



A MERELY REALISTIC DREAM~COUNTRY

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN
HAMPSHIRE & WILTSHIRE

The Pugin Society
Summer Study Tour

18th - 21st August 2016

❖ Prologue & Synopsis ❖

THIS year's Study Tour brings the Society to a hitherto unexplored region of Central Southern England. The ancient counties of Hampshire and Wiltshire provided much of the inspiration for the fictitious "Wessex" of the novels of Thomas Hardy (1840-1928). His creation provided a unified topography and setting, which he accounted for by "finding that there were objections to an invented name, I disinterred the old one". The conscious act of revival and deliberate anachronism appealed to Hardy's reading public, such much so that the notion of pre-Conquest, time-out-of-mind traditions, actively coloured popular impressions; a "Wessex custom" was uncritically accepted as a genuine, indigenous folk tradition. Hardy himself was no stranger to the Gothic Revival, having spent his early career apprenticed to the Dorchester architect James Hicks, and securing medals from both the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Architectural Association. In his later years, he would repudiate many of the values enshrined in the aesthetics of High Victorian architecture, and in particular the aggressive restoration of churches. This aside, it is Hardy's evocation of an elusive past, co-existing with the Nineteenth Century present, which parallels the Romantic response to the Middle Ages which underpins much of the

Gothic Revival itself, and which was given physical form in several of the buildings explored in this Study Tour's programme. The sentiment for people, places and a timeless landscape encapsulated by Hardy's "merely realistic Dream-Country" are ably conjured up by the City of Salisbury; the base for this year's exploration of the strands of Gothic Revival from the edge of Salisbury Plain, through the New Forest and down to the Hampshire coast. Salisbury itself is a *locus classicus* for the meeting of mediaeval Gothic and the Romantic appetite for the 'sublime' experience, in architecture and nature; early nineteenth-century paintings ably captured in John Constable's celebrated 1831 depiction of the Cathedral seen from the meadows to the west (see above), with its soaring spire rising into a tempestuous sky. Commenced in 1220, when Bishop Richard Poore (ruled 1217-1225) moved the see and settlement from the ancient site of Old Sarum to the banks of the River Avon, the Cathedral is unique amongst its English sister churches for having been erected in a single building campaign. Its interior is possessed a pure clarity

of design and refined consistency of execution, associated with the ecclesiastical reforms promulgated by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the adoption of the Sarum Rite, first devised by Saint Osmund (ruled 1078-1099) for use in the previous cathedral at Old Sarum. With regional variations, this became the standard liturgical model for late-mediaeval England, and attracted the renewed interest of both Roman Catholic and Anglican scholars during the Nineteenth Century. A.W.N. Pugin took it as his benchmark, and assiduously provided his churches with the necessary prerequisites for its revival, much to the incomprehension and consternation of clergy who knew nothing other than the post-Reformation Tridentine Rite. A.W.N.P.'s own *homage* to this liturgical ideal is ably embodied in his church of Saint Osmund, pointedly built just outside the Cathedral's precincts, and a testament to A.W.N.P.'s close friendship with the patron, John Lambert. The former's personal attachment to the region can be understood by exploring Christchurch Priory; an outstanding and little-known great conventual church,

and where A.W.N.P.'s second wife, Louisa Button, is buried. It was also in Salisbury where A.W.N.P. was received into the Roman Catholic Church on 6th June 1835, and where he built his first building, the now much altered Saint Mary's Grange at Alderbury, which we are privileged to visit. As conceived the house was a repudiation of the middle-class villa model. With its gilded roof cresting and drawbridge, the



house was an ostentatious and mendacious affirmation of the late Middle Ages, albeit tempered with youthful *naïveté*. Where this was antiquarian, the appetite for the Gothic sublime, was given full vent in James Wyatt's vast Fonthill Abbey. Built for the wealthy recluse William Beckford, whose own life was coloured with overtones characteristic of a tragic anti-hero, it was the fullest realisation of the Romantic Gothic spirit. That Fonthill was largely destroyed when the central tower collapsed in 1825, a victim of its own over-reaching ambition, seems entirely apposite. The influence of Fonthill is felt at Highcliff Castle, built for the self-styled Charles Stuart, 1st Baron de Rothesay, and incorporating genuine mediaeval architectural elements salvaged from the destruction of the Napoleonic Wars. Original examples of the region's mediaeval architecture are explored in the superb ruins of Wardour Castle and the House of John Halle, in Salisbury itself. The diversity of religious buildings will also be addressed, from the strikingly lavish Saints Mary and Nicholas, Wilton to the Classical New Wardour Castle Chapel.

✠ Preliminary Evening

The Cathedral Close & Sarum College

NIKOLAUS Pevsner observed in his *Wiltshire* volume of *The Buildings of England* that “It may well be said that Salisbury’s is the most beautiful of English Closes”. Its generous scale and openness provides the requisite spacious environment for the architecture of the Cathedral to maintain its primacy. Construction of residences in the Close proceeded whilst the Cathedral itself was under construction. The grant Edward III gave in 1327 to enclose it with a wall marks the date when the precinct proper was given an architecturally distinct identity from that of the adjacent city. This survives to the greatest extent along the southern and eastern perimeters, though the boundaries between secular and spiritual jurisdiction remain prominently marked by the four surviving gatehouses, of which the Saint Ann and Bishop’s Gates are coterminous with the precinct wall. The most ornamented is the North Gate, dating from the second-half of the Fifteenth Century, which faces towards the High Street (*see opposite*). The Royal Arms above the quatrefoil frieze date from the Restoration, and for A.W.N.P. would have represented the disastrous effects of the Reformation; leaving the English Church worn down by temporal authority and Erastian principles. It is worth considering why Salisbury has a Close on this scale. As reconstituted by the Norman reforms of English dioceses, Salisbury was staffed by secular priests, serving in the offices of canons, vicars and chaplains, rather than by a religious community. Hence the conventional arrangements of monastic buildings arranged around a cloister could be dispensed with; a move capturing the pioneering spirit with which Salisbury, as Cathedral and city, was begun. Originally the Norman Cathedral had been cited in the ancient settlement of Old Sarum 1 ¼ miles to the north, where it was built inside an Iron Age ring ditch, directly adjacent to the seat of temporal authority, the Castle. With a series of escalating conflicts, and a lack of a reliable water source, the Cathedral authorities petitioned Pope Honorius III (ruled 1216-1227) in 1217 to re-erect their cathedral on a new site, and a Papal Bull authorising this transference was issued two years later. That year it was agreed in Chapter that every canon and vicar had to bear the costs for building houses in the newly demarked Close. Plots were generously sized, generally being one-tenth of a mile in length, with those on the west side bordering the River Avon. The south-eastern corner was reserved for the Bishop’s Palace. Parts of this date back to the time of Richard Poore (ruled 1217-1225) though its present form owes much to the efforts of Seth Ward (ruled 1667-1689) who made good some of the depredations suffered during the Commonwealth. Much of the stonework from Old Sarum, with its distinctive Norman designs of zigzag and diaperwork, were recycled on the new site. The Model for the canons’ houses was set by that of Master Elias of Dereham, who was Keeper of the Fabric and the Common Funds for the new Cathedral from 1224 at the earliest. In conjunction with the mason Nicholas of Ely, the former is likely to have had an influence over the design of the Cathedral. Such direct involvement by mediaeval churchmen in architectural patronage offered the *beau idéal* for A.W.N.P., as his full praise for such prelates as William Waynflete, “the pious and munificent” founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, who stood in sharp contrast to the Church Building committees A.W.N.P. was forced to work with. Whilst



the aspect of the Close may appeal to us, with its intermingling of Late-Stuart and Georgian residences, it must have repelled A.W.N.P. as symptomatic of the lax spiritual values of the Anglican Establishment. He explored this difference between the piety of pre-Reformation clerics and their Georgian successors in a series of drawings entitled *The Deanery in 1830*, where the fabric built by the Catholic John Shelton is barbarously subjected to “judicious alterations” by the bewigged John Philpotts. This satirical work not only reflects A.W.N.P.’s responsiveness to the poor treatment of mediaeval buildings, but demonstrates an initial step toward expounding his ideas in 1836 with the publication of *Contrasts*, which unleashed a volley of Protestant indignation and counter-protest in the local press of Salisbury. The nucleus of Sarum College is a nine-bay late Seventeenth Century townhouse, characteristic of the period. To this, from 1875-1876, William Butterfield added an L-shaped range of student accommodation to the rear. The restrained treatment of the elevations, built in flint with stone dressings, indicate a conscious move away from the strident polychromy and pattern-making which Butterfield’s earlier works so forcefully deploy, most famously at Keble College, Oxford. In 1881, Butterfield designed the two-storey chapel, which preserves the same nuanced understatement of his earlier wing, but punctuates the junction with the earlier townhouse by positioning an octagonal bell turret here, thereby creating a taunt juxtaposition of architectural forms. This is surely as a gesture of High-Victorian repudiation against the Classical idiom of the townhouse, demonstrating that Butterfield’s powers of assertive design had not failed him later in his career. The commission shows the continuing reputation of Butterfield within Anglican circles, having won the much-prized approval of the Ecclesiological Society by the late-1840s, consolidated in his All Saints, Margaret Street.

✧ Day One : The Picturesque

Old Wardour Castle

THE feudal architecture of the Middle Ages has a long held place in the inter-mixed strands of antiquarian, picturesque and Romantic thought. As the Gothic Revival gained sway over architectural design in the early Nineteenth Century, the vogue for mansions in the ‘castellated style’, as well as the wholesale reconstruction of surviving mediaeval castles, became prevalent. The most iconic example of this was George IV’s lavish refashioning of Windsor Castle from 1824-1840; a project designed by Jeffrey Wyattville (who affected a mediaevalised surname ever afterwards) and for which the young A.W.N.P. provided numerous furniture designs. A.W.N.P. would later to reject his juvenile work at Windsor, as he would the vogue for castle architecture. Castellated residences enjoyed a particular favour amongst the English aristocracy in Ireland, not only in emulation of their Anglo-Norman forebears, but with growing social unrest amongst the Irish Catholic populous, perhaps a reflection of concerns over their feudal place as landlords. In his *True Principles* of 1841, he reasonably argued that this way of building “originated in the wants consequent on a certain society”, and explained that castles “as models for imitation ... are worse than

useless” for the domestic requirements of the Nineteenth Century. The consequence disguising of modern provisions as the salient parts of a feudal stronghold resulted in “a mere mask, and the whole building an ill-conceived lie”. Despite the clear misapplication of mediaeval architectural precedents to buildings which had no practical requirements for fortification, the resonant connotation of the castle endured even during the hegemony of Classicism; consider for example the houses designed by the playwright Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), who was keen for several of his designs to capture a “Castle Air”, to Castle Drogo, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944). The qualities of military strength and endurance, coupled to chivalric ideals of dynastic succession and landed family strongholds, are ably demonstrated by the imposing ruins of Old Wardour Castle. It is one of the most remarkable surviving examples of feudal architecture from the late Fourteenth Century, and ably demonstrates the enduring appeal of such buildings after the mediaeval period had ended. What survives today is the great keep tower, erected by John, 5th Baron Lovell after he was

granted a royal licence to fortify his residence in 1393. Remarkably, and in a clear departure from earlier models, the core of the castle was built as a hexagon around an inner courtyard (*see below*). Originally rising through five floors, which held the family’s living quarters, its entrance is marked by coupled towers. The sheer boldness of massing, based on explicit geometrical components, clearly indicates that martial building was by no means exhausted by the last decade of the Fourteenth Century (*see below*), and implies this is the work of a master builder, perhaps William Wynford. In addition, there was originally a gate-house and service wings forming an enclosing outer bailey. The sources for Wardour’s design have been traced to some Continental models, and more persuasively to Edward III’s remodelling of Windsor Castle. This itself was a deliberate invocation of Arthurian myth to create a suitable setting for the king’s newly-created Order of the Garter, which survives as the oldest continuous chivalric Order. With the advent of gunpowder and ordnance in the late Fifteenth Century, the age of the castle as a practically defensible provision had passed. However, as has

been noted, the resonance of such buildings was not lost to successive generations. Old Wardour is a case in point, for in 1570 the estate was purchased by Sir Matthew Arundell, who began to refurbish the castle’s fabric. To him can be ascribed the classical niches either side of the entrance portal, and that leading to the main staircase, which is treated as a Doric acedule. Less im-



mediately obvious are the clear attempts at introducing symmetry (where possible) into the elevations by a careful recrafting of the windows so as to respect the inherited aesthetic of the castle, but adapt them to Elizabethan expectations. Whilst A.W.N.P. would, of course, decry such exercises in “the revived Pagan principle” of classicism, the remodelling of Old Wardour clearly suggests the endurance of the Middle Ages into Elizabethan culture. The obvious parallels lie within the sphere of literature, such as Edmund Spenser’s allegorical *Faerie Queene*, published in 1590. The architect in question was perhaps Robert Symthson, one of the most celebrated designers of the ‘prodigy houses’, built by Elizabeth I’s courtiers. His manner of design could frequently make reference to mediaeval architecture, just as Spenser’s verse evoked a world of chivalry and combat. Despite the placidity of its Eighteenth Century landscape setting, Old Wardour saw conflict during the Civil War, when in 1644 a mortar was detonated against the western wall, and the building ruined beyond feasible defence and subsequent repair.

✧ New Wardour Castle Chapel ✧

FOLLOWING the vicissitudes of the Civil War, the Arundells were fortunate to hold on to both their estates and their Roman Catholic faith. The latter is made clear by the unequivocal Elizabethan carving of the bust of Christ over the Old Castle's entrance, with the inscription "*Sub nomine tuo stet genus & domus*" (Under Your Name [O Christ] stands this family and house). It is a rare affirmation of the Catholic faith from the post-Reformation era. Through a series of propitious marriages and successful building speculation around Wardour Street in the Eighteenth Century, the family's fortunes recovered. Indeed, by 1756, when the 8th Lord Arundell succeeded to the title, it was feasible for him to project a new mansion which would become the largest of its period in Wiltshire; no mean achievement when the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics were still in force, though if not actively enforced. The house itself was constructed between 1770-1776 to the designs of the architect James Paine, whose career spans the change in taste from the Palladianism of Lord Burlington to the demure archaeological work of Robert and James Adam. It is the chapel, built as the eastern wing of the new house, which serves as a telling instance of new confidence of a landed 'Old Catholic' family to lavishly provide for a private estate chapel in the late Eighteenth Century. The aesthetic richness is pervasive throughout the interior, pursued to a far greater degree than many urban Catholic chapels could have entertained, creating a unified *tour de force* affirmation of *Ecclesia Triumphans*. Only in the exterior is there a suggestion of covert recusancy, since the building's sacred purpose is nowhere articulated to make it distinct from the rest of the ensemble. Wardour New Castle Chapel also serves as a valuable indication of how far removed Lord Arundell's taste was from identifying Roman Catholicism with the architecture of the Middle Ages; a crucial association for A.W.N.P.'s own understanding of ecclesiastical architecture and design. Wardour is the very antithesis of A.W.N.P.'s ideal, and therefore offers insights into reaction against Classicism as a system of design. The manifest contrast is exceptionally valuable, for this building embodies the highest type of Catholic building against which A.W.N.P. reacted with such determination, feeling a marked dissonance between purpose and style. In his 1841 *True Principles* A.W.N.P. argued that "the ornaments introduced about churches should be appropriate and significant, and not consist of *Pagan* emblems and attributes". To include such references to the art of the Ancient World was perverse: "what have we as *Christians*, to do with all those things illustrative *only of former error*?" In terms of practicality, churches and the worship for which they were build did not originate in pagan temples. Therefore, to adopt the latter as modern models was nonsensical, especially given the difference in climate between the shores of the Mediterranean and England. The modular proportional systems of the Orders, the geometrical *clou* to Classical architecture, where a building's size could result in gigantic columns and entablatures, was similarly flawed when compared to the more dynamic capabilities of Gothic architecture. *In fine*, A.W.N.P. reasoned that the parlous condition of Nineteenth Century architecture could be traced to "the blind admiration of modern times for everything Pagan, to the prejudice and overthrow of Christian art and propriety". Style was therefore not merely a question of personal preference, but one consistent identification and clarity of purpose. However, this should not blind us to Paine's work.

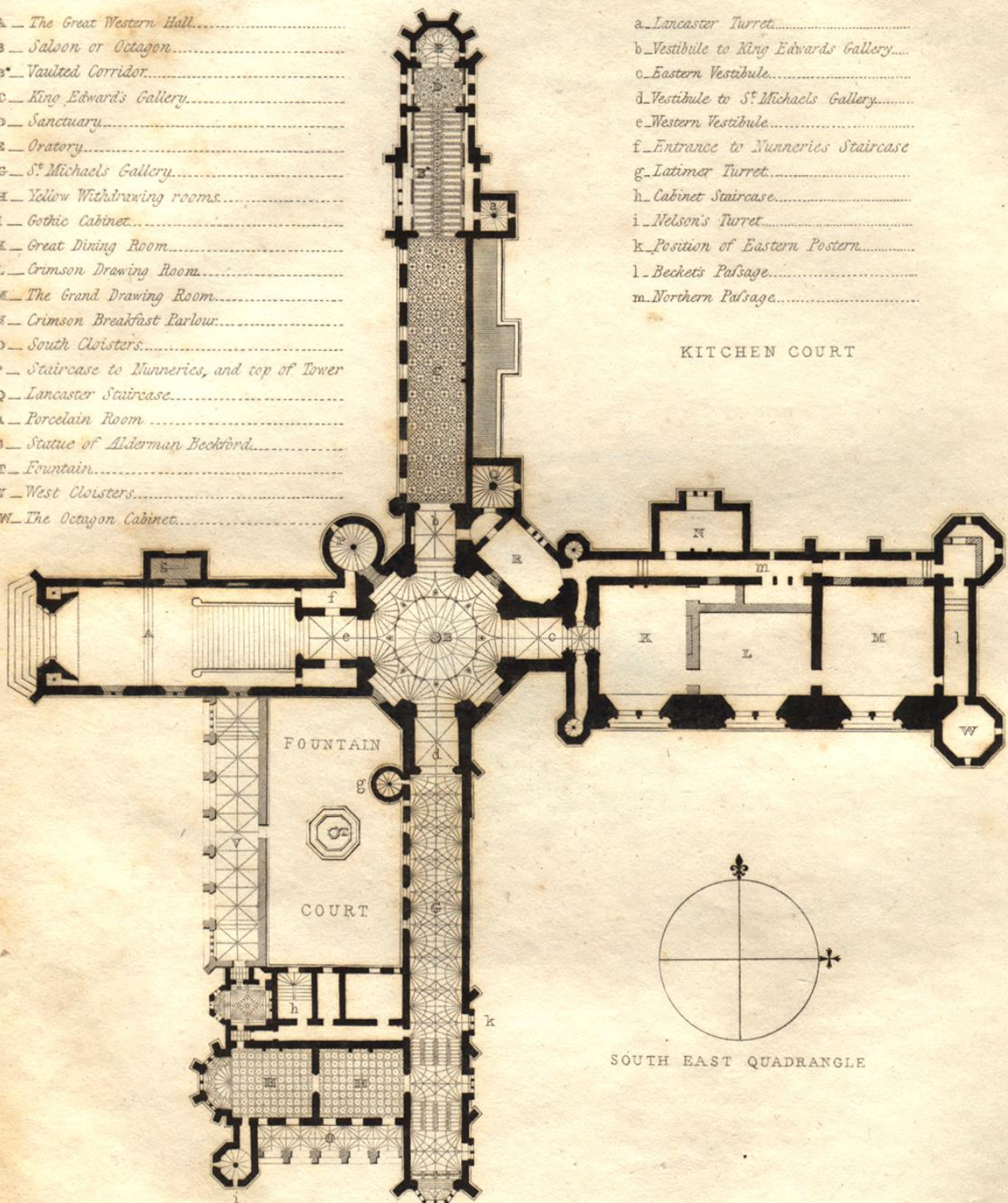


The Chapel's interior is demarked by an imposing fluted Corinthian Order, carrying an entablature ornamented with an elegant rinceau frieze, above which semi-circular lunettes illuminate the space (*see above*). Bryan Little aptly described the effect as "sober yet unfurtive magnificence". The design was not due to Paine alone, since from 1774 Lord Arundell consulted with Fr John Thorpe S.J., who acted as his artistic agent in Rome, and who procured designs from the Italian architect, Giacomo Quarenghi. Clearly, Arundell's aesthetic gravitation was towards the achievements at the exuberant heart of Roman Catholicism, over and beyond national capabilities. The flavour of the furnishings is unabashedly ultramontaine. The High Altar, with its gradine and tabernacle designed like a pseudodipteral circular temple, is to Quarenghi's design. Composed of richly coloured marbles, it was carved in Rome and shipped to England in 1776, with some parts arriving after the Chapel was opened on 1st November that year. The sanctuary lamps and candlesticks, again reflecting Thorpe's influence, were executed by leading metalworker, Luigi Valadier. Behind the altar is a painting by Giuseppe Cades; an artist based in Rome, who had a successful career imitating the manner of the Old Masters. Indeed, this was only part of a projected scheme for Cades to fill the panels of Paine's segmental vaulted ceiling, the visual impact of which can only be guessed at, and would clearly contrast with Paine's restrained Classical idiom. If realised, the result would have been an even more lavish transplantation of Roman religious richness to the parklands of Wiltshire. Evidently, Paine's original sanctuary was later deemed to be wanting, for from 1788-1790, Arundell called upon John Soane to remodel the east end with shallow transepts and a deeper, square sanctuary. For an architect whose idiom is so instantly recognisable, Soane displays great sensitivity to integrating his extensions to Paine's interior; there is no visual dissonance between the two building phases. In the lunette over the altar, the leading Birmingham stained-glass painter, Francis Eginton, is filled by a window depicting the Name of Jesus in Glory; perhaps the first time this subject appeared in a religious setting. The reason for Arundell's extension could well lie in the repeal of the penal laws by the Catholic Relief Act of 1778, when prohibitions on Catholic activities were abolished, thereby providing a foundation for future expansion in both spiritual and architectural terms.

- A—The Great Western Hall.....
 B—Saloon or Octagon.....
 B*—Vaulted Corridor.....
 C—King Edwards Gallery.....
 D—Sanctuary.....
 E—Oratory.....
 G—S^t Michaels Gallery.....
 H—Yellow Withdrawing rooms.....
 I—Gothic Cabinet.....
 K—Great Dining Room.....
 L—Crimson Drawing Room.....
 M—The Grand Drawing Room.....
 N—Crimson Breakfast Parlour.....
 O—South Cloisters.....
 P—Staircase to Nunneries, and top of Tower.....
 Q—Lancaster Staircase.....
 R—Porcelain Room.....
 S—Statue of Alderman Beckford.....
 T—Fountain.....
 V—West Cloisters.....
 W—The Octagon Cabinet.....

- a—Lancaster Turret.....
 b—Vestibule to King Edwards Gallery.....
 c—Eastern Vestibule.....
 d—Vestibule to S^t Michaels Gallery.....
 e—Western Vestibule.....
 f—Entrance to Nunneries Staircase.....
 g—Latimer Turret.....
 h—Cabinet Staircase.....
 i—Nelson's Turret.....
 k—Position of Eastern Postern.....
 l—Becket's Passage.....
 m—Northern Passage.....

KITCHEN COURT



SOUTH EAST QUADRANGLE

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 feet.

✧ Fonthill Abbey

HERE is no greater monument to the early Gothic Revival's ideals of the picturesque and sublime aesthetic than Fonthill Abbey: it stood as the apotheosis of this moment, and its legacy as a defining building in the long story of the Revival has never been in question. It reflected the character of its patron, the reclusive William Beckford (1760-1844) "the richest commoner in England", whose own life was marred by scandal and consequent ostracising from Georgian society. Personal, brooding sorrow appears to have given him the urge to assert himself through architecture; Beckford would go on to claim: "Some people drink to forget their unhappiness. I do not drink; I build". Its scale and ambition, built primarily to display Beckford's vast collection of artworks and *objets d'art* made Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill look trite and trifling by comparison. The story of Beckford's own life is intimately intertwined with that of his Abbey, and have been frequently been rehearsed by architectural historians. Aside from his drive for building, which fascinated his contemporaries, Beckford was known for his novel, *Vathek*, the tale of an Oriental potentate, with more than a dash of Sardanapalus, who with his cohort are doomed to a tragic fate. Though the Abbey has largely disappeared, the surrounding estate grounds have largely survived, with their exten-



sive fir planting overseen by Beckford, completely enclosed by an eight-foot high wall. Such a setting realised the aesthetic of the picturesque, as stipulated in Richard Payne Knight's influential 1805 work *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* and earlier by Edmund Burke's 1756 *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. The estate itself had been purchased in 1740 by Beckford's father, Alderman Beckford, funded by a growing fortune derived from Jamaican sugar plantations. Beckford senior rebuilt an earlier house as a grand Palladian mansion; its moniker 'Fonthill Splendens' gives an impression of its opulence. Following the infamous homosexual scandal in 1784, Beckford departed for an extended tour of the Continent which encompassed Portugal. It was here in 1793 that Beckford saw the elaborate Gothic funerary chapels of João I (ruled 1385-1433) at Batalha and Manuel I (ruled 1495-1521). Whilst abroad, Beckford contacted James Wyatt (1746-1813), then the leading proponent of the Gothic Revival, to draught plans for reconstructing Splendens and for a partly-ruined folly, with the appearance of a convent, to crown the nearby Hinckley

Hill. There was also a scheme for 175ft tower, and as Beckford's ambitions grew through the late-1790s, the two schemes were combined, and radically extended in scale and ambition. Wyatt's designs were exhibited at the Royal Academy, and by 1798, the diarist Joseph Farrington recorded how Beckford intentions had mushroomed to megalomaniac proportions: "the spire to be 17 feet higher than the top of Saint Peter's at Rome. The Abbey is to be endowed, & Cathedral service to be performed in the most splendid manner ... A Gallery leading from the top of the Church to be decorated with paintings, the work of English Artists. Beckford's own tomb to be placed in this Gallery, as having been an encourager of Art". By 1799, construction work had begun, marred the following year by the collapse of the first octagonal crossing tower, much to Beckford's anger. This was caused by Wyatt's absence from the building site, and his use of a dubious new material, compo-cement, in preference to stone. The plan of the house, four great cruciform wings spreading from a vertiginous central tower, with internal vistas stretching for colossal distances (e.g. 312 feet from the octagon

to the south gallery). In 1807, Beckford took up residence in his half-built abode, having entertained Horatio Nelson and Lady Hamilton there four years before. From 1812, with an increase in the price of sugar, work was renewed apace. Wyatt, an "infamous Swine", was dismissed in 1812, and work began on a vast eastern transept, built to show Beckford's descent from all the

signatories of Magna Carta; an obviously fatuous boast. Already by 1819 parts of the structure began to deteriorate rapidly, the haste in construction and Wyatt's inattentiveness were the dual culprits. With the collapse of the price of sugar, in 1822, the Abbey along with its contents were publicly auctioned, and Beckford retired to Bath. The new 'Abbot of Fonthill' was one John Farquhar, wealthy and eccentric in equal measure. Beckford warned him that the 300-foot tower actually lacked foundations, and in 1825, it collapsed for the final time, taking much of the Abbey with it. Only the tip of the northern transept survives today, this tiny fragment pathetically testifying to the vast structure of which it was once a part. A.W.N.P. later recorded the tower's fall with glee in his unpublished autobiographical notes. For him, and a whole generation, Fonthill was "a mere toy, built to suit the caprice of a wealthy individual devoted to luxury". The fraudulent effect of "solemn architecture of religion and antiquity", for a building which has no religious purpose at all, is nothing more than "a mockery and thing of fashion, transient and perishable as the life of its possessor".

✠ Parish Church of Saint Mary and Saint Nicholas, Wilton ✠

THIS conspicuously lavish estate church is arguably the *magnum opus* of its architect, Thomas Henry Wyatt (1807-1880). Though little remembered in subsequent accounts of the Gothic Revival, his professional success is attested to by his prolific output, numerous examples of which can be found in Hampshire. A relative of James Wyatt, his design manner ably responded to the shifting aesthetics and expectations of the mid-Nineteenth Century, though the early promise of inventiveness and originality, demonstrated here at Wilton, later gave way to a somewhat cautious complacency, no doubt reflecting the practice of a successful architect's office. Wilton is not only a legacy to his youthful capabilities, but to a formative moment in Victorian Ecclesiology before the later orthodox preference for the "Second" or "Middle Pointed" of the Thirteenth and early-Fourteenth Centuries (*i.e.* our Decorated) had so firmly taken root. It is important to remember that the interest in adopting Continental Gothic examples for new churches did not begin with the publications of John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851-



1853) or *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). Throughout the 1830s, architects had toured the Continent to study both examples of Gothic architecture, and its preceded style, the Romanesque. The noted architectural historian Professor Robert Willis drew attention to the capabilities of Italian mediaeval architecture as early as 1835, and throughout the 1830s and early-1840s, Romanesque was frequently employed in new church design, not without a degree of success. This wider interest in the pre-Gothic styles was shared by Continental architects, keen to break the stranglehold of academic Classicism. The movement was particularly strong in Germany, where the term *Rundbogenstil* (Round-Arch) was coined, and where Gothic itself had taken longer to be adopted during the Middle Ages. A.W.N.P. himself had experimented with the Romanesque in his early churches, such as Saint James, Reading (1837) and Saint Michael, Gorey (1839) but later adopted the Decorated as representing the *paeon* of Christian architecture. His sentiments were echoed by the Ecclesiological Society, who by 1843 were already critical of new churches built in this style. They described Wilton thus: "We find no fault with this church as a specimen of its own peculiar architecture: what we complain of is, that a foreign (we had almost said an un-Christian) style should have been selected". Not Gothic! Wyatt's success at Wilton demonstrates

how resourcefully this style could be handled, and implies what architectural opportunities were perhaps lost following the hegemony of Gothic after 1850. The ambitious scale and richness of Wilton are due entirely to the patron, Sydney Herbert, Lord Lea, and his mother, Catherine, Countess of Pembroke, who contributed £20,000 for the building and furnishings. It replaced the mediaeval church of Saint Mary, which survives as a partial ruin. Herbert's influence undoubtedly determined the stylistic choice, for with John Ruskin he was a founding member of the Arundel Society, set up to promote a popular appreciation for early-mediaeval art, against the "meretricious or puerile" efforts of modern artists. Wyatt's design has generally been classed as 'Italian Romanesque' but he drew from a wider gamut of examples for his inspiration. The composition of the west front with its wheel window echoes that of the Eleventh-Century churches of Santa Maria and San Pierro in Toscanello, though their treatment here lacks the rough vigorousness of the original buildings. The almost detached campanile, joined to the church by an exquisitely detailed gallery also betrays a close examination of Lombardic precedents. Also, the elaborate carving, both within and without, clearly displays an attentiveness to Italian models, such as in the western portal, where spiral columns rest on the backs of lions. Some details are known to have been carved by William Osmund, a Salisbury mason who knew A.W.N.P., and who received the latter's censure for his mural tablets in the Cathedral. The proportions of the interior, with its soaring height and nave arcade, however, suggest a closer knowledge of English mediaeval buildings, though it has been compared to Early Christian basilicas in Rome, such as San Clemente. Such buildings were also drawing the interest of German Protestant architects, keen to find practical solutions for the liturgical requirements of the Lutheran Church; Christian Josias Bunsen published his two-volume *Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms* (The Basilicas of Christian Rome) from 1842-1844, at the same time Wilton was under construction. Indeed, the munificence of Wyatt's patrons enabled the interior to be furnished with architectural fragments which had once come from some of the most venerable churches of the Eternal City. The pulpit and the candle standards at the east end are original mediaeval Italian pieces, ornamented with geometrical stone inlays known as *Cosmati*, after a Roman family of practitioners in this skilled work. Some of these originally came from Santa Maria Maggiore, and date to 1256. Until 1842 these fragments had been assembled by Horace Walpole to form a display case, spuriously called the 'Shrine of Capoccio' in 1774. Herbert bought them for 47 guineas at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842, and returned them to a sacred use. A.W.N.P. also attended this sale, and was unsurprisingly "disgusted" by Walpole's Gothic furnishings. The church was also provided with an outstanding assemblage of mediaeval glass, culled from diverse sources, and creating an antiquarian *bricolage* of examples from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century. The earliest fragments are thought to come from such famous buildings as the Abbey of Saint-Denis and the Sainte-Chapel, Paris; the latest a figure of God the Father (altered into Saint Nicholas) from Malines, by the celebrated glazier, Arnold van Nijmegen. Such repatriation of dislocated Continental religious art, torn from its original context by the upheavals of the recent past, was of course also practiced by A.W.N.P. in several of his churches. The sumptuous effect was further enhanced in the Twentieth Century by the addition of mosaics to the sanctuary and chancel by Gertrude Martin, to the designs of Sir Charles Nicholson.

✧ Day Two : The New Forest

Parish Church of Saint Michael & All Angels, Lyndhurst

WILLIAM White (1825-1900) is an architect whose work, thanks to the researches of Gill Hunter has only recently been rescued from the *lacunae* into which it had unfairly fallen after his death. Despite basing his practice in London from 1851, and spending some of his formative years in the office of Sir George Gilbert Scott, the larger part of his output was concentrated in Cornwall and Devon, where he had family connections. This concentration in the provinces had largely distorted his posthumous reputation, for he was ably aware of the current strands influencing architectural design throughout the 1850s, and warmly embraced the principles underpinning the High Victorian aesthetic, filtering it through his own inventive powers to create a recognisably personal style, which shares several characteristics with such undisputed lions as William Butterfield (1814-1900) and George Edmund Street (1824-1881). White responded to the same impulses felt by such figures, and his works demonstrate a competence and resourcefulness above and beyond merely playing ‘second fiddle’ to their achievements. He also shared with such figures an orientation towards High churchmanship, with its emphasis

on liturgical ritual, celebrated within suitably designed churches. This has grown out of the labours of the Oxford Movement, to revive the devotional life and theological position of the Established Church, and the Cambridge Camden (later Ecclesiological) Society, to restore the liturgical provisions of the pre-Reformation era, which it believed were still enjoined by the *Book of Common Prayer*. The latter initially shared much in common with A.W.N.P.’s own position regarding ecclesiastical design, despite the pronounced confessional divisions of the early-Victorian period, but by the 1850s the influence of John Ruskin’s writings on architecture (e.g. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*), and a growing interest in Continental sources for new churches marked a parting of ways. The distance travelled from the archaeological imitation of English mediaeval precedents is manifestly clear in one of White’s greatest works, the church at Lyndhurst (1858-1869). This was built at the behest of the incumbent, the Revd John Compton, to replace a dilapidated Eighteenth-Century structure. The latter made his ambitions for the new church clear to White from the outset, informing him “that there need be no stint in the ornamentation of the work”, and White duly rose to the challenge. Positioned on a commanding site overlooking

Lyndhurst, the exterior exploits the capabilities of structural polychromy by co-ordinating the expanses of the wall planes with irregular bands of yellow brick. Such treatment of the ‘Wall Veil’ had been championed by Ruskin, who had a clear interest in the stratification of rock formations and the chromatics of metamorphic rock. Likewise, another ready source for inspiration could well have been Street’s 1855 study of *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*. The advent of this fashion is frequently traced to Butterfield’s epoch-defining All Saints, Margaret Street (1849-1859); a building which White would surely have known. However, there is no direct copying of motifs, rather a synthetic assimilation of the same principles. The treatment of the north porch, where the courses bend like voussoirs to meet the entrance portal. The scale and details of the latter also betrays White’s inventiveness; abstracting mediaeval forms to emphasis solidity and taut architectonic strength. Such qualities are repeated inside, especially in the remarkable treatment of the nave arcades. Here, stilted brick arches appear to almost crush, rather than rise from, the columns shafts of black slate, with exceptional capitals of naturalistic foliage, executed by the celebrated architectural sculptor, Thomas Earp. The vast, five-light dormer windows above the arcade are also a singular, almost idio-



syncratic feature, which demonstrate White’s resourcefulness in solving practical questions of natural illumination. In a similar vein, the large musical angels carved on the nave roof’s wall-posts echo late mediaeval examples, but here they are completely reimagined. The qualities of dynamism

are also manifest in the main east and west windows, where the rhythm of spacing the lights alternates between wide and narrow; a feature decried by *The Ecclesiologist* as “thoroughly indefensible [and] impure in style”. The raw impression of the interior, far more strident than anything A.W.N.P. attempted, provides a surprisingly complimentary setting for Morris & Co. glass, installed from 1862-1863 in the east and south transept windows. With cartoons prepared by Edward Burne-Jones, it demonstrates the firm’s capabilities at the height of their creative powers; Pevsner was surely right in noting that it was “infinitely superior to anything done by anyone else at that time”. Below the east window is a remarkable reredos by Frederick, Lord Leighton (1830-1896) illustrating the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (see above). Dating from 1864, it is one of the few attempts to revive monumental art in an ecclesiastical setting, without making the result entirely subservient to the wishes of the architect, rather than the artist. Leighton has adapted his idiom by veering away from his classically-inspired figures and compositions to create a more hieratic, mediaevalising work, which stands comparison to the efforts of the Pre-Raphaelites. The whole shows how far from A.W.N.P.’s archaeological ideals the architects of the 1860s, like William White, had come.

✧ Highcliffe Castle ♡

SITUATED on a commanding site overlooking the Hampshire Coast, there can be few such compelling affirmations of the Romantic and picturesque aspirations of the early-Nineteenth Century Gothic Revival as Highcliffe Castle. In its original state, before its contents were dispersed and the shell gutted, its impact upon even sober architectural writers was pronounced. Christopher Hussey informed the readers of *Country Life* in 1942 that: “if romance ... is the echo of history and passion as distinct from their actual experience there is no more Romantic house than Highcliffe”. The combination of dramatic setting with theatrical and highly-wrought architecture create a instil a last impression of natural and man-made beauty unified into an aesthetically charged experience, and the influence of the works of Richard Payne-Knight and other proponents of the picturesque is not hard to discern. The first house on the site had been a Gothic modest villa, designed by Robert Adam (1728-1792) in 1774. This was radically extended from 1830-1834 through the combined ambitions of patron and architecture. The former was Charles Stuart, Lord de Rothesay, ennobled in 1828, he had served as ambassador to the restored Bourbon Royal Court until the revolution of 1830. During his diplomatic tenure, Stuart evidently acquired an antiquarian taste for French art and architecture, which Highcliffe was built to celebrate; there is something of the parvenu pervading the whole enterprise. It was a Romantic evocation of the *ancien régime*, which demonstrates the political resonances the Gothic style could be used to deploy by this era. Stuart’s architect is the now largely forgotten William John Donthorn (1799-1859), who had trained by Jeffrey Wyattville, and whose practice largely dealt with country houses and parsonages in his native Norfolk. Donthorn’s debt to the Wyatts, and Highcliffe has long been recognised as a response to James Wyatt’s greatest Gothic extravaganzas, Fonthill Abbey and Ashridge Park (1808-1820). This is apparent not merely in the picturesque composition of the elevations, but also in the spreading wings and their sequences of rooms, which at once recall Fonthill, and maximise the potential offered by the site. Instantly apparent in the massing of Highcliffe is Donthorn’s adherence to an underlying geometrical severity, providing a controlling grid for his elevations, despite their stylistic flourishes. This abstracted system ultimately derives from the Greek Revival works of his contemporaries, most notably Robert Smirke (1780-1867). This was the “new square style of Mr Smirke” which A.W.N.P. lambasted in *Contrasts*, and whilst it provided Donthorn’s Highcliffe with a consistent architectonic rhythm, his system was utterly removed from the principles used by mediaeval builders. We may well recall A.W.N.P.’s famous dismissal of Charles Barry’s New Palace of Westminster: “All Grecian, sir; Tudor details on a classic body”. For A.W.N.P., Gothic was a series of self-evidently honest principles, not a hodgepodge of decorative applique. However, judged by its own standards, Highcliffe is not without dramatic incident. Most imposing the great *port-cochère*, with its paired turrets either side of a deeply recessed entrance arch; a variation again on Fonthill. The new house was designed to harmonize with several pieces of architectural salvage, which Stuart has rescued from French demolition sites. This goes to explain the Continental late-Gothic Flamboyant touches Donthorn introduces, in preference to English Perpendicular. Indeed, the entrance arch shields a salvaged *Radix Jesse* (Jesse



Tree) window from the church of Saint Vigor in Rouen, with which Donthorn appears to have played ‘fast and loose’ to maximise its picturesque appeal. There are also column fragments from the once great eleventh-century Abbey of Jumièges, and most startlingly, a highly-ornamented oriel window from the Grand Manoir des Andelys in Normandy, which Stuart had purchased in 1830, after finding this late-mediaeval house in the course of demolition. The wholesale incorporation of genuine elements of Gothic Architecture again has strong links with A.W.N.P.’s own early use of mediaeval furnishings in his domestic and ecclesiastical designs, though he had not the means to transplant parts of buildings wholesale. Stuart’s Francophile taste curiously parallels that of A.W.N.P. in the early 1830s, when his designs for furniture indulge in the elaborate fretted traceries which characterise the Flamboyant style. Donthorn’s efforts did not please Lady Stuart who was shocked to have “found something between a palace and an abbey where she had left a very small villa”. In September 1834, she informed her husband in no uncertain terms that “If you see Donthorn tell him of my horror of his points and pinnacles, especially as he promised to diminish the height of all those useless make-believe chimneys and belfries”. The architect was dismissed in 1834, and two years later the young A.W.N.P. was prevailed upon to cast an expert eye over Donthorn’s work. Writing to his longstanding friend E.J. Wilson on 4th January 1836, he sardonically noted that “Mr Donthorn cannot have had the slightest idea of Gothic architecture, as he has turned Norman capitals upside down to serve for bases to the latest style of Louis XII and Francis I.”. Whilst A.W.N.P. did not go on to work at Highcliffe, it is evident that the age of impulsive enthusiasm for the antiquarian and picturesque was passing, though not yet quite extinct, for A.W.N.P. would develop the same ethos for new architecture framing genuine mediaeval and later *spolia* at Scarisbrick Hall (1837-1842) and in his furnishing of Oscott College Chapel (1837-1838).

✧ Former Conventual Church of the Holy Trinity, Christchurch ✧

CHRISTCHURCH is one of the few examples of a former monastic church which survived intact the vicissitudes of the Reformation intact. Its intermingling of Norman and Perpendicular styles, externally disjoined yet harmonious internally, were well known and deeply admired by A.W.N.P. from a very young age, and the building, reposing in rural splendour upon an eminence overlooking water meadows which yield to the sea, continued to play a part in his early life. His identification with Christchurch therefore opens a window in the experiences of mediaeval architecture which so characterised his formative years, and upon which his later professional career would, metaphorically and literally, be build. A.W.N.P. first visited both Christchurch and nearby Salisbury in 1825, when he was thirteen, and the behest of his mother, Catherine, in order to recover from a

bout of illness. Details of the Priory's carved stonework also appeared amongst his father's publications of Gothic decorative *Specimens*. Six years later, whilst unsuccessfully trying his hand at managing a furniture business, A.W.N.P. donated a new Communion Table to the former Priory, which still survives. It is an exceptionally elaborate piece,

displaying a far greater interest in the solidarity of late-mediaeval carpentry than the earlier designs of his father, Auguste Charles, but it is characterised by a welter of exuberant detail, which almost swamps it. As a presentation piece from a young designer setting out into the world of business, it is easy to see why his commercial venture failed so disastrously within the space of a year, leaving A.W.N.P. bankrupt. However, as a personal behest to Christchurch, full of unrestrained vigour, it affirms his continuing affection for a place he had continued to visit. Despite its obvious Gothic style, his gift as yet bears no trace of the religious direction he would soon embark upon. Several years before building his own Saint Marie's Grange at Alderbury, A.W.N.P. had tried to secure a plot of land at Christchurch, but as a minor his father had, perhaps wisely, declined to act as guarantor. After A.W.N.P. married his first wife, Anne Garnett, in 1831, it was to Christchurch they went for an effective honeymoon, after the briefest of courtships. Before her tragic death on 27th May 1832, Anne asked to be buried in the Priory



Church, and the grief-stricken A.W.N.P. duly saw her wish was fulfilled. In spite of the ecclesiastical and legal hurdles which still attend Christian burials, the funeral rites were performed at eight o'clock on the evening of 14th June. The ceremony was performed in the old monastic quire, and her coffin interred in a vault excavated in the north aisle; the site of which A.W.N.P. marked with an inscribed plaque. Perhaps, amidst his sorrow, this tender service brought home afresh to A.W.N.P. the power of solemn liturgy, surrounded by the architectural legacy of pious mediaeval forebears; an ideal which was to run through his later writings and designs, and the realisation of which, amongst his co-religionists, was ultimately to elude him. Whilst he left little by way of direct commentary upon his impressions of Christchurch, it is not difficult to see why the church appealed to him. There had been a community of secular priests on this site since before the Norman Conquest, and the much of the present building is due to its re-foundation as an Augustinian Priory in 1150. Reconstruction work on the church had apparently already begun some fifty years before. The nave and tran-

septs still demonstrate the ambition of the Norman builders. Their exuberant competence in complex stone-carving is clear on the exterior of the north transept, where large intersecting round arcades and fishscale patterns feature prominently. The interior, with its bold arches and lack of carved details suggest an early Norman date, with the vaulting and elaborate north porch

added in the early Thirteenth Century, and betraying the influence of Salisbury Cathedral. It is unclear whether a crossing tower was built: certainly the crossing piers imply that one was projected, and its absence significantly contributes to the piecemeal appearance of the exterior. In the late-Fourteenth Century, the original east end was entirely reconstructed in an elegant, early Perpendicular style, and the aesthetic shift from the Norman fabric is pronounced. Any apparent disunity of parts externally belies the successfully harmonious interior. This is due in no small part to the lierne vaults, which were constructed during the tenure of Prior William Eyre (1502-1530). They represent the final flowering of English Gothic architecture before the Reformation, and characteristic are the star-like patterns drawn in the vault, and the 'dripping' stone pendants. Such features, along with this whole last phase of Gothic, A.W.N.P. would later see as marking an inherent spiritual decline from "Middle Pointed", into which the "revived Pagan principle" of the Renaissance would take a contaminating root.

✧ Saint Marie's Grange, Alderbury ✧

Of all the buildings included on this year's Study Tour, none quite brings us closer to the mind of A.W.N.P. than his first realised domestic design, Saint Marie's Grange at Alderbury (*see opposite*). As first built, it demonstrates both the wholehearted *brio* for creating a self-contained affirmation of the aesthetic values of the antiquarian picturesque, and the impulsive forcefulness of a young designer whose mind overflowed with inventiveness, but who lacked almost any practical experience of building. It is the perfect architectural expression of A.W.N.P. at the threshold of his architectural career, and manifests his aesthetic convictions with scant regard for the expectations of his contemporaries. It is the mind behind *Contrasts* given material form: Pugin *contra mundum*. The genesis of Saint Marie's can be traced to A.W.N.P.'s deep appreciation for Salisbury, as the site, with its steep incline, was chosen for "commanding a magnificent view of the Cathedral and City, with the River Avon winding through the beautiful valley". By January 1835 construction had begun, and the house's appearance quickly gained notoriety as the domain of the author of *Contrasts* (published in August 1836) which so outraged righteous Protestant sentiment that rebuttals appeared in the local press. Controversy has always made good copy for printers and journalists, and A.W.N.P. felt obliged to respond in the *Salisbury & Wiltshire Journal* of 21st September, when Saint Marie's itself was dragged into the argument. It provides a fascinating *post-festum rationale* to A.W.N.P.'s design :-

"My residence is suitable to the sum I could expend on its erection, and the accommodation I required; and the only offences I have been guilty of are the introduction of details of the Tudor period, in preference to the meaner modern ones now in vogue, and applying it to an ancient and ... appropriate title, in lieu of any of the unmeaning names usually applied to small detached country residences. I even suspect that the redness of my bricks would have passed muster, had the walls been perforated with square sash windows, surmounted by a flat roof and neat orthodox chimney-pots."

It seems that the insinuations of A.W.N.P.'s antagonists had hit home by reading the character of the house as synonymous with that of its occupant. He was later to complain to E.J. Wilson that Saint Marie's had been compared to "the *Bastille* and the *Inquisition*, for which latter purpose it is asserted to have been built". Much of this, of course, reflects the popular sectarian divisions which ran through nineteenth-century society, but Saint Marie's Grange was an extraordinary house; one which must have struck curious viewers as a taste for the Gothic pursued *ad absurdum*. Before later alterations, the house was a compact, three-storey structure, built to an L-shaped footprint. The entrance led, over a drawbridge, to the first floor, underneath which were service rooms. The upper floor contained bedrooms, whilst rising through two storeys was the prominent chapel, equipped with its own sacristy. Access between floors was provided by a spiral staircase, contained in its own turret, balanced by a smaller turret on the opposite side of the house, which contained the garderobes. There were few concessions to practicalities: there was no entrance hall or corridors, since the rooms, like those of mediaeval domestic architecture, simply led into each other. In external appearance, the Antiquarian 'out and proud' aesthetic was blatantly clear. The chapel was distinct, with its three-light Perpendicular east window, gable bellcote



and prominent 'M' monograms, set into the brickwork. A.W.N.P.'s choice of red brick is often pointed out as a deliberate snub to the low regard with which this material was held at the time. The slate roofs were steeply pitched, and crowned with gilded cresting and weathervanes; features which have frequently been identified as Gallic, rather than English, in derivation. The glazing also proudly displayed A.W.N.P.'s monogram, with his motto "en avant" running in inscribed bands. It had been A.W.N.P.'s intention to create "a complete building of the Fifteenth Century", but this is unlike any actual mediaeval residence. Rather, it is a synthesis of his direct experience of mediaeval architecture, filtered and reimagined to frame the environment within which A.W.N.P. lived and worked. It realises all the fervour of his thoughts at this point in his emerging public persona, but makes no provision for the future. Even at his later house in Ramsgate, The Grange (built 1843-1845), A.W.N.P. would regret not providing sufficiently for the nursery to accommodate the younger of his eight children. Where The Grange was inconvenient, Saint Marie's would have proved impossible. Indeed, as A.W.N.P.'s professional career developed, residing near Salisbury, despite its youthful associations, proved inexpedient for successfully managing a burgeoning portfolio of commissions. By September 1837, A.W.N.P. moved into lodgings at Chelsea. At some point between then and April 1841, substantial alterations were undertaken to make Saint Marie's conform to the expectations of potential buyers. These resolved the impracticalities of the plan by closing the L with an entrance hall, staircase and connecting corridors. The evident great care with which windows and other features were repositioned suggests A.W.N.P.'s direct involvement. However, A.W.N.P.'s reflections upon these alterations, where the pragmatism of maturity checked his youthful, inexperienced enthusiasm.

✠ Day Three : Salisbury

Parish Church of Saint Osmund

HERE Saint Marie's Grange gave expression to A.W.N.P.'s ambitions and ideological commitments at the outset of his architectural career, his later Church of Saint Osmund (built 1847-1848) stands as a later consolidation of his personal relationship with the small Roman Catholic community in Salisbury, and of his own religious faith. It was here, on the Eve of the Feast of Pentecost (6th June) in 1835, that A.W.N.P. was received into the Roman Catholic Church; an action which would prove the prime determining factor which formed the *raison d'être* all his subsequent work. His conversion came following the vicissitudes of the preceding years, having lost his father, mother and first wife in quick succession. These afflictions appear to have prompted an understandable introspection, from which the connotations between the excellence of mediaeval architecture and the inherent truth of Roman Catholic Church which inspired it first crystallised in his mind. Writing in 1850, A.W.N.P. recalled that: "I gained my knowledge of the ancient faith beneath the vaults of a Lincoln or a Westminster ... I indulged in a sort of Catholic utopia". His conversion arguably marks the transition from a Romantic appreciation for the Middle Ages to one of applied antiquarian study, seeking to redress the aesthetic and moral wrongs of the Nineteenth Century. Revived Gothic Architecture, built in fulfilment of its original principles, was an antidote to social ills. A.W.N.P.'s Church of Saint Osmund is a testimony to this ambitious programme, and to the enduring friendships he forged following his conversion. The new church was funded by John Lambert and John Peniston, both men of independent means who had long supported the Catholic mission in Salisbury; Mass had previously been celebrated in Peniston's house, which stood within the Cathedral Close itself. The design, though modest in scale, ably fulfils A.W.N.P.'s own *credo* for ecclesiastical architecture that "every portion ... answered both a useful and mystical purpose". Its use of unknapped flints and dressed stone not only reflects as responsiveness to local building materials, but echoes the same choice of materials A.W.N.P. had selected for his own church, Saint Augustine (1847-1850). As originally designed (the north aisle is a later, though sensitive, addition by E. Doran Webb in 1894), the church comprised an off-axis west tower with a pyramidal roof, whose lower storey served as a porch, a



nave and south aisle, with an off-axis chancel and Lady Chapel beyond. The builder was A.W.N.P.'s well-trusted contractor, George Myers, whom he had first met at Beverley Minster. The groundplan's arrangement shares numerous characteristics with other late works by A.W.N.P., notably his Saint Marie, Rugby (1847) which also has the curious feature of a misaligned chancel. The patronal saint appears twice, once on the exterior, adjacent to the west door (*see below*) and again inside to the left of the chancel arch, in as more elaborate niche. The figurative glass of the east window, executed by Hardman & Co. to A.W.N.P.'s designs shows three episcopal figures, Saint Osmund flanked by Saints Martin of Tours and Thomas of Canterbury; the latter two being the patron saints of mediaeval churches in Salisbury itself. As first completed, the separate liturgical spaces of the interior were demarked by screens, which for A.W.N.P. sym-

bolised "the mystical separation between the sacrifice and the people", and were therefore an essential component of his ecclesiastical designs, not merely an aesthetic 'extra' where funds would permit. By the late 1840s, A.W.N.P. found himself increasingly under attack for such dogged antiquarianism in both the popular Catholic press (notably the hostile *Rambler*) and amongst fellow converts from the Established Church. The crux of the argument was that the liturgical requirements of modern Roman Catholic worship were those of the Tridentine Rite, promulgated universally by Paul V (reigned 1566-1572) in 1570, following the Council of Trent. This superseded existing regional and national traditions, including that of the Use of Sarum, which had been normative in England prior to the Reformation. A.W.N.P. was first steered towards a dogmatic revival of the Sarum Rite by Dr Daniel Rock, a noted scholar and chaplain to A.W.N.P.'s greatest patron, John Talbot, 16th Earl of

Shrewsbury. This sincere wish to revive an indigenous pre-Reformation liturgical model explains the fastidious mediaevalism of A.W.N.P.'s churches; qualities which the majority of priests celebrating Mass within them would have found alien and incomprehensible. Whilst it was not infeasible that this native Rite *could* have been restored, the growing ultramontane character of the Catholic hierarchy effectively quashed any further attempts to challenge Tridentine liturgies and modern devotions. A.W.N.P. was therefore, by the end of his career, left in an isolated position; one he defended in 1851 by publishing *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts*, to little avail. His church in Salisbury is therefore all the more poignant, dedicated as it is to Saint Osmund, the sainted bishop who first codified the Use of Sarum, and built within yards of the Cathedral.

✠ Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Salisbury

THE Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary has consistently received plaudits for his outstandingly harmonious design, and overall unity of architectural expression. As early as 1666, Sir Christopher Wren could favourably describe it as “large and magnificent, and may be justly accounted one of the best patterns of Architecture in that age wherein it was built”. It was, needless to say, a Classical series of values against which the building was judged; its simplicity allowed Wren to “commend for many things” the “stately and rich plainness” which pervades the interior. The Cathedral was again singled out for praise in 1753, when Francis Price, Surveyor to the Fabric, published a highly competent series of survey drawings in his *Particular and Useful Observations... Upon that Admirable Structure, the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*. This was all the more remarkable as an architectural monograph, issued at a time when only Classical Architecture, ancient and modern, was the subject of such meticulous scholarship. With the growing appreciation for Gothic Architecture in the later Eighteenth Century, it is unsurprising that efforts were made to make the Cathedral better accord to contemporary taste. Almost every subsequent commentator has decried the scheme which was advanced at Salisbury, for from 1789-1792 the Cathedral was effectively closed whilst a scheme for enhancing the inherent beauties of the interior was put into effect. This has ever since been laid at the door of James Wyatt, and A.W.N.P.’s own description of him as a “monster of architectural depravity” has adhered to Wyatt ever since. His campaign saw the demolition of two fifteenth-century chantry chapels at the east end, which it was later claimed was done on grounds of safety, and the fragments reassembled to form a Quire screen “an exquisite piece of workmanship”, built in place of the thirteenth-century original. Beyond this, the Quire and Lady Chapel were thrown open to each other by demolishing the mediaeval reredos, and painted glass installed depicting the Erection of the Brazen Serpent (which survives) and the Resurrection, after a design by Sir Joshua Reynolds (which does not; *see opposite*). Almost all the surviving thirteenth-century glass, largely composed of coloured *grisaille* patterns, was removed, and plain quarries substituted in its place; much of the former was pitched into the Town Ditch. Throughout the interior, mediaeval screens and obstructions were removed, in a genuine attempt to create a series of extensive vistas, which it was thought returned the Cathedral to its original state. Tombs and chantry chapels were largely viewed as later accretions which marred the aesthetic of the original conception. Monuments were ranked under the nave arcades, where many still survive. William Dodsworth’s account of this scheme could laud these “present improvements ... in which Mr Wyatt has displayed his great taste and abilities in Gothic architecture”. Externally, the Close’s Green was levelled, and the thirteenth-century belfry to the north west of the Cathedral demolished to open up the vista from the north. A visitor’s account, published in 1832, could claim that the Cathedral’s interior “has been improved by Wyatt’s genius. It was an admirable idea to remove the most remarkable old monuments from the walls and obscure corners and to place them in the space between the great double avenue of pillars”. When the work had been completed

in 1792, the reopening of the Cathedral was attended by no less a personage than George III. The whole exercise of enforcing Georgian aesthetics onto Salisbury has never received favourable comment since, and in association with Wyatt’s work at Durham and Litchfield Cathedrals, has damned his reputation in perpetuity. A.W.N.P.’s deeply-held contempt “all that is vile, unmeaning and rascally, is included in the term Wyatt” still carries weight in popular opinion. His epithet ‘the Destroyer’ has endured, making him a quasi-comical bogey-man of architectural practice. However, the extent to which the radical alterations at Salisbury were executed, cannot solely lie with the architect. Wyatt was encouraged and supported by the then Bishop of Salisbury, Shute Barrington (ruled 1782-1791), who would go on to employ Wyatt’s services at Durham Cathedral. As such, he was acting with the consent of his employers, who surely supported his aesthetic intentions, and who are likewise culpable in the destructive treatment of so mediaeval fabric. The work was, of course, opposed by such antiquaries as John Carter (1748-1817), who fulminated against the alterations in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*. Wyatt was, of course, famously black-balled by the Society of Antiquaries, until pressure from George III, to whom he was Surveyor of the King’s Works, made them reconsider their opposition. If the hand of Wyatt is less apparent today at Salisbury, this is largely due to the restoration undertaken by Sir George Gilbert Scott, from 1863-1876. To him is largely due the appearance of the West Front, where the attendant company of saints and angels were installed under his supervision. The more obtuse and offensive elements were removed, but with the vicissitudes of changing taste, both Scott’s reredos and metalwork Quire screen were demolished by 1960, in a reassertion of the open vistas favoured by the Georgians. A.W.N.P. famously imagined carrying a processional cross through the western doors of a Cathedral returned to the Roman Catholic Church. As is evident, this Romantic vision never came to pass.



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❖ List of Illustrations ❖

Cover Figure :- Fonthill Abbey: *View of the West & North Fronts, from the End of the Clerk's Walk*, from John Rutter's *Delineations of Fonthill* (1823), plate 11.

Figure One :- John Constable. *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows*, 1831. Oil on canvas, 153.7 19.2cms. The Tate Gallery, London.

Figure Two :- Salisbury Cathedral Close, The North Gate, with the Stuart Royal Arms, late fifteenth century.

Figure Three :- Old Wardour Castle, the hexagonal Courtyard Keep, last decade of the fourteenth century & sixteenth century.

Figure Four :- New Wardour Castle Chapel, designed by James Paine, 1774-1776; extended by John Soane, 1788-1790.

Figure Five :- Fonthill Abbey: *Plan of the Principal Storey*, from John Rutter's *Delineations of Fonthill* (1823), plate 2.

Figure Six :- Fonthill Abbey: *View of the West & North Fronts, from the End of the Clerk's Walk*, from John Rutter's *Delineations of Fonthill* (1823), plate 11.

Figure Seven :- Church of Saint Mary & Saint Nicholas, Wilton, designed by Thomas Henry Wyatt & David Brandon, 1841-1845.

Figure Eight :- Frederick, Lord Leighton. *The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, spirit-fresco, 1864, Church of Saint Michael and All Angels, Lyndhurst, designed by William White, 1858-1869.

Figure Nine :- Highcliffe Castle, the Southern *Porte-Cochère* to the Entrance Hall, designed by W.J. Donthorn, 1830-1834.

Figure Ten :- Christchurch Priory, detail of the Lady Chapel and Draper Chantry, late-fourteenth century & early-sixteenth century.

Figure Eleven :- Saint Marie's Grange, Alderbury, designed by A.W.N. Pugin, 1835, with subsequent alterations.

Figure Twelve :- Church of Saint Osmund, Salisbury, designed by A.W.N. Pugin, 1847-1848, with subsequent extensions, figure of patronal saint, carved by George Myers.

Figure Thirteen :- Joseph Mallord William Turner. *The Quire and Lady Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral*, 1797. Watercolour on paper, 648×508mms. The Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum, Salisbury.

❖ List of Attendees ❖

Peter & Joan Blacklock, Salisbury, *Comtes* Wiltshire.

Charles Butcher, Truro, *Comtes* Cornwall.

Robin & Georgina Craufurd, Lymington, *Comtes* Wiltshire.

Pam Cole, *Comtes* Greater London.

Nick Dermott, Margate, *Comtes* Kent.

Jayne Evelyn, Ramsgate, *Comtes* Kent.

Shelia Goldberg, *Comtes* Greater London.

Alan & Natalia Holliday, Totteridge, *Comtes* Greater London.

James Jago, York, *Comtes* North Riding of Yorkshire.

Fred & Ann Ledden, Widnes, *Comtes* Cheshire.

Joanna Lyall, *Comtes* Greater London.

Linda Keen, Denton, *Comtes* Kent.

Joseph Mirwich, *Comtes* Greater London.

David Ormrod, Canterbury, *Comtes* Kent.

Martin Peach, *Comtes* Greater London.

Barbara Peel, Sutton Coldfield, *quondam Comtes* Warwickshire.

Nigel Pitt, *Comtes* Greater London.

Gerard Purnell, Brecon, *Comtes* Powys, Wales.

Judith al Safar, Birmingham, *quondam Comtes* Warwickshire.

Michael Tedder, Truro, *Comtes* Cornwall.

Julia Twigg, Canterbury, *Comtes* Kent.

Sandra Wedgwood, Dorking, *Comtes* Surrey.

❖ Miscellanea & Notes ❖

For the duration of the Study Tour, those attendees who are residents will stay at Sarum College, located at No. 19 on the North Walk, directly to the north-east of the Cathedral.

We will rendezvous with our coach at the designated stopping place directly opposite the White Hart public house, for which exit the Close *via* Saint Ann's Gate, to the north-east of the Cathedral, and turn left up Exeter Street, until the junction with New Street. The White Hart is on the opposite (right-hand) side of Exeter Street, immediate before the crossroads.

For the duration of the Study Tour only, in the event of accident or emergency, the Study Tour's organiser, Julia Twigg, can be contacted *via* her mobile phone: 07789 465964.