Augustus Pugin's Wiltshire Period

'A Dissertation submitted to the University of Wales Trinity St David in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Medieval Studies)'

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Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

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Abstract

This Dissertation examines the work undertaken by the nineteenth century architect, Augustus Pugin, whilst he was resident in Wiltshire, 1835-1837, with the aim of defining his time there as Pugin's Wiltshire Period. In order to identify potential achievements which together could be grouped as actions attributed to this specific period of Pugin's life, the Wiltshire locations related to his work were visited, his published letters were examined, local archives were explored, and all relevant secondary sources of literature were analysed. To evidence this within the Dissertation, a detailed literature review is provided of primary and secondary sources related to Pugin and the scholarship which has arisen concerning his life and work. This includes his family background, Wiltshire architecture and publications, and contemporary social, cultural and religious contexts, such as the nature of Medieval Gothic, Roman Catholic Emancipation, Antiquarianism, the history of Salisbury Cathedral, and the Church in Wiltshire. Detailed analysis is then undertaken of Pugin's knowledge of Wiltshire, the influence of his father, Auguste Pugin, and of the antiquarian, John Britton, as well as Pugin's reaction to the cathedral restoration work of James Wyatt. Following that, Pugin's initial actions in Salisbury are examined, firstly renovation undertaken at the Hall of Sir John Halle, and, secondly, in more detail, the design and build of his house, St Marie's Grange, in Alderbury. The background and known details of Pugin's conversion to Roman Catholicism are then explored. It is argued that the fact that Pugin chose to build his first house just outside of Salisbury and to convert to Roman Catholicism whist living within the small Salisbury Catholic community, for whom a decade later he designed the city's first Catholic Church since the Reformation, indicates the importance of his time in Wiltshire. In particular, the conversion of faith was the precursor to his next two steps, both taken whilst living in St Marie's Grange. These were, first, a successful collaboration on the design of the Houses of Parliament with Charles Barry, and then, second, the preparation and publication of Pugin's first major book, *Contrasts,* which argued vehemently for a return to the medieval design and architecture of the pre Reformation era, inextricably linked to the Roman Catholic Church. These actions launched Pugin's career and reputation nationally. All other works carried out whilst in Wiltshire, either locally or in other parts of Britain, are also identified, as are the initial contacts Pugin made at that time with key individuals who were to act as patrons for commissions he subsequently undertook in England, Scotland and Ireland. In the light of the totality of his achievements whilst his home was in Salisbury, it is concluded that they merit being defined as a separate episode of his life and work: Pugin's Wiltshire Period.



Figure 1- Augustus Pugin, early 1840s, the only known photograph of him.[1]

Acknowledgements

This Dissertation would not have been completed without the help of: John Elliott of the Pugin Society, and Julian Orbach, Architectural Historian, for their initial guidance on Pugin's Wiltshire architecture; David Woosnam, Pippa Ross-Smith, Bethan Watts, Ellen Kirkman and Chris Hall for their reading of the final draft; the owner of St Marie's Grange, Gina Higgins, for access to the property, and the Odeon Cinema in Salisbury for access to the Hall of Sir John Halle; the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Salisbury Cathedral Archives and St Osmund's Church in Salisbury for access to primary and sometimes unpublished written sources; Dr Leticia Bermejo de Rueda for access to images from some of Pugin's books; and Dr Alexander Scott of the University of Wales Trinity St David for his supervision of this work over a period of fifteen months.

[1] The Pugin Society, *Augustus Pugin*, http://www.thepuginsociety.co.uk
This is the only known photograph of Pugin, probably copied after his death from a Daguerreotype taken in the early 1840s.

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THE DISSERTATION

Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

> 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 … I am quite ready for all comers and will not abate one Line.
>
> A.W.N. Pugin. 1836.[2]

Writing these words to Edward Willson, from the home he had built just outside Salisbury, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's career, reputation and notoriety were reaching heights that no one, not even he himself, could have anticipated two years earlier when he decided to move to Wiltshire with his family.[3]

During the time he spent in Wiltshire, Pugin lived in his first designed and built residence, changed faith to Roman Catholicism, assisted with competition-winning plans for the new Houses of Parliament, and published what was to be his most controversial and influential book. As will be shown, his achievements in Salisbury were so significant that his time there merits consideration as being more explicitly identified as a defined period of his work: Pugin's Wiltshire Period.

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[2] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 5 September 1836', in M. Belcher, *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin, Volume 1, 1830-1842* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 62.
All Pugin's quoted letters in this Dissertation will include the spellings, grammar and capitalisations originally used by him. E.g., in this quoted letter, he commences a paragraph with a word started in lower case, "there", and then capitalises "Line" at the end of a sentence.

[3] Willson was a Roman Catholic, family friend and architect, from Lincoln, who worked with Pugin and his father over many years on written publications. He was the main recipient of Pugin's published letters whilst Pugin lived in Wiltshire.

Pugin Scholarship

Augustus Pugin lived from 1812-1852. His life and work have been the subject of detailed examination from the 1860s to the present day. Particularly in recent times, there have been rigorous scholarly and biographical studies of the forty years of his life, the ground-breaking influence he had on architecture, in Britain, Ireland and abroad, from the nineteenth century onwards, and his re-introduction of Medieval Gothic design to a wide range of artisan work.[4]

Analyses by scholars and admirers have explored Pugin's life, lauded his impact on ecclesiastical and domestic architecture, and documented his contributions to areas of art and design as diverse as tiling, stained glass, silverware, wallpaper, jewellery, and furniture. His publications, letters, plans, diaries, and own handiwork have all been thoroughly examined, as have his connections to leading figures of the day, and his legacy wherever his building work was most prominent. The latter has included, from a geographical perspective, focus on Westminster in London, Birmingham and the Midlands, Edinburgh, Ramsgate in Kent, Alton Towers in Staffordshire, Scarisbrick Hall in Lancashire, and other locations in Britain and Ireland where churches, cathedrals and other notable buildings were developed from his designs.

The erudition of recent Pugin scholarship, and the passion of his most ardent academic devotees, make it challenging to create newly researched work which can enrich the understanding and appreciation of his achievements. Yet, when the many exemplary analyses of Pugin's life, and of the multiplicity of his artistic endeavour, are reviewed, it is notable that the time he spent living in Wiltshire, and the connections he had with that county, have rarely been looked at separately from other periods and locations where he took up residence and worked.[5]

[4] Fully referenced details of all main Pugin scholarship will be provided in the Literature Review below.
[5] The only exceptions to this are a mid-twentieth century short review of some of Pugin's Wiltshire work by the artist, John Piper, and several articles about Pugin in Salisbury by a local Architectural Historian, John Elliott. All are fully referenced in the Literature Review below. Elliott, who has undertaken local analyses of Pugin's building achievements in Wiltshire, continues to do so under the auspices of the Pugin Society, whose newsletters and main journal, *True Principles*, he now edits.

Medieval Studies

In his 1836 book, *Contrasts*, which is examined in Chapter 4 below, Pugin wrote:

> Where, I ask, are the really fine monuments of the country to be found, but in those edifices erected centuries ago, during the often railed at and despised period of the Middle Ages? What would be the interest of the cities, or even the towns and villages, of this country, were they deprived of the gigantic structures, and the remains of their venerable buildings?[6]

The foundation for Pugin's work was his adherence to and love of the design principles and religious ideals of the architecture of the Middle Ages, which in this Dissertation will be termed Medieval Gothic, a style which for him was inextricably linked with the Roman Catholic Church from before the Reformation. When he moved to Salisbury, Pugin chose to live in sight of the only medieval cathedral in England built on a virgin site, intended by its original builders 'to be the very model of Gothic modernity'.[7] Through his own work, and his influence on many other architects and artisans, Pugin was to bring medieval design into the forefront of nineteenth century cultural, civic, ecclesiastical, and domestic life, making him one of the leading figures of the Victorian Gothic Revival.

This Dissertation will demonstrate that it was during his residence in Salisbury that Pugin's design, building and writing work rose to national prominence, gathering an unstoppable momentum which was to launch the rest of his career. Examining this time as a Wiltshire Period is therefore a relevant subject for analysis in the field of Medieval Studies and has thus far been neglected as a single and cohesive episode in Pugin scholarship.

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[6] 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: St Marie's Grange, 1836), p. 31. Edition used for this Dissertation is the this online 1836 version: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=vKRWAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false .

[7] C. Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1990), p. 174.



Figure 2 – Medieval Gothic design on the Frontpage of Contrasts, published 1836 in Salisbury, Wiltshire.[8]

[8] Pugin, *Contrasts*.
The medieval focus of this book is examined in Chapter 4 below.

Focus of the Dissertation

Pugin's life was relatively brief, as he died at the age of forty years. The moments of those years spent connected to Wiltshire were briefer still. He lived in the county from the spring of 1835 to the late summer of 1837, little more than two years. During that time, he sometimes travelled away, across England and abroad, as well as working in London. After his 1837 departure, he only visited occasionally.

Bearing in mind these, in some ways fleeting, Wiltshire moments, this Dissertation will examine the antecedents to Pugin's decision to move to the county and identify his most significant achievements whilst living there. In doing this, preceded by a summary literature review of the main sources regarding Pugin and his work in the mid 1830s, it will be concluded that, in viewing his life and work, this time should be framed as Pugin's Wiltshire Period.

The main content of the Dissertation will be as follows:

Chapter One: Pugin's Gothic Road to Wiltshire, will, first, explore what led Pugin to live in Salisbury and what he could have known about the county of Wiltshire that might have drawn him there. It then examines the nature of Medieval Gothic and Pugin's exposure to this in his youth, particularly in relation to Wiltshire. Finally, it reviews Pugin's arrival in Salisbury and analyses his first architectural work in the city.

Chapter Two: St Marie's Grange, will, first, describe the house that Pugin designed and built on the land he had purchased. It then compares that house with Pugin's other domestic architecture.

Chapter Three: Conversion to Roman Catholicism, will, first, explore the personal, political, religious, and local influences that led Pugin to convert from Protestantism to Catholicism. It then details what is known about Pugin's conversion and membership of the Catholic Church in Salisbury. Finally, the chapter identifies the legacy Pugin left in the city, particularly through his design of its first Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation.

Chapter Four: The National Stage, will analyse Pugin's main outputs of work, architectural and literary, whilst resident at St Marie's Grange, which were to bring him major national recognition. These are, first, the development of designs for the new Houses of Parliament, and, second, the publication of his most controversial and influential book, *Contrasts*.

Chapter Five: Pugin's Wiltshire Period, will, first, summarise all other significant known work undertaken by Pugin whilst living in Salisbury. It then demonstrates how his career trajectory had changed by the time he chose to leave. Finally, the chapter concludes by defining his time there as Pugin's Wiltshire Period.

Literature Review

To explore the proposal for Pugin having a Wiltshire Period requires a collation of all available primary and secondary sources related to his connections with the county, and a sifting of these sources to weigh the collective value of his achievements during 1835-37. Those sources from which specific detail has been identified concerning the background to Pugin's move to Wiltshire, his time spent there, his key outputs, and his connections with the county afterwards, are as follows:

Primary Architectural Sources

The centrepieces of any exploration of Pugin must always be his building and design work. In Wiltshire, the most significant are, chronologically: remnants of work, attributed to him, in the Hall of Sir John Halle in Salisbury, now the Odeon Cinema;[9] the construction of his first house, St Marie's Grange, which still stands today, in Alderbury outside Salisbury;[10] plans for and the constructed building of St Osmund's Church in Salisbury, which still stands today, with Pugin's drawings kept on site.[11]

[9] A.W.N. Pugin, *The Hall of Sir John Halle* (1834), Canal Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire.
The Hall now functions as the main public entrance to The Odeon in Salisbury, a five screen cinema. Pugin's attributed restoration work was to the fireplace inside the front of the entrance, and, debatably, on a large wooden screen further in. See Chapter 1 for more detail.
[10] A.W.N. Pugin, *St Marie's Grange* (1835), Alderbury, Wiltshire.
[11] A.W.N. Pugin, *St Osmund's Church* (1848), Exeter Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire; A.W.N. Pugin, *Drawings for St Osmund's Church* (1846), St Osmund's Church, Exeter Street, Salisbury.
Pugin's signed drawings for the church are available at St Osmund's, stored in the Church Hall.

Primary Written Sources

These include Pugin's personal correspondence whilst in Salisbury, accessed through the first of five published volumes of his letters;[12] diary entries from his time in Salisbury, accessed through contemporaries' records such as the biography by Benjamin Ferrey listed below; and his ground-breaking book, *Contrasts,* published in Salisbury.[13] Sources have also been utilised in relation to the work of Pugin's father, Auguste.[14] *The Microcosm of London*, which was developed from an idea of Pugin's mother, used his father's drawings of memorable architectural structures within a social setting, alongside descriptive text, and had some influence on Pugin's *Contrasts.*[15] Auguste Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture* was influential on the growth of his son's own interests, due to tours the family made to view such architecture across England and France. On instruction from his father's will, *Examples* was also continued by Pugin when in Salisbury,[16] and then passed to Thomas Larkins Walker shortly before the publication of *Contrasts.* Walker's own final edition of *Examples* focused mostly on Wiltshire architecture.[17]

Contemporary Secondary Sources

Two perspectives from contemporaries exist, providing unique if narrow takes on Pugin's life and works. The starting place for any Pugin scholar is the 1861 *Recollections of Pugin* by Benjamin Ferrey, architect, fellow pupil of Pugin's father and family friend.[18] This includes useful detail on achievements in Wiltshire. Ferrey provides insightful commentary on events and often refers to Pugin's own writings, although he struggled with Pugin's Catholicism. Also important, are writings of Pugin's son, Edward Welby Pugin, who produced in 1867 a strong defence of the extent of his father's involvement in

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[12] M. Belcher, *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin, Volume 1, 1830-1842* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[13] Pugin*, Contrasts*.
This book is examined in detail in Chapter 4 below.
[14] Pugin's father is variously called Auguste, Auguste Charles, or Augustus, in biographical descriptions. For this Dissertation, 'Auguste' will be used to refer to his father and 'Pugin', or occasionally 'Augustus', used for A.W.N. Pugin himself.
[15] T. Rowlandson, A.C. Pugin and J. Summerson, *The Microcosm of London* (London: King Penguin Books, 1943). First published 1808-10. Edition used for this Dissertation is the Penguin 1943 publication.
[16] A. Pugin and A.W. Pugin, *Examples of Gothic Architecture Selected from various Ancient Edifices in England, Volume 2* (London: Henry George Bohn, 1836). Edition used for this Dissertation: http://www.europeana.eu/eu/item/07931/diglit_pugin1839bd2
[17] T.L. Walker, *The history and antiquities of the Manor House and Church at Great Chalfield, Wiltshire, forming part 2 of Examples of Gothic architecture, 3rd series* (London: Thomas Larkins Walker, 1837).
[18] B. Ferrey, *Recollections of A.W.N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin, 1861* (London: The Scolar Press Limited, 1978).

the design of the Palace of Westminster, albeit in an unashamedly supportive manner.[19] This provides specific detail about Pugin's actions whilst in Salisbury which relate to the competition for the redesign of Parliament.

Leading Pugin Scholarship

At the head of modern scholarship concerning Pugin is the work of three historians: the literary scholar Margaret Belcher, who edited five volumes of his letters,[20] the first of which, as mentioned above, includes his time leading up to and in Salisbury; the writer and antiquarian Rosemary Hill, who produced the definitive biography of Pugin in 2007, *God's Architect*;[21] and Lady Alexandra Wedgwood, the architectural historian, who is also Patron of the Pugin Society.[22] Further works by these authors are described below. Belcher's first volume and Hill's biography contain significant detail concerning Wiltshire, albeit not specifically separated out as a defined period.

Significant Biographical Texts

Of the other biographical examinations that exist of Pugin, those that are most valuable are: the early twentieth century *Pugin A Mediaeval Victorian* by Michael Trappes-Lomax, which exhibits greater sympathy for Pugin's Catholicism than does his previous biographer, Ferrey, and focuses on his earlier adult life including the time in Salisbury;[23] *Pugin*, a design analysis of his work by the architectural historian Phoebe Stanton, close collaborator of Nikolaus Pevsner who himself saw Pugin at the head of much of the Victorian architectural and artistic world.[24] Two comprehensive books, released to coincide with exhibitions, appraise not just Pugin's life but the full gamut of his writing and design. First is *Pugin A Gothic Passion,* edited by Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright. This is the single most representative publication of the diversity of skills of a man sometimes too easily pigeon-holed as merely an architect. The book's most

[19] E.W. Pugin, *Who was the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament? A Statement of Fact founded on the Letters of Sir Charles Barry and the Diaries of Augustus Welby Pugin* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1867). https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-366494169/view?partId=nla.obj-366513406#page/n0/mode/1up.
[20] M. Belcher, *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin, Vols 1-5* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001/2003/2009/2012/2015).
[21] R. Hill, *God's Architect, Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2008).
[22] A. Wedgwood, *Pugin and the Pugin Family, Catalogue of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1985); A. Wedgwood, Ed. *Pugin in his Home: Two Memoirs by John Hardman Powell* (Ramsgate: The Pugin Society, 2006).
[23] M. Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin, A Mediaeval Victorian* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1933).
[24] P. Stanton, *Pugin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).

relevant chapters for this Dissertation are Alexandra Wedgwood's on Pugin's Early Years, Domestic Architecture and the Palace of Westminster, Margaret Belcher on his writing, David Meara on Monuments and Brasses, Clive Wainwright on Furniture, and Ann Eatwell with Anthony North on Metalwork.[25] Similar to this is *A.W.N. Pugin Master of Gothic Revival*, again edited by Atterbury, which includes Wiltshire relevant chapters by Megan Aldrich on Gothic Sensibility, David Meara on Catholicism, and Paul Atterbury on Internal Design.[26]

Academic Pugin Analysis

Of the numerous academic analyses of Pugin's work and legacy which have been produced since the late twentieth century, several provide particular contributions to understanding the value of his work from architectural, literary and religious perspectives. The thesis by the architect Timothy Brittain-Catlin on Pugin's domestic architecture shows how his approach to planning houses was both innovative and influential in similar domestic architecture of the nineteenth century.[27] Christabel Powell's thesis on Pugin's Liturgical Vision indicates how he developed this before and after his conversion to Catholicism,[28] and Richard Pickett's thesis on Pugin's Churchmanship demonstrates how his beliefs underpinned his artistic work.[29] Margaret Belcher's detailed doctorate analysis of *Contrasts* argues powerfully for the value of Pugin's legacy, with *Contrasts* standing at the head of the medievalist tradition of subsequent Victorian literature.[30] An unpublished manuscript by Phoebe Stanton, later edited by Kathryn Holliday, also examines *Contrasts* and its pictorial approach to the criticism of contemporary architecture.[31] Expert analyses by Rosemary Hill, written ahead of her biography and showing the same rigorous understanding of his life and work as does *God's Architect*, explore Pugin's Small

[25] P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright, Eds. *Pugin, A Gothic Passion* (London: Yale University Press, 1994). Published for the 1994 Victoria and Albert Museum Exhibition of the same name. See Bibliography for all referenced chapters in any Edited book within this Dissertation.
[26] P. Atterbury, Ed. *A.W.N. Pugin Master of Gothic Revival* (New York: Yale University Press, 1995). Published for the 1995 Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts Exhibition of the same name.
[27] T.J. Brittain-Catlin, *A.W.N. Pugin's English Residential Architecture in its Context* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004). https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.16318
[28] C.J. Powell, *The Liturgical Vision of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin* (Doctoral Thesis, Durham University, 2002). http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3761/
[29] R.J. Pickett, *The Churchmanship of A.W.N. Pugin* (Master of Arts Thesis, Durham University, 2002). http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3780/
[30] M. Belcher, *A study of Contrasts and other writings of A.W.N. Pugin in relation to the medievalist tradition in Victorian literature* (Doctoral Thesis, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 1987). https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/12561
[31] K.E. Holliday and P. Stanton, 'Beginnings and Endings: Phoebe Stanton on Pugin's Contrasts', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 65, 2 (2012). http://www.jstor.org/stable/41820043.

Houses,[32] his Churches,[33] and of the position of *Contrasts* in the History of English Thought including the influences of Antiquarians and Romanticism on his work.[34] Of these scholastic writings, those by Belcher, Stanton and Hill, focused on *Contrasts,* and Hill's Small Houses, provide the greatest relevance to his Wiltshire Period.

Main Wiltshire Sources

For Wiltshire itself, the relevant *Buildings of England* volume by Nikolaus Pevsner is the most helpful starting point.[35] This has been updated in the past year to a new edition by Julian Orbach,[36] who lives in Wiltshire and is less open than Pevsner to making attributions to Pugin without hard evidentiary proof. Orbach's own website offers the most comprehensive public document on Wiltshire Architects and discusses eleven potential Pugin works in the county.[37] Wiltshire's early Gothic Revival history and the role of the antiquarian John Britton, Auguste Pugin's sometime collaborator, are explored by Brian Edwards for the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.[38] Local ecclesiastical history is set out by John Chandler and Derek Parker in their book on Wiltshire Churches, and Jo Bettey's work on West Country Monasteries.[39] Specifically for Salisbury, the local historian and editor of the Pugin Society's *True Principles* journal,[40] John Elliott, has published articles on Pugin's work on a number of local buildings,[41] and the painter and stained glass designer John Piper produced a summary of Pugin's work in Wiltshire in a 1945 article on Pugin's house, St Marie's Grange.[42]

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[32] R. Hill, 'Pugin's Small Houses', *Architectural History*, 46 (2003), 147–74. https://doi-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/10.2307/1568805 .
[33] R. Hill, 'Pugin's Churches', *Architectural History*, 49 (2006), 179–205. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40033822
[34] R. Hill, 'Reformation to Millennium: Pugin's Contrasts in the History of English Thought', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, 1 (1999). https://doi.org/10.2307/991435 .
[35] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Wiltshire*, revised by Bridget Cherry (London: Penguin Books, 1975).
[36] J. Orbach, N. Pevsner and B. Cherry, *The Buildings of England, Wiltshire* (London: Yale University Press, 2021).
[37] J. Orbach, 'Wiltshire Architects', Pugin entry, *Julian Orbach*. Available online: https://julianorbach.weebly.com/documents.html
[38] B. Edwards, 'Through a Gothic Entrance, The Society in Context', in J.H. Thomas, Ed. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, The First 150 Years* (Devizes: WANHS, 2003).
[39] J. Chandler and D. Parker, *The Church in Wiltshire* (Salisbury: Alan Sutton Publishing, 2006); J.H. Bettey, *The Suppression of Monasteries in the West Country* (Salisbury: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1989).
[40] The Pugin Society, *True Principles – The Journal of the Pugin Society*, Volumes 1-5, 1996-2022. *True Principles* contains peer reviewed articles related to all of Pugin's work, life and family.
[41] J. Elliott, 'Pugin, St Osmund and Salisbury', *Ecclesiology Today*, 22 (2000); J. Elliott, 'Pugin, St Osmund and Salisbury', *Sarum Chronicle*, 2 (2002); J. Elliott, Check Your Garden Shed, *Pugin Society E-Newsletter*, 9 (2020) pp. 1-5. http://www.thepuginsociety.co.uk/uploads/2/0/5/6/20562880/9_-_december_newsletter.pdf
[42] J. Piper and P. Buchanan, 'St Marie's Grange by Augustus Pugin', *The Architectural Review*, October 1945, pp. 90-94. Reprinted online in 2010: https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/st-maries-grange-by-augustus-pugin

County-specific archive information is held by the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, including documents from Pugin's contemporary, the Salisbury Catholic architect John Peniston,[43] and an 1828 Petition with accompanying letter from the Salisbury Catholic community seeking support for the Catholic Emancipation Act.[44] Salisbury Cathedral Archives hold publications about the history of the building and alterations to it by James Wyatt which had a significant impact on Pugin. These include writings by William Dodsworth who supported Wyatt,[45] John Britton who offered a more neutral stance,[46] and John Milner who was damning in his analysis of the changes.[47]

Wider Historical Background

Stepping outside of the world of Pugin academia, there are several themes which provide contextual background to his work:

- Medievalism: Phoebe Stanton examines Pugin's leadership of the Gothic Revival from 1835-1852 being more about principles of design than pure revivalism,[48] and Linda Austin compares Pugin's role in revivalism with that of Thomas Carlyle and Charles Eastlake.[49] Joanne Parker and Corinna Wagner's *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Medievalism* is the most comprehensive text on the artistic, literary and architectural extent of medievalism from 1750 onwards, with contributions projecting Pugin's influence forward in time to late nineteenth century Aestheticism as well as the Gothic Revival.[50]

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[43] J. Peniston, *Religious Reminiscences*, Unpublished, Early Nineteenth Century, Handwritten Document, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Papers Relating to Roman Catholic Chapels, 451/401; J. Peniston, *Accounts, Inventory and Cash Record Booklet*, 1797-1827. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Papers Relating to Roman Catholic Chapels, 451/391.

[44] *The Humble Petition of the Undersigned Roman Catholics of Salisbury to the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament Assembled,* Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre Papers Relating to Roman Catholic Chapels, 451/391; J. Peniston, *Letter to the Right Honorable Earl of Radnor, Grosvenor Street, London*, 2nd May 1828. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Papers Relating to Roman Catholic Chapels, 451/391.

[45] W. Dodsworth, *A Guide to the Cathedral Church of Salisbury with a Particular Account of the Great Improvements Made Therein Under the Direction of James Wyatt Esq* (Salisbury: B.C. Collins, 1792). [Available in Salisbury Cathedral Archives].

[46] J. Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814). [Available in Salisbury Cathedral Archives].

[47] J. Milner, *A Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals as Exemplified in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Winchester: Jas. Robbins, 1811). First published in 1798. [Available in Salisbury Cathedral Archives].

[48] P.B. Stanton, 'Pugin: Principles of Design versus Revivalism'. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 13.3 (1954), 20–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/987703

[49] L.M. Austin, 'The nostalgic moment and the sense of history', *Postmedieval*, 2.2 (2011) 127-140. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/nostalgic-moment-sense-history/docview/883069360/se-2

[50] J. Parker, and C. Wagner, Eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Medievalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

- Catholicism in the early nineteenth century: for the political and social climate of the 1830s following The Catholic Emancipation Act, Antonia Fraser's *Perilous Question* provides a general overview.[51] *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement* provides detailed analyses by various authors on Tractarian thinking and how nineteenth century Catholicism developed with an intellectually supported movement alongside it.[52]
- Antiquarianism: Rosemary Hill's book *Time's Witness*, *History in the Age of Romanticism*, gives an evocative feel for the cultural world in which the Pugins, father and son, lived and worked. [53] This builds on Hill's thesis on Antiquaries, which includes responses to Wyatt's alterations in Salisbury. Both works discuss Britton and Milner in detail.[54]
- The Palace of Westminster: Alexandra Wedgwood's chapters in Atterbury & Wainwright and in *The Houses of Parliament, History, Art, Architecture,*[55] complement articles by her on development of plans by Pugin with Sir Charles Barry,[56] and by James MacAulay on Parliament and Pugin's Scottish work with James Gillespie Graham.[57]
- Medieval Gothic architecture: works consulted cover its main features,[58] the history of its original development across Europe and Britain,[59] its main Cathedrals,[60] and its early revival before Pugin.[61]

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[51] A. Fraser, *Perilous Question, Reform or Revolution, Britain on the Brink, 1832* (New York: Public Affairs, 2013).
[52] S.J. Brown, P.B. Nockles and J. Pereiro, Eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). https://www-oxfordhandbooks-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199580187.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199580187
[53] R. Hill, *Time's Witness, History in the Age of Romanticism* (London: Penguin Random House, 2021).
[54] R. Hill, *Antiquaries in the Age of Romanticism: 1789-1851* (Doctoral Thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2011).
https://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/2680/HILLAntiquaries2011.pdf?sequence=1
[55] C. Riding & J. Riding, Eds. *The Houses of Parliament: History, Art and Architecture* (London: Merrell, 2003).
Most relevant to Pugin and Wiltshire are the chapters: A. Wedgwood, 'The New Palace of Westminster', pp. 113-136, and Andrea Fredericksen's 'Parliament's Genius Loci: The Politics of Place after the 1834 Fire', pp. 99-112.
[56] A. Wedgwood, 'The Throne in the House of Lords and Its Setting'. *Architectural History* 27 (1984), 59–73. https://doi.org/10.2307/1568451 .
[57] J. MacAulay, 'The Architectural Collaboration between J. Gillespie Graham and A. W. Pugin', *Architectural History* 27 (1984), 406–20. https://doi.org/10.2307/1568482 .
[58] M. Henry-Claude, L. Stefanon and Y. Zaballos, *Principles and Elements of Medieval Church Architecture in Western Europe* (Gavaudan: Les Editions Fragile, 2001).
[59] O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order - Expanded Edition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv10crfrn
[60] Wilson, The Gothic Cathedral.
[61] P.N. Lindfield, K. Fugelso, & C. Jones, *Georgian Gothic: Medievalist Architecture, Furniture and Interiors*, 1730-1840 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016). http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt1d3923m .

Chapter 1: Pugin's Gothic Road to Wiltshire

> I have determined to devote my entire time to the study and delineation of our venerable architecture. I trust the result of my Labours will prove worthy the attention of all patrons professors and students of that grand and sublime style termed Gothic.
>
> A.W.N. Pugin. 1834.[62]

This Gothic was, for Pugin, the pure work of the Middle Ages, inspired by Catholicism before the Reformation, and not what he saw as the pale imitations that had come since. Before seeing how, in Salisbury, he was to manifest this study of Medieval Gothic in stone and in print, it is useful to understand something of the journey Pugin made to get to that point.

This chapter will, first, explore what led Pugin to live in Salisbury and what he could have known about the county of Wiltshire that might have drawn him there. It then examines the nature of Medieval Gothic and Pugin's exposure to this in his youth, particularly in relation to Wiltshire. Finally, it will review Pugin's arrival in Salisbury and analyse his first architectural work in the city.

Parents and Upbringing

Born in London in 1812, of a mother from Lincolnshire, Catherine Welby, who had married a French immigrant, Auguste Charles Pugin, the young Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin had a cosmopolitan upbringing. His parents had led the publication of a book about the life and architecture of the city, *The Microcosm of London*, shortly before his birth. This work has been described as 'one of the most beautiful books of the nineteenth century'.[63] It showcased

[62] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 31 March 1834', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 32.
[63] M. Sangster, 'Introduction to the Microcosm of London 1808-10', *Romantic London* (2022). http://www.romanticlondon.org/microcosm-intro/

Pugin's father's architectural drawings of old London buildings and contemporary social settings, supplemented with figures of people added by Thomas Rowlandson.[64]



Figure 3 - Albion Mills on Fire in London, Auguste Pugin, 1808, The Microcosm of London.[65]

Auguste had a growing reputation amongst architects, painters, and antiquarians.[66] Through their company, including the leading architect John Nash who employed his father for a while, Augustus Pugin learned the principles of the Picturesque in the appreciation of buildings.[67] It is not hard to understand, therefore, where he developed his skills in

[64] Rowlandson, Pugin and Summerson, *The Microcosm of London*.
Rowlandson, 1757-1827, is seen as one of the founders of English Caricature drawing.
[65] A. Pugin, *Albion Mills on Fire in London* [Etching, Aquatint, Hand-Coloured] (1808), The Microcosm of London, British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1880-1113-1489
[66] Ferrey, *Recollections*, pp. 1-31.
Ferrey, who was himself a pupil of Auguste Pugin, devotes the first three chapters of his Pugin biography to the work of Auguste and the professional relationships he developed in London.
[67] 'Picturesque', *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2015).
Picturesque scenes were neither serene (like the Beautiful) nor awe-inspiring (like the Sublime), but full of variety, curious details, and interesting textures—medieval ruins were quintessentially Picturesque.
https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191782763.001.0001/acref-9780191782763-e-1914

representing them. ‘Asymmetry, natural planning, the effects of light, and the importance of association of ideas,’ became central to his work.[68] As Pugin grew older, his learning was increasingly linked to pupillage in his father’s growing office and drawing school, until he started to branch out to work independently, taking on commissions as diverse as theatre scenery, furniture design and architectural drawing.[69]

Visiting Wiltshire

The first recorded family visit to the county occurred in the mid 1820s. The thirteen-year-old Pugin was taken off to the country by his mother for convalescence after a period of illness. They went to Christchurch in Dorset and then to Salisbury in Wiltshire, both of which impressed him, due to the Augustinian Priory of the former and the grand old Gothic Cathedral of the latter.[70]

In 1832, Pugin’s father, Auguste, arranged to take his family on what was to be a last trip together. Ever since 1818, when his son was just six, Auguste had organised annual family tours, for weeks on end, to towns and cities across England and sometimes to the continent, to see, and then draw or paint, the structure and fabric of notable old buildings. The highlights of these trips were medieval churches and castles, and it was clear from the very first tour that father and son were equally enamoured with the Medieval Gothic styles they discovered. The final family tour was to be to the West Country. It was commenced by mother and son in Salisbury in late summer 1832.

[68] Hill, ‘Pugin’s Small Houses’, p. 148.
[69] Ferrey, *Recollections*, pp. 57-66.
[70] Hill, *God’s Architect*, pp. 69-70.
Hill records this as being in 1825, whereas Ferrey (Recollections, p.74) appears to describe the same event as being a year or two before Pugin’s marriage in 1831. Hill’s information is invariably more accurate and evidence-based.



Figure 4 - Salisbury in 1829.[71]

Little detail is known of the time spent in the Wiltshire city in 1832, yet it was clearly significant. Pugin struck up a friendship with a stonemason there, William Osmond, who was to become a close collaborator in local building projects and initially welcomed Pugin and his family when he moved to the city three years later.

Ferrey describes the friendship with Osmond as commencing from when Pugin was living in Salisbury, i.e. from the winter of 1834-35, but he evidences the closeness between the two through a letter sent by Pugin to Osmond extolling the beauty of Gothic architecture in Wells. That letter was in fact written in September 1832, when records of their correspondence begin:

[71] J. C. Varrall, *Salisbury, View in Castle Street Looking South*, [Engraving] (1829), published in J. Britton, *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* (London: Longman & Co., 1829), p. 67. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6e1ZAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

If you want to be delighted if you want to be astonished if you want to be half as mad as I at present am, for Gods sake come over to wells. Most magnificent things for detail that can be seen, splendid remains of every style and Every description of gothic architecture … Gothic for ever.[72]



Figure 5 – William Osmond's Workshop in Salisbury, built circa 1820.[73]

[72] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to William Osmond, 20 September 1832', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. pp. 12-13.
Some of Pugin's subsequent sketches of the Deanery are reproduced in Figure 51 below.
[73] P. Read (Photographer), '13 St John's Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire', Historic England (2006). https://historicengland.org.uk/services-skills/education/educational-images/13-st-johns-street-salisbury-5592

This Gothic, which Pugin was to propel to the centre of nineteenth century architectural style, was central to his father's work until Auguste's death at the end of 1832. The loss of his father, his wife Anne who died in childbirth, and then of his mother, had a profound effect on Pugin. For the next two years, leading up to his arrival in Wiltshire, he made tours of towns and cities with medieval buildings, even after marrying again. These visits, often relayed back by letter to Osmond in Salisbury, further accentuated his appreciation of Medieval Gothic. By late 1833, he even joked in writing to Osmond that a cheese which the latter had sent him could be rendered Gothic by cutting it into four like a Quatrefoil.[74]

Medieval Gothic

Structurally, Medieval Gothic Architecture, from the twelfth century onwards, involved the systematic introduction into predominantly ecclesiastical buildings of a new type of roof covering, termed cross-rib vaulting, and a new type of wall buttressing, called flying buttresses. The cross-ribbed vaulting resulted in two arches crossing each other diagonally which ensured a maximum concentration of forces to a precise point transferring weight equally to the four supports of the roof. The flying buttresses provided support high up on the walls at positions where the concentration of weight was at its greatest. Design became focused on pointed arches, greater height, and, above all, the idea that it was not walls that were important, what mattered was light. The first great example of such Gothic architecture was the Abbey Church (now called the Basilica) of St Denis, Paris, the resting place of the Kings of France, which was rebuilt from 1137 under the principle that 'God is Light.'[75] Later in his career, Pugin chose to copy the St Denis style of internal chapels and altars in his design of St Barnabas Cathedral in Nottingham.[76]

[74] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to William Osmond, 27 October 1833', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 16.
[75] Henry-Claude, et al, *Medieval Church Architecture*, pp. 18-19.
[76] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Lord Shrewsbury, 13 February 1842', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 16.

Figure 6 – The first Medieval Gothic masterpiece, St Denis in Paris, by Auguste Pugin, 1829.



[77] A.C. Pugin, *Eglise de St Denis* [Etching and Engraving] (1829), British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1871-0610-1005

As Gothic replaced the previously more monolithic Romanesque architecture across Medieval Europe, the emphasis in Church design shifted to larger windows with stained glass, sited within buildings in which the structure of the edifice was no longer something to cover up through murals or mosaics, but was considered part of the beauty of the Church itself, both in its form and in its drawing in of light. Painted images were no longer needed to symbolise the celestial city of Heaven as described in the Book of Revelations, the building itself did this. Geometry led to Godliness.[78]

Revived centuries later, nineteenth century Gothic took many years to find a modern style equivalent to its medieval predecessor. Initially, in Georgian Britain, the interpretation of this Gothic 'was conditioned by a limited understanding of medieval buildings'.[79] As will be seen, Pugin's tours in the early 1830s led him to visit several examples of cathedral renovations which he saw as exhibiting a lack of understanding of true Medieval Gothic.

Early Nineteenth Century Wiltshire's Gothic Specimens

In the year of the convalescent trip to Salisbury and Christchurch, 1825, the most public story about Gothic architecture, covered by newspapers across the country, was noted by Pugin in his diary. This concerned Fonthill Abbey in Wiltshire, a great new country house which had been constructed from 1796, led by the architect James Wyatt for the writer and art collector William Beckford, who had previously published one of the earliest Gothic novels *Vathek.*[80] In a symbolic representation of the early stages of the Gothic Revival, in which the architecture was appreciated but not fully understood, Beckford, who took over the work completely after Wyatt's death in 1813, had several times constructed a three hundred foot tower as part of the abbey's pseudo-medieval design, which had repeatedly then collapsed.[81] The last fall, in December 1825, was recorded by Pugin: 'The tower of Fonthill Abbey fell with a tremendous crash at half past 3pm.'[82]

[78] Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, pp. 3–14.
[79] Lindfield, et al, *Georgian Gothic*, pp. 7-41.
[80] There is no record of Pugin ever reading Vathek, but he was noted to be a prodigious reader in his teens and Hill (*God's Architect*, p. 66) states that this was particularly of Sir Walter Scott's work, which influenced him regarding the romanticism of medieval settings.
[81] J. Wilton-Ely, 'The Genesis and Evolution of Fonthill Abbey', *Architectural History*, 23 (1980), 40–51. https://doi.org/10.2307/1568421
[82] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 70.



Figure 7 – 1800 card Model of Fonthill Abbey and one of Beckford's Towers.[83]

Pugin's mention of Fonthill was a rare identification of Wiltshire in his diaries. It is not known if any of the Pugin family trips, before or after his convalescent visit, included stays in the county, but the instigator of the first family tour back in 1818, had major connections with it. This was the antiquarian John Britton, who was Wiltshire born and bred.

The leading architectural cataloguer of his time, Britton commissioned Pugin's father, Auguste, to undertake scaled drawings of architecturally impressive buildings. These were mostly from the medieval period, in towns and cities across England, to populate Britton's multi-volume series of books concerning architectural and cathedral antiquities.

The two men commenced a collaboration which lasted a decade. Auguste would produce the drawings, and the text for books was often then written by the man with whom Pugin was frequently to correspond in the 1830s, Edward Willson.[84] This collaborative work included

[83] The British Museum, *Model of Fonthill Abbey, Beckford's Tower* [Paper and Card] (1800), from The History of the World, BBC & The British Museum.
This model is thought to have been used by James Wyatt and the builders of the tower.
https://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/sN8b7GzYR0el4YJPi0enDQ

[84] Edward John Willson Esq. F.S.A', *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review,* July 1856 – May 1868, (1855), 321–22. https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/edward-john-willson-esq-f-s/docview/8838159/se-2.

the genesis of Auguste's own architectural collection of Medieval Gothic buildings, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture,*[85] which evolved into the more successful series, *Examples of Gothic Architecture*.[86]

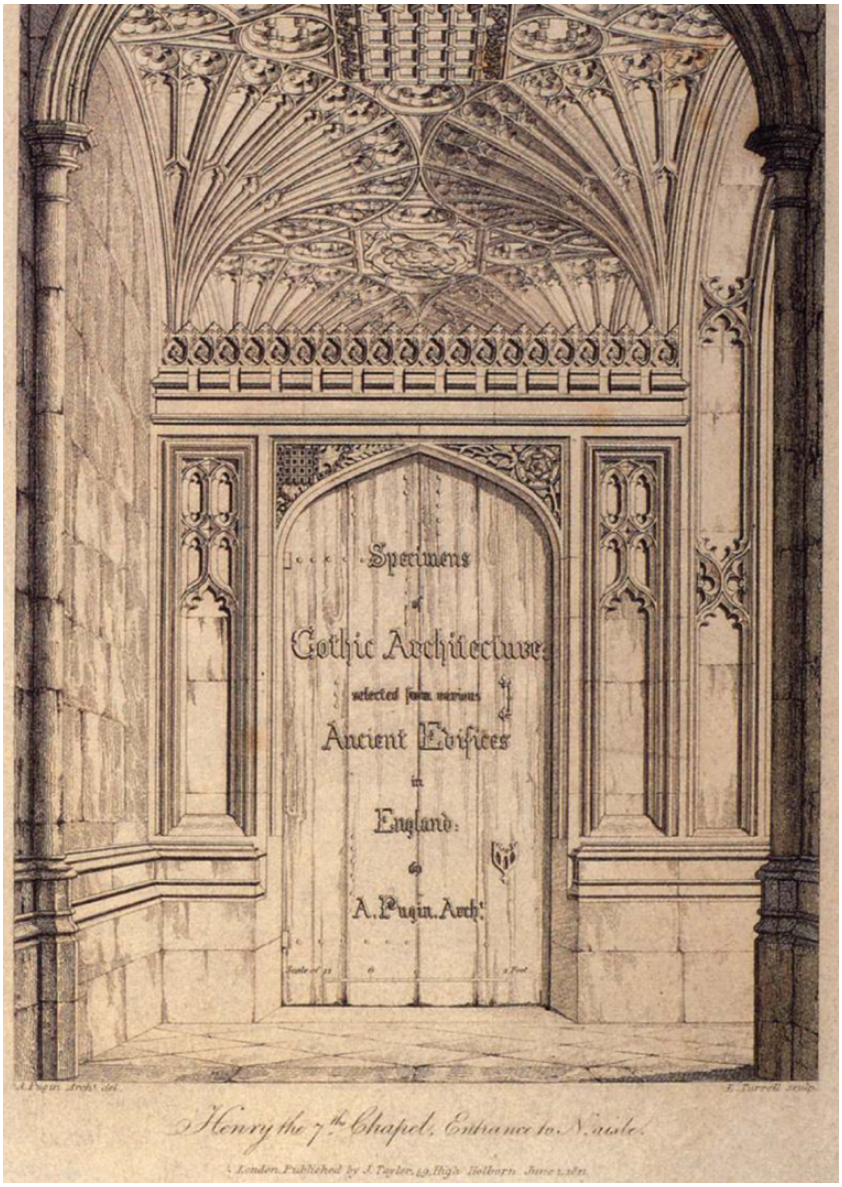


Figure 8 – Frontispiece of Specimens of Gothic Architecture, 1821, Auguste Pugin.[87]

[85] A.C. Pugin, *Specimens Of Gothic Architecture; Selected From Various Ancient Edifices In England: Consisting Of Plans, Elevations, Sections, And Parts At Large; Calculated To Exemplify The Various Styles, And The Practical Construction Of This Class Of Admired Architecture, Accompanied By Historical and Descriptive Accounts. By A. Pugin, - Architect* (London: J. Taylor, 1821).
[86] A.C. Pugin, and E, Willson, *Examples of Gothic Architecture, Selected from Various Antient Edifices in England: Consisting of Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Parts At Large; Calculated to Exemplify the Various Styles, and the Practical Construction of this Admired Class of Architecture, Vol 1* (London: Bohn, 1831).
[87] A. C. Pugin, *Henry the 7th Chapel*, Frontispiece of 'Specimens of Gothic Architecture' (1821), Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Augustus_Charles_Pugin_-_Specimens_of_Gothic_Architecture_(frontispiece)_-_WGA18526.jpg

During these ten years, Britton's interests became a significant influence on the Pugins, father and son. The antiquarian not only hailed from Wiltshire but had commenced his architectural publishing career with a book entitled *The Beauties of Wiltshire*.[88] He was also a leading authority on Salisbury Cathedral at that time. In 1814 he had detailed the past and present of the Cathedral's architecture in a work dedicated to the current Bishop there, John Fisher, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury.*[89] Britton's publication, *Beauties of England and Wales,* had majored on Salisbury Cathedral in its volume on Wiltshire, and his *Fine Arts of the English School* in 1814 had included volumes on Salisbury and Wiltshire as a whole.[90]

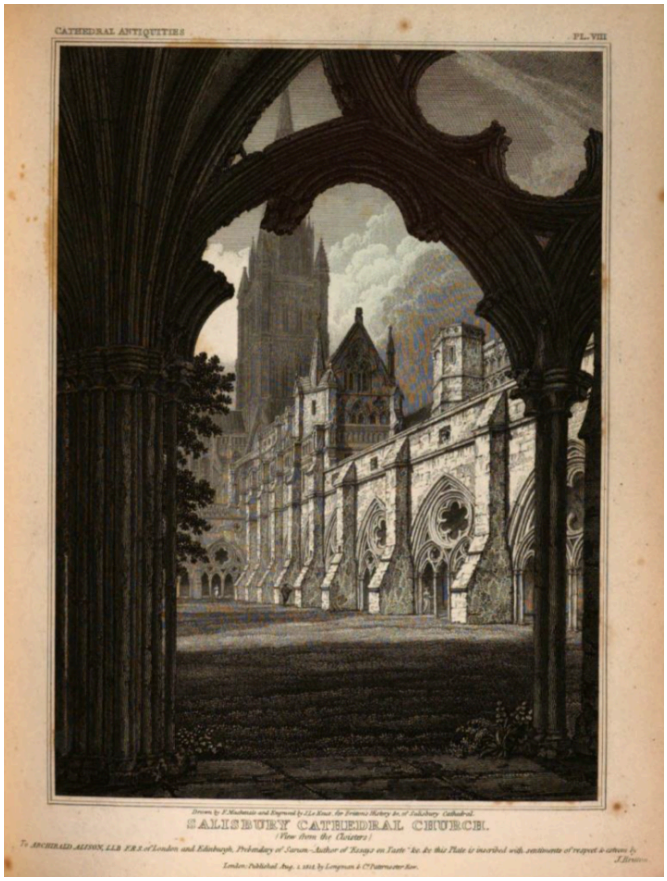


Figure 9 - Salisbury Cathedral Church (View from the Cloisters) 1814 in John Britton's book about the Cathedral.[91]

[88] J. Britton, *The Beauties of Wiltshire: Displayed in Statistical, Historical and Descriptive Sketches, interspersed with Anecdotes of the Arts* (London: J.D. Dewick, 1801).
[89] Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury.*
[90] J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales, or Original Delineations, Topographical, Historical and Descriptive, of Each County, Embellished with Engravings. Volume XV, Wiltshire* (London: Longman & Co., 1814); J. Britton, *Fine Arts of the English School, Illustrated by a Series of Engravings of Eminent English Artists, with Ample Biographical, Critical and Descriptive Essays by various Authors* (London: Chiswick Press, 1814).
[91] J. Le Keux, *Salisbury Cathedral Church (View from the Cloisters) 1814*, in Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury.*

As Britton had already catalogued so much of his home county, this could explain why there is no evidence of him requesting drawings from Wiltshire by Auguste, nor any record of one of the family tours visiting the county until 1832, even though some of Wiltshire's medieval ecclesiastical buildings are of great note.[92]

Pugin fell out with Britton in the late 1830s, just as his father had done a decade earlier. Britton's direct influence on Pugin's work is hard to gauge, but he was a Wiltshire man, a close friend of the family for years, and one of the highest profile antiquarians in the country with a penchant for the Gothic. Edwards, in writing about the two of them, states that it was Britton:

> who had drawn antiquarian interest from manorial history into the fabric of the church. This, in turn, had helped to usher in the Ecclesiological wave of the Gothic Revival that led to the refocusing of this architectural revolution into an ideal.[93]

It was certainly Pugin who was to lead that wave, As will be seen in his work on St Marie's Grange and on *Contrasts*, his focus was as much on its ideal as on the technicalities of Gothic structures.

Salisbury Cathedral and James Wyatt.

In 1820s London, the biggest advertisements for Salisbury would have been at the Royal Academy. John Constable's paintings of Salisbury Cathedral,[94] were the main exhibits there in 1823,[95] and again in 1831.[96]

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[92] Orbach *Wiltshire*, pp. 22-30.
Orbach's Introduction describes Malmesbury's Norman porch as 'among the best work of the time in England', Lacock as being 'the best preserved Nunnery site in Britain', and Edington Priory as being 'one of the most significant churches in the country'.
[93] Edwards, 'Through a Gothic Entrance', p. 12.
[94] Hill, *God's Architect*, p 79.
Constable was a friend of Britton and subscribed to Auguste Pugin's *Examples*.
[95] S. Daniels, 'No Continuing City: John Constable, John Britton and Views of Urban History', *Tate Papers*, 33 (2020). https://www.tate.org.uk/research/tate-papers/33/no-continuing-city-john-constable-john-britton-views-urban-history
The main Painting exhibited was Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Ground with Bishop Fisher in the foreground.
[96] D, Blayney Brown, 'Fire and Water: Turner and Constable in the Royal Academy, 1831', *Tate Papers* 33 (2020). https://www.tate.org.uk/research/tate-papers/33/fire-water-turner-constable-royal-academy



Figure 10 - John Constable, Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Ground, 1823.[97]

Pugin would have also come across mention of the Cathedral in discussions within his father's professional and antiquarian circles. Not only was the building recognised as one of the greatest Gothic achievements in the country, but it had become notorious architecturally due to alterations which had been undertaken at the end of the eighteenth century by the architect James Wyatt in the name of improvement, destroying much of the internal structure as well as a large bell tower outside the Cathedral.[98]

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[97] J. Constable, *Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Ground* [Oil on canvas] (1823), Victoria and Albert Museum, London. https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O56227/salisbury-cathedral-from-the-bishops-oil-painting-constable-john-ra/
This painting includes Bishop Fisher in the foreground. Constable also painted several views of the Cathedral from a distance.

[98] Orbach, *Wiltshire*, pp. 536-537.
Orbach's Cathedral entry details: 1789-92 removal of Hungerford and Beauchamp chapels, porches from north transept and south choir aisle, the medieval screen, an organ, stained glass, and the campanile (large bell tower external to the Cathedral). Much of this 'improvement' was restored after Pugin's time, initially the Chapter House by Clutton and Burges, but then Clutton became a Catholic and was replaced by George Gilbert Scott, who, over a period of twenty years from 1858, swept away as much of Wyatt's work as he could, although some of Scott's work was removed in the twentieth century.

From 1789, Wyatt's work had provoked a strong reaction in the antiquarian world, with lines being drawn between preservationists and those who approved of such improvements.[99] Britton had stayed as neutral as he could on Wyatt's interior and exterior alterations at Salisbury, acknowledging that they 'have excited much local, public and literary criticism', but also writing that 'it is the duty of the historian to review such proceedings with strict impartiality.'[100]

But Pugin, who had no time for 'the Villain Wyatt',[101] gravitated towards the views expressed by the Reverend John Milner, whose work he republished in the 1840s, and whose other writings he credited for influencing his Catholicism. Milner had been a strong voice advocating for Emancipation in the early part of the century and had often used medieval references to support his arguments.[102] He had produced, initially in 1798, *A Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Antient Buildings as Exemplified in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, which had excoriated Wyatt and his destructive changes in the Cathedral.[103]

According to Ferrey, once Pugin was in Salisbury:

> now was first manifested his indignation at the wanton havoc which had been made in Salisbury Cathedral, where, under the plausible guise of improvements or restorations, most reprehensible changes were effected.[104]

[99] Hill, *Times Witness*, pp. 53-56.
Led by Richard Gough, the challenge to Wyatt's Salisbury work was the first antiquarian preservationist campaign against the 'establishment', in this case church, monarchy/aristocracy and architects. It prefigures Pugin's later attacks in *Contrasts*.
[100] Britton, *Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, pp. 79-80.
[101] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to William Osmond, May 1834', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 35.
[102] C.D.A. Leighton, 'John Milner and the Orthodox Cause', *Journal of Religious History*, 32.3 (2008), 345–60, p. 360. https://web-p-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=e5834420-e7ae-47cd-8959-afd3b87753a9%40redis
[103] Milner, *A Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals*, p. 8.
[104] Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 73.

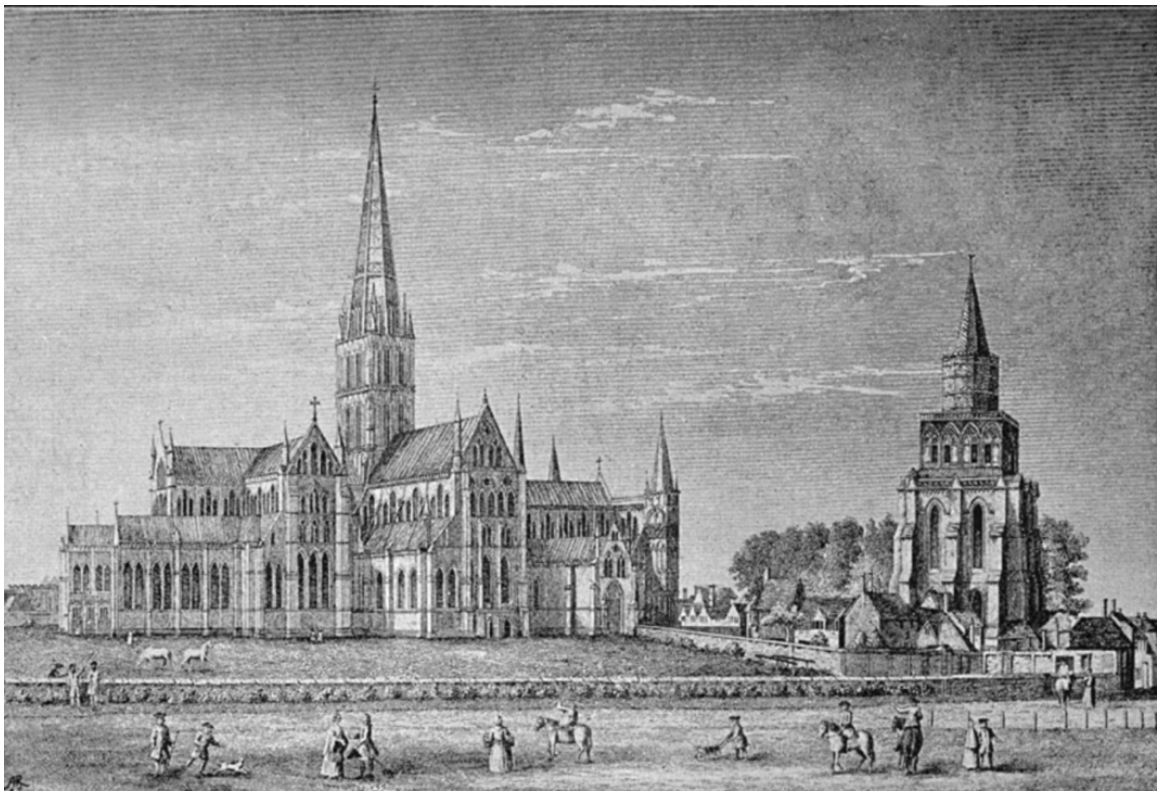


Figure 11 - Salisbury Cathedral before Wyatt, with the Belltower he destroyed on the right.[105]

Pugin's correspondence, during his tours of 1833-34 after the loss of those closest to him, show that he not only visited impressive Medieval Gothic sites, but also locations where Wyatt had previously worked. Much of this was relayed back to William Osmond in Wiltshire, including in one letter, when he visited Hereford, that 'all that is vile, unmeaning and rascally, is included in the term Wyatt', and at Lichfield he termed Wyatt a 'monster of architectural depravity, this pest of Cathedral architecture'.[106]

Arrival in Salisbury

By 1834, all that was left to Pugin of close family was his young daughter Anne from his first marriage, his aunt, Selina Welby, and his new wife Louisa Button, who he had married the previous year. [107] Initially, Louisa and Anne lived with him in a cottage in St Lawrence near

[105] Unknown Artist, *Salisbury Cathedral and Belltower* [Engraving], in G. White, *The Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (London: Chiswick Press, 1898), p. 19. https://www.hellenicaworld.com/UK/Literature/GleesonWhite/en/TheCathedralChurchOfSalisbury.html#imagep019
[106] Pugin to Osmond, 27 October 1833, p. 18.
[107] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 545.

Ramsgate where his aunt lived, although Pugin spent long periods away on his tours around England and France. These travels were refining Pugin's views not only of good and bad architecture, but also of spiritual matters, with hints sent to Osmond about the possibility of entering the Catholic Church.[108] But, ahead of this, Pugin's domestic arrangements were about to change.

In March 1834, his son, Edward Welby Pugin, was born in Ramsgate. From May, Pugin travelled abroad to sites in France, Germany and Holland. Then, in September, his aunt Selina died. In a letter to Willson from Ramsgate, Pugin described this as a heavy blow, terming her 'a mother to all of us'.[109] But her death also meant that he inherited, from her, enough funds to improve his family's life. A few weeks later, Pugin was in London, with his letters reporting that he saw John Britton,[110] and on 16th October he witnessed the destruction by fire of the Houses of Parliament.[111] Around this time, or soon after, he decided to move to the place of which, only a few months earlier, he had written: 'in all my travels I have never seen a pleasanter city than Salisbury.'[112]

Salisbury was a small, compact city of just under ten thousand people.[113] Welcomed into it by the family of his stonemason friend and regular correspondent, William Osmond, Pugin soon connected to the Catholic community in the city, particularly through a local architect, John Peniston. He planned to invest his aunt's money in the building of a new property, but, before he completed that, it is thought that his first work was to renovate a former medieval hall.

Hill's notes in *God's Architect* state that 'Button' is written on their marriage register and on the birth certificate of their daughter Mary. However, Ferrey *(Recollections*, p.93) and Belcher (*Collected Letters Vol 1*, p. 25) both name her 'Burton'.

[108] Pugin to Osmond, 30 January 1834, p. 24.
Further detail provided below in Chapter 3. Ref. Footnote 179.

[109] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 16 September 1834', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. pp. 40-41.

[110] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 11 May 1834', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 36.
The contact with Britton included Pugin paying him money that was owed by Willson.

[111] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 6 November 1834', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 42.
See Chapter 4 below and Figure 34.

[112] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to William Osmond, 30 January 1834', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*, p. 21.

[113] E. Crittall, Ed. *A History of Wiltshire, Victoria County History*, *Vol IV* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 356.
Population of the Registered District of Salisbury was 9,876 in 1831, and 10,086 in 1841.

The Hall of Sir John Halle

Nowadays part of the Odeon Cinema, this medieval hall is situated on a busy thoroughfare, New Canal, in the centre of Salisbury, which, according to Pevsner, is one of many streets which hark back to the days when the city had canals.[114] The building is named after Sir John Halle, its owner in the fifteenth century, a wool merchant in the city and four times its mayor.

An archaeological analysis in 1990, determined that, in medieval times:

> The house was constructed of stone, at right angles to New Canal, and was approached through an archway into an open courtyard; an alley to the rear, allowed access to the 'back-lands'. Halle undoubtedly shared the street with other high-status residents.[115]



Figure 12- The Hall of Sir John Halle, 2022.[116]

[114] Pevsner, *Wiltshire*, p. 452.
[115] Wessex Archaeology, Salisbury Sites 15: New Canal, *Wessex Archaeology Online*. https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/news/salisbury-sites-15-new-canal
[116] *The Hall of Sir John Halle – Entrance* (2022), New Canal, Salisbury. Photograph by the author.

In 1834, a China Merchant, Sampson Payne, commissioned work to renovate the old building to become a shop. A history of the Hall, published at that time, describes how Payne:

> at considerable expense removed the modern partitions and renovated the curious hall which is now to be seen in its original size and proportions.[117]



Figure 13 - Sampson Payne's 1830s China Shop in the restored Hall of Sir John Halle.[118]

This is now the entrance for the Odeon Cinema.

[117] E. Duke, *Essays Illustrative of the Halle of Sir John Halle, Citizen and Merchant of Salisbury in the Reign of Henry VI and Edward IV* (Salisbury: W.B. Brodie, 1837), pp. v-viii. [Available Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre].

[118] Unknown Artist, *The Halle of John Halle* [Engraving], in Duke, *Essays Illustrative of the Halle of Sir John Halle.* At the back of the Hall can be seen the painting on the wall above the screen, which the City Guide attributed to Pugin – see Footnote 122.

Brittain-Catlin notes that 'Pugin is believed to have restored' the Hall,[119] and Pevsner records that he did this in 1834.[120] Ferrey is more specific:

> Pugin with his own hands executed in colour the coat-of-arms supported by an angel in the end wall of the apartment, and decorated the chimney piece and other parts of the hall.[121]

Another book mentioning the Hall, published at the end of the nineteenth century, describes a large oak screen with elaborate carvings, which still exists within the property today, and states that above the screen is 'a painting representing an angel crowned and holding a scroll inscribed *This Hall built 1470 restored 1834*'. This City Guide continues:

> The illumination is by the ready hand of the late A.W. Pugin who began and finished it at once, having continued at his gratuitous labour of love for six hours without intermission.[122]

For Orbach, in the most recent analysis of 'perhaps the finest late medieval hall in the town', the fireplace and painting are all that now exist of Pugin's work in the Hall. Instead, he attributes the other restorations to F.E. Fisher in 1833 which was before Pugin arrived in the city, with stained glass installations ascribed to John Beare in 1833-34.[123]

[119] Brittain-Catlin, *Pugin's English Residential Architecture*, p. 230.
[120] Pevsner, *Wiltshire,* p. 452.
[121] Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 100.
[122] Brown, *Illustrated Guide to Salisbury and Neighbourhood* (Salisbury: Brown and Co., 1895). [Available Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre]. Note, the painting above the screens no longer exists.
[123] Orbach, *Wiltshire*, p. 614.



Figure 14 - The Hall of Sir John Halle, 2022, showing fireplace and doorway/oak screen variously attributed to Pugin.[124].



Figure 15 - Fireplace in the Hall of Sir John Halle, 2022, which was painted by Pugin.[125]

[124] *The Hall of Sir John Halle* (2022), New Canal, Salisbury. Photograph by the author.
The three doorways are within an oak screen at times attributed to Pugin, who is said to have painted the fireplace/chimney piece.
[125] *Fireplace in the Hall of Sir John Halle* (2022), New Canal, Salisbury. Photograph by the author.

Chapter 2: St Marie's Grange, Alderbury, Wiltshire.

> I have at length made a purchase of my Land – and by the time you receive this the masons mallets will be working Large Blocks of stone into door heads jambs mullions etc. etc. it is a most beautiful peice of grounds close to Salisbury comanding a magnificent view of the cathedral and city with the river avon winding through the beautiful valley.
>
> A.W.N. Pugin. 1835.[126]

Two years before he moved to Salisbury, Pugin started to produce detailed architectural drawings for residential schemes in which he overlaid his own ideas on top of the plans of existing buildings: a Chateau in France, a Deanery in Salisbury, and Brethren's Lodgings probably based on the Vicar's Close in Wells.[127] Then, in early 1835, with the money inherited from his aunt, he decided to construct his own home and build it from scratch, buying half an acre of land for £150, in Alderbury, just south-east of Salisbury.

This chapter will, first, describe the house that Pugin designed and built on the land he had purchased. It then compares that house with Pugin's other domestic architecture.

Building St Marie's Grange

The house was to be a home for Pugin, his wife Louisa, and the two children Anne and Edward. It was also planned to be the centre for his work and a reflection of his changing religious beliefs. In his January 1835 letter to Willson, Pugin set out more of his decision to purchase:

> I think I may say I have as beautiful and advantageous situation as any in England. I have a very good connection indeed in the vicinity and have a great many subscribers

[126] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 1 January 1835', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 45.
[127] Brittain-Catlin, *Pugin's English Residential Architecture*, pp. 228-230.

to all my works in that & the surrounding counties but I can assure you I do not think for business it is of very great importance where I am so as a post can reach me.[128]



Figure 16 - St Marie's Grange, circa 1835.[129]

The land that he had bought was on sloping ground with the higher part of it affording a clear view of the Cathedral, more than a mile away on the other side of the River Avon. The name he chose for the property reflected his imminent Catholic conversion, but it was the style of the design which was to stand out. It was a three-storey building, with the side facing the Southampton Road, and therefore visible to passers-by, being a blank wall devoid of windows. Access to the property was via the first floor, with a dry moat defending it from visitors who had to cross a drawbridge to gain entrance. Internally, the building had a library, chapel with bellcote, and a stair tower. In some ways it was thoroughly modern, such as being red brick, having casement windows and containing water closets on each floor. In other ways, its owner's love of Medieval Gothic was plain to see, with its towers,

[128] Pugin to Willson, 1 January 1835, p. 45.
[129] Unknown artist, *St Marie's Grange* [Watercolour], Private Collection, in Atterbury and Wainwright, Eds. *Pugin A Gothic Passion*, p. 44.

drawbridge, stained glass, carvings and engravings on doorways and interior walls. Pugin chiselled out some of the stone himself, and displayed his own coat of arms, adding the phrase *en avant* to the shield design.[130]



Figure 17 – St Marie's Grange Stained Glass Windows, 2022, with Pugin's Motto En Avant.[131]

Plans for the property were adjusted as it was being built. According to Stanton, the original design was 'amateurishly French, and wildly impractical', but the finished version was:

[130] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 133-138.
[131] *St Marie's Grange*, 2022. Photograph by the author.
'En Avant' means Forward.

unusual and distinctly personal, the house had emerged as coherent and attractive, in spite of the experimental indecision that had characterised the development of its design.[132]



Figure 18 - St Marie's Grange, by Benjamin Ferrey.[133]

This indecision reflects the fact that Pugin adapted the construction as he went along, after starting with only the most basic of plans. This was due partly to a lack of architectural detail in his designs at that stage of his career, partly to a still evolving sense of style, and partly

[132] Stanton*, Pugin*, pp. 14-15.
[133] B. Ferrey, 'St Marie's Grange', in Ferrey, *Recollections* p. 72.

because the building had to be constructed on a relatively tight area of sloping land, close to the road, with an intention to optimise the view of the Cathedral from the Library.

In the January 1835 letter already quoted, to Edward Willson, Pugin described his intentions:

> I have got very beautiful stone the same as the Cathedral at sarum is built with for my house - & when finished I expect it will be the only modern building that is compleat in every part – in the antient style but although I hope to get covered in by next winter it will be 2 or 3 years – before the chapel is finished as there will be a great deal of work in it the carving of which I intend to execute myself.[134]

Seven months later, he wrote again to Willson with an update on building progress:

> You have no idea how compleat my house is. I yesterday got the fanes fixed (turning with every Wind) and the chrest of fleur de Lis upon the top of the roof has a very good effect. I have purchased some magnificent things for my chapel in Normandy.[135]

That letter ends with mention of an attack in print on Pugin and others locally by supporters of Bishop Thomas Burgess, and much of this Pugin attributes to him having crosses on his house and a chapel built within it.[136]

[134] Pugin to Willson, 1 January 1835, p. 47.
[135] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 16 August 1835', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 49.
[136] Pugin to Willson, 16 August 1835, p. 50.
This attack is detailed in Chapter 3.



Figure 19 - St Marie's Grange Chapel from the Library.[137]

[137] A.W.N. Pugin, *St Marie's Grange Chapel* [Watercolour], whereabouts unknown, in Atterbury and Wainwright, *Pugin A Gothic Passion*, p. 45.

Living and Working in St Marie's Grange

Pugin initially enjoyed living in Salisbury. He had close connections to the Catholic community there, a good range of local contacts linked to his growing design and building interests, and good postal connections to communicate with those further afield. As will be shown, he undertook some of his most important early work whilst residing at St Marie's Grange, and to support this he had made what Wainwright terms the 'piece of furniture most associated with his creative life': his architectural drawing table. This was designed for standing use only, specifically measured to match his height of five foot two inches.[138] Wainwright describes how Pugin would work for hours at this table, and Trappes-Lomax adds further to mental images of the architect's devotion to his work by relating a contemporarily exaggerated tale of how Pugin had a mobile stairway to seclude himself in an upper room of the tower and work in isolation for days at a time.[139]

However initially proud Pugin was of this first constructed house and his relationships with the local community, having a main base for work and family in St Marie's Grange was soon to become less satisfactory. By 1837, due to the growth in his reputation after the achievements described in Chapters 4 and 5 below, his main working connections were mostly in London and further north. His wife Louisa was finding the situation unhealthy, and the family, with another baby, Agnes, born in October 1836, was too large for a two bedroomed house. In September 1837, the entire family abandoned St Marie's Grange and Pugin returned to London for them to take up lodgings in Chelsea.

He kept the house, but, by 1839, he was writing that:

> I have several large churches to do in Ireland, and five near Birmingham, so that I am almost worked to death, and all my business, excepting Downside Priory, lies quite wide of Salisbury. I do not see the probability of my being able to reside there for years. I must do something regarding my house.[140]

[138] C. Wainwright, 'Furniture', in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright, *Pugin A Gothic Passion*, p. 138.
[139] Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, p. 64.
[140] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Frederick Fisher, 29/30 June 1839', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 119.

He stated in that letter that he did not want to sell it, but this view was not to last. In 1841, the house was put up for sale. Some alterations were made around that time. Advertised in the national press, part of the description was:

> The stone chimney-pieces are carved with heraldic ornaments, the ceilings are of wainscot panels laid in moulded oak beams and joints, and the roof over the room designed for a chapel is of the ancient high pitch, with open framing and bracing. Mr. Pugin planned and built this house as a retired residence for himself. His extended professional engagements deny him living so far from the metropolis.[141]

The same year, St Marie's Grange was sold for £500 to a Mr Staples, from whom Pugin had originally purchased the land on which he built the house.[142]

Comparison to Other Domestic Architecture.

The individuality of St Marie's Grange makes it hard to place in relation to Pugin's other house designs that were to follow. Wedgwood, in the 1990s, stated that Pugin's domestic architecture had 'never been studied in detail and its documentation is more difficult than that of his religious architecture'.[143] Hill rectified this with her analysis of his family houses, including some presbyteries and lodges, in 2003, and Brittain-Catlin added to the research a year later.

In terms of the influences on its style, Hill suggests that St Marie's Grange had a sense of Georgian picturesque in its asymmetry, yet was Pugin's first attempt to create a building from medieval principles, as he 'took Gothic precedent more literally than anyone had done before'. She describes the house 'as if blown from the pages of a book of hours,' with elements of a Scottish tower, a French pitch to the roof, and a debt to Dürer's buildings in his landscapes. She states that he built nothing else like St Marie's Grange, and in his subsequent

[141] Morning Herald, London 16 June 1841, British Newspaper Archive, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002408/18410616/164/0008
[142] Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 96.
[143] A. Wedgwood, 'Domestic Architecture', in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright, Eds. *Pugin A Gothic Passion*, p. 43.

small family houses, presbyteries and lodges, none really compare with the house in Alderbury.[144]



Figure 20 - St Marie's Grange, Towers and Roof, 2022.[145]

A range of consistent domestic planning styles are identified by Brittain-Catlin, which Pugin used throughout his working life, and were to influence those who followed him. However, there is no ready comparison between St Marie's Grange and any other work. Brittain-Catlin classifies the Salisbury house as 'Unique - corridorless L-shape.'[146] He states that Pugin created 'a consistent aesthetic model that had a dream-like character to it beyond the bounds of everyday needs',[147] and that in some properties, including St Marie's Grange, part of this quality came from Pugin's reading of Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*. That novel contains rich detail of the internal design and décor of several residences, including Kenilworth Castle,

[144] Hill, 'Pugin's Small Houses', pp. 150-151.
[145] *St Marie's Grange*, 2022. Photograph by the author.
[146] Brittain-Catlin, *Pugin's English Residential Architecture*, p. 83.
[147] Brittain-Catlin, *Pugin's English Residential Architecture*, p. 224.

Cumnor-Place and Lidcote Hall.[148] *Kenilworth* was often a theatre production in the 1820s and 1830s and Pugin had designed at least one *Kenilworth* stage set himself, for a ballet in 1831, so he was undoubtedly familiar with it, and had also sketched at Kenilworth several times, including for his father's *Examples* series. Brittain-Catlin sees St Marie's Grange as replicating Cumnor Place in the book: 'the three rooms on the principal floor lead off from one another without a corridor, a plan entirely unlike any new architect-designed house of similar scale of the period.'[149]

Whilst living in Salisbury, Pugin published a book on the use of timber in the construction of old houses.[150] St Marie's Grange was a red brick property and, other than one timber-framed design for Charles Scarisbrick, Pugin in the future was mainly to use stone, or brick when building funds were restricted.

By 1843, Pugin was designing his final residence, the Grange in Ramsgate, which Hill terms:

> A fusion, like St Marie's Grange, but more sophisticated, of the two kinds of domestic design he knew best, the Regency villa and the medieval house.[151]

It is undoubtedly this later home, The Grange, for which Pugin is better known. And for his domestic alterations to larger properties such as Alton Towers in Staffordshire and Scarisbrick Hall in Lancashire. But St Marie's Grange was his most unique work. Paul Atterbury describes it as 'revolutionary', being different from any previous decorative or fantasy Gothic.[152] For him, the house 'marked the start of a major change of attitudes to the Gothic', and, for Trappes-Lomax, it 'shows plainly the beginnings of that genius as a domestic architect' which Pugin was later to display.[153]

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[148] Sir W. Scott, *Kenilworth,* from Waverley Novels VIII (London: Frederick Warne & Co, 1929-33), pp. 297-312, 57-69, 133-146. Cumnor-Place in Chapter 6 has rooms one after another which echo St Marie's Grange, and Lidcote Hall in Chapter 12 has a moat and drawbridge.
[149] Brittain-Catlin, *Pugin's English Residential Architecture*, p. 209.
[150] A.W.N. Pugin *Details of antient timber houses of the 15th& 16th centries, selected from those existing at Rouen, Caen, Beauvais, Gisors, Abbeville, Strasbourg etc. drawn on the spot & etched by A Welby Pugin,* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1836).
[151] Hill, 'Pugin's Small Houses', p.165.
[152] P. Atterbury, 'Pugin and Interior Design', in Atterbury Ed. *A.W.N. Pugin Master of Gothic Revival*, pp. 177-178.
[153] Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, p. 63.



Figure 21 - St Marie's Grange from the Garden, 2022.[154]

The significance for Pugin of the completion of St Marie's Grange in 1835 cannot be understated. It meant that his family was settled, and his young children had a home. More importantly for his career, in sight of the Cathedral Spire representing for him the best and worst of architectural endeavour, Pugin now had a personal base that combined the religious and the professional. The scene was set for him to take great strides in both these aspects of his life.

[154] *St Marie's Grange*, 2022. Photograph by the author.

Chapter 3: Conversion to Roman Catholicism

> My education certainly was not of a description to bias me towards Catholicism; I had been taught to view it through 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, & with all the usual tissue of falsehoods so industriously propagated throughout the land that by such means men may be led to detest and fear what they would receive with joy and reverence could they but behold it in simple truth.
>
> A.W.N. Pugin.[155]

These words, in a letter quoted by Ferrey, are one of the few occasions Pugin ever referred in print to his religious sentiments. In the letter, he described the tyranny of the introduction of Protestantism, the consistency of Catholic sacraments and ceremonies, and how his change from the one to the other was effected 'by the most powerful reasons, and that after a long and earnest examination'.[156]

This chapter will, first, explore the personal, political, religious, and local influences that led Pugin to convert from Protestantism to Catholicism. It then details what is known about Pugin's conversion and membership of the Catholic Church in Salisbury. Finally, the chapter identifies the legacy Pugin left in the city, particularly through his design of its first Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation.

Personal Religious Upbringing

Pugin was raised as a Protestant. His own writings and those of Ferrey, reflect his experiences as a child, under his mother's aegis, of exposure to fervent Presbyterian

[155] Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 103.
Ferrey precedes this quotation by saying that Pugin made it as part of an argument against a public attack on his conversion, and that it had been the study of architecture that had led him towards his change of faith.
[156] Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 105.

preaching. This occurred, in London, through sermons from the Church of Scotland minister, Edward Irving.

In the early 1820s, Irving's tub-thumping Sunday sermons became a must-see event in the London society calendar. Poets such as Coleridge and Blake were among the attendees who would hear vehement attacks on Enlightenment thinking and contemporary social morals.[157] For Ferrey, Irving was the 'popular pulpit orator of his day', and Catherine Pugin ensured 'the Sunday morning breakfast was hurriedly dispatched that she might be early at the door to gain admission'.[158]

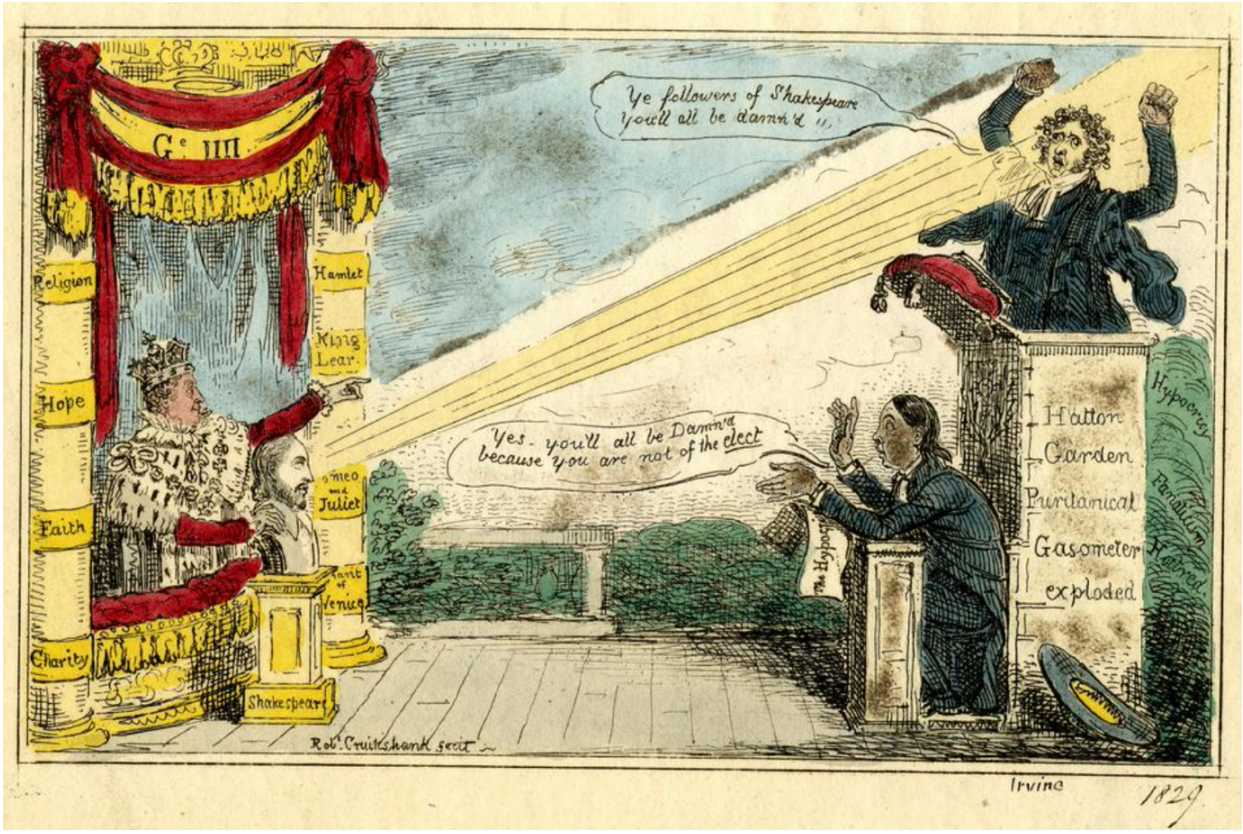


Figure 22 - Cartoon of Edward Irving preaching to the King against Shakespeare, 1829.[159]

[157] A.G. Walker, & W.J. Abraham, 'Who Will Stand Up for Edward Irving?' (1984), in A. D. Kinsey, Ed. *Notes from a Wayward Son: A Miscellany* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2019), pp. 297-300.
Irving was later to be rejected by religious society for his Pentecostalist views, and after his death the Catholic Apostolic Church was founded by his followers. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv10vm110.33
[158] Ferrey, *Recollections*, pp. 43-44.
[159] R. Cruickshank, 'Shakespeare and Honest King George versus Parson Irving and the Puritans, or Taste and Common Sense, Refusing Cant and Hypocrisy' [Hand-coloured etching] (1829), British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0808-9113

Catherine would take her son with her to hear Irving. Ferrey describes how Pugin, instead of getting his wish to spend the sabbath visiting a site such as Westminster Abbey, was dragged along to the cold, sterile and boring services 'pent up for hours together without any relief, in a pew like a cattle-pen'.[160]

Trappes-Lomax is similarly scathing of the tedium of Irving's three-hour long sermons. He suggests that 'there are many paths leading into the Road to Rome. Disgust is one of them.'[161] Hill states that Irving 'was to cast a long shadow across Pugin's life', but she points out that Irving's own beliefs moved away from the Kirk towards what became the new Catholic Apostolic Church.[162]

Political Position of Catholicism

The position of Catholicism in the country had been problematic for many years. England was a Protestant nation and over the preceding century, Jacobitism, unrest in Ireland and the recent war against France, had fuelled anti-Catholic sentiments.[163] The Anglican Church had been aligned with the landowning, mainly Tory, power within England, to resist change, but reform was coming.[164]

Concerns of electoral disenfranchisement increased during the 1820s, alongside religious unrest through the growth of an almost unholy alliance of Irish Catholic agitators and English dissenters fractured from the High Church, such as Baptists, Methodists, and Non-Conformists. For Catholicism, progress was achieved through the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 followed by the successful passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829. Even though still in a minority and often criticised faith, Catholics were finally being allowed back into national life, whilst the control that the Anglican Church had imposed on the leadership of the country was reduced.[165]

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[160] Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 44.
[161] Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, pp. 19-20.
[162] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 68 & 94.
[163] Hill, *Times Witness*, pp. 182-202.
[164] Fraser, *Perilous Question*, pp. 9-10.
[165] C.J. Lewis, 'The Disintegration of the Tory-Anglican Alliance in the Struggle for Catholic Emancipation'. *Church History*, 29. 1 (1960), 25–43. https://doi.org/10.2307/3161615



Figure 23 - 1829 Cartoon showing John Bull being forced to swallow Catholic Emancipation and other Irish influenced dishes.[166]

Religious Debate and Tractarianism

The 1830s saw a resurgence in religious debate. Whilst there had been growing controversies in academic and ecclesiastical circles from the end of the preceding century about the relationship between Anglican and Catholic theology, for example through the writings from a Catholic perspective of John Milner, whose links to Salisbury and influence on Pugin have already been described, the legislative changes of the late 1820s were to usher in a far more rigorous and public articulation of the need to reappraise Catholicism.

This reappraisal came most through the early Tractarian writings of John Henry Newman, John Keble, and Edward Pusey, who argued that the English High Church was the true Catholic body. Whilst the young Pugin had no direct connections with these members of what was soon to become the Oxford Movement, and his own conversion to Catholicism was

[166] T.H. Jones, 'An Attempt to Choke John Bull with Irish Made Dishes' [Hand-coloured Etching] (1829), British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0808-8934

to happen a decade before Newman's, it seems likely that the arguments that they were making publicly about the Catholic Church would have come to Pugin's attention. In 1834, Newman was claiming that 'the Church has in a measure *forgotten* its own principles.'[167] At the same time, Pugin's thoughts were becoming liturgically, as well as architecturally, focused back to medieval principles:

> Applying myself to liturgical knowledge, what a new field was open to me! 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.[168]

Local Catholicism in Salisbury

Numbers of Roman Catholics in Wiltshire were low. Williams records them as having been around five hundred in 1676 and close to seven hundred by 1780.[169] The Catholic community in and around Salisbury was a small but cohesive one. For many years it had relied on the patronage of the wealthy Arundell family who lived at Wardour, in a great classical house with its own chapel, next to a ruined Medieval castle, fifteen miles west of the city.[170] Wardour is said to have delivered the largest Catholic services in England outside of London, with a congregation of 540 in 1780 when a new chapel was built there.[171]

Salisbury itself had a small but articulate group of active worshippers who, in 1828, had signed a parliamentary petition seeking Catholic Emancipation. The original petition remains in Wiltshire and records that:

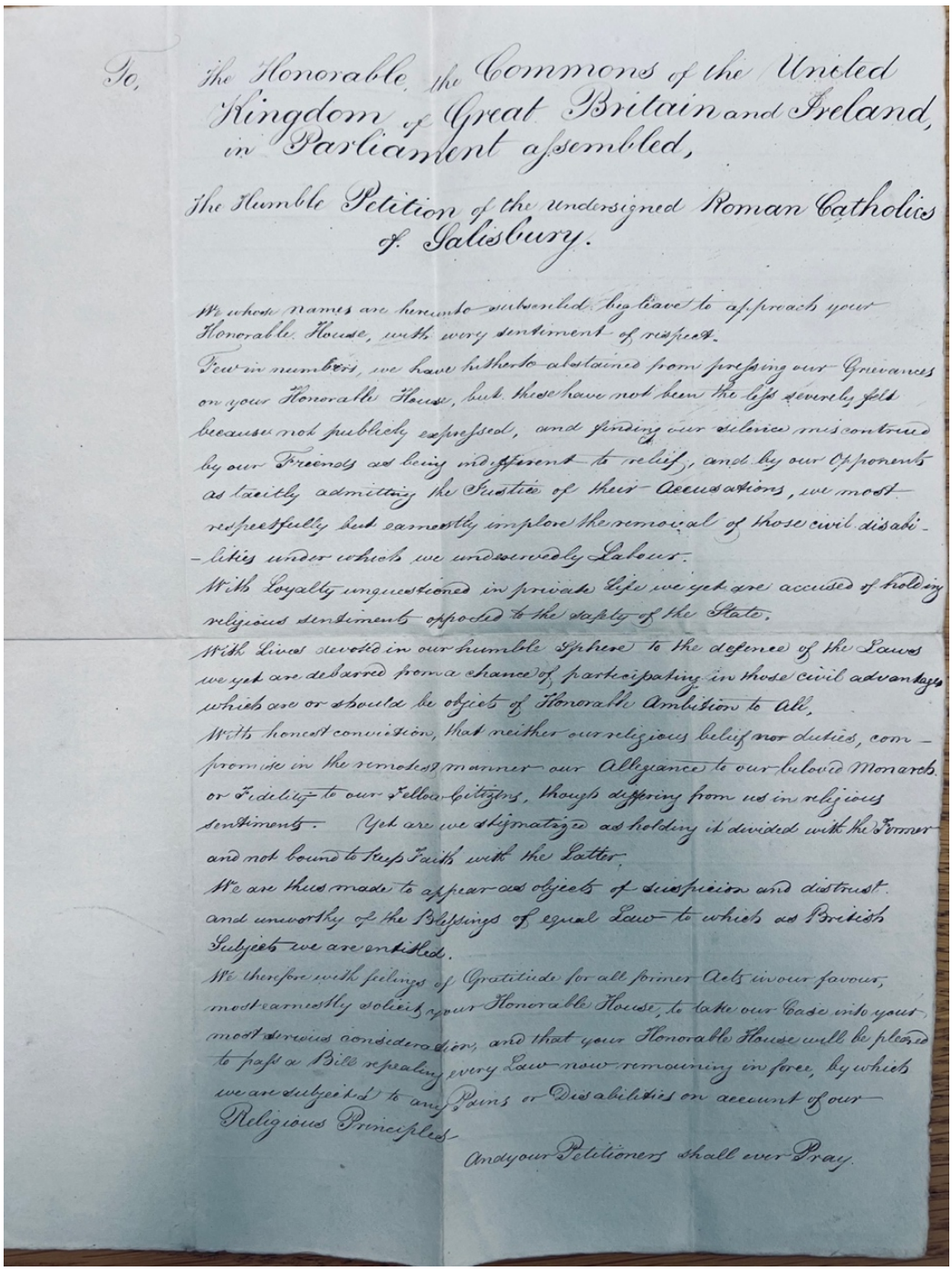
> The Petitioners most respectfully but earnestly implore the removal of these civil disabilities under which they so undeservedly labour.

It goes on to indicate how it felt to be Catholic at that time:

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[167] A. Cooper, 'The Tracts for the Times', in S.J. Brown, et al, *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, p.144.
[168] Ferrey, *Recollections,* p. 103.
[169] J.A. Williams, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1968), p. 182.
[170] G.H. Chettle, 'Wardour Castle (The New Castle)', *Archaeological Journal,* London, 104 (1947), pp. 168-177.
[171] Chandler and Parker, *The Church in Wiltshire*, p.159.

The Petitioners are thus made to appear as objects of suspicion and distrust, and unworthy of the blessings of equal laws, to which as British subjects they are entitled.[172]



To, the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The Humble Petition of the undersigned Roman Catholics of Salisbury.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, beg leave to approach your Honorable House, with every sentiment of respect.

Few in numbers, we have hitherto abstained from pressing our Grievances on your Honorable House, but these have not been the less severely felt because not publicly expressed, and finding our silence misconstrued by our Friends as being indifferent to relief, and by our Opponents as tacitly admitting the Justice of their Accusations, we most respectfully but earnestly implore the removal of those civil disabilities under which we undeservedly Labour.

With Loyalty unquestioned in private Life we yet are accused of holding religious sentiments opposed to the safety of the State.

With Lives devoted in our humble Sphere to the defence of the Laws we yet are debarred from a chance of participating in those civil advantages which are or should be objects of Honorable Ambition to All.

With honest conviction, that neither our religious belief nor duties, compromise in the remotest manner our Allegiance to our beloved Monarch, or Fidelity to our Fellow-Citizens, though differing from us in religious sentiments. Yet are we stigmatized as holding it devided with the former and not bound to keep Faith with the Latter.

We are thus made to appear as objects of suspicion and distrust, and unworthy of the Blessings of equal Law to which as British Subjects we are entitled.

We therefore with feelings of Gratitude for all former Acts in our favour, most earnestly solicit your Honorable House, to take our Case into your most serious consideration, and that your Honorable House will be pleased to pass a Bill repealing every Law now remaining in force, by which we are subjected to any Pains or Disabilities on account of our Religious Principles.

And your Petitioners shall ever Pray.

Figure 24 - The Humble Petition of the undersigned Roman Catholics of Salisbury, 1828.[173]

[172] *The Humble Petition of the Undersigned Roman Catholics,* Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre.
[173] *The Humble Petition of the Undersigned Roman Catholics*. Photograph by the author.
This is the first page of the original petition sent to Lord Radnor by John Peniston.

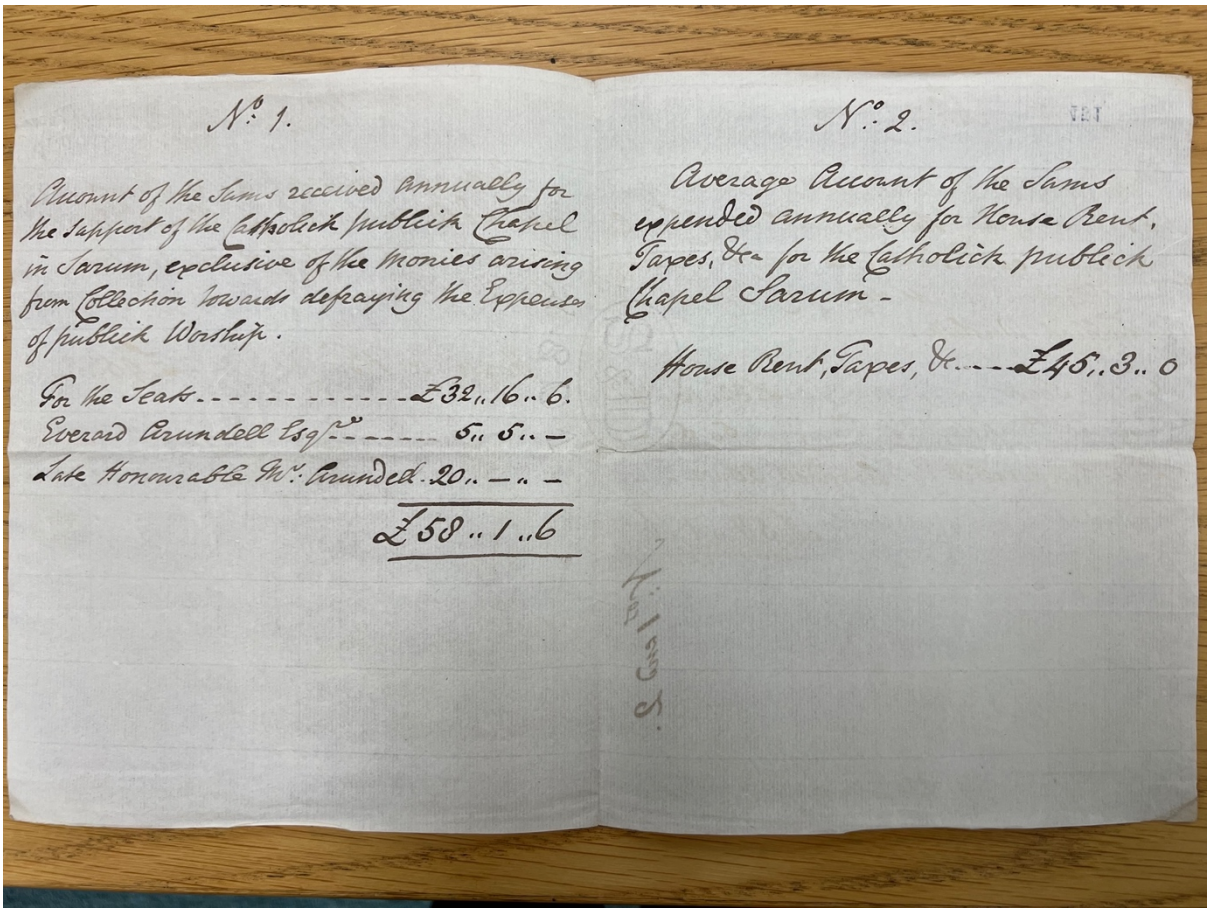
The Petition was sent to the Earl of Radnor, who represented Salisbury in the House of Commons and was a strong advocate of social and electoral reform. A letter accompanying the Petition was signed by a key figure in the Salisbury Catholic community, John Peniston.[174] An architect by trade, Peniston had for several years hosted the Mass at his own house. He was to prove vital in integrating Pugin into this small community only a few years later.

The financial records of the Catholic worshippers in the city, which were all diligently recorded by Peniston in a small notebook, list all the known members of the faith there in the early part of the century and show how the Arundells funded most costs of continued worship, such as employment of a priest, renting of different private dwellings and, eventually, the construction of a small chapel in which to worship, alongside the accoutrements of religious practice.[175]



Figure 25 - John Peniston's Inventory and Cash Record Notebook for the Roman Catholic Chapel in Salisbury.[176]

[174] Peniston, *Letter to the Right Honorable Earl of Radnor*.
[175] Peniston, *Accounts, Inventory and Cash Record Booklet*.
[176] Peniston, *Accounts, Inventory and Cash Record Booklet.* Photograph by the author.
The booklet includes several pages recording all the equipment and priestly garments needed for Mass. Other pages, such as the one below, provide financial details.



No. 1.

Account of the Sums received annually for the Support of the Catholick publick Chapel in Sarum, exclusive of the monies arising from Collection towards defraying the Expences of publick Worship.

For the Seats ---------- £32 .. 16 .. 6.
Everard Arundell Esq^r ---------- 5 .. 5 .. —
Late Honourable Mr. Arundell 20 .. — .. —
£58 .. 1 .. 6

No. 2.

Average Account of the Sums expended annually for House Rent, Tapes, &c. for the Catholick publick Chapel Sarum -

House Rent, Tapes, &c. ---- £45 .. 3 .. 0

Figure 26 - One Income and Expenditure Page from Peniston's Notebook.[177]

Pugin's Conversion

Ferrey notes that Pugin's conversion did not occur until after his mother's death in 1833. He quotes one of Pugin's letters describing research into Catholic liturgy over a three year period which would seem to culminate around the time of his arrival in Salisbury.[178]

During one of his cathedral tours, in 1834, Pugin's move towards conversion is reflected in a letter to Osmond:

[177] Peniston, *Accounts, Inventory and Cash Record Booklet.* Photograph by the author.
This page shows the regular contributions by the Arundell family to the Chapel in Salisbury.
[178] Ferrey, *Recollections*, pp. 91-92.

> I can assure you after a most close & impartial investigation I feel perfectly convinced the roman Catholick church is the only true one – and the only one in which the grand & sublime style of church architecture can ever be restored.[179]

It was this grand style, the Medieval Gothic, which drew him towards Roman Catholicism. In an 1850 pamphlet he attributed his acquisition of knowledge of the ancient faith before conversion to discovering it in the vaults of cathedrals such as Lincoln and Westminster.[180] Such visits, at home and abroad, particularly following the death of his parents, were a significant factor in his religious journey.



Figure 27 - Pugin's sketch of St Laurence's Church in Nuremberg, one of hundreds of detailed drawings he made on his Northern European tours.[181]

[179] Pugin to Osmond, 30 January 1834, p. 24.
[180] Powell, *The Liturgical Vision of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin*, pp. 81-82.
[181] A.W.N. Pugin, *St Laurence's Church Nuremberg*, in Pugin Sketches, Photographs from 1865 by Stephen Ayling of Pugins Drawings of Northern Europe, Cadbury Research Library. https://www.flickr.com/photos/cadburyresearchlibrary/albums/72157629741291922/with/7202832706/

Pugin's grief seems to have taken him to many Medieval Gothic sites, with a letter to Willson in late 1834 describing a northern European tour to places such as Nuremberg, Strasbourg and Antwerp as being 'the finest journey I ever took in my life.'[182] Pickett suggests that when he travelled abroad 'he must have seen something of how medieval churches functioned when in Catholic use.'[183] This point has not been explored as much as it might have been. The sensory experiences accompanying the full Roman Catholic liturgy, set in churches designed for such rituals over centuries before, would have had a marked effect on Pugin. The sights, sounds and smells of the Mass could not be experienced in England's greatest ecclesiastical buildings, so for him to participate, in the flesh, at a time of such personal loss, in worship within the Gothic masterpieces of Europe, must have proved a major moment in his life's religious journey.

Shortly before moving to Salisbury, he wrote to Willson, on the death of his aunt, that he hoped soon to be 'united to the original true and apostolick church', and that, although this change was due to studies of ancient art, 'yet still I have higher reasons'.[184]

Once living in Salisbury, Pugin engaged with Peniston and the local Catholic community, including Frederick Fisher, a surveyor, and John Lambert, a solicitor. Initially, he still took communion at the Cathedral, but he then started to attend the Catholic Chapel, which Ferrey describes as 'an ill-shaped room, having no pretensions whatever to an ecclesiastical character'.[185] On 6th June 1835, in this small Chapel in St Martin's Lane in Salisbury, Pugin entered formally into the Catholic Church.[186]

Catholic Pugin in Salisbury

In August of that year Pugin gave a brief description to Edward Willson of his membership of the small Catholic community:

[182] A.W.N. Pugin, Letter to Edward Willson, 22 August 1834', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p.38.
[183] Pickett, *The Churchmanship of A.W.N. Pugin*, p. 54.
[184] Pugin to Willson 16 September 1834, pp. 40-41.
[185] Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 102.
[186] Elliott, 'Pugin, St Osmund and Salisbury', p. 47.

> I have scince being settled in Salisbury officiated (jointly with Mr J Lambert an independent gentlemen) as acolyte having no youth in our congregation capable of Serving with becoming decorum. our dresses which are handsome and quite correct were worked by the Ladies of the Chapel and I assure you would hardly know me when issuing from the sacristy door in full canonicals. Our Mass is performed in the most solemn manner a Low mass can be.[187]

In the same letter, he described how he was in the thick of a local controversy:

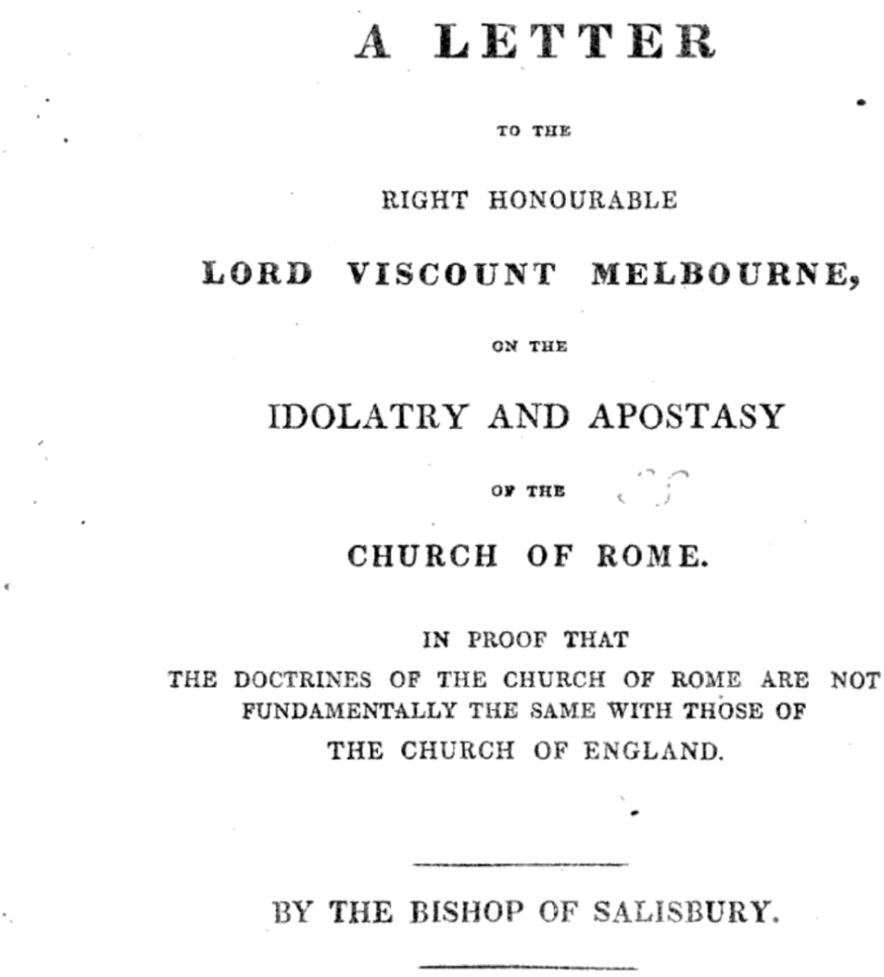
> The bishop published a most infamous circular to his clergy denouncing us as apostates and the all those charitable epithets which are so Liberally bestowed on us.[188]

This circular, written by Thomas Burgess, the new Bishop of Salisbury, was in response to the recent local dissemination of an old pamphlet by the late John Milner which had attacked Burgess's Protestant viewpoint whilst he was the Bishop of St David's in Wales.[189] The Bishop responded in kind, writing about *'the Idolatry and Apostasy of the Church of Rome'*. His focus was Irish Catholicism, but he also challenged Popery in England.[190] Pugin described that, after the circular was released, he and others were abused in Salisbury by divines supporting the bishop. Despite this, Pugin concluded to Willson:

> Our congregation increases at the chapel. We have eving lectures on Catholic doctrine. I shall never rest satisfied till I follow the processional cross through the western doors of the cathedral – and see a sumptuous altar once more shine in the choir.[191]

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[187] Pugin to Willson, 16 August 1835, p. 50.
[188] Pugin to Willson, 16 August 1835, p. 50.
[189] J. Milner, *The End of Religious Controversy: in a Friendly Correspondence between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine; Addresses to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, in Answer to His Lordship's Protestant's Catechism* (London: Keating and Brown, 1818). 5th Edition (1824) available: https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=YYxdAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PR10&hl=en_GB
This Milner book had a major influence on Pugin as, according to Belcher, Pugin had it republished, in the 1840s, years after Milner's death. (M. Belcher, Collected Letters, p. 50, Note 3).
[190] T. Burgess Bishop of Salisbury, *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melbourne, on the Idolatry and Apostasy of the Church of Rome, in Proof that the Doctrines of the Church of Rome are not fundamentally the same with those of the Church of England* (Salisbury: J. Hearn, 1835).
https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=dpMeUwo8sYMC&pg=GBS.PA6&hl=en_GB
[191] Pugin to Willson, 16 August 1835, p. 50.



A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD VISCOUNT MELBOURNE,

ON THE

IDOLATRY AND APOSTASY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ROME.

IN PROOF THAT
THE DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME ARE NOT
FUNDAMENTALLY THE SAME WITH THOSE OF
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Figure 28 - Front page of Bishop Burgess's Circular.[192]

Pugin was soon to be banned by Bishop Burgess from drawing sketches in the Cathedral:

> Would you believe it I am not to be allowed to draw inside the cathedral any more and I suppose my name is to be posted everywhere as a person who is not to be suffered to sketch any where.[193]

[192] Burgess, *A Letter on the Idolatry and Apostasy of the Church of Rome.*
[193] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 13 October 1836', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p.76.

By that time, Pugin was very publicly a Catholic. Henceforth, his drawings and writings could openly reflect his faith and his love of the medieval architecture in which that faith had originally flourished. As he was to write in 1837, in defence of Contrasts and of his Catholicism, the first proposition of his work was:

> That everything grand, edifying and noble in art is the result of feelings produced by the Catholic Religion on the human mind.[194]

The authenticity that his conversion gave him, spiritually and architecturally, would now flourish and propel him to new heights, as will be seen in Chapter 4.

St Osmund's Church

Pugin rarely returned to Salisbury after his departure. But he kept in touch with his friends there, particularly those in the Catholic community. In 1839 a local paper reported that he had made a liberal distribution of a religious pamphlet in the city.[195] Three years after that, it was said that he was planning to build a place of worship there.[196] By 1846, the plans had come to fruition and the press announced that a 'Romish Chapel' was to be constructed.[197] Finally, almost a decade after moving away, Pugin was to ensure that the local community, of which he had for a while been such an integral part, was to be able to worship in a more fitting setting through the city's first Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation, St Osmund's.

Built on land provided by John Peniston, the new church was funded by John Lambert, who had been the fellow acolyte Pugin had described to Willson in 1835.[198] Pugin was not to supervise the work himself. Instead, it was overseen locally.

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[194] 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* (Birmingham: R.P. Stone, 1837), p. 4. https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Y5ddAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PP4&hl=en_GB

[195] Salisbury Herald, 4 February 1839, reported in the *Berkshire Chronicle*, 23 February 1839, British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000358/18390223/028/0004
The report indicates that Pugin's pamphlet was opposing a memorial in Oxford to Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer.

[196] 'Salisbury, March 16th', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 17 March 1842. British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000408/18420317/041/0004

[197] 'Romish Chapel in Salisbury', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 19 December 1846, British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000494/18461219/031/0005

[198] Pugin to Willson, 16 August 1835, p.50. Ref. Footnote 187.



Figure 29 - Part of Pugin's 1846 hand-drawn plans for St Osmund's.[199]



Figure 30 - Pugin's signature on the hand-drawn plans for St Osmund's, still stored at the Church today.[200]

[199] Pugin, *Drawings for St Osmund's*. Photograph by the author.
[200] Pugin, *Drawings for St Osmund's.* Photograph by the author.

On 8 April 1847, the first foundation stone was laid by the Roman Catholic Bishop Ullathorne, with a second stone put down by the leading local Catholic aristocrat Lord Arundell from Wardour, whose family had supported the faith in the city for many years.[201] Further stones were laid by elders of the local congregation: John Peniston, John Lambert and Henry Coope.[202] Peniston was to die before the completion of the church, but its bells were able to be rung, for the very first time, to mark his funeral.[203] Coope's housekeeper had died the year before and Pugin had designed a brass memorial for her coffin.[204]

Almost a year and a half later, on 6th September 1848, the building was consecrated, and the first formal Mass was held there the next morning. The local newspaper described the church as being 'in the style of the fourteenth century' and reported that the 'architect, as before stated, was Mr. Pugin', but he did not attend the opening. The paper attributed the building work to several local craftsmen, and stated that the 'altars, pulpit, and rood screen were the production of Mr. Myers, of London', and that the 'stained glass windows and church furniture were furnished by Messrs. J. Hardman and Co., of Birmingham'.[205]

George Myers, from London, was the stonemason who has been termed as Pugin's builder, and constructed churches for him all over the country from the late 1830s onwards.[206] Hardman's, a stained glass and ecclesiastical fittings company firm in Birmingham, were his preferred manufacturers throughout the 1840s, and John Hardman became Pugin's closest friend.[207]

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[201] 'The New Roman Catholic Church in Salisbury', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 10 April 1847, British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000361/18470410/022/0004

[202] R. Newman, 'Catholics and Protestants in Mid-Nineteenth Century Salisbury: Uneasy Bedfellows', *Sarum Chronicle* 21 (2021) 57-70, p. 61.
Peniston and Lambert were Pugin's close friends, whereas Coope became active in the Catholic community after Pugin had left the city. Newman describes Coope as being a former Anglican Minister, who had converted in 1845.

[203] Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 1 July 1848, British Library Board.
https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000361/18480701/024/0004
The Journal reported that the church bells tolled for the first time on the occasion of Peniston's funeral.

[204] 'A Catholic Funeral Procession through Cathedral Close', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 7 October 1847, British Library Board.
https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000359/18471007/049/0003

[205] 'Opening of St Osmund's Church, Salisbury', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 9 September 1848, British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000361/18480909/015/0003

[206] P. Spencer-Silver, 'George Myers, Pugin's Builder', *Recusant History*, 20.2 (1990), 262–71.

[207] A. Wedgwood, '"Pugin in His Home": A Memoir by J. H. Powell', *Architectural History*, 31 (1988), 171–205, p. 171.



Figure 31 - St Osmund's Church, 2022.[208]

St Osmund, after whom the church was named, was an eleventh century Norman who had come to England with William in 1066. He became the second Bishop of Salisbury and oversaw the construction, 1076-91, of the first Cathedral at Old Sarum, where he was initially buried on his death in 1099. An incipient shrine developed there until 1226 when his tomb was relocated to the new Salisbury Cathedral. Osmund was canonised in 1457, after fifty-two miracles had been attributed to him.[209] The shrine was destroyed in 1539 and the tomb relocated by Wyatt in 1789.[210]

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[208] *St Osmund's*, Salisbury, 2022. Photograph by the author.
[209] R.A. Scott, 'Prologue', in *Miracle Cures: Saints, Pilgrimage, and the Healing Powers of Belief* (Berkely: University of California Press, 2010), pp. xv-xvi. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1ppj66.5
[210] T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Afterlife of St Osmund: From Bishop to Saint, and from Old to New Sarum', *History* 105. 367 (2020), 626–35, pp. 627-31. https://web-s-ebscohost-

Inside, the church is lit by two windows in the south aisle, four stained glass windows at the end of the nave and three windows above the altar at the eastern end of the chancel. The ceiling is painted and gilded, and the floor covered with decorative tiles from Pugin's own design. Images of St Osmund himself are central to the design, with his statue in the centre of niches at the front of the altar and his picture being in the middle of windows above the altar, with St Thomas and St Martin on either side of him. These latter two saints are those of the two Anglican churches within Salisbury which preceded St Osmund's. Whether the juxtaposition of these saints merely represents the local area or something more of a reflection of rivalry between Catholic and Anglican is not certain.



Figure 32- Pugin's Altar and Windows above, both with St Osmund at the centre.[211]

com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=5e7cfc7c-ccad-49e5-ba08-b6bb65d9e52a%40redis

[211] *St Osmund's*, Salisbury, 2022. Photograph by the author.

Other stained windows in the church designed by Pugin include a pairing of the apostles St Peter and St Paul, and one with St John and St Veronica which was dedicated to John Lambert, the funder, and his wife.

Views on St Osmund's vary considerably. Pevsner describes it as 'of no architectural interest inside or out'.[212] Orbach, in his updated Pevsner, opts for 'a late work in his short church-building career, plain rather than inspiring', and details those alterations made since the original build, including E.D. Webb's north aisle and changed south arcade, modern stencil patterns on the chancel ceiling and dado, removed wooden screen and pulpit, and a west window by Mayer in 1894. Orbach also mentions the adjoining Church Hall, which was designed by Pugin's son, Edward Welby Pugin, in 1867.[213] The Hall now houses Pugin's original drawings for the church.

Trappes-Lomax refers to St Osmund's 'meagreness', as a building in a 'minor' road, but seeks to frame the relative simplicity of its design, which he attributes mainly to the poverty of the local community to afford better, in a more positive way. He states that the church symbolises the resurgence of English Catholicism and the tragedy of Pugin as a Catholic architect:

> a man of intense creative energy who saw the majesty and loveliness of Gothic and never had full scope to express himself in stone.[214]

For Elliott:

> Despite its limited size, the proportions are well-balanced, the materials simple and the overall effect one of beauty.[215]

He describes some further changes that have been made from Pugin's original, including the relocation of the font, the addition of a second wooden altar following Vatican II, new stained glass in the north aisle, and repainted walls in the chancel following the original design.

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[212] Pevsner, *Wiltshire,* p. 439.
[213] Orbach, *Wiltshire,* p. 596.
[214] Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, p. 52.
[215] Elliott, 'Pugin, St Osmund and Salisbury', *Ecclesiology Today*, pp. 5-7.

In 2020, Elliott reported for the Pugin Society that several items from the Church had been discovered in a collapsing shed in the garden to the priest's house, and some of these (a crucifix, statues of Mary and St. John, and parts of a wooden screen), indicated that it was likely that Pugin included a medievally inspired rood screen in the original construction.[216]

The completion of St Osmund's gave Catholicism a previously unknown stability in Salisbury. Two years after its opening, there was one major anti-Catholic demonstration attended by over five thousand people, but its march chose to avoid the church - perhaps the very meagreness of exterior design protected it from becoming an anti-Catholic target. The year after that, John Lambert, Pugin's friend and supporter, became the city's first Roman Catholic mayor since the Reformation.[217] In 1851, the Religious Census recorded attendances of 327 at St Osmund's Church.[218]

The church still stands today, its entrance looking out to the Cathedral. Alongside St Marie's Grange, it is the most tangible representation of Pugin's legacy in all of Wiltshire.

[216] Elliott, 'Check Your Garden Shed', pp. 1-5.
[217] Newman, 'Catholics and Protestants', pp. 64-66.
[218] J. Elliott, 'It's all a question of numbers: Salisbury and the Religious Census of 1851', *Ecclesiology Today*, 37, 45-56 (2006) p. 53.

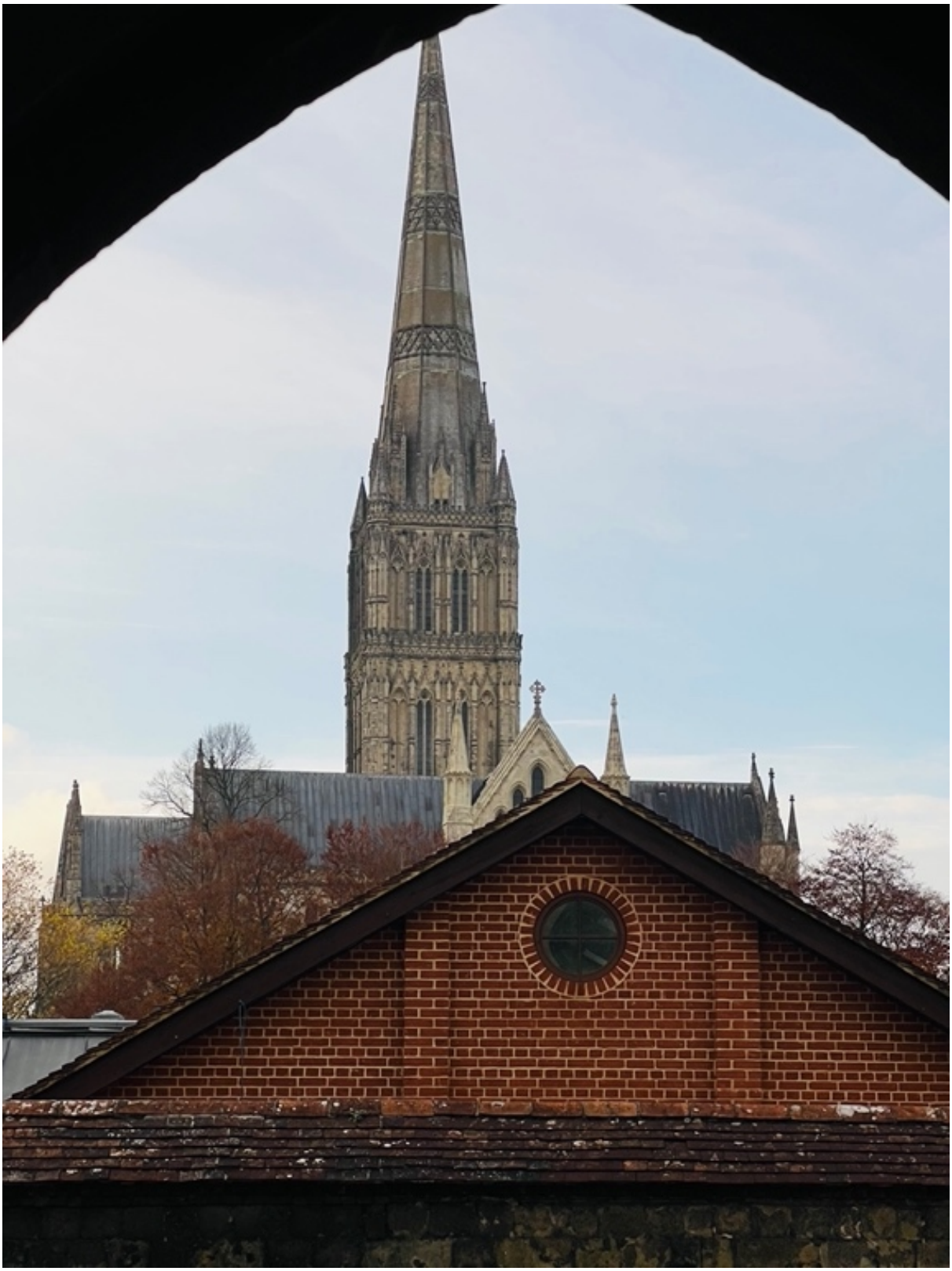


Figure 33 - View of Salisbury Cathedral in 2022 from the entrance to St Osmund's.[219]

[219] *St Osmund's*, Salisbury, 2022. Photograph by the author.
In the 1840s this would have been an uninterrupted vista.

Chapter 4: The National Stage

By late summer 1835, Pugin was well and truly established in Wiltshire, in his own family home, with the architect's table ready for work in the library looking out towards the distant Cathedral, and the house chapel reflecting his publicly acknowledged Catholicism. From this domestic and religious base, his work was about to scale heights that Pugin would then remain at for the rest of his life, particularly in terms of the quality and public profile of what he was about to produce.

This Chapter will analyse Pugin's main outputs of work, architectural and literary, whilst resident at St Marie's Grange, which were to bring him major national recognition. These are, first, the development of designs for the new Houses of Parliament, and, second, the publication of his most controversial and influential book, *Contrasts*.

i. The Palace of Westminster

> Is not this a regular joke? Here are these two rivals competing for one prize, and I am making the designs for both.
>
> A.W.N. Pugin.[220]

The old Houses of Parliament were destroyed in the Palace of Westminster fire in October 1834. Pugin witnessed this, shortly before moving to Wiltshire, stating afterwards that 'the spread of the fire was truly astonishing'.[221] Such was the level of destruction that a national competition was launched to rebuild the country's seat of government.

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[220] T Grieve, 'Letter to E.W. Pugin, 20 August 1867', in E.W. Pugin, *Who was the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament?* p. 9.
Grieve attributed this phrase to Pugin during the competition to design the new Houses of Parliament.
[221] Pugin to Willson, 6 November 1834, p. 76.



Figure 34 - The 1834 Fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament.[222]

Competition Entries with Charles Barry and James Gillespie Graham

The competition process was announced on 3rd June 1835, whilst St Marie's Grange was being completed, with a Commission launched on 17th July to select in open competition a shortlist of final submissions by 1st December of the same year. Proposals were to be either Gothic or Elizabethan in style. Pugin worked on two entries, one with the Scottish architect James Gillespie Graham, and the other with the English architect and builder, Charles Barry. On 29th February 1836, the submission by Barry was announced as the winner.[223]

The level and relative merits of contribution by Pugin in the competition entries has been a matter of debate since the nineteenth century. Ferrey describes Gillespie Graham's work as having 'undoubted merit of the highest order in this design, for it was strikingly medieval in

[222] Unknown Artist, *Palace of Westminster on Fire 1834,* Heritage Collections UK Parliament. https://heritagecollections.parliament.uk/stories/the-fire-of-1834/
[223] MacAulay, 'The Architectural Collaboration', pp. 406-7.

treatment', but that the umpires sought a simplicity that led to them refusing 'to recognise the great qualities which were certainly embodied in Pugin's design'. He states that the appreciation given to Pugin's knowledge of the Gothic secured for him a large share in the execution of Barry's work, and that 'even of the original design some portion of its merit must have been assigned to Pugin'.[224]

For Trappes-Lomax, Pugin 'gothicised' Barry's plans whist working on his own ideas for a Parliament House with Gillespie Graham, but he did not enter the competition separately as he doubted that he would win, needed money and knew that a Catholic as lead architect would not be successful.[225] This last view, which undoubtedly reflected the position of Catholicism in 1830s society, Emancipation Act or not, is reinforced by the recollection of his son, Edward, who believed that his father had:

> sold his brains in 1835. In the latter year he became a Catholic, and I have often heard him say, "With that my chance for the Houses vanished, and I made the best of the situation".[226]

Hill sees Pugin as being happy at this time in his life to work in a team, and have Barry and Gillespie sign the work he did for them both. Barry paid Pugin four hundred guineas and Gillespie Graham paid him three hundred. Barry chose to use a Gothic design. He was already working with Pugin on a school in Birmingham and had previously subscribed to Auguste Pugin's series, *Examples of Gothic Architecture*.[227]

Gothic Style

In this design work, there was no doubt where Pugin's architectural priorities lay. He promoted Gothic over Classical at every opportunity, and, in August 1835, produced a pamphlet to emphasise this, challenging a fellow architect, Arthur Hakewill, who had just published his own argument for a Classical approach. This small publication, printed for

[224] Ferrey, *Recollections,* p. 242.
[225] Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, p. 80.
[226] Pugin, E.W. *Who was the Art Architect?* p. 76.
[227] Hill, *God's Architect,* pp. 142-144.

Pugin in Salisbury, debated possible styles for a rebuilt Houses of Parliament. Arguing against the classical, Pugin accused Hakewill of having a limited understanding of the structures of the Middle Ages, giving examples of exemplary continental buildings in places such as Nuremberg, Amiens, and Rouen. He acknowledged fault in much recent copying of Gothic, which he attributed to 'the foolish education of many architectural students', but asserted that:

> Those who study this sublime style in all its ramifications – who seek it from the stupendous cathedral to the simple station chapel – from the massive crypt to the elaborate and gorgeous chantry – from the towering castle to the gabled and turreted mansion, - these feel its beauties, and learn to practise them.[228]

In the same month, the Architectural Magazine reported that the Commissioners who were to decide on the competition shortlist met with Pugin:

> The Commissioners … have, however, at length met with a defender in the person of Mr. Pugin, who advocates the Gothic in opposition to the classic style "of the dry and monotonous temples of Athens".[229]

Hill suggests that Auguste Pugin's previous work in London was also influential. For her, in 1835, 'almost everyone with an informed interest in Gothic architecture saw it, knowingly or not, through the eyes of the Pugin family.[230]

Designing from Salisbury

What is clear, from Pugin's diary, quoted by Trappes-Lomax, is that he worked repeatedly on drawings for both entrants during the latter half of 1835, with regular records of such work in Sarum (Salisbury) and specifically at St Marie's Grange where he 'first drew' on 11 September 1835 for Barry.[231]

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[228] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Arthur Hakewill, 18 August 1835', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters*, Vol 1, p. 52.
[229] The Architectural Magazine, reported in *The Cheltenham Chronicle*, 12 November 1835, The British Library Board, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000311/18351112/010/0004
[230] Hill, *God's Architect,* pp. 143-144.
[231] Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin*, p. 82.

Edward Welby Pugin's 1867 pamphlet promoting his father as the main designer rather than Barry, includes a William Osmond letter which states that:

> The designs for Mr Graham by your father, for the Houses of Parliament, were mostly done in my premises at Salisbury, and whilst they were in progress Sir Charles (then Mr) Barry came to Salisbury and spent the evening at my house with your father. He came again the following morning and breakfasted with us: we then, all three, went and had a thorough look at our Cathedral, after which Mr. Barry went with your father to St, Mary's Grange. I believe that no drawings were made for Mr. Barry in Salisbury, but at the Grange.[232]

Diary entries by Pugin, copied by his son into the 1867 pamphlet, indicate other visits to Salisbury in November 1835 by Barry (2nd to 9th November) and by Gillespie Graham (17th to 19th November).[233]



Figure 35 - The Houses of Parliament today - perhaps the most famous Victorian Gothic architecture in the world.

Who Was the Art Architect?

Barry's entry won the competition, using many working drawings, compositions and elevations from Pugin. To progress the winning entry, Barry asked Pugin, amongst others, for design refinements in 1836. Wedgwood describes a greater exuberance in this work, termed

[232] W. Osmond, 'Letter to Edward Welby Pugin, 2nd October 1867', quoted in E.W. Pugin, *Who was the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament?* p. 13.
[233] Pugin, E.W. *Who was the Art Architect*? p. 18.

Estimate Drawings, than can be seen in Pugin's drawings for Graham a year earlier, and a similarity with other emerging ornate styles by Pugin in his subsequent design of Scarisbrick Hall.[234]

Edward Pugin's records of his father's diaries indicate work at Sarum in 1836, for Barry, involving full drawings and detailed components, particularly from September to November and then over Christmas and New Year.[235] These diary entries were used by Edward in his pamphlet to help build a case for his father's pre-eminence in the preparation needed to win the competition and the detailed design work that followed. The pamphlet also contained several letters attesting to his father's skills as a gothic architect, and questioned Barry's abilities to combine 'Grecian symmetry with mediaeval features', for which he needed Pugin's input.[236] Edward had no doubt that 'my father was in very deed strictly the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament', and that he was 'making the competition drawings at Salisbury all through that year'.[237]



Figure 36 - Painting of Pugin held at Westminster in a frame he chose in 1845.[238]

[234] Wedgwood, 'The Throne in the House of Lords', pp. 60-61.
Scarisbrick Hall is referred to further in Chapter 5 below.
[235] Pugin, E.W. *Who was the Art Architect?* p. 21.
[236] Pugin, E.W. *Who was the Art Architect?* p. 102.
[237] Pugin, E.W. *Who was the Art Architect?* p. 30.
[238] J. R. Herbert, *A.W.N. Pugin, 1845.* Parliamentary Art Collection, Heritage Collections UK Parliament. https://heritagecollections.parliament.uk/stories/the-architects-barry-pugin-and-scott/

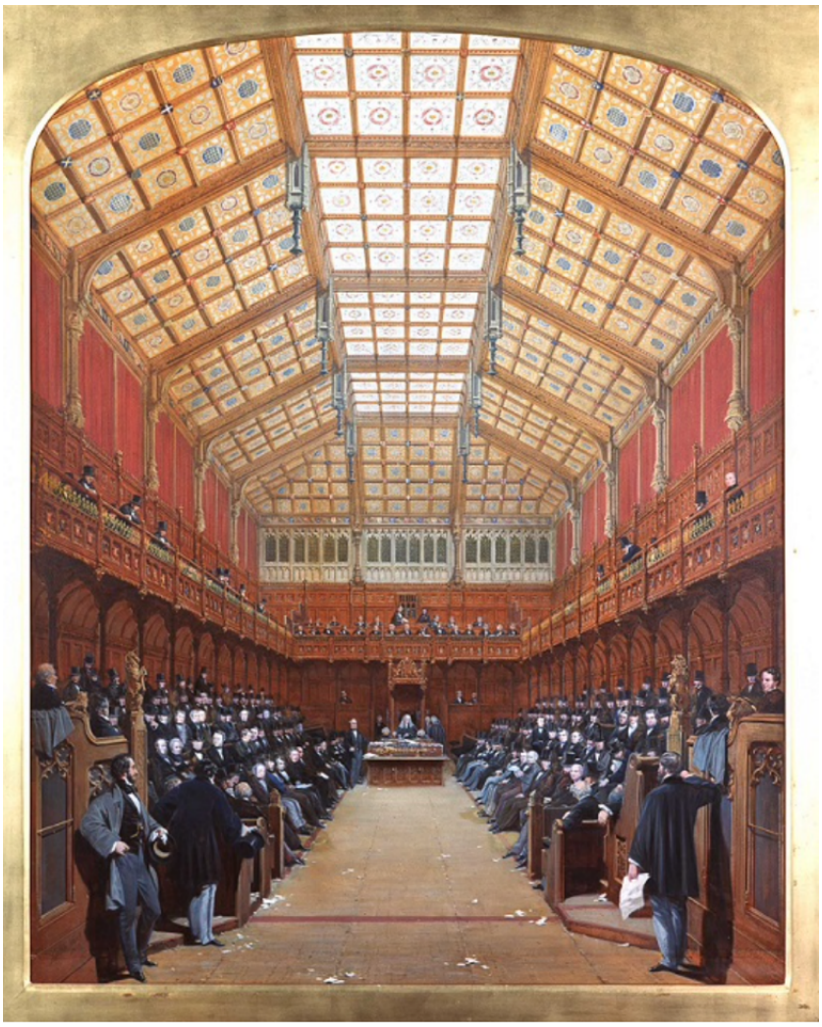


Figure 37 - The original House of Commons design by Barry and Pugin.[239]

The rebuilding of Parliament was not completed until 1870, eighteen years after Pugin's death. Pugin's influence is present throughout: in the overall design of the buildings as well as in their intricate internal styling of carvings, tiling, stained glass, wallpaper and metalwork, Regardless of who was pre-eminent, the partnership with Barry produced remarkable results, as evidenced below in the Lords Chamber, which 'forms the climax of the building and their joint masterpiece.'[240]

The work that Pugin had initiated in 1835, and continued for years after, was, and still is, the foundation for Britain's seat of government. That work started in Salisbury.

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[239] J. Nash, *House of Commons 1858.* Parliamentary Art Collection, Heritage Collections UK Parliament. https://heritagecollections.parliament.uk/stories/the-architects-barry-pugin-and-scott/
Destroyed by the Luftwaffe in WW2, the House was rebuilt in a similar Gothic design after the war.

[240] A. Wedgwood, 'The New Palace of Westminster', in Riding and Riding, Eds. *The Houses of Parliament*, pp. 122 & 130.



Figure 38 – The House of Lords, Pugin's and Barry's joint masterpiece.[241]

[241] *The Lords Chamber*, UK Parliament. https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/architecture/palace-s-interiors/lords-chamber/

ii. Contrasts

> Oh, have you seen the work just out
> By Pugin, the great builder?
> 'Architect'ral Contrasts' he's made out
> Poor Protestants to bewilder.
> The Catholic Church, she never knew –
> Till Mr Pugin taught her,
> That Orthodoxy had to do
> At all with bricks and mortar.
>
> McCann's song, quoted by B. Ferrey.[242]

The publication in 1836 in Salisbury of *Contrasts* was the moment in which Pugin truly announced himself to the world.

Overview of the Book

The book's alternative title was: *A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day Shewing the Present Decay of Taste.* As well as several chapters of text, the book contained drawing plates illustrating Pugin's architectural polemic, symbolising the title of *Contrasts*. Most plates were arranged in twos: one plate being a contemporary example of deplorable architecture, mainly classical in form, which Pugin often named Pagan, contrasted with a parallel example of a medieval, or medievally inspired, alternative which was held up to be superior.

For example, in a contrast involving Salisbury Cathedral, a drawing of a plain, simply decorated tomb of the Earl of Malmesbury, fenced off in the Cathedral, was juxtaposed on the same page with a drawing of a far more ornate, pointed, and accessible Gothic tomb, that of Admiral Gervase Alard at Winchelsea Church.

[242] McCann, 'Song on Pugin's Contrasts', in Ferrey, *Recollections*, p. 115.

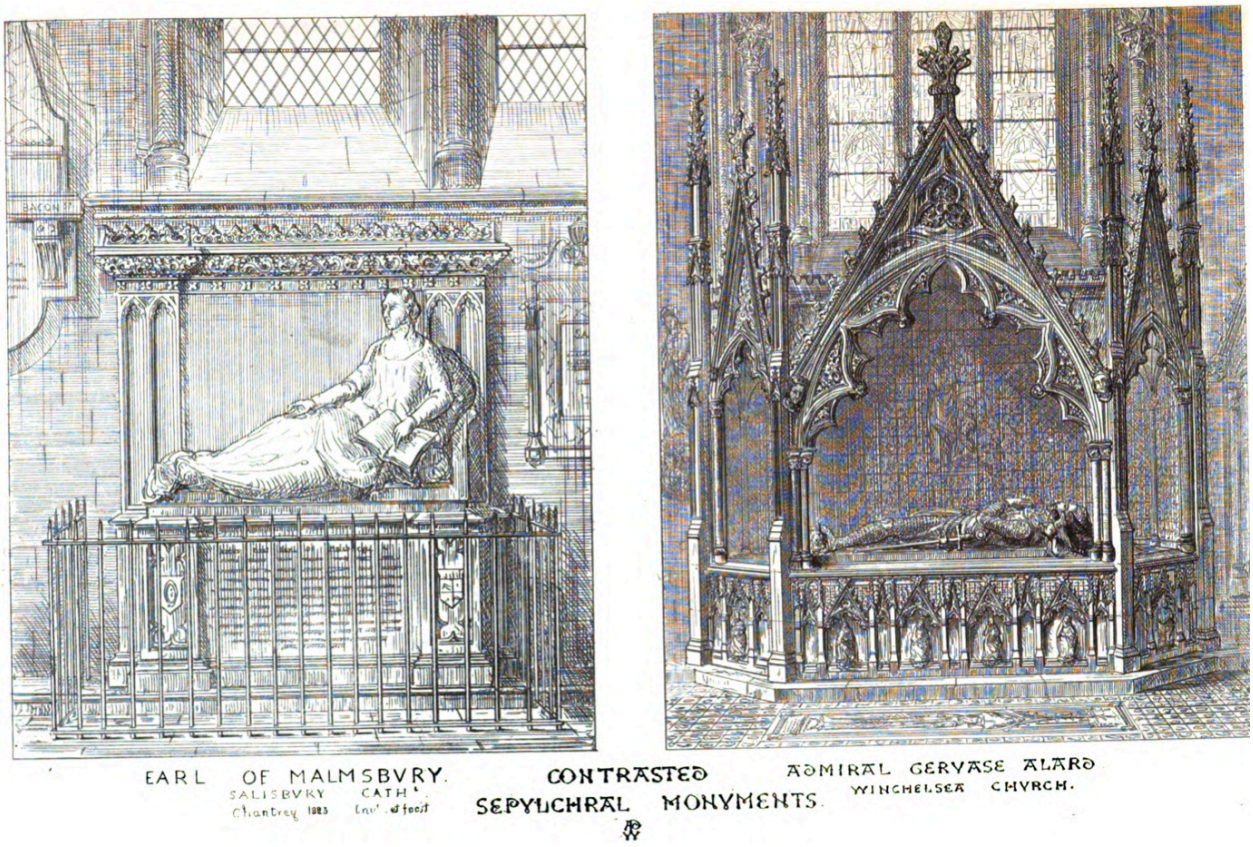


Figure 39 - Contrasted Tombs[243]

Pugin's concern was to show how the edifices of the Middle Ages had been replaced, and were still being replaced in his time, by monstrosities which harked back to the Paganism which the Church of Rome had once overthrown:

> This mania for Paganism is developed in all classes of buildings erected since the fifteenth century, - in palaces, in mansions, in private houses, in public erections, in monuments for the dead; it even extended to furniture and domestic ornaments for the table: and were it not beyond the limits of my subject, I could shew that it has invaded the ordinary forms of speech, and is discernible in modern manners and government.[244]

[243] Pugin, *Contrasts.*
The drawings are on unnumbered pages at the end of the book.
[244] Pugin, *Contrasts,* pp. 9-10.

Contrasts exhibited a remarkable strength of feeling and moral judgement about the value of medieval buildings and the woeful destruction that occurred to them from the Reformation onwards. Much of this emotional power was drawn from the parallel and interlinked central planks of Pugin's life, the love of the Gothic and his now unshakeable belief in the value of the Catholic Church.

Publication in 1836

In his letter to Edward Willson of 16 August 1835, written from Salisbury, Pugin confirmed that he was 'preparing my work of *contrasts*'.[245] He had moved into St Marie's Grange where he continued working on the book over the next year, finally publishing it in August 1836 in Salisbury. He wrote again at that time to Willson stating that 'architecture and decoration is a *trade* at present', and that 'truly it is only under the noble influence of catholic sentiments great works of art can be accomplished'.[246]

Within two months all copies originally printed in the city would be sold out, and Pugin telling Willson that he was a marked man.[247]

[245] Pugin to Willson, 16 August 1835, p. 51.
[246] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, Early August 1836', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. p. 61.
[247] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 5 September 1836', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1.* p. 62.

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:

Accompanied by appropriate Text.



By A. WELBY PUGIN, Architect.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

AND PUBLISHED BY HIM, AT ST. MARIE'S GRANGE,

NEAR SALISBURY, WILTS.

M.DCCC.XXXVI.

Figure 40 - Title Page of Contrasts, confirming publication at St Marie's Grange, Salisbury.[248]

[248] Pugin, *Contrasts,* Title Page.

Analysis of Contrasts

Compared with other early nineteenth century works on Gothic architecture, *Contrasts* stands out as being significantly different. Belcher, in a detailed comparison of the book with other contemporary texts, shows that much of the imagery in *Contrasts* focused more on a way of life and the nature of human activity linked to buildings, than on the details of the buildings' construction:

> His concern is not so much with the forms of architecture, however beautiful and impressive these may be, as with the cast of mind and the state of soul of the community which creates them. What he writes thus takes on the character of social criticism.[249]

For a twenty-first century viewer steeped in a world of visual imagery and social media, *Contrasts* strikes a strangely familiar tone. Images of 'good' and 'bad' are mixed with vehement commentary on contemporary and historical themes. In the early nineteenth century, such an intermingling of words and pictures was not unusual in historical books, such as those by John Britton and Auguste Pugin. What makes *Contrasts* stand out is its moral tone, the strong paralleling of Gothic vs Pagan drawings, and the strength of the prose to promote one and denigrate the other. This is Pugin's manifesto. He really does take no prisoners, neither in text nor in drawings.

He states, at the beginning of the book, that his aim is:

> First, to shew the state of Architecture in this country immediately before the great change of religion; secondly, the fatal effects produced by that change on Architecture; and, thirdly, the present degraded state of Architectural taste, and the utter want of those feelings which alone can restore Architecture to its ancient noble position.[250]

[249] Belcher, *A Study of Contrasts*, p. 28.
[250] Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 3.

In the ensuing chapters, Pugin damns not only the destruction of the monasteries and other medieval masterpieces, but also the changes made to the churches which survived, with aisles cut to pieces, naves blocked, screens cut away, and stalls removed, to be replaced by smears of paint and a 'host of other wretched mutilations'.[251] Elizabeth, Cromwell, Knox, Huguenots, Anglicans, and many more, are attacked for the effect they had on buildings and taste, which led to destruction, degradation, neglect and decay.

If anything, Pugin's greatest censure is reserved for those who had made recent changes to ancient buildings. These people are 'so vile, so mercenary, and so derogatory'. Top of the list, unsurprisingly, is James Wyatt, 'of execrable memory', for his destruction of the belltower at Salisbury Cathedral, the pulling down of chapels there and mutilation of tombs. Alterations in numerous other cathedrals are also lamented. Some recent attempts at Gothic improvements are grudgingly admired, but most buildings have been ruined through the disgraceful acts of church commissioners and the whim and caprice of architects, ensuring a 'prostitution of the name of religion to serve the private interests of individuals.[252]

Not only churches are ridiculed, but town and city architecture. Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, the British Museum, the National Gallery, and streets in London and Brighton, are all criticised.

Pugin's own contemporaries are saved for last:

> idle, unemployed, nominal architects, who either lounge about exhibition rooms, form societies, and pass the most sweeping censures on the finest productions of antiquity, because they have not sense enough to see their beauties.[253]

Even those Pugin and his father had worked for were open to censure, such as John Nash, the architect of the 1824 All Souls Church in London, contrasted in the book with a Medieval Gothic Church in Bristol.

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[251] Pugin, *Contrasts*, pp. 7, 14, 15. Henry VIII is strongly criticised, and the new church is most powerfully symbolised by 'the perfidious and dissembling Cranmer'.
[252] Pugin, *Contrasts,* pp. 19, 27, 28.
[253] Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 35.

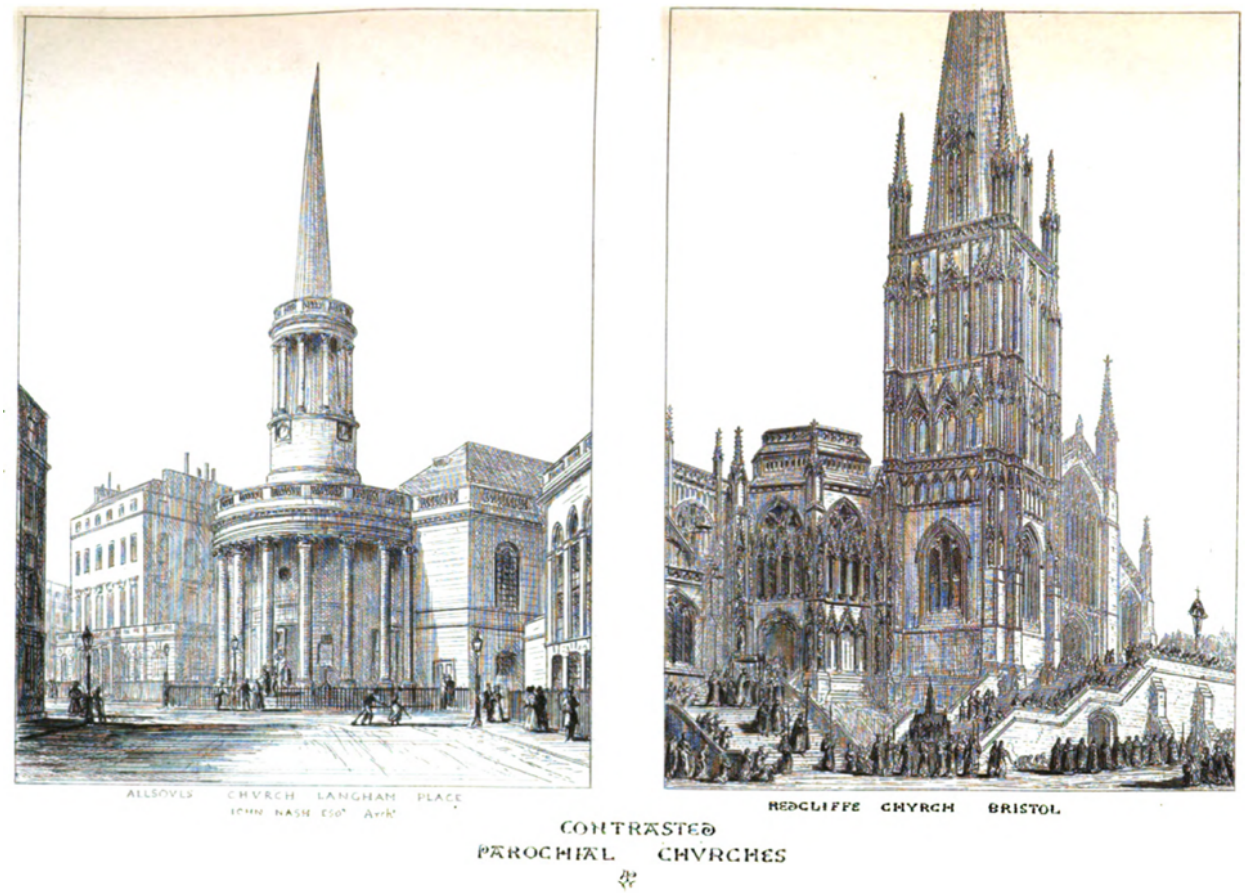


Figure 41 - Contrasted Parochial Churches: the Pagan/Classical All Souls in Marylebone of 1824 vs the Medieval Gothic splendour of St Mary Redcliffe in Bristol.[254]

For Pugin it was architectural purity and moral responsibility that mattered, not making friends and influencing people, and his drawings as well as his words were withering in their criticism of nineteenth century design practice, as can be seen in the full page image below.

[254] Pugin, *Contrasts*.
All Souls was built in 1824 designed by John Nash one of the foremost architects of the Regency and Georgian era, who employed Auguste and briefly Augustus Pugin, but did not escape censure in *Contrasts.*

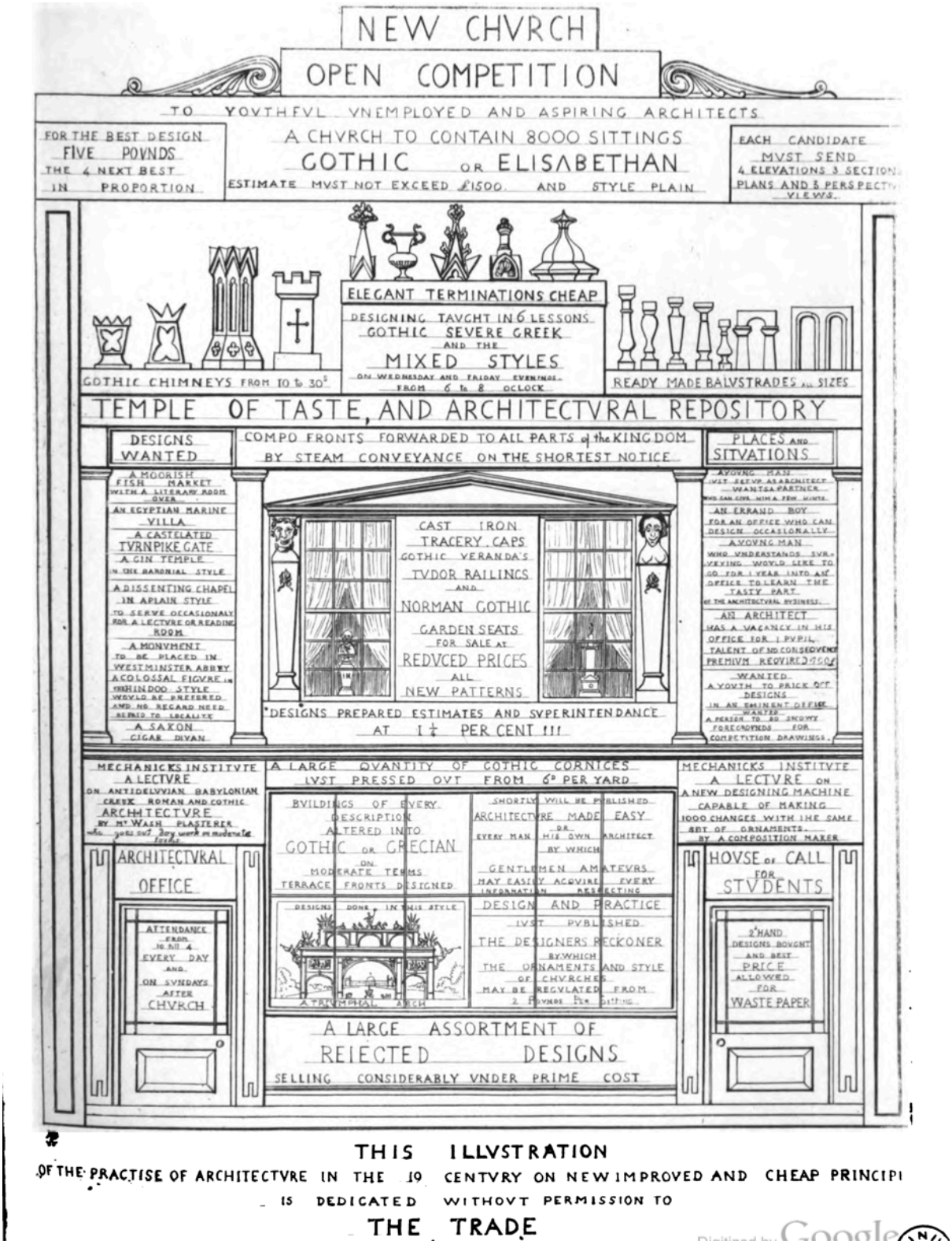


Figure 42 - The Cheap Principles of Pugin's current trade.[255]

[255] Pugin, *Contrasts*.

The contrasted sketches in the book provide the same invective as the text does, but in pictorial form, of chapels, houses, crosses, gateways, altars and more. Even inns are included, although Hill suggests that Pugin employed some artistic licence here to improve the symmetry and scale of the medieval building.[256]

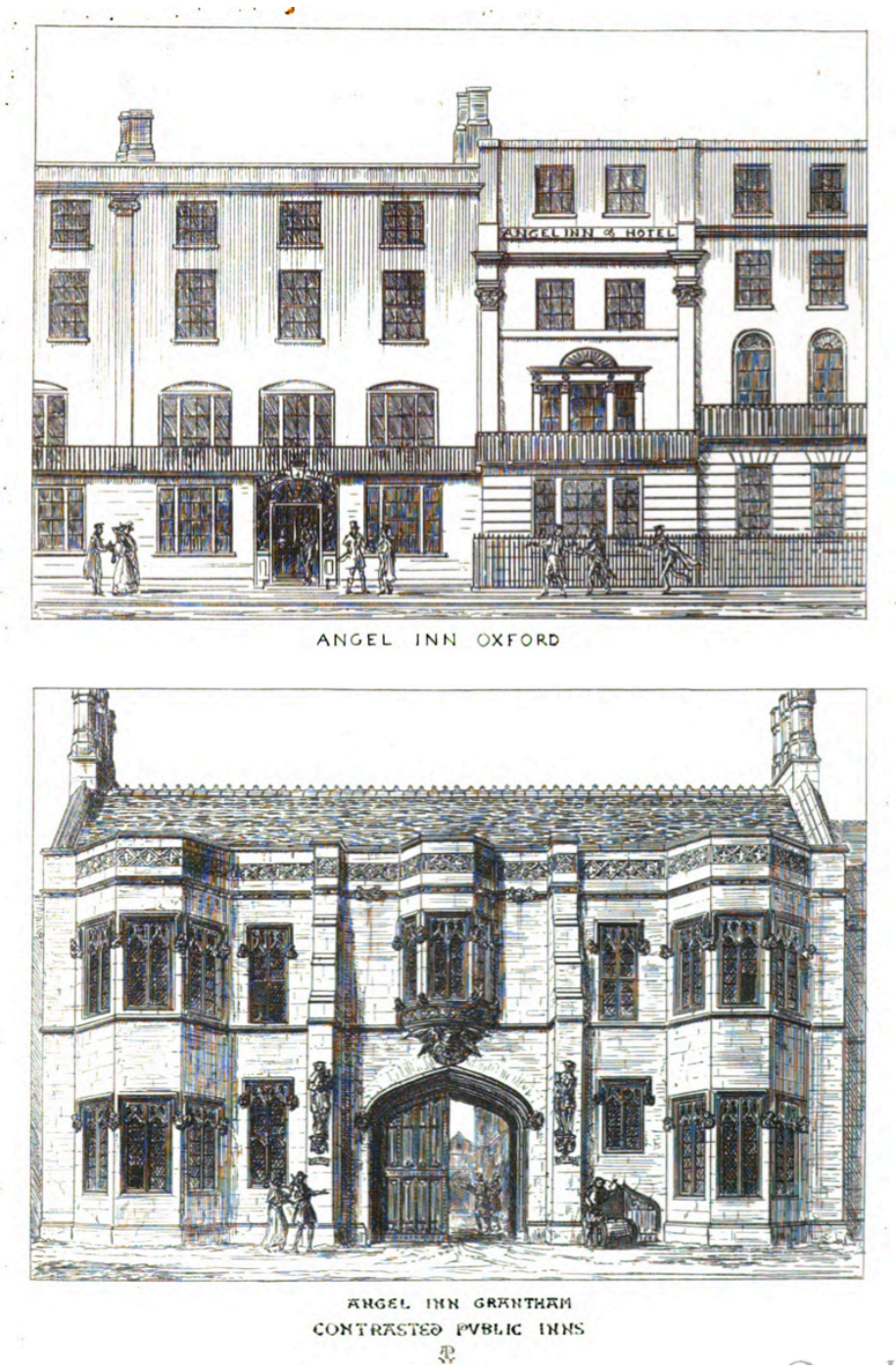


Figure 43 – Contrasted Angel Inns, the large Medieval Gothic in Grantham and the small Classical Regency in Oxford.[257]

[256] Hill, 'Pugin's Contrasts', p. 28.
[257] Pugin, *Contrasts*.

The final image in the book is a complex drawing of weighing scales, holding buildings and architecture in the balance. A scroll naming many contemporary architects hangs from the side found wanting, represented by those who Pugin was most offended by, including, of course, Wyatt. In her unpublished manuscript on *Contrasts*, Stanton suggests that this plate was inspired by Albrecht Dürer, who Pugin much admired, and whose third Horseman of the Apocalypse had carried a similar set of weighing scales.

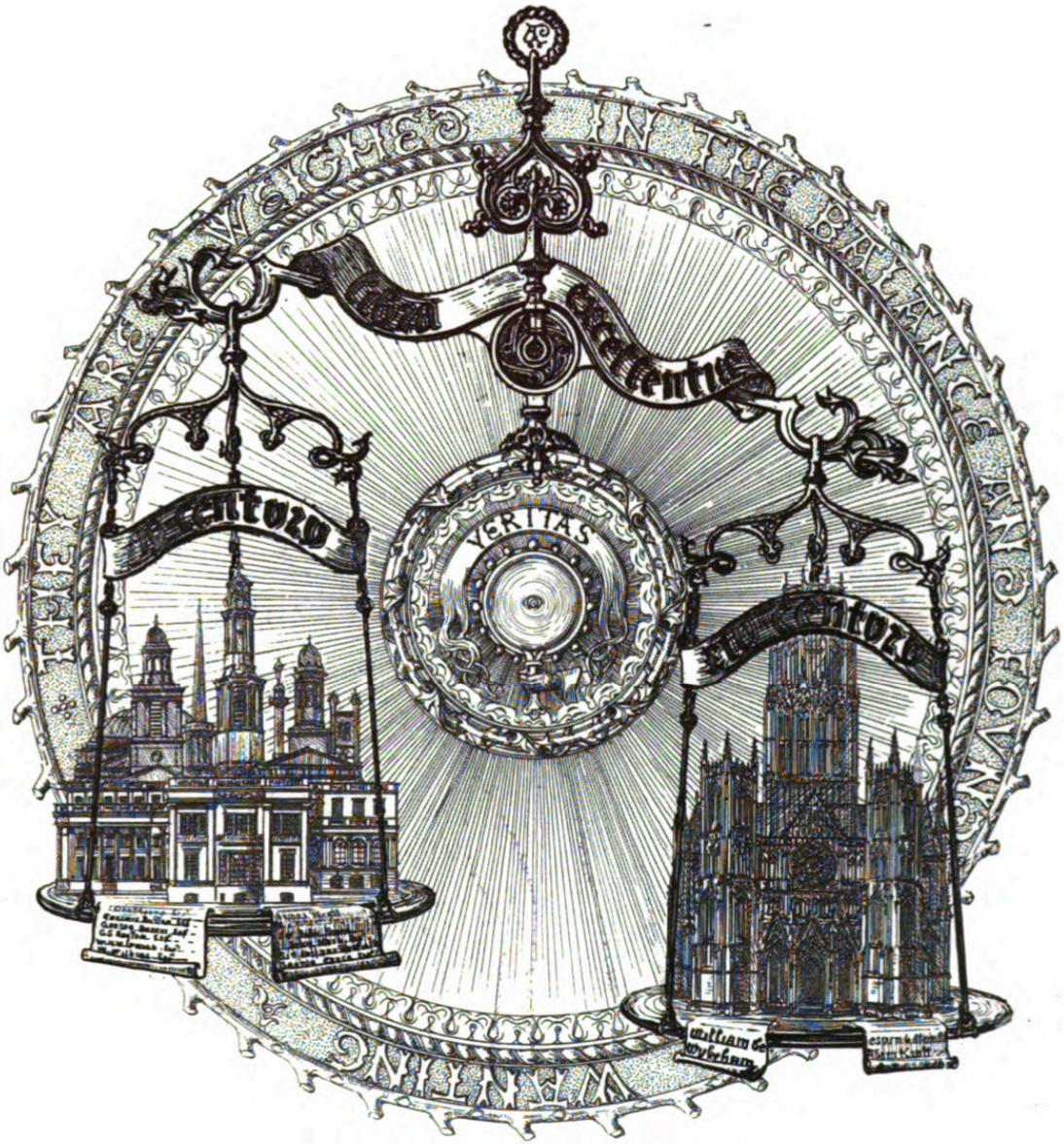


Figure 44 - They Are Weighed In The Balance And Found Wanting.[258]

[258] Pugin, *Contrasts.*

As Stanton concluded:

> *Contrasts* is astonishing and effective because its argument is deceptively simple. The visual device of contrast is direct and easy to understand. And Pugin possessed the wit, the artistic gift and the courage to put it forward. The twelve pairs of contrasted buildings are trenchantly critical of the work of nineteenth century architects.[259]

Reaction to Pugin

Once published, the book caused considerable controversy, locally and nationally. The first review of it, in The Atlas on 7th August 1836, was mainly favourable, although the reviewer lamented that had Pugin made his comparisons 'in a more enlarged and liberal spirit, it would have better answered the purpose of the author.'[260]

A month later, an anonymous letter, from A.F. in the Salisbury and Winchester Herald, attacked *Contrasts* and its author, claiming that this was another in a series of doctrinal disputes involving Salisbury Catholics and Anglicans, following a recent argument between the Catholic architect John Peniston and a local clergyman. The letter went on to question much of the historical, architectural, and geographical focus in *Contrasts*. Pugin responded in detail in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal, a rival newspaper to that publishing the original attack, stating that:

> With respect to my own publication, I deny it to be a defence of the Catholic faith, being, in truth, nothing more than a historical account of the proceedings connected with the change of religion in this country, and the effects produced by that change on architecture and art.[261]

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[259] Holliday and Stanton, 'Beginnings and Endings', p. 115.
[260] 'Fine Arts, Contrasts, or a Parallel between the Architecture of the 15th and 19th Centuries by A.W. Pugin', *The Atlas*, Sunday 07 August 1836, British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0002115/18360807/025/0013
[261] A.W.N. Pugin, 'To the Editor', *Salisbury & Winchester Journal*, 26th September 1836, British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000361/18360926/007/0002

Pugin soon found out that the anonymous author was a local cleric, Reverend Arthur Fane. For the next month they continued further correspondence in their respectively favoured Salisbury newspapers, with Pugin concluding matters by stating that he would not waste his time continuing to convince Fane on material points, and stating that:

> Be assured, Sir, that neither your clamours nor those of any other persons who feel annoyed at having their darling opinions attacked will prevent the facts I have brought forward from producing their proper effect on the minds of impartial and reflecting men – a truth of which I have already received ample testimony.[262]

Pugin had set out his stall and had every intention to further his arguments in every way he could. In 1837, he published the pamphlet referred to in Chapter 3, defending *Contrasts* through a detailed analysis of the strengths of medieval Catholicism and the damage caused since by the new faith of Protestantism.[263]

Contrasts itself was reprinted in second edition five years later, with a similar style but a less critical description of the role that the Reformation had played in architectural changes and more focus on damage caused during the Renaissance. Other major works were to follow with equally vehement arguments regarding pointed Christian architecture, but none were to surpass the initial impact of the 1836 edition of *Contrasts.*

[262] A.W.N. Pugin, 'To Mr Arthur Fane', *Salisbury & Winchester Journal*, 17 October 1836, British Library Board. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000361/18361017/033/0003
[263] Pugin, *An Apology for a Work Entitled Contrasts*.

Chapter Five: Pugin's Wiltshire Period

Whilst the building of St Marie's Grange, the conversion to Roman Catholicism, the development of designs for Westminster, and the publication of *Contrasts,* were by far the most important individually, let alone collectively, they were not Pugin's only achievements in Wiltshire.

This chapter will, first, summarise all other significant known work undertaken by Pugin whilst living in Salisbury.[264] It then demonstrates how his career trajectory had changed by the time he chose to leave. Finally, the chapter will conclude by defining his time there as Pugin's Wiltshire Period.

Further Wiltshire Architectural Work

Architecturally, in addition to St Marie's Grange, St Osmund's, and the Hall of Sir John Halle, Pugin is known to have worked on the following other projects within Wiltshire.

Close to his home in Alderbury, he designed and oversaw the building of a small gatehouse, Clarendon Lodge, for a wealthy neighbour, Sir Frederick Hervey-Bathurst, in 1836-37.[265] Technically this was only his second piece of completed domestic architecture, in grey brick with gate pillars 'in a more sophisticated, Houses of Parliament style'.[266]

A few years after leaving Salisbury, Pugin returned to design an ornate tomb in St John the Baptist Church, an isolated rural church in Bishopstone, to the west of the city, commemorating a deceased Anglican clergyman and antiquary, Reverend George Montgomery, who had become his good friend.[267] The execution of this work, still extant, and the stained glass window above it, since disappeared, reflected the intricate carving and Medieval Gothic detail of the type of tomb Pugin had promulgated in *Contrasts*. The

[264] A full list of all known work produced whilst Pugin lived in Salisbury is provided in Appendix 1.
[265] A.W.N. Pugin, *Clarendon Lodge* (1837), Alderbury, Wiltshire.
[266] Brittain-Catlin, *Pugin's English Residential Architecture,* p. 232.
[267] D. Meara, 'Monuments and Brasses', in Atterbury and Wainwright, Eds. *Pugin A Gothic Passion*, pp. 188-189.

stonework was undertaken by his preferred stonemason, George Myers, and was the first major monument that Myers produced for him.[268]



Figure 45 – Pugin's Rev Montgomery Tomb in St John the Baptist Church, Bishopstone, Wiltshire.[269]

[268] D. Meara, 'Monuments and Brasses', in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright, Eds. *Pugin A Gothic Passion* pp. 188-189.

[269] A.W.N. Pugin, *Memorial to Reverend Montgomery* (1844), St John the Baptist Church, Bishopstone, Wiltshire, 2022. Photograph by the author.
The window above originally held stained glass designed by Pugin.

In 1845, Pugin designed a brass cross for St Mary's Church in Calne, Wiltshire, to commemorate a writer, Markham Heale.[270]

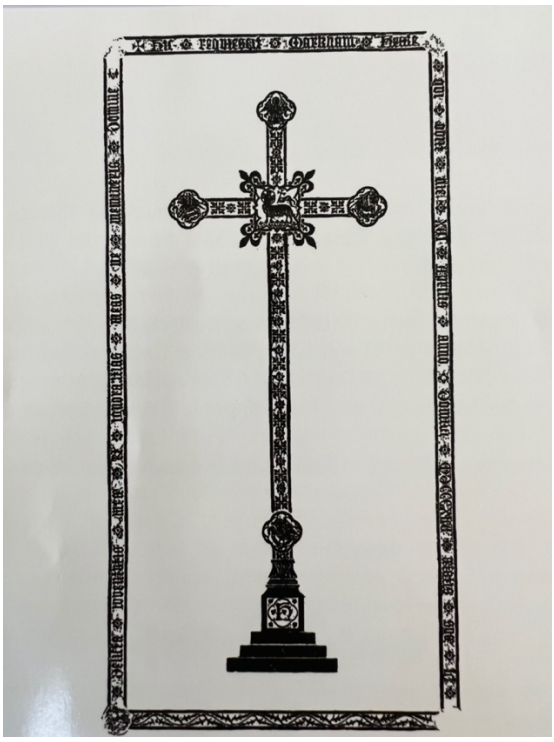


Figure 46 – Pugin's Design for Markham Heale's Cross in Calne, Wiltshire.[271]

There is also a Memorial in Salisbury Cathedral, to Lieutenant William Fisher, a stone Gothic quatrefoil made by William Osmond with a brass insert by Hardman to Pugin's design, dated 1849.[272]

In addition to these extant pieces, there are records of further work. These range from a fountain produced for a Colonel Baker in the city in 1835 which only now exists on paper through a Pugin sketch,[273] to reputed plans for alterations to the exterior of Longford Castle, seat of the local member of Parliament, the Earl of Radnor, who Peniston had written to in 1828 with the Catholic Petition from Salisbury. The Castle was close to Alderbury, and the

[270] D. Meara, 'Pugin's Cross Brasses, The Most Appropriate Emblem', *Present State – the Newsletter of the Pugin Society*, 18 (2021), 24-27, p. 26.
The cross was made by Hardmans.
[271] Meara, 'Pugin's Cross Brasses'.
[272] A.W.N. Pugin, *Memorial to Lieutenant William Fisher* (1849), Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, Wiltshire.
[273] A.W.N. Pugin, *Letter (copy) with Design for Fountain* (1835), Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, 164/13/3.

Earl had visited Pugin at home as well as inviting him to dine at the castle. Any records of Pugin's plans to change the facade of the castle have disappeared.[274]



Figure 47 - Pugin Drawing of Fountain in St Anne's Street, Salisbury, for Colonel Baker.[275]

Also no longer in existence is the initial chapel Pugin fashioned around the time of his conversion in 1835. This was in the former World's End Inn, St Martin's Lane, Salisbury, utilised by the local Catholic community 1811-48.[276] Pugin redesigned much of the internal space, including a new altar and a remodelled and repainted chancel, which was used from soon after he converted to Catholicism until the building of St. Osmund's Church a decade later. All traces of the work have been removed and Elliott reports that the space where the Chapel used to be is now part of a Refectory for Wiltshire College.[277]

[274] Orbach, 'Wiltshire Architects'.
[275] Pugin, *Design for Fountain.*
[276] Orbach, 'Wiltshire Architects'.
[277] Elliott, 'Pugin, St Osmund and Salisbury', *Sarum Chronicle*, pp. 47-48.

Additional Wiltshire-based Publications

Pugin published three other books whilst living at St Marie's Grange. They were more niche in their subject matter, and have not had the levels of scrutiny afforded to *Contrasts* or his other subsequent major works. But, in their respective fields, they remain of value to this day, and are testament to the growing range of craftmanship that he was starting to influence.

In early 1836 he wrote from St Marie's Grange that 'my work on Gothic ironwork is now nearly printed' and that the one on Gold and Silver work 'will appear next month'.[278] He had produced preliminary designs five years earlier and once settled in Salisbury he was able to demonstrate his draughtsmanship in print. Eatwell and North differentiate his metalwork output between everyday architectural fittings, and altar furnishings which represent the whole repertoire of Catholic ritual.[279] Examples of the former in these books include hinges, door handles, hour glasses, clocks, and keys, and of the latter, ciboria, reliquaries, monstrances and candlesticks.

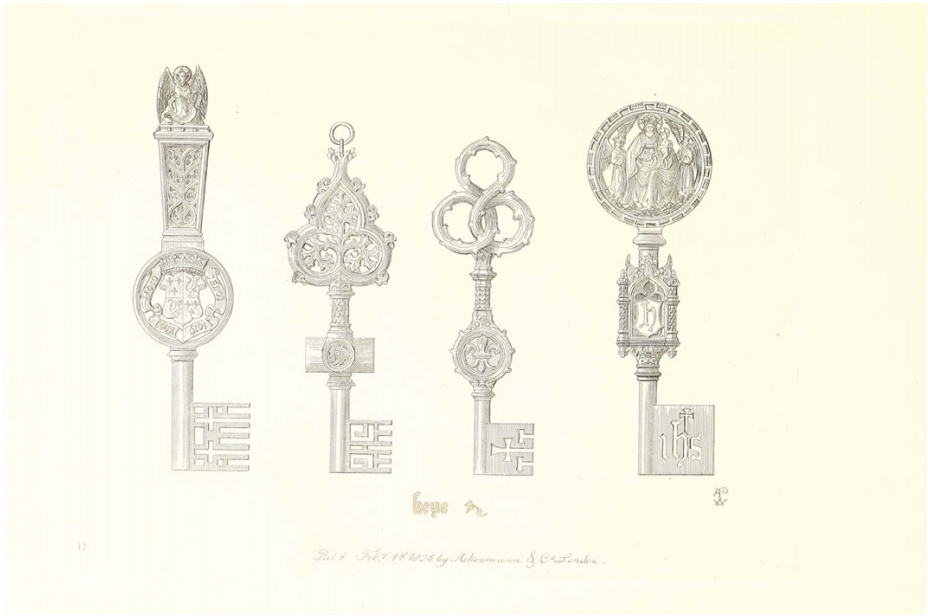


Figure 48 Pugin's Keys, in Designs for Iron and Brass work, 1836.[280]

[278] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to Edward Willson, 4 January 1836', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1.* p. 56. These two books were: A.W.N. Pugin, *Designs for iron and brass work in the style of the xv and xvi centuries* (London: Ackermann, 1836); A.W.N. Pugin, *Designs for Gold and Silversmiths* (London: Ackermann, 1836).
[279] A. Eatwell and A. North, Metalwork, in Atterbury and Wainwright, Eds. *Pugin, a Gothic Passion*, pp. 172-174.
Only after Pugin met Hardman in 1837 was he to be able to produce many of his metalwork designs.
[280] Pugin, *Designs for Iron and Brass work.*



Figure 49 - Pugin's Altar Candlesticks, in Designs for Gold and Silversmiths, 1836.[281]

Nine months after his metalwork books were published, Pugin wrote that 'my forthcoming in spring work will be on foreign (timber houses) and an interesting Little volume it will make.'[282] This illustrated French fifteenth and sixteenth century houses he had drawn.

[281] Pugin, *Designs for Gold and Silversmiths.*
[282] Pugin to Willson', 5 September 1836, p. 62.
This book was: A.W.N. Pugin, *Details of Antient Timber Houses of the 15th and 16th centries, selected from those existing at Rouen, Caen, Beauvais, Gisors, Abbeville, Strasbourg etc. drawn on the spot & etched by A Welby Pugin*, (London: Ackermann & Co., 1836).



Figure 50 - Frontispiece of Pugin's Details of Antient Timber Houses.[283]

One further publication is important to mention, even though Pugin decided whilst in Wiltshire to pass responsibility for much of it to others. This was the completion of his late father's series, *Examples of Gothic Architecture*.

One of the requests in Auguste's 1832 Will was that his son complete the series of works on Gothic Architecture. A first volume had been published in 1829 with an introduction by Edward Willson. In 1832, Auguste had commenced the second volume at the same time as the tour of the west country which started in Salisbury. However, he died soon after.[284] Initially Pugin worked hard to complete the second volume, aiming to publish it in parts. He transferred the production of text over to Willson and decided to focus on the drawings of

[283] Pugin, *Details of Antient Timber Houses*.
This frontispiece has the date 1836, but the book was not published until 1837.
[284] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 97 & 103-105.

buildings chosen as good reflections of Medieval Gothic. *Examples Volume 2* was only published a few weeks before *Contrasts*, commencing with an introduction written by Pugin from 'St Mary's Grange, July 1836'.[285] The book covered chapels in Norfolk and Oxford, Castles at Herstmonceux, Kenilworth, Warwick, Ragland and Thornbury, detailed expositions of the Deanery and Bishop's Palace in Wells, and an Inn, a Barn, and a Kitchen in Glastonbury. The buildings in Wells were those which had occasioned Pugin to write 'Gothic for ever' to Osmond in 1832.

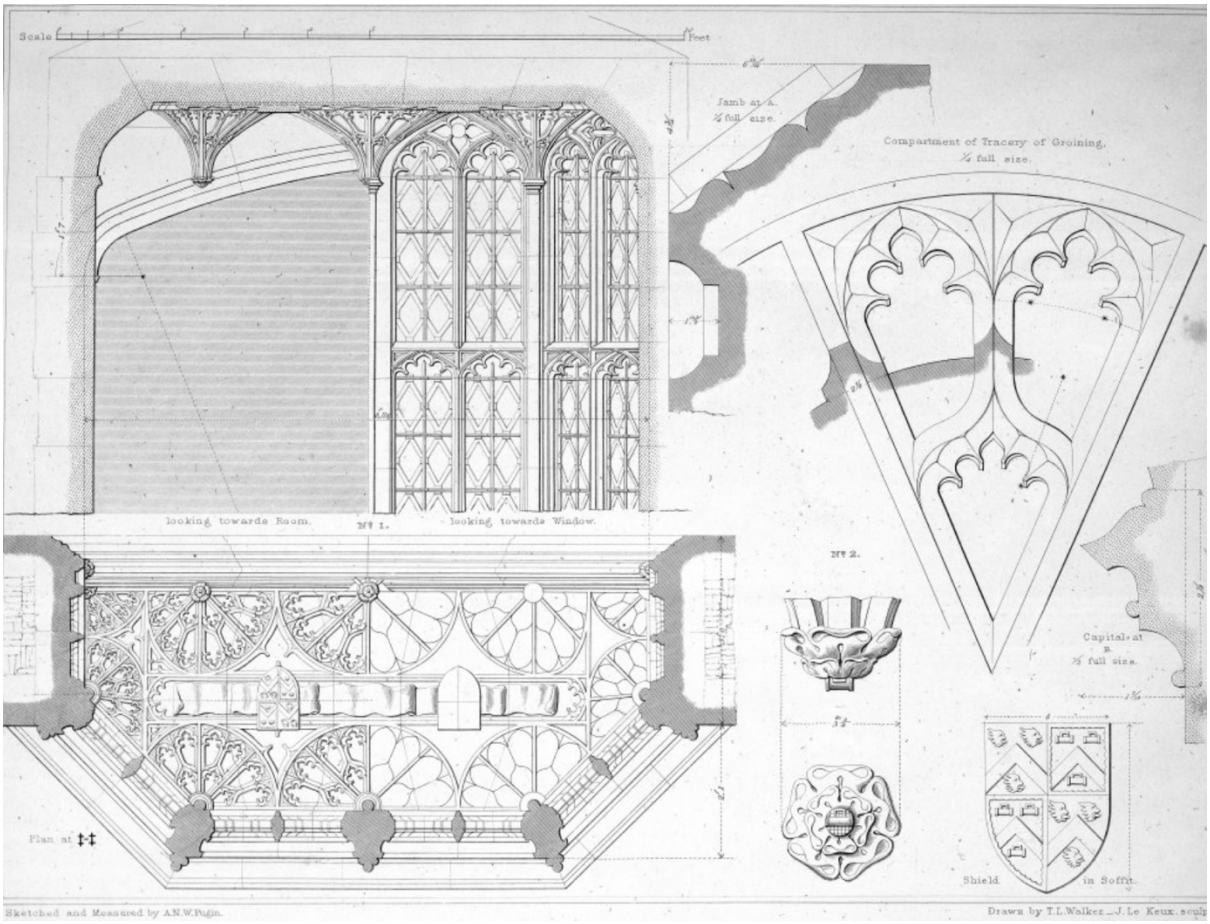


Figure 51 - Pugin's sketched plans of the Deanery House in Wells, in Examples of Gothic Architecture, 1836.[286]

Following this publication, Pugin felt that his duty to his father's wishes was done, and he determined to pass future work on the series over to one of Auguste's former pupils, Thomas

[285] Pugin and Pugin, *Examples of Gothic Architecture Selected from various Ancient Edifices in England*.
[286] Pugin, *Examples of Gothic Architecture*. Image entitled 'Deanery House, Wells: plan and section of groining and details of bay window'.

Larkins Walker, to whom he sold the rights. Walker continued to produce the work and, interestingly, the final volume of *Examples* focused mostly on Wiltshire, with detailed sections on manor houses at South Wraxall and Great Chalfield, as well as a smaller mention of a Church in Corsham. However, there is no indication that Pugin was involved in these, and the engravings produced with the book are all by Walker and not Pugin.[287]

Expanding Horizons

Whilst Salisbury was eventually to prove too isolated a place from which to work, it was from there that Pugin really started to spread his wings. Through his fellow Westminster competition entrants, he continued work further afield, such as, with Barry, furnishing Birmingham Grammar School and designing the front of Manchester's Unitarian Chapel,[288] and, with Graham, continuing already commenced work in Edinburgh on St Margaret's Convent Chapel and George Heriot's Hospital, and starting designs for restorations at Holyrood Palace, Taymouth Castle and Glasgow Cathedral.[289] The change they made in Heriot's Chapel 'was a switch from the somewhat tame Neo-Classical to grandiose, confident pre-Victorian Gothic Revival work'.[290] In 1836 Pugin also designed a silver Sanctuary Lamp for Graham which was presented early the next year to Bishop Gillis of Edinburgh, who was to become an enthusiastic patron of Pugin's future work.[291]

[287] Walker, *The history and antiquities of the Manor House and Church at Great Chalfield.*
[288] Hill, God's Architect, p. 183.
[289] MacAulay, 'The Architectural Collaboration', *Architectural History*, pp. 408-413.
[290] B.R.W. Lockhart, *Jinglin' Geordie's Legacy*, A History of George Heriot's Hospital and School (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2003), p. 42. [Dissertation Author's note, this was my late father's school].
[291] J. Sharples, 'A. W. Pugin and the Patronage of Bishop James Gillis', *Architectural History,* 28 (1985), 136–158, pp. 137-141. https://doi.org/10.2307/1568530



Figure 52 - Silver Sanctuary Lamp designed by Pugin, whilst resident in Salisbury, for Bishop Gillis of Edinburgh, 1836.[292]

But it was *Contrasts* which was to prove the real springboard for his career after Salisbury. The connections he developed from the book's publication, and his growing reputation within both the architectural and Catholic communities across the country, brought opportunities which would shape his future. Many of these came from three new partnerships he forged, the foundation of each occurring whilst Pugin was still residing in Wiltshire.

One was with John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, a major future patron through whom the likes of Shrewsbury Cathedral, Alton Towers and Pugin's pièce de resistance St Giles Church at Cheadle, which has been termed 'the climax of his career as an apologist of the Catholic and Gothic revivals',[293] were all to be built.

[292] Sharples, 'Pugin and Bishop James Gillis', p. 153.
[293] R. O'Donnell, 'Pugin as a Church Architect', in P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright, Eds. *Pugin A Gothic Passion,* p.74.
Pugin's initial link to Lord Shrewsbury was through his chaplain, Rev. Daniel Rock, who contacted Pugin after reading *Designs for Gold and Silversmiths*.

The second was with the collector Charles Scarisbrick for whom Pugin, in the largest domestic commission of his career, was to turn Scarisbrick Hall in Southport into another Gothic masterpiece.[294] He started work on the interior of Scarisbrick in early to mid 1837.



Figure 53 - The King's Room at Scarisbrick, designed by Pugin from 1837 onwards.[295]

[294] Stanton, *Pugin*, pp. 28-29.
[295] Modern Medievalism, *The Marvellous Creations of Pugin and other Photos,* 25th September 2012. http://modernmedievalism.blogspot.com/2012/09/the-marvelous-creations-of-pugin-and_25.html

The third was with the Catholic Seminary at Oscott, near Birmingham, where Pugin became in 1837 Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities and prepared plans for a new chapel there.[296]



Figure 54 - The Chapel at Oscott, which Pugin started to design, with multiple medievally inspired features, whilst still resident in Salisbury.[297]

Pugin's last recorded letter from Salisbury was in June 1837. This was to John Hardman, whose workshops were to produce almost all the stained glass and metalwork Pugin designed in the latter part of his career. This particular correspondence concerned plans for a church in Birmingham which would seat seven hundred and fifty attendees. The church itself was never built, but the plans made at that time were to prove influential, on the very same site a few years later, for the development of St Chad's, designed by Pugin, which became the first English cathedral since the Reformation.[298]

[296] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 176.
[297] St Mary's College, Oscott CIO, *The College Chapel*, College History. http://oscott.net/about-us/history/
[298] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Letter to John Hardman,' 10 June 1837', in M. Belcher, *Collected Letters, Vol 1*. pp. 77-78.

Conclusion

During the three years after leaving Salisbury, 1838-41, Pugin built or designed 'twenty-two churches, three cathedrals, three convents, several schools, one cottage and at least seven presbyteries'.[299] In the ensuing years, he was to go on and achieve even more, even though his health deteriorated from 1845 onwards, physically and then mentally. He published further significant literary works and expanded his reach into many other areas of art and design. Along with John Ruskin, he became the most significant influence of much of the Victorian Gothic Revival,[300] particularly for architects such as Street, Butterfield and Scott, and his innovation in areas as varied as tiling, wallpaper and glass paved the way for the Arts and Crafts Movement and William Morris.[301]

In her analysis of the place of nostalgia in nineteenth century medievalism, Linda Austin writes that Pugin believed that his work 'would impart a definite idea of medieval (in his case, Catholic) beliefs and culture, and release meanings that contemporaries could consciously absorb and articulate.'[302] That work, to place the idea of the medieval at the heart of the society in which he lived, came into the public domain when Pugin was in Wiltshire. As Stanton states, Pugin led the Gothic Revival from 1835-1852, with his first major work being the designs for the Houses of Parliament.[303] *Contrasts* sits alongside this work as a public demonstration of what Belcher terms 'the seriousness with which he regards the middle ages, the values with which he invests them'.[304]

The young Augustus Pugin who arrived in Salisbury in early 1835 had left Ramsgate after his aunt's death, had been a member of the Anglican Church, and had only produced a small amount of literature and a few architectural commissions. In defining his next two and a half years of achievements as a Wiltshire Period, it is important to recognise that much of his time and work was spent elsewhere other than Salisbury, particularly in late 1836 and 1837. But, for the first time in his life, Pugin owned a family home which he had designed and to some

[299] Hill, 'Pugin's Small Houses', p. 155.
[300] A. Lepine, 'The Persistence of Medievalism: Kenneth Clark and the Gothic Revival', *Architectural History*, 57 (2014), 323–56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43489753
[301] P. Thompson, *The Work of William Morris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 58, 77, 103, 107, & 135.
[302] Austin, 'The nostalgic moment', p. 133.
[303] Stanton, 'Pugin: Principles of Design', p. 20.
[304] Belcher, *A Study of Contrasts,* p. 187.

degree built with his own hands, complete with chapel, library and architect's table. In a sense, he found himself during this time, domestically, professionally and religiously, and that was what enabled him to spread his wings to such great effect.

He wrote in January 1835 of the beautiful situation of St Marie's Grange, his good local connections, and the fact that he could carry out business anywhere that the post could reach him.[305] He was able to collaborate with Barry and Graham, in London and Salisbury, travel in Britain and abroad to research and sketch for *Contrasts*, and have a home to come back to that was religious as well as familial. Ironically, the only place he could not sketch was Salisbury Cathedral, but the friendships he made, the partnerships he forged, and the sense of spiritual wholeness he gained from Catholic worship in the small chapel in Salisbury, were far more important to him than the reaction of the authorities there.

Being banned from the Cathedral may have kept him away from Wyatt's destruction, but Pugin could see the spire every day he was in his home. The symbolism of this, the immense beauty of its Medieval Gothic structure which had been, to him, so brutally degraded just decades earlier, must have inspired and enraged him equally. He was not able to rectify Wyatt's work in Salisbury, and indeed he left only a small architectural footprint locally. But by the time of his departure to Chelsea in 1837, his world had changed forever. Over the next fifteen years, until his death in 1852, he would go on to be the architect of one hundred and fifty buildings and the author of thirty books and tracts, placing at the heart of all his design work, with increasing intricacy, elaboration and beauty, many of the ideals and principles of the Roman Catholic medieval world. This all started for real in Salisbury.

Where we live does not always define us, but it can, for a time, help give direction and meaning to our lives. In Pugin's case, the period 1835-37 launched his career and undoubtedly defined the rest of his life. This really was his Wiltshire Period.

END

[305] Pugin to Willson, 1 January 1835, p. 45.

Appendix 1 – Pugin's Wiltshire Works

The following are works known to have been constructed, written, or designed either whilst Pugin's main residence was in Salisbury, Wiltshire, (winter 1834/5 to autumn 1837) or were designed by him after that date for specific locations in the county.

i. Local Buildings, Design and Stonework

a. Extant

The Hall of Sir John Halle (1834), Canal Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire. Internal decorative work.

St Marie's Grange (1835), Alderbury, Wiltshire. Design and Build.

Clarendon Lodge (1837), Alderbury, Wiltshire. Design.

Memorial to Reverend Montgomery (1844), St John the Baptist Church, Bishopstone, Wiltshire. Design.

St Osmund's Church (1848), Exeter Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire. Design.

Memorial to Lieutenant William Fisher (1849), Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, Wiltshire. Design.

b. No longer in existence

Fountain for Colonel Baker (1835), St Anne's Street, Salisbury. Design.

Roman Catholic Chapel alterations (1835), World's End Inn, St Martin's Lane, Salisbury. Design.
Designs for exterior of castle and bridge in park (1835), Longford Castle, Bodenham, Salisbury. Plans for Design. Only the bridge, since destroyed, may have been built from these plans, and this is not certain.

ii. Publications

A Letter to A.W. Hakewill, Architect, in Answer to his Reflections on the Style for Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament (Salisbury, 1835).

Designs for iron and brass work in the style of the xv and xvi centuries (London: Ackermann, 1836).

Designs for Gold and Silversmiths (London: Ackermann, 1836).

Examples of Gothic Architecture Selected from various Ancient Edifices in England, Volume 2, (London: Henry George Bohn, 1836).

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: St Marie's Grange, 1836).

Details of Antient Timber Houses of the 15th and 16th centries, selected from those existing at Rouen, Caen, Beauvais, Gisors, Abbeville, Strasbourg etc. drawn on the spot & etched by A Welby Pugin, (London: Ackermann & Co., 1836).

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 (Birmingham: 1837).

iii. Design Work Undertaken

St Margaret's Convent Chapel, Edinburgh, assisting James Gillespie Graham (1835).

Houses of Parliament, London, on behalf of Charles Barry, Competition Drawings (1835).

Houses of Parliament, London, on behalf of James Gillespie Graham, Competition Drawings (1835).

Edward VI Grammar School, Birmingham, Furnishings, assisting Charles Barry (1835).

George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, Chapel, assisting James Gillespie Graham (1835-36).

Holyrood Chapel, Edinburgh, assisting James Gillespie Graham (1836).

Houses of Parliament, London, Estimate Drawings, on behalf of Charles Barry (1836-37).

Taymouth Castle designs, assisting James Gillespie Graham (1837).

Glasgow Cathedral repair and tower designs, assisting James Gillespie Graham (1837).

Manchester Unitarian Church, frontage, for Charles Barry (1837).

Church, Birmingham (1837). Plans were not progressed.

It is likely that initial work on the Chapel at Oscott and on early designs for the main internal rooms in Scarisbrick Hall were also commenced during this period.

iv. Other Known Work

Design of silver lamp for James Gillespie Graham (1836), subsequently presented to Bishop Gillis in Edinburgh.

Design of a brass cross (1845), to commemorate Markham Heale, at St Mary's Church, Calne, Wiltshire.

This list does not include the numerous unpublished drawings and watercolours which Pugin completed on his English and Continental tours whilst living in Salisbury. Many of these are recorded in the Catalogue of the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, 1977, and the Catalogue of the Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985, both edited by Alexandra Wedgwood

Appendix 2 – Primary Sources and Bibliography

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