

The Landmark Trust

THE GRANGE

History Album Volume I:

The Pugin Family and the Grange



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BASIC DETAILS

Built: 1843-4
Architect: Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin
Listed: Grade I

Acquired by The

Landmark Trust: 1997
Tenure: Freehold
Opened as a Landmark: 2006 (restoration Jan 2004 – May 2006)

Restoration

Architects: Donald Insall Associates of Canterbury
Thomas Ford & Partners of Sydenham

Building analysis: Paul Drury
Archaeology: Canterbury Archaeological Trust
Project manager: Ron Dawson (1951-2005) of Robertson & Dawson
Quantity surveyor: Adrian Stenning of Bare Leaning & Bare
Structural engineers: The Morton Partnership
Main contractor: R J Barwick Construction Services Ltd of Dover
Stone work: PAYE Stonework of London
Mechanical Services: Mechelec of Dover
Electrical contractor: E. Saunders of Margate
Cartoon Room: Town Brothers of Ramsgate

Paint analysis: Catherine Hassall
Paint conservation: The Wall Paintings Workshop of Faversham
Decorators: Mackays Decorators Perth Ltd
Specialist paint finishes: Trish Murray of Tomfoolery of Lapford
Stained glass: Keith Hill, The Stained Glass Workshop, Rochester
Wallpapers: Cole & Son Ltd (En Avant and 'Strapwork')
Watts of Westminster (Jane's Room)

Carpets: Ulster Carpets of Hammersmith
Door furniture, brass shields: John Hardman Studios Ltd of Birmingham

Landscaping &
Furnishing: Landmark Furnishing Team (John Evetts, Ian Boulton, John Brown, Mark Harris, Mark Smitten, Ray Tennant)

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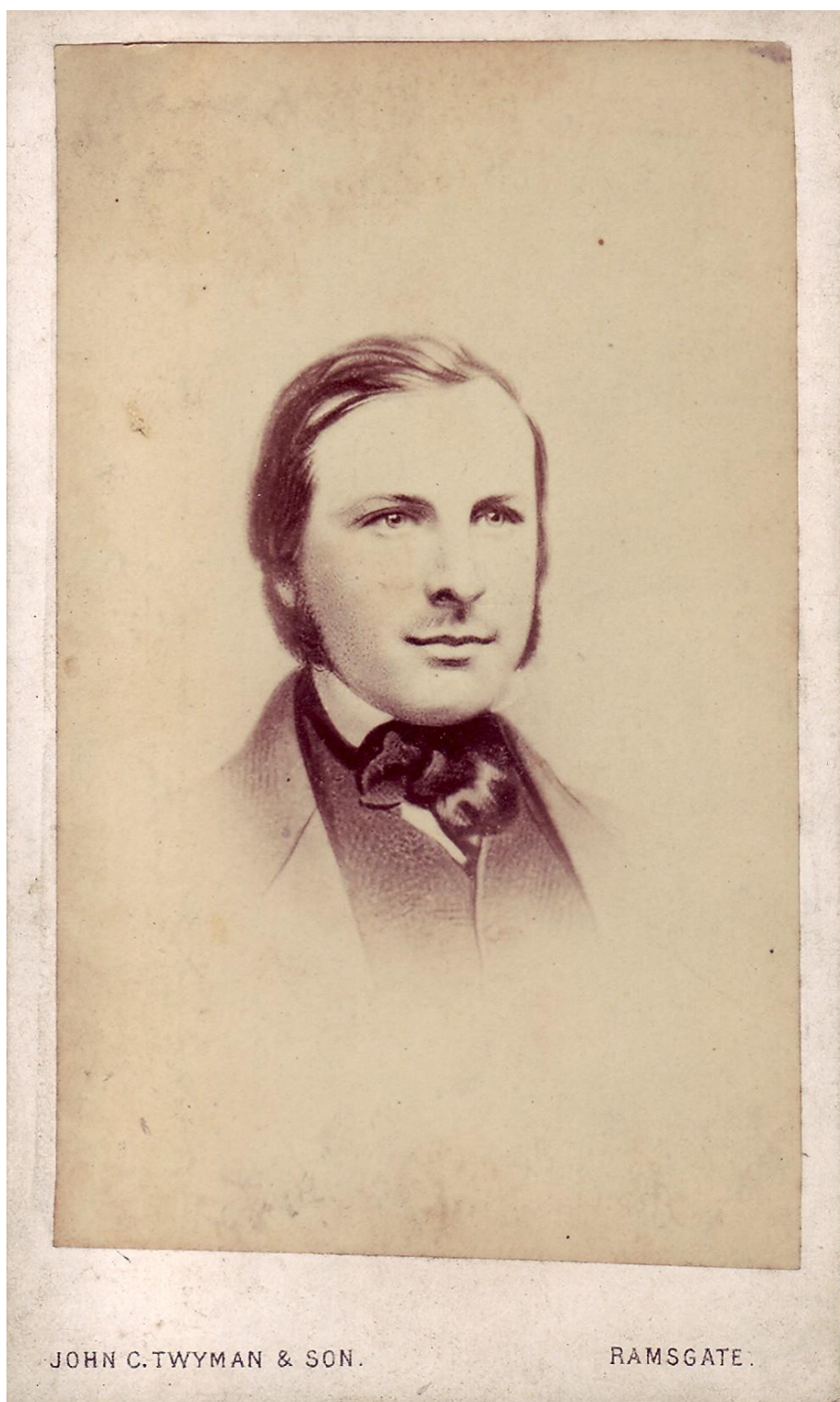
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Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52)

'There is nothing worth living for but Christian architecture and a boat!'

This is the only known photograph of Pugin, probably copied from a Daguerrotype taken in the early 1840s. (Private Collection)

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THE GRANGE - SUMMARY

The Grange is important today because it is the house Augustus Pugin built for himself and his family. Listed Grade I, it was rescued from development by the Landmark Trust in 1997 with a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. Since then, the HLF have provided a further grant for its repair and restoration, with generous additional support from English Heritage, Thanet District Council, private charitable trusts and many private individuals.

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52) was one of the most influential and prolific architects and designers of the nineteenth century. Only forty when he died, Pugin spent his life trying to revive mediaeval Gothic architecture and design as the only fit architecture for a Christian society, part of a movement known as the Gothic Revival. He looked back wistfully and sometimes whimsically to mediaeval society, which he thought morally superior to the increasingly mechanised and secular society he saw around him. A devout convert to English Catholicism, Pugin built many churches, schools, convents, monasteries and country houses. He also designed the interiors for the Houses of Parliament. As a man, Pugin was passionate, intense, naïve, impatient, combative and funny. He worked ceaselessly to recreate in his own life and works the Gothic life that he idealised, supported by a loyal team of craftsmen and builders who translated into reality the countless designs he drew from memory into.

Pugin built few domestic houses and the site in Ramsgate is particularly important because here he was building for himself, to create his ideal setting for his family. He wanted to bring Catholicism back to this part of Kent and so a church and monastery were also part of his plan, to recreate the mediaeval social structure that he so admired. Here he was able to build according to his own true principles, imposing 'No features ... which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety.' Built of yellow stock brick and surrounded by walls of knapped flint, The Grange was not an inherently extravagant house despite the richness of its interiors. However, it is quietly revolutionary in the arrangement of rooms and their outward expression in architecture. Pugin was reacting against mainstream Classical architecture, which had been the most popular style for the past hundred years and which he considered pagan. Pugin's starting point for The Grange was not outward symmetry but internal function, how he and his large family were to live in the house. Windows, roofs and chimneys were placed to suit life inside rather than external appearance. This cheerful and uncontrived asymmetry is now such a familiar feature of English domestic architecture that it is easy to forget how radical it was as after the formal terraces of the 18th century. The principle it reflects, that form should follow function, remains central to much of today's architecture.

Pugin bought the site on the West Cliff at Ramsgate in 1841. The house was built between 1843 and 1844 by his builder, George Myers. The original plan (now recovered) was a distinctive 'pinwheel' arrangement: three principal ground floor rooms (the drawing room, library and dining room) grouped around a square entrance hall, with a corridor leading off to a small kitchen, square tower (from which Pugin would watch for vessels in distress on the Sound) and a private chapel. The house was designed to enjoy views of the sea and the monastic site next door from all angles, and was richly wallpapered, painted and panelled. It was full of furniture to Pugin's own designs and of paintings that he collected avidly. His second wife Louisa died the year the house was finished. Not until his marriage to Jane Knill in 1848 did the house become the happy family home he dreamed of. Sadly, Pugin died in 1852, just two years after the interiors were completed,

worn out by his pace of work, and unbalanced and poisoned by the mercury given to cure recurring eye inflammation.

After a decade away, Augustus's eldest son Edward Pugin returned to live in the house in 1862 with his stepmother Jane and other family members. Edward too was an architect and became a substantial local figure in his own right. It was Edward who built much of St. Augustine's monastery and finished the church. He also altered his father's house, adding the entrance corridor and the gate piers, extending the drawing room, adding a conservatory and making various extensions and changes to the internal layout to adapt it for mid-Victorian life. The house remained in family ownership until the death of Augustus's last son Cuthbert in 1928, after which its contents were dispersed and it became a school run by the monks of St Augustine's monastery next door. It passed into private ownership in the early 1990s but sadly continued to deteriorate until 1997, when it was put on the market again with talk of turning it into flats. By now, its importance was more widely recognised and the HLF stepped in to help Landmark acquire it.

Detailed analysis by Landmark revealed more detail about the house in Augustus's day than at any other period of its history – the building was successively stripped out for redecoration both by Pugin's sons and later occupants, but traces of its original state remained concealed in its fabric. Pugin also left a great deal of documentary evidence. On the basis of all this analysis, Landmark gained permission to restore most of the building to its appearance in Augustus's time, which is also the period of greatest significance for the building. Most of the later changes have therefore been reversed, but the main gate, entrance courtyard and the bedroom refurbished by Edward for his stepmother are presented broadly as they would have been in his time. The roof, altered when replaced after a near-disastrous fire in 1904, has recovered its original steeply Gothic slopes.

TOUR OF THE HOUSE

Cartoon Room, Covered Porch and North Courtyard

This area was altered considerably by Edward Pugin, who used the room with the large oriel window in St Edward's Presbytery as an architect's studio. It remains much as Edward left it. Edward demolished a small gatehouse built by his father to the left of the porch and made a new, double-gated entrance with stone lion gateposts (Augustus Pugin used the small side entrance off Screaming Alley). Edward also added hips to the roofline of the Cartoon Room and inserted the dormer so that the building could be used as both coach house and coach man's quarters. As you enter the house, you go through Augustus Pugin's original small porch. Note the large front door, which is very typical of his work. Originally, it only had bolts on the inside so that it could only be opened from the inside – Pugin was extremely security conscious, as there was still considerable anti-Catholic feeling at the time.

Hallway

This is the centre of the house, off which the main rooms open. It is an intimate, overlooked space, an echo of mediaeval halls or main living areas where everyone co-existed. It was very unusual in a house of this scale in the 1840s. In Pugin's day there was a wood stove in the corner and a large statue of the Virgin Mary and Child on the wall - a bold and public statement of the family's Catholic faith. He kept a chest of clothes to give as charity and a rack of favourite sou'westers and telescopes. The panelling is a

reinstatement of the simple matchboarding used throughout the house. The stairwell is papered in the red and green version of the En Avant design, which Pugin designed for himself (En Avant was his family motto and means 'forward'). The striking diagonal design of the banisters was probably inspired by timber framing in northern France, which Pugin visited often. The small window on the stairs gives light into a secure internal room, perhaps a silver store and now a shower room. On the floor are original tiles designed by Pugin with his monogram AWP and family emblem, the black martlet. The doors to the library and sitting room have been returned to their original size and simple joinery.

The Sitting Room

This room has been returned to its original, 1840s dimensions, by removing a later flat-roofed extension. A watercolour done by Pugin in 1849 showed how the room appeared in his day, including use of the red and green En Avant paper. The panelled ceiling, painted over and stripped of its paper medallions at a later date, has been restored to match the library ceiling. The stained glass in the large stone window shows St Peter, the Isle of Thanet and the Blessed Virgin, and in the small window a panel dedicated to St Barbara, patron saint of architects. Based on careful paint analysis, the fireplace looks as it did in the 1840s. The original enamelled brass shields were lost long ago and we do not know the original designs, so those put up reflect the family nature of this room and show, from left, St Barbara's shield, then the Knill, Pugin and Welby (Pugin's mother's family) arms. The motifs around the hearth opening ('read, mark, learn, digest') are at child's eye height and include symbols for each of his children. The arch between drawing room and library was closed with a curtain, as Pugin hated slamming doors: "a door once made is bound to be opened and slammed". The arch was later enlarged, but has been returned to its original dimensions. All the carpets in the house have been specially made to evoke Pugin designs, except in the nursery.

The Library

This is a room of great significance, since it was here that Pugin worked, pouring out drawings based on his encyclopaedic knowledge of Gothic detail. With its original matchboarded panelling, it has a masculine, almost maritime feel. Here, Pugin designed the interiors of The House of Lords, singing snatches from operas or Gregorian chants as he worked at a desk in the bay window. His helper, John Hardman Powell, sat at the other window, both with good sea light streaming in through the lower lights. The stained glass in the upper lights in the bay show SS Anselm, Augustine, Dunstan and Thomas à Becket, all of whom had local Kent associations. The west window has late mediaeval Flemish glass reset against a background of the AWP monogram and motto, En Avant. The fireplace has been returned to its original appearance. The enamelled shields replace lost originals but replicate the original designs, known from Pugin's own drawing for them, and show, from left, St George's cross, the arms of the See of Canterbury, the assumed arms of Edward the Confessor and the fleur de lys of France, for Pugin's French origins and perhaps to show the historic links between the two countries.

Four large free standing bookcases almost cover the walls, used by Pugin as open shelving for storing rolls of drawings and examples of carved stone etc. One section is cleverly hinged to allow the door from the hall to open – the runner can still be seen in the floorboards. These have been reconstructed from shadows on the walls and Pugin's letters. We also know their text friezes of quotations from the Old Testament Book of Proverbs in Vulgate Latin. The shields on the ceiling, whose paintwork is newly restored, show the Pugin martlet and the Knill lion, from the arms of Pugin's third wife, Jane. The

main cornice frieze bears the names of Pugin's favourite people – saints, friends and clients - and places, to inspire him in his work. This was also a room for relaxation – Pugin would stand at the window with his friends, wielding telescopes as they commented on passing shipping and here, on rainy days, Pugin would play at storms with his children.

Dining Room

This was perhaps the grandest room in the house and Pugin hosted many a jovial dinner with his Ramsgate and London friends. The panelling is original and, like all the panelling in the house, had to be stripped of later paint before being restained to its original warm shade. All the panelling in the house is pine but this stain made contemporaries think it was mahogany. The walls are hung with a bright pink, red and white version of the En Avant paper. The ceiling joists have their original painted decoration and have been stencilled between with a design using the AWP monogram and known from a letter. The fireplace shows Augustine, Pugin's patron saint, as a bishop. The Latin text above is the opening of the Magnificat, Mary's 'song' to her cousin Elizabeth as she tells her of the Annunciation: 'For he that is mighty hath done to me great things and holy is his name.' (Luke I, 49). The stained glass shows the arms of the Towers (an unknown connection), Jane Knill, Pugin and the Welbys. Here and for most of the ground floor windows Pugin had massive rising shutters, suspended below the floor when not in use. They are an unusual survival and have been put back in working order in the dining room and library. The fireplace shields are replacements, showing from left the AWP monogram, Knill and Pugin arms impaled (both these known from an early photo) and the Welby arms.

The **corridors** are papered with a 'strapwork' design of paper that is not a known Pugin design. Scraps of it were found in many places and it seems to have been used by Pugin to paper the less public areas of the house, reproduced specially.

Chapel

A private chapel would have been a common feature in mediaeval Catholic households but was very unusual for the 1840s. It was used by the Pugin family on a daily basis. The door, with its elaborate metalwork, is a very fine example of Pugin's work. The original altar was moved to the Pugin chantry chapel in the church next door in the 1930s, whose proportions are replicated in today's altar. The ceiling decoration dates from the 1840s and the decoration around the east window has been recovered from beneath later paint. 'Sancte Augustine Ora Pro Nobis' means 'Holy Augustine pray for us.' The stained glass shows Pugin kneeling beneath St Augustine on the left and on the right, his second wife Louisa with his eldest daughter Anne and two more of their own children beneath St Gregory. Cuthbert and Edward are shown as boys in the south window, beneath their respective saints. Pugin always provided a small stove in the chapel in winter – 'most people pray better when warm.' The chapel was richly furnished with all necessary trappings. Today, it is kept as a simple space for prayer and quietude.

Kitchen, Scullery and Pantry

The kitchen was what we would call a breakfast room today and Pugin designed it so that the west front of his church was framed in its bay window – it was described as 'the brightest of kitchens.' Edward and then Cuthbert Pugin extended the kitchen, which has now been returned to its original size and the window put back in its first position. The doors are original; note the retainer for the heavy bar that sealed the kitchen from the main house at night. The large dresser dates from the 1840s. The hearth would have held a range similar to the one now there. The open roof timbers of the scullery next door

show Pugin paid as much attention to the detail of the service areas as to the rest of the house. This outside door was the entrance most used for daily comings and goings. There is a small pantry beyond, built facing north for coolness.

First and Second floors

There are four bedrooms: a guest room hung with green and yellow En Avant wallpaper; Jane's Room, presented to evoke its appearance in the later 19th century; Pugin's room hung with blue En Avant paper, and the former nursery, papered with the strapwork design. The second floor is not furnished nor open to visitors. The small room at the top of the tower was formerly the bedroom of Pugin's assistant, John Hardman Powell.

TIMELINES

A W PUGIN & THE PUGIN FAMILY

1812 1ST March A W N Pugin born

1827 Designed furniture for Wyattville at Windsor Castle & plate for royal goldsmiths Rundell & Bridge

1828 Worked at Covent Garden

1829 Started own decorative features business.

1831 Married Anne Garnet

1832 Birth of daughter Anne; deaths of Anne Garnet & father A C Pugin.

1832 Married Louisa Button; death of mother Catherine Welby.

1834 Edward Pugin born.

1835 Converted to Catholicism. Moved to St Marie's Grange, near Salisbury. Met Sir Charles Barry & began the collaboration on the new Palace of Westminster, to continue for rest of Pugin's life .

1836 *Contrasts* published. Daughter Agnes born.

1837 Career as architect began at

Scarisbrick Hall. Met John Hardman, the Earl of Shrewsbury & Ambrose de Lisle. Moved back to Chelsea.

RAMSGATE & BEYOND

1820 Death of George III; accession of George IV.

1828 Repeal of (anti- Catholic) Test & Corporation Act

1829 Roman Catholic Relief Act

1830 Accession of William IV

1834 Palace of Westminster
destroyed by fire.

1835 Competition to design a
new Parliament building in
'Elizabethan or Gothic'
style.

1837 Accession of Queen Victoria

- 1838 Designing several Catholic Churches, also in Ireland. George Myers became his main builder; Hardman now producing Pugin's designs.
- 1839 Began among other projects St Chad's, Birmingham & St George's, Southwark Cathedrals.
- 1840 Cuthbert Pugin born. Designs made for St Giles, Cheadle & other commissions pouring in. In contact with tile manufacturer Herbert Minton.
- 1841 Daughter Katherine born. *True Principles of Christian Architecture* published & second edition of *Contrasts*. Bought plot of land at Ramsgate. St Chad's opened and R C cathedrals in Nottingham & Newcastle begun.
- 1842 Immense volume of work...
- 1843 Work began at The Grange in Ramsgate. Daughter Mary born. *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* published.
- 1844 The Grange completed. Death of 2nd wife Louisa Button. John Hardman Powell, nephew of John Hardman, moved to The Grange to be Pugin's assistant. Active association with decorator J G Grace began. Working on interiors for House of Lords for Barry. Published *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*.

- 1845 Work began on St Augustine's Church site in Ramsgate. Hardman began to make stained glass. Govt commission for RC College of St Patrick in Maynooth.
- 1846 A low year, Pugin ill and depressed. St Giles consecrated, Westminster work continued but fewer new commissions. First mass said in school building at St Augustine's
- 1846 Railway arrives in Ramsgate.
- 1847 House of Lords completed & much admired though Pugin's role not widely known. Courting Helen Lumsdaine, which prompted some refurbishment at The Grange. Cornerstone of St Augustine's Church laid.
- 1848 Helen broke the engagement to Pugin's chagrin but in August he married Jane Knill in newly opened St George's Cathedral, Southwark, a building that provoked controversy. Working on chapel at Alton Towers & Alton Castle under construction.
- 1849 Pugin spent more time at home and bought share in lugger *Caroline* and further plot across street for future monastic & other buildings. Daughter Margaret born. *Floriated Ornament* published. Designing more decorative fittings than buildings.

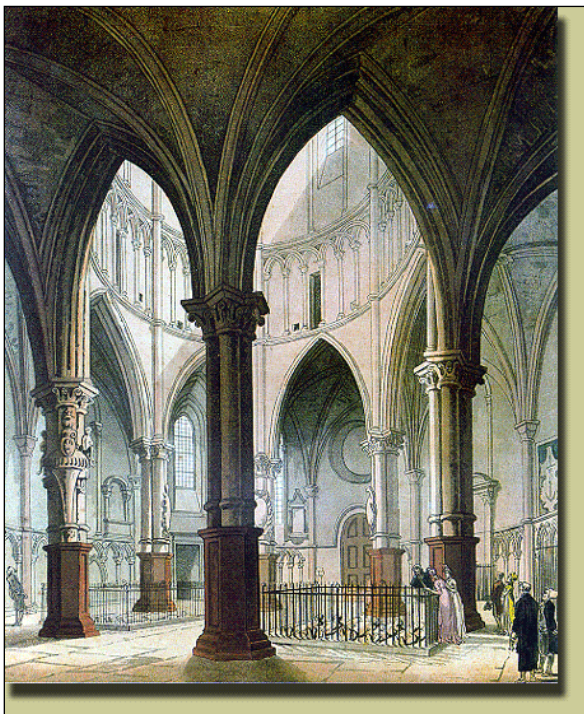
- 1850 Preparations for the Great Exhibition with Myers, Crace, Hardman & Minton. Daughter Anne married J H Powell. Work began on St Edward's Presbytery.
- 1851 Edmund (known as Peter Paul) born, also Pugin's first grand child to the Powells. The Mediaeval Court exhibit at the Great Exhibition acclaimed. *A Treatise on Chancel Screens & Rood Lofts* published. St Edward's Presbytery under construction. Pugin's health deteriorating.
- 1852 By end of February, Pugin's health had broken down & he was committed to Bedlam. In July Jane moved him to a house in Hammersmith & in early September back to The Grange, where he died on 14th September. Jane Pugin moved with seven stepchildren & children to Birmingham and The Grange was let to friend Alfred Luck.
- 1858 Edward Pugin revisited Ramsgate to work on St Augustine's Church.
- 1861 Edward, Jane & the rest of the rest of the family returned to live at The Grange.
- 1860s Edward Pugin adapted The Grange, adding bathroom, cloakroom & sitting room extensions, a conservatory and remodelling the north courtyard.
- 1850 Restoration of Catholic hierarchy in England prompted 'Papal Aggression' Crisis. Anti Papist Riots in Ramsgate.
- 1851 Great Exhibition held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. Working lifeboat established in Ramsgate. Charles Habershon builds Chartham Terrace adjacent to St Augustine's.
- 1863 London Chatham & Dover Railway opened a terminus on the sands at Ramsgate.

- 1867 Edward Pugin bought land on the East Cliff, developed as the Granville hotel.
- 1870 Granville Hotel opened
- 1872 Edward Pugin declared bankrupt.
- 1875 Death of Edward Pugin. Peter Paul & Cuthbert Pugin set up practice with George Ashlin.
- 1896 St Augustine's monastery became an Abbey.
- 1900 Façade of the Granville Hotel made over by London architect Horace Field.
- 1904 Serious fire at The Grange
Death of Peter Paul Pugin.
- 1909 Death of Jane Knill Pugin
- 1928 Death of Cuthbert Pugin
- 1929 Sale of The Grange to St Augustine's monastery, becomes part of Catholic boys school.
- 1940 The Grange requisitioned by Canadian troops.
- 1949 School use continues.
- 1990 House sold into private ownership.
- 1997 The Grange bought by The Landmark Trust with a grant from The Heritage Lottery Fund.

BRIEF LIFE OF AUGUSTUS PUGIN

The Grange embodies the life and principles of Augustus Pugin, one of the most influential British designers and architects whose work was to shape the architecture of the Victorian Age. Much has been written about Augustus Pugin and the bookshelves at The Grange have been carefully filled to provide something to interest and delight both those who are new to him and those who have studied him in depth. This album can only provide a brief overview of his prolific life and readers who would like to know more are referred especially to the introductory essays in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* and in *Pugin in the Antipodes*; to John Hardman Powell's memoirs of Pugin, reproduced in an article in *Architectural History Journal*, vol. 31, 1988 and to the pamphlet *Pugin and Ramsgate* (both in the Reader Volume on the bookshelves).

Until a seminal exhibition at the V& A in 1994, Pugin had fallen from favour in the 20th century, architectural style being as subject as any other to the vagaries of fashion. The distinctive values and styles of a strong and self confident age like the Victorians especially are likely to be rejected by those following immediately after. 'We remember Ruskin because he was a member of the Labour party before it came into being; we have forgotten Pugin because he was fired by faith and Christianity is now a thing of dying embers' wrote art critic Brian Sewell when the exhibition opened. Today, we are deeply uncomfortable with investing an architectural style with the moral and religious certitudes Pugin sought to invest in his own. Pugin's own temperament and circumstances had had something to do with his fall from grace – he was never a conformist and eventually fell out with every institution with which he came into contact, including Oxford University and the Vatican. The later Victorians preferred to forget him, and John Ruskin was especially vitriolic, calling Pugin 'one of the smallest possible or conceivable architects.' Time has allowed this harsh dismissal to be reversed, and today Pugin is justly recognised as a pivotal figure in the evolution of British architecture and design, as both moved into the industrial age.



Examples of A C Pugin's collaborations with Thomas Rowlandson, who added the figures. Ackermann & Co would also publish Augustus Pugin's books.

Clockwise from top: the old House of Commons in St Stephen's Chapel; Rudolf Ackermann's shop; the Interior of the Round Church, Temple.

A C Pugin

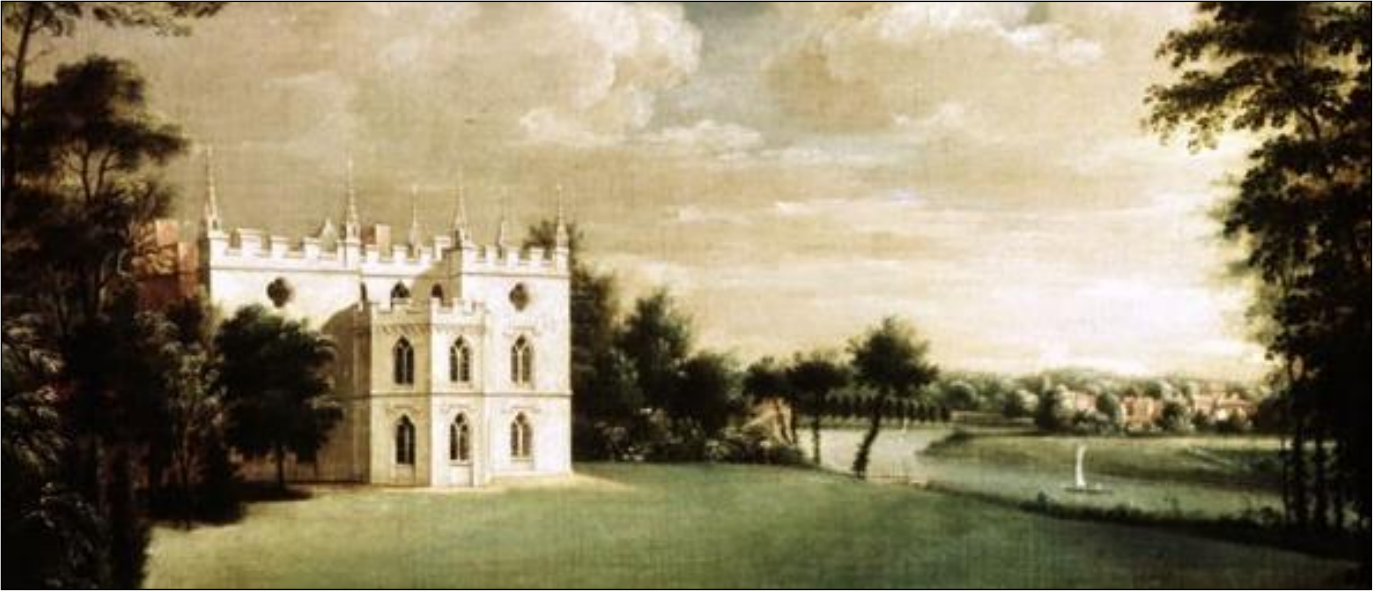
Augustus Pugin was born on 1st March 1812. The Prince Regent was ruling for his insane father, George III, and Napoleon Bonaparte's Russian campaign was well underway. For all Pugin's impact on the later century, he was formed and moulded by his upbringing during these Regency years. Augustus Pugin's father, Auguste Charles Pugin, was a French Protestant of a good although probably not (as he liked to hint) aristocratic family. Nor did A C Pugin flee the French Revolution (he himself claimed he had been injured fighting for the king, thrown for dead into a pit of bodies near the Bastille, swum across the Seine and escaped to Rouen). Rather, he came to London in 1798 to further his career as an architectural illustrator and draughtsman. Given the Regency love of show, A C Pugin soon found ways of patching together a livelihood in the areas where architecture and design overlapped.

While learning the techniques of aquatinting at the Royal Academy (a new skill then superseding the sepia tones of the 18th century) , A C Pugin acquired a taste for the Gothic mansions of Wales and the Marches. It was largely for this skill that he found employment in the office of John Nash, then engaged on refashioning London with his Classical terraces but not averse to dabbling in the Gothic Revival style that was finding increasing favour among the noble and wealthy.

The Gothic Revival

Gothic, as an architectural style, refers very loosely and generally to buildings of the Middle Ages, characterised especially by use of pointed arches and windows but also encompassing the castellated features of defensive architecture. Awareness of historical chronology in the early 18th century, when the term was coined, was vague. It was believed that the fine cathedrals and castles of the Middle Ages had been erected by the Goths, barbarian invaders of Rome. Eighteenth-century antiquarians conflated the Goths (who of course never reached England) with the Jutes and Saxons and in the process imputed a constitutional nuance to the term Gothic: when Hengist landed in Thanet he was deduced to have brought with him the democratic procedures of Germanic assemblies and so England's mixed government was often referred to as 'our old Gothick Constitution.'

This view of the past would also colour the decision in 1834 to rebuild the Houses of Parliament in a Gothic style. Architecturally, the intervening Dark Ages were also ignored by these early historians, assuming instead an immediate transition to the glories of mediaeval architecture incipient in the 11th century.



Gothic whimsy: examples of 18th-century aristocratic Gothic Revival buildings. Clockwise from top: Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill (1749-77) in 1755 by Muntz; its spectacular but *faux* fan vaulting; William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey (1795-1807), a very secular mansion that collapsed in 1827; interior at Fonthill. Augustus Pugin would disapprove vehemently of such buildings but was not above copying some of their ideas – note, for example, the plate glass with stained glass above at Fonthill. Fireplaces at Strawberry Hill were also very similar to those at The Grange, with painted shields on bare carved stone.



There is an argument that the Gothic style never quite disappeared from English architecture after the Renaissance, continuing to resurface quietly in the designs of Oxbridge colleges and some churches, as appropriate to institutions of ancient learning and worship. It was only when the Classical style was at its height, however, that a few independent thinkers sought a deliberate alternative to the mainstream. One very early example of such conscious Gothic Revivalism is Landmark's Gothic Temple by James Gibbs in the gardens of what is today Stowe School. Built in 1741, The Gothic Temple is full of political symbolism, dedicated by Lord Cobham to 'the Liberty of our Ancestors,' an appeal to ancient British liberties against the perceived encroachments of the dominant Hanoverian Whig party.

Other wealthy men were attracted to the style simply because it appealed to them aesthetically. The novels of Sir Walter Scott, with their detailed and romantic evocations of mediaeval life, became an important influence on the popular imagination. Castellated creations and adaptations abound in the early 19th century landscapes, such as Landmark's Clytha Castle, for example. Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill House in Twickenham, designed by Walpole himself with a few friends through the latter decades of the 18th century, and William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey by James Wyatt were perhaps the best known touchstones for the style at the time, full blown confections of Pointed features and tracery. They are also exemplars of the whimsical dilettantism such connoisseurs brought to both materials and function: at Strawberry Hill, much of the tracery is *papier mâché* rather than stone. At Fonthill, as Augustus Pugin would later complain, boudoirs masqueraded as chapels and entrance halls as naves.

Despite its political resonance for a few, the Gothic style certainly lacked coherent religious intent, in a period when the Established Church was losing ground to Non-conformists among the emerging working classes. The government's response was to appoint Church Building Commissioners in 1818, but here the brief was to get maximum space for worship for the money spent. Both economy and prevailing liturgical practice resulted in the erection of simple, plain Anglican churches, rectangular naves facing shallow sanctuaries and plain glass windows. (St George's Church in Ramsgate, whose rather glorious stone lantern is - cleverly? - visible from the tower at The Grange, is a rare exception to this rule of economy and value, although decried by the Goths.)

This was the stylistic milieu in which Augustus Pugin was to grow up. He was not by any means to *originate* the Gothic Revival, but in the early decades of the 19th century the style still lacked a codifier to make it more than a whimsical affectation of the romantically inclined aristocracy, while the architectural expression of religion was becoming ever more spartan.

Augustus Pugin's early life

To return to A C Pugin's career, John Nash's own knowledge of the Gothic was limited but he wished to be able to respond to the commissions that were coming in requesting its use and so he commissioned A C Pugin to produce a collection of ancient buildings as a reliable source. A C Pugin was also establishing a reputation as a book illustrator. He is best known today for his collaboration with pioneering publisher Rudolph Ackermann and Thomas Rowlandson on *The Microcosm of London* (1809), a collection of architectural views of the capital, in which A C Pugin provided the architectural backgrounds against which Rowlandson sketched his characteristic plump Regency figures.

In 1810, A C Pugin married Catherine Welby, an intelligent, well-read, devout and domineering woman, daughter of a barrister from a gentry family in Lincolnshire. A C Pugin's practice was (mostly) prospering and he began to take articled pupils to help him prepare the drawings for Nash and others. Mrs Pugin ruled all aspects of this household with a rod of iron.

'Mrs. Pugin usually retired to rest at nine o'clock, and rose at four in the morning; she therefore thought it would be salutary that the pupils should commence their studies at six o'clock in winter as well as in summer; indeed, from the moment the mistress of the house awoke no one was ever permitted to get any rest. First came the loud ringing of the bell to rouse the maids, then in quick succession the bell to summon the pupils from their beds, and the final peal requiring their presence in the office by six o'clock. A pitiable sight indeed it was to see the shivering youths reluctantly creeping down in the midst of winter to waste their time by a sleepy attempt to work before breakfast...'¹

The boys worked in virtual silence until 8pm, then had two hours off before bedtime at 10pm (– and this is very close to the routine Augustus Pugin would follow at The Grange).

Augustus Pugin was born into this household in 1812. An only child, he may have attended Christ's Hospital briefly before his mother took his education in hand and he joined his father's pupils. Undoubtedly fiercely intelligent, this lack of a formal education is later apparent in Augustus Pugin's sloppiness over factual accuracy in his writings and his

Latin (his French was, not surprisingly, excellent). His arguments came from the heart and were rarely intellectually sound, and even from this early age, he preferred to create than to study. But he learnt quickly and his proud mother declared 'If only he knew how to dress I would declare him a universal genius.' She would take him to hear especially learned preachers, which produced in her son a lifelong distaste for this important element in Protestant worship, even though he absorbed something of its language and millenarianism.

Augustus's father also exerted a strong influence. In 1821, A C Pugin published *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, which he dedicated to Nash. It was a success and in 1825 he was able to take his son on a sketching tour of Normandy. Augustus was already developing his own style. In contrast to his father's painstaking use of measurement and instruments to produce accurate and detailed perspectives, Augustus Pugin preferred already to sketch freehand and began to amass a huge collection of studies of Gothic buildings, for which he developed a passion. In 1827, representatives of goldsmiths Rundell and Bridge found the 15-year old youth copying Dürher prints in the British Musuem. They were so impressed by his work that they commissioned him to design gold plate 'in the old manner.' Sir Jeffrey Wyattville was enlarging and refurbishing Windsor Castle at the same time and, too busy to design the furniture and fittings himself, he delegated the task to the young Pugin, exceptional recognition at such a young age that must have further reinforced Pugin's innate self-confidence.

The family home was in Great Russell Street and, strict mother notwithstanding, Pugin's world was the cosmopolitan city, already mixing with some of the best known architects and designers of the day, as well as book publishers and sellers, theatre scene shifters and dancers, antiquity brokers and artists. This background gave him a democracy of manner and confidence apparent throughout his life.

As a figure, he already cut something of a swagger, described here by Bishop Amherst, who was taught by Pugin when he was Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at Oscott College:

'We used to hear Pugin's loud voice (avast!) as he gave directions, sounding through the corridor or his rising laugh when he was struck by some ridiculous idea. He was then quite a young man no more than two or three and twenty, beardless with long thick straight hair, an eye which took in everything....He was rather below ordinary stature and of a thick set figure, and the style of his dress inclined to that of a dissenting minister of those days, combined with a touch of the sailor.....he certainly

presented features that were not ordinary and most persons seeing him for the first time would be sure to ask Who is THAT?'²

Despite his self-confidence, Augustus Pugin was highly emotional, as quick to elation as despair. Innately trusting, he was not always a good judge of character and so his disappointment when let down was all the keener. He often lacked a sense of proportion to discern the true weight of life's daily round of minor triumphs and disasters. Yet he was good fun among friends, animating the company with anecdotes and mimicry, and his marriage record alone is proof of his attractiveness to women.

Idiosyncrasy of dress continued throughout Pugin's life. His characteristic attire was a sailor's jacket, loose pilot trousers and jack boots. He affected a long black velvet gown for professional wear. Large pockets in his coats swallowed up sketch books and drawing gear and enabled him to travel without luggage whenever he could –when on tour, he would travel with only two shirts, buying a new one and giving away the old when necessary. And travel he did: as soon as the railways arrived, he used them to criss-cross the country between projects and meetings on punishing schedules that impress even today. Pugin would work wherever he found himself and so would often sketch on trains.

During the 1820s, though, Pugin was still revelling in life in the metropolis. Having outgrown his father's drawing office (and probably being of too practical a bent to wish to remain a mere draughtsman) he started a business supplying carved Gothic details for the increasingly popular large Gothic houses being built in the wake of the popularity of Walter Scott's novels. From 1829, Pugin essayed a career in the theatre, as a set carpenter and designer. Here, he met Anne Garnet, a 17-year old dancer, whom he married in 1831. Pugin himself was only nineteen and there is a whisper that it was a marriage of necessity. It cannot have been the best time to marry; Pugin was pricing the well-crafted Gothic mouldings too cheaply and his business went bankrupt the same year. Anne died the following year just a week after giving birth to a daughter, Anne. Pugin locked away in her workbox her death mask and the unfinished baby's dress she was working on when she died.

Pugin's father also died in 1832 and his mother the following year, and at this point Pugin became more focussed in his activities, concentrating on training himself as an architect

by intensive study tours of mediaeval buildings. In 1833 he married Louisa Button, who may also have been an actress.¹ John Hardman Powell, who was to become Pugin's assistant in 1845, is one of our best contemporary witnesses of his life. Remembering Louisa from an Easter visit to his uncle's house in Birmingham as a boy, he describes her as quite an exotic presence,

'extremely good looking and full of life and energy....She was dressed in a brocade silk of fifty years ago, strongly figured in purple and gold, stiff as a board and worn short at the skirts and neck, leaving a pair of well made and active feet to be admired below, and above graceful shoulders only hidden where a massive gold quatrefoil chain enamelled and jewelled crosses them, whilst a pair of rich Gothic eardrops, front jewel and many rings completed the costume of a figure that arrested every eye by its singularity and beauty. Such was the person of Mr Pugin's second wife and as he bent over and kissed her shoulder before leaving the room, I remember thinking that either my notions on the subject of ladies' costume were very provincial or that she must have been dressed for some mysterious morning party.'³

Louisa and Augustus were married until her death eleven years later and she bore him five more children: Edward (1834-75), Agnes (1836-95), Cuthbert (1840-1928), Katherine (1841-1927), and Mary (1843-1921).

In 1834, Pugin received a legacy of £30,000 from his favourite aunt, Selina Welby who had lived in Ramsgate since 1828. This seems to have enabled him execute for himself his first architectural project, St Marie's Grange near Salisbury. This deceptively small house was precursor as family home to The Grange, though less successful in execution. Pugin dispensed with corridors and, picturesque though it looked from the outside, once Edward was born, it was clear the house was not going to be practical. Moreover, Louisa, whose health was not good, was missing London and so in 1837 they moved back to lodgings in Chelsea.

¹ Louisa's maiden name was long given as 'Burton,' until the marriage register in the parish of St Andrew, Holborn, in the Guildhall Library of the City of London, was scrutinised. The entry looks more like Button and this has become the accepted spelling.



**St Marie's still survives today,
though significantly altered from Pugin's original design.**

Augustus Pugin and Catholicism

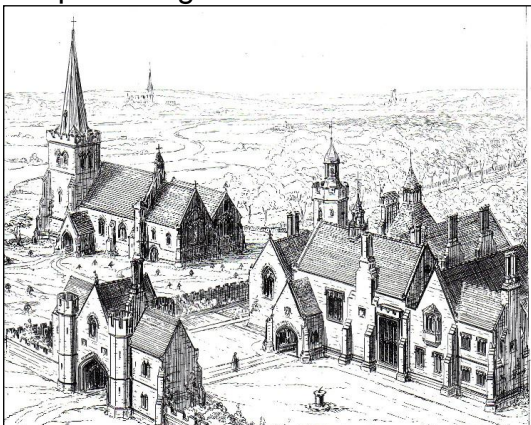
These years brought other momentous personal and professional changes for Pugin. In 1835 he converted to Catholicism, for him a logical corollary to his view that mediaeval art and liturgy represented the apogee of a natural and pure expression of the Christian faith. This millenarian vision of a return to a pure English church is a common theme in English religious history, and not restricted to Catholics. Nevertheless, to convert to Catholicism in the 1830s was still a brave move (a decade later, Pugin's engagement to Helen Lumsdaine would founder precisely because her family could not contemplate her conversion). Until the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 (which dated back to the early days of the Restoration of Charles II, to prevent 'infiltration' of public institutions by Catholic officials) and the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829, Catholics had been prevented from holding public office, voting or worshiping freely. This meant Catholic worship was effectively driven underground, kept alive by the discretion and devotion of a few old recusant families. Such was public prejudice against Catholics that the last time a government had attempted such a repeal, in 1778, it had been followed by riots in the streets of London. This time, there was no such public panic although suspicion undoubtedly remained.

The early 19th century was also a period of stagnation for the Anglican Church, momentum lost among working class congregations to the Non-Conformist sects, liturgical detail neglected, comfortable Regency vicars living out their days in sleepy

vicarages while curates did most of the work. As Pugin travelled Britain and the Continent in search of Gothic architecture in the late 1820s and early 1830s, becoming ever more disillusioned by the treatment of mediaeval buildings by the Church of England, he came to the conclusion it was Catholics who represented the 'true Christians' of the Middle Ages and who would have cared for this mediaeval heritage, both architectural and liturgical, much better. His appreciation of Gothic architecture became indissoluble from his belief in the religion of the Gothic age. He came to see its architecture as an expression of that religion, fulfilling all liturgical and spiritual needs as it reached in Pointed form for the heavens.

Pugin was undoubtedly a polemicist, apparent by opening almost any of his works at any page. He reserved some of his most vitriolic comments for the Renaissance for its effect on the arts (he considered it 'a mistake') and the Reformation for its impact on religion and society (he described Elizabeth I as 'that female demon'). The return to Classical forms so fashionable through the 18th century he considered pagan and morally degenerate, believing 'Christian thought in a pagan costume is a discord in architecture and Art.'⁴ He concluded that England should return to Catholicism and that architecture should return to the true, Gothic style. Pugin was to devote the rest of his life to these twin causes. Perhaps ironically for a second generation immigrant on his father's side, it was above all the English Catholic tradition that was important to Pugin. 'Never acknowledge yourself a Roman Catholick,' he wrote, 'we have had an English church from the days of the Blessed Austen ... we are of the old school of our Edwards Anselems Thomass, Englishmen to the backbone.'⁵

In 1836, Pugin published two books of designs and *Contrasts*, perhaps his best known book, which compares unfavourably the cold-hearted architecture and social practices of modern times with a cosy and benevolent, pre-Reformation past, where kindly monks dispensed alms from their monasteries and when Church, rather than Mammon, provided the prevailing ethos.



Pugin's idealised 'Old English mansion' from his book *Contrasts*, a juxtaposition of house and church he would repeat at

Pugin's commitment to the Catholic faith also brought him into contact with formerly recusant aristocratic circles. Charles Scarisbrick commissioned him to work on Scarisbrick Hall in 1837. In the same year he was introduced to St Mary's College, Oscott, a school and seminary of great influence. He also met John, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, whose seat was at Alton in Staffordshire and who would become his greatest patron and a good friend, and Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps, another Catholic convert and wealthy patron. Another hugely important encounter was meeting John Hardman, a Catholic metalworker from Birmingham of ecclesiastical and architectural fittings who would become one of his greatest friends and collaborators.

Another of Pugin's major projects that began in the mid 1830s was his collaboration with Charles Barry on the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament. In 1834, some officers were having a bonfire of old tally sticks in the Exchequer deep in the bowels of the Palace of Westminster. The fire got out of hand and the seat of British government burnt to the ground.



J M W Turner was an eye witness to the fire and in 1835 painted *The Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons.*

A committee was formed to deal with the crisis and it was decided to hold a competition for a new design. In an interesting decision that continues to shape our collective constitutional psyche to this day, the committee decreed that only designs in the Gothic or Elizabethan style should be submitted. Augustus Pugin did not enter himself (he would not have had the architectural experience) but as a known expert on Gothic detail, it is perhaps not surprising that Charles Barry, who lacked such expertise, should approach Pugin to assist with the detailing of his own entry (indeed, Pugin also helped Scottish architect Gillespie Graham with his entry). Barry's entry won. In later life Barry would try to play down Pugin's contribution (there is a story that a young Edward Pugin was invited round to dinner with Barry after his father's death and asked to bring with him all his father's drawings of Westminster for Barry's interest. Once borrowed, the drawings were never returned). However, while Barry proved adept at dealing with the committees that Pugin so detested and at designing the infrastructure of the complex, there can be no doubt that the Palace of Westminster owes its Gothic form and character to Augustus Pugin.

Meanwhile, another direct effect of Catholic Emancipation (as the legislation of 1828 and 1829 is collectively known) was that Catholics were once again free to build their own

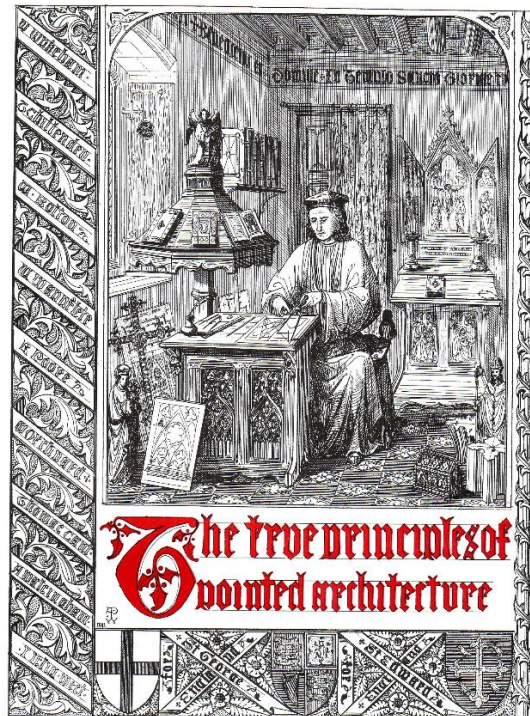
churches and cathedrals. As a Catholic himself and an acknowledged master of the Gothic style, Augustus Pugin was perfectly placed to benefit from this surge in ecclesiastical and associated buildings. In 1839 he began work on two Catholic cathedrals, St Chad's in Birmingham and St George's in Southwark as well as designing numerous churches, monastic and seminary buildings. The next five years or so were to be his most prolific and successful, backed up by the publication of *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (1843) and *The Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume* (1844).

Augustus Pugin and Ramsgate

It was on the crest of this success and at the peak of his powers that in 1841 Pugin purchased a plot of land on the West Cliff at Ramsgate. His later bird's eye view of the site makes it look very rural; it was on the edge of the town when he bought it, but not apart from it, the Royal Crescent being already under construction and Spencer Square and Royal Road already built. Pugin, however, had more lofty aims for his plot than speculative development.

'I have purchased a fine piece of Land about an acre facing the Sea at Ramsgate close to the point where blessed Austin [St Augustine] Landed. I shall not erect a grecian villa but a most substantial catholic house not very Large but convenient & solid & there is every prospect of a small church in the same ground which will be delightful. When this is finished I shall hope to induce you to come to me & enjoy what is so rarely to be attained – the delight of the sea with catholic architecture & a Library.'⁶

Why Ramsgate? Pugin's reference to St Augustine's landing at nearby Ebbsfleet in AD 597 on his mission to bring the Celtic bishops back into line with Roman orthodoxy was part of it; he certainly saw himself as treading in the saint's footsteps in bringing Catholicism back to this part of Kent. In 1843, the nearest Catholic congregation was in Margate and the redoubtable Father Costigan, buried near the cross in the churchyard at St Augustine's, walked many long miles along the coastline caring for his flock until Pugin's arrival.



The image of a mediaeval architect working in his library was a favourite with Augustus Pugin, and one he reworked often as the frontispiece for his books. There are various similarities with his library at The Grange: the frieze of text, painted wooden ceiling, curtain over the door, and Pugin too had a triptych, over his fireplace. The picture also depicts Pugin's own method of working, sitting at a window, surrounded by reference samples and texts from the period he adored.

There were other reasons for his choice of town. He had known Ramsgate from childhood and had enjoyed happy holidays there with his aunt, Selina Welby. It was with Miss Welby that Pugin sought refuge at Rose Hill Cottage, Rose Hill as a young widower with a newborn baby to care for. Pugin and Louisa had also lodged in Ellington Cottage at St Lawrence (then still a village in its own right but now absorbed into Ramsgate) from 1833 to 1834, so both knew the town already. Pugin had lodged in the town again in 1839, in street known as The Plains of Waterloo.

Another big attraction was the sea and a busy harbour with all its shipping, for Pugin was a passionate sailor. From 1849, he had part ownership in a lugger, the *Caroline*, which he would use for salvage and rescue operations, keeping a close eye on the shipping in the treacherous Goodwin Sands with a telescope from his library window or tower roof and deriving useful additional income from such activities. He also extended his charity to

shipwrecked sailors, on one occasion at least sending to London for a priest and turning the Cartoon Room at The Grange into a chapel so that the Catholics among them could hear Mass (Pugin himself had been shipwrecked in his youth, an experience that left a lasting impression on him). For Catholic souls who perished on the Goodwin Sands, a Catholic burial awaited in St Augustine's graveyard, their headstones still in place today. John Hardman Powell would also hint that Pugin's boat was used not just to transport antiquities back from Europe, but also that Pugin did so clandestinely, to avoid paying duty. There is no other evidence that this was the case, however, and Pugin was good friends with Captain Shaw, the deputy harbour master.

Communications with London and the Continent were also good, whether on land or by sailing or steam packet (the railway arrived in Ramsgate in 1846, the station then at the top of Chatham Street). Pugin liked to go on sketching tours in Northern Europe most summers. He also issued a constant flow of instructions to the capital, whether to his suppliers or to the brokers who fed his enthusiasm for antiquities. Finally, and likely to have been a consideration to Louisa (who had not enjoyed Salisbury) as well as Pugin, Ramsgate was quite a cosmopolitan town in these years. Sir Walter Scott's daughter Charlotte Sophia, married to reviewer John Gibson Lockhart, had stayed on Royal Road, where she is said to have entertained Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The town was full of retired admirals and generals, legacy of the days when it provided a point of embarkation during the Napoleonic Wars, and was a thriving seaside resort – even Dickens's Tuggses knew to choose it as a destination in preference to Margate. While perhaps few established figures lived there permanently, Ramsgate was visited and passed through by many, a place where friends like artists Walter Etty and J R Herbert, the Barry family and Lord Shrewsbury would want to come and stay and where Pugin could live out his dream of a community of manor and monastery by the sea without sacrificing the pleasures of modern society.

Augustus Pugin and The Grange

Pugin had learnt from his mistakes at St Marie's and came to Ramsgate with a very clear idea of what he wanted. The sketch with which he embellished his letter announcing his plans to his friend John Rowse Bloxam shows the house very close to its eventual form. The foundation plan also survives and is again very close to the final floorplan, a distinctive pinwheel arrangement of rooms and service corridor leading off the double-height central hallway. The house was also unconventional in not separating servants, children and family, and in allowing the doors to the bedrooms to be overlooked by the double height central hall.

It was a house built according to Pugin's own dictum that a building constructed according to True Principles would contain 'No features ... which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety.' The Grange was not inherently extravagant despite the richness of its interiors. However, it was quietly revolutionary in the arrangement of rooms and their outward expression in architecture. Pugin's starting point for The Grange was not outward symmetry but internal function, how he and his large family were to live in the house. The windows were placed to suit life inside rather than external appearance, as were the roof slopes and chimneys. The hierarchy of the rooms, and often their purpose, is clearly apparent from the outside. Such cheerful and uncontrived asymmetry became and remains such a familiar feature of English domestic architecture that it is easy to forget how radical it was as an approach after the formal terraces of the 18th century.

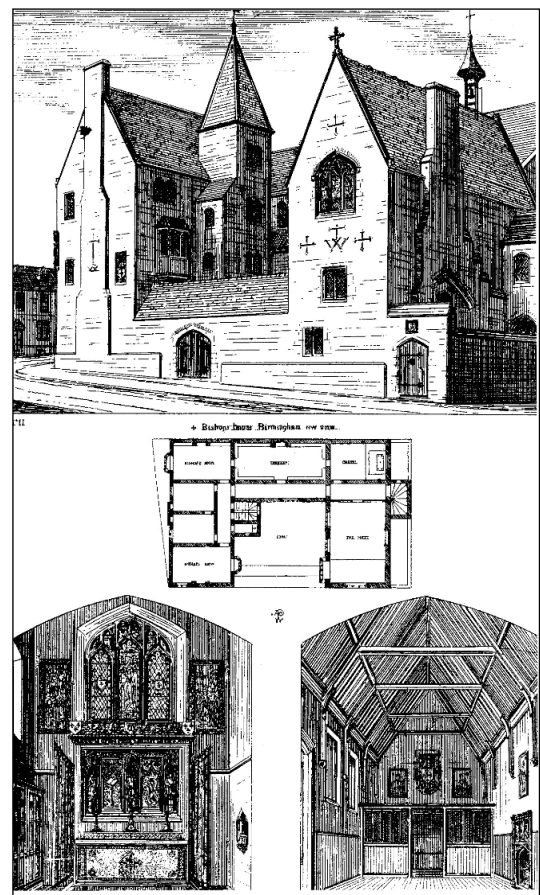
Cost of Materials and labour for the new house Kamsgate

		£	s	d
1844	Amount of Wages paid at Kamsgate up to Nov 16 th	135	13	5
	Coarse stone 1470 ft at 1/9	128	12	6
	Lead 8 1/2 tons at £18	148	10	0
	Mr Elgar for bricks	414	13	3
	Mr Smith do	18	0	0
	Mr Foot for leading	41	16	9
	Mr Crane for Freight	58	8	6
	Mr Strong for Timber	41	10	0
	Mr Haynes for Stone &c	55	1	5
July 24	Mr Strong on account of timber	150	0	0
	Slating and Cistern	85	0	0
	Blue Bricks & Barnage £ 8.10.0 Spouts £ 24.0.0	39	16	0
	Mr. Alwood & Smiths for Glap	29	10	0
	3000 Quaries 5 byds of tool ^a and cut ^a flags	27	10	0
	Plate Glap	38	11	4
	3000 Quaries £ 13.10.0 Glue varnish bath nails 16	29	10	0
	3 Bales of Timber & 300 ft of Wainscott from Gabriel	24	18	0
	Iron windows & 600 lamps £ 3.0.0	33	19	0
	Hooks nails Bands & Screws for Windows	18	16	0
	Stone Altar	16	0	0
	Mr Alwoods Ho for Glap	2	6	10
	Mr Strong & Drayden for wood up to Sep ^r 25 th	213	10	2
	Mr Foot for latching do	9	3	0
	Mr Haynes for stone at Kamsgate	58	19	6
	Mr Elgar for Bricks	85	16	4
	Mr Pages bill for Smiths work & Locks	45	10	0
	6 Gallons of varnish 1700 paving tiles and 250 ft of Wainscott	17	12	0
	Copper lattice varnish & Smiths work from St Georges	29	14	1

Extract from the building accounts for The Grange (copied from Clive Wainwright papers, V & A)

The Grange was also one of the first times that Gothic principles were applied to smaller scale domestic houses as opposed to churches, institutions or mansions, while avoiding use of the ecclesiastical idioms Pugin criticised so vehemently in buildings such as Fonthill Abbey. Such substantial middle class homes were a new feature in early Victorian Britain and in The Grange Pugin created a robust proforma that would last for decades. While to us it is so very much of its time that, with the benefit of hindsight, we would be unlikely to confuse it with a 15th-century manor house, to Pugin and his contemporaries it was instantly recognisable as ‘Gothic.’ The underlying principle the design reflects, that form should follow function, remains central to today’s architecture.

Further examples of Augustus Pugin’s domestic architecture: below, the rectory at Rampisham and right, the Bishop’s House in Birmingham, now demolished.



This primary phase of the house’s construction was executed by George Myers, a bluff Yorkshire builder and mason to whom Pugin took immediately when he saw him on site at a church in Hull take up the chisel and mallet himself to demonstrate to a mason how a sectional detail was to be executed:

Myers ‘is a *rough* diamond but a *real* diamond for he is thoroughly acquainted with every branch of antient construction & detail and a most honourable person in his transactions.’¹⁷

Work supervised by Myers was always to the highest standards and he and his masons were masters at translating Pugin's impressionistic plans and sketches into brick and stone, saving their impatient author time.

'Having once engaged manufacturer or workman on any work, Pugin never worried him; he gave him all the guidance he could, referred him to models or examples, but always gave him some freedom and credit for his brains...It might be said of those who were thus brought to see with new eyes that no trouble, no exertion, no outlay, were ever begrudged by those who worked for Pugin...When once Pugin knew that he was understood, he never wasted time on the elaboration of a working drawing. It became a sort of shorthand. Everything was there, but you must be able to read it.'⁸

Myers became Pugin's principal builder on his architectural projects, Pugin persuading his patrons that Myers was the only man for the job. At The Grange, the external buff Medway bricks were carefully laid, the joints finished flush and penny struck. Myers' detailing internally was also impeccable, from broken glass set in mortar behind the skirting boards to deter rodents to the careful way these boards were detailed for the plaster to run in.



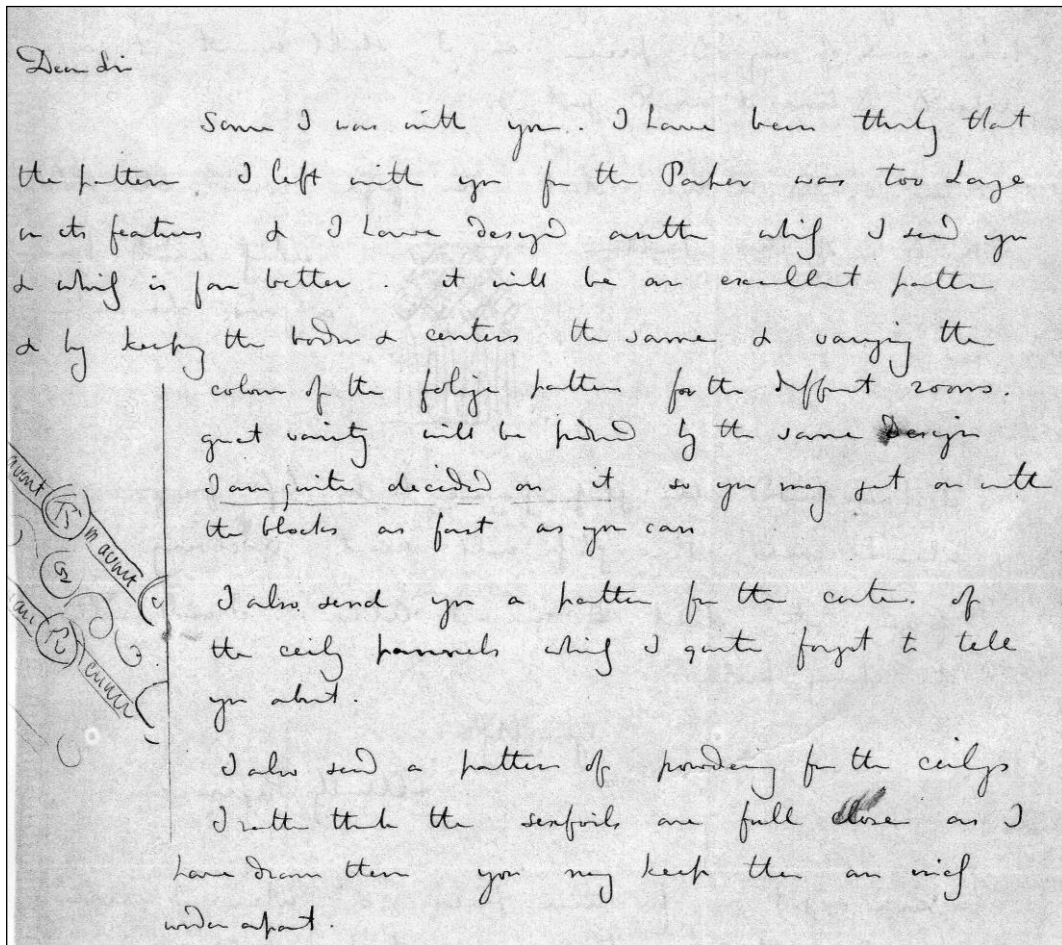
Left: George Myers, Pugin's builder, 'a *rough* diamond, but a *real* diamond.'

Right: Example of the working drawings from which Myers' masons produced their work (here, an eagle and a winged lion for Evangelists at Nottingham – not to size. Pugin has annotated 'keep as nearly as possible to one of the early lions'.)



John Hardman of Hardman & Co from Handsworth in Birmingham. Initially a metalworker, with Pugin's encouragement Hardman founded the stained glass studio that produced some of the finest 19th-century stained glass and is still in business today. He became one of Pugin's closest friends and colleagues.

From the early 1840s, Pugin had also formed an increasingly close working relationship with J.G. Crace, second generation of one of the best regarded interior decorators of the time and decorators for the Crown (Crace's father had worked on Brighton Pavilion among other famous buildings). Pugin's correspondence with Crace is a rich source for his finishing of The Grange's interiors – luckily, Crace's company preserved these carefully, whereas it was Pugin's habit to destroy letters once they had been dealt with. John Hardman at this time was still producing mainly metalwork and while he therefore supplied door furniture, fireplace shields etc, it was William Wailes who supplied the stained glass. Pugin's final collaborator on the house was Herbert Minton, supplier of encaustic floor tiles. And everywhere, on tiles, windows, walls, furniture and fireplaces, flitted the black martlet from the Pugin arms while their motto, En Avant or 'forward', marched up walls and across windows.



A letter from Pugin to decorator J G Crace about his wallpaper. 'Since I was with you I have been thinking that the pattern I left you for the Paper was too Large....' (July 4th 1844 RIBA PUG/CRACE 1/7)

The result of this combination of skill in design and execution was a triumph. Pugin himself was delighted with his house. 'There's not an untrue bolt or joint from foundation to Flag-pole', he wrote, 'except where that fool of a carpenter turned the corridor joists the wrong way, against orders.'⁹ But on 22nd August 1844, just as the family was preparing to move into the still unfinished home, tragedy struck. Louisa Pugin, who had been in uncertain health since giving birth to Mary some months earlier, died of 'rheumatic fever' in the space of a week. The family still moved into The Grange just six days after her funeral and the image of Louisa in the altar window forms a poignant memorial to the wife and mother whose home it was intended to have been.

Wallpapering (using his own design in different colourways for the best rooms) and furnishing of the house continued apace through the autumn but despite the excitement of a new home, without a partner with whom to share it, this was the beginning of a difficult time for Pugin. Though only in his early thirties, he became plagued by bouts of sickness, headaches and temporary blindness, caused, it seems, partly by his own highly strung disposition and partly by the high doses of mercury prescribed as a cure for his eyes, inflamed through overwork. His six children ranged in age from thirteen to a few months old, and, inevitably prone to the usual measles and broken limbs, their welfare was a cause for deep anxiety to Pugin, committed as always to keeping up his professional output.

Of course, he had help in the house: a governess, nurse, two maids and a gardener, and also a Miss Greaves, a friend of Louisa's who seems to have harboured some unrequited hopes of becoming the next Mrs Pugin herself. There was also Dr Acquaroni, for any good Catholic household in these early post-Emancipation days still needed a priest to conduct mass in the private chapel. Daily life ran to the rhythm of the offices, beginning with family prayers at 8am and ending with Compline at 8pm, followed by supper at 9pm and bed at 10pm. Pugin and Acquaroni soon fell out however; Acquaroni was a convinced Classicist and when in 1846 Pugin found him drunk in bed, it proved the final straw. Pugin turned him out and had to rely instead on the services of the local Margate priest, Father Costigan, a devout and well meaning pragmatist who had an unfortunate habit of urinating in the sacrarium.

From 1845, a stream of young draughtsmen arrived to work in the Cartoon Room across the yard on cartoons for stained glass, which Hardman had begun to manufacture from Pugin's designs. Their regime was another echo of Catherine Welby's rule of A C Pugin's school and at mass they were expected to double as a choir.



A drawing of The Grange by Augustus Pugin. As the church has hardly been started, the sketch probably dates to around 1844, when the house was newly completed.

John Hardman Powell remembered the Pugin children as ‘handsome like their parents and brown and hardy from blowing about in gales’ – but at this date, their mother’s seat against the house is empty.

Meanwhile, amid all these domestic concerns, Charles Barry had commissioned Pugin to design the interiors of the House of Lords, demanding and persistent work. Pugin found family life distracting.

‘I have made a horrid mistake in building this house, there are no nurseries cut off from the rest the consequence is that living in a pig market is less terrible the perpetual screams that proceed in succession from every room in the house are distracting there ought to be a passage ... with 3 doors one of which must [?]remain ... closed by mechanical action by the opening of the others & thus some silence may be obtained ... oh dear & to design gas fittings in this.’¹⁰

Towards the end of 1844, seventeen-year old John Hardman Powell arrived to alleviate some of the strain. He was John Hardman’s nephew, and his presence was possibly suggested by Hardman, worried about his friend. Powell was to prove a loyal and discrete assistant and amanuensis and his lively and affectionate accounts of his master and his ways and of daily life at The Grange are invaluable and intimate



The Chamber of the House of Lords, designed in all its detail by Augustus Pugin.

sources for Pugin's life (and a copy may be found in the Reader Volume on the bookshelves in the sitting room). Keeping up with Barry's stream of orders, himself in thrall to the schedules of a large and complex project at Westminster, was an additional strain for Pugin during the mid 1840s but he accomplished it. The new House of Lords opened in April 1847 to great acclaim, although Pugin's crucial role in the convincing veracity of the detail was not widely known at that stage.

St Augustine's Church

His own home was only ever part of Augustus Pugin's vision for his site on the West Cliff, which also encompassed a church, priest's house, monk's chapel and cloisters. Soon after arriving in Ramsgate he had bought the plot next door to The Grange for £500, a timely move since plots were being snapped up fast. In 1845 he began work on St Augustine's Abbey Church, which he was to describe as 'my own child.' It was always intended as a parish church, to be made over as a gift to the Vicar Apostolic of the London District. Built of knapped flint and Whitby stone dressings, the church is unusual in being single aisled – Pugin saw himself as reviving an old Kentish tradition although in fact only one of four surviving 15th-century churches in north east Kent are single aisled. Pugin would not live to see the church's completion and would have been disappointed that it never acquired the spire shown in his wishful bird's eye view of 1849 (flat towers he thought more appropriate for defensive structures). However, it was in use while he was alive, the first mass being celebrated for the Feast of the Assumption in August 1850. The first wedding to be celebrated there in October 1850 was, appropriately, to be between Pugin's eldest daughter Anne and his assistant, John Hardman Powell.



A *W N Pugin*, by J. R. Herbert. Today this portrait hangs in the Pugin Room at the House of Commons. Herbert and Pugin were good friends, but even so Herbert had to bargain with Pugin to get him to sit long enough for Herbert to finish the likeness.



John Hardman Powell and his wife Anne, whose marriage in 1850 was the first to be celebrated in St Augustine's Church.

The Search for a Wife

Re-marriage was very soon on Pugin's mind after Louisa's death, not just because his children needed a mother but also because he himself was miserable without a partner. Ever highly strung, misery also affected his health and so his work, at a time when commissions for Catholic churches declined sharply. He had hopes that Mary Amherst, daughter of friend and patron Bishop Amherst, might accept him, but she entered a convent instead.

In 1846, Pugin began an intense courtship with Helen Lumsdaine (which he spelt Lumsden) and his letters to her give a graphic description of his plight before they met. 'I was rapidly falling into in a misanthropic state of mind...till very lately my hair came off in combfulls but from the time of your affection nothing of this kind has occurred to me.'¹¹

Even his new home afforded scant comfort:

'I feel like a mariner at sea without a compass. My house is sad & lonely and night after night I have sat alone in my library too lonely to study. I often return from a long journey, the children retired to rest & no one to greet me. I only see a servant and my heart sinks within me.'¹²

Helen, whose father was a rector, agreed in January 1848 both to marry Pugin and to convert to Catholicism on her wedding day. The courtship gave Pugin new vigour and he took to refurbishing his house, 'panelling the best rooms' and fretting about whether to get a new piano. Pugin also designed Helen's wedding dress and jewellery, produced respectively by Crace's and Hardman's craftsmen. The dress was ready by 30th March and a wedding seemed imminent – but then in April Helen unexpectedly broke off the engagement, apparently after pressure from her family against her conversion to Catholicism. Pugin was so distraught he resorted to print, publishing a pamphlet including private letters to set out the affair as he saw it and express his sense of betrayal.

Then, on 5th June 1848, he entered a characteristically terse note in his diary 'Mrs. Knill and dined [sic] here [at The Grange]'. A mere six weeks later, on 22nd July, he recorded 'Dearest Jane affianced to me.' This is his first mention of his third wife, Jane Knill, ward of her uncle John Knill whom Pugin probably met in the course of the building of St George's Cathedral in Southwark. Perhaps crucially, the Knills, Jane included, had already converted to the Catholic faith in 1842. 'I have got a first-rate Gothic woman at last', wrote Pugin gleefully, 'who perfectly understands and delights in spires, chancels,

screens, stained glass, brasses, vestments etc.¹³ She was also thirteen years his junior and acknowledged by all to be beautiful.

Theirs was the first marriage to be celebrated in the newly completed St George's at Southwark early on 10th August 1848. Jane's journal records that

'we left for the railway at ½ past 11 and arrived at Ramsgate at ½ past 3 o'clock. The flag was hoisted for the first time. Cuthbert, Catherine and Mary, with Sarah and Mary the servants, were ready to receive us at the front door. Had dinner, roast fowls and cherry & currant tarts.'¹⁴



The card with which Pugin announced to his friends his marriage to Jane Knill.

Jane and Augustus were very much in love and Jane seems to have slipped seamlessly into her role as stepmother, despite being, at twenty three, only a few years older than Anne and Edward (Pugin was thirty six). While the currents of professional stresses, local rivalries and religious controversy continued to eddy outside its walls, The Grange at last became the happy family home Pugin had always envisaged. Jane 'manages everything admirably & is a great comfort to me.'

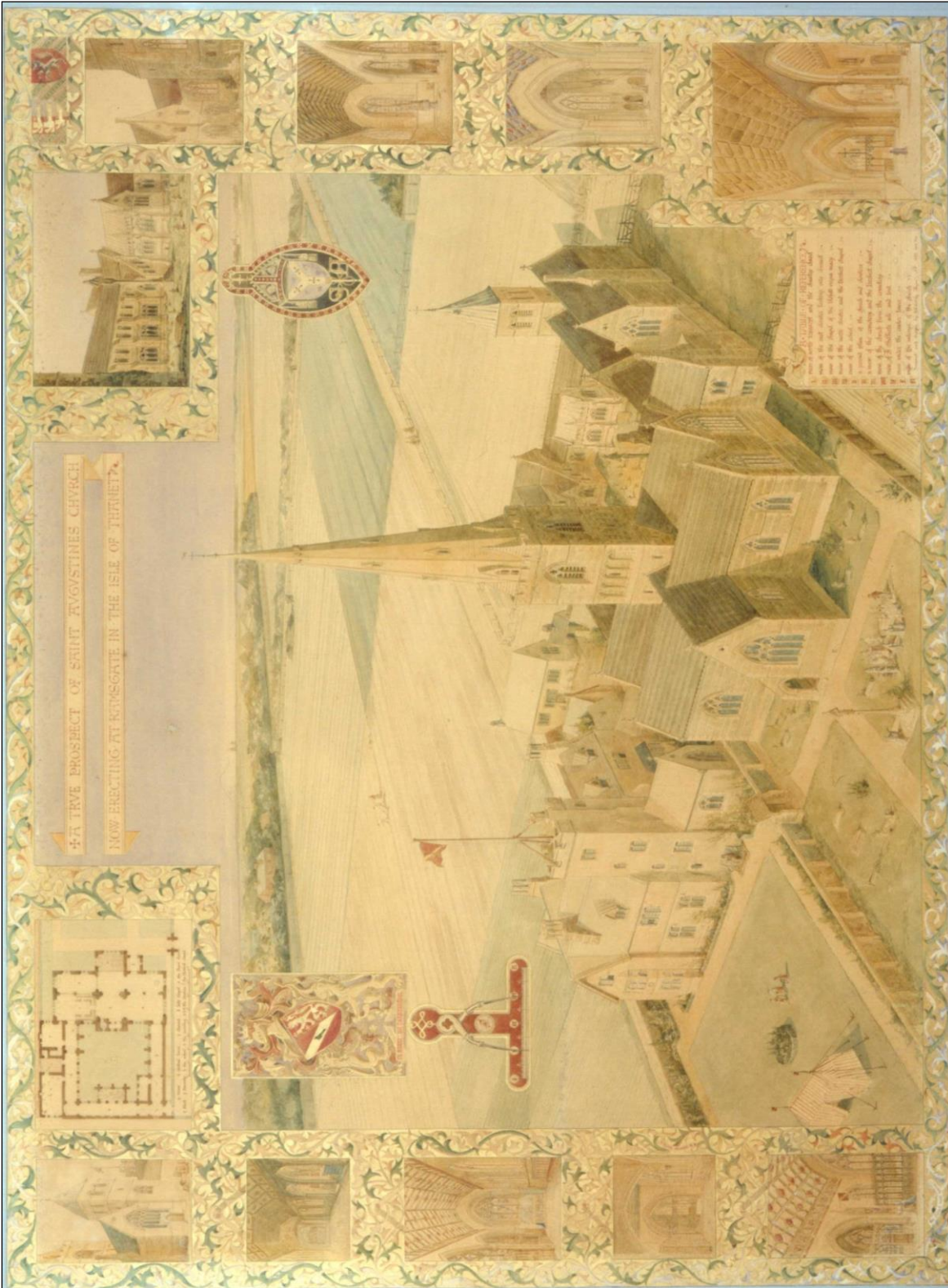
His correspondence with Jane and her own journal capture the happy early days of their four-year marriage. To begin with, through 1849, Pugin spent more time at home, days of

picnics and sketching trips. In October, a daughter, Margaret, was born and baptised in the chapel at The Grange. In his library, Pugin spent more time designing stained glass, ceramics, metalwork and internal decoration than buildings, culminating in the publication of *Floriated Ornament*.

This was also the year Pugin painted the wonderful bird's eye view of The Grange, a golden image of his vision for the site on a golden afternoon. It is more than just an architectural vision, encapsulating the themes of the human condition played out in such settings. Here the monks lay a soul to rest in the churchyard (still largely empty of gravestones), while youth and life play on the lawn across the garden wall. The seat outside the dining room is at last filled by a maternal figure, on a late summer's day with the harvest safely gathered in from the fields beyond, a few bedroom windows open to let in the sea breeze that gently ripples the flag on the tower. Pugin painted this view partly to meet his friends' insistence that he apply to join the Royal Academy, where it was exhibited, although he was not accepted as an Academician. Pugin himself brushed aside the disappointment, glad at least that those accepted were painters rather than architects. It has proved a valuable source in decoding The Grange although has to be treated with a little caution since in certain instances Pugin painted what he wished he had built rather than what he had actually built.



A page from Pugin's *Floriated Ornament*



A True Prospect of St Augustine's Church now erecting at Ramsgate in the Isle of Thanet, painted by Augustus Pugin in 1849.

The Table of Reference bottom right reads (referring to the vignettes starting from the bottom left corner and working around the frame clockwise:

- I View of south transept and the chantry chapel**
- II View of the east cloister looking into the chancel**
- III View of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary**
- IV View of the north cloister and Herbert chapel**
- V View of the school**
- VI A ground plan of the church and cloisters**
- VII A view of the cemetery and Herbert chapel**
- VIII View of the church from the cemetery**
- IX View of St Ethelbert's site and font**
- X View under the central tower**
- XI View of the interior of the church**

The house is not shown as built on the garden elevation, where the masonry is shown to break between gable and tower.

Note the original arrangement of the kitchen courtyard facing the church, now reinstated.

Note the small gatehouse at the end of the kitchen range, whose footings were found during archaeological investigation between today's covered walkway and the doghouse (not yet built in 1849).

Note the Cartoon Room with its original fenestration, its roof still unhipped and without Edward's large dormer. There is a small lean-to to its right, conveniences for the designers who worked in the Cartoon Room.

The lower courses of the church tower are shown more pierced than they were to be in reality and the spire was never built.



The Mediaeval Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851



A family montage, thought to date from the year of the Great Exhibition. Edward, at 16, looks the budding architect. Jane is seated; behind her, Anne is bonneted as befits her newly married status. Agnes, on the right, is about 15.

In 1850, Pugin and his friends and collaborators Crace, Myers, Minton and Hardman began work on a new and exciting project, the Mediaeval Court at 'the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations', to be held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park the following year. This was to be a showcase for their work; a similar exercise at the Birmingham Exhibition of Manufactures in 1849 had gained them much attention and praise. They were awarded a square bay at the heart of the exhibition for their exhibit, to be known as the Mediaeval Court. (Pugin was characteristically scathing of the palace itself, describing it as 'a capital place for *plants*.. a large greenhouse, very ingenious, a great credit to inventors, wonderful mechanism &&c but a beastly place to show off gothic work.'¹⁵)

Despite initial alarms among the Establishment that the team were installing a Popish chapel, the exhibit was a great success, helped by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's approbation. The contents depended partly on what the exhibitors had to hand and did include many religious objects: vestments, plate and architectural features, including from St Augustine's church Myer's font and tabernacle and part of the screen to the Pugin chantry. But the Mediaeval Court also introduced the wider public to the Gothic as a design fit for a domestic context, exactly as Pugin had used it in his own home. There were cabinets and carpets, fireplaces and fabrics, candlesticks and curtains. The whole was girdled by a painted frieze of heraldic bearings.

While the Mediaeval Court won no overall prize, all Pugin's colleagues won prizes in the other, trade specific classes they entered. The Court was generally acclaimed; the *Illustrated London News* account sums up the extent to which Gothic design was welcomed into the mainstream:

'..the Mediaeval Court...presents the most unique and best harmonised display of art and skill – art in the artist and skill in the executant. The master-mind who suggested these forms and these colours has evidently supervised their development...To Mr Pugin, then, who furnished the design for this gorgeous combination, is the highest honour due; and he has marvellously fulfilled his own intention of demonstrating the applicability of Mediaeval art in all its richness and variety to the uses of the present day.'¹⁶

Pugin always had a eye on the commercial potential of his work, urging Myers, for example to keep 'flat packs' of his furniture to be ready for future orders. The Grange itself was intended in part as a show house of what he could do, to impress the 'big wigs' who might become his patrons. This particular foray into the thick of the commercial

world, however, left him exhausted and depressed. His health was beginning to deteriorate in 1851; he wrote to Crace,

‘ Since I have had these fits [of illness] I have been in a most dejected state – I am sure it was brought on by that detestable amount of Paganism & debasement in that exhibition.... I would much rather work in the N. sea with the Barking creek men than associate with the infernal Pagans.’¹⁷

The Catholic Hierarchy crisis

That mercury poisoning and nervous strain were starting to unbalance Pugin by the autumn of 1851 is clear. Even his religion was making him unhappy. In 1850, Rome had re-established the Catholic hierarchy in England, permitting the appointment of the first British Cardinal since Henry VIII’s reign in the early 16th century. Cardinal Wiseman’s first pastoral letter was seen as provocative in tone and Anti-Papist hysteria flared against so-called ‘Papal Aggression,’ popular opinion fearing a return to ‘un-English’ external domination that would threaten both Crown and Established Church.

There were demonstrations even on the streets of Ramsgate and the walls and gateposts of The Grange were pelted with excrement and daubed with offensive graffiti. Pugin’s children and servants were abused in the streets and, her husband as so often away, Jane recorded in her journal that on November 5th 1850 ‘the No Popery row in Ramsgate was fearful in the evening. The mob were coming to our house with the effigy of the Pope but they were turned away by the police.’¹⁸ At times like these, Pugin’s almost obsessive preoccupation with security in his house must have seemed justified. He was hurt by the town’s antipathy after everything, as he saw it, that he had done for Ramsgate and he responded with a pamphlet, *An Address to the People of Ramsgate*, in which he reproved them for their hostility more on grounds of civil rather than religious liberty, urging them to uphold the English tradition of freedom and tolerance.

Pugin’s stress on the English tradition of civil liberty is interesting, for his position as an explicitly English Catholic also brought him into conflict with the Rome-trained career seminaries who now ran the Catholic church in England, and who sought compliance with the modern day strictures issuing from the Vatican rather than revival of Pre-Reformation forms. The conversion of influential priest and thinker John Henry Newman from high-Anglican to Catholic in 1845 had also been a pivotal moment, for Newman had little taste for ritualism or Gothic architecture (Pugin’s own Catholic commissions declined markedly after this time).

At an institutional level, liturgical practice and emphasis had evolved; at a personal level, Pugin himself was now (in his relations with St George's, Southwark for example) rather an embarrassment in his untutored enthusiasm and unbridled responses during the offices. Pugin preferred the mystery and historical veracity of the rood screen; the new practice required communicants to have an unimpeded view to venerate the consecrated host. With the restoration of the Hierarchy, Pugin's position as an English Catholic had become an anomaly. Instead of uniting two churches, as he had once hoped, Pugin found himself marginalized. He entered the fray with typical fervour, publishing *A Treatise on Chancel Screens & Rood Lofts* in 1851 and also attracting vitriolic comment in the papers, fuelled by his own unmeasured responses. The *Treatise* was to be his last publication.

'Pugin is dead.'

Augustus Pugin finally broke down physically and mentally in January 1852. His good friend and Ramsgate doctor, James Daniel, advised that all work must cease. 'The medical man said I had worked one hundred years in forty...I am ordered to Italy as soon as possible,' Pugin wrote to Minton in mid-February. But there were to be no more jaunts to the Continent. Pugin went to London on business with seventeen-year old Edward (for whom it must have been a particularly distressing time) on 25th February and became so confused that he was committed first to a private asylum in Kensington and then in June to Bedlam. At this time, Bedlam was a public hospital for paupers; conditions were strict but the medical care was



Sunlit family home: view into the sitting room at The Grange. This small watercolour is inscribed on the reverse in Jane's hand 'The Grange, 1849' and then in Pugin's hand 'To my dear Hardman, February 1852' – in other words, during his terminal decline. Landmark first saw this image, newly discovered, in the Victorian Society Journal in 2001. It added greatly to our understanding of The Grange in Augustus Pugin's day.

considered excellent and it was no doubt this that caused Messrs Hardman, Myers, Herbert, Stuart Knill and Edward Pugin to have him committed there. For some weeks, they prevented his wife from visiting Pugin; when she finally did so at the end of July, Jane was aghast.

‘I was indeed shocked, he did not know me, he looked half the size he was, his hair was shaved off, in fact he was so much altered that if he had been with others I would not have known him. He looked certainly 70.’¹⁹

In defiance of the wishes of the men, Jane had him moved to a private house in Hammersmith. She insisted on coming up from Ramsgate to nurse him, initially disguised as a maid but eventually recognised by her husband. His mental state improved somewhat but his physical decline was to be terminal. Jane’s journal captures the poignancy of their last weeks together; around 10th September they caught the train back to Ramsgate for the last time, Pugin soothed to be home and to enjoy familiar surroundings and pictures, and comforted by his religion. On 13th September he enjoyed a visit from Dr Daniel, visited St Augustine’s church and sat with Jane on the bench in the garden for a while. That night, he suffered a relapse, lost consciousness and died the following afternoon, on the same day as the Duke of Wellington. He was forty years old.

Augustus Pugin’s illness had at last brought formal recognition of the contribution his life had made to the nation: on 2nd September, Jane had been granted a Civil List pension of £100 per annum, ‘In consideration of her husband’s eminence as an Architect.’ An article in *The Times* at his death summed up his influence like this:

‘Pugin is dead...Let us remember in his honour that if now there seems to be the dawn of a better architecture, if our edifices seem more correct in taste, more genuine in material, more honest in construction, and more sure to last, it was he who first showed us that our architecture offended not only against the law of beauty but also against the laws of morality.’²⁰

On the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park, unveiled in 1872 and early monument to the Victorian age, Gilbert Scott gave Pugin a prominent position on a corner of the frieze, relegating himself modestly to *bas relief* over Pugin’s shoulder.



A W N Pugin's statue on the Albert Memorial (designed 1872, completed 1876). George Gilbert Scott can be glimpsed over his shoulder.

EDWARD PUGIN & THE GRANGE

At Augustus Pugin's death, Jane Pugin found herself head of a family of seven children, the youngest of whom, Edmund Peter (known after his saint's day as Peter Paul), was just past his first birthday. Edward Pugin was just eighteen. The family's situation was further complicated by the fact that Pugin had died effectively intestate. The will he had left, bequeathing everything to Jane, was invalid because only John Powell had witnessed it. In consequence, under the law of gavelkind, the estate had to be liquidated and the proceeds shared among the offspring. Pugin's treasured collection of antiquities and books came under the auctioneer's hammer the following spring, but many went for a song. Jane also had to decide where the family should live, with John Hardman and John Knill in rather unseemly competition to pass responsibility to the other. In the end, Jane chose initially to move the family to Birmingham to be close to the Hardmans. The Grange was let to Alfred Luck, friend and former joint owner of Pugin's lugger.

Edward Pugin, meanwhile, was left heir to his father's architectural practice and was already showing promise as an architect himself. He had helped his father, he said, since he was seven, and most of his father's patrons were happy to take him on, both to complete works Augustus had begun and eventually for commissions in his own right. Edward shared his father's predisposition to overwork, emotional extremes and explosive disagreements with friends and colleagues. He never married (despite a couple of failed engagements) though always got on well with his stepmother, describing Jane as 'one of the best mothers any man could be blessed with.'²¹ He too was to die young, aged only 41, beleaguered by litigation, bankruptcy and excessive use of chloral hydrate, an addictive sleeping draught. (In fact, though young by today's standards, 40 was the average life expectancy at the time. We can speculate whether there may also have been a family predisposition for an early demise – Peter Paul Pugin was only 52 when he died, Cuthbert alone of these male Pugins reaching old age).

While posterity will inevitably treat Edward Pugin as having lived in the shadow of his famous father (and his life is less well-documented than Augustus's), he nevertheless became a prolific architect of note himself, his many fine churches making their own contribution to nineteenth-century ecclesiastical and Catholic architecture. Although a devout Catholic himself, Edward Pugin proved more willing than Augustus to adapt his church designs to prevailing liturgical practice, so reconciling the pre-Reformation origins of Gothic with the Counter-Reformation rituals of Rome and enabling the Gothic Revival to remain at the heart of Catholic church-building in Britain.

Edward Pugin was also less of a stylistic purist than Augustus, especially in his domestic work, and developed a more 'rationalist' Gothic style, showing a preference, for example, for a return to large sash windows – practical but loathed by his father. In his churches, his mature style is recognisable in heavier massing, buttressed and soaring verticals and a more eclectic use of detail and materials – he had an affection for coloured marbles and pseudo-Corinthian capitals that would have been anathema to Augustus. Edward conducted his professional life as an architect in a form more recognisable to us today as an 'architect' – for example, rather than relying on a single builder as Pugin had done with Myers, Edward Pugin put his churches out to tender with local builders. He was also assisted in his output by the many pupils he took on, running two London offices in addition to that at St Edward's Presbytery by the time of his bankruptcy in 1872. His

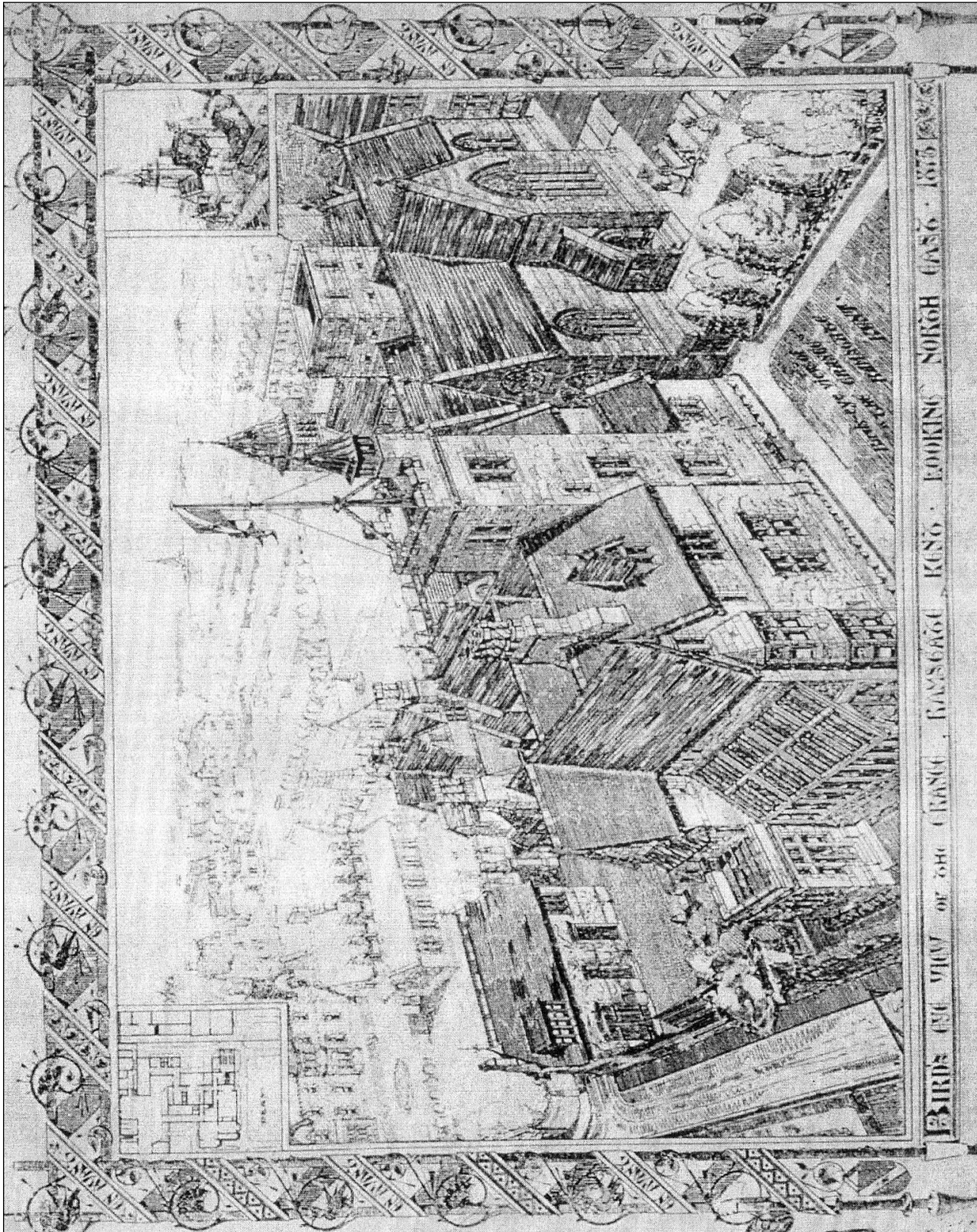
younger brothers, Cuthbert and Peter Paul also became architects, working with him in his practice.

EDWARD PUGIN & THE GRANGE

After Augustus Pugin's death, Edward Pugin immediately took on a schedule as punishing as his father's. In 1858, he returned to Ramsgate to build the chapel of St John the Evangelist (the Digby chantry) in St Augustine's church and to fit out the Pugin chantry. 'I need scarcely say that my visit to Ramsgate after 3 years' absence was a melancholy one,' he wrote in his journal. 'St Augustine's looks especially dull and miserable, all life seems to have departed from it.'²² The family was by then living in Gordon Square in London, and as commissions in Kent soon followed after Edward's re-engagement with St Augustine's, they decided to move back to Ramsgate. Edward designed a new house for Alfred Luck (St Gregory's, set behind the monastery but demolished in 1973) and in 1861 the family moved back into The Grange. From this time forward, Edward continued his contributions to the fabric of the church (which include the flat roofed western cloister) and to build the first monastic buildings across the road to enable Augustus's dream of a Benedictine community on the site to be realised. The first of the brothers, Father Wilfrid Alcock, had arrived in 1856 and the monks had bought the site across the road back from the family in 1859. These early monastic buildings were paid for by Alfred Luck, St Augustine's most generous benefactor. It is not clear, however, why the additions to church and monastery were put in train in preference to the spire that Pugin (and indeed, on most of his own churches, Edward) considered so essential to a true church.

The Pugin family were now a household of adults and had different requirements from the house than those of the 1840s. Edward proceeded to adapt the house to meet these needs, sometimes in a considered manner, sometimes with apparently careless pragmatism as spasmodic infill. The essential point here in relation to the restoration of The Grange is that while undoubtedly a fine architect, Edward Pugin did not do his best work at The Grange. The sequence of these and later changes was carefully pieced together by Paul Drury and others during the course of the house's restoration through a combination of archaeology, building analysis, paint analysis and documentary evidence.

For those interested in the detail of this, a copy of the Conservation Plan and Gazetteer may be found on the Landmark bookshelves.



A bird's eye view of The Grange by Cuthbert Pugin, dated 1873. While somewhat fanciful, it shows Edward Pugin's changes to the house on the west side: the sitting room extension and conservatory and changes to the Cartoon Room. The monastic buildings across the road are also sketched in.

Two main phases of adaptation of the house by Edward were identified, in all cases distinguishable at least in part by inferior construction and finishing to that of George Myers' men. First, in the early 1860s, the kitchen was extended out into its courtyard, building a two storey extension that allowed the nursery above to be reorganised to provide two bedrooms, accessed by a corridor running along the east side of the stairs. The bedrooms were lit by Edward Pugin's trademark sash windows (which his father detested)²³ set in heavily bargeboarded dormers. To compensate for the loss of light in the kitchen, now shaded by the west front of the church, a pair of windows was inserted at high level into the western kitchen wall. Above the sacristy, Edward built a bathroom leading off the upstairs corridor. He added a further flat-roofed bathroom at first floor level, off the NW bedroom to the right of the hall window and a flat-roofed cloakroom block tucked beneath, and partially masking, the large window that lights the hallway (Edward seems to have a preoccupation with cleanliness and has a reputation for being something of a dandy). These utilitarian additions, before the addition of the covered walkway (see below) would have demoted this north elevation to a secondary, service area, hardly fitting for the main entrance.

Completing this early phase of alterations, a first lean-to conservatory was added against the west wall of the library, taking light from the library's west window. Access to the conservatory was via the small south facing window which became a door.

Later, around 1870, Edward reorganised the north courtyard. Having demolished his father's gatehouse, he created a larger entrance that would take a carriage, to supplement the side entrance off what is now Screaming Alley, embellishing the new gateway with the fine stone lions holding the Pugin and Welby family arms. The Cartoon Room became a coachhouse, with an inserted floor and large dormer window to light the coachman's accommodation above. Edward added the covered walkway to the front door and also added yet another flat-roofed extension, to the sitting room this time, again pushing out his father's stone window with its stained glass. The first conservatory was replaced by another – the scars of both are still apparent on the brickwork above the small window.

Inside, there was very little Edward was prepared to let stand. He removed the shelves from his father's library, which became a more conventional sitting room area,

wallpapered over hessian. He remodelled most of the ground floor doors, enlarging their openings, replacing the six-panelled doors of his father with their simple stopped chamfers with more elaborate nine-panelled doors. Simple bullnosed architraves around the doors were replaced by heavy mouldings and matchboard panelling in the hall with linenfold. The library arch was widened and the fireplaces in both library and sitting room had elaborate marble columns with Corinthian capitals and marble overselves added. The dining room was knocked through to the ground floor closet to provide a severy, the WC made redundant by the new cloakroom block. Upstairs, the bedroom windows were altered from right-angled reveals with sills to splayed reveals with no sills.

Most of the principal rooms, if not the whole house, were re-decorated: Edward had his own colourway of the En Avant paper made for the hallway in pinks and browns (a narrow strip was found beneath a door architrave) and used the Gothic trellis pattern now in Jane's room for the upstairs bedrooms and corridors, in the same way that Augustus had used the strapwork design for service areas. All later Pugins stripped down very thoroughly before redecorating however, and it has been difficult to piece together as coherent a picture of Edward's interiors as we have for Augustus's.

Taken altogether, Edward's changes to the house indicate a willingness to embrace the trappings of a more conventional middle class lifestyle than his father: a service range which had become the domain of the servants rather than a family breakfast table framing a view of the west front of the church, a grander dining room and an entrance which announced the family to the world and welcomed them in rather than a walled domain to keep a threatening world at bay. As early as 1867, the *Thanet Advertiser* records a wedding party, probably for one of Edward's colleague's in the militia, which provides not only a picture of a house at the centre of Ramsgate society but also suggests that Edward worked not in the library at The Grange like his father but in the dual-oriented room he created in St Edward's Presbytery:

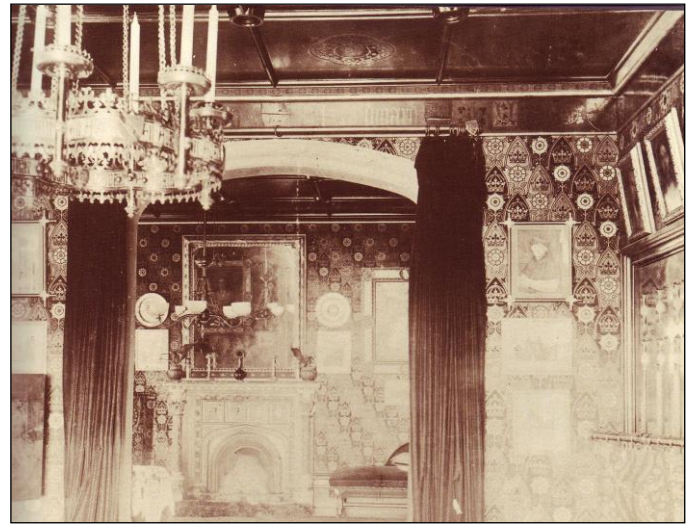
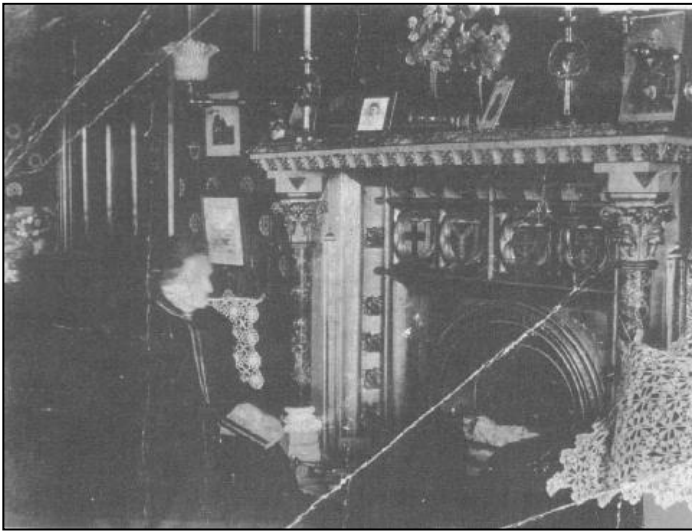
'The wedding party [of Mary Pugin to Edward's partner George Coppinger Ashlin] on leaving the church, proceeded to The Grange and partook of a sumptuous *déjeuner*; and in the course of the repast the guests were enlivened and cheered by the dulcet strains of the Artillery brass and drum and fife bands. An excellent repast was prepared for the officers of the corps in the office of Captain Pugin, while the men and several hundred visitors were regaled in the courtyard.'²⁴

The result of Edward's changes must have been (for the house had moved on still further by the time it came to Landmark) a more conventional mid-Victorian house, still trading on the radical Gothic credentials of its original designer, ²⁵ but increasingly diluted from this original, considered conception.

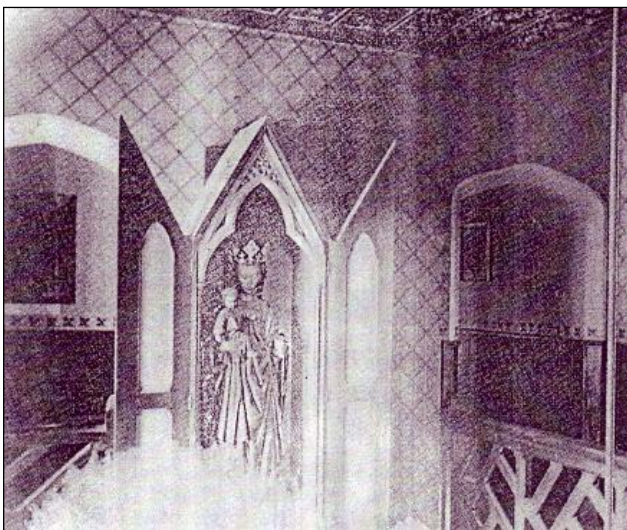
One visitor to the house during these years gives a more jaundiced account of the household, albeit looking back from the 1900s :

'... we made the acquaintance of sundry of the Ramsgate folk, notably the Pugins, he living with his mother in what I thought a hideous house, with painful and hideous furniture too, demonstrating what was supposed to be a Gothic revival, which I am truly thankful to say, never took on; she handsome, elderly and severe, always much afraid of any girl who might want to catch her Augustine, [sic but must refer to Edward] and scornful to a degree to any one the least bit under 45.'²⁶

EARLY PHOTOS OF THE GRANGE INTERIORS IN THE 1870s/1880s



The library. Note too Jane and Augustus's portraits hanging in the sitting room through the arch



The east landing in Edward Pugin's time. The lifesize statue of the Virgin & Child had been in situ since Augustus's time (whereabouts now unknown). Note the corridor extension through the added opening over looking the stairwell (now blocked by returning the nursery to its original form) and also the Gothic Trellis paper. Edward was also much addicted to stencilling, as seen above the dado.



This image was always puzzling, in being attributed to The Grange but of no recognisable room there. Paul Drury identified it from the roof brace to be Cuthbert Pugin's billiard/music room, formerly outside the kitchen, so this photo dates from the 1880s or 90s. This is the NE corner. The organ is said to have come from the sacristy; every available surface is decorated



**Edward Pugin dressed for a fancy dress ball, in the late 1860s.
(Private Collection)**

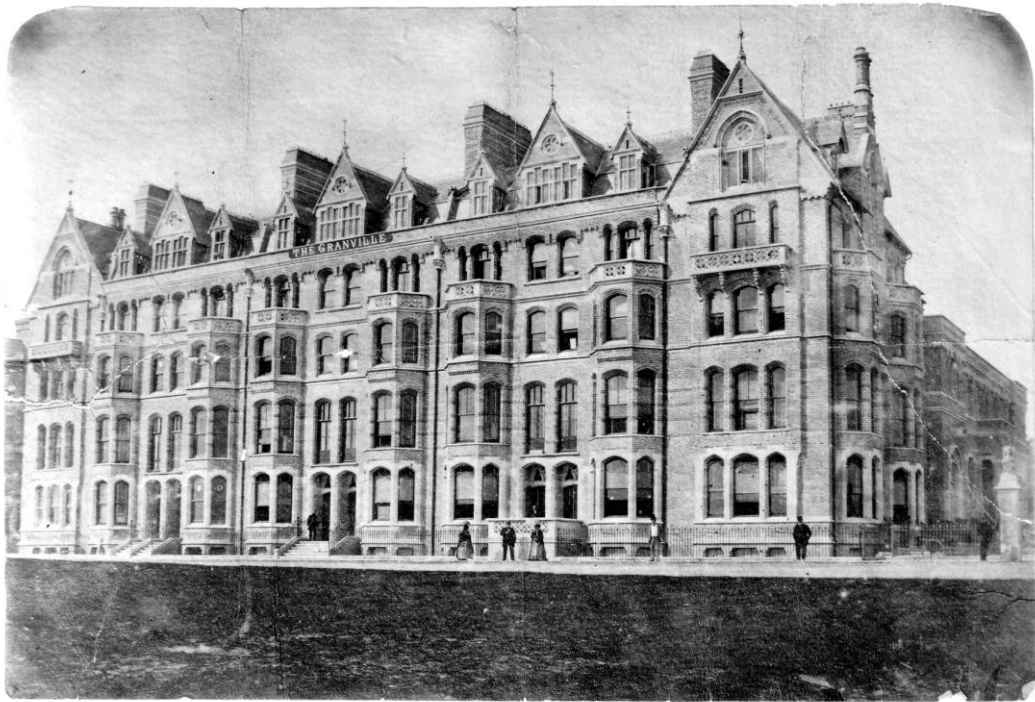
The Granville Hotel

Edward Pugin's willingness to participate in Ramsgate life more openly and identify himself with the community rather than seeking it to mould it to his own vision found expression both in his participation in the Ramsgate Corps of the Cinque Ports Artillery Volunteers (an important and fashionable focus for the town and whose captain he became) and in his speculative developments within the town. By the late 1860s, Ramsgate was booming. A new railway terminus, opened in 1863 by the London Chatham & Dover Railway, now deposited visitors directly onto the sands. In the same year, Edward made a speculative purchase with three business partners of land on the

east cliff with a view to building a row of five large, five-storey terrace houses. They were also to be Gothic, participating in the further integration of the Gothic style into nineteenth-century urban domestic architecture, but assimilating too the efficiencies of symmetry for the terraced form and allowing the speculators to expect maximum return for the size of plot. Such combination of Gothic form with Classical repetition was not novel – as early as 1851, to Augustus Pugin's intense chagrin, Matthew Habershon ('that repulsive humbug') had erected the Gothic Chartham Terrace next door (and provocatively close) to St Augustine's.

It was soon apparent, however, that the houses were unlikely to sell and Edward Pugin decided instead to turn them into what would now be called a destination hotel, a reason in itself to visit Ramsgate. With the permission of the 2nd Earl of Granville, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, it was to be called the Granville Hotel and, in the scope of Edward's vision, to be the equivalent of his father's work at the House of Lords. Edward extended the side frontages behind the original terrace to form a four-sided block, adding a tower crowned by the characteristic seated stone lions beloved of both father and son, and which was to have held a clock had funds permitted. The lions at the Granville hold scrolls bearing the family motto, *En Avant* – a surprising use of a family motto in such a commercial context.

For the sumptuous and roomy interiors, Edward designed everything, from fireplaces to chandeliers to furniture. Moreover, the Granville was a spa hotel, offering sea plunge, Turkish, slipper and ozone baths (and plenty of scope for Minton's fine tiles). For the saline bath, water was raised by steam engines from the sea below, gushing from the mouth of a sea monster. In 1872 'electro-chemical' baths were introduced. The hotel was renowned for its efficiency and became a national institution, while providing employment for a whole community of local employees. Edward Pugin had created a secular and sociable nirvana on the east cliff to balance the spiritual and domesticated domain of his father on the west. From the junction of London and West Cliff Roads, the two complexes can almost be taken in in a single glance, each dominating the skyline.



The Granville Hotel at its opening in June 1870 (RIBA).



Ramsgate Sands in the late 19th / early 20th century. The towers of the Granville Hotel dominate the horizon. The railway terminus directly onto the sands had arrived in 1863. Note too the bathing machines at the sea's edge.

But for all the bright optimism of the newspaper accounts of the hotel's immediate success, it rapidly became clear that Edward Pugin had overreached himself. Bills remained unpaid and he had fallen out with one of his original partners, John Barnet Hodgson, to such an extent that matters reached the courts. In 1872, Edward was declared bankrupt. A perjury case followed against Hodgson, who was found not guilty. Adversity turned Edward still more pugnacious and litigious, traits he had shown over numerous petty cases during his time in Ramsgate – threatening the Harbour Master with violence for his prohibition of a firework display, being in possession of a dog that bit, speeding on horseback. In 1869, he had been humiliatingly dismissed from the Volunteer Corps for 'crossing to the front' (i.e. in front of his own men) and then arguing back when ordered to the rear. Such irascibility must hint at a lack of personal judgment, and bankruptcy at a lack of professional judgment. The bankruptcy threatened the fortunes of the whole family. In 1874, Edward wrote to John Hardman

'My balance on Friday was £19.00. The old lady's [Jane Pugin] £28 against which bills due £193. There is £400 at Coutts and a few pounds I have left in America [where Edward Pugin went briefly after his bankruptcy]. This is all the whole family have. I have to raise money - £500 on my life.'²⁷

Edward Pugin died in London in June 1875. He was brought to Ramsgate and interred in the family chantry, as Ramsgate mourned the passing of one of its most colourful residents by closing shops to follow the cortège and flying the flags in the harbour at half mast.

(As for the Granville, its hitherto coherent façade was given a makeover in 1900 by London architect, Horace Field. He 'unified' it by introducing the incongruous pediment and portico with its puny Ionic capitals, and added some rather more elegant wrought iron balconies. During World War I, the Granville became a home for shellshocked Canadian soldiers, and in 1940, bombing destroyed the western end of the façade, which led to the north and west elevations also being demolished. The hotel's great hall was demolished in 1982 and its Turkish Baths in 1986 – and this despite the Granville having been listed in 1973. In 2002, work began to rebuild the missing sections of the façade and convert the building into flats).

THE LATER PUGINS AND THE GRANGE

Edward Pugin's bankruptcy had a profound effect on the family. They moved into St Edward's Presbytery so that The Grange could be let to generate income. Cuthbert and Peter Paul Pugin kept up the Pugin practice, going into partnership with George C. Ashlin.



Peter Paul Pugin as a young man (Private Collection).



Cuthbert Pugin in the garden at The Grange. Note the former chimney pot in use as a planter (Private Collection).

Judging by his output alone, Peter Paul inherited his father's and eldest brother's propensity for hard work and punishing schedules, was a prolific church builder and also became a good water colourist and engraver. Cuthbert, who never married and lived out his days at The Grange site, seems to have become more of a sleeping partner. Both made their contribution to the site: Peter Paul added St Joseph's Chapel and the present Altar of the Sacred Heart to St Augustine's Church and an extension to the monastic college, as well as a new wing in 1901, and Cuthbert designed various fittings. At The Grange itself, some retrenchment was necessary immediately after the bankruptcy. Peter Paul married in the late 1880s and moved out to set up his own home. Cuthbert made some changes of his own to The Grange, which rateable values suggest occurred mostly by 1882. The most significant of these changes was to build a bigger extension (flat-roofed again) in the kitchen courtyard. This room, accessed through a cramped door in the corner of the sacristy, was described in the Sale Catalogue of 1930 as a billiards

room, but Pugin descendants who stayed in the house for holidays in the 1920s refer to it as a Music Room, and an early photograph shows a small organ in the room, probably moved from the sacristy. The room extended almost to the churchyard boundary, finally destroying the careful relationship of house and church planned by Augustus Pugin and probably causing the demise of a covered walkway from kitchen door to presbytery. Indeed, an early photo and the Sale Catalogue suggest this room did not even have windows, being lit by rooflights (possibly to preserve the family's privacy in St Edward's). It is to be hoped that it at least had the presumed desired effect of increasing the house's lettability. Meanwhile, the family's residency in St Edward's Presbytery was made feasible by expanding the accommodation into the eastern courtyard range and by building an extra storey on the north-south block.

Life on The Grange site seems quieter in these years, although photos record various family reunions, presided over by Jane Pugin as serene matriarch. Jane never remarried and remained fiercely loyal to the memory of her husband. She was to outlive both her own children and stepchildren except Cuthbert, Catherine and Mary.

1904 especially was an *annus horribilis* for Jane. Disaster struck in the house, newly redecorated prior to re-letting, when in June the tower was thought to have been struck by lightning, causing a serious fire that destroyed the top of the tower and all the roof except the northern attic bedroom. The newspaper reports suggested the fire brigade's efforts were hampered through lack of water pressure; even so, there was considerable water damage internally (for example, physical evidence shows the hall ceiling was completely renewed around this date). When Cuthbert had the roof rebuilt, he gave it a flat central section to give more living space on the second floor – practical, but further diluting the house's original character, with its double ridge roofscape.

Then a headstone in the cemetery records that on 7th July 1904 Priscilla Williams Thomas died, 'faithful friend and companion of Jane Welby Pugin' (about whom nothing more is known at present). Jane's daughter Margaret had died in her thirties in 1884; now, in 1904, her son Peter Paul also died. Jane herself died in 1909, having reached the advanced age of 84 and recorded in a pretty tablet a graceful tribute to her brief marriage to Pugin beside the altar in the family chantry in St Augustine's Church.

Finally, in 1928 Cuthbert himself died, bringing to an end the Pugin family's eighty year association with The Grange.

The Grange was empty from the time of the fire in 1904 until 1911, presumably while it was being repaired. It was then tenanted until 1922. After 1909, Cuthbert was left the only occupant of St Edward's Presbytery, although in 1922 Agnes Pugin returned to live in The Grange, from oral memories taking in paying visitors to make ends meet. By now the extended family were also returning to take holidays in The Grange itself.

For the life of The Grange now enters living memory. In the 1920s, Beatrix, Joan and James Mackey, Peter Paul Pugin's grandchildren, spent happy summer holidays at The Grange, remembering picking figs from the bedrooms windows, a conservatory filled with geraniums, the summer house, and table games with their uncle Cuthbert in the dining room on rainy days.

One insistent memory from this era was from James Mackey, who remembered fishing out of the window of a tiled 'Ballroom' at The Grange, a chamber hollowed out of the chalk cliff below the end of the garden and reached either by steps down in the south east corner of the garden or by the tunnel which rises under the stairs in the hallway and runs under the garden. Another local also remembered guided tours down the tunnel. Although Mr Mackey would never believe that this ballroom did not still exist (and rumours of it persist even today), the surviving tunnels were explored by the Kent Underground Research Group and sadly the combination of cliff falls due to artillery during World War II and the construction of the ferry terminal means that the chambers once hollowed out of the cliff are long gone.



Family holidays at The Grange c. 1919: the Mackey children with their mother, and (left, seated centre) their grandmother Mrs Peter Paul Pugin. The left hand picture shows the little summer house put up in the angle between the chapel and churchyard wall.



First communion celebrations at The Grange, 1919: Left to right: Mrs Florrie Mackey, Fr. Cuthbert, Mrs Peter Paul Pugin and Beatrix, James and Joan Mackey, Augustus Pugin's great grandchildren.

THE GRANGE AFTER THE PUGINS

In 1930, the house was sold to the brothers of St Augustine's, and it became part of their boarding school for Catholic boys. The house was requisitioned by the army during World War II and seems to have suffered the usual disregard in such circumstances.

A planning application for change of use to a school in 1951 stated that the buildings 'have never been repaired after military occupation.' Edward's conservatory seems to have survived until about this time as had a small lean-to to the right of the front door, but both had gone by the Ordnance Survey made in 1955, incompatible no doubt with the stone-throwing habits of small boys. Adaptation for lavatories and fire escape also followed and in 1957, the monks were granted planning permission for the Parish Rooms, providing three extra classrooms in the east courtyard range – unfortunately a disaster in architectural terms, masking the form of St Edward's Presbytery and compromising the kitchen courtyard just as much as Cuthbert's music/billiards/play room must have done.

During the sixties, the school gradually improved its premises. One of the brothers at St Augustine's remembers trundling wheelbarrows of rubble across the road from the monastery to build up the ground levels at the bottom of the garden so that it could be tarmaced over as a playground. This rubble included an 1881 datestone; from where, we can no longer be sure. It seems probable that the Music Room was also demolished around this time, leaving only a single ceiling bracket.

By 1990, the school had closed and the house was put on the market by the brothers, to be bought by Dr Letitia West and her husband, who hoped its refurbishment would provide a retirement project. They made a flat for themselves in the attic, but the house was to prove too much for them to take on. In 1997, Landmark's Furnishing Manager received a call, alerting him that a rather fine A W N Pugin dresser was coming up for sale. Knowing its likely provenance, and therefore that as a fixture in a Grade I building it was unlikely to have been removed with permission, authorities were alerted and the dresser was returned to the house. Soon after, the house was put on the market, with rumours that it was to be turned into flats or an old people's home. Progressive neglect, a

maritime environment and injudicious use of modern materials had all taken their toll and the house was in a sorry state.

The National Trust considered it but given its poor condition and the absence of an endowment, were unable to take the house on. Given its significance, Landmark made a rare exception to its rule of not buying buildings on the open market. A speedy application resulted in a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund and in 1997 we bought the house. Six years of research, fundraising and listed building applications would follow before work finally began on site in January 2004 and was completed in May 2006. The story of this restoration itself is told in a separate volume of this album.

Soon after, the St Augustine's site entered a new chapter in its history, as the dwindling community of monks, overwhelmed the maintenance responsibilities of their site (by then on English Heritage's Buildings at Risk Register), came to the decision to move to smaller premises. First they put St Edward's Presbytery up for sale. The Presbytery's physical connection with The Grange is so intimate that Landmark felt it had to step in rather than risk development by others, and we made a rare purchase on the open market. This also gave us the chance to remove the disfiguring additions made in the 1970s when the site operated as a school. The Presbytery was restored in 2015 as a Landmark sleeping four people.

St Augustine's church, given by Pugin to the Diocese of Southwark, is still a thriving congregation, its fabric carefully conserved as resources allow. The monastic ranges across the road seemed the most intractable problem but then in 2013, most serendipitously, this part of the site was bought by a Charismatic Catholic ministry, part of the Vincentian Congregation of India, for use as a retreat centre.

And so, almost miraculously, Augustus Pugin's vision for his private realm of Gothic architecture infused with his Catholic faith survives, not as a museum but as a living breathing site in all its dimensions. The Grange, as it has for much of its existence, once more welcomes visitors to enjoy 'the delight of the sea with catholic architecture & a Library,' just as its mercurial master and designer always intended.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹ Ferrey, Benjamin, *Recollections of A N Welby [sic] Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin* (1861), p. 27.
 - ² Cit. Wainwright, Clive, *A Gothic Passion*, p.3.
 - ³ J H Powell, *Some Notes for a Memoir of Augustus Welby Pugin* (Private Collection, publication under preparation).
 - ⁴ Pugin in his home, A Memoir by J H Powell, ed. A Wedgwood, *Architectural History*, Vol 31, 1988, p. 180.
 - ⁵ Letter to Clarkson Stanfield in Belcher, Margaret, *The Collected Letters of A W Pugin*, Vol. I, p. 384.
 - ⁶ Letter to John Rouse Bloxam, September 1843. Pugin MSS 528, Magdalen College Oxford.
 - ⁷ Letter to John Bloxam, 20 June 1844, *Collected Letters of AW Pugin*, Vol 2, p. 211.
 - ⁸ J.D. Crace, 'Augustus Welby Pugin and Furniture,' *Journal of the Royal Institute of Architects*, 3rd series, Vol. 1, No. 15, p. 517.
 - ⁹ *Architectural History Journal*, vol. 31, 1988, Alexandra Wedgwood, ed., 'Pugin in his home: a Memoir by J.H. Powell', p. 175.
 - ¹⁰ Letter to J Hardman, nd, House of Lords Record Office, Hist. Coll., 304/559.
 - ¹¹ Letter to Helen Lumsden, HLRO, Hist. Coll. 339/130 (nd).
 - ¹² Letter to Helen Lumsden, HLRO, Hist. Coll., 339/133 (nd).
 - ¹³ Cit. M. Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin: A Mediaeval Victorian* (1932), p. 280, n. 2.
 - ¹⁴ Stanford, Caroline, ed. *Dearest Augustus and I: the Journal of Jane Pugin* (2004), p. 52.
 - ¹⁵ Letter to J G Crace, 1 January 1851, RIBA Crace MSS PUG 8/13.
 - ¹⁶ *Official Illustrated Catalogue*, 1851, p.761.
 - ¹⁷ Letter to J G Crace, 1851, RIBA Crace MSS PUG 8/8
 - ¹⁸ Stanford, op. cit., p.60.
 - ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.
 - ²⁰ Cit. Wainwright, op. cit., p. 12.
 - ²¹ Cit. Catriona Blaker, *Edward Pugin and Kent* (2003), p.4.
 - ²² Fragmentary and undated journal, HLRO, MSS 339.
 - ²³ Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, 1874, p. 164.
 - ²⁴ *Thanet Advertiser*, November 30th, 1867.
 - ²⁵ See for example Charles Eastlake's description in his *A History of the Gothic Revival* (1872).
 - ²⁶ Mrs J. E. Panton, *Leaves from a Life*, 1908. p. 294-5
 - ²⁷ Blaker, op. cit.,p.53.