



Durham E-Theses

The Churchmanship of A.W.N. Pugin

Pickett, Richard James

How to cite:

Pickett, Richard James (2002) *The Churchmanship of A.W.N. Pugin*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3780/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

ABSTRACT

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) has received proficient attention in both his roles as an artist and an author. Similarly, his significance in influencing the neo-mediaeval party in the Roman Catholic revival of the 1830s and '40s has been recognised, and has received intermittent consideration. However, little attempt has been made to produce a comprehensive consideration of the development of Pugin's religious beliefs which informed his ecclesiological practice. It is, therefore, the intention of this thesis to examine the influences lying behind Pugin's strain of churchmanship, and also to demonstrate that his religious beliefs were the underpinning dynamic of his literary and artistic *œuvre*.

This examination of Pugin's churchmanship relies upon a consideration of his early religious development, his conversion to Roman Catholicism, his formation of an artistic theory resting upon religious principles, his social concerns, his developing attitude towards the Church of England and involvement with the Oxford Tractarians, his part in the emergence of the Roman Catholic neo-mediaeval party, and his clash with the Oratorian and ultramontane factions in the Church. The final chapter attempts to locate Pugin's influence within the broader context of the Roman Church's development from the 1850s. The thesis shows that Pugin's career was indeed inspired by a love of the Gothic style and of the Middle Ages, but that it was primarily informed by a strongly held ecclesiological conviction about the character which the re-emerging Catholic Church was to adopt in England.

THE CHURCHMANSHIP OF A.W.N. PUGIN

being a thesis submitted
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the University of Durham

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published in any form, including Electronic and the Internet, without the author's prior written consent. All information derived from this thesis must be acknowledged appropriately.

by

Richard James Pickett
of St. Chad's College

UNIVERSITAS
DUNELMENSIS
MMI



19 APR 2002

Ad
B. M. S. V.
Auxilium Christianorum

NOTE ON COPYRIGHT

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

DECLARATION

I confirm that this thesis conforms with the prescribed word length for the degree for which I am submitting it for examination.

No portion of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree within this, or any other, University.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	
Table of Contents	1
Table of Illustrations	2
Acknowledgments	6
CHAPTER I	
Introduction	7
CHAPTER II	
Bibliographic Survey	20
CHAPTER III	
Pugin's Conversion to Roman Catholicism	49
CHAPTER IV	
The Formation of Pugin's True Principles	71
CHAPTER V	
Pugin and the Oxford Movement	101
CHAPTER VI	
Pugin and the Catholic Revival	132
CHAPTER VII	
Conclusion	181
Bibliography	188
Illustrations	205



TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

Figure I.1

A.W.N. Pugin

attrib. George Richmond.¹

Figure I.2

The Grand Armury at Goodrich Court

anon.²

Figure I.3

The Bard

John Martin (1817).³

Figure I.4

Religion: The Vision of Sir Galahad

William Dyce (finished 1851).⁴

Figure I.5a

Exterior of Strawberry Hill

anon.⁵

Figure I.5b

Interior of Strawberry Hill

anon.⁶

Figure I.6

Sir John Cornwall and Lord Fanhope

from Samuel Meyrick's Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour (1824).⁷

Figure I.7

How to carry the Pipe of a Stove on the outside of a Chancel with best effect

from the anonymous Hints to Churchwardens (1825).⁸

Figure I.8

The Eaginton Tournament

James Henry Nixon (1843).⁹

¹ National Portrait Gallery, London, print.

² M. Girouard, The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman, Yale, New Haven, 1981, 51.

³ <http://www.artmagick.com>

⁴ C. Poulson, The Quest for the Grail: Arthurian Legend in British Art 1840-1920, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, 13.

⁵ J. Iddon, Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, St. Mary's University College, London, 1996, title page.

⁶ J. Iddon, Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, op. cit., 21.

⁷ S.R. Meyrick, A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour, as it existed in Europe, particularly in Great Britain, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of King Charles II, Bohn, London, 1842 (first edition 1824), plate.

⁸ Anon., Hints to Some Churchwardens, with a few Illustrations relative to the Repair and Improvement of Parish Churches, Rodwell and Martin, London, 1825, plate.

CHAPTER III

Figure III.1

The Nave of Caen Abbey

from A.C. Pugin's Specimens of the Gothic Architecture of Normandy.¹⁰

Figure III.2

The Nave of Bayeux Cathedral

from A.C. Pugin's Specimens of the Gothic Architecture of Normandy.¹¹

Figure III.3

Side of the Shrine

from A.W.N. Pugin's series of drawings for the Shrine of St. Edmund at Pontigny (1832).¹²

CHAPTER IV

Figure IV.1

Contrasted College Gateways

from A.W.N. Pugin's Contrasts (1836).¹³

Figure IV.2

Sir George Gilbert Scott's Martyrs' Memorial

Louisa Haghe (1840).¹⁴

Figure IV.3

Contrasted Public Conduits

from A.W.N. Pugin's Contrasts (1836).¹⁵

Figure IV.4

Contrasted Residences for the Poor

from A.W.N. Pugin's Contrasts (1841).¹⁶

⁹ M. Girouard, The Return to Camelot, op. cit., plate XII.

¹⁰ A.C. Pugin, Specimens of Gothic Architecture of Normandy from the XIth to the XVIth Century, Blackie and Son, London, 1874, plate IV. The first edition was published in 1828.

¹¹ A.C. Pugin, Specimens of the Gothic Architecture of Normandy, op. cit., plate XXVII.

¹² A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, Jolly and Barber, Rugby, 1985, 134.

¹³ A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Salisbury, 1836, unnumbered plate.

¹⁴ C. Webster and J. Elliot (eds), 'A Church as it Shout be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence, Shaun Tyas, Stamford, 2000, plate.

¹⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, 1836 Contrasts, op. cit., unnumbered plate.

¹⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts: or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Dolman, London, 1841, unnumbered plate.

Figure IV.5

Clothing of Nuns in a Thirteenth Century Cathedral

from A.W.N. Pugin's preliminary designs for D. Rock's The Church of Our Fathers (1837).¹⁷

CHAPTER V

Figure V.1

A Design for the Broad Street Façade of Balliol College

Basevi (1841).¹⁸

Figure V.2

A General Prospect of the Proposed Buildings at Balliol College

A.W.N. Pugin (1843).¹⁹

Figure V.3

Design for the Kitchen of Balliol College

A.W.N. Pugin (1843).²⁰

Figure V.4

Design for the Chapel of Balliol College

A.W.N. Pugin (1843).²¹

Figure V.5

Pugin's Gateway to Magdalen College

anon.²²

Figure V.6

St. Edmund

A.W.N. Pugin's frontispiece to Pattinson's and Dalgairns' Life of St. Edmund (1845).²³

CHAPTER VI

Figure VI.1

The Chancel of St. Giles', Cheadle

from A.W.N. Pugin's The Present State (1843).²⁴

¹⁷ A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 167.

¹⁸ J. Bryson, "The Balliol that might have been" in Country Life, vol. 133, 27 June 1963, 1558.

¹⁹ J. Bryson, "The Balliol that might have been", op. cit., 1559.

²⁰ H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983, 110.

²¹ H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, op. cit., 111.

²² Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. FA7/3/1AD/1/773.

²³ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin: An annotated critical bibliography, Mansell, London, 1987, 147.

²⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, Dolman, London, 1843, plate.

Figure VI.2

Frontispiece

from A.W.N. Pugin's Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (1844).²⁵

Figure VI.3

French and Flemish Priests

from A.W.N. Pugin's Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (1844).²⁶

Figure VI.4

Cathedral and Parochial Screens

from A.W.N. Pugin's A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts (1851).²⁷

Figure VI.5

The Singing of Vespers at the King William Street Oratory Chapel

anon.²⁸

ENDPLATE

Finis.

"The End"

endplate to A.W.N. Pugin's Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (1844).²⁹

²⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled from Ancient Authorities and Examples, Bohn, London, 1844, frontispiece.

²⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary, op. cit., plate.

²⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification, Dolman, London, 1851, frontispiece.

²⁸ M. Napier and A. Laing, The London Oratory, Trefoil, London, 1984, colour plate IV.

²⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary, op. cit., plate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe the greatest debt of thanks to my dear family who have supported me in this undertaking: my mother, father, and grandmother. A special note of thanks is similarly owing to my great aunt and great uncle for their kind-hearted benevolence.

My supervisor, Dr. Sheridan Gilley, is responsible for anything that is good about this work, and I wish to offer him my gratitude for his kind, patient, and knowledgeable guidance.

I am most grateful to my various friends for their generous support and kindly amity. A special thanks is offered to Kate Callighan, Neil Macrall, Amanda Griffin, Dr. Alison Shell, Dr. Arnold Hunt, Sean Power, Andrew Rudd, Michael Hampel, Julia Baldwin, Dr. Michael Bryden, Benedict Yates, Richard Bimson, Revd. Fr. Jerome Bertram and Victoria Kilkenney.

I am most grateful to the various librarians and archivists who have afforded me their invaluable assistance; especially, Dr. Robin Darwell-Smith, archivist of Madgalen College, Mr. Alan Tadillo of Balliol College Library, Dr. Alistair MacGregor, librarian of Ushaw College, Dr. Roger Norris, librarian of the Dean and Chapter Library, Durham, and Miss Elizabeth Rainey, sub-librarian of the University of Durham Palace Green Library. In addition I would like to thank the various staff of the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean Library, the University of Durham Library, the Cambridge University Library, the University of Warwick Library, the Oxford Oratory Library, the British Library, the National Art Library, the National Monuments Record, and the Council for the Care of Churches, who have afforded assistance to me.

A note of further thanks is due to those who have had the generosity to make loan of bibliographic material; particularly to Dr. Nigel Yates, Prof. Andrew Sanders, and Christopher Zealley, for their loan of works by Pugin.

Similar appreciation is also expressed to those who have taken the time to guide me around various sites of pertinent interest: Dr. Sarah Boss of Ushaw College, Mr. Martin Pratt of Oscott College, and Mr. Nicholas Schofield of the Venerable English College in Rome.

R.J.P.
St. Chad's College, Durham
Feast of St. Cuthbert, 2001

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

*'Beauty is truth, truth beauty' – that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.*

(John Keats, Ode to a Grecian Urn)

The common adage that all roads lead to Rome has often been applied to the significant trend for Anglican High Churchmen of the nineteenth century to follow the path to Rome and convert to the Catholic Church. Many who travelled upon this road were to find at its end an Ultramontane faith, whilst others were to find on it a more liberal *via media*. There was also yet another small but not insignificant party whose path to Rome led them by a rather different route. This group rejected much of what was thought to be Romish practice and attempted to recreate a Church rooted in the soil of mediæval English Catholicism. One of its members was Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) (Fig. I.1) who, to use the image conjured by Trappes-Lomax, “set out on his tireless search for ancient beauty; and he found the Road to Rome.”³⁰ This thesis will attempt an examination of Pugin’s search for ancient beauty and of the journey which this involved him in, both as an Anglican and a Catholic.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, there had been an increasing romantic interest in the Middle Ages. This sensibility found moral expression in an increase in chivalric values and artistic impression in the literature and architecture of this period. There was a revival in heraldic interest and collections of armour were brought out of the attic, dusted down and put on display (Fig. I.2).³¹ Mediæval texts such as Malory’s Le Morte D’Arthur (ca.1470) were republished for the first time in the modern period (1816

³⁰ M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin: A Mediæval Victorian, Sheed and Ward, London, 1932, 39.

³¹ M. Girouard, The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman, Yale, New Haven, 1981, 40-41.

and 1817 editions).³² Furthermore a distinctive genre of moralist contemporary literature with a strong mediæval theme developed as typified by Kenelm Digby's (1800-1880) The Broadstone of Honour, or Rules for the Gentlemen of England (1822, 1823, 1828-9 editions).³³

In art this trend was heralded by Blake who evoked Arthurian imagery in The Ancient Britons – Three Ancient Britons Overthrowing the Army of Armed Romans which he exhibited at his house in 1809.³⁴ John Martin's (1789-1854) oil The Bard (1817) (Fig. I.3) affords an excellent picturesque example of the synthesis of romantic and neo-mediæval sentiment.³⁵ The bard is shown as an heroic and naturalised figure, set high in the foreground, perched upon a monumental rise of rock. He, the sole surviving Welsh bard, watches and curses the progress of the conquering soldiers of Edward I. High in the middle ground, there stands a vast Edwardian castle replete with turrets, buttresses, pointed windows and crenellations. The castle is at once viewed as an instrument of suppression, but also as a romantic subject which suggests a world of courtly chivalry. Far below the bard a motley troop in full armour and brandishing flags wends its way along a road and relieve the grey surroundings with the vivacious colour of its apparel. The work evokes two seemingly opposed ideas; untamed nature is set against a word of courtly chivalry. Yet, somehow Martin's romantic depiction succeeds in appealing to both.

³² M. Girouard, The Return to Camelot, op. cit., 42.

³³ "Digby, Kenelm Henry" in D.N.B., vol. v, 971.

³⁴ C. Poulson, The Quest for the Grail: Arthurian Legend in British Art 1840-1920, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, 15.

³⁵ The subject of the work is derived from Thomas Gray's poem The Bard (1755).

See <http://artmagick.com/paintings/painting1163.asp> and H. Hanley, M. Cooper and S. Morris "The mysterious Septimus Prowett: Publisher of the John Martin *Paradise Lost*" in The British Art Journal, vol. II, no. 1, Autumn 2000, 20-25.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the theme of the Middle Ages came to occupy its own distinctive genre, independent of the picturesque tradition. History painting, which had traditionally been the preserve of classical and biblical subjects, came to see an increase in the use of mediæval subject material. Works such as West's series on the Life of Edward III or Dyce's Arthurian frescos in the Palace of Westminster (Fig. I.4) matched the growth in religious mediævalist art, making use of secular as well as sacred subject material.

Romanticism propagated an archæological interest in monastic ruins and in the eighteenth century there was even an attempt at creating gothic "ruins" in the landscape for the purpose of picturesque effect. Indeed, from the middle of the eighteenth century "gothick" architecture enjoyed a significant revival. As the closest thing Britain had to a national style it came to represent something of the virtue and character of the nation as with James Gibbs's "Gothick Temple to Liberty" at Stowe (1714). A revival of interest in Gothic as a domestic style began about mid-century with Horace Walpole's Gothick mansion at Strawberry Hill (1750-1790) (Fig. I.5).³⁶ Walpole started a trend which was soon adopted by others. William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey, designed by James Wyatt, is held by Clark to be a building which "concentrated in itself all the Romanticism of the 1790s and was the epitome of eighteenth-century Gothic."³⁷ By 1800 it was the fashion to build in castellated manner, and this trend perhaps reached its height in the 1820s when leading architects such as Nash, Smirke, Laugen, Atkinson, and Wyatt all designed a large number of castellated houses.³⁸ The Gothic style thus became increasingly popular during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and the decision in 1835 to

³⁶ See J. Iddon, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, St. Mary's University College, London, 1996.

³⁷ K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*, Murray, London, 1995, 86.

³⁸ See Dale, *James Wyatt*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1956.

erect the new Palace of Westminster in either a Gothic or Elizabethan style represented its ultimate re-acceptance within the English mores.

By the mid-century well-healed society had adopted the theme of the Middle Ages as a subject of playful amusement. The Eglinton Tournament of 1843 (Fig. I.8) was a reconstruction of a mediæval joust, at which the upper classes were able to play at being mediæval knights and their ladies. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert attended a *Bal Costume* in 1842 as Queen Elenor and Edward III. However, such frivolity echoed more serious trains of thought, and the conscious attempt of the upper classes to cast themselves as successors to a mediæval tradition reflected the increased appeal of that age as a model from which to shape their own.

Gothic as an ecclesiastical style also enjoyed a revival; the eighteenth century had seen a handful of new Gothick churches and even more significant number of restorations.³⁹ However, the population boom of the early nineteenth century meant that there was a need for a church building programme on an unprecedented scale. Following the Church Building Act of 1818, a marked preference was shown towards the Gothic style and one hundred and seventy four loosely Gothic churches were erected.⁴⁰ These early “Commissioners’ churches”, which Pugin was later to satirise in his *Contrasts* (1836), followed in the eighteenth-century Gothick tradition. They were slender evocations of the Gothic style with no real understanding of its original mechanics or principles. Indeed, before Pugin, the architecture of the Gothic revival rested upon a sycophantic and whimsical desire to evoke a romantic image of the mediæval past. Eighteenth-century attempts to discover the rules governing the style often fell far short of the mark.

³⁹ K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 91-94.

⁴⁰ K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 95. A further twenty-eight churches in classical style were erected under the Act. The preference for Gothic derived from reason of finance and propriety.

For example, Batty Langley's Gothic Architecture improved by Rules and Proportions in many Grand Designs (1742) reduces the style to absurdity in its attempt to outline "The Five Orders of Gothic Architecture" along the same lines as Classical Albertian scholarship.

The rise of romantic neo-mediævalism took place in part as a response to the growing radicalism seen within British society. As Gilley points out "Never before or since the 1820s have so many Britons wanted to strangle their king with the entrails of the Archbishop of Canterbury".⁴¹ Thus in a period which was ever preoccupied with revolution and what it saw as a changing social order, there was a trend to idealise the mediæval era as a golden age. Treating the religious dimension at work in this phenomenon, Yates argues that by the 1820s the relationship between Church and state had broken and that "a new model had to be found, and they found it in an earlier age, in the Christian Society of the Middle Ages in which religion and politics had been interdependent and which they felt offered models for adaptation to current needs and for the creation of a stable and contented society."⁴² Growing romantic sensibility towards the Middle Ages therefore came to be assimilated into political and ecclesiastical thinking. In Anglicanism the High Church party began to gain considerable influence in government, and from the late eighteenth century, the Middle Ages became increasingly important as a frame of reference.

This was coupled with growing ritualist tendencies within the Anglican Church, which were in many ways the expression of theological thinking prefiguring the Oxford

⁴¹ S. Gilley, "Edward Irving, The National Scotch Church and the Catholic Apostolic Church" in Architectural Heritage VIII: Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1997, 37.

⁴² N. Yates, Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 43.

Movement. Ritualist sympathies may even be detected as early as the first half of the eighteenth century, when Thomas Lewis, using what could easily be mistaken for Puginian rhetoric, had complained that

no images but lions and unicorns must now be the embellishment of our churches, and the Arms of the Civil Magistrate may stand with Applause where the Cross, the Arms of a Crucified Saviour, must be defaced as Popish and Idolatrous⁴³

High Churchmanship of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries showed thinking which was Laudian in character, rejecting much of Calvinist eucharistic theology and sympathising with the Ornaments Rubric enforced under the 1559 Act of Uniformity.⁴⁴ Moves towards a more ritualist liturgy had been made in some churches, with the creation of a permanent space in the chancel designed for the communion and the use of altar lights together with a more frequent celebration of communion.

There was a growing interest in mediæval ecclesiological and liturgical scholarship, and antiquarian authors of the nineteenth century by far surpassed the restricted endeavours of those of the eighteenth century. Amongst publications of significance there had appeared T.D. Fosbrooke's British Monachism; or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England (1802, 1817), John Lingard's The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church (1806), Samuel Meyrick's Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour (1824) (Fig. I.6), William Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, or Antiquities of the English Ritual and a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies (1832), and Daniel Rock's Hierurgia: or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with Notes and Dissertations Elucidating its Doctrines and

⁴³ P.B. Nockles, The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship 1760-1857, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, 212.

Compare to the passage in Pugin's Contrasts (1836) which mentions "a square table, surmounted by the king's arms, which had everywhere replaced the crucified Redeemer" (A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Salisbury, 1836, 14).

⁴⁴ See 2 Edw. VI

Ceremonies (1833).⁴⁵ In addition to this expanding canon of scholarship, the 1820s and '30s saw a proliferation of ecclesiological and antiquarian societies which were formed in response to the new interest in the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ These societies not only undertook research which was published in their proceedings but also often engaged in the transcription and publication of manuscript material. The Surtees Society (est. 1834), for example, had as its object “the publication of inedited Manuscripts, illustrative of the intellectual, the moral, the religious and the social conditions of those parts of England and Scotland ... which constituted the Ancient Kingdom of Northumbria”.⁴⁷

Despite the activities of such societies the general educated public was slow to gain an historically based appreciation of the Middle Ages. A passage from Newman's novel Loss and Gain (1848), which is set amid the clamour of Tractarian Oxford in the early 1840s, suggests that an extremely limited understanding of mediæval architecture and liturgy was held even amongst most members of the University. The characters Charles Reding and Sheffield are taken to see a reordered chapel by the proto-ritualist Bateman:

“It is to be a real specimen of a Catholic Chapel,” he said; “we mean to make the attempt of getting the Bishop to dedicate it to the Royal Martyr – why should not we have our St. Charles as well as the Romanists? – and it will be quite sweet to hear the vesper-bell tolling over the sullen moor every evening, in all weathers, and amid all the changes and chances of this mortal life” ... It was as pretty a building as Bateman had led them to expect, and very prettily done up. There was a stone altar in the best style, a credence table, a piscina, what

⁴⁵ T.D. Fosbroke, British Monachism; or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England, Nattali, London, 1843 (first edition 1802, second edition 1817).

J. Lingard, The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, London, 1806.

S.R. Meyrick, A Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour, as it existed in Europe, particularly in Great Britain, from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of King Charles II, Bohn, London, 1842 (first edition 1824).

W. Palmer, Origines Liturgicae, or Antiquities of the English Ritual and a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1832.

D. Rock, Hierurgia: or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with Notes and Dissertations elucidating its Doctrines and Ceremonies, Brooker, London, 1833.

⁴⁶ N. Yates, Anglican Ritualism, op. cit., 43-44.

⁴⁷ “Rules &c. of the Surtees Society” in A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customes belonging of being within the Monastical Church of Durham, 1593, Surtees Society, 1842, 1.

looked like a tabernacle, and a couple of handsome brass candlesticks. Charles asked the use of the piscina – he did not know its name – and was told that there was always a piscina in the old churches in England, and that there could be no proper restoration without it. Next he asked the meaning of the beautifully wrought closet or recess above the altar; and received for answer, that “our sister churches of the Roman obedience always had a tabernacle for reserving the consecrated bread”. Here Charles was brought to a stand: on which Sheffield asked the use of the niches; and was told by Bateman that images of saints were forbidden by the canon, but that his friends, in all these matters, did what they could. Lastly, he asked the meaning of the candlesticks; and was told that, Catholicly-minded as their Bishop was, they had some fear lest he would object to altar lights in service – at least at first ...⁴⁸

Texts of antiquarian scholarship were matched by works of architectural research which also advanced the existing canon. Until the nineteenth century, architectural treatises had been conservative in approach and attempted little by way of stylistic analyses. Publications such as Thomas Rickman’s An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture (1817) were to present a fresh approach to architectural history, and began to formulate a technical vocabulary through which stylistic development could be categorised and discussed.⁴⁹ There was also a growing sensitivity towards the condition of mediæval churches, many of which had fallen into a bad state of disrepair, and architects such as Wyatt undertook tentative restorations. However, such restorations often continued the eighteenth century “Gothick” tradition, and works such as the anonymous Hints to Some Churchwardens, with a few Illustrations relative to the Repair and Improvement of Parish Churches (1825) criticised them for their lack of sensibility (Fig. I.7).⁵⁰ Pugin followed in this growing tradition, and as Powell observes his advent was not untimely:

⁴⁸ J.H. Newman, Loss and Gain: The Story of a Convert, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 9th edn., 1891, 12-15.

⁴⁹ T. Rickman, An Attempt to Discriminate the styles of Architecture, 1817.

⁵⁰ Anon., Hints to Some Churchwardens, with a few Illustrations relative to the Repair and Improvement of Parish Churches, Rodwell and Martin, London, 1825.

He came just at the right time. Sir Walter Scott has Mediaevalized [sic] poetic-story; Christian Archaeologists and Antiquarians were forming associations, articles and controversies in Periodicals kept the subject alive; and so his work rose on the crest of a wave of public interest.⁵¹

The relationship between Truth and Beauty was another subject which gave rise to much debate in nineteenth-century English artistic theory. It was a theme which arose out of an eighteenth-century discussion. Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), founder of the Royal Academy, forwarded a humanist conception of the association between these two qualities which typified the belief of his age:

The natural appetite or taste of the human mind is for *Truth*; whether that truth results from the real agreement or equality of original ideas among themselves; from the agreement of the representation of any object with the thing represented; or from the correspondence of the several parts of any arrangement with each other. It is the very same taste which relishes a demonstration in geometry, that is pleased with the resemblance of a picture to an original, and touched with the harmony of musick.⁵²

Reynolds was very much a man of his age, a man of the 'enlightenment.' According to the new science propagated by Newtonian rationalism creation and nature came to be understood as revealing the hand of the divine architect. Whilst God may not have

The accompanying text to the plate here given as Fig.1.8 reads:

How to carry the Pipe of a Stove on the outside of a Chancel with best effect.

PIERCE the upper part of the east window, and carry an elbow of the pipe through it, joining the chimney on with a gentle angle to the lower part of the slope of the chancel roof, and then forming an ingenious acute angle, with another elbow carry the chimney to the crest of the roof over the window, and taking down the cross (which was fixed there), with another elbow raise the pipe or chimney about six feet high, and terminate it with what is called a T. – By this means a churchwarden may ensure convenience, and found his own reputation, as there is much *effect, beauty, and boldness* in the plan, which has also the additional advantage of forming a cloud over the very spot where the altar stands, by the help of the T, so that it might not be under all the circumstances appropriate to call the a sublime idea.

(Anon., *Hints to Some Churchwardens*, op. cit., 30).

⁵¹ J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", ed. A. Wedgwood in *Architectural History*, 31 (1988), 179.

⁵² J. Reynolds, "Discourse VII: The Reality of a standard of Taste, as well as of corporal Beauty. Beside this immutable truth, there are secondary truths, which are variable; both requiring the attention of the

wrought creation in an immediate and interventional fashion, He nonetheless had set the laws and mechanisms of the universe in action and thereby predestined the natural order. To understand natural creation was to gain knowledge of the workings of God and therefore in a sense to attain an understanding of the divine author Himself. Alexander Pope's famous epitaph to Newton sums up this train of thought

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
God said let Newton be! and all was light.⁵³

The artistic response to this contention drew on classical tradition and assimilated the Platonic principle that beauty could be achieved in the arts if they held a mirror up to nature.⁵⁴ This belief had found classical expression in Vitruvian architectural theory, which in turn came to be resurrected in the Renaissance period through Alberti's De re aedificatoria (first published at Florence in 1485, but a copy had been presented to Pope Nicholas V as early as 1452).⁵⁵ Although some in England had previously been aware of such theory, the eighteenth-century fashion for Palladianism led to a wider reception of Vitruvian principles. Such a Platonic understanding of the arts was further compounded though growing familiarity with the ancients brought about through an increase in classical learning, the Grand Tour and interest in the works of classicist painters such as Claude Lorrain (1600-82) and Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665).

With the rise to prominence of the Gothic, the same discourse was used to formulate a validation of that style. However, due to the social and religious dimensions which had

Artist, in proportion to their stability or their influence" in Discourses on Art, ed. R.R. Wark, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1997, 122.

⁵³ A. Pope, "Epitaph Intended for Sir Isaac Newton" in The Works of Alexander Pope, Wordsworth, Ware, 1995, 138.

⁵⁴ R.G. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, 46-56.

See also Plato, The Republic, Penguin, London, 1987, 94-8.

⁵⁵ Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture (De architectura libri X), transl. M.H. Morgan, Dover, New York, 1960. L.B. Alberti, On Architecture (De re aedificatoria), ed. J. Rykwert, transl. G. Leoni, London, 1955.

informed the Gothic revival, this discourse took on a moral character.⁵⁶ Pugin's architect, John Ruskin (1819-1900), in his first Lecture on Architecture, maintained that

there is a farther reason for our adopting the pointed arch than its being the strongest form; it is also the most beautiful form ... Not the most beautiful because it is the strongest; but most beautiful, because its form is one of those which, as we know by its frequent occurrence in the work of nature around us, has been appointed by the Deity to be an everlasting source of pleasure to the human mind.⁵⁷

Pugin did much to introduce a moral aspect into architectural theory when he re-named Gothic architecture as “Christian architecture” in his The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841) and even more controversially as “Catholic architecture” in An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England.⁵⁸ In the former work Pugin reflected on the relationship of divine truth with natural and artistic beauty, and concluded with an exhortation:

Let then the Beautiful and the True be our watchword for future exertions in the overthrow of modern paltry taste and paganism, and the revival of Catholic art and dignity.⁵⁹

The weakening of the Anglican Church's traditional prominence in society was also paired with a growth in the activities of other denominations. The position of Catholics in England became a contentious issue, in part because of growing agitation in Ireland, but also in part due to the increasing liberalism of society. The 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act and the debate preceding it had set the existence of the Roman Church in England firmly in the public consciousness.⁶⁰ The Whig Government's push for the more liberal toleration of religious nonconformity and dissent whilst not wiping

⁵⁶ See D. Watkin, Morality and Architecture, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997 and D. Watkin, The Rise of Architectural History, Architectural Press, London, 1980.

⁵⁷ J. Ruskin, Lectures on Architecture and Painting, Routledge, New York, 1907, 15.

⁵⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, Weale, London, 1841 and A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture, op. cit., 23.

out strong and vociferous anti-Catholic elements in society nonetheless gave rise to a greater degree of acceptance of Catholicism.⁶¹ Frances Jerningham, a member of one of the old recusant families, observed in 1819 “It is really becoming fashionable to be a Catholic.”⁶² It was the period in which, to use Wiseman’s analogy, the Roman Church freed from its last significant penal restraints began “emerging from the catacombs.”⁶³ For the first time since the Reformation Catholicism began to take on a public face. As Newman was to reflect there was a fresh optimism in the Church, she was

coming out of prison... She comes out with pallium, and cope, and chasuble, and stole, and wonderful working relics, and holy images.⁶⁴

The reality was in point of fact something less glorious than Newman’s triumphalist rhetoric would lead us to believe. Catholic liturgical practice in the early 1830s was greatly wanting to say the least, and only the Embassy chapels, a few of the great houses and a handful of other churches saw anything like a proper solemn liturgy.⁶⁵ Although by the 1850s there had been a partial liturgical revival, Catholic ritual by and large remained limited in its attainment. Nonetheless, Newman’s image is a significant one, for it at once shows what the Church aspired to, and also captures something of what Pugin was to find so attractive with the Catholic revival’s suggestion of neo-mediaeval possibility. Neo-mediaevalists hoped that this emergence from the catacombs would be an emergence in ecclesiological terms of the same Church which had entered them at the Reformation. The mediaeval Church was to rise up unchanged and

⁵⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, *True Principles*, op.cit., 67.

⁶⁰ *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty’s Roman Catholic Subjects*, 10 Geo. IV c.7.

⁶¹ See G. Stebbing, *The Church in England*, Sands, London, 1921, 483- and E. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1968.

⁶² M. Bence-Jones, *The Catholic Families*, Constable, London, 1992, 127.

⁶³ N. Wiseman cited in D. Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival*, Hollis and Carter, London, 1946, 21.

⁶⁴ J.H. Newman, “Christ upon the Waters” in *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*, Burns and Oates, London, 1887, 137

unblemished by her long sojourn of recusancy and untouched by the polluting influences of Reformation and Renaissance that had ravaged the nation and Church in the intervening era.

Twenty-one years after Catholic Emancipation, the Roman Church in England came of age with the restoration of its hierarchy *in ordinum*. The restoration was an effective recognition by Rome that the Church in England was once again fully established. Pugin's career more or less correlates to the crucially formative period in the Roman Church's development in England between the Relief Act of 1829 and the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850. In this period, the Church was to create and consolidate its identity in England and Pugin was at the forefront of the party pushing for a neo-medievalist restoration. His role in shaping the Roman Catholic Church during this period has not been fully recognised and this has partially been due to a failure to understand the varied and differing religious concerns which shaped his ecclesiology. It is therefore the intention of this study to essay the development of Pugin's churchmanship. The word development may be used in a proper sense for, contrary to the popular perception, Pugin's relationship with the Roman Church and also with the Church of England was to evolve and change throughout his life and not just at the time of his secession to Catholicism.

⁶⁵ See B. Ward, Catholic London a Century Ago, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1905.

Chapter II

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SURVEY

To attempt an assessment of all material published in relation to Pugin would, within the context of this study, prove a superfluous task. Belcher's A.W.N. Pugin: An annotated critical bibliography (1987) enumerates some eight hundred and sixty three "publications about Pugin" and has proven both a competent and comprehensive bibliographic study.⁶⁶ Of these works some three hundred and eighty-four were published within Pugin's own lifetime, whilst the remainder were published posthumously. However an account of the principal works of biography and scholarship would not go amiss in forming an appreciation of the various trends and approaches in the field of Puginian historiography. Varying authors have tended to reflect the views of their respective eras, tastes and religious dispositions, and their works have differed accordingly. Objectivity has all too often been lacking, and just as in life Pugin was capable of exciting forceful division of opinion, so too in death has he continued to provoke strongly differing points of view. It has not been uncommon for works on Pugin to have been informed through a particular bias or stance of their authors. This is especially true when authors have set their pens to discoursing on Pugin's religious disposition. Some such as Kenneth Clark have seen him as a romanticist whose love for the Gothic caused him to adopt Catholicism, whilst others of a more religious disposition, such as Trappes-Lomax, have presented him as a devout son of the Church seeking only God's glory.

The purpose of this survey is therefore twofold: in the first place, it is intended to assess the opus of Puginian scholarship in the round and to show how this has affected an accurate understanding of Pugin. Secondly, it will serve to identify the extent to which

⁶⁶ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin: An annotated critical bibliography, Mansell, London, 1987.

the subject of Pugin's churchmanship has been treated, and to discuss the accuracy or otherwise of such treatments.

The obituaries appearing in various newspapers, periodicals and journals after Pugin's death constitute some of the earliest biographical attempts. Of these the articles appearing in The Builder (25 September 1852), The Ecclesiologist (25 September 1852) and the Illustrated London News (2 October 1852) provide some of the most substantial accounts.⁶⁷ As these set the form followed by most subsequent biographers, it is perhaps worth considering their content in some detail.

Thomas Talbot Bury (1811-1877), an architect and friend of Pugin, wrote the obituary for The Builder.⁶⁸ His familiarity with his subject brings to the obituary an air of knowing authority. Powell, in his monograph Pugin in his home (n.d.), gives us an insight into the relationship that existed between Pugin and Bury:

They were days of laughter when he [Bury] came. Having heard much of Pugin's early life he chaffed him about "smuggling over antiquities for sale", his "basin dinners at Aldgate pump", of "his sleeping in private boxes, when scene painting," of "being enticed by Pugin to tempt an Artist for a day's holiday without the Wife's permission, and of their hearing a terrible voice on the landing "Then you may let yourself in Mr --'."⁶⁹

Bury is thus well equipped with a first hand familiarity with his subject and succeeds in providing us with a fairly rounded summary biography.

Section D: "Publications about Pugin".

⁶⁷ The Builder, X, No. 503, 25 September 1852, 605-7.

The Ecclesiologist, XIII, 25 September 1852, 253-7.

The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, 281-2.

Obituaries of Pugin also appear in: The Tablet, XIII, No. 650, 25 September 1852.

Morning Chronicle, 17 September 1852.

⁶⁸ See J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", op. cit., 200, f.n. 160.

⁶⁹ J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", op. cit., 191.

He begins by considering Pugin's parental origins. Augustus Charles Pugin's Gothic interests are signified as being formatively influential upon the development of the young Pugin:

he travelled with his Father both in England and Normandy, when in search of material for his publications, and being unrestrained, enthusiastic, and gifted with quick perception, he formed his own conclusions of the peculiarities of those glorious remains of periods of art with which his youthful spirit so much sympathised and held communion.⁷⁰

Lord Shrewsbury's patronage is recognised as establishing Pugin in practice, and the bequest which he received from "his aunt" (Selina Welby) is noted as enabling his move to Salisbury and erect his new family home, St. Marie's Grange.⁷¹ A substantial list of Pugin's major architectural works follows, and it is argued that Pugin seldom had sufficient opportunity to achieve in building that of which he was capable. However, Bury attempts to indicate Pugin's abilities through providing a description of his church at Cheadle as an example of his "unrestrained scope."⁷²

In turning to Pugin as an author, Bury cites the groundbreaking influence of Contrasts and justifies its over emphatic and sometimes violent tone by arguing that "it was not out of place at the time it appeared."⁷³ Pugin's True Principles of Christian Architecture, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume and Treatise on Chancel Screens are also identified as significant works.⁷⁴ However Bury proffers no comment on these texts, except to say that the Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume was "a crowning work ... doubtless his finest work which treats on general ornamentation."⁷⁵ Bury was perhaps dazzled by the brilliance of Pugin's illustrations in the glossary, for he underestimates the significance of

⁷⁰ The Builder, X, No. 503, 25 September 1852, 606.

⁷¹ The Builder, X, No. 503, loc. cit.

⁷² The Builder, X, No. 503, op. cit., 607.

⁷³ The Builder, X, No. 503, op. cit., 605.

⁷⁴ The Builder, X, No. 503, op. cit., 606.

other texts. Nonetheless the observation is pertinent in acknowledging the extent of Pugin's influence beyond the architectural and literary fields. Bury attributes Pugin's final demise to his growing involvement in literary controversy:

His pen was also increasingly engaged and he had always some new work or pamphlet in hand; this doubtless caused too much excitement for his already overworked mind.⁷⁶

The Illustrated London News (2 October 1852) relies heavily on Bury's article which had been published a week before. However, the publication is of a more popularist tone, and it does not hesitate to lavish praise in its eulogy to Pugin. Balance is perhaps lost in the paper's enthusiasm for its subject:

This was Welby Pugin, whose genius soared back to those times of religious enthusiasm, when England built up some of the most beautiful ecclesiastical edifices in the world – Welby Pugin whose lessons and examples pointed out the true form and spirit of the Gothic school, and revived its greatness and magnificence amongst us ...⁷⁷

Again Pugin's family origins are discussed, and Augustus Charles is pointed out as being "much distinguished for his advocacy and activity in aiding towards that revival of pointed architecture."⁷⁸ Several sources of influence are discerned in Pugin's education: "For his general education he was first indebted to the instructions of his mother; during some after years he was a private pupil at Christ's Hospital", and additionally his training under his father, extensive travel and work for the theatre are noted.⁷⁹ The text is misleading in places, for example in referring to the deaths of Pugin's father and mother it states "On the death of his Father and Mother, in 1833, Mr Pugin went to reside at Ramsgate."⁸⁰ Pugin's father died in 1832.

⁷⁵ The Builder, X, No. 503, loc. cit.

⁷⁶ The Builder, X, No. 503, op. cit., 607.

⁷⁷ The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, 281-2.

⁷⁸ The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, 281.

⁷⁹ The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, loc. cit.

Nothing is mentioned of Pugin's conversion except that "In 1834 he seceded from the Protestant church and joined the religion of his fathers."⁸¹ Contrasts (1836) is shown as launching Pugin's public career and advancing an argument which subsequently became generally accepted:

[Pugin's Contrasts] took his own profession and public by surprise for its originality and earnestness ... the sentiments he then expressed have long since triumphed and been admitted as truths.⁸²

A list of Pugin's principal buildings which the paper acknowledges as being extrapolated from The Builder then follows. The article also draws from The Builder in acknowledging his relationship with Lord Shrewsbury and providing a brief summary of Pugin's publications.

The Morning Chronicle obituary (17 September 1852), which was also reproduced in The Ecclesiologist (October 1852), offers a similar account.⁸³ They vary slightly in detail and add a little further material; however, they are essentially the same as the earlier articles.

The problem of utilising obituaries as biographical source material is that they inevitably tend to eulogise their subjects, and for that reason, are not always the most rounded or critical of accounts. The speed at which such articles have to be printed also has an impact in some degree upon their accuracy. For example, the confusion between the obituary articles over the date of Pugin's conversion discussed in Chapter III is illustrative of this. The obituaries provide us with little depth of understanding of Pugin's churchmanship beyond the fact that he was an Anglican who became a Roman and who identified strongly with mediævalist ecclesiological forms.

⁸⁰ The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, loc. cit.

⁸¹ The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, loc. cit.

⁸² The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, loc. cit.

⁸³ Morning Chronicle, 17 September 1852, 5.

The first substantial memoir published on Pugin was Benjamin Ferrey's Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and of his Father, Augustus Pugin; With Notices of their Works (1861).⁸⁴ Ferrey was articled under Pugin's father in his youth and had boarded with the family at their home at Great Russell Street, London. Thus he, like Bury, had a first hand knowledge of his subject, although he appears to have had little connection with Pugin in later life. For this reason Ferrey's treatment is perhaps sharper when considering Pugin in his youth.

Ferrey's experience in the Pugin household appears to have been a mixed one. On the one hand, he seems to have held Augustus Charles in great respect and affection, whilst on the other hand his account of Pugin's mother, Catherine Welby Pugin, reaches near Dickensian proportion in its tale of degradation:

Some [of A.C. Pugin's pupils] were inmates of his house, a discipline was enforced in the social system of the establishment which owed its origin to Mrs. Pugin. It was severe and restrictive in the extreme, unrelieved by any of those relaxations essential to the healthy education of youth, and the smallest want of punctuality or infringement of domestic rules excited the marked displeasure of the lady ... Nothing could exceed the stern manner in which this routine was carried out; and excellent as was the course of studies in the office, the cold, cheerless, and unvarying round of duty, though enlivened by the cheerful manner and kind attention of the elder Pugin, was wretched and discouraging.⁸⁵

Ferrey's own experience inevitably influenced his depiction of Pugin's formative years, and whilst he gives an intimate and useful account of the daily life of the Pugin household, he also perhaps overplays an obvious resentment felt towards Pugin's

The Ecclesiologist, vol. XIII, October 1852, 352-7.

⁸⁴ B. Ferrey, Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and of his Father, Augustus Pugin; With Notices of their Works. With an Appendix by E. Sheridan Purcell, Esq., Stanford, London, 1861.

⁸⁵ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 26-8.

mother. There is little independent evidence to suggest that Mrs. Pugin's relationship with her son was as vexed Ferrey indicates. Indeed, letters surviving between Pugin and his mother show a mutual fondness and affection for each other. However, it would be surprising if Ferrey's experience had not coloured his judgment. In certain areas, there is, for example, an implicit undertone in the text implying that Pugin converted to Catholicism as a reaction against his Calvinistic upbringing under his mother. Referring to the Hatton Garden Chapel which Pugin and his mother used to attend Ferrey commented:

It never could have been expected that such a youth would submit to be pent up for hours together without any relief, in a pew like a cattle-pen when so magnificent a building as Westminster Abbey, with its beautiful and solemn services, was within reach.

However, such was the effect of his mother's want of judgement that it helped forward the change in his religious views which subsequently took place.⁸⁶

Ferrey's treatment is not unsympathetic towards Pugin's secession to Rome and contains a substantial passage by Pugin in which he justifies his decision to convert.⁸⁷ In no way can the work really be considered an anti-Catholic account, and therefore Purcell's appendix, requested by Pugin's surviving family, "in which the writings and character of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin are considered in their Catholic aspect" seems a little superfluous.⁸⁸ Purcell's treatment is essentially a paraphrase of Pugin's own works and consequently the scholar is far safer in relying on the originals. One thing to be said in favour of the appendix is that it preserves a portion of Pugin's planned work on the English Schism which otherwise would have been lost.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 44-5.

⁸⁷ B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 103-5.

⁸⁸ B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 305.

⁸⁹ B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 450-3.

Ferrey's biography has constituted one of the principal accounts of Pugin's life and is the only substantial account to have been produced by one of Pugin's contemporaries. It contains much material which would otherwise have been lost and succeeds in giving a vivid impression of Pugin's personality. However, at the same time the whole work is often unreliable in its dating and is sometimes guilty of factual error. Nonetheless if the reader approaches the work with a degree of caution it proves an invaluable source. Belcher's description provides an apt summary of the work: "Ferrry's memoir is invaluable: chaotic, unreliable, incomplete, but invaluable."⁹⁰

Powell's monograph Pugin in His Home (n.d.) gives an interesting insight into the Pugin family's life at Ramsgate.⁹¹ Powell had lodged with the family at The Grange and studied under Pugin from his childhood. His little manuscript, intended as "A memory offering to lay on the Tomb of his Master Augustus Welby N. Pugin whose example was noble and every word instruction" provides an overview of almost all aspects of Pugin's existence in Ramsgate.⁹² The Grange and its ordering, Pugin's friends, relatives, associates, architectural and artistic practice, works of charity and love for sailing are but a few of the areas illuminated from Powell's youthful perspective. Pugin's sayings are frequently referred to, and here more so than in any other source, Pugin's character seems to transmit itself through the pages.

Being himself a Roman Catholic, Powell seems both disposed and also equipped to reflect on the question of the Pugin's religious disposition. The family's religious practices are treated on in several paragraphs under the heading "St. Augustine's".

⁹⁰ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 307.

⁹¹ MS. copies are to be found in the Westminster Archdiocesan Archives, London, and also in the National Art Library, London. The texts differ slightly, and Wedgwood is of the opinion that the Westminster MS. is the more original. It is this MS. which is transcribed in J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", op. cit.

However, not only here but throughout the text religion is a natural and constant subject.⁹³ Powell does not think it necessary to apologise for Pugin's faith and he presents his account of it without question.

It is interesting to note that of those who knew Pugin during his lifetime few, save Ferrey and Powell, treated him in published works after his death. However, biographies of Pugin's contemporaries have occasionally provided additional evidence. E.S. Purcell's Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle (1900) supplies much of the surviving material illuminating Pugin's relationship with Phillipps and Lord Shrewsbury.⁹⁴ Wilfrid Ward's The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman (1897) provides useful evidence for Pugin's relations with Wiseman and with the Tractarians.⁹⁵ It also succeeds in presenting Pugin not solely as an artist, but also as an ecclesiologist:

His whole soul dwelt in the middle ages. His enterprise was fairly launched in 1839, a year before Wiseman reached Oscott. It was in that year that he finally fixed his ideal of the form of Catholic ceremonial, for whose restoration he was to work. The ancient Plain Song was to be used to the exclusion of all operatic music or orchestral accompaniments. The priests were to dress in the modified Gothic vestments. The new churches were to be modelled on the best medieval parish churches and cathedrals in England.⁹⁶

Eastlake's A History of the Gothic Revival (1872) was written less than twenty years after Pugin's death and while the revival itself was still in progress.⁹⁷ In many ways it remains the most substantial and complete history of the revival to date. For example, in the preliminary chapters surveying the eighteenth-century genesis of the revival, Eastlake

⁹² J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", op. cit., 173.

⁹³ J. Powell, "Pugin in His Home", op. cit. 174-5.

⁹⁴ E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, 2 vols, Macmillan, London, 1900.

⁹⁵ W. Ward, The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman, 2 vols, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1897.

⁹⁶ W. Ward, The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman, op. cit., vol. I, 354.

⁹⁷ C. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival: An Attempt to Show How the Taste for Mediaeval Architecture which Lingered in England during the last two Centuries has since been Encouraged and Developed, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1872.

points to almost all of the major influences which subsequent scholars have detected. Carter's studies and engravings, Walpole's Strawberry Hill, Beckford's Fonthill Abbey, the novels of Walter Scott, James Wyatt's buildings and restorations are but a few of the influences related by Eastlake. If one turns to K. Clark's History of the Gothic Revival (1928), in order to form a comparison with a later work on the same subject, it is immediately obvious that Clark replicates many areas covered by Eastlake, and the same is true of other histories as well.

Eastlake's Pugin is posed as a centre balance, leading on from Gothic Romanticism to the fully fledged revival:

whatever value in the cause we may attach to the crude and isolated examples of Gothic which belongs to the eighteenth century, or to the efforts of such men as Nash and Wyatt, there can be little doubt that the revival of Mediæval design received its chief impulse in our own day from the energy and talents of one architect whose name marks an epoch in the history of British art, which, while art exists at all, can never be forgotten.⁹⁸

He appears to be familiar with a large number of Pugin's buildings and also with his writings. Whilst he does not provide sources for his information, he has obviously drawn a certain amount, particularly the material relating to Pugin's childhood, from Ferrey. Chapter nine deals exclusively with Pugin, whilst further mention is to be found in subsequent chapters. Eastlake begins by sketching a biography of Pugin, including mention of his writings. Although perhaps on occasion a little wanting in detail, this part includes most of the significant material provided by Ferrey. Contrasts is given an ample consideration, but as with the obituary articles, the summary of other published material is very sketchy.⁹⁹ However, it is transparent from citations elsewhere in the text that Eastlake is familiar with the content of Pugin's other major publications. Although he is

⁹⁸ C. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 145.

⁹⁹ C. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 149-50.

evidently sympathetic to many of Pugin's convictions, Eastlake is even handed in his assessment of his publications and points to their limitations:

... the tone of his literary work is biased throughout, and to some extent weakened, first by an absolute assumption of its author that the moral and social condition of England was infinitely superior in the Middle Ages to that of the present, and secondly that a good architect ought to inaugurate his professional career by adopting the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. Such convictions as these are excusable in the mind of a zealous convert, but they have no legitimate place in the polemics of art.¹⁰⁰

Eastlake concludes the chapter with a description of a number of Pugin's buildings. St. Marie's, Uttoxeter, St. Chad's, Birmingham, St. Wilfrid's, Liverpool etc. are all found to be defective to some extent. He appears to believe that Pugin's greatest contribution to the revival was in the field of decorative arts rather than in that of architecture, and praises Pugin's treatment of stained glass,¹⁰¹ of polychromic design,¹⁰² and of church furniture:

The attention which he bestowed on ecclesiastical furniture has been the means of reviving the arts of wood-carving and embroidery – of improving the public taste in the choice of carpets and paper-hangings.¹⁰³

St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, together with Pugin's home there, both of which were financed by Pugin himself, are alone given as examples of Pugin's architectural ability when freed from the restraint of patronal intervention:

The general *tone* of the interior [of St. Augustine's], lighted as it is by stained glass windows (executed by Hardman, and very fair for their time), is most agreeable and wonderfully suggestive of old work. The roofs of the chancel, Lady Chapel, and transept are panelled; those of the nave and aisles are open timbered, but all are executed in oak. The altars and

¹⁰⁰ C. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 151-2.

¹⁰¹ C. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 158.

¹⁰² C. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 150.

font are of Caen stone, richly sculpted. On them, as well as on the rood screen and choir stalls, Pugin has bestowed that careful study of detail for which, in his time, he stood unrivalled. The exterior of the church is simple but picturesque in outline ... No student or lover of old English Architecture can examine this interesting little church without perceiving the thoughtful, earnest care with which it has been designed and executed, down to the minutest detail. It is evident that Pugin strove to invest the building with *local* traditions of style.¹⁰⁴

Despite his praise for Pugin's decorative inventiveness, Eastlake was obviously familiar with Ruskin's criticism that Pugin "starved his roof tree to gild his altar" and held a certain sympathy towards it.¹⁰⁵ Whilst Ramsgate may have been an exception, Eastlake is critical of Pugin's constructional methods:

The money lavished on elaborate carving in wood and stone, on painting and gilding work which had better in many instances have been left without this adventitious mode of enrichment, would often have been more advantageously spent in adding a foot to the thickness of his walls and doubling the width of his rafters.¹⁰⁶

Such conviction seems to sit uneasily with Eastlake's praise of Pugin's decorative abilities. However, it was obviously held strongly by Eastlake, for in another place he claims as his own Ruskin's criticism:

It has frequently been affirmed, and with some show of reason, that Pugin enriched his churches at a sacrifice to their strength – that he starved his roof tree to gild his altar.¹⁰⁷

Despite Eastlake's severity towards Pugin for his believed neglect of architecture in favour of fittings, he seems to have some sympathy towards Pugin's broader ecclesiological principles:

¹⁰³ C. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 153.

¹⁰⁴ C. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 163.

¹⁰⁵ J. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice. Volume the first: The Foundations*, Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1851, Appendix XII.

¹⁰⁶ C. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 152.

¹⁰⁷ C. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, op. cit., 162.

it must be remembered that before Pugin began to write, ecclesiastical sentiment was rare, and artistic taste was rarer. The Roman Catholics had perverted the forms and ceremonies which pertained to the ancient faith. The Anglicans had almost forgotten them ...¹⁰⁸

Similarly Pugin's conversion is shown as a genuinely religious one:

His secession from the Church of England had meanwhile been an important event in his life. The causes which led to a change of his religious convictions, and the controversies which then arose, ... have been amply discussed elsewhere. That he was sincere in his change of faith, and that it was the result of more serious considerations than those associated with the art which he practised, no one can, charitably, doubt.¹⁰⁹

However, Eastlake's sympathy will not be drawn out further and he seems reluctant to engage himself in any form of religious controversy.

For example, he indicates that his account of Pugin's conversion was grounded in a consensus already formed after the issue had been "amply discussed elsewhere." However, where exactly this ample and definitive discussion had taken place remains unclear, as none of the sources referring to Pugin's conversion could be held to have provided such a treatment. It is obvious that although Eastlake felt himself competent to judge Pugin on artistic grounds, he was less prepared to engage him on religious ones:

Whatever the cause of religion has gained or lost by this movement need not here be discussed, but that it has been advantageous on the whole to national art there can be no question.¹¹⁰

Bernard Ward's The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation (1915) constituted a significant contribution to Puginian scholarship, in being the first publication which attempted to locate Pugin within the broader context of a general history of the Catholic revival in

¹⁰⁸ C. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 154.

¹⁰⁹ C. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 149.

¹¹⁰ C. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 154.

England.¹¹¹ Pugin is shown as being an influential character in shaping the Church between his conversion (erroneously given to 1834) and the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850. The work demonstrates a familiarity with his writings, and some original source material is reproduced, but at the same time it is impaired in originality through its heavy dependence upon Ferrey. However, Ward makes a valuable contribution in considering Pugin's involvement in the Rood Screen Controversy, although his assessment that it was Pugin who "divided the Catholic body into two parties, deeply and even bitterly opposed to one another" is perhaps a little unfair in its emphases.¹¹²

Kenneth Clark in The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste (1928) follows Eastlake's example in attempting to pose Pugin as the Janus of the Gothic Revival.¹¹³ Pugin again serves the purpose of a centre-balance between the romantic Gothick antiquarianism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the High Gothic revival espoused by Scott, Butterfield, Ruskin and others from the middle of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁴ Whilst this may have been a useful tool in constructing a book conceived of as charting a development of "taste" chapter by chapter, it nonetheless is over-simplistic and lacks an awareness of the immense subtlety involved in historic change of this sort. Whilst the work is constructed along the same lines as Eastlake's A History of the Gothic Revival (1872) Clark's treatment lacks sufficient length to be considered anything more than a survey. We must be careful when evaluating Pugin's role in the Gothic revival not to set him on too high a pedestal, nor to make too extravagant a claim for his influence and success. One has only to look at the Gothic

¹¹¹ B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation: The Story of the English Catholics Continued Down to the re-Establishment of their Hierarchy in 1850, 2 vols, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1915.

¹¹² B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, vol. I, 82.

¹¹³ K. Clark, The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste, Constable, London, 1928.

K. Clark, The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste, 3rd edn. Murray, London, 1962.

¹¹⁴ The chapter titles following chapter seven on Pugin are respectively: Ecclesiology, Gilbert Scott and Ruskin. An Epilogue concludes the work.

revival as an international phenomenon in order to realise the scope of the movement's roots beyond the merely British. Revivals of equal vigour took place in France, Belgium and numerous other countries, and these were not the result of an international, not a British, movement.¹¹⁵ We must therefore recognise that although Pugin was central to the movement's development in England he did not act as sole author of its development into an independent idiom from eighteenth-century Gothick.

However, one of Pugin's most abiding influences upon the Gothic revival was to impart to it a strongly moralistic agenda which might otherwise have been far less prevalent. It is interesting to pose the question of how Ruskin's and Morris' approaches to the morality of mediævalism would have differed if it had not been for Pugin. Watkin raises some of these considerations in Morality and Architecture (1977).¹¹⁶ Clark's seeming disapproval of the whole subject of Pugin's religion impairs his judgement; for him it muddies the waters of connoisseurship rather than illuminates the mind of a man. This lack of sensibility towards the religiosity of his subject would seem to derive from too humanist a conception of his study.

Michael Trappes-Lomax's Pugin: A Mediæval Victorian (1932) provides what is really the only substantial and fully rounded biographical treatment of Pugin since Ferrey.¹¹⁷ Subsequent attempts such as Stanton's Pugin (1971) have been too focused in scope on specific aspects of his *œuvre* to give a full picture of all dimensions of Pugin's personality and output. However, the work is not without its own stand-point. As Belcher observes, "The word 'Catholic' might well be added to the sub-title: the book is a study

¹¹⁵ See, for example, J. De Maeyer and L. Verpoest (eds), Gothic Revival: Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe 1815-1914, Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium, 7-10 November 1997, Universitaire Pers Leuven, Leuven, 2000.

¹¹⁶ D. Watkin, Morality and Architecture, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977.

¹¹⁷ M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit.

of Pugin from the point of view of his membership of that church.”¹¹⁸ Whilst chapters such as those dealing with Pugin’s family origins and with the Palace of Westminster do not mention the subject of his religion in any detail, it is fair to say that the book’s general disposition is towards an examination of Pugin within the context of his beliefs. However this is not necessarily a bad thing, and as this thesis will attempt to illustrate it perhaps throws more light on Pugin’s character than would otherwise be the case.

Trappes-Lomax’s treatment is fairly balanced, and although he is obviously sympathetic to Pugin and inclined to apologise for him, he generally attempts a rounded view. This mixture of sympathy and objectivity may be seen for example in the passage treating on

Contrasts:

Of course, Pugin was not entirely fair in his satire. It is hard for a man to be quite fair when he is wholly in earnest. But if the Middle Ages were not always so good as he drew them, and the early nineteenth century in some cases not so bad, yet his very exaggeration drew attention to the contrast which was really there.¹¹⁹

Similarly in Chapter XVIII, considering the Rood Screen controversy, Trappes-Lomax is both sympathetic to Pugin’s position but not unfair to his opponents.

Pugin: A Mediæval Victorian draws on most of the secondary sources then available, Ferrey, Eastlake, Ward, Purcell and K. Clark are frequently cited, along with a number of other texts. However, the work is more restricted in its use of primary material and relies heavily on its secondary sources. This being said Trappes-Lomax is familiar with most material published by Pugin himself, and in Appendix III he gives what was for a long while the most complete attempt at a bibliography of Pugin’s publications.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 381.

See also A. Symondson, “Michael Trappes-Lomax” in C. Baker, N. Dermott and J. Crocker (eds), True Principles: The Newsletter of the Pugin Society, vol. 2, no.1, 4-6.

¹¹⁹ M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit., 75.

¹²⁰ Appendix III, Publications, enumerates some thirty-two works by Pugin.

Despite its limitations, the work did much in its own time to resurrect interest in Pugin. Here it followed K. Clark's lead in rescuing Pugin from the obscurity into which he had sunk with the fall from grace of the Gothic revival. But whereas Clark had only been able to devote a chapter to Pugin, Trappes-Lomax was able to devote a whole book. Chapter XXI "Aftermath" reflects on this decline of interest:

there is no general tradition of Pugin in the English mind. 'Pugin?' a man might say, 'Pugin? Oh, yes, he was one of those silly Sham Gothic people. And wasn't there some row about him and the Houses of Parliament? ...'¹²¹

In asking why this was so, Trappes-Lomax offers a number of conclusions. He notes "the financial limitations under which Pugin worked, and the unkind fate which has mutilated or destroyed many of his buildings", and he also cites Ruskin's vehement hostility towards Pugin and the Catholic revival.¹²² However, perhaps the most interesting observation in relation to this study was the contemporary "tendency to associate Pugin solely with the Gothic Revival."¹²³ This may seem a strange remark for Pugin's whole life was devoted to the furtherance of that revival. However it was not only the demise of the Gothic revival style but also failure to recognise Pugin's role in developing Roman Catholic ecclesiology which led to a decline of interest in him. In attempting to show Pugin's legacy to the shape of Catholic religion in England, Trappes-Lomax did much in beginning to consider the extent of Pugin's impact beyond the purely artistic.

Rope's work Pugin (1935) followed the revival of interest in Pugin ensuing after K. Clark's and Trappes-Lomax's treatments.¹²⁴ Being a modest volume of some forty-two

¹²¹ M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit., 313.

¹²² M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit., 314.

¹²³ M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, loc. cit.

¹²⁴ H.E.G. Rope, Pugin, Pepler and Sewell, Ditching, Hassocks, Sussex, 1935.

pages, it is more religious tract than scholarly tome. The book almost totally relies on Ferrey and Trappes-Lomax together with an assortment of Pugin's own publications, and the author appears unfamiliar with other sources, both primary and secondary. The result is a rather unsatisfactory pastiche of Ferrey and Trappes-Lomax conceived to suit the author's Catholic bias, and it therefore lacks both originality and imagination. The somewhat self-conscious conclusion to the work betrays its apologetic tendencies:

may the words we have quoted & the account we have given in these brief pages convince their readers that Pugin was a man for whom we have no need to apologize, and defender of the Faith we should be proud [of], a zealous & loyal Catholic who in all things sought the honour & glory of GOD.¹²⁵

This being said, Rope has rendered us one service in attempting to resurrect Pugin not only as an architect but also (and primarily) as a religious essayist:

of Pugin the architect much has been written. There is room, we hope, for a consideration of Pugin the Catholic apologist and writer. The church-builder of Cheadle, and Ramsgate and Cotton has never yet received due honour as a master of English prose, varying from brilliant satire to clear exposition or doughty argument and rising at times to fervent eloquence.¹²⁶

Whilst the rhetoric of this quotation may be overblown, it nonetheless contains an important recognition of Pugin as not only an architect but as an ecclesiologist as well. However, Rope failed to develop this point beyond the observations posed by K. Clark and Trappes-Lomax and the reader is left with a sense that the promised goods have not been delivered. If only Rope had expounded on this observation with such perception as he had raised it, his work would have filled a long-vacant niche in the edifice of Puginian scholarship.

¹²⁵ H.E.G. Rope, Pugin, op. cit., 42.

¹²⁶ H.E.G. Rope, Pugin, op. cit., 2.

B. Clarke's Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century (1938) is not dissimilar in scope from K. Clark's work. In the first place it provides an informative survey on the fall and rise of Gothic interest through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Clarke then treats the subject of the nineteenth-century commissioners' churches and the so-called "battle of the styles" before turning to Pugin in his Chapter, "Gothic is Christian Architecture: The Life of Pugin."¹²⁷ As with K. Clark, B. Clarke uses his consideration of Pugin as a pivotal chapter turning his study towards the high Gothic Revival of the mid-century. Clarke gives a competent summary of Pugin's principle achievements and reveals an obvious admiration for both Pugin's literary and artistic work.

However, the chapter is let down by an obvious Anglican slant, which is not just a sympathy, but rather an overt bias. Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century is essentially an Anglican tale, and it is rather inconvenient that Pugin happened to be a Catholic. Thus Clarke attempts to claim Pugin for the Anglican Church, arguing that he "was not a typical Roman, and his views were such as we now associate as a matter of course with the Anglican Church".¹²⁸ He argues that after Pugin regretted his conversion to Rome,

The English Church seemed to be unsympathetic; but the Roman Church was far more so.

On the whole it had no love of Christian architecture at all. ... A few leading Romans, such as Dr. Rock, the Rev. Henry Weedall, President of St. Mary's College, Oscott, and Lord Shrewsbury, were friendly to Pugin. But by most of the Romans he was regarded as a rather dangerous and very difficult person.¹²⁹

and even goes as far as to suggest that Pugin considered rejoining the Anglican Church. Clarke's position is unsupportable and the work represents a sad misrepresentation of

¹²⁷ B. F. L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England, Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, 1938. Reprinted by David and Charles Reprints, Newton Abbot, 1969.

¹²⁸ B. F. L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, op. cit., 46.

¹²⁹ B. F. L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, op. cit. 48.

Puginism which can only have been damaging to the formation of a proper understanding of the subject.

Denis Gwynn's work Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival (1946) does the opposite to Clarke's, in that it reveals an obvious sympathy towards the Catholic mediæval cause.¹³⁰ However, whereas Clarke allowed his sympathy to pervert the historical case Gwynn did not. The work provided a fresh viewpoint in examining the neo-mediævalism of the Shrewsbury – Pugin – Phillipps circle. Gwynn succeeds in contextualising his short study within the broader perspective of the Catholic Revival of the 1830s and '40s, and his work remains one of the best brief accounts of the subject.

Phoebe Stanton's Ph.D. thesis Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival (1950) did much to move Puginian scholarship on from the timidity of previous work, which had tended to be heavily derivative from Ferrey's haphazard account.¹³¹ Whilst Ferrey plays an intrinsic part as a major source in Stanton's thesis, a plethora of further documentation is for the first time examined. Most significantly Stanton makes considerable use of Pugin's diaries, and a quantity of his neglected manuscripts. Use of fresh primary material brings to Stanton's thesis a firm reliability which was often previously wanting. Pugin (1971) rests primarily upon the findings of Stanton's thesis, and is principally a work of architectural interest.¹³² The book renders a proficient survey of Pugin's architectural *œuvre*, although the prodigious quantity of his work prevents a detailed discussion of all his works. However, the text, together with its numerous photographic illustrations, is nonetheless the most comprehensive survey of Pugin's buildings (and in particular his ecclesiastical buildings) to date. Stanton displays an understanding of the religious beliefs informing Pugin's architecture, stating in the introduction to her work:

¹³⁰ D. Gwynn, Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival, op. cit.

¹³¹ P. Stanton, Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival, Ph.D. Thesis, London (1950).

¹³² P. Stanton, Pugin, Thames and Hudson, London, 1971.

... he thought of himself as a Catholic first and whatever else he was second. His faith controlled his activities and dictated the social circles in which he moved and worked. It was reflected in his critical determinations and in the urgent feeling of religious and artistic mission that kept him in the ferment in which he thrived.¹³³

Although Stanton summarily succeeds in contextualising Pugin's architecture within the environment of his ecclesiological beliefs, her work does not attempt to stretch to an examination of the development of his religious opinions. Pugin's religious beliefs serve as a necessary explanation to his architecture, but are not the subject of study in themselves. Consequently the work is extremely useful within its defined field, but lacking in its compass outside it.

Pugin: A Gothic Passion (1994) was produced as the catalogue to the Victoria and Albert Museum's 1994 exhibition of the same name.¹³⁴ The exhibition was the first major retrospective to be mounted on Pugin and succeeded in arousing considerable interest in the subject. Calling Atterbury and Wainwright's offering a catalogue is in many ways misleading for it cannot be called such in any meaningful sense of the word. It is rather a coherent and well-illustrated collection of twenty-two papers considering varying aspects of Pugin's life and *œuvre*, which was intended to provide supplementary material to that contained in exhibition, rather than to be illustrative of it.

Mirroring the focus of the exhibition the treatment of Pugin's design output is particularly comprehensive and includes papers on furniture, ceramics, book design and production, jewellery, metalwork, monuments and brasses, wallpaper and textiles. These

¹³³ P. Stanton, Pugin, op. cit., 10.

¹³⁴ P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), Pugin: A Gothic Passion, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994.

contributions vary in quality, although they all contain new and important research.¹³⁵ There are further essays on Pugin's childhood and training, on his architecture, on his involvement with the Houses of Parliament, on his writing and on his wider influence. These are all well written and researched, although they obviously replicate earlier scholarship. However, Lamborne's essay "Pugin and the Theatre", Wainwright's paper on Pugin "The Antiquary and Collector" and Wedgwood's treatment on "The Mediæval Court" form significant contributions to the field and succeed in utilizing fresh archival material. The subject of Pugin's religious opinion, although implicit throughout much of the text, is sadly neglected as a field of enquiry in itself. This being said, the catalogue succeeds in offering a reasonably rounded picture of Pugin and served its purpose well in accompanying the Victorian and Albert Museum's exhibition.

The catalogue of the Bard Centre's 1995 exhibition, A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival (1995), follows a similar pattern although it fails to be as comprehensive.¹³⁶ Its ten essays are of a broad and uncohesive scope which would seem to derive from the obvious wish to avoid duplicating material published a year before in the Victoria and Albert Museum's book. However, A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival, achieves originality in giving a fully illustrated and annotated "Catalogue of the Exhibition" which is conceived of in five sections and effectively re-presents the plan of the Bard Centre exhibition. The catalogue section, which as Atterbury states, is intended to examine "Pugin's role as a designer in the Gothic Revival idiom" sits a little uncomfortably with the broader focus of the essays.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ The possible exception being Meara's paper on "Monuments and Brasses" which draws on his earlier publication: D. Meara A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses, Mansell, London, 1991.

¹³⁶ P. Atterbury (ed.), A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995.

¹³⁷ P. Atterbury (ed.), A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 6.

Aldrich's paper "Gothic Sensibility" together with Meara's contribution on "The Catholic Context" form a useful background to the field, although they add little which is original. Hill's "Biographical Sketch" serves its purpose well as an overview of Pugin's life. Wainwright's "A.W.N. Pugin and France" forms an interesting perspective which has received less attention that it ought to have. Wainwright unfortunately fails to expound on Pugin's debt to French scholarship (as acknowledged for example in Pugin's appendix to Contrasts) and prefers to concentrate on known physical and personal acquaintance. The usual and tedious debate over the origins of Pugin's ancestry is sidestepped by Wainwright from the outset through stating that "Pugin's French ancestry gave him a special affinity for France."¹³⁸ This is, of course, by no means a definite statement of fact, and although it is a supposition supported by Ferrey and other early sources, the origins of A. C. Pugin remain shrouded in obscurity. Wedgwood, for example, has forwarded a plausible argument to the effect that although Augustus Charles had definite French connections with relatives in Paris his family's roots were in fact Swiss.¹³⁹ Whilst it may have been unscholarly to ignore the debate and fail to note the contrary findings of other researchers, Wainwright nonetheless does much to expose the high debt which Pugin owed to French influence.

Bergdoll's paper, "The Ideal of the Gothic Cathedral in 1852", is useful in broadening out the often insular approach of Anglo-American scholars through examining the Gothic Revival's impact on the continent, especially in France and Germany. The papers by Saint and Atterbury on architecture and design form competent although necessarily reductive treatments. Wainwright's "A.W.N. Pugin and the Progress of design as Applied to Manufacture" advances Meara's consideration of the subject in relation to

¹³⁸ P. Atterbury (ed.), A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 63.

¹³⁹ See A. Wedgwood, "The Pugin Coat of Arms" in True Principles: The Newsletter of the Pugin Society, vol. I, no. 9, Winter 1999, [11]-[12].

memorial brasses.¹⁴⁰ It is sad to note that although the publication's scope reaches beyond design through including the initial essays, it does not extend to an examination of the intellectual, and Pugin receives little consideration as a writer, historian or polemicist.

Having now considered the primary contributions made to the field of Puginian historiography, it would perhaps be useful to note just two of the further works devoted to other studies but which touch upon the field. As these are often intended as treatments of specific themes and personalities they have sometimes thrown more light upon aspects of Pugin's opinions and relations than works of a more general character have managed to.

Josef Altholz, in The Liberal Catholic Movement in England (1962), considers the contribution made by the periodical the Rambler to the cause of liberal Catholicism in England.¹⁴¹ It was, of course, this journal which was agent of the so-called 'rood-screen controversy'. Founded in January 1848, the Rambler was at first published under the editorship of John Moore Capes, an Oxford graduate and convert clergyman who had been involved in the Tractarian movement.¹⁴² Capes poised the Rambler in an equidistant position between the advanced Ultramontanist growing in the 1840s and more conservative factions within the Church.¹⁴³ In addition to espousing intellectual freedom in matters besides dogma, the Rambler also pursued a strong agenda in favour of what Altholz terms "social Catholicism."¹⁴⁴ It is ironic that it was in this area, where

¹⁴⁰ D. Meara, Memorial Brasses, op. cit.

¹⁴¹ J. L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The "Rambler" and its Contributors 1848-1864, Burns and Oates, London, 1962.

¹⁴² J. L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, op. cit., 7.

¹⁴³ J. L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, op. cit., 9-10.

¹⁴⁴ J. L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, op. cit., 10-11.

Capes and Pugin held much common ground in their concern for the poor and the stability of society, that they were to come into conflict.

The Capes brothers were inclined by temperament to favour the revival of Gothic art and architecture and of Gregorian chant. However, the social Catholicism of the *Rambler* overrode these preferences. It was more important, the *Rambler* asserted, to build many small, cheap churches among the poor than a few grandiose Gothic edifices; it was better to spend little on decoration and much on schools; and it was preferable to sacrifice the austere beauties of plain-chant in favour of popular hymns in English ... In the heyday of the Gothic revival, dominated by so vehement a leader as the architect Pugin, these notions could not pass without challenge.¹⁴⁵

The claim that the *Rambler*'s position (or we may say Capes' position, for the two were one in the same) came to be challenged by Pugin seems to overlook the fact which is treated on only a few pages following, that it was not Pugin but the *Rambler* which initiated the rood-screen controversy

The editor, desiring to stir up some interest, invited discussion on the subject, and promptly found himself flooded with letters. The *Rambler*, in raising the question, had unwarily trod on a very sensitive area of feeling among Catholics.¹⁴⁶

Although Altholz does not provide so detailed an account of the controversy as that given by Trappes-Lomax in his chapter "Rood Screens", he nonetheless sheds more light on the whole affair. It contextualises the debate within the broader scene of English intellectual liberalism, which is only hinted at by Trappes-Lomax who provides no further observation of it other than that:

The battle was not only between Goths and Romans, with screens as a tactical position necessary to both: there was a strong body of English opinion as hostile to screens as the

¹⁴⁵ J. L. Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England*, op. cit., 11.
Capes' brother, Frederick, also worked on the *Rambler*.

¹⁴⁶ J. L. Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England*, op. cit., 14-5.

most Italianate of Oratorians; men to whom the restoration of screens was definitely a retrograde step.¹⁴⁷

To say that those such as Capes regarded screens as a retrograde step would seem to miss the point which Altholz by contrast make abundantly clear: namely that Capes believed “that the Gothic style could not meet the needs of the English Catholics for numerous cheap churches, built among the poor, and suited to those devotions which they found most congenial.”¹⁴⁸

Altholz is evidently sympathetic towards his subject and consequently attempts to show Pugin in his most neurotic light:

Pugin defended himself, and assailed the “architectural heresies” of the *Rambler* – “a body of mutineers” who were “exciting this insane, I may almost say impious, movement against the restoration of old Catholic solemnity” ...¹⁴⁹

This passage, in citing only Pugin’s most extreme rhetoric and ignoring his more reasoned argument, could not really be considered a rounded representation of Pugin’s Some Remarks on the Articles which have recently appeared in the “Rambler” (1851) from which it draws its quotations.¹⁵⁰ An historian must surely be careful to remain impartial in his analyses of such controversy, and Altholz perhaps fails here. However, if this is borne in mind, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England provides a useful perspective on differing forms of ecclesiology forwarded within the Roman Church in the period.

¹⁴⁷ M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit., 245.

¹⁴⁸ J. L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, op. cit., 15.

¹⁴⁹ J. L. Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England, op. cit., 16.

¹⁵⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, Some Remarks on the Articles which have recently appeared in the “Rambler” relative to Ecclesiastical Architecture and Decoration, Dolman, London, 1850.

A fresh approach is provided in Williams' Culture and Society (1967).¹⁵¹ Williams stated that he intends his study, based between 1780 and 1950, to "show the emergence of *culture* as an abstraction and an absolute."¹⁵² Having paid tribute to Pugin in titling his first chapter "Contrasts", Williams comes to a proper examination in Chapter VII, "Art and Society: A. W. Pugin, John Ruskin, William Morris."¹⁵³ The grouping of these three giants of Victorian art is significant, for they each used or invoked that medium not only as a form of creative expression, but also as a frame of reference in appealing to history for a model of moral or religious belief.

Williams acknowledges that K. Clark had touched on this when referring to the eighteenth-century emergence of an understanding of style "as something organically connected with society, something which springs inevitably from a way of life."¹⁵⁴ However, Williams develops the theme further and expounds the work of Pugin as a key protagonist in the emergence of such an hypothesis. He cites Pugin's treatment of the theme in An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (1843) in which Pugin had argued that "The history of architecture is the history of the world."¹⁵⁵ He then makes explicit exactly what for Pugin the implications of such a belief were to be:

The new element in the younger Pugin was his insistence that revival of the style must depend on revival of the feelings from which it originally sprang; the architectural revival must be part of a general religious, and truly Catholic, revival. ... He was not offering Gothic as one of a number of possible styles from which the competent architect might choose, but rather as the embodiment of "true Christian feeling", which, understood in this way, might be helped to revive.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ R. Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950, Chatto and Windus, London, 1967.

¹⁵² R. Williams, Culture and Society, op. cit., xviii.

¹⁵³ R. Williams, Culture and Society, op. cit., 130-58.

¹⁵⁴ K. Clark, The Gothic Revival, op. cit., 188.

In proceeding to consider the social thinking of Ruskin and Morris, Williams argues that “The most important element in social thinking which developed from the work of Pugin was the use of the art of a period to judge the quality of the society that was producing it.”¹⁵⁷ Whilst the breadth of Williams’ study necessarily restricts his specific consideration of Pugin, he nonetheless makes a valuable contribution to Puginian scholarship in firmly contextualising Pugin’s role within the broader development of socio-cultural history. Addressing Pugin as a social thinker perhaps has as much merit as treating him as an artistic theorist.

The various monographs published on Pugin have each in their own way been useful. Amongst the most valuable are Phoebe Stanton’s “The Sources of Pugin’s Contrasts” (1968), James Patrick’s “Newman, Pugin, and the Gothic” (1981), David Meara’s A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses (1991), and Rosemary Hill’s “Reformation to Millennium: Pugin’s *Contrasts* in the History of English Thought” (1999), each of which are in their own field excellent expositions of fresh material.¹⁵⁸

Recent publications have made a quantity of important manuscript material more readily available. Alexandra Wedgwood’s transcription of Pugin’s diaries, and his letters to Lord Shrewsbury preserved in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, in A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family (1985) is invaluable, as is her transcription of John Hardman

¹⁵⁵ R. Williams, Culture and Society, op. cit., 130. A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture, op. cit., 4.

¹⁵⁶ R. Williams, Culture and Society, op. cit., 131. The quotation is taken from Pugin’s Contrasts (1836).

¹⁵⁷ R. Williams, Culture and Society, op. cit., 131.

¹⁵⁸ P. Stanton, “The Sources of Pugin’s Contrasts”, in J. Summerson (ed), Concerning Architecture, Penguin, London, 1968. J. Patrick, “Newman, Pugin, and Gothic” in Victorian Studies, vol. 24, no. 2, Winter 1981, 185-207. D. Meara, A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses, Biddles, Guilford, 1991. R. Hill, “Reformation to Millenium: Pugin’s *Contrasts* in the History of English Thought” in JSAH, 58:1, March 1999.

Powell's "Pugin in his home" in the Architectural Journal (1988).¹⁵⁹ Similarly Cardinal Newman's Letters and Diaries (1961-) have made accessible further useful material. Margaret Belcher's forthcoming The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin will soon provide an additional cornucopia of documentation.¹⁶⁰

There is a plethora of further material that could be considered within this chapter. However, the works cited in this necessarily short survey have hopefully been the most important or influential contributions to the general advancement of Puginian scholarship. It is a peculiar fact that there has been little scholarship devoted specifically to an examination of Pugin's religious convictions. The more so if we consider that it was from the development of such opinions that Pugin developed his artistic beliefs. This is surely because of a common perception that it was not Pugin's religion which informed his art, but rather *vice versa*, his art which informed his religion.

It is significant that when Pugin's religious disposition has been treated, it has generally been in connection with issues surrounding his conversion to Rome. This has helped to create a polarised view that Pugin as an Anglican and Pugin as a Catholic are two concrete facts and has eliminated any subtlety or nuance from consideration. There has been little recognition that Pugin's churchmanship evolved whilst both an Anglican and a Catholic and that, for example, his ecclesiological views were not the same in 1852 (the year of his death) as they had been in 1835 (the year of his conversion).

¹⁵⁹ A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, Jolly and Barber, Rugby, 1985. J. Powell, "Pugin in his home", op. cit.

Chapter III

PUGIN'S CONVERSION TO ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Pugin dreamed of glorious mediaeval cities with beautiful buildings, and noble men and women in the streets. He pictured noble cathedrals with soaring spires, crockets and crosses, and figures of saints in their niches ... There were altars and rich screens and metal-work and tiles and tapestries, and priests in beautiful vestments and acolytes in albs. The organ played and the choir sang, and hearts were uplifted in praise to God. But it was all a dream. The Roman Church in fact was content to worship in Italianate chapels, the priests were content to wear Italianate vestments. And the music of the Mass was operatic, with a solo by Madame Somebody ... It is not to be wondered at that Pugin finally went mad.¹⁶¹

Thus Basil Clarke reflected on Pugin's conversion to Rome, presenting it as the ruination of all of his dreams and aspirations. It is a fairly logical position for those who believe that Pugin's conversion to be an attempt to further his Gothic crusade, and that Pugin loved mediaeval art and architecture above all else, acting only for the advancement of that cause. Pugin was to find in the Roman Church not the glorious Church of the Middle Ages but a poor, modern and often vulgar Church in which foreign tastes prevailed and the performance of "Madame Somebody" usurped the rightful role of monks in their stalls. Once Pugin had entered that which he thought from the outside to be a Mediaeval Church he found himself somewhere quite different, and that which he had glimpsed from without passed, as if an illusion, into nothingness. The view as forwarded here in its most extreme form, is to be found in the work of other authors, and has been profoundly unhelpful in forming a true picture of Pugin and the circumstances informing both his religious and architectural beliefs. Indeed such a

¹⁶⁰ Volume I of Belcher's The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin (O.U.P.) is due to be published later this year.

¹⁶¹ B.F.L. Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, op. cit., 49.

position has been the stumbling block of much of the previous scholarship on the subject, and a fresh consideration is certainly needed.

The task of assessing Pugin's conversion is, however, a problematic one, as there is little extant documentation from the immediate period under consideration. The endeavour is, therefore, primarily a reconstructive one, and has to rely partially upon later accounts of his conversion provided by Pugin. When such sources are used, it must be borne in mind that Pugin may have been projecting motivations on to his past which served a present day apologetic purpose. Accounts of his conversion are given by Pugin in An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts" (1837) and Some Remarks on the Articles which have recently appeared in the "Rambler" (1850), which are certainly works of a polemical character. This being said, we have no reason to doubt the truth if not the intention of Pugin's word. Even if the sources which he provides are apologetic in character, they nonetheless generally corroborate the picture given by other independent evidence.

To understand the nature of Pugin's conversion, we must also attempt to understand his religious formation whilst a child. Reflecting on his secession to Rome in later life, Pugin recalled that he had been brought up with the anti-Catholic feeling which was common to the age:

'My education ... certainly was not of a description to bias me towards Catholicism; I had been taught to view it though the same distorted medium as the generality of persons in this country; and by the time I was at all capable of thinking on the subject, I was thoroughly imbued with all the popular notions of racks, faggots, and fires, idolatry, sin-purchase, &c., with all the usual tissue of falsehoods ...'¹⁶²

¹⁶² Pugin cited in B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 103.

Further evidence of Pugin's anti-Catholicism is provided by Ferrey, who cites a letter from Pugin's mother, Catherine Welby Pugin, who wrote to her sister telling her about a proposed union between Pugin and a friend's daughter:

Mad^e Lafitte told her brother and me, she had mentioned to her daughter that a marriage between Clara and Augustus would be a very proper union, and hinted she would have a very good fortune; whether this was said as a matter of politeness, or more seriously, it is impossible to say, for Mad^e Lafitte is very polite. I laughed with my son about it, when he was quite indignant; *"What! marry a Catholic? that surely will never happen"*¹⁶³

Ferrey indicates that it was Pugin's mother who had taken on the responsibility of his religious education. He provides a negative assessment of this formation, which rather obviously bares the marks of his own dislike of Mrs. Pugin:

... Edward Irving, subsequently the well-known founder of the modern Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, was the popular pulpit orator of the day. People rushed to his meeting-house as to a theatre ... It was to this place Mrs. Pugin resorted, always accompanied by her son ... Such cold and tedious services as those belonging to the Presbyterian Scotch Church were by no means suited to young Welby's taste, and the long-spun orations of the preacher, though able and eloquent, failed to keep his attention awake. The Sunday, therefore, instead of being a day to which he looked forward with pleasure, became to him a day of ennui, for his mother never went to this place of worship unaccompanied by her son, so that he had no escape from attending a service wholly uncongenial to his feelings. Often on a fine morning, when he would have hastened with delight to Westminster Abbey, his desire was overruled by his mother, who compelled him to accompany her to Hatton Garden. It was rather remarkable that Mrs. Pugin should not have better understood her son's turn of mind and thus spared him this weekly infliction. ... Pugin always expressed his unmitigated disgust at the cold and sterile forms of the Scotch Church; and the moment he broke loose from the trammels imposed upon him by his mother, he rushed into the arms of a Church which pompous by its ceremonies was attractive to his imaginative mind.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Catherine Pugin letter to her sister [Selena Welby -?] cited in B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit. 39-40.

¹⁶⁴ B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 43-45.

Ferrey's view that Pugin's conversion began in embryo as the reaction of an artistic child against his strict Protestant upbringing has been taken up by a number of scholars and has provided a convenient explanation for those who would not probe deeper into the subject. It is all too easy to conjure up Ferrey's vivid but unsupported description of how a young and æsthetically inclined boy sat listening to the long remonstrances of Irving, and yearned for the beauty and relief of Westminster Abbey. However, Ferrey's account is problematic, for it seems to misrepresent the character of Irving's church.

When Edward Irving (1792-1834) was appointed incumbent to the Hatton Garden Presbyterian church in 1822, his dynamic preaching attracted large crowds which included many celebrated figures such as Coleridge, Canning and Robert Peel.¹⁶⁵ Mrs. Pugin had no particular connection with the Scotch Church, and it would seem that she attended it purely out of a sympathy towards the beliefs which she found therein. Irving was by all means an unusual Presbyterian; he espoused an otherworldly Evangelicalism with a strong premillennial tone and often criticised conventional Evangelicals for their laxity. There was also a strong charismatic strain to Irving's churchmanship and when, in 1831, the use of "unknown tongues" spread to his church he was compelled to vacate his position.¹⁶⁶ His beliefs on Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Presence together with a strong dislike of theological liberalism and his devotion to Richard Hooker placed him on a theological parity with High Church Anglicans. Gilley characterises Irving as a High

¹⁶⁵ S. Gilley, "Edward Irving, The National Scotch Church and the Catholic Apostolic Church" in *Architectural Heritage VIII: Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1997, 38.

¹⁶⁶ *D.N.B.*, vol. X, 491-492.

Irving, who was already regarded by the religious establishment with suspicion, was removed from the Caledonian Church in April 1832. A large portion of his flock followed him and, as Ferrey notes, he established the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church. There is no evidence to suggest that either Catherine Pugin or Pugin himself ever frequented the services of this sect.

Church Presbyterian and argues that there was a certain Catholicity to his ecclesiology: “His Catholicism was only incipient, undeveloped; but it was there.”¹⁶⁷

Ferrey’s suggestion that Pugin’s conversion was a reaction against his early religious experience could be challenged, for although Pugin may have been brought up with a strong dislike of the institution of the Roman Catholic Church, it is likely that he found at Hatton Garden a degree of sympathy towards the theological and intellectual tenets of Catholicism. Furthermore, it is possible as Hill suggests that the premillennial character of Irving’s church inspired in Pugin a prophetic character which was later to reveal itself through the biblical texts which he cited in Contrasts (1836) and An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (1843).¹⁶⁸

Contrary to Ferrey’s implication, it would seem that Catherine Pugin shared similar architectural interests to both her son and husband. A letter which she addressed to her sister, alluding to the bad state of repair in which she had found Wells Cathedral, bears in its tartness a striking similarity to Pugin’s later work:

... when in the confession they chant forth we have done what we ought not to have done & left undone what we ought to have done we can scarcely forbear casting out eyes around and responding you have indeed.¹⁶⁹

Indeed it would seem that Pugin’s sharp moral and social criticism derived in part from the interests and concerns expressed by his mother.

However, we would be wrong to ignore Ferrey’s account entirely, for in his reference to Westminster Abbey, he points us to a key element informing Pugin’s conversion – his

¹⁶⁷ S. Gilley, “Edward Irving”, op. cit., 41.

¹⁶⁸ R. Hill, “Reformation to Millennium: Pugin’s *Contrasts* in the History of English Thought”, *JSAH*, 58:1, March 1999, 39.

love of religious externals, of architecture, art and music. It is difficult to gain an idea of whether this love reflected a spiritual dimension in the young Pugin's churchmanship or whether it was purely æsthetic.

The question of when Pugin first came to form an association between the artistic achievement of the Catholic Middle Ages and the degraded state of the Gothic in the modern Protestant Church is one that is difficult to answer. Since his childhood Pugin had often made trips with his father to France in order to visit its Gothic churches and archæological sites. Ferrey recounts, for example, how father and son had visited Normandy in 1825. Such first hand experience of the practice of the Catholic religion, not in the garret-chapels which were the haunt of English Catholics, but in surroundings which Pugin admired, must have had its effect.

We can visualise the young Pugin attending High Mass at Notre Dame de Paris, and imagine the deep impact which such a spectacle would have on the tender mind of one already predisposed to a delight in the mediæval. There is no actual record of Pugin being so moved, and Pugin makes no direct reference to such an experience. His preliminary notes for a biography which would have been an invaluable source if completed are scant and shed little light on his early religious experience.¹⁷⁰ The point is, however, that whether it was High Mass in a great cathedral, Vespers in a monastery, Low Mass in a wayside chapel or merely the sight of the faithful on their knees in prayer and adoration, the young Pugin, whilst on his travels must have seen something of how mediæval churches functioned when in Catholic use. It would have made sense of the Gothic buildings of England, which under his father he has already come to love. What were

¹⁶⁹ Catherine Pugin, letter to Selena Welby cited in R. Hill, "Reformation to Millennium: Pugin's *Contrasts* in the History of English Thought", *JSAH*, 58:1, March 1999, 37.

the shadows of the past would have become to him real and actual expressions of the actions of a living Church. Why have an ambulatory except for a procession? chantry chapels except for masses? enclosed choirs except for monks? or a feratory except for a shrine? In France the Gothic church was still by and large employed in a manner roughly correlating to that envisaged by its masons. It had been designed with a purpose in mind and that purpose was carried on in the daily ritual of the Church. Whilst forms of style and expression may have changed, the performance of liturgical rites remained the same in essence. In England conversely the Gothic church often made little sense other than being a convenient shelter for the congregation. The restrained beauty of Anglican worship perhaps paled before the grandeur of Roman solemnity.

Augustus Charles certainly appears to be a figure not wholly adverse to Catholicism. There is scant primary evidence concerning his religious opinions, excepting Ferrey's recollection that he had "never been very strict in his religious observances" and had occasionally attended the services of the English Church, "which he preferred to those of any other communion."¹⁷¹ However, as so often Ferrey's assessment may only shed twilight upon what could be a more vivid subject. The received view was at one time that Augustus Charles was a French Protestant.¹⁷² However, more recent research has forwarded the view that Augustus Charles was probably of Swiss Catholic extraction. Wedgwood advances this claim and argues that Augustus Charles ceased to practise his religion after he had emigrated from France to England.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Pugin's notes for a biography are transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family.op. cit.

¹⁷¹ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 48.

¹⁷² See for example H. Parkinson, "Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin" in The Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12258b.htm>

¹⁷³ A. Wedgwood, "The Pugin Coat of Arms", in True Principles: The Newsletter of Pugin Society, Vol. I, No. 9 (Winter 1999), 12-13.

In his Specimens of the Gothic Architecture of Normandy, a work of primarily antiquarian and historical intent, Augustus Charles relieves his elevations with figures engraved in varying forms of religious practice.¹⁷⁴ For example in Plate IV, which depicts the nave of the Abbaye aux Hommes in Caen, we are presented with an altar party on its way to Mass, and the priest passes in full (and correct) Roman vestments as the faithful kneel at their prayers (Fig. III.1). Plate XXVII shows the nave of Bayeux cathedral and similarly depicts figures upon their knees performing devotions whilst a poor woman is shown receiving alms from a lady of fashion (Fig. III.2). In short Augustus Charles presents us with a series of images which, despite the technical nature of his illustrations, manage to convey something of an environment which is at once both architecturally outstanding and also religiously inspiring. The Gothic church is shown not merely as a glorious pile but as something more, a living temple of service, prayer, charity and exercise of Christian religion. To the fertile mind of the young Pugin, such associations drawn out by his father must have raised questions of how England's churches had functioned whilst still under the Catholic Church. It is easy to see why Pugin has often been accused of confusing architecture and religion, for much of his early religious experience was bound up with architectural study.

It was undoubtedly under Augustus Charles' influence that Pugin developed his love of the Mediæval, but whereas Augustus Charles was primarily concerned with the architectural, Augustus Welby began to examine other areas of Mediæval art and liturgy. His interest in Catholic externals appears to have become pronounced from about 1831 when he was aged nineteen. In one of his sketchbooks from this date we find eight pages filled with "designs for a Catholic chapel" which include the building elevation and

¹⁷⁴ A.C. Pugin, Specimens of Gothic Architecture of Normandy from the XIth to the XVIth Century, Blackie and Son, London, 1874. The first edition was published in 1828.

designs for choir stalls, a chantry, two tombs, a screen and tracery.¹⁷⁵ It was also in the sketchbook of 1831-2 that Pugin made what was to be the first in a series of juxtapositions of what he saw as good mediæval and bad modern examples of architecture.¹⁷⁶ In 1833 he made a further study of contrasts, including such diverse subjects as ecclesial architecture, street architecture, wells, gate-piers, and altars. These studies were to result eventually in the publication of Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (1836), in which Pugin provided a critique of the Reformation and Renaissance, attributing to them the moral and religious decline, of English society.¹⁷⁷ Pugin argued that the contemporary state of architecture reflected that decline and thus the juxtaposition of architecture from the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries assumed a moral aspect illustrative of his argument. The 1831 and 1833 contrasts may provide a clue that between these dates Pugin was beginning to formulate some of the arguments which he set forth in his Contrasts of 1836.

Reflecting on his conversion in what Ferrey calls s a “public journal”, Pugin traces its genesis to this period:

The origin, intention, and use of all I beheld around me was then perfectly unintelligible to me; but, applying myself to liturgical knowledge, what a new field was open to me! ... For upwards of three years [from ca.1831/2] did I earnestly pursue the study of this all-important subject ...¹⁷⁸

Pugin’s growing sympathy towards Catholic liturgical forms may be illustrated through an examination of further sketchbooks. A leaf from a sketchbook dating c. 1832

¹⁷⁵ A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 125-6 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Cat. No. 104: pp. 47, 49-52, 58-60).

¹⁷⁶ A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 125 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Cat. No. 104: p. 44).

¹⁷⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Salisbury, 1836.

contains a list of "Dress worn by the Catholic Church", and gives several illustrations. Other objects of Catholic nature may be seen in the Ideal Schemes, which Pugin executed between 1832 and 1834. "The Chest"(1832) illustrates varying examples of metalwork inspired by mediæval design and includes a considerable number of illustrations of church plate. Amongst the drawings there is a design for a monstrance, an object little used even by English Catholics of this period, yet Pugin renders it with a considerable degree of accuracy. "The Shrine" (1832) illustrates a reconstruction of the Shrine of St. Edmund of Abingdon at Pontigny in an idealised form of the Decorated style (Fig. III.3). "The Parish Church" (1833) was the most ambitious of these schemes extending to seventy-four drawings and including not only plans for the church building but also illustrations of plate, altar linen and vestments.

The schemes which Pugin executed for the early 1830s were not intended to be purely antiquarian; indeed many of them were not records of existing architecture and *objets d'art*, but actual designs exploiting the possibility of contemporary execution. Pugin was already contemplating a revival of mediæval forms based on elements of Catholic liturgical worship. Such interest went far beyond the tacit Anglican ritualism of the 1830s, and Pugin's ambition for a mediæval revival was finally to find its natural home in the Catholic Church:

... with what delight did I trace the fitness of each portion of those glorious edifices to the rites for whose celebration they had been erected! Then did I discover that the service I had been accustomed to attend and admire was but a cold and heartless remnant of past glories, and that those prayers which in my ignorance I had ascribed to reforming piety, were in reality only scraps plucked from the solemn and perfect offices of the ancient Church. Pursuing researches among the faithful pages of the old chronicles, I discovered the tyranny, apostasy, and bloodshed by which the new religion had been established, the endless strifes,

¹⁷⁸ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 103-104. It is unclear which "public journal" Ferrey was referring to,

dissensions, and discord that existed among its propagators, and the devastation and ruin that attended its progress: opposed to all this, I considered the Catholic Church; existing with uninterrupted apostolical succession, handing down the same faith, sacraments, and ceremonies unchanged, unaltered through every clime, language, and nation.¹⁷⁹

If we are to look for a series of events to act as a catalyst for Pugin's conversion, they may be detected in the bereavements which he suffered from 1832. It may be too emphatic to call this period one of personal crisis in Pugin's life, but it was certainly a time in which he experienced volatile changes in his personal circumstances which resulted in a re-evaluation of his life. Pugin's first wife, Anne Pugin, died in childbirth on 27 May 1832. Following this Pugin's father, Augustus Charles, died on 19 December 1832. He was followed by his wife, Catherine Welby Pugin, only a quarter of a year later when she died on 28 April 1833. Thus within the space of a year the three persons closest to Pugin had died. The bereavements were to delay Pugin's planned publication of the third volume of Specimens of Gothic Architecture, and he notes in the preface to this volume that "The death of my Father and other several domestic afflictions necessarily retarded this publication."¹⁸⁰

The psychological effect of such a loss cannot have been insignificant and must have led to a good deal of soul searching. However, it would be erroneous to claim that Pugin would find solace through taking up religion, for his conversion over the ensuing years was by no means a weak-minded form of escapism. If Pugin's loss was to inspire anything in him it was an even more devoted study of Gothic architecture and he pursued this chosen path with all the relentless energy and enthusiasm which was so characteristic of him. Two months after his father's death Pugin had already begun to

and Belcher's bibliography sheds no light upon the matter (M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin op. cit.).

¹⁷⁹ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 103-104.

decide upon what was to become the course of his life's work, he wrote to his friend E.J.

Willson on the subject:

After mature consideration and consulting my best friends I have resolved to give up my theatrical connection altogether and to devote *myself entirely* to the pursuit of Gothic architecture ...¹⁸¹

Pugin therefore commenced an intensive period of study during which he researched not only in histories and archives but also *en site* as well. He was to visit many of the major ecclesiastical buildings of England and began to assimilate that first hand familiarity with mediæval architecture which was to underpin his subsequent work and scholarship. Two illustrated letters from Pugin to his friend William Osmond quoted in Ferrey recount such a trip made in 1833.¹⁸² Pugin shows a shrewd architectural judgment and, for example, makes a number of observations about Bristol Cathedral which were not generally recognised until Pevsner published his Outline of European Architecture in 1960:

While at Bristol I paid particular attention to the Cathedral, where I find many things deserving most particular attention. This Cathedral has been generally overlooked as undeserving of notice, but the fact is that there are parts about it equal to anything in the country. The groining of the aisles, the carving in parts of the stalls, the vestry, the tombs in the aisles round the choir, the great west window, the Norman entrance to the Chapter House from the cloisters, all are most interesting, and to real Gothic men, like you and me, it affords a great treat.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, Examples of Gothic Architecture, vol. III, iii.

¹⁸¹ Letter to E.J. Willson, 26 February 1833, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, "The Early Years" in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), Pugin: A Gothic Passion, op. cit., 30. Original letter in Flower Collection, John Hopkins University, Baltimore.

¹⁸² B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 76-89.

Pugin had met Osmond during a trip to Salisbury in 1833 (see P. Stanton, Ph.D., London (1950), 59).

¹⁸³ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 77-78.

See N. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, Penguin, London, 1990, 135-137 (first edition, Pelican, 1943).

Pugin's second letter reveals a growing disease with the Church of England, "The further he travelled the more sure he became that the Church of England was not a fit mistress for the beautiful buildings which had fallen to her care ..."¹⁸⁴ Recording his visit to Worcester Cathedral he wrote:

The spirit of the clergy here towards the building is detestable; but in order to give you an idea of it I will recapitulate an anecdote as I had it from the person who is *nominally* clerk of works to the Cathedral. The western gable having become ruinous, the upper part was required to be taken down. The gable terminates in a rich cross, part of which remained and was very similar to some at Sarum. Accordingly the mason having received orders to restore the gable, caused a rich cross to be cut, together with a base to it, forming the top stone of the gable. All was complete, the cross was finished, attached to the tackle ready for hoisting. A canon appears, and the following conversation ensues.

Persons: Canon, a Mason. The scene the west end of Cathedral.

'Canon. Hollo, mason! what is all this? what d'ye call it? what is it for?

'Mason. It is the stone cross, sir, to terminate the western gable.

'Canon. Who ordered it? who is to pay for it? who gave directions for such a thing?

'Mason. The Chapter, sir, directed me to restore the gable, and as the cross was there –

'Canon. Don't talk about the cross being there; it is impossible the Chapter intended going to this expense. Why it is perfectly useless; the funds will never permit such things. (The Dean appears.) Mr. Dean, I was saying it was impossible you could sanction such a useless expenditure as the cross for the west end.

'Dean. Cross! what cross? I ordered the gable to be plainly restored; I had no idea of all this.

'Mason. The expense of the cross is inconsiderable, and the effect –

'Dean. Don't talk to me about effect, sir. I will not suffer the cross to be erected; things must be done in manner, or we never shall know where we are.

"The result is plain. The cross I saw laying in his stone-yard and the gable ends thus, [Pugin draws the outline of a gable with its top truncated]."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ P. Stanton, Ph.D., London (1850), 65.

Writing in Some Remarks (1850), Pugin recalled that this period of study informed not only his artistic taste, but also his theological belief:

I gained my knowledge of the ancient faith beneath the vaults of a Lincoln or a Westminster, and I found it indelibly marked in the venerable piles which cover the face of this land. The images of holy personages, of every age and clime, that shine in the painted windows or stand in canopied niches and shrines, told of its Catholicity. The reredoses, though defaced, and sacraria in the walls, showed the site of the numerous altars for the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. The intercessory power of our blessed Lady and the saints was inscribed on many a scroll and label, on brass and tomb, while every memorial of the departed faithful bore a petition for the prayers of the survivors. The seven sacraments of the Church I found on many a sculptured font, and the vestments on the priestly effigies set forth the splendour of the ancient solemnities. By the help of the histories of the devout and painful Dugdale I replenished, in imagination, the empty sacristies of York and Lincoln with a costly array of precious vessels and reliquaries, and richly embroidered imagery, and I could almost realise the venerable Hugh celebrating in the glorious choir which he had raised.

This period of my life was one of great mental happiness. I almost lived in those great churches, and revelled in the contemplation of their ancient splendour.¹⁸⁶

Pugin explains in An Apology for a Work entitled "Contrasts" (1837) that he began to perceive a discrepancy between contemporary ecclesiastical practice and the Church of England's formularies. He observes that the Book of Common Prayer (1662 edition then in use) retained in theory the same number of fast days as the Roman Catholic Church although it was never the Church's practice to keep them. Similarly the concept of confession was generally held to be a papist one, although the Prayer Book made provision for confession of the sick and contained reference to priestly power to forgive

¹⁸⁵ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 83-85.

¹⁸⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, Some Remarks, op. cit., 17-8.

sins in the service for the ordering of priests. Thus Pugin began to believe that the Church of England failed in teaching the faith:

The fact is, all unity being lost, every one judges and legislates for himself in ecclesiastical matters, so that doctrines and observances are alike become obsolete, and are regarded with the utmost indifference by those who, by their profession of faith, ought implicitly to believe and obey them. I can truly assert that the greatest stride I made in my conversion was, in endeavouring to become a strict Church of England man, by studying its system; and I feel confident that a similar attempt in others would be followed by a similar result.¹⁸⁷

Recalling the events preceding his conversion in Some Remarks (1850) Pugin noted

The few Catholic laymen with whom I was acquainted, with one exception, appeared totally indifferent to the ancient glories of Catholic times, and, in truth, I received far greater sympathy and felt more at home with many of my Anglican friends than with them.¹⁸⁸

The exceptional Catholic layman mentioned by Pugin was almost certainly Edward James Willson (1781-1854), whom an article in The Tablet appearing two years after Pugin's death credited as being the "instrument under God of poor Pugin's conversion".¹⁸⁹ Willson was country surveyor of Lincolnshire, an architect and an antiquary of some ability. He was an old family friend, and had written the letterpress to the first two volumes of Augustus Charles' Specimens of Gothic Architecture (1821 and 1823). Pugin had corresponded with him upon the subjects of architecture and Catholicism, and as early as January 1834 had expressed to him his intention of converting:

I can assure you after a most close and impartial investigation I feel perfectly convinced the roman Catholick church is the only true one and the only one in which the grand and sublime style of church architecture can ever be restored. ...¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts": being a defence of the assertions advanced in that publication, against the various attacks lately made upon it, Stone, Birmingham, 1837, 20-1.

¹⁸⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, Some Remarks, op. cit., 19.

¹⁸⁹ The Tablet, vol. XV, 23 September 1854, cited in Wedgwood, Pugin, 75.

Noting this article Wedgwood also asserts that Willson was "largely responsible for Pugin's conversion".

¹⁹⁰ Pugin letter to Willson transcribed in A. Wedgwood, "The Early Years" in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), Pugin: A Gothic Passion, op. cit., 31.

Original letter in a private collection.

Realising that his motives for converting could be misinterpreted Pugin wrote again to Willson on 17 September:

I trust no man will attribute my motives *solely* to my love for antient [sic] architecture for although [sic] I will allow the change has been brought about in me owing to *my studies of antient* [sic] *art* yet I have still higher reasons which I can satisfactorily account for if required for my belief.¹⁹¹

Pugin was in the habit of burning all correspondence once it had been read, and it is an object of regret that Willson's letters to him do not survive.¹⁹² Without them it is difficult to ascertain exactly how Willson influenced his conversion other than by discussion of mutual interest. Writing in a letter to Willson two months after being received into the Roman Church, Pugin thanked him for the role which he had played in his journey to Rome:

... the great change was not effected in me by any sudden impulse but from the deepest conviction resulting from long study and reflection on the subject and the benefit I derived from your conversation was great indeed and will always make me consider myself as deeply indebted to you.¹⁹³

Pugin has often been criticised for supposedly having undergone a sort of architectural conversion, and yet as the sceptic Basil Clarke has shown us Pugin's secession to Rome was hardly a move of expediency. We must not underestimate Pugin's knowledge of the Roman Church at the time of his conversion for he was quite well aware of its shortcomings. He was later to recall in a letter to his son-in-law, John Powell:

¹⁹¹ Pugin letter to Willson transcribed in A. Wedgwood, "The Early Years" in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, op. cit., 31.

Original letter in Flower Collection, John Hopkins University, Baltimore.

¹⁹² J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", op. cit., 181.

¹⁹³ Pugin letter to Willson cited in M. Belcher, *A.W.N. Pugin*, op. cit., 478.

Twenty-four letters from Pugin to Willson are preserved in the Flower Collection, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, and will soon be published in M. Belcher's first volume of *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin* (O.U.P.).

Going into Catholic Chapels (there were no churches then), what did I see? The very tabernacle a Pagan Temple, the altar a deal sarcophagus, over which a colossal eye within rays looked down from a flat ceiling, artificial flowers under glass shades between the altar candlesticks, costly marbles produced in cheap paper, brackets painted with sham shadows supporting nothing; and vestments, who can describe?¹⁹⁴

If the sentiments expressed in this passage may be attributed to hindsight, Pugin gives an even more personalised account of his early encounters with English Catholicism in Some Remarks (1850):

I once had a peep into Moorfields chapel, and came out exceedingly distressed before the service, of which I had not a very clear idea, was concluded. I saw nothing that reminded me of the ancient religion, from the fabric down to the vestments of the celebrants. Everything seemed strange and new: the singing, after the solemn chants of Westminster, sounded execrable, and I returned perplexed and disappointed.

Shortly after, accident brought me in contact with a Catholic clergyman, a man whom I have since had reason to know as a person of most sincere piety and untiring zeal, but he abused flying buttresses, spoke slightly of Pointed architecture, sung a comic song, and altogether annihilated my preconceived idea of the austere and revered men in albe and stole whom I had imagined as the dispensers of the awful sacraments of the Catholic Church.¹⁹⁵

The fact that Pugin found what were to him such painful shortcomings in the Roman Church before he converted must surely indicate that there was a more religious dimension at work in his acceptance of the Catholic faith than many have been prepared to accept. Recalling Pugin in his later life, Powell provides us with a description of his spirituality:

¹⁹⁴ Pugin, letter to John Powell, cited in B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation: The Story of the English Catholics continued down to the establishment of their Hierarchy in 1850, 2 vols., Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1915, vol. I, 101.

¹⁹⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, Some Remarks, op. cit., 19.

He accepted the great mysteries of his Faith like a man of the Middle Ages, and with the same childlike awe of the Supernatural.¹⁹⁶

As far as Pugin was concerned, he had given up much in order to convert. He was never to be an architect of the establishment of either the British Church or state in the manner of those like Barry, for he always remained an outsider - a Roman Catholic. In later life, Pugin even entertained the idea that he (at a very young age) could have won the competition for the new Palace of Westminster, and with reference to his conversion wrote: "With that my chance for the Houses vanished, and I made the best of the situation."¹⁹⁷ The aesthetic sacrifice which Pugin was compelled to make in leaving behind him worship in the Church of England's beautiful cathedrals and churches was no less harsh on Pugin:

From the period that the doctrines of the old religion were developed in my mind ... I never entertained the least doubt of their truth, but I had a hard struggle to convince myself that it was a duty to leave the spots I held sacred, and worship in a room inferior to many Wesleyan meeting-houses, and with vestments and altar furniture that would hardly have admitted among the properties of a travelling manager.¹⁹⁸

Following the deaths of his wife and parents Pugin had gone to live near his aunt, Selena Welby, in Ramsgate. In a touching letter written in 1851, Pugin attributed his conversion to the prayers of this aunt of whom little else is known:

... who was kind in her life and made me a Catholic without knowing it at daily prayers. She was a holy woman giving all to her relatives and the poor[.] I must see her tomb restored."¹⁹⁹

In 1833 Pugin married again, this time to Louisa Burton, an acquaintance which he made through his connection with the Covent Garden Theatre, and who was probably a

¹⁹⁶ J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", op. cit., 176.

¹⁹⁷ M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit., 80.

¹⁹⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, Some Remarks, op. cit., 19.

¹⁹⁹ Pugin letter to Hardman cited in P. Stanton, Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival, Ph.D., London (1950), 8.

resident of Salisbury.²⁰⁰ The couple initially lived together in Ramsgate. However, Selena Welby died in September 1834, and they decided to repair to Salisbury.²⁰¹

Upon taking up residence in Salisbury Pugin appears to have been most anxious to contact a Catholic priest, and his diary contains a number of entries to this effect. On 22 March 1835 he recorded “No priest in chapel”, whilst four days later he attended a meeting in the Roman chapel to discuss the appointment of a new priest.²⁰² On the day following the meeting, Pugin wrote to Bishop Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, concerning the vacancy.²⁰³ However, Baines had pre-empted the matter and on the 28 March Pugin notes that “Mr. Crook arrived from Bath” to take charge of the mission.²⁰⁴

The day following Crook’s arrival Pugin dined with him at the home of Mr. Peniston, county surveyor of Wiltshire, and a prominent Catholic in Salisbury.²⁰⁵ On 5 April Pugin was again to dine with Crook, this time at the house of another Catholic, Mr. Lambert (1815-1892).²⁰⁶ It is probable that there was some discussion about the minor alterations that Pugin was making to the Roman chapel.²⁰⁷ However, Pugin’s eagerness to meet a priest was surely not derivative from his involvement in the refurbishment of the

A collection of letters from Catherine Pugin to Selena Welby is preserved in the Yale Centre for British Art.

²⁰⁰ J. Powell, “Pugin in his Home”, op. cit., 189.

B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 93.

See also M. Belcher, *A.W.N. Pugin*, op. cit., 473.

²⁰¹ A. Wedgwood, “Domestic Architecture” in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), *Pugin*, op. cit., 43.

²⁰² Pugin, 1835 Diary, entries for 22 and 26 March transcribed in A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1885, 32

²⁰³ Pugin, 1835 Diary, entry for 27 March transcribed in A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, op. cit., 32

²⁰⁴ Pugin, 1835 Diary, entry for 28 March transcribed in A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, op. cit., 32

²⁰⁵ Pugin, 1835 Diary, entry for 29 March transcribed in A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, op. cit., 32

²⁰⁶ Pugin, 1835 Diary, entry for 5 April transcribed in A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, op. cit., 32

²⁰⁷ See J. Elliott, “Pugin, St. Osmond and Salisbury” in *Ecclesiology Today*, issue 22, April 2000, 2-8.

chapel.²⁰⁸ Similarly his association with a number of prominent Catholics of the town betrays his developed interest in Catholicism.²⁰⁹

It is not only the subject of intention in Pugin's submission to Rome which has raised questions, but also as simple an historical subject, as the date in which this took place has posed problems in forming a due assessment of the facts. All that Ferrey has to say on the matter is that at

about this time Pugin's mind appears to have been much impressed by the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith, but we do not hear of any change in his religion taking place until after the death of his mother.²¹⁰

Ferrey fails to note when and what we hear of Pugin's conversion after the death of his mother (d.1833). Elsewhere he had had recourse to Pugin's diaries and it is peculiar that they are not used as evidence here.²¹¹

Literary works prior to 1950 reveal a high degree of error on the subject of Pugin's conversion. The confusion begins with Pugin's obituary notices; the article appearing in the Morning Chronicle (17 September 1852) and The Ecclesiologist (October 1852) places Pugin's conversion at around the time of his publication of Designs for Iron and Brass Work (1836), Designs for Gold and Silversmiths (1836) and Details of Ancient Timber Houses of the 15th and 16th Centuries (1837):

At about this period in his life occurred that event to which we look back with the least pleasure – we mean his secession to the Church of Rome.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Pugin's Diary makes reference to these alterations; for example the entries in his Diary of 1835 for 30 March and in the end papers of the volume (transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 32 and 34).

²⁰⁹ In addition to Peniston and Lambert, Pugin was also on friendly terms with Mr. Weaks (Pugin, 1835 Diary, entry for 29 May transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 32).

²¹⁰ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 91-2.

²¹¹ For example Ferrey refers to Pugin's Diary just a few pages beyond the quoted passage, Recollections, 97. However, his use of the diaries is at times flawed, and for instance, he cites a passage claiming it to date from 31 February (see M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 307).

Alternatively, Talbot Bury in The Builder (25 September 1852) places the event in “about 1834” whilst The Illustrated London News (2 October 1852) settles on the date of 1834 as an unqualified statement of fact.²¹³ It was this date, forwarded in the more sympathetic obituaries, which was to be that accepted by subsequent authors. Gillow’s The English Catholics (1885) was one of the first and it was followed by a proliferation of authors including B. Ward in The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation (1915), K. Clark in The Gothic Revival (1928) and Gwynn in Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival (1946).²¹⁴ Others have given dates for Pugin’s conversion which appear to be grossly misinformed. For example, McEwen reviewing the Victoria and Albert Museum’s 1994 Pugin exhibition in The Telegraph states that Pugin “converted to Catholicism at the age of 19”, which would place the event at some point between March 1831 and March 1832.²¹⁵ It was Stanton who, in her Ph.D. thesis Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival (1950), advanced what is now the generally accepted date of 1835, having noted the Diary entry by Pugin recording his reception into the church on 6 June in that year.²¹⁶ Since Stanton forwarded this date, and also since consultation of Pugin’s Diaries was made easier through the Victoria and Albert Museum’s accession of them, most subsequent scholars have accepted this evaluation.²¹⁷

²¹² Morning Chronicle, 17 September 1852, 5.

The Ecclesiologist, vol. 13, October 1852, 353-4.

²¹³ The Builder, X, no. 503, 25 September 1852, 605.

The Illustrated London News, XXI, 2 October 1852, 281.

²¹⁴ J. Gillow, A Literary and Biographical History of the English Catholics, Burns and Oates, London, nd [Preface 1885], 375.

B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, op. cit., vol. I, 85.

K. Clark, The Gothic Revival, op. cit., 125-126.

D. Gwynn, Lord Shrewsbury, op. cit., 16.

Ward may have drawn from some source other than Ferrey as he more specifically places Pugin’s conversion in May 1834. It is worth to note that despite advances in scholarship Clark made no alteration to, or defence of, his given date in The Gothic Revival’s second edition of 1950 or its third edition of 1970.

²¹⁵ J. McEwan, “The Gothic Road to a new Jerusalem”, in The Daily Telegraph, 1994.

²¹⁶ P. Stanton, Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1950, 94.

Stanton makes no mention of previous inaccuracies over the dating of Pugin’s conversion.

Pugin, 1835 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family op. cit., 33.

It was typical of Pugin's humour that when recording his reception into the Catholic Church in his diary he did so in a jovial manner. The entry ironically reads "Finished alterations at Chapel received into the Holy Catholic Church".²¹⁸ Yet despite such a humorous quip, the decision had been one which Pugin had not made lightly. Defending his conversion in a passage quoted by Ferrey, Pugin movingly affirms the religious nature of his decision:

... the irresistible force of truth penetrating my heart, I gladly surrendered my own fallible judgment to the unerring decisions of the Church, and embracing with heart and soul its faith and discipline, became an humble, but I trust faithful member.

I therefore hope that in Christian charity my conversion will not any longer be attributed solely to my admiration of architectural excellence: for although I have freely acknowledged that my attention was first directed through it to the subject, yet I must distinctly state, that so important a change was not effected in me, but by the most powerful reasons, and that after a long and earnest examination.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ The V.& A. purchased Pugin's diaries from the library of M. Purcell in 1969. See A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 32.

²¹⁸ Pugin, 1835 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 33.

²¹⁹ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 104-105.

Chapter IV

THE FORMATION OF PUGIN'S TRUE PRINCIPALS

Pugin's journey to Rome had been one informed by contrasts. The contrast between mediæval and nineteenth century society, to him a contrast between an age of faith and an age of doubt, had a strong impact upon him. He looked at the contemporary society in which he found himself and saw therein a completely variant religious disposition from that of the Middle Ages. This variance was not only manifest in its ecclesial constitution, but also in its social culture as well. Pugin, from the high vantage point of history, looked back on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries and believed he saw in them a better age than his own. Seemingly oblivious to the flaws of that period, he harked back longingly to an England that was long past, an England truly fashioned as an image of the Christian faith, in which religion had been not only the faith but also the culture of the entire populace. The monasteries held their dual role of worship, education and social provision, the rich made charitable endowment for the poor, the laity claimed religion as their own through their guilds and mystery plays, and, of course, the church was strong, free and most importantly Catholic. In short the social order had been underpinned by a Christian ethos and values.

This critique, which had for so long been fermenting in Pugin's mind, and which had already found a prototype in his sketchbook contrasts of 1831 and 1833, manifested itself in Pugin's first polemical and in many ways most controversial literary work, Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste (1836).²²⁰ The volume appeared just one year after Pugin's conversion and presented to the public a

first sight of these themes which Pugin was to treat and refine throughout the rest of his life. They can perhaps be classified into three loose and inter-related categories: the religious, the artistic and the social. Pugin intended Contrasts to be an assertion of the “truth” which he had discovered against the religion of the Established Church, to show “how intimately the fall of architectural art in this country is connected with the rise of the established religion”.²²¹ He saw the undertaking as something of a crusade

To carry defiance into the midst of an enemy’s camp, - to put forth a theory which is in utter opposition to the prejudices and temporal interests of the great majority of the nation, will be considered a work of great temerity on my part. It certainly requires much zeal, determination, and fortitude, but in none of these respects shall I be found wanting. I reflected long on the subject before I put it forth; but when I had decided, I did so with a determination of defending it against all attacks. Truth will bear the narrowest scrutiny; and so far from shrinking from the investigation of the subject, I court the fullest enquiry.²²²

There is no record of exactly when Pugin began work on Contrasts; it would seem that he commenced on the text almost immediately after he was received into the Church of Rome. Writing to Willson in the August of 1835 he states that “I am preparing my work of contrasts”.²²³ According to his Diary for 1836 Pugin had begun work on the drawings on 23 February and the volume was finished by 4 August.²²⁴ The year 1836 proved a busy one for Pugin and the publication of Contrasts was delayed for a number of reasons. He was assisting Charles Barry in the execution of the new Palace of Westminster, and was also building his own home in Salisbury. Additionally he published two planned volumes of designs, Designs for Iron and Brass Work (1836) and

²²⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, 1836 Contrasts, op. cit.

²²¹ A.W.N. Pugin, 1836 Contrasts, op. cit., 15.

²²² A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a work entitled “Contrasts” being a defence of the assertions advanced in that publication, against the various attacks lately made upon it, Stone, Birmingham, 1837, 3.

²²³ A.W.N. Pugin, quoted in M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin: An Annotated Critical Bibliography, Mansell, London, 1987.

²²⁴ Pugin, 1836 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1885, 35.

Designs for Gold and Silversmiths (1836).²²⁵ Although these works rested on research and studies which Pugin had already made, developing them into a form suitable for publication took Pugin a fair amount of intensive application. He was also at work on his Details of Ancient Timber Houses of the 15th and 16th Centuries which was published on 20 July 1837, and his diary records study visits made to Rouen, Gisors and Abbeville in July 1836.²²⁶ In addition to his planned publications Pugin was compelled to complete the plates for his deceased father's third volume of The Specimens of Gothic Architecture.²²⁷ When Contrasts was finally finished, no established publishing house would take it, fearing the response that its vehemently anti-protestant bias would undoubtedly arouse, and Pugin was compelled to publish the volume himself.²²⁸

Pugin begins the work by arguing the principle that architectural forms reflect the requirements and beliefs of the societies out of which they originated:

... different nations have given birth to so many various styles of Architecture, each suited to their climate, customs, and religion; and as it is among edifices of this latter class that we look for the most splendid and lasting monuments, there can be little doubt that the religious ideas and ceremonies of these different people had by far the greatest influence in the formation of their various styles of Architecture.

The more closely we compare the temples of the Pagan nations with their religious rites and mythologies, the more shall we be satisfied with the truth of this assertion. Such effects as these can only be produced on the mind by buildings, the composition of which has

²²⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, Designs for Iron & Brass Work in the Style of the XV and XVI Centuries, Ackerman, London, 1836.

Published 1 February 1836.

A.W.N. Pugin, Designs for Gold and Silversmiths, Ackerman, London, 1836.

Published 4 April 1836.

²²⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, Details of Ancient Timber Houses of the 15th and 16th Centuries Selected from those Existing at Rouen, Cean, Beauvais, Gisors, Abbeville, Strasbourg, etc., Ackerman, London, 1837.

Pugin, 1836 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 35.

²²⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, Specimens of Gothic Architecture vol. III,

²²⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, letter to Minton, cited in Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 142.

emanated from men who were thoroughly imbued with devotion for, and faith in, the religion for whose worship they were erected.²²⁹

Whereas previous authors had argued for the æsthetic qualities of differing architectural styles, Pugin came to introduce an additional religious dimension into his theory. Developing this principle he argued that the Gothic style arose out of an age of faith, and it was therefore the natural expression of that age and faith. Indeed, it could properly claim for itself the name of “Christian architecture” which, Pugin argued, any other style could not. It was this idea which was to underpin not only Contrasts but all of Pugin’s architectural theory. We see the concept further developed, for example, in An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (1843):

The history of architecture is the history of the world: as we inspect the edifices of antiquity, its nations, its dynasties, its religions, are all brought before us. The belief and manners of all people are embodied in the edifices they raised; it was impossible for any of them to have built consistently otherwise than they did: each was the inventor and perfecter of their peculiar style; each style was the type of their Religion, customs, and climate. The abstract beauty of these various styles, when viewed with reference to the purposes for which they were raised, is great indeed; they are the perfection of what was intended: a follower of Bramah or Isis, a fire-worshipper of Persia, could not have produced any thing different from what they have done ... I believe them to be the *perfect expression of imperfect systems*, the summit of human skill, expended on human inventions: but I claim for Christian art a merit and perfection, which it was impossible to attain even in the Mosaic dispensation, much less in the errors of polytheism.²³⁰

Simply put, architecture could be considered a mirror on society’s soul; a pagan society would produce a pagan art and a Christian society would produce Christian art. Pugin believed that it had been a “change of soul” in the sixteenth century which had caused

²²⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, 1836 Contrasts, op. cit., 2.

the English nation to reject the Catholic faith and espouse the principles of the Protestant Reformation.²³¹ On the eve of the Reformation architecture had been “in its highest state of perfection”, and had embodied a unity of religious and architectural principles.²³² As the Reformation was to cause disunity and decline in religion, so too did it therefore cause a disunity and decline in Christian architecture. Pugin then turns to a consideration of the Henrician establishment of the Church of England and argues that this was primarily based on a secular and financial agenda. The monastic dissolution is argued to have been a substantial ecclesiastical reform, with an impact upon “the religious, the learned and the poor.”²³³ However, Pugin also notes that the Cathedral and Parochial systems remained in place and experienced no significant changes. Furthermore, the doctrinal and liturgical experience of the laity was little affected.²³⁴

Pugin proceeds to argue that the change in religion came not under Henry VIII, but under Edward VI. It was in this reign that the country experienced a final alienation of religious resources, an ascendancy of Protestant doctrine and worship. The introduction of the Prayer Book and promulgation of the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion represented a mask of unity beneath which the inherent confusion of a Protestant church lurked.²³⁵ Church buildings were now unsuited to the new liturgical practices of the communion, and were “totally unfit for any worship but that for which they had been erected”.²³⁶ From the rejection of religious truth, there had resulted a rejection of architectural truth, and Christian architecture thereby fell into decline. The argument is an insular one, and failed to account for the artistic developments witnessed on the Continent from the

²³⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, op. cit., 4-5.

²³¹ See A.W.N. Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*, op. cit., 7.

²³² A.W.N. Pugin, *1836 Contrasts*, op. cit., 5.

²³³ A.W.N. Pugin, *1836 Contrasts*, op. cit., 7.

²³⁴ The historicity of this assertion could, of course, be questioned and the impact of reforms such as the Chantry Act could be pointed to as counter-evidence.

²³⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, *1836 Contrasts*, op. cit., 16.

²³⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, *1836 Contrasts*, op. cit., 15.

sixteenth century. However, ignoring external matters Pugin argues in the final chapters that without a guiding principle, architecture had ceased to function as an expression of its society and that all “truth” in architecture had been lost.

In later works Pugin was to formulate a more informed exposition of the concepts first forwarded in Contrasts. Some of his claims he abandoned, whilst others he consolidated and systematised. However, it is in Contrasts that we come closest to an encounter with the opinions which Pugin had formulated at the time of his secession to Rome. Pugin rehearses before his reader the historical and liturgical researches which informed his conversion. The first edition of the work is essentially the endeavour of a young and enthusiastic convert attempting to explain, all be it indirectly, his rejection of the Church of England, and to justify his motivation for choosing that of Rome. Thus we see in Contrasts a sort of implicit *apologia* for Pugin’s conversion. Whilst the body of the text is free from immediately personal considerations, the Preface nonetheless points us towards an appreciation of how the work developed from the same circumstances that informed Pugin’s conversion to Rome:

I am well aware that the sentiments I have expressed in this work are but little suited to the taste and opinions of the Age in which we live: by a vast number they will be received with ridicule, and, by some, considered the result of a heated imagination. To these I answer, they are not the result of a sudden or imaginary impression, but have been produced by the continued study and deep reflection on the noble works of the Middle Ages.²³⁷

Despite piecemeal nature of his education, Pugin had become relatively well-read by 1836 and Contrasts shows a diverse use of material.²³⁸ There was little in the text which presented a fresh historical account, and it was the manner in which Pugin utilised his

²³⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, 1836 Contrasts, op. cit., iv.

material for the purposes of Catholic polemic which caused its novelty. The work follows in a long antiquarian tradition and shows a wide reading of standard sixteenth and seventeenth century historians. Among such sources referenced by Pugin we may cite John Stowe's Chronicle (1565) and Survey of London (1603), John Foxe's Book of Martyrs (1576), Peter Heylyn's Ecclesia Restaurata (1611), and William Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral (1658) and Monasticon Anglicanum with its engravings by W. Hollar (1655-1673).

The hankering for things past displayed by the early antiquarians perhaps prefigured sentiments which were to develop in the romantic period. They wrote in a time when the recovery of the Middle Ages, both in its artistic and social expressions, had a certain appeal, and Shakespeare had written with a twinge of melancholy about "Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang".²³⁹ Although sympathy towards Catholicism was not a prerequisite for antiquarian scholarship, an interest in its lost forms nonetheless often played a part in the discipline. In a manner many early antiquarians were academic subversives, for they displayed an empathy towards the monasteries and mediæval art in a period when the Church and state were consciously attempting to

obliterate the memory of traditional religion ... the physical remnants of Catholic cult which represented both a symbolic focus for Catholic belief, a reminder of the community's Catholic past and its corporate investment in the old religion, and a concrete hope for its ultimate restoration.²⁴⁰

For this reason, the study of the Middle Ages was often construed as implying a degree of sympathy towards Catholicism; indeed Stow was twice arrested during Elizabeth I's

²³⁸ See P. Stanton, "The Sources of Pugin's 'Contrasts'" in J. Summerson (ed.), Concerning Architecture, Penguin, London, 1968, 120-39 and R. Hill, "Reformation to Millennium: Pugin's *Contrasts* in the History of English Thought", in JSAH, 58:1, March 1999, 26-41.

²³⁹ W. Shakespeare, Sonnet LXXIII.

reign on such a charge.²⁴¹ In the seventeenth century antiquarians often fell into the High Church faction, and their academic interests were expressed through a broader ecclesiological sensibility:

The researches of men such as Usher, Spelman, Weaver, Summer, and Dugdale tended to demonstrate the extreme antiquity of the Christian faith in Britain, and led them to an interest in the constitution of the early Church, its discipline, and its ceremonies. Their care for the material well-being of the Church, as well as its spiritual health, inclined them to be sympathetic to Laud's efforts to heighten the sacredness of the Church as an institution and to dignify and embellish the church as a place of worship.²⁴²

Even in the eighteenth century, antiquarians continued to labour under suspicion of entertaining Papist sympathies, and George III once called the Society of Antiquarians a "Popish Cabal".²⁴³

Walter Scott presents an interesting example of how early nineteenth-century romantics fed upon the Middle Ages. He was an antiquarian of some ability,²⁴⁴ and, as Harris observes, this interest reveals itself in his novels:

With Scott it might also be said that fiction was often a secondary consideration to the great task of historical reconstruction. His heroes and heroines are often dull and uninteresting, mere excuses enabling the author to surround them with a historical environment at a dramatic moment of time.²⁴⁵

A good example of this device may be seen in The Abbot in which Scott treats the subject of Scotland's Catholic remains. Scott appears to harbour reservations about the causes of both the Catholics and the Protestants, and the text betrays a humour of regret for the impact of the Reformation:

²⁴⁰ E. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992, 582.

²⁴¹ R. Hill, "Reformation to Millennium", op. cit., 33.

²⁴² G. Parry, The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995, 17-18.

²⁴³ See R. Hill, "Reformation to Millennium", loc. cit.

²⁴⁴ See R.W. Harris, Romanticism and the Social Order 1780-1830, Blandford, London, 1969, 234-6.

Although, in many instances, the destruction of the Roman Catholic buildings might be, in the matron's way of judging, an act of justice, and in others an act of policy, there is no doubt that the humour of demolishing monuments of ancient piety and munificence, and that in a poor country like Scotland, where there was no chance of their being replaced, was both useless, mischievous, and barbarous.²⁴⁶

Scott's character Magdalen Graeme goes much further in lamenting the despoliation of artefacts of the Catholic religion:

"Here stood the Cross, the limits of the Halidome of Saint Mary's – here – on this eminence – from which the eye of the holy pilgrim might first catch a view of that ancient Monastery, the light of the land, the abode of saints, and the grave of monarchs – Where is now that emblem of our faith? It lies on the earth – a shapeless block, from which the broken fragments have been carried off, for the meanest uses, till now no semblance of its original form remain."

... The antiquary may be permitted to regret the necessity of the action, but to Magdalen Graeme it seemed a deed of impiety, deserving the instant vengeance of heaven.²⁴⁷

Romanticism carried with it an undercurrent of worry for the decadence of contemporary society and a tendency to search for better social models in the past. By Pugin's date, this tradition had been long established, and belief that a golden age could be found in the past was a familiar concept within English thought. In the eighteenth century, the idea had found expression in a classically idealised Arcadianism, together with its accompanying cult of uncorrupted nature. These themes were in part formulated as a response to debates over supposed social decadence, the vice of luxury and the corruption of city life. The penchant of the eighteenth-century nobility for landscape gardens executed along classical Claudian lines represented a curious attempt at constructing Arcadias of cultivated humanity. The arts likewise adopted this train of

²⁴⁵ R.W. Harris, *Romanticism and the Social Order*, op. cit., 237.

²⁴⁶ W. Scott, *The Abbot* cited in R.W. Harris, *Romanticism and the Social Order*, op. cit., 249.

²⁴⁷ W. Scott, *The Abbot* cited in R.W. Harris, *Romanticism and the Social Order*, op. cit., 249.

thought, and Thomson's poem The Seasons provides an excellent evocation of the Arcadian ideal:

This is the life which those who fret in Guilt,
And guilty Cities, never knew; the Life,
Led by primeval Ages, uncorrupt,
When Angles dwelt, and GOD himself, with Man!
OH NATURE! all-sufficient! over all!
Inrich me with the Knowledge of thy Works!²⁴⁸

The theme of contrast between past and present also found varying expressions outside the sphere of the classical. William Blake, for example, evoked a more nationalist ideal age of Albion in Britain's mythical past. Idealisation of the Middle Ages also fed from this stream of thought and the notion of "Merry England" must be recognised within its context. With the growing toleration of Catholicism witnessed by the late eighteenth century, the mediæval period lost something of the dangerous charge which it had once held in the public mind. Whereas the Middle Ages had once been seen as a period of superstition, ignorance and vice, romantic society's unease with itself caused it to reassess the mediæval settlement. It was Pugin's genius to exploit this social neurosis and turn it to a religious purpose in his illustrations to Contrasts.

The plate of "Contrasted College Gateways" (Fig. IV.1) provides a useful illustration of Pugin's approach. A juxtaposition is made between the entrance to "Kings College Strand Sir. R^t Smirke Arc" which is of a simple neo-classical design, and the gatehouse of "Christ's College Oxford" which is perhaps one of the finest examples of a perpendicular gatehouse to survive. Of course the comparison is unfair; it does not really contrast like with like. The entrance to King's College is in the form of a plain triumphal arch and is set back off the street between two town houses; Christ Church gatehouse, on the other

²⁴⁸ J. Thomson, The Seasons, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1981, "Autumn" lines 1348-1352, 200.

hand, is obviously costly and imposes itself on its surrounding environs. However, the unfairness for which Pugin had sometimes been criticised is really half the point which he is attempting to make; the illustrations are not only intended as an architectural comparison but also as a statement about the aspirations and values of society as reflected in its architecture. We see in the depiction of Christ Church a procession emerging out onto the street; Catholic religion, academia and Christian architecture are shown as interrelating elements which participate in the life of society at large. By contrast, the gates to King's College are closed, and there is no hint of a religious dimension to the quest for knowledge (viz. truth) taking place behind them, while academia remains the preserve of an elite who do not engage in the communal life of the wider society. Two ragged urchins cling at the railings of King's College, whilst two vested children lead the procession from Christ Church, so that the inference made is obvious.

Unsurprisingly, Contrasts succeeded in provoking a great deal of public debate on the subjects of architecture and Catholicism; an article in the Gentleman's Magazine praised the work for its originality, boldness and freedom, whilst the Architectural Magazine's review championed the superiority of contemporary style when compared to mediæval architecture.²⁴⁹ Writing to Willson in August and September, Pugin considered the response provoked by his work

I have stated nothing but truth undisguised truth and I am happy in the position I have taken. I know my assertions are true. it [sic] is time these Church of England men were held up in their true light and I trust I have done it effectively [sic]. I have likewise exposed the degraded [sic] state of architecture in the title which you will perceive. architecture [sic]

²⁴⁹ "Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" in Gentleman's Magazine, 161, March 1837, 283-5.

"Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste" in Architectural Magazine, 4, March 1837, 132-43.

and decoration is a *trade* at present and no great results can be produce [sic] while such a system last [sic]. the [sic] letter press will speak for itself.²⁵⁰

... there is a vast deal of rage excited among certain parties by the publication of this work and I am a marked man here at Salisbury. one [sic] DIVINE says (he could refute it easily but will not degrade his pen by noticing such contemptible falsehood.) it [sic] is easy to say this but I doubt not in a fair field of historical truth I could make him bite the dust. I am quite ready for all *comers* and will not abate one line.²⁵¹

A hostile review by the Revd. Arthur Fane, a graduate of Exeter College, launched one of the most direct attacks upon the work. Writing anonymously in the Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald, Fane referred to the “extreme folly and puerile misrepresentation” of Pugin’s thesis; he advised Pugin to have recourse to “the pages of history” and note that the modern Grecian style originated in Catholic Rome.²⁵² The paper also carried a similarly hostile editorial note at the end of the article. Pugin’s Diary records that he read the article on 18 September, the day after its publication, and he was indeed ready for “all *comers*” as on 21 September he “Sent answer to Brodies paper”.²⁵³ Presumably because of the hostility demonstrated by the editor of the Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald Pugin chose to send his reply to another local publication, the Salisbury and Wiltshire Journal (“Brodies paper”), which carried his article on 26 September.²⁵⁴

Pugin retorted that it is not he, but Fane, who was ignorant. He argues that Fane has misunderstood the work, and reasserts a number of his principal arguments. Further correspondence appeared on both sides, Fane continuing to write in the Salisbury and

²⁵⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, letter to Willson, August 1836, in M. Belcher, Pugin, op. cit., 11.

²⁵¹ A.W.N. Pugin, letter to Willson, September 1836, in M. Belcher, Pugin, loc. cit.

Pugin sometimes uses parentheses, instead of inverted comas, to indicate a quotation. The word “DIVINE” in encircled in the MS.

²⁵² A. F[ane], “Mr. Pugin’s ‘Contrasts’”, in Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald, 4, 17 September 1836, [2]

²⁵³ Pugin 1836 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 36.

Wiltshire Herald and Pugin in the Salisbury and Wiltshire Journal.²⁵⁵ Fane develops his position, arguing that Pugin is erroneous in attributing the demise of Gothic architecture to the Reformation. However, he also maintains that whilst Catholics trouble themselves over externals, Protestants are more concerned with the fundamentals of religion:

It belongs to Catholics, to rear costly shrines to God; but we Protestants, think an undefiled body the real temple. Religion, learnt ... *to diminish the size and adornment of the temples of God, and substituted PLAIN WALLS for tapering columns, and AN OPEN AREA for a lengthy aisle.*²⁵⁶

Showing an anti-papist sentiment capable of equalling the vehemence of Pugin's anti-protestantism, Fane continues to make a number of further charges, such as disloyalty, against the English Catholics. Writing to Willson on 13 October Pugin considered his reply:

I can assure you a great deal of comotion [sic] and attention is excited here about the business and the rancour of the church party against me exceeds belief but I am well able to abide the pitiless storm and will maintain my ground on sound argument only without descending to violent invectives and personal abuse. I shall have a glorious letter out next sunday [sic] against my original oponent [sic] who is a Mr Arthur Fane a candidate for *church preferment* of high family and of course a great no popery man but I have nailed him fast in my reply. would [sic] you belive [sic] if the fellow actually dared to defend the persecutions of Elizabeths [sic] reign and stated that the word *traitor* & Catholic were synonymous. how [sic] I have opened out on him. how [sic] I did boil when I read this [...] ... I trust you will not accuse me of being a faint hearted champion in the good cause for I care not for persons or power but will set forth the truth and maintain it. The fact is the sale of the work has far exceeded [sic] my expectations and the rage of the church party increases with its sucess [sic]. before [sic] this attack on me not a single copy had been sold here except to my subscribers

²⁵⁴ A.W.N. Pugin "To the Editor of the Salisbury and Winchester Journal" in Salisbury and Wiltshire Journal, 116, 26 September 1836, 2.

²⁵⁵ A. Fane, "To the editor of the Wilts Herald" in Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald, 4, 1 October 1836, 2. A.W.N. Pugin, "To Mr. Arthur Fane" in Salisbury and Wiltshire Journal, 116, 17 October 1836, 3.

A. Fane, "To the editor of the Wilts Herald" in Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald, 4, 29 October 1836, 2.

²⁵⁶ A. Fane, "To the editor of the Wilts Herald" in Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald, 4, 1 October 1836, 2.

but I am now reduced to one solitary copy all the rest having been sold by the booksellers
since [sic].²⁵⁷

A further hostile article appeared in Fraser's Magazine (March 1837), claiming that it was a love for Gothic art which had caused Pugin's conversion to Catholicism, and that he confused matters of art and religion asking why "should he mix up religion at all with a subject professing to be strictly architectural"?²⁵⁸ Pugin refuted the article in a short tract titled A Reply to Observations Which Appeared in "Fraser's Magazine," for March 1837, on a Work Entitled "Contrasts".²⁵⁹ However, despite this defence against Fraser's Magazine Pugin felt it necessary to produce a more substantive answer to the charges which had been made, and on 23 April 1837 he commenced work on what was to become An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts": Being a Defence of the Assertions Advanced in that Publication, Against the Various Attacks lately made upon it (1837).²⁶⁰ This work is of significance for a number of reasons. Not only does it offer an additional refutation of the charges laid against Contrasts, but it also presents a further insight into the relationship believed by Pugin to exist between religious truth and architecture. Pugin had been accused of launching a "concealed" attack upon the Church of England. He retorts that he believed himself to have been explicit in that intention, but so that there can be no further confusion, he outlines his thesis in three unambiguous articles:

1st THAT EVERYTHING GRAND, EDIFYING AND NOBLE IN ART IS THE RESULT OF FEELINGS
PRODUCED BY THE CATHOLIC RELIGION ON THE HUMAN MIND.

²⁵⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, letter to Willson, 13 October 1836, in M. Belcher, Pugin, op. cit., 11-12.

²⁵⁸ W.H. Leets, "A batch of architects" in Fraser's Magazine, 15, March 1837, 330 cited in M. Belcher, Pugin, op. cit., 166.

²⁵⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, A Reply to Observations Which Appeared in "Fraser's Magazine," for March 1837, on a Work Entitled "Contrasts", Moyes, London, 1837.

²⁶⁰ Pugin's diary entry for 23 April 1837 reads: "Began apology for Contrasts", see A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 37.

A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts", op. cit.

2nd THAT THE DESTRUCTION OF ART, IRREVERENCE TOWARDS RELIGION, CONTEMPT OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS AND AUTHORITY, AND A COMPLETE LOSS OF ALL THE NOBLE PERCEPTIONS OF MANKIND, HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF PROTESTANTISM, WHEREVER IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

3rd THAT THE DEGRADED STATE OF THE ARTS IN THIS COUNTRY IS PURELY OWING TO THE ABSENCE OF CATHOLIC FEELING AMONG ITS PROFESSORS, THE LOSS OF ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE, AND THE APATHY WITH WHICH A PROTESTANT NATION MUST NECESSARILY TREAT THE HIGHER BRANCHES OF ART.²⁶¹

Turning to the contemporary Church of England Pugin argues that

She derives all her dignity from the remains of ancient splendour, with which she is invested; ... Strip off the borrowed Catholic plumes, in which she now struts, and she will instantly be degraded to a level with the Puritan.²⁶²

The Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts" effectively represents a war cry against the Church of England. Pugin urges his fellow Catholics to

... become the assailants, expose the disgraceful origin of Protestantism, the debasing and destructive influence of its system, ... and boldly assert, that a return to the ancient faith is the only means by which a restoration of the long lost feelings for art of every description can be achieved.²⁶³

This was a more controversial rallying cry than may at first be presumed. As Pugin observed the English Catholics had traditionally been reticent to enter into controversy with the Established Church:

Controversy with Protestants has, for the last 300 years, consisted, almost entirely, of malignant falsehoods advanced by them against the Catholic Church, and satisfactory answers and refutations of such attacks.²⁶⁴

A few divines such as Milner proved the exception to the rule, but by and large Catholic recusants of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had found it expedient to

²⁶¹ A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., 4-5.

²⁶² A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., 15.

²⁶³ A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., 4.

²⁶⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., 3.

maintain a subtle presence within society.²⁶⁵ Until the repeal of the last significant penal laws in 1829, Catholics had existed in an ambiguous legal position; on the one hand varying enactments made aspects of their profession illegal, and on the other the increasing liberalism of society meant that the more severe statutes were seldom invoked. Effectively Catholics found themselves bound by a parole of good behaviour; they would enjoy relative religious toleration so long as they didn't rock the *navicula*. Preaching at the first Synod of Westminster in 1852, Newman conjured an oft-quoted image of the public profile of English Catholics during penal times:

... An old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls, with an iron gate, and yews, and the report attaching to it that 'Roman Catholics' lived there; but who they were, or what they did, or what was meant by calling them Roman Catholics, no one could tell; - though it had an unpleasant sound, and told of form and superstition ...²⁶⁶

Admittedly Newman makes liberal use of poetic licence and the image he evokes has frequently led to a misrepresentation of the real condition of Roman Catholicism prior to the Relief Acts. However, the image is nonetheless a useful one for it reveals something of the mentality of Roman Catholics during the period. Pugin himself remarked on the condition of the Roman Church in the early nineteenth century:

... the unhappy Catholics of England were but ill in a condition to restore the glory of religion, or even to cultivate the study of what would tend to such a result ... Humbled, timid, and impoverished was the state of the English Catholics even at the beginning of the present century ...²⁶⁷

It was a mark of the fresh buoyancy among Roman Catholics that Pugin was able to launch such an attack on the Church of England. The decade during which Pugin had converted was the first one in which Catholics had enjoyed a level playing field with their

²⁶⁵ See for example J. Milner, The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine, Richardson, London, 1843 edn.

²⁶⁶ J.H. Newman, "The Second Spring" in Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, Burns and Oates, London, 6th edn. 1887, 172.

Protestant fellow countrymen. If we remember that Contrasts was published only seven years after the 1829 Relief Act, we set the originality of the work in a proper context.

The Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts" also provides a useful insight to Pugin's love for the Roman liturgy. As we have seen, Pugin acknowledged to a dawning of liturgical understanding to be a formative event leading to his conversion,²⁶⁸ he now came to argue that if others were to form an analogous appreciation it would effect a similar result. In a long passage he thus extols the beauty and propriety of the Catholic rites:

Solemnity of worship is only to be found in the Catholic Church; and let those, who would behold it, repair to those majestic churches, which still maintain unchanged, unimpaired, those rites, from whose celebration they were erected: where the high altar still stands bright and glorious; where the choir is filled with devout ecclesiastics; and each chapel contains is reverent worshippers; where the sculptured images of saintly men and holy deeds are undefaced and unbroken, and where the same spirit which, centuries ago, first instigated the glorious pile, still dwells in the hearts of the faithful, who flock within its walls. And how forcible and impressive is the manner in which the Church celebrates her sacred festivals and seasons, which, occurring in regular succession, annually present to her children the most lively picture of the history of their redemption! how appropriate is each ceremony for the mystery it represents!

Those who are accustomed to see these vast churches only during two short stated periods of the day, can form no idea of the sublime effect produced on the mind by the nocturnal offices of the Catholic Church. It is impossible adequately to describe the midnight mass at Christmas, when the Nativity of our Redeemer is announced by hymns and carols of praise, breaking through the stillness of the solemn hour; and how awfully vast do these temples appear, when the lights that blaze around the altar hardly reflect half up the towering shafts, whose still loftier vaults are lost in absolute obscurity. Then in Holy Week, during the solemn Office of Tenebræ, then the tapers, emblematic of the prophets who appeared on earth before the coming of our Lord, have gradually been extinguished, as the successive

²⁶⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., 28.

Nocturnes were sung, and total darkness, at the end of the 'Benedictus,' reigns throughout the sacred edifice, how steals the plaintive chaunt [sic] of the 'Miserere' on the ears of the ravished worshipers, swelling gradually, till the sound seems already transported among the angelic choirs!

How splendid are the solemn processions that commemorate the great events of Sacred Writ! how majestic are the ceremonies of Palm Sunday, when the great western doors are thrown open to receive the clergy, singing the anthem 'Be ye lifted up ye everlasting gates, and the King of Glory shall enter in', while, as the procession moves up the nave, the loud chaunt [sic] of 'Hosana in excelsis, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini,' carries away the mind of the pious Christian to the welcome hymn that saluted our divine Redeemer, on his triumphant entrance into Jerusalem! How edifying also is the procession of the blessed Sacrament on Corpus-Christi Day, as it slowly moves, with surpassing brightness, through the streets of the city, dispensing benedictions on the assembled multitudes, who eagerly deck their houses, and scatter innumerable flowers in the way! And, when the penitential season of Lent is concluded, and the Church, who, in sackcloth and ashes, has been bewailing the sufferings of her dying Lord, once again commands her children to exchange sorrow for joy, announcing the glad tidings, that Christ is indeed risen triumphant over sin and death, then, when the joyful alleluias of praise ring through the vaulted edifice, and the veil that covered the glory of the sanctuary is removed, and the altar shines forth with all its wonted splendour, while peeling organs, and glittering vestments announce the joyful solemnity, what Christian can refuse to acknowledge the overwhelming influence of such a scene? Truly, these are solemnities which carry the devout soul beyond the confines of human delights, and even reach the flinty hearts of worldly men, who fain steel themselves against such impressions.²⁶⁹

Pugin continued his attack against the Church of England in a short tract entitled A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial to Cranmer, Ridley and Latymer (1839).²⁷⁰ Subscription to the Martyrs' Memorial (Fig. IV.2, showing the Memorial erected by G.G.

²⁶⁸ See B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 103-104.

²⁶⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a Work Entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., 16-18.

Scott), which it was proposed to erect outside the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Oxford, had been conceived of as a device compelling the Tractarians in the University to show their true colours in regard to their position on the fathers of the Reformation. If the Tractarians subscribed to the Memorial, parts of their developing theology would become untenable, whilst if they refused to contribute money they would be seen to repudiate the establishment of the Church of England. Pugin was entirely aghast at a scheme devised to glorify the proponents of the Reformation, and he declared in the letter his intention to “enlighten and undeceive” the subscribers.²⁷¹ Pugin unambiguously links the undertaking to his own experience whilst still a member of the Anglican Communion:

Many, like myself (though educated in every prejudice against the holy Catholic faith that your books or your instructions could instil into the mind) have by the grace of God been led into the bosom of that ancient Church from whose paths they were ignorantly straying, are determined to expose the real history and results of your pretended reformation ...²⁷²

The letter deals with a number of subjects: the temporal corruption involved in the establishment of the Church,²⁷³ the moral and spiritual degeneracy of Cranmer, Latymer and Ridley together with their theological inconsistency,²⁷⁴ the persecution involved in the establishing of the Church,²⁷⁵ the doctrinal and liturgical discord within the Church of England under the reformers and in the nineteenth century,²⁷⁶ the promotion through

²⁷⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, & Latymer, Addressed to the Subscribers to and Promoters of that Undertaking, Booker and Dolman, London, 1839.

²⁷¹ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 3.

²⁷² A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 24.

²⁷³ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 27.

The overthrow of the ancient and true religion in this country sprang *entirely from temporal causes* ...

²⁷⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 5-7 and 16-20.

²⁷⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 22.

The truth is, the legal establishment called the Church of England, with the Common Prayer, was first forced on this Catholic country by racks, noisome prisons, ripping up alive, clipping ears, boring tongues, fires, confiscations, harassing by poursesuivants, tearing children from their parents, and tortures innumerable ... Never has a nation been so deluded and hoodwinked as the English for the last two centuries ...

²⁷⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 11-16.

Protestant thought of individual judgment,²⁷⁷ and the incongruity of the Church being under the ultimate authority of a lay parliament.²⁷⁸ Pugin is conscientious in citing his sources and in a clever move uses Protestant historians to sustain his arguments. Whilst he relies partially on the antiquarian authors on which he drew in Contrasts he also makes substantial use of fresh material; Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Burnet's History of the Reformation and Cranmer's 1549 Book of Common Prayer among other works.²⁷⁹

Pugin's examination of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer exposes a number of inconsistencies between the Catholicity of the Established Church's formularies and its actual contemporary practice.²⁸⁰ He is first careful to note that the act of parliament which promulgated the second Prayer Book nonetheless acknowledged the 1549 edition to be "a very godly order set forth by authority, agreeable to the word of God and the primitive Church".²⁸¹ Pugin quotes extensively from the 1549 Prayer Book and constructs from its text a list of thirteen points which should "be fully believed and received by all members of the law Church of England": belief in the real presence, the commemoration and veneration of saints, prayer for the dead, the ministration of angels between God and man, auricular confession, the sign of the cross used in benedictions, benediction of inanimate matter, use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist, the use of vestments, the use of altars, exorcism and anointing at baptism, extreme unction and the

²⁷⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 23.

²⁷⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 29-30.

remember the same power that created can destroy; you are only tenants-at-will. An act passed by a *lay assembly* can dissolve you in a moment ... if you are *discharged from your situations*, perhaps you will be less inclined to praise the men who *sold* the Church.

²⁷⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 2.

²⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that the incongruities observed by Pugin have recently been acknowledged though the introduction of the term "historic formularies" (instead of merely "formularies") in various oaths of assent administered to the clergy within the Church of England.

²⁸¹ Act of 5 Edw. VI cited in A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 14.

reservation of the sacrament for the sick.²⁸² Again in a cunning device using the “enemy’s” own ground Pugin notes that the 1549 Book of Common Prayer was penned by Cranmer himself and asks, “how do you think the sort of people who are likely to subscribe to your monument will relish this list which I have collected ...? will they not exclaim, This is rank popery!”²⁸³

Pugin goes further than constructing an argument that the Reformation itself was corrupt. He questions the notion that the Church of England as by Law Established derives a proper authority through following in succession Augustine, its founder (or as some argue from the earlier “British Church”). How can it make this claim, Pugin asks, when it denies the very tenets of Augustine’s faith and the Catholic mores is indelibly stamped upon England through its past:

... you pass over as nought the glorious churchmen by whose zeal and piety this land first received the light of faith? Have you no praise, no eulogy, for the missionaries of St. Eleutherius? – for St. Gregory, St. Augustine, the apostle of England and its first primate? – for Bede, the venerable, the learned and holy Alcuin, the Cuthberts, the Anselms? the Wilfrids, and all the Saxon saints and martyrs of this realm? – the founders of its cathedrals, its churches, its seminaries, and all its noblest institutions? Why do you not publicly revere the memory of these men, from whom, in fact, you pretend to derive your ecclesiastical authority? Because you *dare not*: these holy men are Catholic saints, missionaries of *popes*, monks and abbots. These are the *founders of the real Church of England* – men who daily used the Missal (not the Common Prayer), and offered up the most blessed Eucharistic sacrifice upon the altars of God.²⁸⁴

... But go on, erect your puny memorial, and when it is done it will cut but a sorry appearance among the venerable remains of ancient days that will surround it. CATHOLIC is indelibly stamped on the very face of your ancient city. When miles distant, the lofty spires and pinnacled towers, rising above the landscape, mark the spot which religion and learning

²⁸² A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 15.

²⁸³ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 16.

in ancient days had singled as her own, all around must remind you of times and men with whom you have no communion.²⁸⁵

It was not only through the medium of polemical publication that Pugin carried out his decision of 1833 to devote himself “*entirely* to the pursuit of Gothic architecture”.²⁸⁶ He also developed that intimate knowledge of mediæval forms which he possessed to commence practice as an architect and designer.

In 1835 Pugin purchased a half acre plot of land two miles outside of Salisbury and erected a home for his family.²⁸⁷ St. Marie’s Grange, as Pugin was to name his new home, was executed in the manner of the fifteenth century, and was comprised of three floors housing a library, parlour, chapel, sacristy, kitchen, scullery, maid’s room and two bed chambers. The plan of the house ignored conventional nineteenth-century ideas of comfort and convenience with no entrance hall, interconnecting rooms, small windows and a narrow spiral stairway instead of a staircase. However, Pugin was delighted with the project and wrote to Willson on 17 July 1835:

My house is nearly completed and it is in every part a compleat building of the 15th cent.

The minutest details have been attended to and the whole effect is very good ... the great thickness of the walls ... the approach over a drawbridge, the chapel with its little belfry, the ancient letters worked in bricks in the walls, the gullt vanes on the roof, and the small windows all have astonished the people about here beyond measure.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, *A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial*, op. cit. 20-21.

²⁸⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, *A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial*, op. cit. 25.

²⁸⁶ Letter to E.J. Willson, 26 February 1833, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, “The Early Years” in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, op. cit., 30. Original letter in Flower Collection, John Hopkins University, Baltimore.

²⁸⁷ M. Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, op. cit., 64.

²⁸⁸ Pugin letter to Willson transcribed in A. Wedgwood, “Domestic Architecture” in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), *Pugin*, op. cit., 45.

The work had given Pugin a taste for architectural practice and after he had published Contrasts in the following year he was able to use the notoriety which he had gained to establish himself in practice as an architect. His first commission was won from Charles Scarisbrick (1800-1860), a member of an old recusant family, who engaged him to remodel Scarisbrick Hall in Lancashire. Pugin made several preliminary visits to the Hall in March 1837 and began work on the designs on 24 April.²⁸⁹ This initial commission was soon followed by others, both domestic and ecclesiastical. The first church which Pugin designed was St. James', Reading, the foundation for which were laid out in 1837. However, St. James' was longer in construction than a number of subsequent designs and St. Augustine's, Solihull (1839), was Pugin's first church to be opened.²⁹⁰ During his early years of practice Pugin experimented with a number of varying styles; St. James' was Norman and St. Augustine's was Perpendicular whilst St. Mary's, Utttoxeter (in building 1838-1839), was for example, Early English.²⁹¹

However, Pugin soon became less eclectic in employment of style and from the late 1830s he showed a marked favour towards the Decorated period. This was not by chance, but reflected the theories which he was developing on the evolution and propriety of style.²⁹² Following Pugin's lead the Cambridge Camden Society, and other architectural bodies also began to demonstrate a marked preference towards the Decorated style. Between 1838 and 1839 Pugin delivered his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History to the students of Oscott College and these were to form the work later to be published as The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841).²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Pugin, 1836 Diary 1836, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 37.

²⁹⁰ Opened: February 1839.

²⁹¹ R. O'Donnell, "Pugin as a Church Architect" in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright (eds), Pugin, op. cit., 67.

²⁹² There are notable exceptions to this. For example, in St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, Pugin built the crypt in a Norman form to suggest a chronological evolution of the building.

²⁹³ A.W.N. Pugin, "Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture, Delivered to the Students of St. Mary's College, Oscott ... Lecture the First", in Catholic Magazine, n.s. 2, April 1838, [193]-213.

Adapting the classical Vitruvian canon, Pugin attempted to articulate the principles upon which he believed the Gothic style rested:

The two great rules for design are these: 1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.

Noting that the Perpendicular period moved away from the solid functionality espoused in these principles, and introduced non-structural forms of ornamentation, Pugin began to regard the Decorated period as the summit of architectural achievement.

The development of the True Principles should in part be seen as a growth of the ideas which Pugin had begun to evolve in his first edition of Contrasts. However, the arguments which Pugin had evolved in his True Principles meant that the position which he had adopted when he first wrote Contrasts in 1836 had become untenable. The demise of Gothic architecture could no longer be attributed exclusively to the Reformation as Pugin now argued that it had begun with the advent of the Perpendicular period. It became apparent to Pugin that he had to re-conceptualise his ideas, and that a new edition of Contrasts was required. In January 1841 Pugin wrote to his friend John Rouse Bloxam (1807-1891) telling him

a new Edition of my Contrasts which will be published this spring. I am very glad of this opportunity of correcting the original text and adding a vast deal of new matter. I have gained much information since [sic] I published that work & I hope to render it a really useful book.²⁹⁴

A.W.N. Pugin, "Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture, Delivered to the Students of St. Mary's College, Oscott ... Lecture the Second", in Catholic Magazine, n.s. 2, June 1838, 321-327.

A.W.N. Pugin, "Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture, Delivered to the Students of St. Mary's College, Oscott ... Lecture the Third", in Catholic Magazine, 3, January 1839, 17-34 and February 1839, 89-98.

A.W.N. Pugin, True Principles, op. cit.

²⁹⁴ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/11, First Sunday after Epiphany.

By February Pugin had completed both the letterpress and the illustrations.²⁹⁵ The work appeared sometime between March and December 1841 and was published by Dolman.²⁹⁶ The second edition also brought with it opportunity for further sales and a wider proliferation of Pugin's ideas. The one thousand copies of the first edition which Pugin printed had completely sold out and the second one was to sell no less well.²⁹⁷

Because Pugin had changed his position on the value of fifteenth-century architecture, he found it necessary to change the title of the work, and whereas the 1836 edition had been called Contrasts; or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste the 1841 edition came to be retitled Contrasts; or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. Writing in his Preface to the new work Pugin explained why a new edition had become necessary:

He was perfectly correct in the abstract facts, that *pointed architecture was produced by the Catholic faith*, and that it was destroyed in England by the ascendancy of Protestantism; but he was wrong in treating Protestantism as a *primary cause*, instead of being the *effect* of some other more powerful agency ... The real origin of both the revived Pagan and Protestant principles is to be traced to the decayed state of faith throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, which led men to dislike, and ultimately forsake, the principles and architecture which originated in the *self-denying Catholic principle* ...²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Pugin, 1841 Diary 1841, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 48.

²⁹⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts; or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Dolman, London, 1841. See discussion over possible dates of publication in M. Belcher, Pugin, op. cit., 15.

²⁹⁷ See Pugin letter to Willson, 13 October 1836, in M. Belcher, Pugin, op. cit., 11-12.

²⁹⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts; or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Dolman, London, 1841, [iii].

This new position required a substantial reordering of the structure of the work. Pugin made considerable alterations to the whole work and rewrote two chapters. Chapter II, “On the State of Architecture in England Immediately Preceding the Change of Religion”, which had praised the perpendicular period was replaced with a new chapter “On the Revived Pagan Principle” and the Conclusion, which had discoursed “On the Wretched State of Architecture at the Present Day”, metamorphosed into “Reflections on the Probable State of the English Church, had this Country Remained in Communion with the Catholic Church”.

The 1841 Contrasts also answered a major omission of the first edition. It had been illogical for Pugin to attribute the demise of Gothic architecture solely to the Reformation, as a corresponding decline has also taken place in Catholic countries on the Continent. The new emphases which Pugin came to place upon the ‘revival of modern Paganism’ provided an explanation for the demise of the Gothic style within the wider perspective of developments in sixteenth century Europe.

However, despite his new perspective on the later Middle Ages Pugin was still not above exploiting sources to imply the existence of a healthy Church on the eve of the Reformation. For example in Appendix IV, “Durham Abbey”, Pugin presents a sixteenth century account of the monastic community and buildings at Durham before the dissolution. He does not reference his source, but the work is in fact drawn from The Rites of Durham (1593). Pugin transcribes all the passages treating on the good ordering of the community, and charitable provision for the poor and for education made by the Prior, but makes a substantial omission in neglecting to give Chapter XLVI on “The Fermerye”. The only reason for his so doing was that it gives an image running counter to his argument of a virtuous mediæval society in outlining the punishments

administered to “any of the Monnckeyes [sic] [who] had been taken in felony, or in any adultarie [sic]”.²⁹⁹

By 1841 Pugin was no longer a lone voice in the wilderness of architectural polemic; since he had published the first edition of Contrasts the French liberal Catholic Count Charles-Forbes-René de Montalembert (1810-1870) had written a treatise titled De l'État Actuel de l'Art Religieux en France (1839).³⁰⁰ The treatise dealt with the disparity between the revival of Classical art and Christian art. In a passage which Pugin was to quote in Contrasts (1841) Montalembert provides a similar commentary on the relationship between art and society to that which Pugin had given in his 1836 edition:

The ancient Pagans were at least consistent; in their architecture, symbols, and sculpture, they faithfully embodied the errors of their mythology; but modern Catholics have revived these profanities in opposition to reason, and formed the types of their churches, their paintings, their images, from the detestable models of pagan error which had been overthrown by the triumph of Christian truth, raising temples to the crucified Redeemer in imitation of the Parthenon and Pantheon; representing the Eternal Father under a semblance of Jupiter; the Blessed Virgin as a draped Venus or Juno; the martyrs as gladiators; saints as amorous nymphs; and angels in the form of Cupids.³⁰¹

Montalembert's work was influential in developing this point and suggesting to Pugin that it was what he was to call “the revival of modern Paganism”, and not the Reformation, which had led to the decline of architecture in England. Montalembert's critique showed that the demise of the Gothic style was not merely an English phenomenon and compelled Pugin to make his arguments applicable within a broader context. Holding the Reformation to be the cause of the decline in Gothic architecture

²⁹⁹ Monuments, Rites, and Customs, op. cit., 75.

³⁰⁰ C. de Montalembert, De l'État Actuel de l'Art Religieux en France, Paris, 1839.

³⁰¹ C. de Montalembert, “De l'État Actuel de l'Art Religieux en France” cited in A.W.N. Pugin, 1841 Contrasts, op. cit., 8.

provided no answers about why that demise had also taken place on the continent; however, a theory attributing the decline to revived paganism did. Pugin acknowledged this in his conclusion to the new edition of Contrasts:

Judging from what has occurred during the last three centuries on the Continent, it would be presuming far too much to suppose that England alone would have escaped the pestilential influence of Pagan ideas and taste which was spreading over Europe at the period of England's schism ...³⁰²

One of Pugin's friends, Ambrose Phillipps, knew the Count well. Phillipps had made an English translation of Montalembert's The chronicle of the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1839),³⁰³ and Montalembert always addressed him in correspondence as "My dear Friend and Brother".³⁰⁴ It was probably through Phillipps' mediation that Pugin and Montalembert first met in June 1839.³⁰⁵

Montalembert provided a substantial appendix for the second edition of Contrasts, giving an "Account of the Destructive and Revived Pagan Principle in France".³⁰⁶ He reiterates the points which he made in his work De l'État Actuel de l'Art Religieux en France (1839) and takes on board Pugin's theme of contrasts:

Il est impossible alors de n'être pas frappé du contraste que présente le monde actuel avec le monde d'alors sous le rapport de la beauté.³⁰⁷

³⁰² A.W.N. Pugin, 1841 Contrasts, op. cit., 51.

³⁰³ C.F. Montalembert, The chronicle of the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Duchess of Thuringia: who was born in the year of grace MCCVII and died in MCCXXXI, transl. A. Phillipps, Booker and Dolman, London, 1839.

³⁰⁴ See for example E.S. Purcell, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., 231, 234 and 238.

³⁰⁵ Pugin, 1839 Diary (entry for 26 June) transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 42.

³⁰⁶ C. de Montalembert, "Account of the Destructive and Revived Pagan Principle in France" in A.W.N. Pugin, 1841 Contrasts, op. cit., 76-95.

³⁰⁷ C. de Montalembert, "Account of the Destructive and Revived Pagan Principle in France" in A.W.N. Pugin, 1841 Contrasts, op. cit., 95.

"It is impossible not to be struck with the contrast between the modern world and the former world with respect to beauty."

It was not only the theme of modern paganism which Pugin was to develop in the second edition of Contrasts. He also evolved a theme of social critique which had been present in embryo in the first edition. His criticisms reflected a concern for the stability of society held by many of his contemporaries. The Enclosure Acts had succeeded in depriving many of the poor of their living. These, together with the industrial revolution, which was well underway by the 1830s, led to growing urbanisation and poverty which effectively sounded the death knell of the mediæval settlement. By Pugin's date the composition of English society had been profoundly affected. Population increase and shift in the demographic constitution of the country from the later eighteenth century resulted in a substantial move away from rural parishes to town conurbations meant that old models of society were no longer relevant to the experience of many of the country's populace.³⁰⁸ The 1840s saw the advent of radical movements such as Chartism, which arose as a popular response to the disenfranchisement long felt by many.³⁰⁹ Contrasts is offered as a solution to this, as Pugin calls England back to Christianity and systems found in mediæval society as a model for the nineteenth-century renaissance.

The flight of Pugin's father from the French revolution (whether this was mythical or actual) stood as a first hand example of the dangers of popular uprising. The secular and anticlerical atmosphere prevalent in France following the revolution was to Pugin symptomatic of the ascendancy of what he was to term "modern paganism". Pugin appears to have held a deep fear for his personal safety and was ever worried by the prospect of attack by highwaymen. Ferrey attests that he kept muskets to hand in case of civil unrest or revolution.

³⁰⁸ L. Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, 1-4.

C. Matthew, The Nineteenth Century, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, 43-44.

³⁰⁹ L. Woodward, The Age of Reform, op. cit., 126-9.

Pugin's satire in Contrasts reveals something of his profound unease with modern society, which is far deeper than the viewer expecting a purely religious and architectural treatment may expect. The representation of the chained pump compared with the flowing conduit given in the first edition provides evidence that Pugin had begun to formulate a social criticism in 1836 (Fig. IV.3). However, the addition to the 1841 edition of the plates "Contrasted Residences for the Poor" (Fig. IV.4) and "A Catholic Town in 1440 and the Same Town in 1840" provides an illustration of the social and moral dimension reflected in architecture which Pugin set forth in his True Principles. The inhumane poor house compared with the beneficence of the ancient hospital, the dead sent "For Dissection" compared with the departed accorded Christian burial act as stark comments on the decadence of society and the state of Christian practice in the early nineteenth century. They seem to accuse their intended viewers in the manner of the Last Judgment – when I was thirsty you gave me no drink, when I was homeless you gave me no shelter, when I was dead you gave me no grave.

Chapter V

PUGIN AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Pugin was ... the first link between English Catholics and the Oxford School. His visits to Oxford were in the critical year 1840 – the year after Newman had abandoned the anti-Roman basis of the *via media* as untenable, and begun to look towards Rome. It is well known that the effect of this change on his part made some of his most energetic followers, who were already Roman in their sympathies, still more outspoken in that direction. Oakeley, Faber, W.G. Ward, Dalgairns and Bloxam – Pugin's most intimate friend – were among these. After Pugin's first two visits to Oxford, in February and in October 1840, his correspondence with them became frequent. Corporate reunion with Rome was more and more explicitly spoken of by them as a practicable prospect, though its nature and extent were somewhat undefined.³¹⁰

This passage from Wilfrid Ward's The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman (1897) raises a number of interesting questions about Pugin which have hitherto been largely neglected. The suggestion that Pugin, the author of the vehemently anti-protestant Contrasts (1836) and Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial (1839), constituted "the first link between English Catholics and the Oxford school" seems an implausible one. Yet, if it were true, it would place Pugin as central character in the later stage of the drama of the Tractarian movement and of the conversions to Rome which followed its initial flowering. Scholarship has been silent on the subject and has all but totally ignored Ward's claim. There has been a limited treatment of Pugin's involvement at Balliol College, but other aspects of his association with the Tractarian party have received virtually no attention. It is, therefore, the intention of this chapter to redress such an

³¹⁰ W. Ward, The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman, op. cit., vol. I, 371.

Wilfrid Ward was the son of the prominent Tractarian W.G. Ward whom he mentioned in the above passage.



omission and to assess the growing sympathy towards the Anglican church which Pugin was to develop throughout the 1840s.

The second edition of Contrasts (1841) had marked a softening in Pugin's attitude towards the Church of England. Over the following decade he was to gain and consolidate links with some of Anglicanism's principal Tractarian and High Church figures. Whilst he held fast to his claims concerning the Protestant ascendancy, he modified his historical perspective and came to adopt a more conciliatory approach to the contemporary Church of England.

This change in position was in part due to Pugin's newly forged association with the Catholicly minded protagonists of the Oxford Movement. According to Newman, John Keble's (1792-1866) assize sermon on National Apostasy, preached before the University of Oxford on 14 July 1833, marked the beginning of the movement.³¹¹ The majority of scholars to date have generally accepted Newman's claim, for Keble's discourse marked an attempt to re-examine authority within the Church of England and free it from undue political interference. When treating on the movement's origins in his Apologia (1864) Newman forwarded a synopsis of what this re-evaluation had sought to achieve:

I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well nigh faded away out of the land, through the political changes of the last 150 years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation: - a

³¹¹ Cf. J.H. Newman, Apologia pro Vita Sua: Being a History of His Religious Opinions, Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, London, 1881.

Keble preached the sermon on the text of I Sam. 12; 23.

better Reformation, for it would be a return not to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth.³¹²

Although the Oxford Movement was to serve as a theological foundation for the spread of ritualism within the Anglican Church it held no particular artistic or liturgical ideology of its own. The Tractarians were primarily concerned, not with art and liturgy, but with theology. They were marked as distinct from the old High Church party not through external expression, but over theological questions.³¹³ The Oxford Movement's appeal to the teaching of the Anglican Divines of the seventeenth century followed on from the High Church position and in both there was an implicit recognition of Laudian principles which espoused a restrained manifestation of artistic externals in order to emphasise theological belief and facilitate devotion:

to Laud the church was the hallowed spot in which a poor weak human soul came into the presence of his Maker and his Father for prayer and praise. His school dwelt on the importance of having a fixed place for devotion where the train of spiritual thought could quickly be resumed. When the worshipper entered, he should bow reverently to the holy table, collecting his thoughts in prayer; ... because it was the table of Christ, and symbolised the covenant of grace which He had made with His people. And this reverent feeling should be deepened by every external aid; by magnificent architecture, by melodious music, by solemn ritual, by careful decorum of demeanour, all valuable habits for assisting the worshippers to realise that God Himself was present.³¹⁴

However the Laudian model provided no precedent on grounds of artistic superiority, and when applied it naturally adopted the prevalent style of the age. Thus when William Laud (1573-1645), as Bishop of London, had engaged upon the remodelling of St. Paul's

³¹² J.H. Newman, *Apologia*, op. cit., 43.

³¹³ See *Tracts for the Times*, 1833-1841.

³¹⁴ C.H. Simpkinton, *Life and Times of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury*, Murray, London, 1894, 128-129.

Cathedral, Inigo Jones was employed as architect and had added classical appendages to the building's Gothic fabric.³¹⁵

Tracing the development of the revival in ritualist tendencies in the late eighteenth-century Church of England Nockles states that this had traditionally meant

making the visible into 'a type of the invisible' ... [having] a decent chancel, altar-hangings, communion-rails, etc. in the restrained Laudian tradition of 'the beauty of holiness'.³¹⁶

From place to place this was taken further, and Magdalen College for example had used altar lights at the Communion since the 1780s.³¹⁷ However the Tractarians never really went beyond the High Church position and it was a number of the movement's individuals rather than the movement as a whole that came to espouse explicitly ritualist forms. Thus although the rising ecclesiological and ritualist movements shared many protagonists in common with Tractarianism, they were nonetheless different and could trace separate roots well back into eighteenth century.³¹⁸

Pugin appears to have had no particular knowledge of the infant Oxford Movement at the time of his secession from Anglicanism in 1836, and it seems likely that his first contact with the Tractarians was not made until 1839 at the earliest. The leading Tractarian John Henry Newman (1801-1890), Fellow of Oriel and Vicar of the University Church, wrote in a letter of January 1840 mentioning that he had met Pugin whilst he had been up on a visit to Oxford.³¹⁹ The meeting must have taken place a year before, when Pugin delivered his Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial to the memorial's

³¹⁵ C.H. Simpkinson, *Life and Times of William Laud*, op. cit., 123-126.

The Jones additions to St. Paul's can be seen in a Hollar engraving printed in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: or, the History of the Ancient Abbeys and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, in England and Wales*, London: Wilkinson, Driy and Harper, 1682.

³¹⁶ P.B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, op. cit., 210

³¹⁷ P.B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context*, op. cit., 211.

³¹⁸ N. Yates, *Anglican Ritualism*, op. cit., 47-50.

³¹⁹ M. Belcher, *A.W.N. Pugin*, op. cit., 470.

subscribers in the January of 1839, as his diary allows no space for a later date.³²⁰ However, it was not Newman but Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen College, who facilitated Pugin's introduction into Tractarian circles. Bloxam was a keen antiquarian and author of a monumental history of Magdalen College and its former members. A correspondence was initiated between Pugin and Bloxam in 1840 which was to be kept up until Pugin's death in 1852. The letters from Bloxam to Pugin do not survive, but those from Pugin to Bloxam are preserved among the Bloxam papers in the Archive at Magdalen College.³²¹ Whether or not this acquaintance was facilitated through a mutual connection remains unclear. Wedgwood states that Bloxam "was a friend of Ambrose Phillipps who had introduced him to Pugin" whilst Meara asserts that it was "through the agency of Dr. Daniel Rock [that Pugin] ... had made contact with the Revd. J. R. Bloxam ..."³²²

Pugin responded to Bloxam's initial epistle by a beautifully illuminated letter dated "Dom. XIV post Pent." in which he wrote:

I need hardly inform you that I feel most gratified at the contents of your truly kind letter of the 10th. instant and delighted shall I be to avail myself of your kind invitation and to visit you within the venerable walls of Magdalene [sic] ... perhaps you are not aware that there is hardly a detail of your glorious college which I have not drawn. I consider it as a whole one of the most splendid & perfect collegiate edifices remaining³²³

Pugin apparently possessed a fair familiarity with Oxford. His father had collaborated in the illustration of William Combe's A History of the University of Oxford (1814), and made a number of further illustrations of the city and its environs which are preserved in

³²⁰ Pugin 1839 Diary, entries for 29 and 30 January, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family.op. cit., 41.

³²¹ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MSS. 125 and MSS. 528

³²² A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family.op. cit., 85, f.n. 37. D. Meara, "The Catholic Context" in A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, 52.

³²³ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/8.

the Bodleian Library.³²⁴ Furthermore, in addition to his visit of January 1839, there is record of the stop he made during his summer tour of 1833, and also of a brief trip in August 1840.³²⁵ Before visiting Bloxam, Pugin wrote to him:

... I have Longed for the honour of your personal acquaintance for some time. I feel assured that in all that regards catholic art and architecture we have but one opinion and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to communicate with you on this glorious subject.³²⁶

In the event Pugin stayed at Magdalen College between the 29 and 31 October.³²⁷ His diary records that on the eve of his arrival he dined at Exeter College where a number of prominent Tractarians such as J. B. Morris (1812-1880), E.E. Estcourt (1816-1884) and J.D. Dalgairns (1818-1876) were at the time resident.³²⁸ On the morrow he spent "All day with Mr. Bloxam" whilst he travelled back to Birmingham on the 31 October.³²⁹ There was a growing interest in things Gothic within the University and Bloxam was one of its main proponents. Either on this or on a subsequent visit Pugin helped Bloxam to decorate his set in a true Gothic style. He provided Bloxam with a waxen model of Bishop Waynflete's tomb in Winchester, which took pride of place on a table, and other items of like ecclesiological paraphernalia.³³⁰

The visit was also the occasion for another interview with Newman. Newman's diary shows that he was already acquainted with Pugin's Contrasts (1836) and it is also

³²⁴ W. Combe, A History of the University of Oxford, its Colleges, Halls and Public Buildings, 2 vols., Harrison and Leigh, London, 1814.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Top.Oxon. a.35-9.

³²⁵ See M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit. 47 and Pugin, 1840 Diary, entries for 20 and 21 January, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 46.

See also Pugin's description of Oxford in A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit. 25-26.

³²⁶ Magdalen College Archive, MS. 528/19, September 1840.

³²⁷ Pugin, 1840 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 46.

³²⁸ Pugin, 1840 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 46 and 85.

³²⁹ Pugin, 1840 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 46.

probable that he was familiar with Pugin's subsequent publications.³³¹ They appear to have held a rather earnest conversation about the condition of the Roman Church in England, and it would seem that Newman utilised Pugin's advice in developing his approach to dialogue with the Roman Catholics. He wrote to F. Rogers on 25 November 1840 informing him that:

Pugin has been here[. he] speaks strongly against the R.C. body, and says that if 200 of the ablest and best of our men were to go over, they would be received coldly. I think our way certainly is to form alliances with *foreigners*; the jealousies (natural) with R.C.s at home preclude anything good.³³²

The early acquaintance between the two would seem to have been an amiable and productive one, Newman wrote of Pugin, "I cannot help liking him, though he is an immense talker."³³³

It is also possible that a meeting between Pugin and the Tractarian William George Ward (1812-1882), Fellow of Balliol College, took place on this visit. Wilfrid Ward records in his biography William George Ward and the Oxford Movement (1889) that

When Pugin, the great Catholic architect, came up in 1840 to stay with Bloxam, he was full of a project for new Gothic buildings for Balliol College. Bloxam introduced him to Ward, taking him to his rooms at Balliol. Pugin, with his love of mediaevalism, saw with satisfaction on Ward's table the *Summa* of St. Thomas and the works of St. Buonaventure, in huge folio volumes; and their student's enthusiasm for the Church of the Middle Ages struck a chord of common sympathy. To Pugin this signified the existence of that devotion to Gothic architecture which was in his eyes a necessary corollary following from the true Catholic spirit. They soon became friends, and the visit was returned and repeated.³³⁴

³³⁰ H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983, 99.

³³¹ Cf. J.H. Newman, The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, ed. C.S. Dessain et al., Nelson, 1961-, vol. VII, 51.

³³² Newman letter to F. Rogers, 25 November 1840 in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries., vol. VII, 449.

³³³ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 470.

Some question could be raised over the dating of this meeting, as J. Jones, Dean of Balliol College, states in his work Balliol College: A History 1263-1939 (1988) that rebuilding of the Broad Street Sets and of the Master's Lodge was not considered seriously until a series of meetings in 1842.³³⁵ Furthermore Bryson appears to disregard Ward's claim in The Balliol that might have been (1963) and poses 1843 as the date of the inception of Pugin's scheme.³³⁶ However by 1840 Balliol was in fairly urgent need of building work, its existing buildings were in a bad state of repair and it had experienced a significant rise in its student population. It is not therefore unlikely that general plans for rebuilding could have been mooted at around this earlier date.³³⁷

Despite Pugin and Ward's religious sympathies and similarities in historical taste, Ward never developed interests as firmly grounded in matters architectural as Pugin would have wished. In an amusing anecdote given by Wilfrid Ward there is perhaps a portent of Ward's ignorance of architectural form which was to affect his later relationship with Pugin:

After a talk with Ward one day Pugin went to see Bloxam, and said to him, 'What an extraordinary thing that so glorious a man as Ward should be living in a room without mullions to the windows.' Next time they met Pugin taxed him with this deficiency, and received a rude shock from Ward's reply: 'What are mullions? I never heard of them.' Pugin was, however, incredulous, but on receiving a second assurance: 'I haven't the most distant idea what they are like,' he retired discomfited. A few fresh tokens of 'invincible ignorance' in architecture so shocked Pugin, that he entirely refused to believe that Ward meant what he said. 'I see how it is, my dear sir,' he said, 'you conceal your graces.'³³⁸

³³⁴ W. Ward, William George Ward and the Oxford Movement, Macmillan, London, 1969, 154.

³³⁵ J. Jones, Balliol College: A History 1263-1939, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, 194.

³³⁶ J. Bryson, "The Balliol that might have been" in Country Life, vol. 133, 27 June 1963, 1558.

³³⁷ Cf. J. Jones "Balliol: From Obscurity to Pre-eminence" in M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (eds), The History of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, volume VI, part I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, 178.

Pugin's relationship with Richard Waldo Sibthorp (1792-1879) is also deserving of note. Clifton's biography of Sibthorp asserts that Pugin "may have been a distant relative as it seems he always called Sibthorp 'Cousin'" and Ferrey also concurs that the pair were cousins.³³⁹ However there would appear to be no further evidence to support the belief and it is notable that Belcher makes no mention of it in her biographical summary of Sibthorp.³⁴⁰ Furthermore, writing to Bloxam Pugin refers to Sibthorp as if he were a stranger.³⁴¹

Sibthorp had displayed considerable Catholic sentiment whilst an Anglican Oxford undergraduate at Magdalen College. During this period he kept a crucifix in his rooms and on occasion heard Mass at the Roman Chapel in St. Clement's. In October 1811 he paid a visit to Bishop Milner and was only prevented from converting when his brother and a constable removed him by force.³⁴² Safely rescued, he took an M.A. from Oxford and received orders in the Church of England.³⁴³ His first position was secured in 1828 when he went to assist the Irvingite preacher J.B. Noel at St John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London.³⁴⁴ The mutual involvement of both Sibthorp and Pugin's mother in Irvingite circles may have led to a first acquaintance between the two and this could prove an alternative explanation of the friendship between Sibthorp and Pugin. Similarly, and more probably, the acquaintance could have been formed through mutual association with members of the University at Oxford. In 1818 Sibthorp returned to Oxford to take up a fellowship in his old college where he knew Bloxam. He also

³³⁸ W. Ward, William George Ward and the Oxford Movement, Macmillan, London, 1889, 153.

³³⁹ M. Clifton, A Victorian Convert Quintet: Studies in the Faith of Five Leading Victorian Converts to Catholicism from the Oxford Movement, Saint Austin Press, London, 1988, 106.

B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 266.

³⁴⁰ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 474.

³⁴¹ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/19.

³⁴² M. Clifton, Convert Quintet, op. cit., 99-100.

³⁴³ "Rome's Recruits:" A List of Protestants who have become Catholics since the Tractarian Movement, Parker and Burns and Oates, London, 1878, 28.

³⁴⁴ M. Clifton, Convert Quintet, op. cit., 102.

became acquainted with Newman through membership of the Church Missionary Society and associated with a number of other figures who were to be involved in the Oxford Movement.³⁴⁵

Leaving the University, Sibthorpe assumed the incumbency of St. James', Ryde, where he fitted up the church in accordance to proto-ritualist principles. Bloxam had been in contact with Rock about the designs which Sibthorpe had employed. Rock had told Pugin of this and Pugin wrote to Bloxam offering his advice:

My friend the Revd D^r Rock. [sic] sent me a note of yours Last week relative to the Rev^d Mr Sibthorps [sic] chapel in the Ile of Wight. I beg to say that I shall feel most happy to give that gentleman any information of which I am possessed for the improvement of his building. it [sic] is not improbable that I shall be shortly in the vicinity of the Island and if I could be assured of finding him I would make a point of going over.³⁴⁶

Pugin visited Sibthorpe on 16 April 1841. What passed between the two on this occasion is not known; however Pugin would seem to have been much impressed by his religiosity if not by his artistic taste.³⁴⁷ Writing to Bloxam, Pugin expressed some concern:

I think his intentions are truly admirable but to speak the truth the Sanctuary looks amazingly like one of the modern Catholic Chapels; there is too much finery to produce the solemn effect.³⁴⁸

When Pugin met Sibthorpe he was not far off from converting, and according to the Dictionary of National Biography he was received into the Roman Church by Bishop Wiseman on 27 October 1841 and received orders on 21 May 1842.³⁴⁹ This would seem to contradict Pugin's diary which records that he attended Sibthorpe's ordination whilst

³⁴⁵ M. Clifton, Convert Quintet, op. cit., 103.

³⁴⁶ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/19, September 1840.

³⁴⁷ Pugin, 1841 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 49.

³⁴⁸ M. Clifton, Convert Quintet, op. cit., 106.

on a visit to Oscott on 18 December 1841.³⁵⁰ However, it is possible that Pugin was referring not to priestly but to diaconal or minor ordination.

In August 1842 Pugin noted in his Diary that he was to remind Hardman to make “2 Mosses Mr. Sibthorp” and “Pyx for ditto and chrismatory.”³⁵¹ Sibthorp returned to the Anglican fold in 1843 (only to change once more for Rome in 1865). However, Sibthorp’s ‘apostasy’ was not to prevent Pugin’s association with him. In 1847 Pugin produced the plans for an almshouse which Sibthorp was erecting in Lincoln whilst note of a debt in Pugin’s diary for 1850 also indicates that Pugin carried out work for him in that year as well.³⁵²

The significance of Sibthorp within the early history of the Tractarian Movement was that he became one of the first Oxford clergymen to convert to Rome. This tested the waters at Oxford where the Tractarians had not yet formularised their Catholic sentiment. For some at Oxford, Sibthorp became emblematic of the dangers inherent in the movement, whilst to Catholics he became a figure of hope for reunion. Pugin wrote to Phillipps on 12 January 1842, noting Bloxam’s pragmatic view of Sibthorp’s secession to Rome:

In one of Bloxam’s letters he terms R. Sibthorp’s conversion a wretched step. This might be only a passing expression, but it is very awful; because when a man believes privately all he believes I cannot conceive how he can speak of another’s absolute union in such terms.³⁵³

³⁴⁹ D.N.B.

³⁵⁰ A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*.op. cit., 50.

³⁵¹ A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*.op. cit., 53.

These items curiously came into the possession of Cardinal Newman and are preserved at the Birmingham Oratory.

³⁵² A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*.op. cit., 69.

At some point during his association with the Oxford men, Pugin also formed an acquaintance with Frederick William Faber (1814-1863), a Fellow of University College. However, documentation of their relationship is unfortunately scant. The Oxford Chronicle (25 March 1843) disapprovingly notes that Faber visited the Catholic College at Oscott in the company of Pugin in late March 1843.³⁵⁴ Pugin also refers to the expedition in a letter to Bloxam postmarked 30 March 1843.³⁵⁵ A letter in the following weeks' issue of the Oxford Chronicle (31 March 1843) additionally notes by way of explanation that Pugin was employed to make restorations at the Parish Church in Elton to which Faber had just been presented.³⁵⁶ It would seem that Pugin produced some designs for this purpose as Faber made reference to them in later correspondence with Newman:

Lord Carysfort's steward has written to me to say that if I came to Elton just now, there would be an auto da fe, in which I should play a painfully conspicuous part: what a chance for Pugin's designs!³⁵⁷

It seems probable that the association between them existed before 1843. After a tour of France, the Adriatic and the Aegean Faber published his Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and Among Foreign Peoples (1842) in which he shows considerable sympathy towards the Gothic cause. It is indicative of the influence which Pugin was to have upon

³⁵³ Pugin letter to Phillips, 12 January 1842, transcribed in E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, Macmillan, London, 1900, 2 vols, vol. II, 226-227.

³⁵⁴ Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette, 25 March 1843.

The exact dates of the trip remain obscure, Pugin's Diary for 1843 does not survive.

³⁵⁵ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/95

³⁵⁶ Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette, 31 March 1843, 429-430.

³⁵⁷ Faber letter to Newman, 4 December 1845, transcribed in R. Addington (ed.), Faber: Poet and Priest: Selected Letters of Frederick William Faber 1833-1863, D. Brown, Glamorgan, 1974, 133-134.

Faber had seceded to Catholicism in November 1845, and was writing to Newman informing him of how he had persuaded thirteen parishioners of his former incumbency to convert.

Auto da fe – a ceremonial burning.

many of the Tractarians that when describing Chartres Cathedral, Faber quotes from him, making Pugin's rhetoric his own:

The inside, also, is not well kept, and the men who fitted up the choirs of Gothic cathedrals with marble cut in square wainscot patterns, must have had very little sympathy with old ecclesiastical art. It has been excellently said, that whatever injuries time and revolutions "from Luther to Mirabeau", or "the architectural paganism contemporaneous with Luther", may have inflicted upon our old cathedrals, they have all been surpassed in barbarity and presumption, by the more recent restorers, who "impudently clapped upon the wounds of Gothic architecture, ribbons of marble, pompoons of metal, a downright leprosy of eggs, volutes, spirals, draperies, garlands, fringes, flames of stone, clouds of bronze, plethoric cupids, chubby cherubs, which began to eat into the face of art in the oratory of Catherine de Medicis, and put it to death two centuries later, writhing and grinning in the boudoir of Dubarry."³⁵⁸

Pugin in his turn was similarly favourable towards the Tractarians. Following his visit to Oxford of October 1840 he wrote to Bloxam telling him that

the day I spent with you at Magdalen was one of the most delightful of my Life. I think the progress of Catholic feeling at oxford [sic] most Glorious & considering the times truly wonderful.³⁵⁹

Thus Pugin was much impressed by the Catholic sentiment of those whom he had met within the University, that bastion of the established Church, and saw them as signs of hope for a restoration of Catholicism within England. The Tractarians met Pugin's criteria of orthodoxy for they were both Catholicly minded in their corporate theology whilst individually they also appeared to be sympathetic to the Gothic style. This contrasted with difficulties which Pugin was experiencing in the Roman Church. The erection of rood screens was beginning to prove a contentious issue, and Wiseman had intervened in the erection of the Great Rood then in building at St. Chad's Cathedral,

Birmingham.³⁶⁰ Moreover, although many of Pugin's churches had received acclaim for their artistic merit they seldom functioned in the manner of a mediæval church according to which they had been designed. For Pugin the restoration was to be one of not only style but liturgical practice as well and he began to feel isolated within his own communion. He wrote to Phillipps in December 1840:

My dear Phillipps we nearly *stand alone* if we except the Oxford men, for among them I find full sympathy of feeling. But the real truth is the churches I build do little or no good for want of men who know how to use them.³⁶¹

A similar letter to Pugin's patron and friend, Lord Shrewsbury, dated 5 January 1841, laments difficulties experienced in the erection of St. Chad's Rood Screen. However, Pugin was still able to raise his tone to one of excitement when it came to the Oxford men:

Could your Lordship but have seen the *enthusiasm* which the views of the churches I am building *excited at Oxford* you must have been truly delighted. There great & good men hailed them as the harbingers of Englands [sic] *restoration*, never have I heard such Catholic sentiments & hopes as were expressed in that antient [sic] University.³⁶²

With such exalted aspirations in mind Pugin returned to Oxford, and stayed with Bloxam in February 1841.³⁶³ He appears to have cut quite a figure within Tractarian circles and this time it was Bloxam's turn to praise Pugin. He wrote in a letter to Ambrose Phillipps:

³⁵⁸ F.W. Faber, Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and Among Foreign Peoples, Rivington, London, 1842, 36-7.

³⁵⁹ Magdalen College Archive, MS. 528/127

³⁶⁰ See E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. II, 213.

³⁶¹ Pugin letter to Phillipps cited in E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. II, 214.

The letter is undated but Belcher attributes it to 18 December 1840 and this fits with references contained within the text (M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 373).

³⁶² Pugin, letter to Lord Shrewsbury, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 103-104.

³⁶³ Pugin, 1841 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 48.

Mr. Pugin has gratified me, more than I can express, by his three days' sojourning within our College walls. His conciliating manners and extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical and architectural antiquities have gained him the respect and commendation of all who have had the pleasure of meeting him. And though I am at this moment suffering from exhaustion produced upon a feeble frame by

"Thoughts that breathe and words that burn,"

I cannot resist acknowledging with grateful delight the instruction imparted by his drawings, lectures, and conversation. To know such a person is indeed a privilege.³⁶⁴

It was on this visit that Pugin met James Bowling Mozley (1813-1878), the future Regius Professor of Divinity at Christ Church, who resided in what Newman called Dr. Pusey's '*Canobitium*'.³⁶⁵ Mozley played an active part in the Oxford Movement, jointly editing the Christian Remembrancer and the British Critic, both organs of the Tractarian party.³⁶⁶ Newman's diary indicates that Pugin had been in correspondence with Mozley since 1840, although the subject of their correspondence remains unclear.³⁶⁷

Pugin's diary records that he was again able to hold discussions with Newman.³⁶⁸ Newman's highly controversial Tract XC, Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles (1841), which attempted a Catholic interpretation of the Anglican articles of religion, had just appeared on 25 January and had succeeded in causing quite a stir. Returning home from Oxford, Pugin wrote to Lord Shrewsbury:

A tremendous sensation had been created among the Protestants by an Oxford tract just published in which the doctrine of *Purgatory* [and] the *sacrifice of the mass for the living & dead* are fully proved to be of equal antiquity *with Christianity itself*. The invocation of saints and

³⁶⁴ J.R. Bloxam letter to A. Phillipps cited in E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. I, 227-228.

³⁶⁵ Pugin, 1841 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 48. The meeting is corroborated in a letter from Mozley to his sister Anne (see A. Mozley (ed.), Letters of the Revd. J.B. Mozley, D.D., London, 1885, 99-100).

³⁶⁶ D.N.B.

³⁶⁷ Newman letter to T. Mozley, 6 September 1840 in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, vol. VII, 388.

indulgences are also well defended. These Oxford men do more good in one week than we do in a whole year towards Catholicizing England.³⁶⁹

However, it was inevitable that divisions in the Tractarian movement were eventually to form. Newman and his party in time retrenched to Littlemore, and after censure from the University many of the Tractarians eventually found their way across the Alps to the Church of Rome. Pusey and Keble remained devout Anglicans as did many of their disciples, but the springtime of the movement was then past. The climate in post-Tract XC Oxford had changed, and the opponents of the Tractarians finally succeeded in mounting an effective counteraction. When Bloxam, acting as Newman's curate at Littlemore, wore a plain black stole instead of a preaching scarf, it was claimed that he and Newman were aiming "to subvert the pure Gospel of Christ and the foundations of the Protestant Church."³⁷⁰

Pugin's next visit to Oxford took place in April 1841 amid the fury of anti-Catholic feeling aroused by Newman's tract.³⁷¹ However, it curiously instilled in him new hope, and he rather blindly appears to have been convinced that the tract had proved essentially successful and reunion with Rome would be achieved through it. He wrote to Phillipps, who if anything was even more optimistic in regards to corporate reunion than himself, assuring him of the progress made:

Everything here [in Oxford] is going on as well as we could even *hope for*. The progress of Catholic affairs since my last visit is immense. The late events have been *productive of incalculable benefit* & brought over hundreds of hitherto vacillating individuals. I feel now quite satisfied Newman is right in the course he is pursuing. He has nothing but the reunion

³⁶⁸ Pugin, 1841 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family. op. cit., 48.

³⁶⁹ Pugin, letter to Lord Shrewsbury, cited in D. Meara, "The Catholic Context" in P. Atterbury (ed.), A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival, op. cit., 53.

³⁷⁰ N. Yates, Anglican Ritualism, op. cit., 58.

in view & is working towards it as fast as possible. ... My dear friend, according to present appearances, you & I by the blessing of God may yet walk in some glorious procession through the ailes [sic] of Westminster”³⁷²

It was obvious from the events to follow that the light of Catholicity shone less brightly than Pugin had believed and in the cold light of the past even Pugin had to acknowledge the fragile position of Tractarianism after Tract XC. Thus by 1842 Pugin had gained a more realistic view of the situation and wrote to Phillipps expressing his concern:

I am convinced the present Church of Engld. is 10 times more protestant than I thought it, and I would not remain one second in such a concern, even with the hope of converting the Grand Turk and the Emperor of China. My dear friend, delays in conversions are very dangerous, generally *fatal*. ... What I greatly fear is this, that the Oxford men will accustom themselves to this miserable state of things and *suffer it all* as part of their duty. ... I think of all these things night and day ...³⁷³

However, amidst the encircling gloom Pugin was to be given fresh hope when in 1842 substantial plans for rebuilding were proposed at Balliol College. The college had been in a bad state of repair when Wyatt partially gothicised the chapel and carried out restoration on the roofs in 1791.³⁷⁴ The work was never brought to a proper conclusion, and the building remained in an unsound condition. Basevi had been engaged to add a new residential block in 1826, but the remainder of the college had received little attention other than necessary maintenance.³⁷⁵ Furthermore, the College had risen from relative obscurity within the University at the turn of the century to a position of academic pre-eminence. From 1805 it had begun to see an increase in academic

³⁷¹ Pugin, 1841 Diary, entries for 12 and 13 April, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family.op. cit., 49.

³⁷² Pugin, letter to Phillipps, cited in D. Meara, “The Catholic Context”, op. cit., 53.

³⁷³ Pugin, letter to Phillipps, 12 January 1842, transcribed in E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. II, 227.

³⁷⁴ H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, op. cit., 99 and 105.

³⁷⁵ H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, op. cit., 105.

attainment and by the mid-1830s more students were obtaining first class honours from Balliol than from any other college.³⁷⁶ Over the same period the College had also seen a correlating rise in applications together with an increase in revenues to the *Domus*.³⁷⁷ Basevi's 1826 block had met the immediate need but by the 1840s still further accommodation was required. At a meeting in 1842 it was decided that the Broad Street Student Sets should be rebuilt and also that there should be a new Master's lodge in the same range.³⁷⁸

Jenkyns, the Master, engaged Basevi to provide designs for the new building and he produced a plan in the Gothic style (Fig. V.1). However Basevi was essentially a classicist and as one contemporary observer commented, "Mr. Basevi had been guided more by the elegance and symmetry of Grecian and Italian models, than by the irregular grandeur of Gothic architecture."³⁷⁹ Alterations were made to the plans but the dons remained unconvinced and the Senior Fellow, Frederick Oakeley (1802-1880), offered to obtain an opinion from his "friend Mr P[ugin], so well known for his pre-eminent skill in Gothic Architecture."³⁸⁰ This was agreed to and Pugin's comments were not unpredictably hostile. Writing to Oakeley, Pugin provided a critique of Basevi's work as being contrary to the principles which he had set out in his True Principles of Gothic Architecture (1841):

I consider them to be utterly destitute in the true and ancient spirit of design. The fronts have indecently been composed for external effect, and the various features do not result

³⁷⁶ J. Jones, Balliol College: A History 1263-1939, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, 186, Fig. 4.

³⁷⁷ J. Jones "Balliol: From Obscurity to Pre-eminence" in M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (eds), The History of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, volume VI, part I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, 177.

³⁷⁸ J. Jones, Balliol College: A History 1263-1939, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, 194.

³⁷⁹ H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, op. cit., 107.

³⁸⁰ Cited in J. Jones, Balliol College: A History 1263-1939, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, 194. Further evidence for this association is to be found in the endpapers to Pugin's Diary of 1844 where Oakeley's name and address are recorded (A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 57). This was probably in connection with Oakeley's life of St Augustine (1844) for which Pugin provided an illustration.

from any interior necessity; nor are they at all expression of the internal arrangement ...

There is no reality about this Design. Now the reality of the ancient Buildings contributes their great charm. Ancient Architecture is like Nature – everything keeps its place. Nothing can be ugly or offensive, if it is only natural ... The design you sent to me might be for anything - a Blind Asylum - or a Wesleyan Missionary College. For even they build tracery gothic now – But it has no peculiar reference to Balliol.³⁸¹

Of course Pugin saw in the plans for rebuilding an opportunity for the revival of the mediæval mode of erecting collegiate buildings. Nonetheless he was not incapable of attempting to discern what had been good and what had been bad in mediæval models and he wrote vehemently against the plans to move the Master's lodging to a separate site:

When the Abbots ceased to reside in their communities and built separate lodgings, the rule and spirit was fast going to decay. And I believe the same remark is applicable to collegiate discipline.³⁸²

In a meeting of February 1843 it was finally decided to reject Basevi's designs as being "inadequate to the general notion and expectation of such a building as ought to form the front of the College towards Broad Street."³⁸³ However, it would appear that the decision was in part a tactic of the Tractarian dons who hoped to engage Pugin in the work. Basevi had not been without his supporters, Jenkyns had been instrumental in engaging him and together with his family had pledged a third of the four thousand pounds required for the execution of the work.³⁸⁴ Referring to the rejection of Basevi's designs Jenkyns wrote:

In the profession of architecture alone it seems that education and long experience go for nothing. The Bishop, the Judge, the Physician work their way to eminence and their

³⁸¹ Balliol College Archive, Oxford, MS. D21.50^A

³⁸² Balliol College Archive, Oxford, MS. D21.50^A

³⁸³ Balliol College Register cited in J. Bryson, "The Balliol that might have been" in Country Life, vol. 27, 27 June 1963, 1558.

³⁸⁴ J. Jones, Balliol College: A History 1263-1939, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, 194.

authority is admitted, but the Architect alone is not to be deferred to and his reputation and fortunes are at the mercy of judges uninstructed in his difficult art.³⁸⁵

Balliol had traditionally been a bastion of the High Church Tories but by the late 1820s their grip had begun to weaken with the election of future Tractarian Fellows such as Oakeley. Jenkyns stood firm as a proponent of the old school, whilst other dons reacted more strongly against the growing influence of the Tractarian party. Thus divided there was considerable tension between the College's Fellows over religious matters. In 1841, Jenkyns compelled Ward to resign his Lectureship in Mathematics claiming that his tutees were becoming "contaminated with deviant doctrine."³⁸⁶ If the Tractarians were able to have Pugin appointed as architect it would have been something of a *coup état* for their cause.

Oakeley's suggestion that Pugin's advice be sought would seem to have been a first manoeuvre in such a direction. Despite his popularity with the Tractarians, Pugin was not welcomed in other quarters of the University. His vehement attack upon the established Church in his Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial (1839) was scarcely four years off the press and obviously had a particular resonance in Oxford. Pugin's letter condemned the subscribers, of whom Jenkyns was one, as "foul revilers, tyrants, usurpers, extortioners and liars."³⁸⁷

Something of a compromise was reached at Balliol when in a meeting of the Fellows held on 6 March 1843 it was resolved that

³⁸⁵ Jenkyns cited in J. Bryson, "The Balliol that might have been" loc. cit.

³⁸⁶ J. Jones "Balliol: From Obscurity to Pre-eminence" in M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (eds), The History of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, volume VI, part I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, 180.

³⁸⁷ See K. Clark, The Gothic Revival, op. cit., 127.

Mr. Pugin be requested to furnish a design for a new façade towards the Broad Street ... under the peculiar circumstances of the case, even if Mr. Pugin's plan should eventually be approved and be thought worthy of being carried into effect, he himself be not employed in the execution of the work.³⁸⁸

However, despite the concession dissociating Pugin from the work, the Tractarians retained the upper hand. Pugin would obviously design a building standing as the architectural embodiment of the Catholic revival and regardless of whether or not he was acknowledged as its architect its message would be explicit. It would be plainly understood that just as the Martyrs' Memorial had served as a manifesto reasserting the reformed character of the Church of England, so too would the new college building, which would tower over it, perform a symbolic function. It would stand as a monument to Tractarianism and the Catholic values of the Oxford Movement.

Pugin as ever worked with feverish rapidity. He went up to Oxford to inspect the site and within a fortnight had completed plans, estimates, elevations and sections. These included an aerial view of the College together with interiors and exteriors of the Master's Library, the Fellow's Library, the Kitchen, Student's Bedrooms and Chambers and the Chapel amongst others (Fig. V.2).³⁸⁹ Admission to the College was to be gained through a fifteenth-century style gatehouse showing images of the College's founders, John de Balliol and his wife. The gatehouse opened on to a quad on the opposite side of which there stood the chapel, the most prominent of all the buildings. The old Hall and Library were to be incorporated into the quad, around the remainder of which there were to be ranged students' and dons' sets. The Master's Lodge was set slightly off to the

³⁸⁸ H. Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, op. cit., 109.

³⁸⁹ See plates 57*a* and 57*b* in M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, volume VI, part I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997; figures 114, 115, 116, 117 and 118 in H. Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, op. cit. and also the illustrations in J. Bryson, "The Balliol that might have been" in *Country Life*, vol. 27, 27 June 1963.

western side, and his requirement of privacy could be met through an entrance communicating from Broad Street.

The designs for the exteriors are well articulated with oriels, chimneys, buttresses and windows of assorted sizes, and the roof-line is high pitched and varies in height giving a pleasing mediæval effect. Much attention had obviously been paid to local historical accuracy and the kitchen, for example, is modelled on the fine pyramidal kitchen at Stanton Harcourt, not five miles away (Fig. V.3). The usage of rooms is well devised, and the interior for an undergraduate's bedroom is handsomely executed with a canopied bed, wash table, cupboard and *prie dieu* whilst his chamber contains a fireplace, bookshelves, a large desk, easy chair, sizable window and yet another *prie dieu*. The chapel is a beautiful reconstruction of a collegiate chapel of the fifteenth-century (Fig. V.4). It would have appeared extremely ritualist for its date with images of the saints, recessed sedilia, a piscina and altar with sculpted reredos. However, precedent for all of this could be found in other Oxford colleges. An air of mediæval religiosity pervades the plans and their functional design would have been as practical in the Middle Ages as in the nineteenth century. Pugin's enthusiasm for the project was no doubt fired by the opportunity to produce designs for what he would have considered to be "the real thing", and he claimed that his designs would set the Fellows "half mad for true Christian Rooms."³⁹⁰

Pugin presented a quantity of the plans in a beautifully wrought volume bound in red velvet with gilt clasps and an illuminated title page. The frontispiece gives an aerial view of Pugin's design, which is supported by the kneeling figures of the College's founders

³⁹⁰ Pugin cited in H. Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, op. cit., 110.

and surmounted by the title in Gothic script, "Designs for the new buildings at BALLIOL set forth by A W Pugin AD 1843."³⁹¹

Despite the Fellows' precautions, word was soon abroad within the University that Pugin was designing new collegiate buildings for Balliol. A hostile article entitled "Extraordinary Liberty" appeared in the Oxford Chronicle on 18 March, stating that

Mr. Pugin, the architect of Stonyhurst and Oscott colleges, who lately conformed to the Roman Catholic religion, is at present on a visit to the Master and Fellows of Balliol college. This no doubt is intended as a pointed and double *amende* to the Roman Catholics on account of the Martyrs Memorial. Mr. Pugin wrote bitterly against the Memorial, and he is now employed to set up restorations over against it at the very college whose walls reflected the martyr fires.³⁹²

Heated debate followed between the Fellows and some time after their first meeting to consider the matter, it was felt prudent to remove record of it from the College Register. Jenkyns had never been enthusiastic towards Pugin and now the reaction in certain parts of the University prompted him to take firm action against engaging him. A week after the first meeting, Jenkyns declared at a College Meeting in the Chapel that he would refuse to affix the college seal to any document engaging Pugin.

After a careful consideration of the language and spirit of our Statutes, and under a strong sense of the obligation imposed on the Master by the terms of the oath taken at his admission, I am compelled to declare that I can neither sanction the employment of Mr. Pugin as an Architect, nor consent to an agreement for carrying into effect by him, or any other Party, any plan which he may furnish for repairing or rebuilding that part of the College in which the house, of right belonging to me is situate.³⁹³

³⁹¹ See J. Jones, Balliol College: A History 1263-1939, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, colour plate 13 showing both the binding and frontispiece.

³⁹² "University and Clerical Intelligence: Extraordinary Liberty" in Oxford Chronicle and Reading Review, 25 March 1843, 4.

³⁹³ R. Jenkyns cited in H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, op. cit., 111.

To strengthen his position Jenkyn's also drafted an anonymous letter, which he sent for publication in the Oxford Herald. The letter was an attempt to discredit Pugin through an exposition of his anti-protestant polemic:

Sir, It is understood that Mr Pugin is to be employed as the Architect of the works now in contemplation at Balliol College. Permit me to call to the attention of such of your readers, as may be members of that society, the following passage taken from a book which bares Mr Pugin's name, "The present state of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, republished from the Dublin Review" London, Dolman, 1843. The Writer is speaking of the Bishops' Cross in St Mary Magd parish. "The design of one of those truly beautiful and appropriate Elenor crosses has been degraded to serve for the memorial of three of those miserable ecclesiastics who betrayed the church of which they were such unworthy members." (p.96, note.) I pass over much ____ [?] jesting directed against the Church of England and her ministers, which might be quoted from Mr Pugin's book, ...the name "Apostate" applied to her Bishops (pp.118, 124) ... her liturgy called "almost Puritan" (p.150) and incompatible with the revival of ancient models in Architecture; (p.138) ... and my recollection may mislead me, if I attribute to Mr Pugin a pamphlet which was distributed, some years back, among the Contributors towards the erection of the Bishops' Cross... It may be said that Mr Pugin is the best Gothic Architect in England. But, granting this, (or passing over the claims of Barry, Salvin, and others,) I would ask, is this the first, and only, object to be kept in view? Would not the expression of such sentiments, as are quoted above, be held an objection against any Architect, if he were a member of the Church of England? And, if so, does the objection lose all weight, because a man has left the Communion of the Church of England for that of Rome?

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant A³⁹⁴

Further correspondence appeared in the press. A letter from an unidentified member of the University was published in the Oxford Chronicle on 25 March, claiming that Pugin

had visited Balliol at the instigation of the Tractarian Fellows and against the wishes of the Master who had vetoed his engagement at the College.³⁹⁵ This statement was not strictly true, as Jenkyns had at first sanctioned the motion for engaging Pugin to make a submission of designs, and is typical of the sort of misevidence used by both sides in the debate. The unidentified author continued his letter by citing passages from Pugin's Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial (1839), and suggesting that the Tractarians' wish to engage Pugin should "be viewed as an awful testimony to the faithlessness and apostasy in the university."³⁹⁶ Pugin saw the letter and writing to Bloxam on 30 March, claimed that it was typical of the complete system of espionage carried out by the protestant party.³⁹⁷

The Fellows at Balliol attempted counter-espionage by submitting a formal memorial to Jenkyns through Oakeley, the Senior Tutor, who himself adopted a conciliatory tone, condemning his declaration as unconstitutional.³⁹⁸ However, Jenkyns had the last laugh when he withdrew his and his family's subscription to the project and thereby effectively put a stop to it.³⁹⁹ A majority of the Fellows still attempted to hold out by stating that they would refuse the plans of any architect other than Pugin. An impasse was thereby reached, and at a stormy College meeting held on 4 April 1843, the building plans were finally shelved, bringing what Dalgairns had called the "great shindy at Balliol" to an end.⁴⁰⁰ Pugin was kept in the dark about the internal wranglings of the Fellows, and was only informed that his plans were not to be executed. However, writing to Bloxam, he

³⁹⁴ Balliol College Archive, Oxford, MS. D.21.61 (see also copy in Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. D.22(fol.4). Although the letter is unsigned, a comparison of handwriting indicates that Jenkyns is obviously the author (compare, for example with Balliol College Archive MSS. D.21.52 and D.21.54).

³⁹⁵ Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette, 25 March 1843, 4.

³⁹⁶ Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette, 25 March 1843, 4.

³⁹⁷ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS.528/95.

³⁹⁸ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS.D21.59.

³⁹⁹ J. Jones, Balliol College: A History 1263-1939, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, 194-195.

⁴⁰⁰ H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, op. cit., 111.

For Dalgairns' view see M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 442.

astutely recognised the source of opposition, stating that he could not conceive who had come against him from Balliol except the Master, as the Fellows had always appeared most friendly.⁴⁰¹

The 'shindy' was to attract further attention in the press. The Oxford Chronicle (15 April 1843) continued its coverage with an editorial on "The Intrigues at Balliol College" followed a letter from "a member of the University." The letter gave a substantially correct, if not completely full, account of events and noted an interesting, if out of date, rumour that "Dr. Pusey has recently expressed his gratification at the prospect of *union* which the proposed employment of Mr. Pugin holds out."⁴⁰²

Further coverage of the controversy was also carried in Gentleman's Magazine (March 1844) with a letter by "E.I.C." decrying the discrimination suffered by Pugin due to his religious convictions:

That the accidental circumstance of Mr. Pugin's religion being different to that of the Established Church should in the present state of feeling in the church and university cause him to be rejected as an architect, is a subject of regret rather than surprise. Every admirer of the fine arts for their intrinsic merits alone will deprecate the narrow spirit which led to this unworthy rejection, and the more so when he cannot fail to recollect that the greatest of our architects, Inigo Jones, was employed by the court and churchmen without objection to his religion, and that even Laud ... employed Catholic sculptors to execute his statues, as well as a Catholic architect to design his buildings; and, moreover, that in the other university in more modern times Rickman was largely employed without objection to his nonconformity.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS.528/73.

⁴⁰² Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette, 15 April 1843.

⁴⁰³ E.I.C., "Church Towers and Spires" in Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XXI, March 1844, 265.

An unpleasant dispute between Pugin and the College was to ensue for several years over the matter of payment. It came to a head when the Fellows sent a letter to Pugin refusing to pay his full bill for the work. Pugin wrote indignantly to Bloxam telling him that the Balliol men had at last written to him to say that they would not pay his account for the drawings and that they required him to make “a considerable *abatement*”.⁴⁰⁴ However, Pugin finally settled on a compromise which was to prove acceptable, and he again wrote to Bloxam telling him that he had attempted to put an end to the Balliol dispute by having offered to let the College pay merely for his actual expenses.⁴⁰⁵

Despite his climb down over payment Pugin had a personal last laugh in the dispute when he re-used some of the designs which he had executed. In 1844 Bloxam gained him a commission to construct a new entrance to Madgalen College and Pugin produced an almost identical work to the one which he had designed for Balliol (Fig. V.5).⁴⁰⁶

Bloxam recorded the commission in the College Register:

At the beginning of this year the President and the majority of the Fellows, with few dissentients, determined that the great or outer gateway of the College, built in 1635, and, like other works of that century, extremely hideous, should be destroyed. The new one, in a style conforming to the adjoining buildings, was entrusted to Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, easily the leading architect of the present time, who, having begun it in the month of August, has since brought it to a happy conclusion. The expenditure on the gateway amounted to £679 0s.7d.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁴ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS.528/67.

⁴⁰⁵ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS.528/36.

⁴⁰⁶ Compare the drawing in Balliol College Archive, Oxford, A.W.N. Pugin, Designs for the new buildings at BALLIOL set forth by A W Pugin AD 1843, fol.28 (Courtauld Institute of Art, London, photographic negative no. 171/15(23)) with the plans in Madgalen College Archive, Oxford, MSS. FA7/3/1AD/1/3 and FA7/3/1AD/1/5.

⁴⁰⁷ Bloxam, cited in H. Colvin, Unbuilt Oxford, op. cit., 101 (translation from the Latin).

It was not only at Balliol that Pugin was proving a point of contention, and his relationship with the Oxford Architectural Society is worthy of note in this connection. Bloxam was one of the founders of the society which, although it numbered a significant proportion of Tractarians amongst its membership, was comprised of a broad cross-section from within the University. Pugin's correspondence with Bloxam reveals an interest in the Society's formation, and he had in a small way aided its foundation through making gifts of brass rubbings and casts of carvings and sculptures:

I have some casts (originals) and other objects which I shall have great pleasure in presenting
to your society at Oxford for the study of Gothic Architecture ...⁴⁰⁸

He was, however, soon led into controversy with the Society over his contention that church towers had originally been intended to be surmounted by spires. The question of whether or not this was true arose at a meeting of the Society on 10 May 1843 in which a paper was given citing Pugin's "theory that no Early English Tower is complete without a spire."⁴⁰⁹ Edward Freeman (1823-1892) of Trinity College, who delivered the paper, was presumably referring to the passage in Pugin's The True Principles of Christian Architecture (1841) in which he argued for the functionality of the spire, stating that

Every tower built during the pure style of pointed architecture either was, or was intended to be, surmounted by a spire, which is the natural covering for a tower; a flat roof is both contrary to the spirit of the style, and is also practically bad. There is no instance before the year 1400 of a church tower being erected without *the intention at least* of being covered or surmounted by a spire ...⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/19.

The collections of the Society were placed in the Ashmolean Museum in 1888 and Pugin's contributions possibly survive (A. G. Macgregor, "The Ashmolean Museum" in M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (eds), The History of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, volume VI, part I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, 608). The museum's collection of brass rubbings has been badly cared for and a quantity of them have been destroyed (information: J. Bertram).

⁴⁰⁹ Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Easter and Trinity Terms, 1843, 7.

⁴¹⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, The True Principles of Christian Architecture, Weale, London, 1841, 10.

James Irgman (1774-1850), President of Trinity College, attacked the claim and in so doing struck at the idea that Gothic forms derived from functional origin, an underpinning principle of Pugin's architectural theory. Pugin came to hear about Irgman's comments, presumably being informed by one of his Tractarian friends, and wrote to him reiterating his claims. Irgman read the communication to a meeting of the Society on 24 May and "a hope was expressed that Mr. Pugin will communicate the grounds upon which he has arrived at this *general* conclusion."⁴¹¹ Pugin obliged by sending a letter in which he attempted to strengthen the case made in The True Principles of Christian Architecture (1841) through citing numerous examples of the actual or planned use of spires throughout the Early English period.⁴¹² The original letter (but not the transcript in the Society's Transactions) was also furnished with illustrations to aid the case.⁴¹³

An article in Gentleman's Magazine of August 1843 reported the debate at the Society and mentioned Pugin's involvement in the dispute.⁴¹⁴ The Magazine carries the somewhat belated response signed "E.I.C." in March 1844 already cited. The author writes in support of Pugin's view, arguing himself to "have little doubt that a close examination even of perpendicular towers will lead to the result that a raised roof, *i.e.* a spire, is the appropriate finish" and contending that "A review of spires in this country will show that the double object of a finish to the elevation, and a covering to the structure, was the aim of the architect."⁴¹⁵ Referring to the Balliol controversy, the author also comments that he regrets the spirit of controversy which had been aroused in the Society by Pugin's claims, calling it

⁴¹¹ Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Easter and Trinity Terms, 1843, 11.

⁴¹² A.W.N. Pugin, "Pugin's Letter on Spires" in Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Easter and Trinity Terms, 1843, 18-27.

⁴¹³ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 74.

a spirit to be regretted, as in that, as well as some other proceedings which have taken place in that university of late, questions of art and other subjects appear to have been swayed by a narrow prejudice.⁴¹⁶

At about the same time Pugin was also engaged in work on the series of lives of English mediæval saints then being executed under the general editorship of Newman. It was in part because “portions of the Series would be written in a style inconsistent with the professions of a beneficed clergyman” that Newman gave up his living at St. Mary the Virgin in Oxford and went into ‘exile’ at Littlemore.⁴¹⁷ In the event the overtly Catholic disposition of some volumes of the Lives of the Saints (1844-1845) went far beyond what Newman had anticipated and the series succeeded in causing considerable controversy.

Pugin was commissioned to illustrate eleven of the lives and in 1844 he produced plates inscribed “Cistercian saints of England: S. Stephen, abbot”, “Family of S. Richard”, “Hermit saints”, “S. Wulstan; Paulinus, Edwin, Ethelburga, Oswald, Oswin, Ebba, Adamnan, Bega”, “S. Gilbert”, [St. Wilfrid] “Ecce sacerdos magnus”, “S. German” and “Scts Augustinus” whilst in 1845 he produced a further two figures of “S. Aelred” and “S. Edmund” (Fig. V.6).⁴¹⁸ According to Pugin’s Diary his last plate, that of St. Edmund, was sent by the post to James Toovey (1813-1893), the series publisher, on 1 May 1845. This work provided Pugin with further contact with some of the principal protagonists of the Oxford Movement, amongst those engaged in the volumes with which Pugin was associated were Dalgairns, Froude, T. Mozley, Church, Faber and Oakeley.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁴ “Architecture: Oxford Architectural Society” in Gentleman’s Magazine, vol. XX, August 1843, 186-188.

⁴¹⁵ E.I.C., “Church Towers and Spires”, op. cit., 265 and 266.

⁴¹⁶ E.I.C., “Church Towers and Spires”, op. cit., 265.

⁴¹⁷ J.H. Newman, Apologia, op. cit., 211.

⁴¹⁸ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 148.

See also D. Mcara, “Pugin’s Miniatures”, in True Principles, op. cit., vol. I, no. 6, Summer 1998, [5]-[6].

⁴¹⁹ M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 148.

Once Newman, Faber, Ward and other prominent Tractarians had seceded to Catholicism in the mid-1840s, Pugin's involvement at Oxford waned. He never really had the ear of the remaining leaders of the movement such as Pusey and Keble, and at any rate the Cambridge Camden Society was beginning to provide for the Anglican Church what the Puginian party had provided for the Catholic Church. It would appear from his diaries that Pugin was not to visit Oxford again after 1844. However, he remained in close correspondence with Bloxam about matters of mutual interest and had some occasional dealings with other figures in the movement.⁴²⁰ After Pugin's death, Bloxam was careful to preserve his obituary notice from The Builder (25 September 1852) and also engaged in correspondence with his son, Edward Welby Pugin.⁴²¹ Despite his wrangles at Balliol, Pugin nonetheless appears to have still been well respected by many there. In 1851 a number of the students engaged him to design the Seymour memorial brass, and when Alfred Waterhouse finally received the commission to rebuild the Balliol Broad Street front in 1866, he was given the loan of Pugin's plans which undoubtedly influenced his building.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ It should however be noted that Pugin's Diary for 1852 does not survive.

⁴²¹ The Builder Obituary, Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/6, Edward Welby Pugin correspondence, Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MSS. 528/1 and 528/2.

⁴²² D. Meara, Memorial Brasses, op. cit., 96.

Chapter VI

PUGIN AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL

Pugin could not have converted to Catholicism at a more auspicious moment than the one he chose, for it was one in which a number of trends converged, and brought about a climate susceptible to the reception of his sensibilities. The Catholic Church had played its own part in the proto-Gothic revival, beginning with Bishop Milner's chapel at Winchester in the eighteenth century, and continuing into the nineteenth century with works, for example, at Stonyhurst and Oscott Colleges.⁴²³ Simultaneously the church contained among her members, either by birth or conversion, some of the most fervent proponents of the neo-mediaeval cause; including Pugin's subsequent friends, Shrewsbury, Phillipps, Rock and Digby. Moreover, the church, newly freed from the restraints which it had experienced before Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and with a rapidly expanding membership due to Irish immigration, found it necessary to engage in an expansive programme of church building. The Catholic Church of the 1830s was well aware that it was beginning to experience a significant revival within England, and it revelled in the opportunity of reclaiming the mediaeval heritage of which it had supposedly been deprived at the Reformation. Pugin's vision for the church (at least in its artistic terms) thus matched a *zeitgeist* of his age.

However, Pugin also introduced ideas into the church which were both novel and contentious. It was one thing to propagate the Gothic style for historical and romantic

H. Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford*, op. cit., 112 and M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, volume VI, part I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, xxv.

⁴²³ St. Peter's Chapel, Winchester - built by Bishop Milner in the eighteenth-century Gothick style (for a description and illustration see: M. Couve de Murville, *John Milner*, Archdiocese of Birmingham Historical Commission, George Street Press, Stafford, 1986, 9).

Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, a Jesuit house and school. The chapel was designed by J.J. Scoles, and executed between 1832 and 1835.

reasons, but it was quite another to do so appealing to an argument for the style's moral and religious character:

The notion than one could argue whether architecture might actually be 'true' in the same sense that one could debate the truth of religious doctrines is another legacy of Pugin's which has been of far-reaching consequence.⁴²⁴

The Catholic Church in England in the 1830s was by no means a monolithic institution; within her fold she embraced a complex set of constituent and sometimes conflicting parties, which together made up the Catholic body. Although many were sympathetic towards Pugin's artistic vision, various elements within the church had reason to regard his ecclesiological model, and claims for the moral aspects of art with either conservative or ideological misgivings.

In the first place, there were the members of the old recusant party which had continued to hold to the Catholic faith in England since the Reformation. This grouping had traditionally been centred around noble or gentry households which maintained a Catholic way of life and encouraged their retainers to do likewise. Thus, for example, when in 1773 Bishop Petre prepared a report to Rome, he noted that the number of Catholics in England was diminishing, and attributed this to the "apostasy of many nobles".⁴²⁵ The dependency of many of the clergy upon the nobility for the provision of their livings resulted in a strong lay influence within the church:

The dominance of the Catholic laity need not be laboured here: it is virtually a commonplace, and everyone has heard the anecdote of the priest, vested for mass and waiting for the squire's permission; 'Mr – you may begin'.⁴²⁶

Oscott College, near Birmingham, a Roman Catholic seminary. The first buildings were designed by Joseph Potter in 1835.

⁴²⁴ D. Watkin, *Morality and Architecture*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977, 4.

⁴²⁵ M.D.R. Leys, *Catholics in England 1559-1829: A Social History*, Catholic Book Club, London, 1961, 200.

Roman Catholics constituted only a small proportion of eighteenth-century English society. The 1778 report of the Vicars Apostolic estimated that there were around 59,000 Catholics under their charge, and further noted that these were served by only 385 priests.⁴²⁶ Although Catholics generally experienced greater toleration in the eighteenth century than in previous periods, there were still a significant number of prosecutions. In the 1760s, the last decade throughout which the penal laws remained in force, no fewer than fifteen priests and nine school teachers were tried under anti-Catholic legislation.⁴²⁷

The first Relief Act of 1778 brought about a moderate toleration, allowing Catholics to inherit without incurring the substantial penalties which had been in place, and repealing various enactments allowing for imprisonment of Catholic priests and school masters.⁴²⁸ Despite the Whig party's push for the extension of civil liberties to Catholics, many in society remained strongly anti-Catholic, and saw toleration of Catholics as a mark of social decadence. During the Gordon Riots of 1800, which were prompted by unrest following the 1778 Relief Act, attacks were made against Catholic persons, houses, and even the embassies of Catholic countries. In London two hundred and eighty five of the rioters were killed by troops and twenty-one were executed.⁴²⁹ However, the tide of reform set in train was not to be stemmed, and Parliament continued to work towards achieving the legal equality of all British subjects. Under the Relief Act of 1791, it became lawful for Catholics to open churches, and final "emancipation" was achieved in 1829, when most areas of public life were opened up to Catholics.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁶ M.B. Rowlands (ed.), *Catholics of Parish and Town*, Catholic Record Society, London, 1999, 267.

⁴²⁷ M.B. Rowlands (ed.), *Catholics of Parish and Town*, loc. cit.

⁴²⁸ 18 Geo. III c.60 (1778), *An Act for relieving His Majesty's Subjects professing the popish religion*.

⁴²⁹ G. Stebbing, *The Church in England*, op. cit., 486.

The precarious position experienced by the Catholic community meant that they had been traditionally conservative in their practices, and avoided the more colourful expressions of Catholicism seen on the continent. This *gens lucifuga*, as Newman called them, did much to avoid the arousal of Protestant hostility, the Mass was simply called “prayers”, and there was a tendency to avoid elaboration in worship or religious externals. The devotional life of the recusants was simple and solid, centred as it was on the sober piety of works such as Bishop Challoner’s Garden of the Soul (1740). By and large the recusants’ historical conditioning caused them to tend towards conservatism, and display caution towards the flamboyance of Pugin’s revived Gothic style. By the 1830s the numerical supremacy of this grouping had declined and their control of the church was weakened through increasing clerical independence. The 1840s saw their traditional forms of spirituality “dissolve” within the general mêlée of the Church in that period.⁴³²

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Catholic population of England rocketed. Hughes has estimated that by the census of 1851 the Catholic population in England stood at somewhere around 622,000.⁴³³ This was primarily due to the influx of Irish immigrants into England following a steady pattern of migration which was exacerbated by the potato famine of 1846. However, whilst the old Catholics still retained a degree of influence within the church, the direct impact of Irish upon the government of the church was minimal. As Gilley observes “the religious life of Irish

⁴³² M. Heimann, Catholic Devotion in Victorian England, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995, 9.

⁴³³ P. Hughes, “The English Catholics in 1850”, in G.A. Beck (ed.), The English Catholics 1850-1950, Burns and Oates, London, 1950, 46.

Catholics and their descendants was a largely hidden one, hidden both within their Church and outside it".⁴³⁴

The Tractarian converts of the mid-1840s constituted only a small proportion of the Catholic population, and yet their education and social position elevated them to a position of influence within the Church. In 1878 the Whitehall Review published a list of converts from the Church of England since the 1840s, and it noted over 1,500 persons, the majority of whom had some note of distinction attached to their names.⁴³⁵

Newman was perhaps the most notable of the Tractarian converts. His attitude towards the Gothic revival was a complex one; whilst he appears to have preferred it to the classical style, he did so only as a matter of taste, and not of conviction.⁴³⁶ As an Anglican he had erected his chapel at Littlemore in a plain Gothic style, and allowed Bloxam, as his curate, to introduce a number of High Church ecclesiological features, such as altar lights and stained glass.⁴³⁷ Although he had not remained a subscriber for long, Newman had been a founding member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture (his name appears on the society's membership list for 1839).⁴³⁸ Unlike many of his contemporaries he continued to favour the Gothic style after he converted to Rome, and he wrote in 1850 that "Gothic is on the whole a far *more* beautiful idea in architecture than Grecian – far more fruitful, elastic, and ready".⁴³⁹ Following his involvement with Pugin at Oxford he also showed considerable admiration

⁴³⁴ S. Gilley, "Roman Catholicism and the Irish in England", in Immigrants and Minorities, 149.

⁴³⁵ "Rome's Recruits": A List of Protestants who have become Catholic since the Tractarian Movement; Re-printed, with numerous additions and corrections from "The Whitehall Review" Parker and Burns and Oates, London and Oxford, 1878.

⁴³⁶ See J. Patrick, "Newman, Pugin, and Gothic", in Victorian Studies, vol. 24, 1981, 185-207.

⁴³⁷ J. Patrick, "Newman, Pugin, and Gothic", op. cit., 188-189.

⁴³⁸ "Rules and Proceedings [1839]" in Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society, vol. I, no page number.

⁴³⁹ J.H. Newman, letter to Miss. Holmes, 7 April 1850, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., vol. XIII, 461.

for Pugin's architecture. Upon visiting St. Giles', Cheadle, in June 1846 he wrote to Elizabeth Bowden telling her that it was:

... the most splendid building I ever saw, ... The Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament is, on entering, a blaze of light – and I could not help saying to myself 'Porta Coeli'.⁴⁴⁰

From September 1846 Newman was in Rome, staying in rooms at the College of Propaganda, whilst he prepared to be ordained to Holy Orders as an Oratorian priest. As leader of the Oxford converts who had followed him, Newman was charged with the mission of establishing the Congregation of the Oratory in England. His conception of the English Oratory was a practical one, although he favoured the Gothic style for proposed Oratorian church building, he did so only if it could be made compatible with the twin requisites of affordability and functionality. He wrote to Wiseman suggesting the sort of building which he envisaged:

As to the Oratory itself, its structure must be different from any thing ecclesiastical hitherto built in England; it is not a Church or Chapel. Ought it to be something like a Chapter House? Your Lordship recollects the Oratory here [the *Chiesa Nuova* in Rome] – It must be a building for preaching and music; not an open roof certainly, no skreen [sic]. I am afraid I shall shock Pugin. As it will be used only in the evening, it need not have many windows, and I should be much against spending money on outside decoration; nay inside, I don't mind its being almost a barn, as it is a place for *work*.⁴⁴¹

Newman was still resident in Rome when Pugin paid the only visit which he was to make to the city in April 1847. As was predictable Pugin was none too keen about what he found there, Ferrey cites a letter in which Pugin laments "Were it not for the old Basilicas and the associations connected with the early Christian antiquities, it would be

⁴⁴⁰ J.H. Newman, letter to Elizabeth Bowden, 21 July 1846, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., vol XI, 210.

unbearable”.⁴⁴² It was probably through Shrewsbury’s influence in Rome that Pugin was granted an audience of Pope Pius IX, at which he was presented with a gold medal. This, according to an unsourced quotation given by Gwynn, “gratified him more than any other event in his life”.⁴⁴³

Pugin called on Newman on 26 April, and Newman explained to him the ideas for an English Oratory which he had suggested to Wiseman.⁴⁴⁴ As Newman had predicted Pugin was indeed shocked, and made no secret of the contempt he felt for the scheme, telling Newman “that he would as soon build a mechanic’s institute as an Oratory”.⁴⁴⁵ Writing to Miss Holmes in 1850 Newman explained that he believed Pugin’s architecture needed to be adapted to contemporary requirements:

We used to laugh at Protestants for putting their Pulpit in *the centre* of the Church to hide the Altar. Puginism has returned to that exploded idea. Not only the screen, but especially the high eagle-reading desk, effect this. I was in a church the other day, and there was a high eagle with the large cross on it inside the Rail, immediately before the Altar – who could see the priest or the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation? what is the *meaning* of elevation, but to *exhibit* the Blessed Sacrament? We hear of the *Exposition* of the Blessed Sacrament. How is this done in a Puginian Church? ... a small chance has such an Exposition of fulfilling its name, *through* Eagle, skreen [sic] and the Arches of the thick buttresses of the nave.

Now if the rites of the Church have *changed*, let the architecture *develop* – let it modify and improve itself to meet them. No, says Mr Pugin, though the 13th century was *changed* into the 14th, and the 14th to the 15th, architecture shall stay – what it was then. The living spirit shall expand, the outward material case shall not; I will adore mullions of tracery more than

⁴⁴¹ J.H. Newman, letter to Nicholas Wiseman, 23 February 1847, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., vol XII, 52.

⁴⁴² B. Ferrey, letter to “a friend”, Recollections, op. cit., 226.

⁴⁴³ D. Gwynn, Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival, op. cit., 119. B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 228.

⁴⁴⁴ J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., vol XII, 74.

⁴⁴⁵ J. H. Newman, letter to Ambrose Phillipps, 15 June 1848, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., vol XII, 221.

the Blessed Sacrament; - thus the architectural movement is reduced to a sort of antiquarianism, or dilettante [sic] unpractical affair for Puseyites, poets, and dreamers ...⁴⁴⁶

Pugin's interests stretched beyond purely architectural and artistic matters, and extended to an interest in the general revival of Catholicism within England. In this Pugin again appealed to the mediæval period as a model for adoption. His concern for relations between Rome and Canterbury reflected this broader ecclesiological perspective which he had begun to develop from around the time when he first contemplated his conversion. Chapter III has demonstrated that Pugin's artistic interests prompted him to historical and liturgical research which finally influenced his secession to Catholicism.⁴⁴⁷ However, Pugin's conversion, far from presenting a conclusion to such consideration, was but the beginning of a life-long examination. His vision for the church came to transcend the merely architectural and appeal to a broader ecclesiological perspective.

Pugin was fortunate in finding in the Roman Church a grouping of people who shared his interest in the Gothic revival. In addition to Willson he made a number of further friends and associates who similarly sought to re-establish the Catholic Church in England upon a model provided by the Church of the Middle Ages. Ferrey provides us with a description of Pugin's first meeting with the prominent Catholic layman John Talbot, the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford (1791-1852):

It was in the summer of 1832, when calling at the well-known furniture-dealers, Messrs. Hull, in Wardour-street, that the Earl of Shresbury first became acquainted with Pugin's great talent for design. Observing some drawings upon a table executed in a beautiful manner, he inquired the name of the artist, and on learning that it was Pugin, he desired to

⁴⁴⁶ J.H. Newman, letter to Miss. Holmes, 7 April 1850, in J.H. Newman, *Letters and Diaries*, op. cit., vol. XIII, 461-462.

⁴⁴⁷ See passage cited in Chapter III:

The origin, intention, and use of all I beheld around me was then perfectly unintelligible to me; but, applying myself to liturgical knowledge, what a new field was open to me! ...

be introduced to him, a request which was immediately complied with. The introduction had no sooner taken place, than this illustrious and wealthy nobleman, the premier Peer of England, and most devoted son of the Roman Catholic Church, immediately availed himself of Pugin's professional skill to aid him in the alterations and additions to his princely residence, Alton Towers; ...⁴⁴⁸

This account poses a number of problems. It has already been noted that in Some Remarks on the Articles which have recently appeared in the "Rambler" (1851), Pugin reflected that he knew only one Catholic layman with any sensibility towards the Middle Ages at the time of his conversion in July 1836, and that this was almost certainly Willson.⁴⁴⁹ The Pugin obituary in The Builder implies that Pugin met Shrewsbury in approximately 1835 or 1836.⁴⁵⁰ Furthermore, Fisher rejects Ferrey's dating of the meeting to 1832, pointing out that although Edward Hull indeed engaged Pugin on occasion, he did not move to premises in Wardour Street until 1834.⁴⁵¹ The first reference to Lord Shrewsbury in Pugin's Diaries occurs two years later on 3 October 1836, and this lapse of time would seem to confirm Fisher's position.⁴⁵² The matter could be considered a mistake on Ferrey's behalf, if it were not for a letter of Sir Thomas Wyse (1791-1862):

Lord Shrewsbury has just discovered a marvellous young genius named Pugin. He met him accidentally when looking for Gothic furniture in Wardour Street and was at once struck by his originality and extent of information regarding everything Gothic. He is going to take him down to Alton and engage him permanently as his architect.⁴⁵³

(B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 103)

⁴⁴⁸ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 117.

⁴⁴⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, Some Remarks, op. cit., 19.

⁴⁵⁰ See P. Stanton, Pugin, op. cit., 27.

⁴⁵¹ M.J. Fisher, Alton Towers: A Gothic Wonderland, Fisher, Stafford, 1999, 85.

Further sources give a date after Pugin's conversion, see for example "Pugin's time line" at <http://hubcom.com/pugin/pugtime.htm>

⁴⁵² A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, op. cit., 36.

⁴⁵³ Thomas Wyse, cited in P. Stanton, Ph.D., London (1850), 57.

This letter is given the date of 1832 by Wyse's niece, Winifrede [sic] Wyse, and thus seems to independently corroborate Ferrey's dating. Either Winifrede Wyse relied on Ferrey for the dating of her uncle's letter and both are wrong, or there is an incontrovertible discrepancy between sources.

Before he met Pugin Lord Shrewsbury was already a keen Gothacist. His uncle, the fifteenth Earl, had begun to renovate the family's hunting lodge near Alton in a Gothic style. When Shrewsbury inherited the estate he made it his principal residence, and extended it on a grand scale.⁴⁵⁴ He shared with Pugin a keen social conscience, and wrote a short volume on the improvement of conditions for the poor. He also engaged large numbers of those who would otherwise have been unemployed in constructing a totally superfluous series of paths and roadways on his Alton estate.⁴⁵⁵

As one of the most senior Catholics in the kingdom Shrewsbury took an active interest in religious matters. Reasons for not taking the Test; for not conforming to the established church; and for not deserting the ancient faith (1828) and Diplomatic Relations with Rome: considered ... in a letter ... to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1848) were among the substantial number of pamphlets which he published in response to contemporary Church affairs.⁴⁵⁶

Although accounts of Shrewsbury's wealth have been exaggerated (his estates were entailed), Pugin was to find in him a keen patron of Church architecture. He was at once pragmatic in recognising the need for large town churches which arose in the 1840s, but

⁴⁵⁴ See M.J. Fisher, Alton Towers, op. cit.

⁴⁵⁵ John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the labouring poor ... addressed to every member of the legislature, Brooker, London, 1831.

⁴⁵⁶ John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Reasons for not taking the Test; for not conforming to the established church; and for not deserting the ancient faith, Brooker, London, 1828. John Talbot, Earl of

at the same time also a romantic in believing that the Middle Ages presented appropriate ecclesiological models which could be adapted to contemporary requirements. In addition to the numerous churches to which he contributed Shrewsbury, encouraged and aided by Pugin, patronised a revival of a mediæval hospital to house the poor near his estate in Alton.⁴⁵⁷

Shrewsbury often spent long periods at his Roman residence, the *Palazzo Colonna*.⁴⁵⁸ Finding it less costly to keep house in Rome than at Alton he was able to divert the revenues which he conserved to church building. As a senior member of the English nobility he enjoyed both rank and station in the Eternal City, and his two daughters, gained him ultimate social acceptance when they both married Roman Princes.⁴⁵⁹ Whilst he was a keen neo-mediævalist, Shrewsbury, like Pugin, showed little sympathy towards the Cisalpine movement which had been strong among numbers of the English Catholic aristocracy and gentry. His writings share that overtly Roman character, which developed in Catholic literature of the 1840s with the advent of a personal cult of the Pope under Pio Nono:

Let us then take our place in that great sphere of which Rome is the centre, and *may* be the directing power in the social and political, as she has long been in the moral and spiritual, world; let us commune with Rome, as we commune with every other nation under the sun – with Rome, which ever rises before us, - “with her incomparable constitution, and laws which the lapse of ages cannot contravene, with her prefect ideal, and her shining history, and her mighty saints, and her whole mould the very same from which those saints were

Shrewsbury, Diplomatic relations with Rome: considered ... in a letter ... to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Dolman, London, 1848.

⁴⁵⁷ The Hospital of St. John, Alton.

⁴⁵⁸ See plate facing p.85 in J. Champ, The English Pilgrimage to Rome: A Dwelling for the Soul, Gracewing, Leominster, 2000.

⁴⁵⁹ See J. Champ, The English Pilgrimage to Rome: A Dwelling for the Soul, op. cit., 160-162.

formed, and lastly, her imperial claims, her all-absorbing doctrine of the NECESSITY of COMMUNION with herself'.⁴⁶⁰

In August 1836 Lord Shrewsbury's chaplain, Dr. Daniel Rock (1799-1891),⁴⁶¹ addressed a letter to Pugin after having read his Designs for Gold and Silversmiths (1836):

Though, as yet, I have not had the good fortune of making your personal acquaintance, but know you only by your admirable and very valuable works on the architecture of our country, still I cannot resist the pleasure of addressing a line to you, to offer you my most cordial congratulations and sincere thanks for the manner in which you have contributed to honour our holy religion, by the way in which you have executed the screen part more particularly, of your Book of Designs for silversmiths. The work is a most elegant and correct one: the designs are really beautiful. ... I cannot tell you how much I feel indebted to you, not only for the delight you afforded me as an individual who is enthusiastically attached to the study of the architecture and church antiquities of Catholic England, but for the assurance which I felt that your designs of Catholic church-plate would, on many occasions, propitiate the good-will of the man of taste towards the olden faith, and, perhaps, induce some to inquire into, and adopt its tenets. ... allow me to congratulate with you on having discovered the pearl of great price – the knowledge of the true faith – while exploring those monuments of ancient piety which were erected by the generous zeal and religious feelings of our ancient Catholic predecessors.⁴⁶²

Having a common interest in the Middle Ages with his patron, Rock was enabled to devote a sizable portion of his time to historical research, and was acknowledged as one of the foremost antiquarian authorities of the day. His first major work Hierurgia; or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, with Notes and Dissertations elucidating its Doctrines and Ceremonies was published in 1833.⁴⁶³ It represented an unprecedented attempt by an

⁴⁶⁰ John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Diplomatic relations with Rome, op. cit., 27.

⁴⁶¹ Rock served as Domestic Chaplain to Shrewsbury between 1827 and 1840 (D.N.B.)

⁴⁶² Rock, letter to Pugin cited in B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 122-124.

⁴⁶³ D. Rock, Hierurgia; or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, with Notes and Dissertations elucidating its Doctrines and Ceremonies, Booker, London, 1833.

English author to treat the Mass not only theologically, but also liturgically and historically. Rock discusses the use of liturgical vestments, images, altars, sacred vessels etc., and often presents his arguments in a style not dissimilar to Pugin's. For example, in a passage treating on the use of the rood screen in the mediæval church, Rock attacks the reformers for their disregard of Christian art:

In our old churches, built in Catholic times, there was a gallery which ran across the nave, at the entrance of the choir or chancel, and received the appellation of rood-loft, from the circumstance that a great crucifix, or, as it was anciently denominated, Rood, was always erected there, with its front looking towards the people.

But the iconoclastic mania, which, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, unhappily infected the inhabitants of our islands, quickened their zeal against images into fury, and stimulated them to vie with, nay surpass, the Goth and Vandal in dilapidation and barbarism.⁴⁶⁴

Pugin's first meeting with Rock occurred in June 1837, when he met Rock together with Shrewsbury, during a visit to London.⁴⁶⁵ Subsequent meetings were also to take place at Lord Shrewsbury's seat at Alton in the August and September of that year. Rock was preparing a work on the mediæval church in England and during Pugin's visits the pair planned a collaboration. In October Pugin began work on a series of twenty-six illustrations for the work which was to be called The Church of Our Fathers.⁴⁶⁶ Pugin's drawings are primarily constituted of depictions showing the ministration of the sacraments and liturgical rites (Fig. IV.5) together with various ecclesiastical fittings, such as tombs or the Easter sepulchre. The drawings, and especially the figures shown in them, represent a highly romanticised depiction of the mediæval church. The work was advertised as forthcoming in the Catholic Magazine in 1838. However, the scheme was

⁴⁶⁴ D. Rock, *Hierurgia*, op. cit., vol II, 554.

⁴⁶⁵ See Pugin, 1837 Diary, 24 June, in A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, op. cit., 37.

⁴⁶⁶ Pugin, 1837 Diary, transcribed in A. Wedgwood, *A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*, op. cit., 38.

delayed, and when the first volume eventually appeared in 1849 Pugin's illustrations were not used.⁴⁶⁷

Despite the failure of this collaboration the two remained good friends and even after Rock left Lord Shrewsbury's service in 1840, Pugin paid him a number of visits.⁴⁶⁸ The pair obviously found much in common. Both of them were engaged in similar historical studies and shared a common aspiration for the revival of mediæval forms within the Catholic Church. In his conclusion to The True Principles, Pugin expressed a debt of thanks to his

respected and revered friend Dr. Rock, to whose learned researches and observations on Christian antiquities I am highly indebted, and to whom I feel it a bounden duty to make this public acknowledgment of the great benefit I have received from his advice.⁴⁶⁹

Shrewsbury introduced Pugin to his remarkable friend, Ambrose Phillipps (1809-1878), who had converted to Catholicism after having received a supposed vision in which it was revealed to him that it was Mahomet and not the Pope who was the anti-Christ.⁴⁷⁰ Phillipps was a keen mediævalist; whilst at Trinity College, Cambridge, he made the acquaintance of Kenelm Digby (1800-1880) the subsequent author of The Broadstone of Honour and Mores Catholici. The pair became good friends and used to cycle some twenty five miles together every Sunday to attend Mass at St. Edmund's College, Old

The drawings are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Wedgwood Catalogue no's 126-151).

⁴⁶⁷ D. Rock, The Church of Our Fathers, as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury, with Dissertations on the Belief and Ritual in England before and after the coming of the Normans, 3 vols., London, 1849-1853.

⁴⁶⁸ See M. Belcher, Pugin, op. cit., 473.

⁴⁶⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, True Principles, op. cit., 67.

⁴⁷⁰ See <http://newadvent.org/cathen>:

One day in the year 1823, as I was rambling along the foot of the hills in the neighbourhood of the school, and meditating, as was my wont in those boyish days, over the strange Protestant theory that the Pope of Rome is the Anti-Christ of Prophecy, all of a sudden I saw a bright light in the heavens, and I heard a voice which said: 'Mahomet is the Anti-Christ, for he denieth the Father and the Son.' On my return home in the next holidays I looked for a Koran and there I found those remarkable words, 'God neither begetteth nor is begotten.'

Hall.⁴⁷¹ Phillipps responded eagerly to Pugin's ideas, and writing to Lord Shrewsbury in 1840 he displayed an identical position on architecture to that propagated by Pugin:

The great argument in favour of *Gothick* architecture (as it is generally called) has always appeared to me to be that, which is derived from the circumstances of its *Xtian origin, meaning and distinction*. . . .

the preference for the Xtian pointed style over the Pagan or classical is much less a question of *taste* than one of *principle*.⁴⁷²

Pugin and Phillipps shared many further concerns in common, the restoration of Gregorian Chant, the encouragement of popular devotion, the conversion of England and dialogue with catholically-minded members of the Church of England were amongst the various subjects which are dealt with in their correspondence.⁴⁷³ Writing to Phillipps in 1842 Pugin told him that "There are no two men in Engl. who ought to see and hear more of each other than you and me".⁴⁷⁴

Together both Shrewsbury and Phillipps opened to Pugin a wider circle of catholic acquaintance than he would probably have otherwise experienced. It was probably through their association that Pugin met amongst others Montalembert, Kenelm Digby, the Hon. and Revd. George Spencer and Fr. Dominic Barberi.⁴⁷⁵ Their patronage (especially Lord Shrewsbury's) was also significant in enabling Pugin to become the foremost champion of the Gothic Revival within the Catholic Church, and helping him to gain the position of Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at Oscott (a position which placed him in an ideal position to influence the new generation of students in training for ordination within the Church).

⁴⁷¹ <http://newadvent.org/cathen>

⁴⁷² A. Phillipps, letter to Lord Shrewsbury, 1840, cited in E.S. Purcell, *Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, op. cit., vol. II, 209.

⁴⁷³ See the letters transcribed in E.S. Purcell, *Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, op. cit.

⁴⁷⁴ E.S. Purcell, *Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, op. cit., vol. II, 226.

In 1831 Ambrose Phillipps made an English translation of Fr. Dominic Barberi's The Lamentation of England, or the Prayer of the Prophet Jeremiah applied to the Same, a work resonant with sadness over the Reformation and the destruction of England's mediæval religion:

Behold, O Lord, how our inheritance is passed into the hands of strangers; ... Our temples, those venerable churches which were built by our ancestors and dedicated to thy divine majesty, in which, in the happy days of old England when we were thy elect people, we used to assemble before thee, have been seized and polluted by strangers, by the followers of Calvin and Cranmer, and innumerable other heretics, who impiously blaspheme thee in their infamous conventicles. Alas my God! alas divine Jesus! alas for these holy churches erected in ancient times by the hands of thy holy saints, where thy everlasting gospel was daily announced to us! alas for these churches, in which an innumerable company of thy servants each day and each hour of the day lifted up their suppliant hands to thy divine majesty! ah! in them poor wearied sinners used to find healing medicine for their wounds, yea remedy for their sins! ah! there they ever found ministers of reconciliation ready to admit them to the kiss of peace in the sacrament of penance. Alas most holy temples! for in you the Lord of Glory vouchsafed to dwell in the sacrament of the Eucharist as on the throne of mercy and grace: ... Alas! alas! for now is thy house become the den of wild beasts, where thy holy name and thy awful majesty is blasphemed and trodden under foot: yea in her own temple thy spouse the Church is detested, anathematized, slandered as an adulteress and unfaithful. Behold it, O Lord, behold it I beseech thee.

*Hæreditas nostra vestra est ad alienos, domus nostræ ad extraneos.*⁴⁷⁶

Because of Phillipps' involvement in translating the work it is probable that Pugin was familiar with it. Although the comparison made by Barberi is an obvious one (and is suggested, for example, at the Good Friday office of Tenebræ), it is more than probable

⁴⁷⁵ Pugin's diary records meetings with Digby (16 May 1837), and Spencer (for example, 1 April 1839). It also indicates a possible contact with Barberi (15 June 1844). Pugin's association with Montalembert has already been discussed.

⁴⁷⁶ D. Barberi, The Lamentation of England, or the Prayer of the Prophet Jeremiah applied to the Same, Cockshaw, Leicester, 1831, 9-10.

that a passage in Pugin's Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial (1839) is directly indebted to Barberi's evocation:

Then was that Church, which had obtained England the glorious title of the Land of Saints, betrayed into the hands of usurpers. Then fell England's noblest churches, stript [sic] and levelled, a spoil for avaricious courtiers and partisans; her abbeys despoiled, her priests slain, her seminaries and hospitals suppressed, her holy places defiled and polluted, the most sacred mysteries blasphemed; till the words of the prophet Jeremiah seem as if written for the desolate state of this distracted country. "Via Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solemnitatem: omnes portæ destructæ: sacerdotes ejus gementes, virgines ejus squalidæ, et ipsa oppressa amaritudine."⁴⁷⁷

By 1841 Pugin had developed a fully-fledged artistic theory, and was to propound the arguments which he set forth in The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture throughout the rest of his life. He now saw it as his task to work for the propagation of such "True Principles" within the Catholic Church. He concluded the 1841 edition of Contrasts with a discussion of how the structure of a Gothic church should properly embody its liturgical functionality:

... a Catholic church not only requires pillars, arches, windows, screens, and niches, but it *requires them to be disposed according to a certain traditional form*; it demands a chancel set apart for sacrifice, and screened off from the people; it requires a stone altar, a sacarium[,] sedilia for the officiating priests, and an elevated roodloft from whence the Holy Gospel may be chaunted [sic] to the assembled faithful; it requires chapels for penance and prayer, a sacristy to contain the sacred vessels, a font for the holy sacrament of baptism, a southern porch for penitents and catechumens, a stoup for hallowed water, and a tower for bells; ...⁴⁷⁸

Pugin thus formulated his assertion that Gothic was superior when compared to any other form because it had emerged from and embodied Christian practice.⁴⁷⁹ He sought

⁴⁷⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial, op. cit., 21-22.

⁴⁷⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, 1841 Contrasts, op. cit., 58.

⁴⁷⁹ In hindsight we may see that this theory has its limitations; the Islamic influence upon the development of the pointed arch is just one example that contradicts it.

to revive churches which architecturally articulated their functional use. Furthermore, if the revival of Gothic churches was to be in any way meaningful, it would depend upon the liturgical practice which took place inside them.

By the early 1840s Pugin's architectural career was burgeoning. When he published his An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England in 1843 he was able to render a *capriccio* frontispiece illustrating some twenty-four of his churches.⁴⁸⁰ In that same year he collected two articles which he had written for the Dublin Review and republished them as The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.⁴⁸¹ The work served a number of purposes; it considered the features appropriate to a Gothic Church, it surveyed and criticised the new Gothic churches which Pugin and others had built, and it provided an account of the destruction of mediæval churches at the Reformation.

However, the primary function of the volume was to survey the progress made by the Gothic Revival, and to encourage its further development. Introducing the work Pugin gave a description of the correlation between a mediæval church's form and function:

Formerly, the word *church* implied a *certain sort of edifice invariably erected on the same principle*; it might be highly ornamented, or it might be simple; it might be large or small, lofty or low, costly or cheap, but it was arranged on a certain *regulated system*. *Churches built hundreds of miles apart, and with the difference of centuries in the period of their erection, would still exhibit a perfect similarity*

⁴⁸⁰ Pugin lists them on the following page: St. George's, London, St. Peter's, Woolwich, St. Marie's, Stockton, St. Giles', Cheadle, St. Marie's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, St. Austin's, Kennilworth, Jesus Chapel, Pomfert, Killarney Cathedral, St. Chad's, Birmingham, St. Oswald's, Liverpool, Holy Cross, Kirkham, St. Barnabas', Nottingham, Gorey, Ireland, St. Marie's, Derby, St. Alban's, Macclesfield, St. Marie's, Brentwood, St. Winifride's, Shepshead, St. Andrew's, Cambridge, St. Bernard's Priory, Leicestershire, St. Marie's, Keighley, St. Marie's, Warwick Bridge, St. Wilfrid's, Manchester, St. Marie's, Southport, and St. John's Hospital, Alton.

⁴⁸¹ A.W.N. Pugin, The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, Dolman, London, 1843.

*of purpose, and by their form and arrangement attest that the same faith had instigated their erections, and the same rites were performed within their walls.*⁴⁸²

He goes on to articulate how the architectural fittings of a church are determined by their liturgical functionality:

... The chancel floor should be raised at least one step above the nave, and the upper step on which the altar stands three steps above the floor of the chancel. The altar should consist of one slab of stone (marked with five crosses, and a cavity for relics) raised on solid masonry or stone pillars.

On the epistle side of the altar a sacrarium should be fixed, with a basin and waste pipe, with a stone shelf for the cruets. On the same side, and corresponding to the width of the three steps ascending to the altar, three niches should be built, partly in the thickness of the wall, and partly projecting, with canopies, and convenient seats for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon. Opposite to these an arched tomb, to serve as the sepulchre for holy week ...⁴⁸³

Pugin treats various questions of symbolism, such as the eastward orientation, and cites noted authorities such as Durandus to illustrate his argument.⁴⁸⁴ Throughout the work he advocates a rediscovery of mediæval liturgical use:

Porches were, and ought now to be used for the following purposes: -

1. The insufflations of baptism were performed in the porch, where the child was exorcised previous to being admitted into the sacred building.
2. Women were churched in the porch after child-bearing.
3. The first part of the marriage service was performed in the porch.
4. Penitents assisted at mass in the porch during Lent.⁴⁸⁵

After the Reformation the English clergy had necessarily been trained on the continent, and the various liturgical rites proper to England had fallen into disuse. However, Pugin was to revive a number of practices associated with the English liturgy, which were not

⁴⁸² A.W.N. Pugin, *The Present State*, op. cit., 4-5.

⁴⁸³ A.W.N. Pugin, *The Present State*, op. cit., 12-13.

⁴⁸⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, *The Present State*, op. cit., 14-15.

contained within the Tridentine Missale Romanum, Rituale Romanum or other liturgical books. The use of stepped sedilia, for example, with the Sacred Ministers ascending in rank towards the High Altar, was contrary to the Roman practice (which had the priest sitting in the central sedile, being flanked on his right by the deacon and on his left by the sub-deacon).⁴⁸⁶ On occasion Pugin adhered to Roman use, and at St. Wilfrid's, Manchester, for example, the recessed sedilia are all of one level. However, in other churches, such as St. Mary's, Uttoxeter, Pugin propagated the English use. At St. Giles', Cheadle, he went one step further by carving the orders *Sacerdos*, *Diaconus* and *Subdiaconus* beneath the respective stepped sediles to ensure their "proper" use.

Pugin disliked the practice, prevalent in general use since the Counter Reformation, of placing a tabernacle on the High Altar (which in itself was a-liturgical). Thus in a number of his churches, such as St. Giles', Cheadle, he propagated the cathedral use of reserving in a side chapel. The common practice in mediæval England had been to reserve the sacrament in a hanging pyx, suspended above the high altar, and at Uttoxeter and Mount St. Bernard, Pugin revived this use as an alternative to the tabernacle.⁴⁸⁷

The Easter sepulchre was another English liturgical feature which had fallen into disuse at the Reformation, and which Pugin endeavoured to revive. He explains its purpose in

The Present State:

⁴⁸⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, The Present State, op. cit., 20.

⁴⁸⁶ The liturgist, James O'Connell, gives the following passage on the legality of recessed sedilia: The rubrics make no mention of fixed sedilia in stone attached to the wall of the chancel on the epistle side (which were in common use abroad, and fairly general in England by the 13th century), but tradition allows their use. These seats must not, however, be on different levels (so that the celebrant is higher than the deacon and subdeacon); nor may they be canopied. (J. C'Connell, Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way: A Study in Liturgical Law, Burns and Oates, London, 1955, 67).

⁴⁸⁷ Examples of the hanging pyx are preserved in the British Museum, London, the Louvre, Paris, and the Musée national du Moyen Age, Paris. This pyx often took the form of a dove (for an illustration see Musée national du Moyen Age Thermes de Cluny, Paris, 1993, 85).

On the gospel side of the chancel, and nearly opposite the sedilia, we generally find an arch forming a recess and canopy to an altar tomb: this was used as a sepulchre for the reservation of the blessed sacrament, from Maunday Thursday till Easter Sunday morning, which was anciently practised in the Sarum rite. There is frequent allusion to this in the wills of pious persons, who desired to have their tombs so built that they might serve for the sepulchre; that when men come to pay their devotions to our Lord's body, at that holy time, they might be moved to pray for the repose of their souls.⁴⁸⁸

Duffy describes the centrality of the sepulchre within the Church's liturgy in late mediæval England, and we can see from the following passage why Pugin considered its restoration an important element in establishing a revival of mediæval spirituality:

The Easter sepulchre and its accompanying ceremonial constitute something of an interpretative crux for any proper understanding of late medieval English religion. The sepulchre was emphatically a central part of the official liturgy of Holy Week, designed to inculcate and give dramatic expression to orthodox teaching, not merely on the saving power of Christ's cross and Passion but on the doctrine of the Eucharist. With its abundance of lights and night watches it constituted an especially solemn form of public worship of the Host, in many communities far more elaborate even than the Corpus Christi procession. At the same time it had become by the fifteenth century an intense and genuinely popular focus for lay piety and devotional initiative.⁴⁸⁹

Despite the fact that Roman liturgy required that Maundy Thursday reservation should take place in a side chapel, Pugin effected the Sepulchre's revival.

In August 1839 the church at Uttoxeter, which had been patronised by Lord Shrewsbury, opened as Pugin's first complete church. It contained a full complement of neo-mediæval ecclesiological fittings, with an arched rood, dossorated altar, sacarium,

⁴⁸⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, *The Present State*, op. cit., 34-35.

Pugin explains that watching at the Easter sepulchre took place between Good Friday and Easter Sunday, and was distinct from the practice of keeping watch on the night of Maundy Thursday.

⁴⁸⁹ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, op. cit., 31.

recessed sedilia, Easter sepulchre, and hanging pyx. The opening marked the first of many to follow, and was conducted with no little degree of solemnity by Fr. George Spencer, with Lord Shrewsbury, together with his son-in-law and daughter, the Prince and Princess Doria Pamphili, in attendance.

Although later church buildings were to provide Pugin with an opportunity to engage in more elaborate schemes (with his style reaching its apotheosis at St. Giles', Cheadle (Fig. VI.1), and St. Augustine's, Ramsgate), Uttoxeter itself was modest in constructional terms. There was little by way of architectural elaboration, and the fabric was of a plain 'box' structure, without aisles. This restraint was not for want of vision on Pugin's behalf, but was rather intended to demonstrate that the Gothic style could be executed upon the modest funds available for building within the Catholic Church. Nonetheless, despite the church's humble character, Pugin was to reflect upon it with some degree of satisfaction in The Present State, calling it "the first Catholic structure erected in this country in strict accordance with the rules of ancient ecclesiastical architecture since the days of the pretended reformation."⁴⁹⁰

The new ecclesiological arrangements which Pugin pioneered were not to be introduced without controversy. His strong advocacy of mediæval forms at the expense of Roman use excited criticism, especially from the neo-ultramontanes who were rising to prominence in the 1840s. Newman, as a convert Oratorian, criticised Pugin for his disregard of Roman liturgical law:

... there is something higher than architecture – and that is the ecclesiastical ritual – and Puginism exalts architecture to the profanation of higher things. Pugin cares nothing for

⁴⁹⁰ See. P. Stanton, Pugin, op. cit., 41.

Rubrics – to him they do not exist – the Sacred Congregation of Rites is almost one of the stumbling blocks of Rome in his eyes.⁴⁹¹

Newman was not alone in criticising Pugin for introducing liturgical novelties. Although Pugin enjoyed the support of most of the Vicars Apostolic (especially of Bishop Walsh), a number of prominent ecclesiastics regarded his innovations with suspicion. During his English Tour of 1839 Nicholas Wiseman conducted the dedication of St. Mary's, Derby, at which he wore vestments designed by Pugin according to the mediæval fashion. Bishop Briggs, who had attended the ceremony, wrote to Bishop Baines complaining about the introduction of such novelties.⁴⁹² Bishop Baines took up the charge, condemning Pugin's brand of revivalism:

Under the pretext of diminishing the objections which Protestants have to a connection with Rome, ... it was proposed to re-establish the ceremonial of the ancient Church of England. For this purpose the form of the sacred vestments was altered to what it was supposed to have been four or five centuries ago ... The Communion rail was omitted in the new churches, even at the Communion altar; the Tabernacle was to be removed from the altar, and the Blessed Sacrament suspended from the ceiling by a chain or cord in a silver dove.⁴⁹³

Animated correspondence ensued between Baines and Walsh over the subject of vestments, and Baines eventually logged a complaint with the Congregation of Propaganda at Rome. Baines' intervention was one of the first major obstacles encountered by the Puginian party, Pugin wrote to Phillips in December 1839 expressing his dismay over Rome's response to the matter:

I suppose you have heard of the Censure passed by the Propaganda on the proceedgs. of our good Bishop [Walsh]. If you have not, keep the intelligence closely to yourself; but it is of great importance that you should be acquainted with all that is going on against us. The

⁴⁹¹ J.H. Newman, letter to Miss. Holmes, 7 April 1850, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., vol XIII, 461.

⁴⁹² P. Stanton, Pugin, op. cit., 49.

Bishop shewed [sic] me the other day a Letter he had just recvd. from the Propaganda, censuring his proceedgs. and denouncing me in no very measured terms. This is the result of some diabolical falsehoods and misrepresentations made at Rome by our adversaries, and the Propaganda have actually given credit at once to this exparte statement and have condemned the proceedgs. of the only Bishop in England who has really advanced the dignity of religion. Dr. Walsh fount the churches in his district worse than Barns; he will leave them sumptuous erections. The greater part of the vestments were filthy rags, and he has replaced them with silk and gold. For this he has been censured!!! Is this to be believed? can it be possible? It is, and a blow has been struck at us, which if persisted in will be far more fatal to religion than all the arracks of the hereticks [sic].⁴⁹⁴

In 1844 Pugin published the Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume.⁴⁹⁵ He introduced the work, reiterating the arguments set forth in True Principles:

To help to illustrate these principles, which are, as it were, the polar star, by which the disciple of the ancient Masters must steer his course, forms the main object of this present volume. ...

It has been said poetically, that, 'Where use is excelled, beauty scorns to dwell;' and the sentiment is founded in truth and reason.

Go to the foundations of historical antiquity, and you will find this illustrated in every age ...⁴⁹⁶

It was the object of the Glossary to illustrate how the principles which Pugin had applied to architecture, metalwork and woodwork in True Principles, could also be given to ecclesiastical ornament:

... at the present time, when so much veneration and interest has been awakened for the works of Catholic antiquity, both in England and on the Continent, it is indispensably necessary for all ecclesiastical artists, not only to understand the true forms and symbolical

⁴⁹³ D. Gwynn, Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival, op. cit., 55.

⁴⁹⁴ E.S. Purcell, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. II, 222-223.

⁴⁹⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled from Ancient Authorities and Examples, Bohn, London, 1844. Second edition, enlarged and revised by B. Smith, Bohn, London, 1846.

significations of the sacred vestments and other adornments of a church, but also how to apply the various decorations in a *consistent manner* to the edification of the faithful, and as lively illustrations of the Sacred Mysteries.⁴⁹⁷

The Glossary is comprised of two parts; firstly the glossary itself, and then a series of seventy-three plates, a number of which are rendered in full colour, illustrating various applications of Christian (Gothic) ornament (Fig. VI.2). In the actual glossary there are entries for the various liturgical vestments, church furnishings, liturgical colours, symbolic devices, devotional aids, etc. Each entry traces its subject's historical form and development, and Pugin quotes, sometimes at length, from historical and liturgical sources to sustain his arguments. His use of source material is comprehensive, and represents a diverse reading of liturgical and theological authorities. In the introduction Pugin registers the principal scholars whose works he has consulted, and gives a brief description of the significance of each.⁴⁹⁸ The list includes such authors as Durandus, Mabillon, and Georgius. The Glossary is generally historically accurate, but, needless to say, Pugin does not restrain himself from offering his own thoughts upon the superiority of mediæval forms:

The cotta, a sort of short surplice, but without sleeves and exceeding ugly, has superseded the long and full surplice for acolythes in some modern churches. It has neither grace nor dignity; nor does it convey the mystical meaning of chastity and modesty signified by the long and girded albe.⁴⁹⁹

Despite the novel purpose of the illustrations, which were intended to aid the proliferation of Gothic Revival forms in the manner of a pattern book, they nonetheless draw on antiquarian prototypes. The series of plates illustrating historical forms of

⁴⁹⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled from Ancient Authorities and Examples, Bohn, London, second edition, Bohn, London, 1846, iii-iv.

⁴⁹⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, second edition, op. cit., , vii.

vestments (Fig. VI.3), for example, directly compares with the illustrations given in antiquarian works such as Fosbroke's British Monachism; or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England (1802).⁵⁰⁰

Pugin believed a further sphere requiring liturgical renewal to be the field of Church Music, which tended (both in the Anglican and Catholic Churches) to reflect popular musical taste. It was not until Pius X's 1903 *Motu Proprio* on Church Music that polyphonic and Gregorian settings of Divine Service became commonplace in England.⁵⁰¹ Charles Butler, considering music in the Embassy Chapels of the 1830s, wrote:

Some of the finest services of Haydn and Mozart, and recently a service composed by Signor Garcia, and rivalling the exquisite elegance and entrancing pathos of Pergolesi, ... are now excellently performed at the Bavarian Chapel. Even in this era of musical excellence it may be doubted whether those who have not attended that service, performed, as it now is, by Begrez, Gracia, and Naldi, have heard the most perfect singing which England possesses.⁵⁰²

Worship in the parishes, where High Mass and *Missa Cantata* still presented a relative novelty, was far less ambitious in its musical scope. Nonetheless Butler's description reveals the musical pattern to which the church aspired.

Pugin had no particular objection to contemporary music in itself, Powell records that he used to sing Gregorian hymns and "snatches from Operas" interchangeably as he worked.⁵⁰³ However, use of "secular" style music within the liturgy offended Pugin's sensibilities towards origin and propriety. He believed there to be Christian Music in the same way in which he believed there to be Christian Architecture, and he saw the revival

⁴⁹⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, second edition, op. cit., viii-xii.

⁴⁹⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, second edition, op. cit., [1].

⁵⁰⁰ T.D. Fosbroke, British Monachism, op. cit.

⁵⁰¹ P. Doyle, Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995, Chapman, London, 1995, 51.

⁵⁰² B. Ward, Catholic London a Century Ago, op. cit., 130.

of both as part of the same crusade. Phillipps was no less enthusiastic for the subject, and regarded what he called “the restoration of primitive ecclesiastical chant” to be a foremost criterion for achieving the Catholic revival.⁵⁰⁴ In a letter to Phillipps of 1840 Pugin wrote:

As you say, till the old Gregorian Music is restored, nothing can be done, but I now almost despair – I do indeed. I built a solemn church at Southport. It was opened with a perfectly disgusting display and a bill ending with an Ordinary at 2 o’clock, 3/6 each.

Keighley was opened the other day with a most horrible scene. Not only was all decorum violated, but a regular Row took place between the musicians, who quarrelled about their parts in the church, and after an hour’s delay one priest drew off his singers and a Miss Whitwell – whose name appeared in the bills in gigantic letters – quavered away in most extraordinary style. There was *no procession*. Every building I erect is profaned, and instead of assisting in conversions only serves to disgust people. The church at Dudley is a complete [sic] facsimile of one of the old English parish churches, and nobody seems to know how to use it.⁵⁰⁵

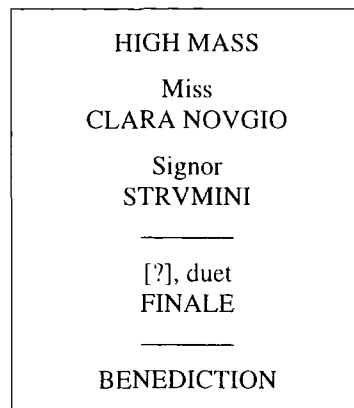
Writing to Powell, Pugin complained that High Masses were often “advertised as attractions”, and performed as if a concert with “In the music gallery soprano and contralto soloists publicly emulating each other ...”⁵⁰⁶ Pugin took up this theme in a drawing which he inserted into his personal copy of the second edition of Contrasts (1841). “The exterior of a new catholic chapel” shows a neo-classical church building bearing the date 1839; to a pillar there is posted an advertisement for a forthcoming Mass:⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰³ J. Powell, “Pugin in his Home”, op. cit. 182.

⁵⁰⁴ <http://ncwadvent.org/cathcn>

⁵⁰⁵ E.S. Purcell, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. II, 214.

⁵⁰⁶ Pugin, letter to John Powell, cited in B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, op. cit., vol. I, 101.



It was a common practice for the London churches to charge a pew fee on the door, and the Warwick Street Chapel, for example, came to be popularly dubbed the “shilling opera”.⁵⁰⁸ Pugin satirised this practice in another notice seen in the same illustration: “Tickets 5^d 3^d 1.6 to be had over the way”.⁵⁰⁹ In An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (1843) he launched a vehement attack upon the theatrical propensity of some practitioners of Catholic liturgy:

Men of devout minds are scandalized with the foreign trumpery that is introduced on the most solemn occasions, and the noisy theatrical effects that are substituted for the solemn chants and hymns of the Church. These things are most distressing on the continent, although they are modified by the vastness of the churches and the remains of antiquity; but here, in England, where they are performed in buildings not dissimilar to assembly-rooms, they are intolerable, and must convey to the casual and uninstructed spectator the lowest idea of Catholic rites. It is painful to see these wretched practices puffed off in Catholic journals, and described much in the same strain as is used in the Theatrical Observer, - a list of performers, - criticisms on the execution of solos and quartets during that Holy Sacrifice which fills even the angels with awe and reverence. Since Christ himself hung abandoned and bleeding on the Cross of Calvary, never has so sad a spectacle been exhibited to the afflicted Christian as is presented in many modern Catholic chapels, where the adorable Victim is offered up by the Priests of God’s Church, disguised in miserable dresses intended for the sacred vestments, surrounded by a scoffing auditory of protestant sight-seekers who have paid a few shillings a head to grin at mysteries which they do not understand, and to

⁵⁰⁷ British Library, London, Classmark C.61.k.8.

⁵⁰⁸ B. Ward, Catholic London a Century Ago, loc. cit.

hear the performances of an infidel troop of mercenary musicians, hired to sing symbols of faith they disbelieve, and salutations to that Holy Sacrament they mock and deny.⁵¹⁰

Pugin was no less unsympathetic towards the Anglican Church. In Contrasts he complained about the moral standards of cathedral musicians:

To such a degraded state are these lay vicars, as they are termed, fallen, that even the keeper of a public tavern is found among their number. Thus, this man, fresh from the fumes of the punch-bowl and tobacco-pipe, and with the boisterous calls of the tap ringing in his ears, may be seen running from the bar to the choir, there figuring away in a surplice, till the concluding prayer allows him to rush back, and mingle the response of "Coming, sir," to the amen that has hardly died away upon his lips.⁵¹¹

In An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts" (1837) Pugin complained about the attendants of contemporary service in the Church of England:

A great portion of the congregation are there absolutely for no other purpose than to hear the singing; they are not even at pains to conceal their intention, but stand in a mob, staring at the choir, and bustle out as soon as the anthem is done and their amusement ceases.⁵¹²

Upon his conversion to Rome F.W. Faber had established a small religious community called the Brothers of the Will of God. However, when Newman founded the Oratory in England in 1848 Faber and his companions placed themselves under the Oratorian Rule. Newman established a house at Birmingham, and in 1849 Faber was dispatched to London to found a second house. A temporary chapel serving the London congregation was soon opened in King William Street off the Strand.⁵¹³ Like many of the Oxford converts Faber had been attracted to Ultramontane Roman practices upon his conversion. His ecclesiological tastes were strongly influenced by Italianate devotions,

⁵⁰⁹ British Library, London, Classmark C.61.k.8.

⁵¹⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture, op. cit., 24-25.

⁵¹¹ A.W.N. Pugin, 1841 Contrasts, op. cit., 47.

⁵¹² A.W.N. Pugin, An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., 14.

⁵¹³ The Chapel was opened to the public on 31 May 1849.

and he propagated such practices as Stations of the Cross, May Devotions and the *Quarant' Ore*. The architectural preference of the Oratorians (Newman was an exception) tended towards the classical style of sixteenth-century Rome. Their new-chosen Congregation was strongly identified with the emergence of the Baroque style in Rome, and Counter Reformation church architecture, with its open and visible sanctuaries, was in part an artistic development reflecting the devotional approach which typified their community. The King William Street Chapel (Fig. VI.5), situated in a converted assembly room, was furnished with classical style fittings; a benediction altar, domed tabernacle, and copies of Baroque paintings, such as Guido Reni's *The Ecstasy of St. Philip Neri*.

Pugin was disgusted with this new brand of Romanità, which threatened his own vision of a revival of mediæval practice. In the first place there had been the unpleasant encounter with Newman in Rome, and now Pugin's fears for the Oratorians were to come true. In a letter to Lord Shrewsbury, he complained bitterly about the congregation, and expressed his disappointment over Faber's turn of ecclesiology since his days as an Anglican:

Has your lordship heard that the Oratorians have opened the Lowther Rooms as a chapel!! – a place for the vilest debauchery, masquerades, &c. – one night a MASQUED BALL, next BENEDICTUS. This appears to me perfectly monstrous, and I give the whole order up for ever. What a degradation for religion! Why, it is worse than the Socialists. What a place to celebrate the mysteries of religion in! I cannot conceive how it is allowed. It cannot even be licensed or protected by law, since they only have it for a time. It is the greatest blow we have had for a long time; no men have been so disappointing as these. Conceive the poet Faber come down to the Lowther Rooms! The man who wrote “Thoughts and Sights in Foreign Churches!!!” hiring the Lowther ROOMS!⁵¹⁴

⁵¹⁴ Pugin, letter to Lord Shrewsbury, cited in B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 127. Pugin wrote a similar letter to Hardman:

Powell recalled that “Pugin often declared that ‘the test of a true Goth’ is ‘to go to Rome and come back unchanged’”.⁵¹⁵ The former Oxford men indeed failed the test, for in converting to Catholicism they embraced Rome, not only in its doctrine, but also in its art.

The Oratorians, following the example of their sixteenth-century founder, St. Philip Neri, introduced a range of popularist extra-liturgical services. Neri had assisted in the introduction of vernacular Italian *laudi* in Rome; taking this as an inspiration, and also inspired by his experience of Anglican evangelicalism, Faber encouraged vernacular hymn singing at the Oratory.⁵¹⁶ His style of churchmanship was a new one within the English Catholic Church; an address, which he gave during a mission to the Irish poor of London, suggests the novel character of his approach:

“How can I touch your hearts? I have prayed to Jesus, I have prayed to Mary; whom shall I pray to next?”; continuing on his knees: “I will pray to *you* dear Irish children to have mercy on your own souls”; the whole congregation fell on their knees, and for some minutes nothing was heard but their sobs and prayers.⁵¹⁷

A series of articles appearing in The Rambler between 1848 and 1850, applauded the new congregational services at the Oratory, and also suggested that, where the rubrics allowed, use of the vernacular instead of Latin be generally introduced to facilitate greater congregational participation.⁵¹⁸ Plain chant was similarly attacked as being against “the

I am exceedingly disgusted at the oratorians hiring the Lowther rooms for a chapel. They are rooms of notorious and bad character let out for Masquerades & the lowest debauchery & they have hired them for the solemn practices of the church...

(Pugin, letter to Hardman, cited in D. Meara, “The Catholic Context”, in P. Atterbury (ed.), A.W.N. Pugin: Master of the Gothic Revival, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, 58.)

⁵¹⁵ J.H. Powell, “Pugin in his home”, op. cit., 188.

⁵¹⁶ A. Capecelatro, The Life of Saint Philip Neri: Apostle of Rome, 2 vols., Burnes, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1926, vol. I, 375.

⁵¹⁷ Cited in R. O'Donnell, “The Architecture of the London Oratory Churches” in M. Napier and A. Laing, The London Oratory, Trefoil, London, 1984, 26-27.

⁵¹⁸ “The Music of the fifteenth century: its character and corruptions” in The Rambler, A Journal of Home and Foreign Literature, Politics, Science, Music and The Fine Arts, vol. III, 33-37. “On the

spirit of the age”, an article “On the exclusive use of plain chant” called it “unmusical, unnatural, unmeaning, and unpleasant”.⁵¹⁹

Pugin responded to this attack with a tract titled An Earnest Address for the Revival of Ancient Plain Song (1850).⁵²⁰ In a series of further articles The Rambler had also questioned the propriety of Gothic architecture. However, Pugin argued that as serious as such a subject was, he regarded innovations within the worship of the church to be a yet graver matter:

Now, monstrous as these suggestions must appear to Catholic-minded men, they become light when compared to the changes that are proposed in the divine service itself, and which have been lately put forth in a publication which is the recognised organ of the party from whom this miserable system of modern degeneracy emanates. It is, indeed, seriously proposed to change the whole nature of the divine services of the Catholic Church, under the specious pretext of rendering them more popular and adapting them to the spirit of the age ...⁵²¹

Again, as elsewhere, Pugin implied a dependency of architectural form upon liturgical practice. The arguments of True Principles can equally well be applied to music, which according to Pugin, could similarly be considered an artistic expression of a Divine truth. Pugin suggested that modern forms of music frequently disregarded the meaning of liturgical texts, and subjugated them to musicality:

It is well known that the Kyrie is ordered to be sung nine times in honour of the Holy

Trinity: modern composers utterly disregard the mystical symbolism of the number, and

exclusive use of plain chant” in The Rambler, vol. III, 494-497. “Popular services” in The Rambler, vol. III, 315-351. Belcher is of the opinion that Capes was the probable author of these articles (see M. Belcher, A.W.N. Pugin, op. cit., 106).

A further two articles appearing in the same volume gave a sympathetic account of the life of St. Philip Neri: “St. Philip Neri and His Times” in The Rambler, vol. III, 9-14. “St. Philip Neri and His Times” in The Rambler, vol. III, 89-94.

⁵¹⁹ “On the exclusive use of plain chant” in The Rambler, vol. III, 494-497.

⁵²⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, An Earnest Address for the Revival of Ancient Plain Song, Dolman, London, 1850.

⁵²¹ A.W.N. Pugin, Revival of Ancient Plain Song, op. cit., 3.

multiply the supplications to an infinite repetition merely to suit their notes. ... The Credo, so far from being a distinct profession of faith as ordered, is a mass of unintelligible sound; and at the Sanctus, where the priest invites the people to join with angels and archangels, in *one voice*, (cum una voce), in singing the Trisagium, a perfect babel of voices usually break forth...⁵²²

Pugin argued that the Gothic Revival should have served the church as a means of rekindling its ancient liturgy, and that a revival of architecture, without a revival of music would be incongruous:

... when the English Catholic body was awakened, or appeared to be awakened, to a sense of better things, and churches arose whose form and arrangement told somewhat of more ancient and better times, then, indeed, we might have hoped and expected, that with the shell they would have revived the *sonn*; that they would have cast off for ever the worldly efforts of modern men, who merely make use of the sacred liturgy as a vehicle for a display of their professional skill; and have returned to that simple and divine song, which was created, like the architecture, by the influence of the Christian faith, and which alone assimilates and harmonises with its lofty vaults and lengthened aisles: without this the service and the fabric will be at utter variance, a most humiliating spectacle of ancient grandeur and modern degeneracy.

... The altar and the arch may belong to the ages of faith, but the singing drags us down to the concert room of the 19th century, and is a sad and striking proof of the little sympathy which exists between the architecture and the men.

I have long mourned most bitterly in secret on this state of things, but when a scheme is actually put forth to abolish the very words of the ancient offices and to reduce the services of Almighty God to the level of the conventicle, I can remain no longer silent.⁵²³

⁵²² A.W.N. Pugin, Revival of Ancient Plain Song, op. cit., 9.

⁵²³ A.W.N. Pugin, Revival of Ancient Plain Song, op. cit., 8.

With an obvious reference to the Oratorians, Pugin criticised the suggestion that popularist models be adopted as a means of promoting a Catholic revival within the parishes:

... however we may deplore the wretched taste and principle which regulates the services of some religious bodies, yet as long as they are confined within the walls of their own institutions ... we may view them in silent sorrow. No Catholic is compelled to assist at their maimed rites or to enter their conventicle looking-chapels, if any among the faithful are so debased as to prefer the trumpery display of a toy-shop and the vocal entertainment of a concert-room to a more solemn service, why we have only pity and pray for them. But when we find that an attempt is made to thrust this parody of a Catholic service into the Parochial Churches of this country, *where we are all bound to worship*, it is time that every man who has a heart in the Catholic cause should testify his unbounded horror of so unhallowed an attempt to change the ancient offices. What! shall the song of Simeon, the hymn of St. Ambrose, the canticle of our Blessed Lady herself, give place to the doggrell rooms and poetical effusions of a few individuals ...⁵²⁴

Pugin went on to acknowledge that it was not only in England that there was a degraded state of church music. He suggested that the proposals set forth in The Rambler were a perversion of the legitimate desire of the laity to share a role in the Divine Service:

No later than the Sunday in the octave of the last Corpus Domini, I was present at the High Mass in Antwerp Cathedral, whose choir and stalls were filled with lay spectators, two cantors standing among the crowd, who appeared to be only there for the purpose of displaying their copes, while the service was shouted and fiddled from a gallery at the end of the nave, an unintelligible mass of confused and irreverent sounds.

Were it not tedious, I could multiply examples without number of this miserable system, which has completely cut off the people from taking part in the most solemn act of Christian worship, and degraded it in appearance to the level of a pageant. It is impossible for men to sing this modern music, and worship at the same time, they are there as *performers*, and to

⁵²⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, Revival of Ancient Plain Song, op. cit., 3-4.

these hirelings are the praises of Almighty God transferred, while the clergy and people look on in dumb show.⁵²⁵

Pugin concluded by suggesting that plain chant was not only a Christian form of music in essence, but that it was also well suited for the enablement of congregational participation. He noted that in France “there is hardly a country parish where the people do not join in the Vesper Chaunt [sic] and the offices with heartfelt devotion”,⁵²⁶ and recommended that a similar use could be achieved in England:

How simple to print music for the five Gregorian Masses, so as to bring them within the reach of the humblest individual. If these were taught in every school, and inculcated in every Catholic family, our churches would soon present the cheering, the *inspiring* spectacle of a mass of people united, not only in heart, but in *voice*, in the worship of their Creator
...⁵²⁷

The discussion about church music had taken place against the background of another debate already underway in the zealous pages of The Rambler; the so-called “Rood Screen Controversy”. Pugin saw the debates on Rood Screens and Plain Chant as two sides of the same coin. “‘A man’ he wrote to March-Phillipps ‘may be judged by his feelings on Plain Chaunt [sic]. If he like Mozart he is no chancel and screen man’”.⁵²⁸ The controversy over screens again prompted by the ecclesiological disagreement between the Oratorian and Puginian parties. Before Faber had founded the Oratorian house in London, Lord Shrewsbury had loaned the Congregation Cotton Hall and the church of St. Wilfrid, as a temporary Oratory. In May 1848 Phillipps and Pugin had paid a visit to inspect the arrangements which had been made there. Faber related the incident which ensued in a letter to Newman:

⁵²⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, Revival of Ancient Plain Song, op. cit., 6.

⁵²⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, Revival of Ancient Plain Song, op. cit., 9.

⁵²⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, Revival of Ancient Plain Song, op. cit., 10.

What have I done to the Oratory? Caused it to be cursed! ...

Excunt from the Church Ambrose [Phillipps], Pugin and Father Wilfrid [Faber]:

Amb. Why is there no screen?

F. Wilf. Why we are great people for Exposition; and besides Father Superior

[Newman] wished us not to have a screen; he prefers it without ...

Pugin. My dear Sir, what would you do with all the screens of the sixteenth century?

F. Wilf. Burn 'em all.

Amb. I'll never set foot in this place again (Stamp, fist heavenwards –silence

– Pugin fretting).⁵²⁹

Newman also received correspondence from Phillipps concerning the incident, and being a friend of parties he was compelled to act as a mediator. Writing three letters to Phillipps⁵³⁰ Newman attempted to defuse the disagreement.⁵³¹ However, he also outlined his concerns about the religious questions associated with the Gothic Revival:

As to the matter to which you alluded between Fr Wilfrid and Pugin, not to say yourself, it grieves me much to think that there should be somewhere so great a misunderstanding. ...

If I had any right to criticize the conduct of many excellent men, men far more useful in their generation and holy than I am, I could say much about the grief I feel at the neglect I see, of that so good and true maxim, in necessariis unitas *in dubiis libertas*. How is it, My dear Mr Phillipps that you understand this so clearly in doctrinal questions, yet are slow to admit it in ritual?⁵³²

⁵²⁸ Pugin, letter to Phillipps, cited in M. Trappes-Lomax, Pugin, op. cit., 221.

⁵²⁹ R. Chapman, Father Faber, Durns and Oates, London, 1962, 183-185.

Phillipps' "curse" is noted in a letter transcribed in Newman's Letters and Diaries:

Father Faber, God for your pride destroyed and brought to nought for your first effort: He will curse you and destroy *your order*, and it will perish ... if you go on thus.

(J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., vol. XII, 216).

⁵³⁰ J. H. Newman, letters to Ambrose Phillipps, 3 June 1848, 6 June 1848 and 15 June 1841, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., 212-213, 216-217 and 219-222.

⁵³¹ J. H. Newman, letters to Ambrose Phillipps, 3 June 1848, 6 June 1848 and 15 June 1841, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., 212-213, 216-217 and 219-222.

⁵³² J. H. Newman, letter to Ambrose Phillipps, 3 June 1848, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, op. cit., 212-213.

Newman presented a *via media* between the Gothic and Roman parties. He argued that Gothic was the most appropriate style for church building in England, but also maintained that it must be made compatible with the contemporary requirements of the Church:

... while the ritual has changed, the architecture has not kept pace with it ... Gothic is now like an old dress, which fitted a man well twenty years back but must be altered to fit him now. It was once the perfect expression of the Church's ritual in those places in which it was in use; it is not the perfect expression now. *It must be altered in detail* to become that expression. That is, it must be treated with a freedom which Mr Pugin will not allow. I wish to wear it, but I wish to alter it, or rather I wish *him* to alter it; not that we do not feel the greatest admiration of the Gothic style, but that we will not allow details which were proper in England in the middle ages, to be points of faith now. Now for Oratorians, the birth of the 16th century, to assume the architecture simple and unconditionally of the 13th, would be as absurd as their putting on the cowl of the Dominicans or adopting the tonsure of the Carthusians. We do not want a cloister or a chapter room but an Oratory. I, for one, believe that Gothic can be adapted, developed into the requisitions of an Oratory. Mr. Pugin does not ... Our Padre Ceremoniere tells me that the rigid observance of Gothic details is inconsistent with the Rubrics – that he must break the Rubrics if he would not break with Mr Pugin; which is he to give up, Mr Pugin or the Rubrics?⁵³³

The controversy sparked a debate about the propriety of Gothic architecture in the pages of The Rambler. Again Rood Screens came to stand as a focal point embodying the ecclesiological differences between the Goth and Roman parties. On 29 July 1848 the first part of an article against screens appeared over the alias by-line "X."⁵³⁴ The editor added to the article an invitation for further contributions "on either side of the question". A long debate ensued with a series of contributions, mostly hostile to the

⁵³³ J. H. Newman, letter to Ambrose Phillipps, 15 June 1848, in J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, loc. cit.

⁵³⁴ "Rood Screens" in The Rambler, 29 July 1848, vol. II, 293-297.

Puginian model, appearing over the various initials “X.”, “Q.”, “Y.”, “S.”, “T.W.M.”, “H.”, “Z.” and “B.B.”.⁵³⁵

Having initially refused to join the controversy Pugin eventually broke his silence with two short articles which he contributed to the Weekly Register and The Tablet.⁵³⁶ However, these were followed by a more substantial work which he intended to prove the authenticity of his position, A Treatise on chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification (1851).⁵³⁷ That the questions involved were not only ones of architectural polemic Pugin made clear in the introduction to the treatise:

The subject on which I am about to treat is one of far more importance than the generality of men may be willing to admit; it is not a mere question of architectural detail, respecting a few mullions and a transverse beam, but it involves great principles connected with discipline, and even faith ...⁵³⁸

He argues that demarcation of the sanctuary, as a sacred space set apart for the sacrifice of the Mass, was practice deriving from the early Church, and cites Eusebius to demonstrate that the sanctuary existed as an enclosed entity by at least the third century, if not earlier.⁵³⁹ Accordingly the Chancel Screen was intended to “impress on the minds

⁵³⁵ “The Revival of Rood Screens” in The Rambler, 5 August 1848, vol. II, 316-320. “The Revival of Rood Screens” in The Rambler, 12 August 1848, vol. II, 343-347. “On Rood Screens” in The Rambler, 19 August 1848, vol. II, 366-368. “Rood Screens” in The Rambler, 26 August 1848, vol. II, 387-388. “Screens and the Quarant’ Ore”, “Rood Screens” and “Rood Screens” in The Rambler, October 1848 [the journal has now become a monthly], vol. III, 141-143. “Rood Screens” in The Rambler, November 1848, vol. III, 212-222. “Rood Screens” in The Rambler, December 1848, vol. III, 285-289. “H. in Explanation to T.W.M.” in The Rambler, January 1849, vol. III, 374-376. See also “Modern Church Architecture” in The Rambler, August 1849, vol. IV, 233-236.

⁵³⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, “A defence of the revival of Pointed Ecclesiastical Architecture in reply to some recent attacks”, in Weekly Register, vol. I, 6 October 1849, 145-150. A.W.N. Pugin, “Mr. Pugin and the ‘Rambler’”, in The Tablet, 20 April 1850, 245.

⁵³⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification, Dolman, London, 1851.

⁵³⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, op. cit., 1.

⁵³⁹ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, op. cit., 14.

of the faithful the great sanctity of all connected with the sacrifice of the altar ...”⁵⁴⁰ It is thus the demarcation of this sacred space, and not an intention to impair the view, which Pugin argues to be the principal function of the Chancel Screen. Perhaps mindful of Newman’s comments, Pugin observed that closed screens are only proper to conventual and collegiate choirs,⁵⁴¹ and also suggests that there was precedent for Eucharistic exposition taking place from the Rood Loft.⁵⁴²

After an expansive survey of screens surviving in Spain, Flanders, France, Brittany (entered as a separate category from France) and England (see Fig. VI.4), Pugin turns to consider the reasons contributing to the demise of the Rood Screen. He describes four classes of what he terms “Ambonoclasts”: the Calvinist Ambonoclast (the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century), the Pagan Ambonoclast (Catholics corrupted by worldly concerns), the Revolutionary Ambonoclast (secular Revolutionaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and the Modern Ambonoclast (the Roman party in the Rood Screen controversy). Pugin had criticised the first three of these groupings throughout his architectural career. However, it was, of course, towards a censure of the “Modern Ambonoclasts” that the Treatise on Chancel Screens had been primarily directed. Having fully argued his case for screens upon historical grounds, Pugin turns to satire as a means of ridiculing the position taken by the Romanisers:

THIS character is of comparatively recent creation, ... finding several old women of both sexes had taken a most unaccountable and inexplicable offence at the ancient division of the chancel, and the restoration of the crucifix, which had been so wisely destroyed in the good old days of Queen Bess, they profited by the occasion to increase the sale of a periodical. ... at first they did not exhibit any repugnance to pointed churches, which they rather lauded, and only took objection to certain upright mullions and painful images; but they speedily

⁵⁴⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, op. cit., 12.

⁵⁴¹ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, op. cit., 13.

⁵⁴² A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, op. cit., 19.

developed other propensities and ideas, and latterly have exhibited symptoms almost similar to hydrophobia at the sight, or even mention, of pointed arches or pillars. The principal characteristics of modern ambonoclasts may be summed up as follows: - Great irritability at vertical lines, muntans of screens, or transverse beams and crosses; a perpetual habit of abusing the finest works of Catholic antiquity and art, and exulting in the admiration of everything debased, and modern, and trumpery; an inordinate propensity for candles and candlesticks, which they arrange in every possible variety;⁵⁴³ they require great excitement in the way of lively, jocular, and amatory tunes at divine service, and exhibit painful distress at the sound of solemn chanting or plain song; at divine worship they require to sit facing the altar, and near the pulpit, and then, if the edifice be somewhat like a fish-market, with a hot-water pipe at their feet, a gas-pipe in the vicinity, and a stove in the rear, they can realize a somewhat Italian atmosphere in cold and cheerless England, and revive some sparks of that devotion that the gloomy vaulting of Westminster and the odious pillars of a new rood screen had well nigh deprived them of.⁵⁴⁴

Responding to the criticism that he placed architectural propriety above liturgical requirement, Pugin concludes the work by arguing that the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive. His final remarks come close to a recognition of the *via media* suggested by Newman:

Our churches should now combine all the beauty and symbolism of antiquity with every convenience that modern discovery has suggested, or altered ecclesiastical discipline requires. ... Above all, we must remember that everything old is not an object of imitation – everything new is not to be rejected. If we work on these golden principles, the revival would be a living monument, as it was in the days of old; and that God may grant us means to carry it out, that he will enlighten the hearts of the obdurate, and unite the faithful in one great bond of exertion for the revival of the long-lost glory of his church, sanctuary, and altar, is the earnest prayer of the writer of this book.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ Pugin is referring to the decorations for *Quarant' Ore* (the Clementine Instruction requiring that no fewer than forty candles be burnt on the altar).

⁵⁴⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, op. cit., 98-99.

⁵⁴⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, op. cit., 122-124.

The Rood Screen Controversy took place at a crucial period in the church's development in England, and it reflected broader concerns about the character which the Church was to adopt. Trappes-Lomax provides a succinct description of the ecclesiological questions involved in the debate:

The opposing parties did not, as it were, speak the same language: they were 'Romans' and 'Goths': the controversy was the whole difference between them.

The matter of screens, which had started as but an incident, took on a wholly exaggerated importance. The antagonists argued vehemently as to the necessity, advisability, or possibility of screens, as though screens were the main object in view. But the point at issue was whether Renaissance Italian or Mediæval English ideas were to prevail in Catholicism in England.⁵⁴⁶

This ecclesiological battle took place just at the same time as the Catholic Church was established in England under the Ordinary jurisdiction of Bishops. The Holy See responded to growing agitation for an episcopal hierarchy, which had been given added weight through the expansion of Catholic numbers in England, and in 1850 issued a "*Litterae Apostolicae quibus Hierarchia Episcopalis in Anglia Restituitur*".⁵⁴⁷ Bishop Wiseman was created the first metropolitan, as Archbishop of Westminster, and for good measure he was also granted the cardinalatial hat. On 7 October he addressed his provocative pastoral announcing the restoration "from without the Flaminian Gate":

... his Holiness was further pleased to appoint us, though most unworthy, to the archiepiscopal see of Westminster, established by the above-mentioned Letters Apostolic, giving us at the same time the administration of the episcopal see of Southwark. So that at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex as ordinary thereof,

⁵⁴⁶ M. Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, op. cit., 225-226.

⁵⁴⁷ E. Norman, *The English Catholic Church*, op. cit., 103.

and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction.⁵⁴⁸

The triumphalist and authoritarian language of the letter was not calculated to secure a smooth reception amongst the English public. The tone of the letter seemed to reflect traditional concerns about the temporal pretensions of the papacy. The Times strongly criticised the supposed “papal aggression”, and declared that “The Pope and his advisors ... have mistaken the renovated zeal of the Church in this country for a return towards Roman bondage”.⁵⁴⁹ The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham, Benjamin Disraeli, and even Queen Victoria, were among those who reacted strongly against the restoration.⁵⁵⁰ The Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, wrote in a public letter to the Bishop of Durham:

There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome – a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and individual sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen’s supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation.⁵⁵¹

Following the incident in which his vestments had been censured by Rome, Pugin was strongly in favour of the Restoration of the Hierarchy, believing that the Vicars Apostolic came under undue influence from the Congregation of Propaganda.⁵⁵² In a letter to Bloxam he had suggested that Ordinary jurisdiction would enable the Church to take on a more English character:

Ireland has a hierarchy and jesuits & propaganda have necessarily Little influence.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁸ N. Wiseman, “Out of the Flaminian Gate” in G.M. Young and W.D. Handcock (eds), English Historical Documents 1833-1874, vol. XII (1), Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1956, 365.

B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, op. cit., vol. II, 283.

⁵⁴⁹ E. Norman, The English Catholic Church, op. cit., 104.

⁵⁵⁰ See E. Norman, The English Catholic Church, op. cit., 103-104.

⁵⁵¹ E. Norman, The English Catholic Church, op. cit., 104.

⁵⁵² See E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Philipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. II, 219-224.

⁵⁵³ Magdalen College Archive, Oxford, MS. 528/11, 10 January 1841.

Following a meeting in his home town of Ramsgate, at which the Papal aggression had been strongly criticised, Pugin wrote An Address to the Inhabitants of Ramsgate (1850) in which he argued for religious toleration:

I come forward you as an English Catholic, both to protest against an attempt to infringe my rights and privileges, and to endeavour to set before you the real bearing of the question that has caused so much excitement. Religious freedom, in its full acceptance, is a fundamental principle of the laws by which this country is governed. It is a comparatively new principle, a creation of this very century, and it owes its creation to the necessities of the times; but I believe it is one of the main causes of our present power and prosperity.⁵⁵⁴

Pugin also believed that the lessening of State control over the Anglican Church had brought about beneficial effects:

the Established Church has exhibited a most marked improvement in all respects, since it has been left somewhat more to its own resources ...

It was primarily to this subject that Pugin was to devote himself when, in 1851, he wrote An Earnest Address, on the Establishment of the Hierarchy.⁵⁵⁵ By the end of the decade, Pugin's attitude towards the Church of England had completely changed. He no longer attacked the institution, as he had done in Contrasts (1836, 1841) and the Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial (1839), but instead presented a more sympathetic view of Anglican history, which was partly informed through his historical researches.

Whilst maintaining that the Church of England contained "within her pale some of the greatest opponents against whom we have to contend", Pugin nonetheless adopted a sympathetic and evangelistic approach towards the whole communion at large:

⁵⁵⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, An Address to the Inhabitants of Ramsgate, Dolman, London, 1850, [3].

⁵⁵⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, An Earnest Address, on the Establishment of the Hierarchy, Dolman, London, 1851. Reissued by Pugin's son, Edward Pugin, as: A.W.N. Pugin, Church and State; or Christian Liberty: An Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy, Longmans, London, 1875.

It is not for those who have gained the ship of Peter, and ride securely in the storm, to mock the unwearied efforts of those good and earnest souls who yet man the shattered bark of England's church, brought among Protestant shoals by its old Catholic commanders, and who still, amid *mutiny* and *oppression*, yet labour to guide her to a haven of safety: and I will say that, battered as is that old hull, it is a great *breakwater* between the raging waves of infidelity and Catholic truth in this land; that it has held so long together, under so many disadvantages and difficulties, must be a work of Divine Providence for some great end which remains to be developed.⁵⁵⁶

Like the Tractarians, through whom his attitude to the Church of England had been so influenced, Pugin pointed to Anglican Divines of the seventeenth century as a model of Catholicity. For him these stood out against the corruption then seen in the Roman Church of that period:

We must not forget that many noble foundations and works of charity and piety, worthy of the brightest time of Catholic spirit, date from the seventeenth century, and when we consider that the prince bishops of Liege and Germany were employing the vast resources of their dioceses in laying out terraces, forming artificial canals and fountains, and paganizing their palaces, while the towers of their cathedrals were stunted and incomplete, the names of Hacket and Cosin may awaken a grateful remembrance in a Catholic heart.⁵⁵⁷

However, the continued influence of "modern paganism" was not seen as evidence against the Catholic Church, but rather as a challenge for internal reform. Writing to Minton, Pugin maintained that men all too often judged Catholicism by the vehicles through which it operated rather than by the intrinsic nature of its religion:

The present state of things in a Christian country is afflicting, and it all proceeds from men not being able to separate the temporal tyranny of Catholic States from the religion itself, which suffers all the odium of the system to which one was bound up and tied.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, *Church and State*, op. cit., 21-22.

⁵⁵⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, *Church and State*, op. cit., 22-23.

⁵⁵⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, letter to Minton, cited in B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 265.

This is surely evidence of an advanced ecclesiological sensibility in which ecclesial structures are recognised as being subject to defect whilst the *ecclesia* itself remains as an unblemished bride.⁵⁵⁹

As far as the Roman Church was concerned, one of Pugin's most controversial assertions was that it was not Protestant heresy so much as Catholic degeneracy which had enabled the English Reformation to take place:

At that period, as I have shown, the old priests, about whose orders there is not a shadow of doubt, were actually engaged in all the measures of the state and in the destruction of our most glorious monuments and most sacred shrines. The four most Puritan bishops of Edward VI.'s reign had all been superiors of monastic establishments, and had broken every vow they had ever made. These old clergy were married in violation of their solemn engagements; their successors never entered into them, and consequently are free from the scandal.⁵⁶⁰

This marks a substantial change of attitude and historical interpretation since the publication of Pugin's previous treatment of the subject in the Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial (1839). His continued reading of histories such as Burnet's The History of the Reformation of the Church of England (1730-1733), Collier's An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain (1703) and Heylyn's Ecclesia Restaurata (1611) had obviously aided him in developing a more subtle view of the period.⁵⁶¹ Perhaps following Richard Hooker's (c.1554-1600) line, Pugin developed an argument that the Church of England was neither wholly Catholic nor wholly Protestant but contained facets of both:

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. Rev. 22:17 and Eph. 1:4; 5:27.

⁵⁶⁰ A.W.N. Pugin, Church and State, op. cit., 22.

⁵⁶¹ G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Dublin, 1730.

J. Collier, An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Keele, London, 1708.

P. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata; or, the History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Twyford, London, 1611.

It contains contending elements of good and evil, of Catholic faith and Protestant error, that were generated at the schism and which must go on till one or other is triumphant. Either the Catholic element will prevail, and the body of the Church return to its mother; or, which is almost too sad to imagine, the Protestant element will expel all Catholic ritual, rubric, and practices from her ordinals, drive from her pale every faithful child, and then what remains will collapse, like an expended balloon[, and go out with a stench]. But we will hope for better things; and, after all, the present state of affairs is certainly not worse, if not a great deal better than they were in the sixteenth century.⁵⁶²

Thus there were two possible ends for the Church of England, one extinction, the other union with Rome. The advent of the Oxford Movement meant that the seemingly impossible now appeared a little more possible and it was not only Pugin who was seriously discussing Catholic reunion with the Church of England.

Whilst penning his tract on the Restoration of the Hierarchy in the winter of 1850-1851 he conceived the idea of writing his own history of the Reformation which would form a revaluation of both the Catholic and the Anglican positions. The finished version of An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy (1851) contains a passage demonstrating that this work was then in progress:

It is impossible, in the compass of this short address, to enter into the historical details connected with this important period, and which I have shortly to set forth at length, in a treatise, which I am preparing on the English schism. ...⁵⁶³

The volume also carried an advertisement for the work which shows that Pugin believed himself to be engaged in an impartial and revisionist study:⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶² A.W.N. Pugin, Church and State, op. cit., 22. The portion in square brackets is derived from Pugin's original 1851 edition, but is omitted in E. Pugin's 1875 edition.

⁵⁶³ A.W.N. Pugin, Church and State, op. cit., 16.

⁵⁶⁴ A.W.N. Pugin, An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy, Dolman, London, 1851, verso to title-page.

Preparing for Press.

A NEW VIEW OF AN OLD SUBJECT;

OR, THE

ENGLISH SCHISM

IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED.

By A. WELBY PUGIN.

The work obviously reached a fairly advanced state as Ferrey states

A prospectus of this work, entitled 'An Apology for the Church of England' was printed, but never circulated; the contents of the book were classified in chapters with their headings, from which it might be gathered that his opinions had undergone considerable change, and more charitable interpretations were now placed upon historical events which had formerly extorted from him expressions of strong condemnation.⁵⁶⁵

Moreover Edward Pugin included a note in the Longman 1875 edition of Pugin's tract on the establishment of the hierarchy stating that "A large portion of this work [i.e. the Apology for the Church of England] has lately been discovered, and will shortly be issued."⁵⁶⁶ Unfortunately this was not to be so, and the only surviving fragment of the study is that which is cited in Purcell's appendix to Ferrey.⁵⁶⁷

As usual Pugin had set to his new project with no little degree of fervour. He intended it to wipe away prejudice from both sides of the debate and even aid towards a conciliation of churches. Ferrey cites a letter of early 1851 which is addressed to Minton, the manufacturer, in which Pugin makes great claims for his project

⁵⁶⁵ B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 266.

⁵⁶⁶ A.W.N. Pugin, *Church and State*, op. cit., verso title-page.

⁵⁶⁷ E.S. Purcell, "An Appendix: In which the Writings and Character of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin are considered in their Catholic Aspect" in B. Ferrey, *Recollections*, op. cit., 450-453.

I am almost distracted, for in addition to all other labours, I have a most important work on the real cause of the change of religion in the 16th century, which will place matters in a totally new light, otherthrow the present opinions on both sides, and may be the means of tending to much mutual charity on both sides, and a better understanding.⁵⁶⁸

Whether Pugin could have stilled his strong sartorial wit for long enough to work such a feat remains uncertain, however, he was not incapable of this and his “conciliating manners” to which Bloxam once referred may have won through.⁵⁶⁹

During an illness in 1852 Pugin appears to have been greatly concerned with the prospect of corporate reunion. Ferrey gives an account of an extremely sad hallucination suffered by Pugin which is illustrative of this:

During the dreadful malady which afflicted him, one of his hallucinations was, that there had been a perfect reconciliation between the separated Churches, and in the course of one night he wrote upwards of sixty pages to his cousin Sibthorp, respecting the union of the Churches, stating that he could now again embrace his previously unfortunate brother – that there was now but one Church – no distinct Roman Catholic, Anglican, nonconformist, or other denomination ...⁵⁷⁰

If Pugin had lived he might well have been remembered not only as the volatile artist-author of Contrasts (1836, 1841) but also as an historian of some ability. Despite the fact that his relations with the Church of England had rested upon an anti-Protestant framework, he might even have been heralded a precursor of modern ecumenism, and thought of as one who after a short period of anti-Anglicanism following his conversion worked earnestly for the restoration of unity between Churches on the basis of their common Catholicity. However, this was not to be, and Pugin’s untimely death in

Purcell appears confused, and erroneously attributed a quantity of material from Pugin’s Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy to the Apology for the Church of England. However, we may presume that the texts which he cites that do not appear in the former work belonged to the latter.

⁵⁶⁸ A.W.N. Pugin, letter to Minton, cited in B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 265.

⁵⁶⁹ J.R. Bloxam, letter to A. Phillipps, cited in E.S. Purcell, Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, op. cit., vol. I, 227-228.

September 1852 meant that his Apology for the Church of England was thus never to be finished. In providing a summary of Pugin's final position on the Church of England it would perhaps be best to let him speak for himself. He concludes the Apology for the Church of England with an exhortation to charity:

... let us then always speak and think with gratitude of the old bridge that had brought us over, and lend a pious help to restore her time-worn piers, wasted by the torrents of dissent and infidelity, and what is worse, internal decay by rotten stones, but which God in his mercy, beyond our human understanding appears yet to sustain, and to make it the marvel of some of the most zealous men that have appeared since the ancient glory of the Church in the pious early times. Pax omnibus. Amen.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷⁰ B. Ferrey, Recollections, op. cit., 266.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

Exhausted by frenzied work and controversy, and weakened through slowly deteriorating mental stability, Pugin lapsed into decline. Following long spells of illness throughout 1852, and a period of detention in Bedlam Hospital, he finally died on the 14 September. Pugin, having only attained his fortieth year of age, was buried in his Abbey Church of St. Augustine in Ramsgate. Entombed within the splendour of his Gothic Chantry Chapel, Pugin reposes within an apparition of restored mediæval Catholicism. It is a vision of the past which it had seemed to Pugin that it was not only possible, but morally necessary, to rediscover. Strangely enough, Pugin shared the common Victorian belief in human progress, but whereas the general trend was to perceive the nineteenth century as the zenith of an interminable human march, Pugin looked to the Middle Ages as the summit of man's Godly civilization. When Pugin told Lord Shrewsbury that "England is certainly not what it was in 1440 but the thing to be done is to *bring it back to that era*", he was making a religious as well as an artistic assertion.⁵⁷² However, whilst he was to prove extremely effective in altering the visible face of English Catholicism, and his church buildings were formative in constructing a subconscious ecclesial identity, Pugin did not succeed in changing the disposition of Catholicism's 'soul'.

The initial success of the Gothic Revival within the Catholic Church should be recognised within the broader context of an emergence of a revivalist spirit prompted in part by concerns over national identity. Pugin confused the mirrored symptoms of this revival within his own Church for the signs of a spiritual resuscitation which in reality

⁵⁷¹ A.W.N. Pugin, cited in E.S. Purcell, "An Appendix", op. cit., 453.

⁵⁷² Pugin letter to Shrewsbury, [5 January 1841], transcribed in A. Wedgwood, A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family.op. cit., 103.

was never to take place. There was to be no true renaissance of mediæval English spirituality in the nineteenth century. Towards the end of his life Pugin had become disillusioned with the progress of the revival, complaining that the churches which he built did little good for want of men who knew how to use them.⁵⁷³

Whilst from place to place the cult of a local saint may have been revived, and some notion of pious times past when all Englishmen had been Catholics persisted, the majority of English Catholics never had as strong a conception of their mediæval history as Pugin would have wished. Before the Roman Church's reinvention of itself in the 1960s, most English Catholics found a grounding for a national ecclesial identity not so much in the Middle Ages, as in the Reformation and recusant periods, when the martyrs had shed their blood in defence of the Papal supremacy, and allegiance to Rome had been the defining mark of Catholicity.

In the second half on the nineteenth century the pressing necessities of the cure of souls, the ministration of the sacraments, education and social provision were to have first call upon the purse strings of the Catholic Church. Outlining his vision for the Church's future after his creation as Archbishop of Westminster Wiseman wrote:

Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, and alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity, and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness, and disease; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera; in which swarms a huge and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally at least, Catholic; haunts of filth, which no sewage committee can reach – dark corners, which no lighting-board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which alone I covet, and which

⁵⁷³ See Pugin letter to Phillipps cited in E.S. Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, op. cit., vol. II, 214.

The letter is undated but Belcher attributes it to 18 December 1840 and this fits with references contained within the text (M. Belcher, *A.W.N. Pugin*, op. cit., 373).

I shall be glad to claim and to visit, as a blessed pasture in which the sheep of holy Church
are to be tended ...⁵⁷⁴

Realising the poverty suffered by many of their flocks, the bishops shared Wiseman's concern and placed a strong emphasis upon the Church's pastoral mission. Preaching in 1852, amid the glory of Pugin's chapel at Oscott, Newman suggested to the Fathers of the first Provincial Synod of Westminster the character which the restored Catholic Church was to adopt in England:

Canterbury has gone its way, and York is gone, and Durham is gone, and Winchester is gone. It was sore to part with them. We clung to the vision of past greatness, and would not believe it could come to nought; but the Church in England has died, and the Church lives again. Westminster and Nottingham, Beverley and Hexham, Northampton and Shrewsbury, if the world lasts, shall be names as musical to the ear ...⁵⁷⁵

Newman's sermon was metaphoric, and alluded more to Church building, than to church building. It was both a concern and an image which was to be taken up in the synod's *Epistola Synodica* addressed to the Catholics of England:

The first, and paramount subject, on which we desire to speak to you, as fathers, conveying to their children the dearest wishes and interests of their hearts, is – the EDUCATION OF THE POOR. ... The habit of divine faith gives a solid groundwork for the building which has to be raised; and simple instruction, line upon line, raises it up to the required measure, without hindrance, or opposition. ... If we wish to have a generation of Catholics to succeed the present one, we must educate it: or others will snatch it up, before our eyes. If we determine to educate it, it must be with all the means and pains necessary to cope, first with the efforts made to defeat our purpose, and then with the dangers and temptations, that will beset those

⁵⁷⁴ N. Wiseman, An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy, Richardson, London, 1850, 30-31.

⁵⁷⁵ J.H. Newman, "The Second Spring" in Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, Burns and Oates, London, 6th edn. 1887, 177-178.

on whom we bestow this heavenly boon. In other words, our education must be up to the mark of modern demand, and yet it must be solid in faith and in piety.⁵⁷⁶

The stylistic controversies of the 1840s and the early '50s subsided once the Church had succeeded in consolidating a cohesive identity within England. When Pugin died, so too died the principal champion of the neo-medieval cause within the English Catholic Church. The Romanisers were the ultimate victors in shaping the outlook of the Church, and the Catholic community came to recognise itself not as 'English Catholic', but as 'Roman Catholic'. This was perhaps inevitable. The strong Irish presence within the Church from the 1840s meant that shared identity between Catholics was experienced not as fellow Englishmen, but as fellow 'Romans'.⁵⁷⁷ The restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 marked a point from which the English Church could be said to have assumed a fresh self-perception, and it consolidated the shift towards Roman practice taking place during the 1840s. Under the strong leadership of Cardinal Wiseman, Catholics looked not only to the Roman Pontiff, but also to Roman ecclesiological models as expressions of their Catholic unity.

Although the Gothic style continued to be employed within the Catholic Church, this was as much a response to the wider prevalence of the Gothic Revival, as it was to Pugin's individual contribution. By and large Pugin's architectural successors showed little concern for the moral aspects of his theory, and whilst pious romantic notions of restoring the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages endured, these lacked the ecclesiological vitality and rigour of the Puginian neo-medievalist model. Newman was to see his wish fulfilled for a Gothic dress fitted to match the needs of the times, and "details which were proper in the middle ages" were no longer treated as "points of

⁵⁷⁶ *Acta et Decreta Primi Concilii Provincialis Westmonasteriensis: Habiti Deo Adjuvante Mense Julio,*

faith” after Pugin’s death.⁵⁷⁸ Recalling Catholic practice of the turn of the twentieth century in his autobiography, Ronald Knox wrote of how Catholics appeared to be uninterested in questions of style. He found it necessary to explain to his Catholic readership the ecclesiological connotations which style still continued to signify within the Anglican Church:

I was then, as I say, still in a fever of enthusiasm for the Gothic in architecture, the mediæval in church furniture and devotional atmosphere. Catholics, accustomed to worship at Downside or at the Oratory indifferently, will not easily realize the extent to which in the Church of England the mediævalist movement has been captured and exploited by a comparatively moderate party. Broadly speaking (of course there are exceptions), “Gothic” and “Renaissance” accessories symbolise a difference not of taste but of view ...⁵⁷⁹

It has been the intention of this thesis to examine the development of Pugin’s religious beliefs, and also to articulate how they were the foundation of both his art and his writing. Whilst this study is by no means exhaustive, and a plethora of further evidence could be called upon to corroborate what has been said, the premise of the work would remain the same: that Pugin’s life had led him on a journey in which he came to believe that mankind had realised a broadly Christian society in the Middle Ages, that the arts were the expression of humanity’s soul, and that a restoration of Catholic civilisation could be aided by, and would necessarily result in, a restoration of mediæval art, architecture and music.

Pugin never drank, nor smoked, he had few diversions save sailing, took little interest in personal comfort or appearance, and was little impressed by the claims of wealth and

MDCCCLII, in *Collegio S. Mariæ*, apud *Oscott* ..., Minge, Paris, 1853, 113-114.

⁵⁷⁷ See M. Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England*, op. cit., 141.

⁵⁷⁸ J. H. Newman, letter to Ambrose Phillipps, 15 June 1848, in J.H. Newman, *Letters and Diaries*, op. cit., vol XII, 221.

⁵⁷⁹ R. Knox, *A Spiritual Acneid*, Burns and Oates, London, 1950 (first edition, 1918), 62.

station. He worked relentlessly, often pausing only for food and prayer, and his prodigious *œuvre* was the product of just the seventeen short years in which he lived as a Catholic.⁵⁸⁰ He devoted his life entirely to the realisation of one idea, to the revival of a Roman Church rooted in the fertile tradition of mediæval English Catholicism. Even the softening of Pugin's vision of the Church of England was consistent with life-long endeavour, as he came to hope that the Anglo-Catholic revival might contribute to the restoration of mediæval Catholicism, through the destruction of Anglican Protestantism.

However history may have judged his churchmanship, and however it may come to judge it, it is undeniable that Pugin firmly believed himself to be working for the realisation of a transcendent reality. Ultimately it should be recognised that above all else Pugin was a Catholic artist. For his was not the ponderous thought of the theologian, nor the pragmatism of a Roman cleric, but the vision of an author seeking to create a realisation of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Believing that both Divine truth and Divine beauty were articulated in Gothic 'Christian Art', Pugin's own art, architecture, and writing were attempts to capture "in a mirror dimly" an earthly reflection of God Himself.⁵⁸¹ Replying to an address of the students of St. Edmund's College praising his "constant exertions in the revival of the real glory of art", Pugin revealed both his deep personal humility, and his profound sense of vocation as an instrument of the Divine Architect:

It is a privilege and a blessing to work in the sanctuary. The majesty of the vast churches of antiquity is owing to the sublime mysteries of the Christian Faith and the solemnity of its rites.

"Downside" - the Benedictine Abbey built by Pugin.

"The [London] Oratory" - built in a Baroque style by Herbert Gribble (1870s-1880s).

⁵⁸⁰ See J. Powell, "Pugin in his Home", op. cit.

The ancient builders felt this. They knew the small share they could claim in the glories they produced, and their humility exceeded their skill. How unbecoming would it be, then, for any man at the present time to exult where works are after all but faint copies of ancient excellence. God has certainly permitted me to become an instrument in drawing attention to long forgotten principles, but the merit of these belongs to older and better days. I still enter even the humblest erections of Catholic antiquity as a disciple to the school of his master, and for all that is produced we must cry in most bounden duty, "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam".⁵⁸²

⁵⁸¹ By 1850 Pugin had come to call Gothic architecture not merely "Christian" or "Catholic", but "Divine" architecture (See A.W.N. Pugin, Some Remarks, op. cit., 16).

⁵⁸² The Students of St. Edmund's College, Ware, cited in B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, vol. I, op. cit., 265 and A.W.N. Pugin cited in B. Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, vol. I, op. cit., 266.

"Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the glory" (Vulgate Psalm 113).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Balliol College Archive, Oxford

- Designs for the new buildings at BALLIOL set forth by A W Pugin AD 1843
- Correspondence and papers concerning the rebuilding. MSS. D21.
- Oakeley autobiography. MS. 408.
- Jenkyn's copy of Fellow's memorial concerning the employment of Pugin. MS. Jenkyns I.
- College Register.
- Photographs of Pugin Designs.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

- Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture correspondence. MS. Dep.c.589.
- Letter from Pugin to Wilberforce [?]. MS. Wilberforce d.14 (fol.137).
- A.C. Pugin drawings of Oxford. MS. Top. Oxon.A.35-9.
- Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. 3 vols.

British Library, London

- A.W.N. Pugin, Contrasts (1836) with MS. Preface, preparatory drawings, and additional drawings inserted by Pugin. Classmark C.61.k.8.

Magdalen College Archive, Oxford

- Pugin – Bloxam correspondence, E. Pugin – Bloxam correspondence and Pugin Obituaries MSS.528.
- Pugin gateway commission. MSS. 125 and MSS. FA7/3/1AD/1.
- Tubney Church commission. MSS. 743.

National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (N.A.L.)

- Drawings and MSS. of A.W.N. Pugin from the V&A. Microfilm M902558.
- Recently acquired MS. material on the Pugin family. MS. 304.E.

National Monuments Record (N.M.R.), Swindon

- National photographic archive.
- Illustrated Particulars with Plans of the Agricultural and Sporting Property known as the Alton Estate.

Ushaw College Archive, Durham

- Pugin correspondence, Pugin drawings and E. Pugin correspondence MSS. OM/PU.
- Pugin papers relating to building of St. Cuthbert's Chapel, Ushaw MS. UCH 53.

II. LEGISLATIVE SOURCES

18 Geo. III (1778)

“Debate in the Commons on Sir George Savile's Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholics”, in Parliamentary History of England, vol. xxi, Johnson Reprint Co., U.S.A., 1966.

18 Geo. III (1778)

“An Act for relieving His Majesty's Subjects professing the popish religion ...,” in Statutes at Large, vol. xxxii.

20 Geo. III (1780)

“Debate in the Commons on the Bill for Securing the Protestant Religion,” in Parliamentary History of England, vol. xix, Johnson Reprint Co., U.S.A., 1966.

30 Geo. III c.32 (1791)

“An Act to relieve ... from certain penalties ... persons professing the popish religion,” in Statutes at Large, vol. xxxvii.

10 Geo. IV c.7 (1829)

“An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects,” in Statutes at Large, vol. lxix.

Chronological Table of the Statutes covering the period 1235 to the end of 1975,
H.M.S.O., London, 1975.

Index to the Statutes Covering the Legislation to 31 December 1983,
H.M.S.O., London, 1985.

The Statutes at Large: Anno tricesimo secundo Georgii III Regis: Being the second session of the 17th Parliament of Great Britain,
vol. xxxvii, part iii, 1971.

The Statutes of the United Kingdom: 18 and 19 Victoria, 1854 - 1855,
H.M. Printers, London, 1855.

III. NINETEENTH-CENTURY PAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Gentleman's Magazine

Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette

Punch

Salisbury and Wiltshire Herald

The Builder

The Dublin Review

The Ecclesiologist

The Illustrated London News

The Orthodox Journal

The Rambler

The Tablet

IV. UNPUBLISHED THESISES AND PAPERS

Bertram, J., Catholic Churches and Religious Buildings of the Nineteenth Century, 1996.

Nockles, P.B., The Oxford Movement, the Reformation and the Seventeenth-Century Divines: The Tractarian and Anti-Tractarian Use and Misuse of Earlier Anglican History.

Stanton, P., Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival,
Ph.D., London (1950).

V. PUBLISHED BOOKS

Acta et Decreta Primi Concilii Provincialis Westmonasteriensis,
Migne, Paris, 1853.

A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customes belonging or beinge within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression,
Surtees Society, 1842.

Addington, R. (ed.), Faber Poet and Priest: Selected Letters by Frederick William Faber 1833-1863,
Brown, Glamorgan, 1974.

Adelmann, D., The Contribution of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839 - 1862,
Ashgate, Aldershot, 1997.

Addis, W.E. and Arnold, T. (eds), A Catholic Dictionary,
Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1917.

Allibone, A.S., A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors, Living, Deceased, from the earliest accounts to the middle of the Nineteenth Century,
Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, 1870.

Altholz, J.L., The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The "Rambler" and its Contributors 1848-1864,
Burns and Oates, London, 1962.

Anon, Hints to Some Churchwardens, with a few Illustrations relative to the Repair of Parish Churches,
Rodwell and Martin, London, 1825.

Anson, P., Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840 - 1940,
Faith Press, London, 1960.

Atterbury, P. (ed.), A.W.N. Pugin Master of the Gothic Revival,
Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1995.

Atterbury, P. and C. Wainwright (eds), Pugin: A Gothic Passion,
Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1994.

Barberi, D., The Lamentation of England, or the Prayer of the Prophet Jeremiah applied to the Same,
Cockshaw, Leicester, 1831.

Beard, M., Faith and Fortune,
Gracewing, Leominster, 1997.

Beck, G.A. (ed.), The English Catholics 1850 - 1950,
Burns and Oates, London, 1950.

Belcher, M., A.W.N. Pugin: An Annotated Critical Bibliography,
Mansell publishing Ltd., London, 1987.

Bence-Jones, M., The Catholic Families,
Constable, London, 1992.

Bertram, J., St Aloysius' Parish, Oxford: The Third English Oratory,
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993.

Bogan, B., The Great Link: A History of St George's Cathedral, Southwark 1789-1958,
Burns and Oates, London, 1958.

Borghese, M.A. and G. Talbot (eds), Per Le Faustissime Nozze Dell' EE. LL. D. Marco Antonio Borghese, Principe di Sulmona e Donna Guendelina Talbot dei Conti di Shrewsbury Ec. Ec., Salvincci, Roma, 1835.

Bowden, J.E., The Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber, D.D., Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, Burns and Oates, London, n.d. [preface dated 1869].

Brock, M.G. and M.C. Cuthoys (eds), The History of the University of Oxford: Nineteenth Century Oxford, Part I, vol. VI., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997.

Brooks, M., John Ruskin and Victorian Architecture, Thames and Hudson, London, 1987.

Chadwick, O., The Victorian Church, 2 vols., Adam and Charles Black, London, 1971.

Champ, J., Oscott, Archdiocese of Birmingham Historical Commission, George Street Press, Stafford, 1987.

-----, The English Pilgrimage to Rome, Gracewing, Leominster, 2000.

Chapman, R., Father Faber, Burns and Oates, London, 1962.

Christie and Manson, Catalogue of the Magnificent Contents of Alton Towers, Christie and Manson, London, 1875.

Clark, K., The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste, John Murray, London, 1962.

Clarke, B.F.L., Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1969.

Clifton, M., A Victorian Convert Quintet: Studies in the Faith of Five Leading Victorian Converts to Catholicism from the Oxford Movement, Saint Austin Press, London, 1988.

Colvin, H.M., Unbuilt Oxford, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983.

Combe, W., A History of the University of Oxford, its Colleges, Halls and Public Buildings, 2 vols., Harrison and Leigh, London, 1814.

Cross, F.L. (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.

Couve de Murville, M., John Milner, Archdiocese of Birmingham Historical Commission, George Street Press, Stafford, 1986.

Dale, James Wyatt, Blackwell, Oxford, 1956.

Dixon, R. and S. Muthesius, Victorian Architecture, Thames and Hudson, London, 1978.

Doyle, P., Westminster Cathedral 1895-1995, Chapman, London, 1995.

Duffy, E., Peter and Jack: Roman Catholics and Dissent in eighteenth century England,

Dr. Williams's Trust, London, 1982.

-----, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1850, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992.

Eastlake, C.L., A History of the Gothic Revival: An Attempt to Show How the Taste for Mediæval Architecture which Lingered in England during the last two Centuries has since been Encouraged and Developed, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1872.

Faber, F.W., Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches and Among Foreign Peoples, Rivington, London, 1842.

Felstead, A. (ed.), Dictionary of British Architects, Mansell, London, 1993.

Ferriday, P. (ed.), Victorian Architecture, Jonathan Cape, London, 1963.

Ferrey, B., Recollections of A.W.N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin, Stanford, London, 1861.

Fisher, M. J., Alton Towers: A Gothic Wonderland, M.J. Fisher, Stafford, 1999.

-----, A Vision of Splendour: The Gothic Revival in Staffordshire 1840-1890, Counter Print, Stafford, 1995.

Fosbroke, T.D., British Monachism; or. Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England, Nattali, London, 3rd edn. 1843.

Fothergill, B., Nicholas Wiseman, Gaber and Barber, London, 1963.

Frankl, P., The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations Throughout Eight Centuries, Princeton University Press, Princeton, nd.

Gilley, S., Newman and His Age, Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1990.

-----, "The Legacy of Weilliam Hogarth, 1786-1866" in Recusant History, vol. 25, no. 2, October 2000, 249-262.

-----, "The Roman Catholic Church in England, 1780-1940" in S. Gilley and W.J. Sheils (eds), A History of Religion in Britain, Blackwell, Oxford, 1990.

Gillow, J., A Literary and Biographical History of the English Catholics, Burns and Oates, London, n.d. [Preface 1885].

Girouard, M., The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman, Yale, New Haven, 1981.

-----, The Victorian Country House, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1979.

Gloag, J., Victorian Taste: Some Social Aspects of Architecture and Industrial Design, from 1820 - 1900, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1962.

Gordon-Gorman, W., Biographical List of the More Notable Converts to the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom in the Last Sixty Years, London, 1884.

- Gray, R., Cardinal Manning: A Biography,
Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1985.
- Greenslade, W.U. and D.G. Stuart, A History of Staffordshire,
Phillimore, Sussex, 1984.
- Gwynn, D., Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival,
Hollis and Carter, London, 1946.
- , The Second Spring: A Study of the Catholic Revival in England,
The Catholic Book Club, London, 1944.
- Harper, R.H., Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Architectural Competitions in "The Builder" 1843 - 1900,
Mansell, London, 1983.
- Harries, J., An Illustrated Life of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin,
Maund and Irrinc, Tring, 1973.
- Harris, R.W., Romanticism and the Social Order 1780 - 1830,
Blanford, London, 1969.
- Heimann, M., Catholic Devotion in Victorian England,
Clarendon Press, London, 1995.
- Hemphill, B., The Early Vicars Apostolic of England 1685-1750,
Burns and Oates, London, 1954.
- Hitchcock, H.R., Early Victorian Architecture in Britain,
Yale University Press, New Haven, 1954.
- Hodgetts, M., St Chad's Cathedral Birmingham,
Archdiocese of Birmingham Historical Commission, George Street Press, Stafford, 1987.
- Iddon, J., Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill,
St. Mary's University College, London, 1996.
- Illustrated Particulars with Plans of the Agricultural and Sporting Property known as the Alton Estate ... to be offered for sale by auction., 1918, National Monuments Record: Staffordshire/Alton.
- Jones, J., Balliol College: A History 1263-1939,
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988.
- Lambert, L., The Mediaeval Hospitals of Stafford,
The Service Guild, Manchester, nd.
- Leetham, C.R., Luigi Gentili: A Sower for the Second Spring,
Burns and Oates, London, 1965.
- Leys, M.D.R., Catholics in England 1559-1829: A Social History,
Catholic Book Club, London, 1961.
- Mackerness, E.D., A Social History of English Music,
Mackay, Chatham, 1964.
- Maeyer, J. De and L. Verpoest (eds), Gothic Revival: Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe 1815-1914,
Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium, 7-10 November 1997, Universitaire Pers, Leuven, 2000.
- Marsden, G. (ed), Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth Century Society,
Longman, London, 1990.

Matthew, C., Shorter Oxford History of the British Isles: The Nineteenth Century, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000.

Matthew, D., Catholicism in England: The Portrait of a Minority: Its Culture and Tradition, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1948.

McClelland, V.A. and M. Hodgetts (eds), From Without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales 1850-2000, Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1999.

McEwen, J., The Gothic Road to a New Jerusalem, in The Daily Telegraph, 1994.

Meara, D., A.W.N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses, Biddles, Guilford, 1991.

Middleton, R.D., Newman and Bloxam: An Oxford Friendship, Oxford, University Press, London, 1947.

Milburn, D., A History of Ushaw College: A Study of the Origin, Foundation and Development of an English Catholic Seminary with an Epilogue 1808-1962, Ushaw Bookshop, Durham, 1964.

Milner, J., The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine, Richardson, London, 1843.

Montalembert, C.F. Comte de, De l'État Actuel de l'Art Religieux en France, Paris, 1839.

-----, The Chronicle of the Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, transl. A. Phillipps, Booker and Dolman, London, 1839.

Mordaunt Crook, J., The Dilemma of Style, John Murray, London, 1987.

-----, Victorian Architecture: A Visual Anthology, Johnson Reprint Co., London, 1971.

Mozley, T., Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1882.

Murray, L. and P. Murray, The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996.

Muthesius, S., The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850 - 1870, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Napier, M. and A. Laing (eds), The London Oratory, Trefoil Books, London, 1984.

Newman, J.H., Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a History of His Religious Opinions, Longmans, Freen, Reader and Dyer, London, 1881.

-----, Loss and Gain: The Story of a Convert, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1891.

-----, Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, Burns and Oates, London, 1887.

-----, The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, ed. C.S. Dessain et al., Nelson, 1961-.

-----, Tracts for the Times: Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles (Tract XC),
Tracts for the Times vol. VI.

Nockles, P.B., The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship 1760-1857,
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.

Norman, E.R., Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England,
Allen and Unwin, London, 1968.

-----, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century,
Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1984.

O'Connell, J., Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way: A Study in Liturgical Law,
Burns and Oates, London, 1955.

Palmer, S., Origines Liturgicae, or the Antiquities of the English Ritual and a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies,
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1832.

Parker, J.H., Hand-Book for Visitors to Oxford,
Parker, Oxford, 1847.

Parsons, G. (ed.), Religion in Victorian Britain,
Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988.

Pawley, M., Faith and Family: The Life and Circle of Ambrose Philipps de Lisle,
Canterbury Press, 1997.

Pevsner, N., Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century,
Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972.

-----, An Outline of European Architecture,
Penguin, Hammonds Worth, 1960.

Philipps de Lisle, A., The Catholic Christian's Complete Manual: Being a Collection of Devout Prayers and Offices for all Seasons and Occasions,
Richardson, London, 1847.

-----, On the Future Unity of Christendom,
Dolman, London, 1857.

Poulson, C., The Quest for the Grail: Arthurian Legend in British Art 1840-1920,
Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999.

Pugh, R.B. (ed.), The Victoria History of the County of Staffordshire,
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1970.

Pugin, A.C. and J. Britton, Specimens of the Architecture of Normandy, from the XIth to the XVIth Century,
Blackie and Son, London, "new edition" R.P. Spires (ed.), 1874.

Pugin, A.C., Examples of Gothic Architecture,
2 vols., Bohn, London, 1831-.

-----, Gothic Ornaments Selected from Various Ancient Buildings in England and France,
Tiranti, London, n.d.

Pugin, A.C. and A.W.N. Pugin, Examples of Gothic Architecture: Selected from Various Ancient Edifices in England: Consisting of Plans, Elevations, Selections and Parts at Large; Calculated to Exemplify the Various Styles, and the Practical Construction of the Admired Class of Architecture: Accompanied by Historical and Descriptive Accounts,

Bohn, London, 1839.

Pugin, A.W.N., Contrasts: or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste, Pugin, Salisbury, 1836.

-----, A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, & Latymer addressed to the Subscribers to an Promoters of that Undertaking, Booker and Dolman, London, 1839.

-----, Contrasts: or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Devcay of Taste, Dolman, London, 2nd edn., 1841.

-----, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott, Weale, London, 1841.

-----, Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England, Weale, London, 1843.

-----, "Pugin's Letter on Spires"
in The Rules and Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Easter and Trinity Terms, 1843, 18-27.

-----, The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England, Dolman, London, 1843.

-----, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled from Ancient Authorities and Examples, Bohn, London, 1844.

-----, Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled from Ancient Authorities and Examples, Bohn, London, 2nd edn. enlarged and revised B. Smith, 1846.

-----, An Address to the Inhabitants of Ramsgate, Dolman, London, 1850.

-----, An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain Song, Dolman, London, 1850.

-----, Some Remarks on the Articles which have Recently Appeared in the "Rambler" Relative to Ecclesiastical Architecture and Decoration, Dolman, London, 1850.

-----, A.W.N. Pugin, An Earnest Address, on the Establishment of the Hierarchy, Dolman, London, 1851.

-----, An Earnest Address on the Subject of the Re-establishment of the Hierarchy, Dolman, London, 1851.

-----, A Treatise on Chancel Screens, and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification, Dolman, London, 1851.

-----, A.W.N. Pugin, Church and State, or Christian Liberty: An Earnest Address, on the Establishment of the Hierarchy, Longmans, London, 1875.

-----, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Ornaments, John Grant, Edinburgh, 1904.

Purcell, E.S., Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle,
2 vols., Macmillan and Co., London, 1900.

Rickman, T., An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture,
1817.

Rock, D., Hierurgia; or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, with Notes and Dissertations elucidating its Doctrines and Ceremonies,
2 vols., Brooker, London, 1833.

-----, The Church of Our Fathers as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury with Dissertations on the Belief and Ritual in England before and after the coming of the Normans,
3 vols., Murray, London, 1905.

"Rome's Recruits:" A List of Protestants who have become Catholics since the Tractarian Movement, Re-printed, with numerous additions and corrections, from "The Whitehall Review" of September 28th, October 5th, 12th and 19th, 1878,
The Whitehall Review, 1878.

Rope, H.E.G., Pugin,
Pepler and Sewell, Ditching Hassocks, 1935.

Roulin, E., Vestments & Vesture,
Sands and Co., London, 1931.

Rowell, G., The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities in the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism,
Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991.

Rowlands, M.B., Those Who Have Gone Before Us,
Archdiocese of Birmingham Historical Commission, George Street Press, Stafford, 1989.

Ruskin, J., Lectures on Architecture and Painting,
Routledge, New York, 1907.

-----, The Stones of Venice. Volume the first: The Foundations,
Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1851.

Short, W.G., Pugin's Gem: A History of St Giles Catholic Church Cheadle, Staffordshire,
Webberley, Stoke-on-Trent, 1981.

Simpkinson, C.H., Life and Times of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury,
Murray, London, 1894.

Spencer-Silver, P., Pugin's Builder: The Life and Work of George Myers,
University of Hull Press, Hull, 1993.

Stamp, G. (ed.), Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland,
Architectural Heritage VIII, Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society for Scotland, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1997.

Stanton, P., "The Sources of Pugin's Contrasts",
in J. Summerson (ed), Concerning Architecture, Penguin, London, 1968.

-----, Pugin,
Thames and Hudson, London, 1971.

Southerby and Wilkinson, Catalogue of the Important Library of the Late Eminent Architect A.W. Pugin Esq., Removed from his Residence at Ramsgate,
Southerby and Wilkinson, 1853.

-----, Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Framed Engravings, Drawings and Paintings, of the Late Eminent Architect A.W. Pugin Esq.,
Southerby and Wilkinson, 1853.

-----, Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Mediæval Carvings in Oak, and Other Interesting Objects of Art, of the Late Eminent Architect A.W. Pugin Esq.,
Southerby and Wilkinson, 1853.

Stebbing, G., The Church in England,
Sands and Co., London, 1921.

Stevens Curl, J., Victorian Churches,
Batsford and English Heritage, London, 1995.

Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, J., Carta do Conde de Shrewsbury descriptive da Extatica de Caldaro e da Dolorosa de Capriana,
Mendanha, Porto, 1842.

-----, Diplomatic Relations with Rome: considered ... in a letter ... to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey,
Dolman, London, 1848.

-----, Reasons for Not Taking the Test; for Not Conforming to the Established Church ...,
Brooker, London, 1828.

-----, Suggestions for the Improvement of the Condition of the Labouring Poor,
Brooker, London, 1831.

Trappes-Lomax, M., Pugin: A Mediæval Victorian,
Sheed and Ward, London, 1932.

Vaiss, P. (ed.), Newman: From Oxford to the People,
Gracewing, Leominster, 1996.

Vidler, A., The Pelican History of the Church,
Penguin, London, 1971.

Ward, B., St. Edmund's College Chapel: an Account, Historical and Descriptive, Written on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Opening,
Catholic Truth Society, London, 1903.

-----, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation: Being the History of the English Catholics during the first Thirty Years of the Nineteenth Century,
3 vols., Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1911.

-----, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation: The Story of the English Catholics continued down to the re-establishment of their Hierarchy in 1850,
2 vols., Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1915.

Ward, W., The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman,
2 vols., Longman, Green and Co., London, 1913.

-----, The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman,
2 vols., Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1897.

-----, William George Ward and the Oxford Movement,
Macmillan, London, 1889.

Watkin, D., Morality and Architecture,
University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1977.

-----, The Rise of Architectural History,
Architectural Press, London, 1980.

Webster, C. and J. Elliott (eds), 'A Church as it Should Be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence,
Shaun Tyas, Stamford, 2000.

Wedgwood, A., A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family,
Jolly and Barber Ltd., Rugby, 1985.

-----, Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: The Pugin Family,
Farnborough, 1997.

White, J.F., The Cambridge Movement, the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival,
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979

Williams, G., Augustus Pugin versus Decimus Burton,
Cassell Publications, London, 1990.

Williams, M.E., The Venerable English College Rome: A History 1579-1979,
Associated Catholic Publications, London, 1979.

Williams, R., Culture and Society,
Hogarth Press, London, 1982.

Wilson, A., Blessed Dominic Barberi: Supernaturalized Briton,
Sands & Co., London, 1967.

Wiseman, N., An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy,
Richardson, London, 1850.

-----, Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, delivered at St. Mary's Moorfields, during the Lent of 1836,
Brooker, London, 1836.

-----, "Out of the Flaminian Gate"
in G.M. Young and W.D. Handock (eds), English Historical Documents 1833-1874, vol. XII (1), Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1956.

Woollen, W., Father Faber,
Catholic Truth Society, London, n.d.

Yates, N., Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830 - 1910,
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.

-----, The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism,
Historical Association General Series 105, Chamclon, London, 1983.

Young, U., Dominic Barberi in England,
Burns, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1935.

-----, Life of Father Ignatius Spencer C.P.,
Burns, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1933.

-----, The Life and Letters of Ven. Dominic (Barberi) C.P.,
Burns, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1926.

VI. JOURNALS AND PAPERS

Blacker, C., N. Dermott and J. Crocker (eds), True Principles: The Newsletter of the Pugin Society, vol. I, no's 1-10 and vol. II, no. 1, The Pugin Society, Ramsgate, 1997-2001.

Bryson, J.N., "The Balliol that might have been"
in Country Life, 27 June 1963.

Conlon, A.F.M., "The Flaminian Gate Revisited"
in The Latin Mass Society, Supplement to Newsletter no. 125, August 2000.

Cruickshank, P., "Building With Principle",
in Architect's Journal, vol. 129, 1990, pp.24-9.

Elliot, J., "Pugin, St. Osmond and Salisbury"
in Ecclesiology Today, 22, April 2000, 2-8.

Davies, H.F., "From Oxford to Oscott",
in The Oscotian, 1938, Fifth Series, vol. VIII, No. 2, 135-139.

Girouard, M., "Alton Castle and Hospital, Staffordshire",
in Country Life, 24 Nov. 1960, 1226-1229.

Hill, R., "Bankers, Bawds and Beau Monde",
in Country Life, 4 Nov. 1994.

-----, "Reformation to Millennium: Pugin's *Contrasts* in the History of English Thought"
in JSAH, 58:1, March 1999.

-----, "'To Stones a moral life' How Pugin transformed the Gothic Revival"
in Times Literary Supplement, 18 September 1998, 21-12.

Humphreys, J., "The Oscott Museum"
in The Oscotian, 1938, Fifth Series, vol. VIII, no.2, 135-139.

Jones, J., "The Civil War of 1843"
in Balliol College Record, 1978, 60-68.

Macaulay, J., "The Architectural Collaboration between J. Gillespi Graham and A.W. Pugin",
in Architect's Journal, vol. 27, 1984.

Morris, K., "Rescuing the Scarlet Woman: The Promotion of Catholicism in English Literature 1829 - 1850",
in Recusant History, vol. 22, 1994-5, 75-87.

Patrick, J., "Newman, Pugin, and Gothic"
in Victorian Studies, vol. 24, no. 2, Winter 1981, 185-207.

Powell, J., "Pugin in his Home" ed. A. Wedgwood
in Architectural History, vol. 31 (1988).

Pugin, A.W.N., "Reply of Mr. Pugin to the Letter of 'A Catholic Priest'",
in The Tablet, vol. XII, no. 570, 15 March 1851, 165.

Spencer-Silver, P. "George Myres, Pugin's Builder",
in Recusant History, vol. 20, 1990-1991, 262-271.

Unrau, J., "Ethics and Architecture: Some precursors of Pugin and Ruskin",
in Notes and Queries, vol. 219, 1974, 174-175.

Wainwright, C., "Carlton Towers, Yorkshire",
in Country Life, 1 December 1994, 78-83.

-----, "Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire - II",
in Country Life, 20 May 1993, 90-94.

-----, "Pugin's Grand Passion",
in Country Life, 9 June 1994.

Wedgwood, A., "The Throne in the House of Lords and its Setting",
in Architectural Journal, vol. xxvii, 1984, 60-9.

Yates, N., "Pugin and the Mediaeval Dream",
in History Today, vol. 37, 1987, 33-40.

VI. INTERNET SOURCES

Catholic Archives Society

<http://www.catholic-history.org.uk/catharch>

Catholic Record Society

<http://www.catholic-history.org.uk/crs>

Ecclesiology

<http://www.silk.net/RelEd/ecclesiology.htm>

The Bard by John Martin

<http://www.artmagick.com/paintings/painting1163.asp>

The Catholic Encyclopedia

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen>

The Landmark Trust

<http://www.landmarktrust.co.uk>

The Pugin Society

<http://www.pugin.com>

The Victorian Web

<http://www.landow.stg.brown.edu/victorian/victoc.html>

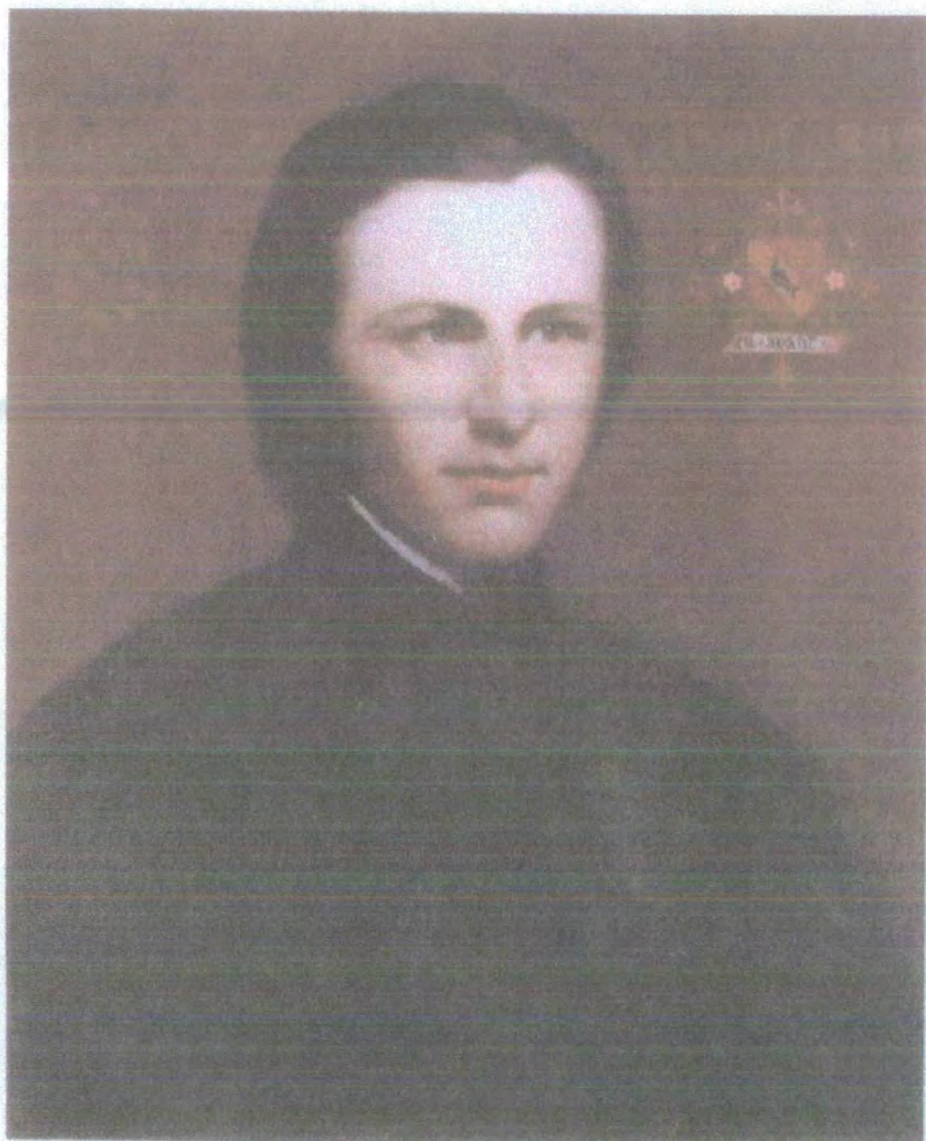
ADDENDUM

Since this thesis was submitted for examination a quantity of the manuscript material cited has been published in the following volume:

M. Belcher (ed), The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin,
vol. I, 1830-1842, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations
Figure I.1



A.W.N. Pugin
attrib. George Richmond

Illustrations
Figure I.2



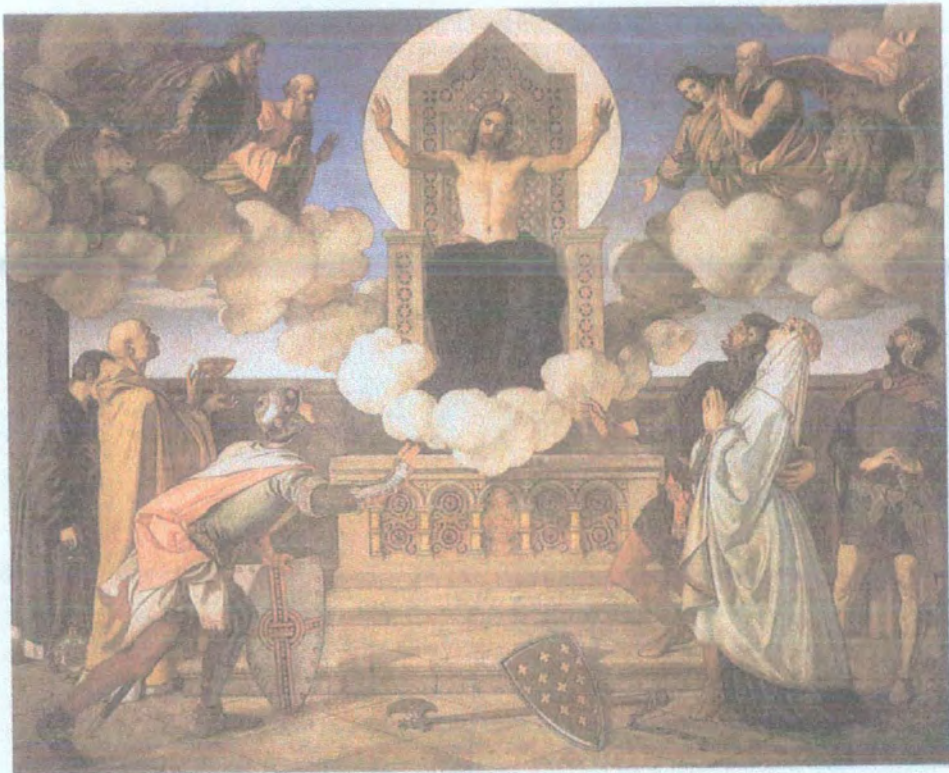
The Grand Armoury at Goodrich Court
anon.

Illustrations
Figure I.3



The Bard
John Martin (1817)

Illustrations
Figure 1.4



The Vision of Sir Galahad and his Company
William Dyce (finished 1851)

Illustrations
Figure I.5



a) Exterior of Strawberry Hill
b) Interior of Strawberry Hill
anon.

Illustrations
Figure I.6



Sir John Cornwall and Lord Fanhope (1824)
Meyrick's "Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour"

Illustrations
Figure I.7

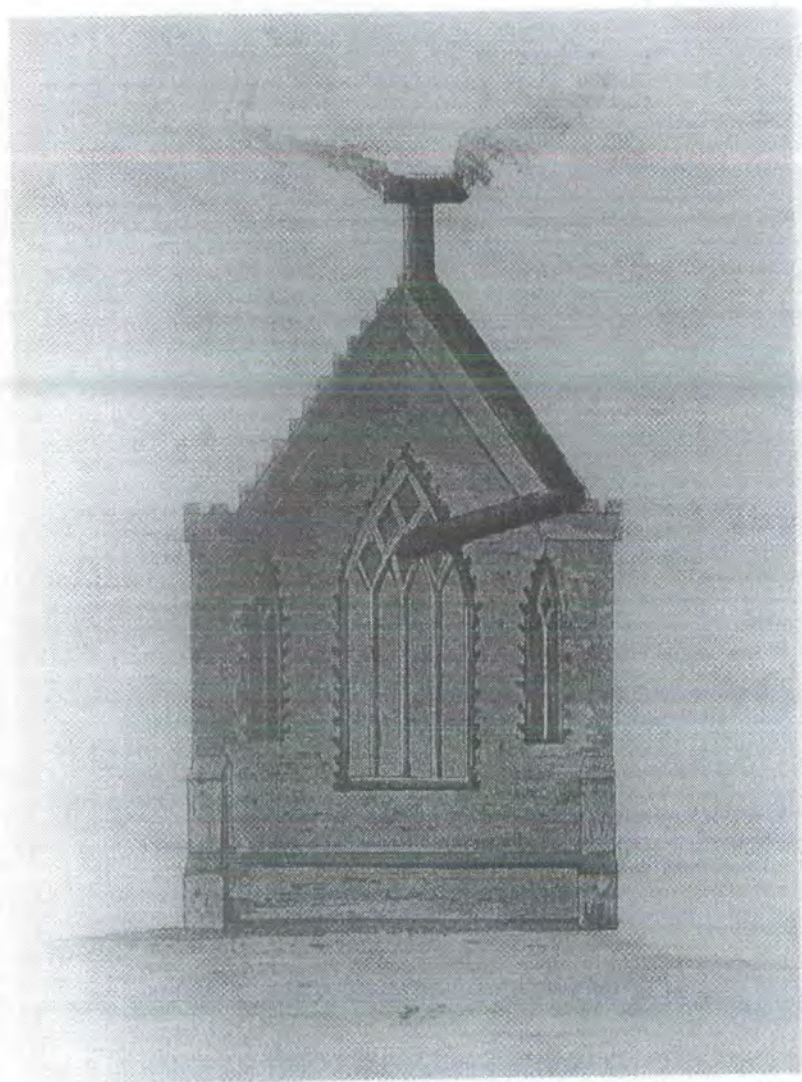


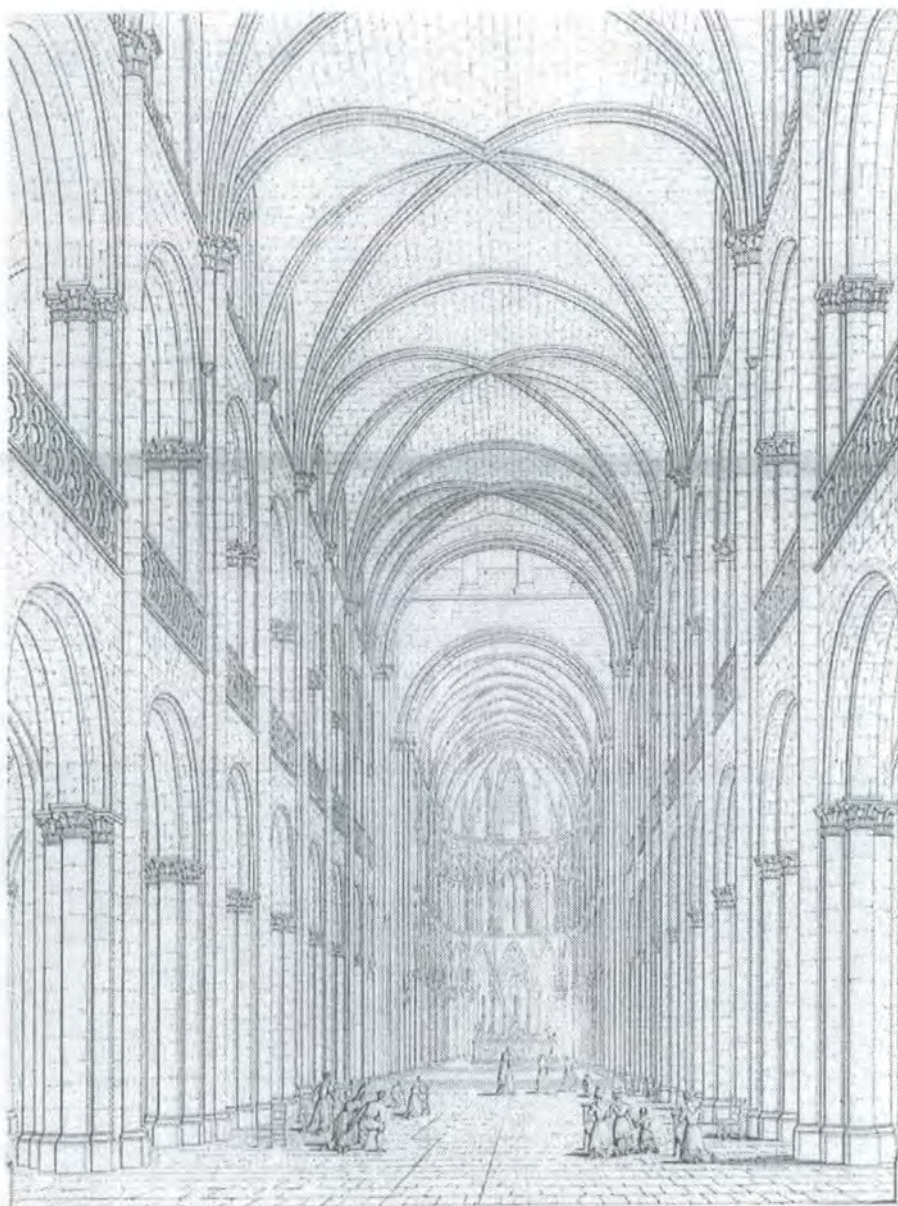
Plate from "Hints to Churchwardens" (1825)
anon.

Illustrations
Figure 1.8



The Eglinton Tournament (1843)
James Henry Nixon

Illustrations
Figure III.1

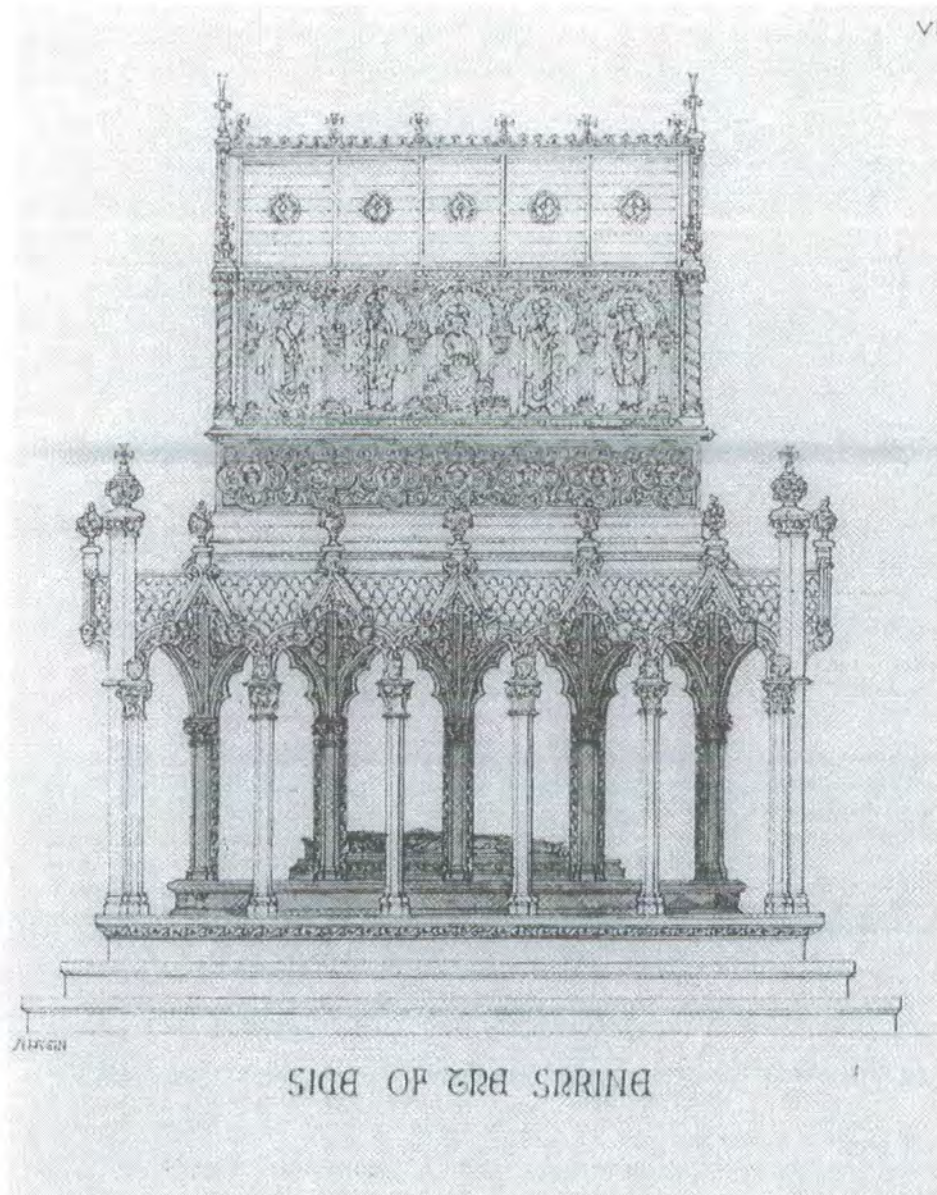


The Nave of Caen Abbey
A.C. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure III.2

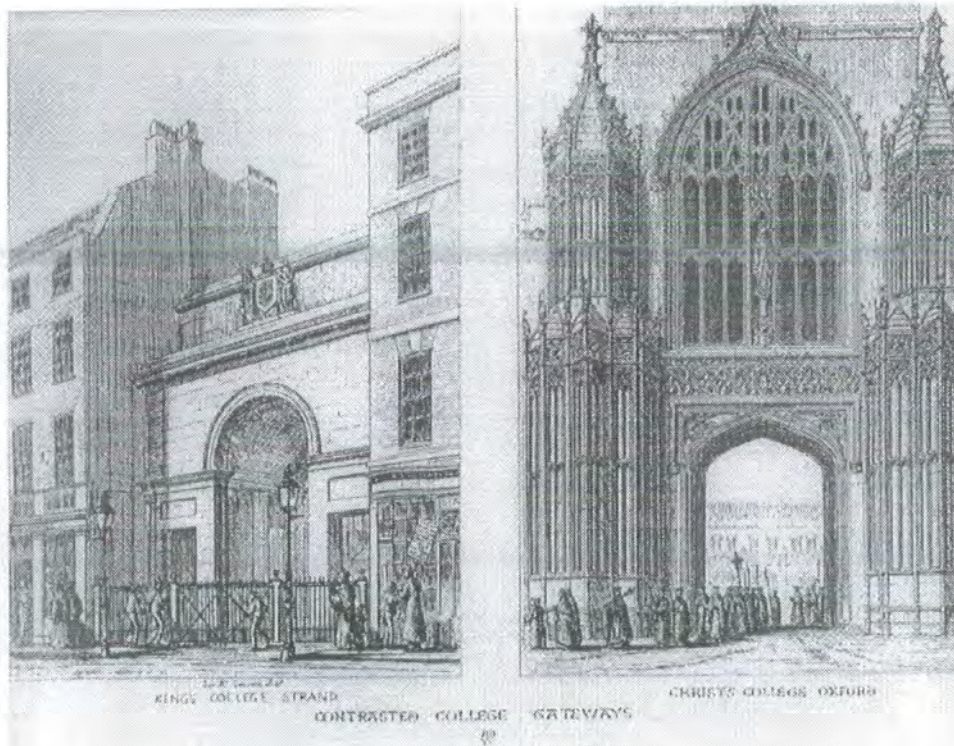


The Nave of Bayeux Cathedral
A.C. Pugin



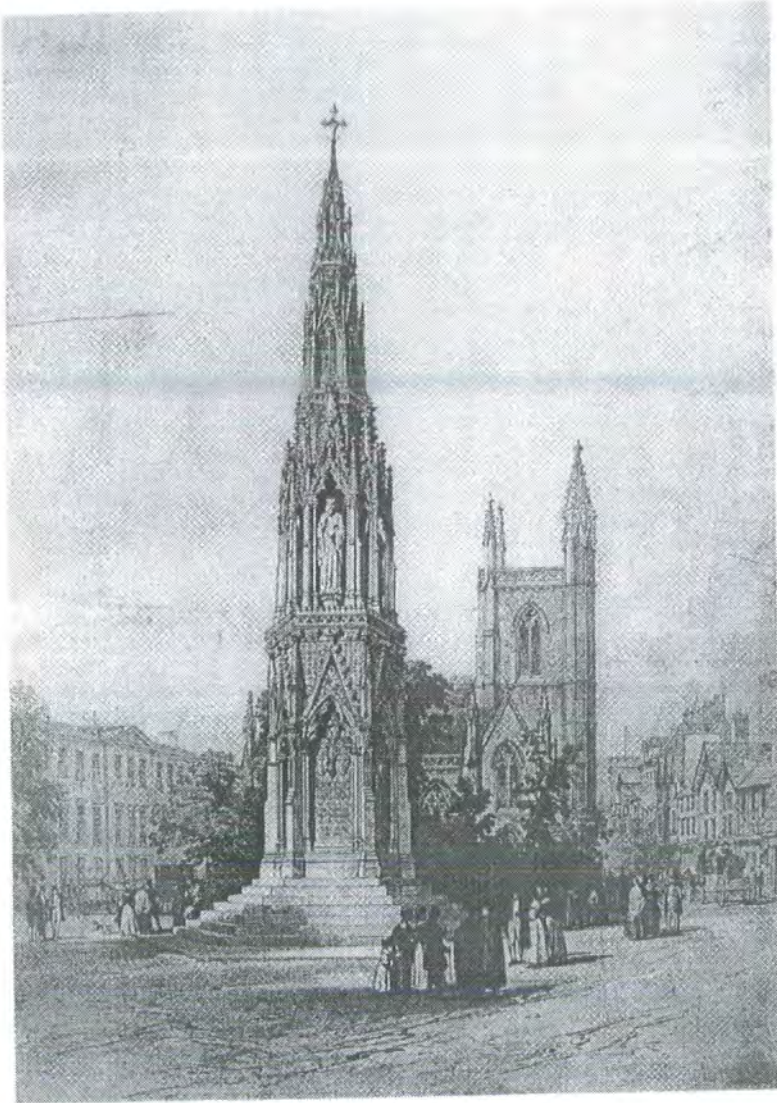
Side of The Shrine (1832)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure IV.1



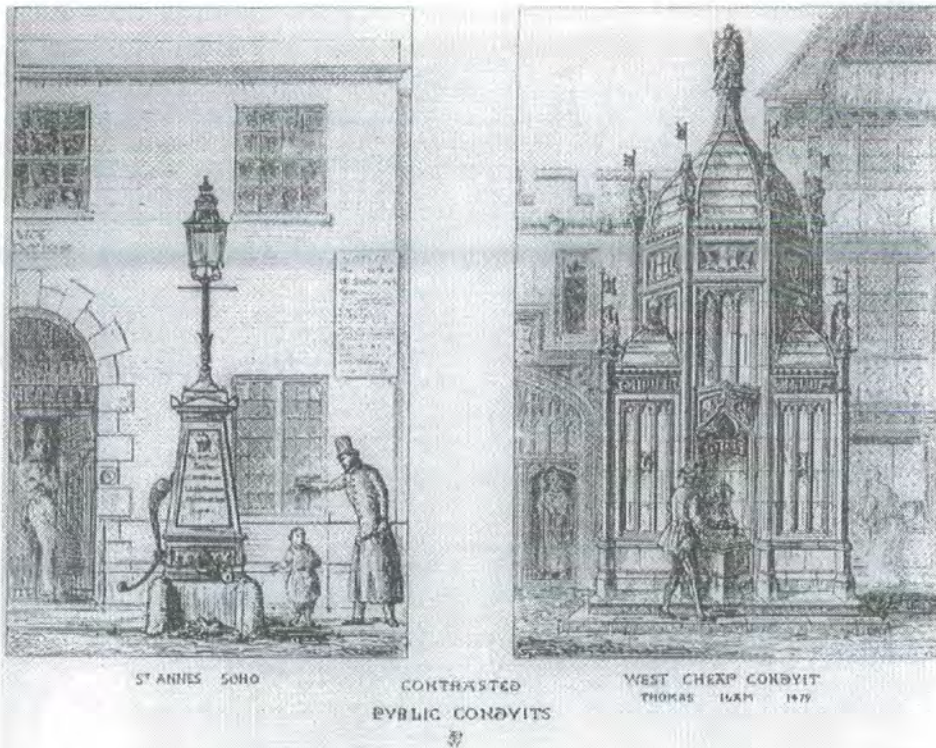
Contrasted College Gateways (1836)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure IV.2



Sir. George Gilbert Scott's Martyrs' Memorial (1840)
Louisa Haghe

Illustrations
Figure IV.3



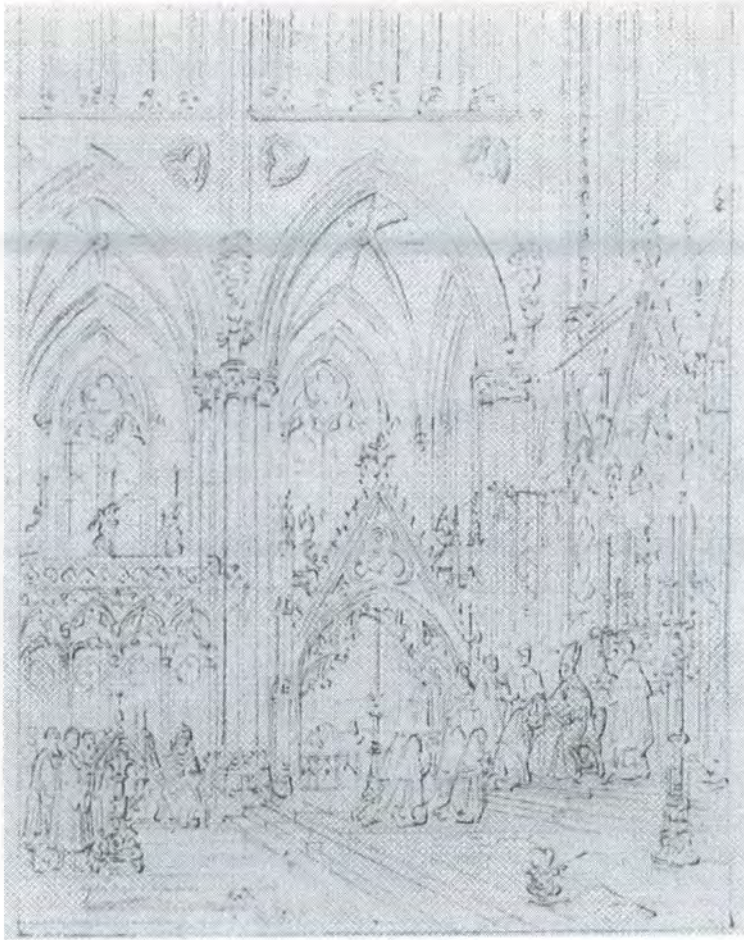
Contrasted Public Conduits (1836)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure IV.4



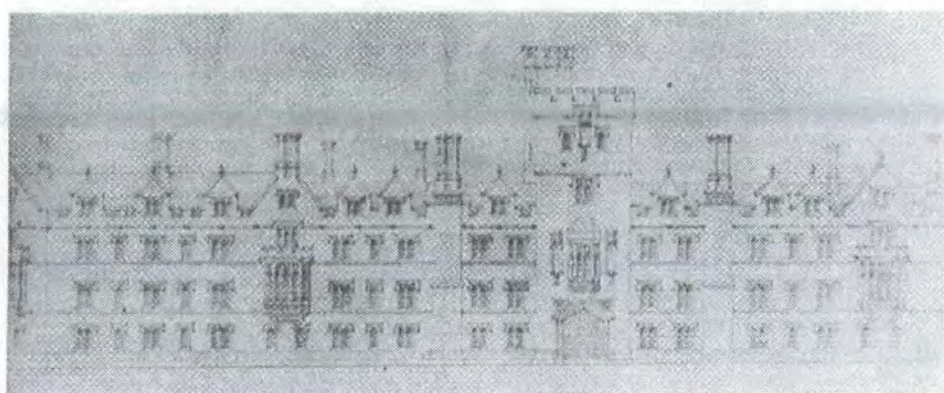
Contrasted Residences for the Poor (1841)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure IV.5



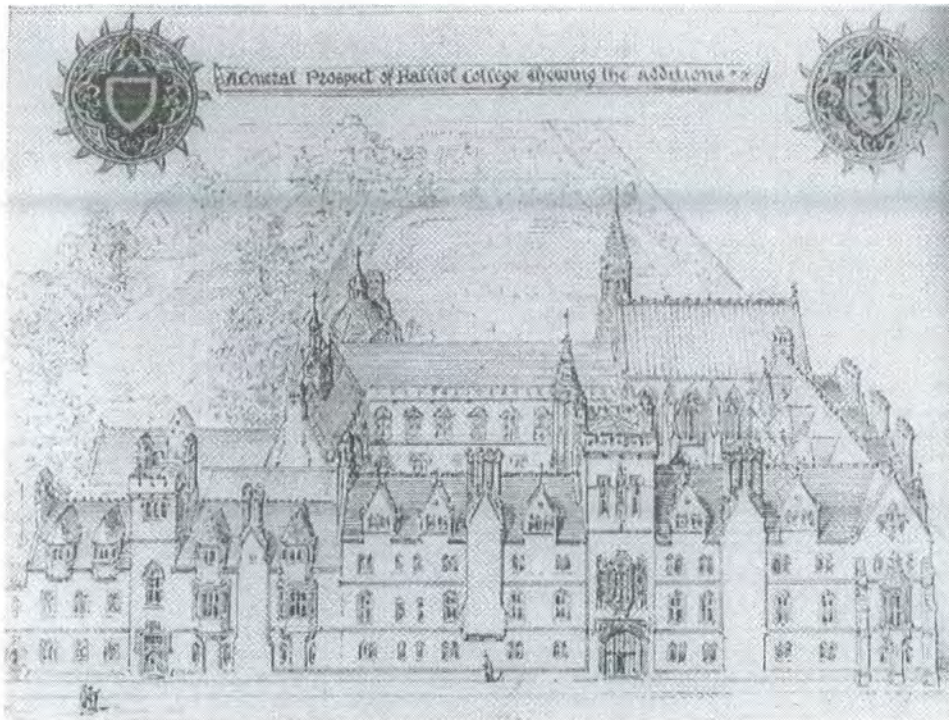
Clothing of Nuns in a Thirteenth Century Cathedral (1837)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure V.1



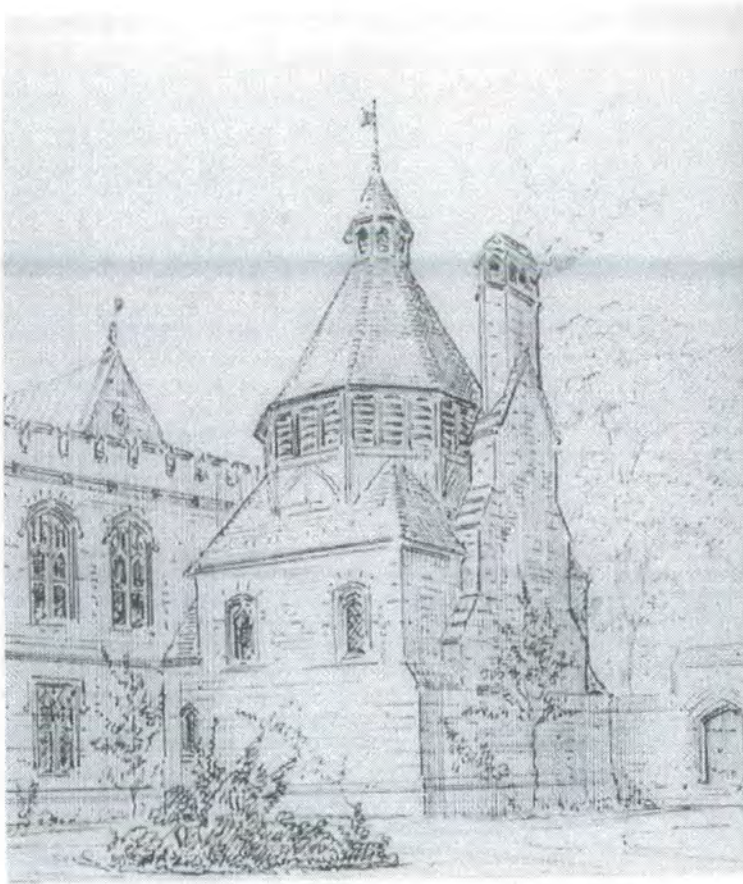
A Design for the Broad Street
Façade of Balliol College (1841)
Basevi

Illustrations
Figure V.2



A General Prospect of the
Proposed Buildings at Balliol College (1843)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure V.3



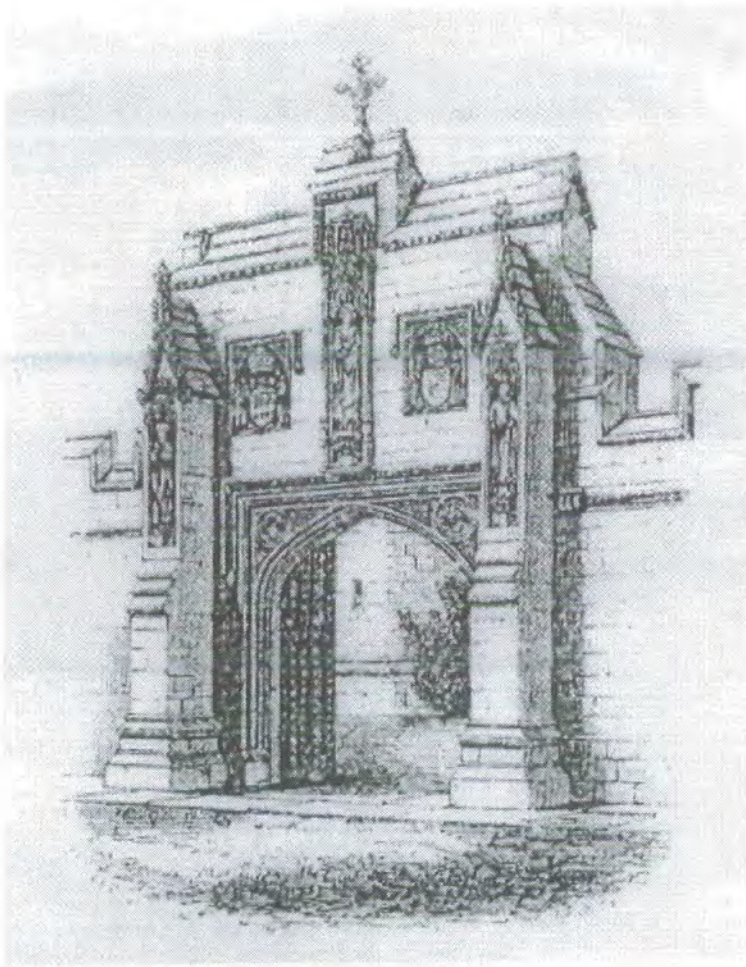
Design for the Kitchen of Balliol College (1843)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure V.4



Design for the Chapel of Balliol College (1843)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure V.5



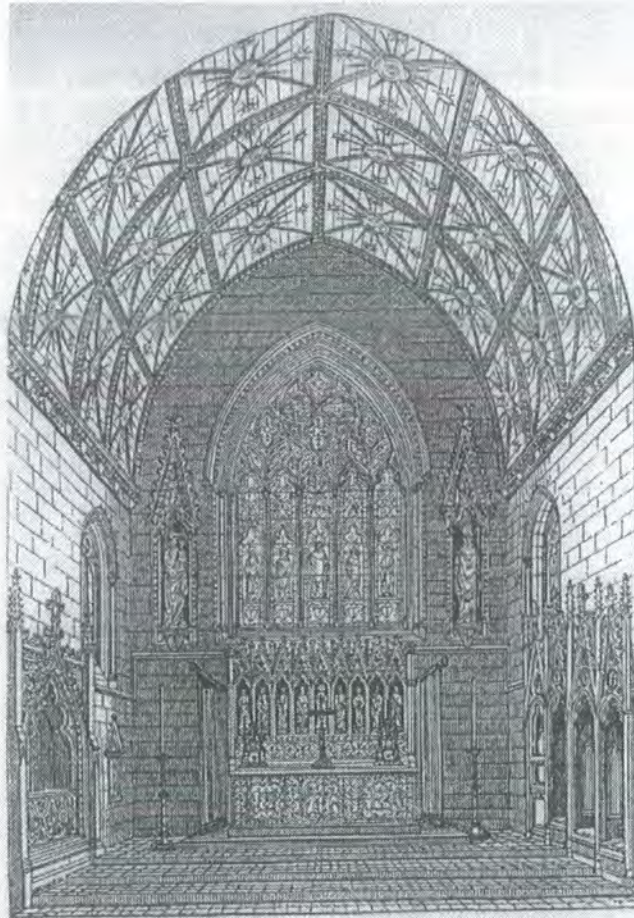
Pugin's Gateway to Madgalen College
anon.

Illustrations
Figure V.6



St. Edmund (1845)
A.W.N. Pugin

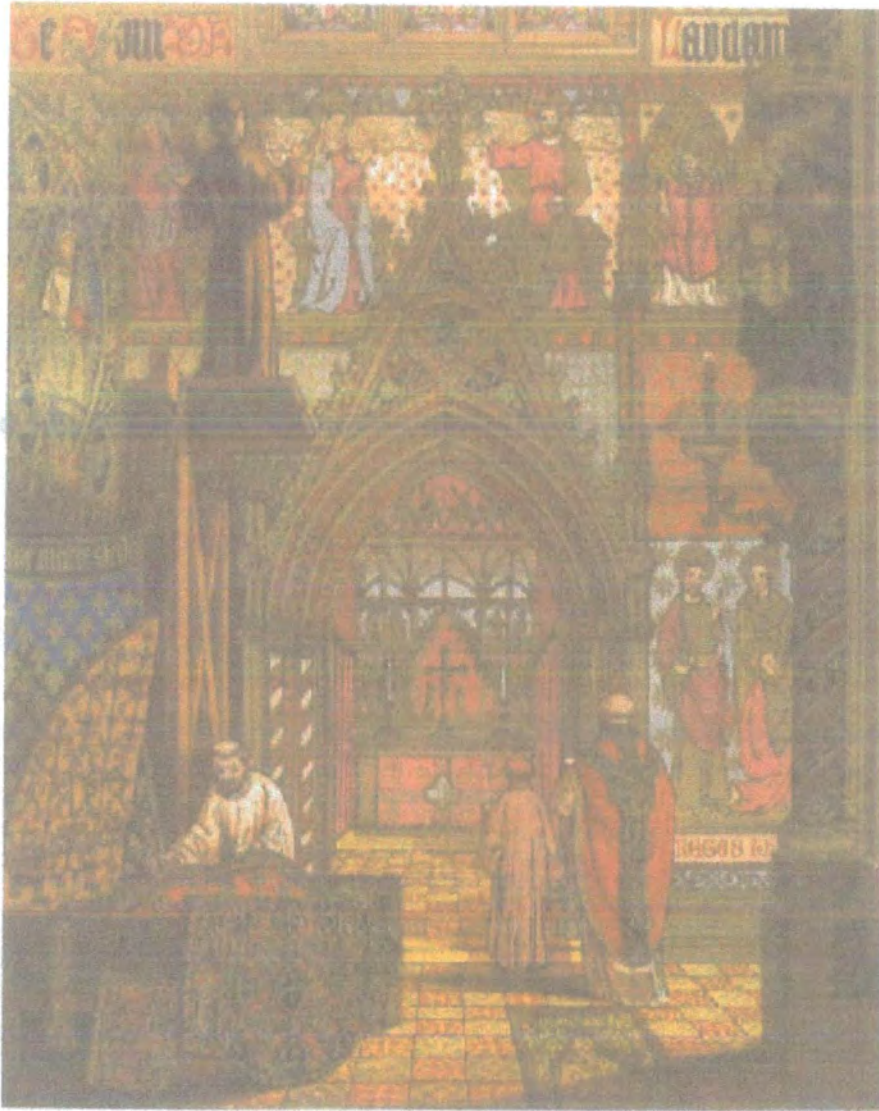
Illustrations
Figure VI.1



CHANCEL OF ST. GILES', CHEADLE.

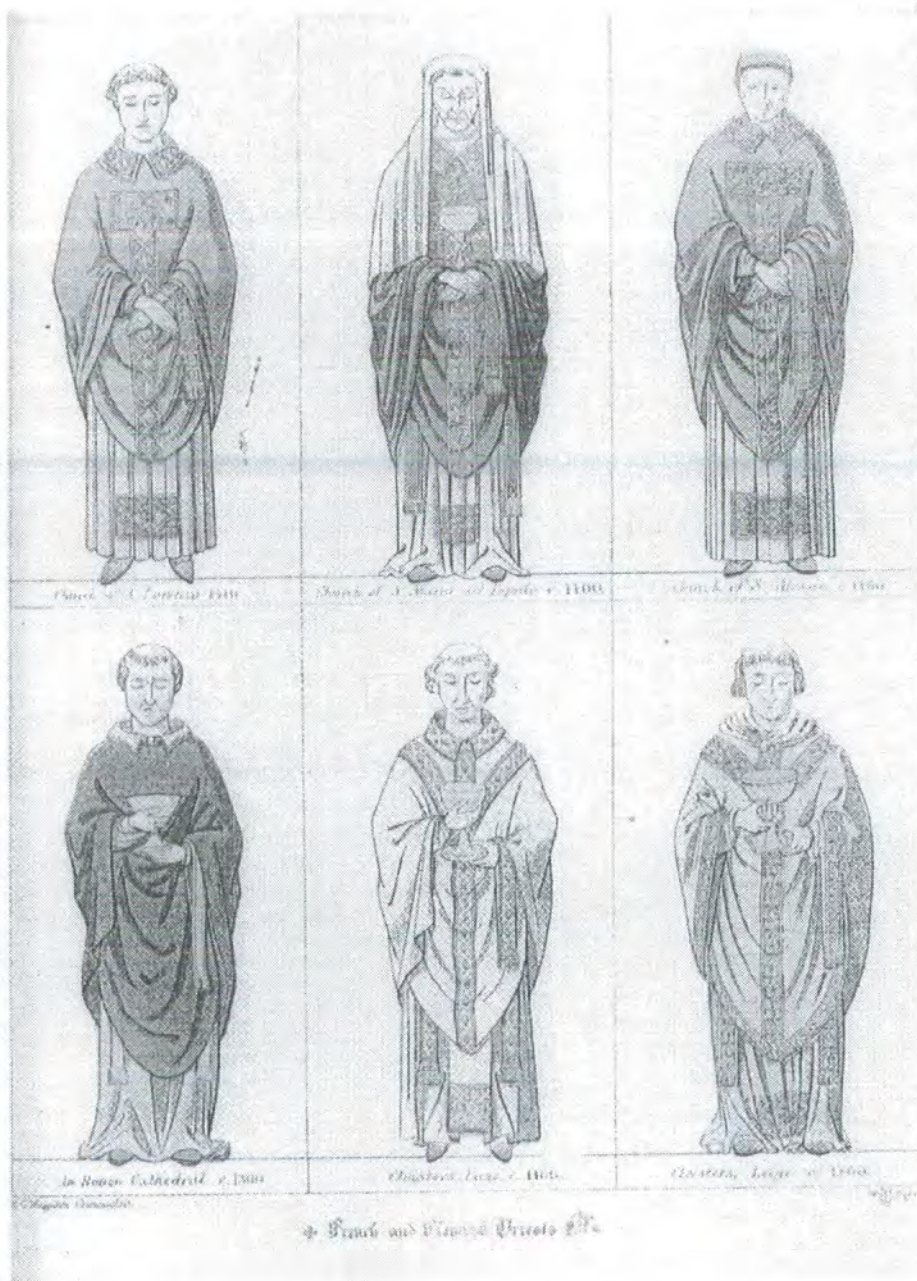
Chancel of St. Giles', Cheadle (1843)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure VI.2



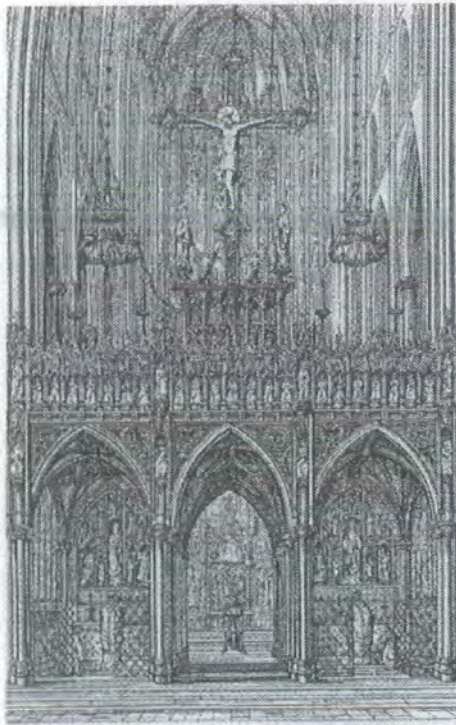
Frontispiece to "The Glossary of Ecclesiastical
Ornament and Costume" (1846)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure VI.3



French and Flemish Priests (1846)
A.W.N. Pugin

Illustrations
Figure VI.4



A CATHEDRAL SCREEN.



A PAROCHIAL SCREEN.

Cathedral and Parochial Screens (1851)
A.W.N. Pugin

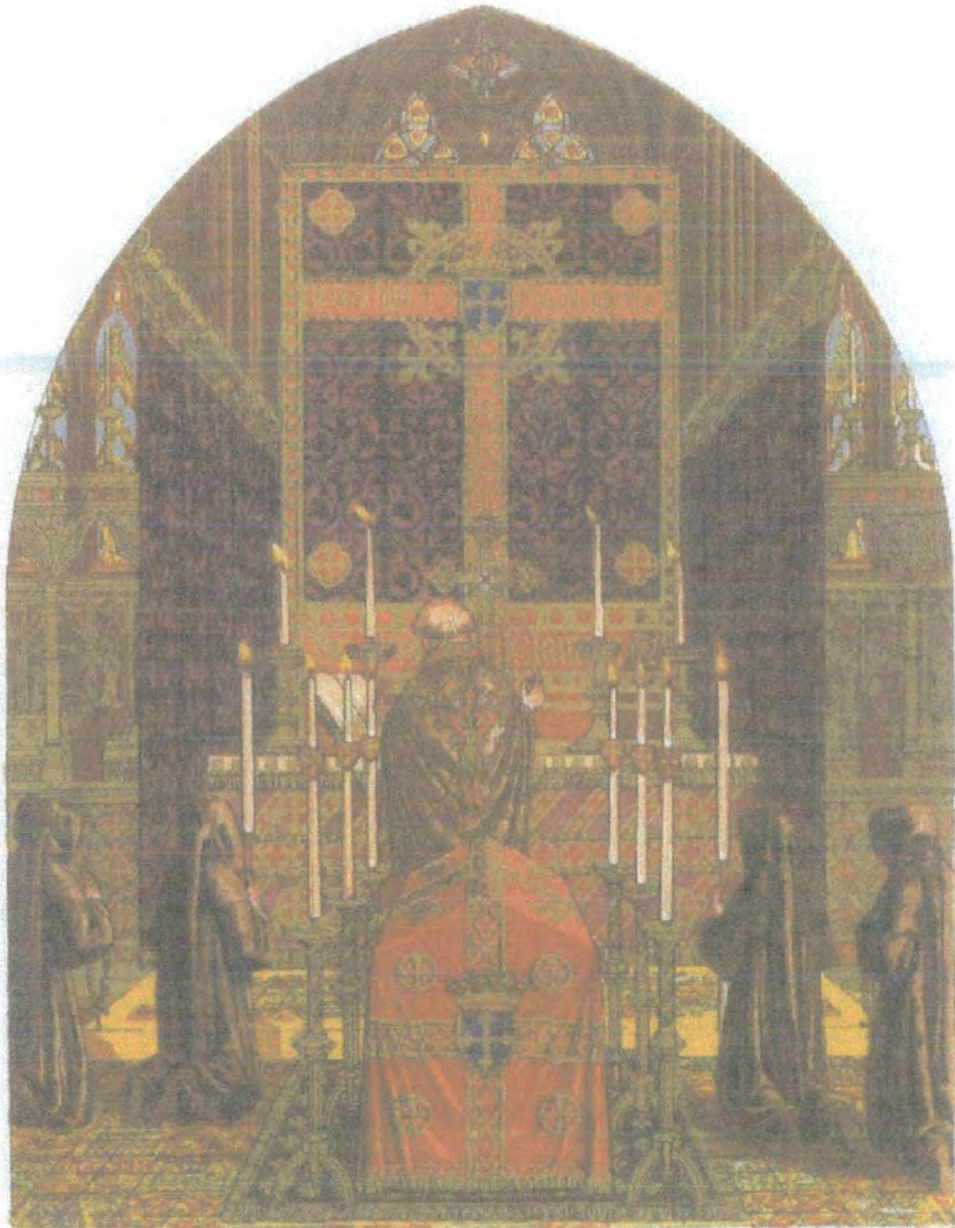
Illustrations
Figure VI.5



The Singing of Vespers in the King William
Street Oratory Chapel (ca.1850)
A.W.N. Pugin

[Erratum: for painter attribution
replace "A.W.N. Pugin" with "anon."]

Illustrations
Finis



The End.

