing chapel was restored in the 1590s. Antiquarian and topographical drawings confirm that such details as the window tracery were original. If newly built at the latter date, it displays a remarkable fastidiousness and fidelity to late-mediaeval design practices, and may well have taken an existing chapel from

Figure 5:- All Hallows, Great Mitton (Thirteen Century & sub.). The unusually fine west tower and its Perpendicular window, exterior from west.

elsewhere as its model. Internally, it is divided from the chancel by two rampant pointed arches set atop octagonal piers. These contain curious wooden screens, comprised of solid lower dados with carried turned baluster shafts, which in turn support pseudo-Gothic pierced cusping. The original ironwork cresting should be noted. The dado panels also have very distinctive carved foliage in their heads, and the overall intent seems to be an Elizabethan paraphrase of mediaeval screenwork. Such responses to existing, inherited aesthetics are by no means uncommon in ecclesiastical building after the Reformation, though it is much less common to find it in new furnishings. A.W.N.P. was certainly aware of the strange, intermingled afterlife of Gothic, his opinion being full of condemnation, as his *Apology* (of 1843):- "[in] this fatal mistake, of reviving classic design, the principles of architecture had been plunged into miserable confusion".[68]

This sentiment A.W.N.P. would surely also apply to the assemblage of funerary monuments the chapel contains, marking as they do the assimilation of classical motifs and idioms. In pride of place lie the recumbent effigies of Sur Richard Shireburn (†1594) and his wife Maude, with most monuments preferring to imitate the tomb-chest format. Two notable exceptions are the monuments to Richard Shireburn (†1667) and that to another Richard (†1709). Both these adopt the form of a classical aedicule and for A.W.N.P. would express: "not a matter of mere taste, but a change of soul", prompted by the Reformation.[69] Making good damage caused by the latter was a sentiment which came to Great Mitton in the mid-Nineteenth Century, when repairs were undertaken on the interior. These included the pseudo-mediaeval tiles; weak in comparison to A.W.N.P.'s efforts. Likewise, missing parts of the mediaeval chancel screen were repaired in cast-iron, which survive. ☙

✠Collegium Societatis Ihesu Saxosylvanum (*in vulgo* Stonyhurst College), Hurst Green ☙

THE mighty complex of buildings now occupied by the co-educational Roman Catholic school grew from the prominent nucleus formed by the ancestral seat of the Shireburn family.[70] The family had lived here since the late Fourteenth Century and remained recusants after the Reformation. This did not stop Richard Shireburn (†1594) from starting to rebuild on a lavish scale in 1592.[71] To this campaign belongs the prominent Gatehouse with its rear turrets, their cupolas dating from 1712.[72] The domineering scale of this courtyard house (perhaps expanding upon the model offered by nearby Houghton Tower, built in the 1560s), set the standard for the subsequent building campaign undertaken by the Society of Jesus when they were given the house by Thomas Weld, a relative of the Duchess of Norfolk, who was herself a Shireburn.[73] In 1794, the building became the home of the English College of Saint Omers, founded by Fr Robert Parsons S.J. in 1593, later transferred by Burges (1762) and from thence to Liège (1773).[74] With the successive repeals of the Anti-Roman Catholic Penal Laws, the College was able to expand its accommodation considerably. Within the history of the Gothic Revival, Stonyhurst embodies an ideal of institutional architecture which both Gothic in its aesthetic gravitation and assuredly Roman Catholic in its confessional identity. The embracing of Gothic by the Society of Jesus here contrasts sharply with A.W.N.P.'s combat against the Oratarians over the compatibility of pre-Reformation architecture for the needs of a Counter-Reformation Order and modern liturgies.[75] How far the complex realises A.W.N.P.'s ideal expression of educational architecture, where every separate component was distinct and where "becoming solemnity and splendour formed a primary consideration".[76] The key component building for such an institution was a chapel, and the prominence of that at Stonyhurst repays consideration.

The Public Chapel of Saint Peter was designed by John Joseph Scoles (1798-1863) himself a Catholic who had trained under the Country House architect, Joseph Ireland.[77] His chapel here took three years to build and was consecrated by the Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, Dr John Briggs, on 23rd June 1835. The design was described in the *Orthodox Journal* as: "that of the Collegiate church … which style prevailed at the beginning of the 16th century".[78] The decision to build in this style appears to have come from Stonyhurst's Rector, Fr Richard Norris S.J.[79] The chapel's potency in evoking the unity between Roman Catholicism and the Middle Ages appears to have lead the young A.W.N.P. to famously write: "A very good chapel is now building in the north & when it is compleat I certainly think I shall recant".[80] In terms of authenticity Scoles's work is a marked advance upon the eclecticism of Palmer's Pleasington church. His design is informed and considered, though perhaps owes somewhat more to the churches of his contemporaries that to the collegiate chapels of the Middle Ages.[81] However, Scoles's pains to secure component craftsmen, and in particular the services of John Hale Miller to glaze the sizable east window, arguably pre-empt A.W.N.P.'s own efforts to secure a group of skilled craftsmen to realize his designs.[82] The association forged here between the Society of Jesus and Gothic was reaffirmed in Scoles's later churches for the same Society at Preston (Saint Ignatius) and The Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, Mayfair.[83] For the latter, A.W.N.P. designed the High Altar, over Scoles's protests.[84]

Figure 6:- Stonyhurst College, Hurst Green. The Elizabethan Manor House and Gatehouse turrets, with J.J. Scoles's Chapel of Saint Peter (1832-1835) on the right. Exterior from the south, looking north along the drive.

It would be a mistake to claim that the Jesuit Order remained wholeheartedly wedded to Gothic as the Nineteenth Century progressed. For Messrs Dunn & Hansom's South Block an inflated Elizabethan style was chosen, undoubtedly in response to the architecture of Shireburn's original house. Much other building is of indifferent design. Their work here is gargantuan.[85] This aesthetic deference had earlier been used when the north side of Elizabethan house was reconstructed to the designs of Fr Richard Vaughan S.J. (built 1843-1856). However, C.A. Buckler's Solidarity Chapel (built 1856-1859) is unabashed in its Gothicism, if restrained. Dunn & Hansom's Boys' Chapel offers a memorable contrast to the idiom adopted by Scoles. This was built for the College community alone, and finished in 1888. It is exceptionally elaborate, and richly detailed in ways vaguely reminiscent of A.W.N.P.'s *fantasia* 'Saint Marie's College', drawn in the mid-1830s.[86] The interior is a single cell of seven bays, set under a hammerbeam roof, which itself is supported by a coving of fan-vaults. The interior is lit be vast Perpendicular windows on the south side, answered by projecting wooden oriels on the North. This all serves to suggest the firm's intentions in their abortive scheme for Westminster Cathedral.[87] ☙

✠Day Two: Urban Visions & Reincarnations - Anglican Parish of Saint Mary-in-the-Baum, Wardlewoth, Rochdale ☙

Figure 7:- Saint Mary, Wardleworth, Rochdale (J.N. Comper, 1908-1912). A Seraph in Adoration from the prominent Roodloft, bathed in clear light.

Of all architects associated with the course of the Gothic Revival, few have so polarised critical opinion as John Ninian Comper (1864-1960). His eclectic, highly personal, approach to aesthetics and his mature attitude to liturgical planning won committed plaudits and detractors during his lifetime, and have continued to do so since. One well-known and ardent champion of his work was Sir John Betjeman; one well-placed detractor was Professor Sir Nikolaus Pevsner.[88] The personal battle between these two personalities regrettably still colours consideration of Comper's work, and its place within the flowering of a highly-cultivated moment in Anglo-Catholicism's ascendency within the Church of England.[89] To lay these on-rolling arguments aside allows Comper's work at Rochdale to be seen within the wider trajectory of how Gothic Revival architects responded to the difficulties of restricted urban sites, and also how they addressed the question of incorporating elements from a pre-existing building. In specific reference to Comper's work, these concerns have clearly had a strong influence in the design of St Mary's at Rochdale, as much as his own ideals in liturgical provision, layout and ecclesiastical aesthetics.

Prior to 1908, this church was a simple two-storey structure of red brick with stone dressings,[90] built on a site where the land falls away sharply to the south and west. Elements from the 1740 building, built of brick and dressed stone, were incorporated by Comper into his new church, and to a large degree conditioned his resulting design. The architectural details such as windows were deliberately lengthened, and the new groundplan consisted of a double north aisle and nave, leading to a screened chancel and sanctuary. Comper called this: "a rather flattering memory of the very poor original church",[91] suggesting that these *spolia* were not preserved out of archaeological sensitivity, but rather assimilated and made subservient to the new building. The northern aisles were also intended to allow the prominent east window to align with the only available space between prominent cotton mills. The high arcade of Comper's nave, resting on alternating circular and octagonal piers, aesthetically upstages the northern aisles, giving due prominence to the nave as the church's axial focus. Concerns over natural light sources must have influenced the choice of vast, clear-glazed Perpendicular windows which punctuate the south wall. They endow the interior, faced in dull pink Alderley stone, with an unexpected luminosity. This quality was hardly striven for in A.W.N.P.'s mature churches, though he had earlier faced the interior of Saint Augustine's Ramsgate with stone, in reaction to his earlier preference for out-and-out polychrome paintwork.[92]

Similarly, the emphasis on an enclosed sanctuary is richly affirmed by Comper's domineering rood screen and loft (*Figure 7*), with its large rood group and assembled apostles. The realisation shares the spirit of A.W.N.P's campaign to reassert such screens as an indispensable part of the mediaeval English Sarum Rite, though here Comper uses such a screen to affirm the inherent Catholicity of Anglican liturgy, and its enshrining sanction of pre-Reformation ceremonies and ornaments.[93] However, the sources Comper selects for his furnishings famously looked beyond late-mediaeval North European sources, following his exposure to the Christian art and architecture of the Mediterranean.[94] By incorporating references to Byzantine and Early Christian churches, Comper was arguably stretching his aesthetic parameters beyond what could be classed a Gothic Revivalist, especially in comparison to A.W.N.P.'s censure against stylistic hybridity in design. Comper justified his choices, increasingly apparent after a visit to Sicily in 1906, as 'Unity by Inclusion'.[95] This he explained with reference to one of Socrates's speeches in Plato's *Symposium*, which bade its hearers: "recognise the beauty which resides in one as the sister of that which dwells in another".[96] The Gothic and Greek styles, both possessing beauty, need not therefore be treated as exclusive of each other, but moulded into a unity of expression.[97] For A.W.N.P, committed to the bond between the truth of Roman Catholic doctrine and the architecture which embodied it, such thoughts would have been anathema.

It would be easy to categorise Comper's work as perhaps belonging to the Gothic Revival, but only as part of a late, decadent phase, with the experiment and energy of such figures as A.W.N.P. spent. What redeems such churches from such outright dismissal is the same quality of design and attentiveness to planning and disposition which A.W.N.P.'s ecclesiastical work always embodies. It is demonstrable at Rochdale by Comper's selective use of colour. Whilst the interior is almost monochromatic, polychrome selectively co-ordinates the roof structure, the main axial windows and is most strongly present in the High Altar hangings. However, where the 2004 revised Pevsner calls the ceilings "faded beyond beautiful",[98] the original volume, written by Pevsner himself, found Comper's stained glass "anaemic…[with] much to answer for".[99] ☙

✠The Town Hall, Court Chambers & Mayoral Apartments, Rochdale ☙

THE growth of Northern towns with the advent of the Industrial Revolution led to a rapid expansion in the organs of civil government. Following this was the necessity to provide accommodation for the representatives of newly-elevated corporations and boroughs. Such buildings came to stand for new confidence in urban identity; an association which has arguably survived into the present. Over the course of the Nineteenth Century, the applicability of mediaeval architectural solutions to the new demands of the era was brought to bear upon what was, in effect, a new building type: the Town Hall. Though there were obvious precedents amongst the municipal buildings of Northern Europe (*i.e.* the German *Rauthaus* and the Flemmish *Lakenhal*), aside from surviving Guildhalls, England had few examples to offer Gothic Revival architects. The point was illustrated by A.W.N.P,'s plate in *Contrasts*, where the mediaeval ideal of civic architecture was based on the Thirteenth-Century Cloth Hall at Ypres. Successful Revival solutions to the new demands of expanded Local Government had also to counter the challenge offered by classical designs. Neither style held the hegemony in this new arena and no doubt vying civic pride contributed to stylistic distinctions between towns.[100] Inventive solutions to new requirements and the adaptation of existing models to suit contemporaneous circumstances had been advocated by A.W.N.P. in his *Apology*:-"Any modern invention which conduces to comfort, cleanliness, or durability, should be adopted by the consistent architect: *to a copy a thing just because it is old, is just as absurd as the imitations of the modern pagans*".[101] Though dogmatic on spiritual matters, there was clear scope of experiment in matters temporal.

One such commanding and inventive solution offered by new circumstances is W.H.Crossland's Town Hall at Rochdale (*Figure 8*). The Rochdale Corporation was established in 1856, and a competition for a new town hall, with an allocated budget of £20,000, was held eight years later.[102] In response to the Corporation's requirements, Corssland devised a loosely symmetrical groundplan, centred upon a large first-floor hall raised over a vaulted vestibule, with access provided by an imperial staircase. This vestibule was called 'The Exchange', and though it never served this function,[103] the nomenclature suggests an assimilation of the new building into parameters of civic architecture with which a Nineteenth-Century audience was familiar. This solution demonstrates two key aspects underlying the design. Firstly, an adaptation of mediaeval models to suit modern requirements, and secondly, a due emphasis upon the public, civic areas of the building. To the east and west of the central block, linked by spinal corridors, Crossland placed a suite of mayoral apartments and courtrooms respectively. At the building's north-east corner was positioned a prominent clock tower; a feature whose premise has clear echoes of that at the Palace of Westminster. However, this inventive plan alone does not prepare one for the resourceful treatment of the elevations and the overall lavishness of details on both interiors and exteriors.

The style Crossland chose was, to be pedantic, late-Thirteenth Century Geometrical, peppered with several Germano-Flemmish touches. The prominence of the Great Hall and the projecting porte-cochère is subtly transferred and buttressed by the ancillary elements of the façade, where the component parts are separately expressed and articulated. The effect could have been a disparate

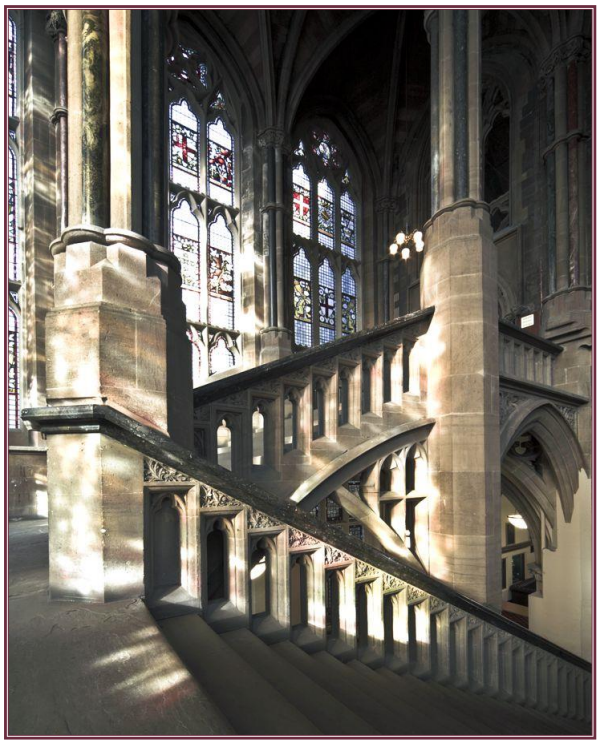

Figure 8:- Rochdale Town Hall, W.H. Crossland (1866-1871). Interior of the imposing Imperial Grand Staircase rendered in High Victorian Gothic.

medley, but the breadth of treatment, enhanced with richly-sculpted details, pulls the whole into synthetic unity. A natural comparison could be made here to Alfred Waterhouse's Manchester Town Hall (built 1868-77).[104] Though on a more commanding scale, the same pragmatic inventiveness when adopting mediaeval models to meet new requirements is discernable.[105] It is therefore quite apposite that when Crossland's original Clock Tower burnt down in 1883, Waterhouse designed its more stolid, stone-spired replacement (built 1885-1887).[106]

If the exterior is rich, the interior is sumptuous, with a vaulted Undercroft with subtle polychrome banding and carved foliage by Thomas Earp. The floors are paved in immense heraldic displays created by Minton & Co, and the shift away from their encaustic works for A.W.N.P. is instantly apparent. This leads through the building to the magnificently handled Grand Staircase (*Figure 8*). It is a *tour-de-force* of handled space, co-ordinated by sizable, three-tiered windows, where variegated marble shafts carry a vault which prepares the viewer for the spacious Great Hall beyond. The palette of the stonework is counter-balanced by the hues of the heraldic stained glass, with the Royal Arms given place of precedence over the first landing. Despite this, the scheme as a whole represents Rochdale's mercantile trading partners; like the building itself mediaeval forms serve a modern purpose.[107] The glass and the rest of the interior decorations were designed by Messrs Heaton, Bulter & Bayne. The work here is perhaps their greatest achievement, and the subdued tints of their glass demonstrates a reaction away from to the sharply contrasting hues popular in the early 1860s. The Great Hall was clearly intended as a civic showpiece. Set beneath an angel hammerbeam roof, the windows depict a series of kings and queens, with their respective blazons. Surprise might be raised by the presence of Cromwell, though his image, and indeed Henry Holliday's adjacent mural of Magna Carta, affirms the Radical and Liberal politics which held sway here in the Nineteenth Century. ☙

✠Anglican Parish Church of Saint John the Baptist, Atherton ☙

THE erection of new churches, in conjunction with civil buildings, was a prominent way in which local urban identity was consolidated and given material expression. Though organised along confessional affiliations, and often combative and partisan to their rivals, the example presented by Saint John the Baptist, Atherton, allows the developments in ecclesiastical architecture in the later decades of the Nineteenth Century to be considered. It also brings into focus the work of a locally-based firm, whose ecclesiastical output in this period has long been recognised as outstanding: Messrs Austin & Paley of Lancaster.[108] Pevsner acclaimed their mature work as: "of the highest European standards of their years".[109] Under the guidance of Hubert Austin, who entered the firm in 1867, the character of church buildings designed by Austin & Paley evolved to become original, inventive and of a consistent high quality.[110] Though mostly working in Lancashire and the Southern Lake District, under Austin's guidance the firm's churches reassessed the value of late-mediaeval Gothic, against which an earlier generation had reacted so forcefully. This aesthetic shift has long been seen as the product of London-based architects with a pronounced *penchant* for High Anglican churchmanship.[111] Many of Austin & Paley's church demonstrate that a similar reaction was taking place far from Metropolitan circles and within the Board, not to say Low-Church parishes of the North West.[112]

Saint John's was begun in 1878 and built in two stages with the chancel and three bays of nave completed one year later, and the remainder, with a revised design for the tower (*Figure 9*), completed in 1892.[113] The result is one of the firm's monumental town churches; distinctively responding to the architectonic pressures created by an urban site adjacent to a market place. The expanse of external ashlars is given scale by the inventively detailed areas of tracery and window openings, offset in pink sandstone. Especially worthy of attention are the various designs for the square clerestory windows; a fresh handling of late-mediaeval cusping and mouchettes which is more akin to designs found in woodwork than architecture. The large west and east windows are singled out for additional elaboration, their voids balancing with the cuboidal solid of the south-west tower. Rising through five storeys with octagonal turrets at the corners, the degree of ornamentation, achieved by blind panelling, subtly increases through the successive levels. Such interplay between plain expanses are concentrated areas of detail are also a characteristic of the firm's woodwork in this period, often undertaken by Hatch & Sons of Lancaster.[114] The handling throughout is measured and considered, the resulting building confident though demure, with the aesthetic preferences of the Late Gothic Revival manifest throughout.

Figure 9:- Saint John the Baptist, Atherton (Austin & Paley, 1878-1892). The forceful Corner Tower, enriched with inventive Decorated detailing.

How was such a competent design arrived at? The credit for the architectural talent on display here, as elsewhere, has long been accorded to Austin. The firm had a substantial ecclesiastical portfolio prior to his arrival, overseen by the Principal, Edward Graham Paley (1823-95). Many are accomplished and earnest, but by no means remarkable.[115] The shift in the firm's output was apparent in their successful designs in an 1872 competition for rural churches in the Diocese of Carlisle.[116] Here, in sympathy to their rugged rural location, the idiom adopted was simple, relying on mass and proportion over detail. Furthermore, the resourcefulness and fluidity of Atherton's late-Gothic mode must have been informed by the firm's restorations of surviving mediaeval churches. A distinctive regional accent is instantly perceptible in their work, and most prescient here was the firm's intensive restoration of Saint Mary's, Leigh (1871-73).[117] Here, a much-altered mediaeval church was recast in committed Perpendicular, with no scruples as to the opprobrium towards this late phase of English Gothic. Austin & Paley's work at Leigh has been heralded as unique for its period.[118] A.W.N.P had, of course, used this style for some of his early churches, though he was to turn away from it for being symptomatic of spiritual decline.[119] In spite of such distrust, the return to late-mediaeval forms perhaps characterises in Austin & Paley's church designs a sincere wish to create an architectural lexicon directly inspired by regional precedents, in response to the contemporaneous requirements of Anglican worship. The personal churchmanship of the firm appears to have been Broad, and their client base, almost wholly Anglican, often veering towards Low and Evangelical.[120]

The wider significance of Austin & Paley's work, as evidenced by Atherton, is to demonstrate how fully the tenants of the Gothic Revival had been assimilated into the architectural identity of the Establishment Protestant mainstream. It demonstrates that confessional identity, or relative position within the latter, was no obstacle to securing inventive and high-quality design when committing to an architectural commission. In this regard, Austin & Paley's work indicates how far A.W.N.P.'s wish to raise the standards of design and manufactory had been achieved by the end of the Nineteenth Century. In terms of the aesthetic shift from High Victorian to Late Revival, the resourcefulness of the latter may not have been possible without the experimental vigour of the former. ☙

✠Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady, Buttermarket, Warrington ☙

IN parallel to the stylistic developments witnessed amongst Anglican churches of the later Nineteenth Century, an aesthetic shift can be found in the works of second-generation Pugins. This proud and assertive church proclaims the confidence of the Roman Catholic parish, which until 2012 was ministered by Ampleforth Abbey. Such an affiliation goes some way to account for the church's imposing interior, and the exceptional integrity of its original liturgical and devotional provisions. It was the penultimate church E.W.P. designed, and demonstrates several aspects of his ecclesiastical *oeuvre* which were by the 1870s almost 'stock-in-trade'. However, the design is far from stale, and looks forward to the highly successful church-building practice of P.P.P, who took over E.W.P.'s office upon his decease in 1875. The former's influence has been detected in this imposing design.[121] The church's exterior uses both red Runcorn and rough-cast Pierpoint sandstone to create a polychromatic richness which counters the curious absence of mouldings, especially noticeable in the window tracery. The style is E.W.P.'s 'Geometrical English Gothic'; a mode he came to prefer in the late 1850s, and symptomatic of a move away from A.W.N.P.'s idiom.[122] Several aesthetic traits reflect the preference E.W.P. had long felt for angular forms and attenuated proportions; the latter particularly apparent in the massing and fenestration of the sanctuary and transepts. The etiolated south-west tower, though completed to P.P.P.'s design in 1906, respectfully responds to E.W.P.'s idiom, though the latter's proposal was to terminate with a spire.[123] Despite the similarities with E.W.P.'s earlier church designs, numerous features demonstrate an aesthetic shift which took place late in his career, and whose legacy would be taken up by P.P.P. Dated to *c.*1872-1875, this shift is characterised by the avoidance of those qualities which made his earlier work so distinctive, not to say idiosyncratic. There is a greater degree of sobriety and repose, which in many ways echoes E.W.P's church designs of his first phase (dated 1852-1859) when he closely followed A.W.N.P.'s manner.[124] The reason for this change could well be the unfortunate circumstances in which E.W.P. found himself by 1872. The collapse of his speculation in the Granville Hotel and his subsequent bankruptcy must have prompted some personal reflections which found form in his final buildings. As such, the bravado seen in the 1860s gives way to the briefly savoured maturity of the 1870s.[125]

Figure 10:- Our Lady, Buttermarket, Warrington (E.W.P, 1875-1877).
Interior of the spacious and luminous Sanctuary, with its richly appointed furnishings.

In terms of design and furnishing, Warrington can be seen as the sister church to E.W.P.'s Saint Anne, Rock Ferrey (1875-1877).[126] Both churches were planned with wide, high naves balanced by narrow aisles and a complex handling of transept chapels and sanctuary at their eastern ends. Such designs still preserve the distinctly urban-type solution to the requirements of large town congregations and the liturgical emphasis on the visibility of the High Altar throughout the interior. Their proportions also allow such churches to become salient features of their urban topography. The altered aesthetic is most readily manifest at Warrington in the rejection of E.W.P.'s convention use of a polygonal east-end apse.[127] This has been superseded by a flat east wall, where the altar, reredos and east window are conceived as an integrated, sculptural whole; the focal point of the interior. The whole is distinguished from the nave by the prominent and lofty chancel arch; another late feature of E.W.P.'s oeuvre.[128] Here, the reredos and the other fittings were installed after the building's completion by P.P.P. The High Altar and tabernacle appeared in 1877, the reredos and surrounding sculpture in 1885.[129] It was carved by E.W.P.'s preferred sculptor, Richard Boulton of Cheltenham, and demonstrates the very common instance of an E.W.P. church being furnished after his death, and in sympathy to his wishes, by P.P.P. Here also are Minton tiles designed by Cuthbert Pugin (exceptionally unusual for Cuthbert's role within his brother's practice was more that of a sleeping partner than an active designer).[130] The richness of the east end ensemble is balanced by the equally elaborate side-chapel altars to the Our Lady (1889) and the Sacred Heart (1890). These are set within self-contained spaces, veiled from the sanctuary to elaborate parclose screens, also to P.P.P.'s design.[131] The entire effect is one of the utmost opulence of sculpted enrichment co-ordinating the variegated volumes of the east end to balance the lofty expanse of the nave. As such, Our Lady's proudly declares how far A.W.N.P.'s sons had moved away from the dogmatic mediaevalism of their father, in their response to the needs of large urban congregations and the liturgical requirements of the Tridentine Rite. It is a building which bids a premature adieu to E.W.P, but which demonstrates how the latter's architectural mantle deftly fell upon P.P.P.'s confident shoulders. ☙

✠Anglican Parish Church of Saint Oswald, Winwick ☙

A.W.N.P.'s architectural works for the Church of England are a valuable and insightful aspect of his oeuvre which has, to date, been curiously little studied.[132] They are the result of individual patrons willing to cross the confessional gulf between Anglican and Roman Catholic in the mid Nineteenth Century, and demonstrate the common ground between A.W.N.P. and supporters of the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Movement Tractarians.[133] Despite instances of outright anti-Catholic hostility, as evidenced in his rejected scheme for rebuilding Baliol College, Oxford,[134] A.W.N.P. appears to have found most of his Anglican church commissions convivial and enjoyable.[135] They appear to have been free from the wrangles over finance and mediaeval *versus* modern liturgical provisions which overshadowed much of his Roman Catholic church-building. Several of these commissions significantly touched upon the question of restoring surviving mediaeval fabric, and how deferential new work should be to the old. A.W.N.P.'s own thoughts on this question, which so vexed later Revival architects and pained their Twentieth-Century apologists, are discernable in his reconstruction of the chancel of Saint Oswald's, Winwick (1847-1849).[136] Designed at a period when commissions from co-religionists for new churches were few, this restoration project demonstrates A.W.N.P.'s confident handling of architectural form and detail. It makes a poignant contrast to the fiscal restrictions he had earlier faced, and allows A.W.N.P.'s work to be viewed in direct dialogue with original mediaeval architecture.

Figure 11:- Saint Oswald, Winwick (A.W.N.P, 1847-1849). The Restored Chancel for a sympathetic Anglican Patron, exterior from the south-east, showing the confident handling of architectural form and detail.

The mediaeval church at Winwick dates largely from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, though the chronology of the surviving fabric was severely disrupted by the subsequent restoration campaigns of John Palmer (1836) and Austin & Paley (1869).[137] However, there is clear evidence of substantia; reconstruction in the first decades of the Sixteenth Century.[138] The church stands of the purported site where King Oswald of Northumbria was martyred in battle in 642; an event commemorated by an inscription in the south aisle, composed in Latin hexameters.[139] The repair of the chancel, as was often the case, was the responsibility of the incumbent, whilst maintaining the body of the church fell to the parish itself. The former obligation was taken in hand in 1847 by the Revd James Hornby. He has been characterised as a Parson-Squire of independent means and possessed of a Georgian, High-Church outlook.[140] Why Hornby approached A.W.N.P. is not recorded, but the latter found in Hornby a supportive and even friendly patron:- "it is a real pleasure to work for one [patron] like yourself … If all employers were like you the exercise of the architectural craft would be the most delightful pursuit possible".[141] What unified patron and architect was the shared intellectual ground founded upon the works of Seventeenth-Century antiquaries, such as Sir William Dugdale (1605-1686), which emphasised the continuity of the Anglican Establishment across the divide of the Reformation, and reverenced its institutional and material structures in the face of Puritan hostility and desecration.[142] The resonance of antiquarian thought provides the key to understanding A.W.N.P.'s new chancel here, its meaning clarified by Hornby's inscription. This records how its predecessor had been: "impaired by time and injured in the Great Rebellion" and that under his aegis it was: "rebuilt on its old foundation and restored to its original form, in more than its original beauty".[143] This last phrase is a telling indication of A.W.N.P'.s attitude to the question of restoration, and makes clear that his design was not intended as a fastidious copy of the previous chancel beyond following its groundplan. Indeed, the powerful composition and boldness of A.W.N.P.'s work is instantly apparent, and there is no attempt to create homogeneity with the mediaeval fabric of the adjacent nave and aisles. Such apparent disregard of a more cautious, restrained approach at Winwick, valuing the previous chancel with archaeological sensitivity, might seem surprising from A.W.N.P. However, the parameters for undertaking church restoration were still far from clear in the mid-1840s, and the result here proudly declares its authorship. This is A.W.N.P.'s mature Decorated Gothic, forceful and richly realised. It was undoubtedly what this restored chancel embodied, and the visual forms with which this was achieved, that were of greater significance than the conservation of surviving fabric. A.W.N.P. called the new chancel the "best restoration that has been hitherto accomplished",[144] complete as the interior was with a triple-canopied sedilia, reredos, pulpit and chancel screen with returned choir stalls.[145] The structural work and furnishings were undertaken by the well-trusted George Myers and the chancel windows glazed with a unified iconographic scheme executed by Hardman to A.W.N.P.'s design.[146] The east window caused the latter much difficulty due to erroneous measurements which led to substantial revisions. A.W.N.P. later claimed that: "I never took so much pains with a window in my life".[147] ☙

✠Scarisbrick Hall, Scarisbrick Village ☙

RISING from the expanisve plain of the Lancashire coast, Scarisbrick Hall is perhaps one of the most startling houses in the county, and one at which work by both A.W.N.P. and E.W.P. can be compared within the same building. The Hall was the seat of the Scarisbirck family from the mid Thirteenth Century, who followed other landed clans in the area by remaining Roman Catholic throughout the turmoil of the Reformation and Civil War.[148] The Scarisbircks rebuilt their seat as a timber-framed manor house in 1595, and little appears to have happened to this structure until it was substantial reconstructed in stone by Thomas Scarisbrick (†1833) from 1813-1816.[149] Thomas Rickman was involved in this work, which also saw the addition of the north and west wings, and recent research suggests that the core of the house, the double-height hall flanked by wings to the east and west, was his creation. Elements of the Elizabethan house may have informed his design.[150] Even so, the creation of a Great Hall (*Figure 12*) makes a clear mediaevalising statement, one amplified externally by the pair of Oriel windows, in place of a single one at the Hall's dais end.[151] Similar mediaeval traits exist in the plan, with an axial passage running behind one end of the Great Hall, on the other side of which is the Kitchen, Estate offices and Servants' quarters. Reception rooms and accommodation are placed at the opposite end of the Hall; its communal function serving as the unifying link between the family and servant parts of the house. Though re-cast in Tudor Gothic by Rickman, the building was to take on its exceptional character when Charles Scarisbrick inherited the estate upon his brother's death.[152] Educated at Stonyhurst, Charles Scarisbrick (1800-1860) lived in seclusion at the Hall, and became a figure around whom gossip and rumours congregated.[153] However, he was a shrewd businessman, and his investments in the expansion of nearby Southport, augmented by his Estate's revenues, allowed him to build up vast collections, which displayed a loosely antiquarian taste, and to remodel Scarisbrick to hold them.[154] For this he turned to A.W.N.P, then twenty-four and with little in the way of architectural experience, to transform the Hall into an evocative *bricolage* of Continental woodwork.[155]

From 1836 onwards A.W.N.P. poured out designs which betrayed a deep knowledge of late-mediaeval domestic architecture, realised in a decorative vocabulary which was profound. Patron and architect had probably met through their mutual association with Edward Hull. Hull ran a highly lucrative business importing Continental woodwork of various periods, ejected from churches following the upheavals of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. He was one of the most prominent dealers in this often unscrupulous industry.[156] Surviving records attest to the immense sums Charles Scarisbrick paid Hull for his services, from December 1836 to March 1846, when A.W.N.P. was intermittently working for Scarisbrick.[157] These sumptuous spoils, some actually post-mediaeval in date, were incorporated throughout A.W.N.P.'s richly finished interiors, which in conjunction with his external works, transformed the Hall into a highly wrought evocation of domestic architecture which was both Catholic and mediaeval. The result could be unsettling and incongruous; the ponderous carving of Christ crowned with Thorns (Seventeenth Century and allegedly from Antwerp Cathedral) at one end of the Great Hall is a case in point.[158] This work pre-empts his later celebration of the: "Old English Catholic mansion" in *True Principles*,[159] though as realised at Scarisbrick, the all-enveloping richness of sculpted forms betrays

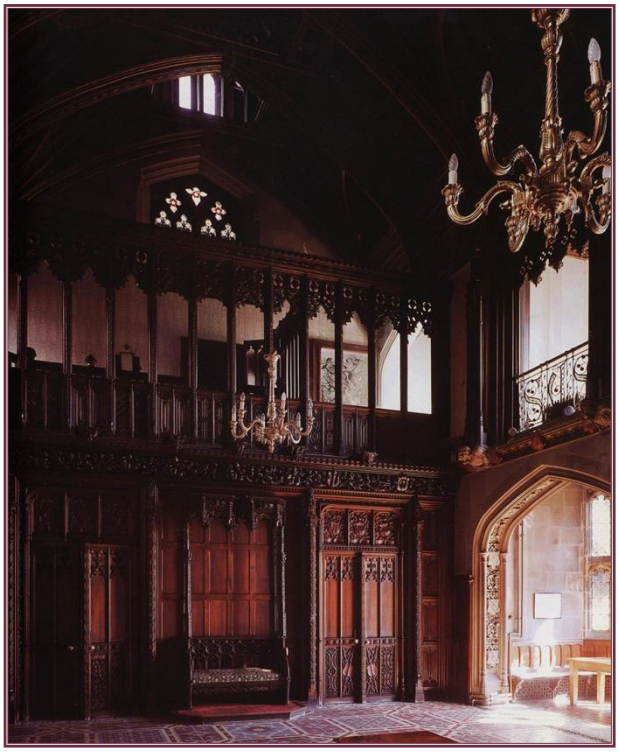

Figure 12:- The Great Hall, Scarisbrick Hall (A.W.N.P, 1840-1845). A richly finished Romantic and Antiquarian invocation of the Middle Ages.

A.W.N.P.'s youthful preference for densely-arranged pattern and ornament, against which he was to subsequently react. Externally, A.W.N.P. appears to have ornamented and expanded Rickman's work, enlivening the façades with persuasively mediaeval incident.[160] Grotesques, monograms, heraldry and inscriptions are conspicuous adornments, comparative in terms of architectural narrative to those which pervade the Houses of Parliament. Other works included the forceful garden entrance and the highly mediaeval kitchen.[161] Amongst his interiors, the King's Room and the Oak Room epitomise the sumptuous, antiquarian environment within which Scarisbrick's collections were originally seen.[162]

With Charles Scarisbirck's death, the Hall passed to his widowed sister, Lady Anne Hunloke (†1872). Not content with her brother's efforts, she engaged E.W.P. to further expand the Hall, for reasons which remain obscure. From 1862 E.W.P. remodelled the east wing with, curiously, a more pronounced French accent than his father's work. His are the chapel (A.W.N.P. had proposed one but Charles Scarisbrick deigned to build it),[163] the north-east kitchen courtyard and the spire-crowned tower. Built on an unprecedented scale, and visible across the surrounding plain, this has long been understood as the replacement to A.W.N.P.'s clock tower, which anticipated the design for clock tower of the Houses of Parliament. The evidence that the latter was ever built is unclear, and deductions must remain speculative. Internally, E.W.P. High-Victorian manner is clear from the Blue Drawing Room and Lady Anne's Bedchamber.[164] It has been customary to emphasise the distinctions between the Pugins' work at Scarisbrick, though there is an apparent wish for aesthetic homogeneity across the separate building and furnishing campaigns.[165] Whether this reflects the different characters of patrons or architects is open to question, though aesthetic rivalry would be a strange motive, as in the case of E.W.P.'s Great Hall fireplace, which realised A.W.N.P.'s original design. ☙

✠Day Three: Urban Piety by Coast & River - Roman Catholic Church of Saint Marie-on-the-Sands, Southport ☙

THE legacy of A.W.N.P.'s ambitions for ecclesiastical architecture is made manifestly apparent by the condition of his Southport church. It has undergone successive, piecemeal expansions and alterations which leave A.W.N.P.'s original intentions exceptionally difficult to perceive from the fabric itself. As originally conceived (*Figure 14*), this was a two-cell church, with an aisles nave and separate chancel, both under distinct rooflines.[166] The western gable was crowned with a bellcote. The style, such as there was scope for ornament, was Early English, with lancets for the nave a note of enrichment provided by the sanctuary's Decorated three-light east window.[167] This is the church as illustrated in A.W.N.P.'s *Present State*, where it served to illustrate how even a mission of modest means could have complete liturgical provisions after mediaeval models.[168] As such, Saint Marie's reflects relatively small scale of Southport at the time; expansion and affluence beginning in the mid-1840s.[169] A.W.N.P. was emphatic on such a point; one which emphasises that his programme for ecclesiastical reform was not restricted to circumstances where a wealthy patron could be prevailed upon to press his cause. A.W.N.P. claimed that as complete in 1843, Saint Marie's:- "possessed everything requisite for a parochial church, - nave, chancel, rood and screen, stone altar, sedilia, sacrarium, southern porch, stoups for hallowed water, font and cover, bell, turret, organ and loft, open seats, stone pulpit, stained glass".[170] Despite the copious list of indispensable provisions, A.W.N.P. shrewdly noted that the church could hold a congregation of 300, and that it: "has been erected for £1500, including every expense".[171] Mediaeval liturgical exactness need not therefore be considered an extravagant extra. The profusion of fittings recorded in A.W.N.P.'s account suggests that as completed, Saint Marie's appearance must have been very close to his best preserved small church, Saint Mary's, Warwick Bridge (1840-1841).[172] This also demonstrates how A.W.N.P. was able to translate his liturgical knowledge and ideals when meeting the restricted means and pressing needs of Roman Catholic congregations. Though different in scale and ambition, Southport embodies the same exacting standards as A.W.N.P.'s Saint John's, Kirkham. It therefore belongs within the wider trajectory of his ecclesiastical output of the early 1840s, which reached its fullest incarnation at Saint Giles, Cheadle.[173] A disparity in richness does not in his case imply a difference of intent or purpose. However, subsequent expansion and alteration to this small church makes A.W.N.P.'s intentions difficult to comprehend.

Figure 14:- Saint Marie-on-the-Sands, Southport (A.W.N.P, 1839-1840). A modest Parish Church, realising liturgical ideals but later much altered.

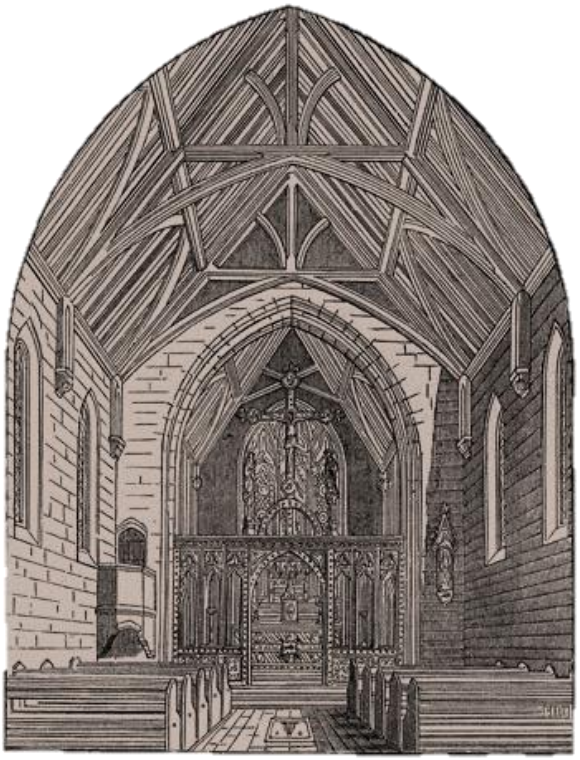

Figure 13:- Saint Marie-on-the-Sands, Southport (A.W.N.P, 1839-1840). The completed Interior as recorded in the *Present State* (1843).

The account in *Present State* therefore preserves A.W.N.P.'s ideas, and gives a persuasive account of the interior as completed (*Figure 13*). The rood screen did not support a loft, given the small scale of the church, but still it was: "diapered and painted from ancient examples".[174] The pulpit also was: "fashioned precisely on the old models, corbeled out, and ascended by the rood stairs, and not so large as to form a prominent feature".[175] It therefore served as a rebuke to the "cumbersome rostrums used for the purpose in the present day".[176] Likewise, the chancel beyond the screen was: "built precisely after the ancient models, and bears a good relative proportion to the length of the church".[177]

The earliest change was the addition of a south aisle, apparently to A.W.N.P.'s design in 1852.[178] From 1874-1875 the nave was lengthened, a clerestory added and a new west façade erected to the designs of Messrs O&E Kenrick. This campaign added a north aisle to match the existing one to the south. In 1891 the sanctuary was raised and its windows blocked to accommodate the current High Altar and reredos, added in 1901 and designed by P.P.P.[179] The fine painting of the Coronation of the Virgin is by Elphege Pippett, one of several members of the same family who undertook numerous decorative schemes for P.P.P.'s churches. The hanging rood presumably also dates from this period, and the whole ensemble demonstrates how far the conception of a well-appointed Roman Catholic sanctuary had departed from A.W.N.P.'s ideal. ☙

✠Anglican Parish Church of The Holy Trinity, Southport ☙

As an example of *fin-de-siècle* exuberance and confidence, few churches can rival the achievement of Holy Trinity, Southport. Commenced in 1895 and built in successive stages, this building represents the heights to which ecclesiastical architecture could rise by the close of the Nineteenth Century. It readily demonstrates the prosperity of Southport in the period, and much of the funding was given by local industrial and shipping magnates. These industrial and commercial connections perhaps account for the choice of architect, which was Huon Matear (1856-1945).[180] One of the partners in the Liverpool firm of Messrs Matear & Simon, Matear's practice concentrated upon commercial and office buildings, rather than ecclesiastical projects in the manner of Austin & Paley.[181] Though often richly designed, there is little in these secular works which anticipates the verve and artistry which is evident in Holy Trinity. It is therefore an extraordinary demonstration of competence, and indeed, the firm had been established to oversee the construction of the church, beginning with the organ chamber, crypt and vestry block from 1895-1896, moving to the nave and aisles in 1903-1904, returning to complete the chancel from 1911-1912 and eventually realising the west front and tower (to a revised design) by 1913.[182] All this does little to prepare one for the scale and gusto of the design as realised.

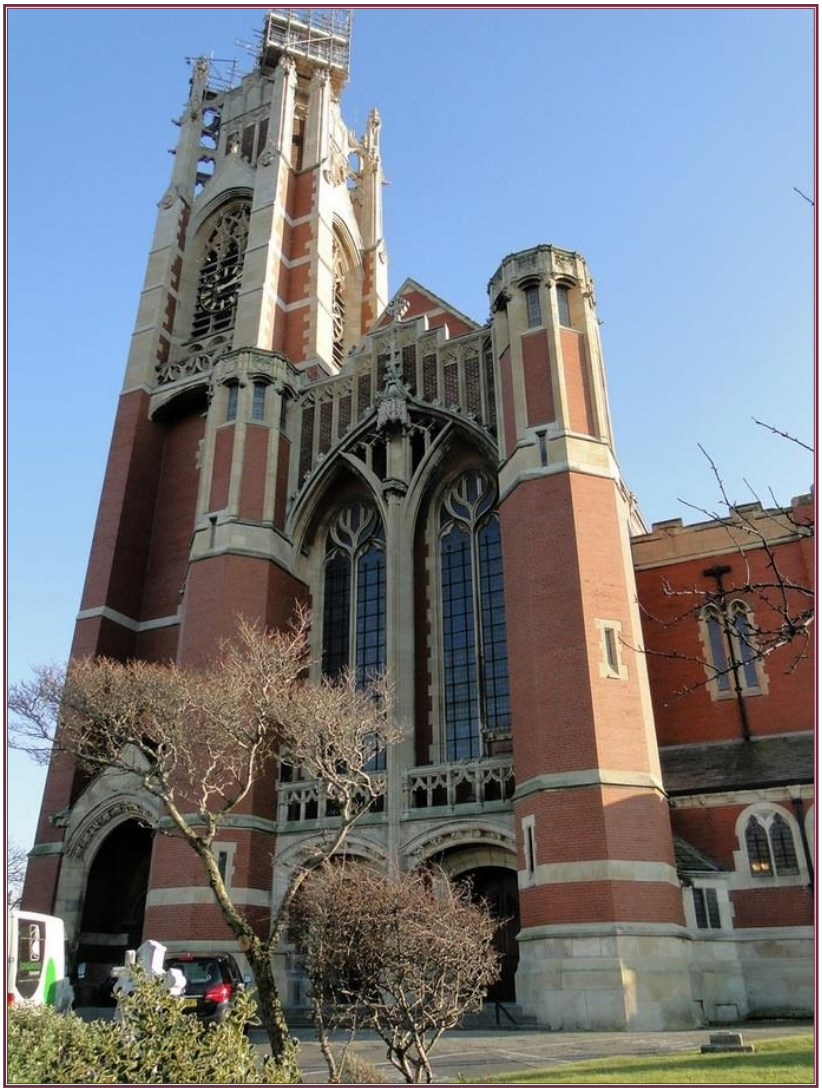

Figure 15:- Holy Trinity, Southport (Huon Matear, 1895-1913). An exuberant monument of Late-Victorian Piety on the most commanding of scales and inventiveness of details, exterior from west.

The exterior is constructed of fine red brick, with architectural details executed in off-white limestone, which co-ordinate and give a consistent scale to the component parts, and bring the bulk of the church into cohesion. Minute areas of detailing, such as the elaborate fleurons carved in the deeply recessed portal arches, and the inventive expanses of tracery, demonstrate an architectural conception where expanses of sheer surface are judiciously relieved by subtle details. The west front (*Figure 15*) is conceived as a cavernous recess containing a pair of sweeping two-light windows. As with the tower, this represents a revision to the original scheme, which would have placed a single large window here. The sculptural qualities of Matear's design are instantly apparent, for the recession is balanced by the anchoring corner turrets and by the projecting stonework portals, from between which rises a spinal mullion, branching into graceful arcs to carry a niche at the arch's head. Similar sculptural modulation characterises the tower, which rises almost sheer between boldly projecting angle buttresses. These resolve into the belfry stage where they terminate into eight sizable pinnacles, which are almost free standing. The deftness with which the parapet level resolves into a panelled octagon, picked out in a duller brick, should be noted. Matear called his design:- "a free treatment of the late Decorated".[183] The interior similarly does not disappoint, with a cavernous nave demarked by slender octagonal piers carrying arches which run into them without capitals. Their effect emphasises the modulation of internal volumes, of spaces penetrating and receding into one another. Such elusive qualities set Matear amongst the most component church architects of his day; he almost anticipates the masterfulness of Temple Moore and Giles Gilbert Scott.[184] The chancel is given additional richness by its stone vault. Here the furnishings are to Matear's design, and were executed by the Bromsgrove Guild, founded by Walter Gilbert.[185] There are many of the same aesthetic games present here as can be found in Austin & Paley's work, especially in the contrast between elaborately-detailed furnishings and plain, spatial interiors. Though Matear may well have been influenced by them, his capacity for breadth of treatment and resourceful co-ordination of mass and detail far excels the latter firm's work, making it look almost pedantically archaeological. Such aspects touch on two fundamental issues of the Gothic Revival as a whole. Firstly is the question of adapting mediaeval precedents and forms for modern requirements, and how far this can lead to the creation of an ostensibly 'modern Gothic'. Certainly, A.W.N.P. could advocate this for everything accept ecclesiastical design. Secondly is the long-standing presumption that the later-phases of the Revival lack energy and invention. Matear's work effectively challenges the latter and answers the former. His Holy Trinity marks the point where architecture becomes art. ☙

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✠List of Delegates & Attendees ☙

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✠Miscellanea, Addenda & Nota ☙

For the duration of the Study Tour only, the Society's Events Organiser, Julia Twigg, can be contacted via her mobile phone. In case of either accident or emergency the number is 07789 465964.

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✠Endnotes ☙

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