

## AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Kathryn L. Burton for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Design and Human Environment presented on April 30, 2007.

Title: A.W.N. Pugin and St. Augustine's, Ramsgate: A Nineteenth-Century English Gothic Revivalist and His Church

Abstract approved:

---

Elaine L. Pedersen

A. W. N. Pugin was a driving force in the Gothic Revival movement in England during the first half of the nineteenth century. He was an architect and a writer who expounded on the virtues of reviving Gothic architecture, not only for its reflection of the sacred mystery of ancient Catholic religious ritual but for its connection with morality. Using Pugin's own church, St. Augustine's Church in Ramsgate, England, as the focal point the purpose of this study was three-fold: to examine the structure for evidence of the architectural principles Pugin so passionately described in his writing; to determine the major influences of culture and society on the design of the church; and, to substantiate the presence of his creativity in the resultant structure.

Research methods employed over the course of this study were a phenomenological, or 'experiential' approach, the historical method, a modified artifact analysis and a creativity model. Various primary and secondary resources were reviewed along with the structure and its fittings. It was found that Pugin closely

followed his own architectural principles for the design of St. Augustine's. From the external structure to the interior design and sacred objects housed there, the church reflects Pugin's tenets. Religion, architectural theories and aesthetics of the period, technology, familial support, a strong personality along with exceptional artistic talent all helped shape Pugin's life and his design work at the church. Pugin's creativity is evidenced by his determination and strong will which allowed him to carry through with the project against an aggregate of disillusionments, his creative spirit that enabled him to see beyond the commonplace of nineteenth century ecclesiastical architecture to create a structure that reflected his own ideas, and his innate artistic abilities that permitted the introduction of fine detail to his work. St. Augustine's Church stands today as a testament to A. W. N. Pugin's resolve, skill and religious and moral beliefs.

A.W.N. Pugin and St. Augustine's, Ramsgate: A Nineteenth-Century English Gothic  
Revivalist and His Church

by  
Kathryn L. Burton

A DISSERTATION

submitted to

Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the  
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Presented April 30, 2007  
Commencement June 2007

Doctor of Philosophy dissertation of Kathryn L. Burton  
presented on April 30, 2007.

APPROVED:

---

Major Professor, representing Design and Human Environment Department

---

Chair of the Department of Design and Human Environment

---

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

---

Kathryn L. Burton, Author

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dissertation acknowledgment pages often begin with thanks to academic advisors and committee members. Although these people don't appear until the third paragraph here, I mean them no disrespect. I do, however, feel quite strongly that my family and friends should be the first to receive my words of thanks. Their belief in me was a powerful force that buoyed me up through trials and tribulations that supersede what I imagine are the typical growing pains of any doctoral student. Thanks get showered down upon my husband, Kevin, who stood solidly next to me through the whole process. Although known to shake his head at times at the seemingly interminability of my graduate career and the writing of this dissertation, he remained lovingly supportive. Thanks to my children, Taylor and Elijah, who have grown into young adults during my two stints as a graduate student. They've turned out pretty well considering that their mother was often distracted. They've been the two most influential teachers I've ever had. Thanks to my siblings and their respective spouses who have all encouraged me and wished me well along the way. Many thanks go to my parents, Don and Barbara, who have cheered for me all along my journey.

Marilyn, you rock! I would never have started down the road to my Ph.D. if you'd not laid the path out in front of me and said "Go." You led the way, showed me the ropes and I followed. Twenty-five years of friendship, and five degrees between us later, I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Wendy, you've had my back through the whole process, and have watched out for me unfailingly. How does support get any better than that? Thank you for being such a fantastic friend! Herk, thanks for your support, too. It's been a pleasure to get to know some of my fellow

travelers along the graduate school trail. I'd like to keep track of where you go in the future because wherever you land good things are going to happen.

“Thank” and “you” are two words I find myself using a lot around Dr. Elaine Pedersen, my major professor. She has been supportive, encouraging and strong for me at every step. Elaine set the tone early on in the project with her quiet reserve and willingness to listen to my “wacky” ideas. She helped me pull all of my interests together and form a research project that I've enjoyed (almost) every moment of. It has been a wonderful journey through academia and I thank you for your guidance and for becoming my friend.

To my committee members: Dr. Robert Nye inspired the historian in me to reveal herself, thank you; thanks to Dr. Flora Leibowitz for spending hours discussing 19<sup>th</sup> century aesthetic theory with me and for sparking a deeper appreciation for the philosophic point of view; Carol Caughey supported the project with her interest and enthusiasm, thank you. Thanks also to Dr. Langford, how fortunate for me that you represented the graduate school on my committee. Your knowledge of architecture and interest in my project was very much appreciated.

I received aid from several people in England. Their contributions made this project better than it could ever have been without their assistance. My research project has been helped in great part by Catriona Blaker, former editor of *True Principles*, the journal published by the Pugin Society. From my first email to her through the Pugin Society website, Catriona has lent a hand whenever asked. Catriona was my first contact in England as I was planning my visit to Ramsgate and St. Augustine's. She opened the doors of the church to me and laid the groundwork for

my visit there. She also has been a source of invaluable resource materials. I thank you, Catriona, for all of your assistance. To Mandy, a fellow Society member, I thank you for your English hospitality. I think I should start everyday with scrambled eggs with cream! Your beautiful home was like a sanctuary at the end of long research days. To Father Benedict Austen, parish priest at St. Augustine's, thank you for allowing me into your church and being so gracious. I felt very welcomed and am forever grateful to you for your help. Father John Seddon, archivist at St. Augustine's, was also very helpful and gracious and I thank him for his assistance and willingness to open the archives to a researcher from "across the pond." At the Bloxam archives located at Fairchild Library, Madgalen College, Oxford, Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith was an excellent help in accessing the Pugin letters and sketches, and for setting up the photography of a letter of particular interest to me, thank you. Thanks also go to the President and Fellows of Madgalen College. Thank you to the Westminster Diocesan Office and Father Nicolas Schofield, who graciously took advantage of technological advances and took digital pictures of a Pugin sketch held within the archives there and emailed them to me. Thank you to Dr. Timothy Britain-Catlin, present editor of *True Principles*, for his encouraging words very early in the project.

Projects like this dissertation do not happen in a vacuum and to all the people I've list above and others who've been helpful, again, thank you for making this the ride of my life! I truly appreciate everything you've done for me.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
A Sign of the Times .....	1
Overview of the Study .....	2
Purpose of the study .....	4
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE .....	5
Creativity Research .....	6
Definitions of Creativity .....	6
Various Approaches to Creativity Research .....	9
Systems Approach.....	9
Evolving Systems Approach.....	10
Case Study Approach.....	11
Early Nineteenth Century English Society and Culture.....	12
Early Nineteenth Century English Built Structures and Interiors .....	15
Early English Gothic Revivalist Built Structures and Interiors .....	19
Gothic Revival Ecclesiastical Architecture.....	21
Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin .....	24
Pugin's Works.....	28
Writings.....	28
Architectural Work.....	35
Domestic architecture.....	35
Ecclesiastical architecture .....	37
St. Augustine's .....	40
Summary .....	45



## TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

		<u>Page</u>
3.	RESEARCH PROCEDURE .....	47
	Inquiry Paradigms .....	48
	Research Methods .....	50
	Phenomenological Approach .....	51
	Artifact Analysis and Historical Method .....	53
	Fleming Model .....	53
	Prown Model .....	54
	New Brunswick Model .....	55
	Development of Artifact Analysis Used in the Present Study .....	56
	Historical Method .....	59
	Csikszentmihalyi's Creativity Model: A Basis for Data Collection and Analysis .....	61
	Summary .....	68
4.	RESULTS .....	70
	St. Augustine's: First Impressions .....	70
	Pugin's Architectural Principles Realized at St. Augustine's .....	96
	<i>Contrasts</i> .....	102
	<i>True Principles</i> .....	104
	Convenience, Construction and Propriety .....	104
	Ornamentation .....	109
	<i>Present State</i> .....	112

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
<i>An Apology on the Revival of Christian Architecture</i> .....	113
Physical arrangement of the church .....	113
Bell towers .....	117
Galleries .....	120
Baptismal fonts .....	124
Pulpits.....	127
Chancel screens.....	130
Altars .....	134
Chairs at communion table.....	137
Sacred symbols and imagery.....	138
Summary .....	153
Culture, Society and Creativity: Pugin and His Church .....	154
Culture and Society in Pugin’s England .....	156
Worldview.....	156
Religion.....	157
Technology.....	161
Town Life.....	165
Communication and Travel.....	168
Architecture and Aesthetics .....	169
Pugin and His Background .....	176
Creativity Summary .....	182
Chapter Summary.....	184
5. CONCLUSION .....	187
Future Research.....	192
Reflections on Methods .....	193
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	198
APPENDICES .....	206

## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. A systems view of creativity .....	61
2. St. Augustine's in the distance on the left, walking west on St. Augustine's Road, Ramsgate .....	71
3. Northeast corner of the church showing the north sacristy and the bell tower .....	73
4. Low north wall between bell tower on the left, and entrance on the right, fronting St. Augustine's Road .....	74
5. Entry area on St. Augustine's Road, or north side .....	75
6. Close-up view of the "knapped" flint construction material.....	76
7. Map showing direction of travel around the church on my initial visit .....	78
8. View around the southeast corner of the church.....	79
9. View from south wall of the churchyard out to the ferry port and the English Channel .....	80
10. The Grange, under renovations, as seen from the churchyard.....	82
11. Full view of the south side of St. Augustine's .....	83
12. The southwest porch .....	85
13. Detail of the south west porch doorway.....	87
14. Sketch of the "green man" carving at the entrance to the south west porch.....	88
15. Example of a leaf carving in the molding at the springing of an exterior window arch .....	88
16. A 1844 sketch by Pugin of the exterior of St. Augustine's.....	90
17. A close-up view of roof tiles stacked in the garth.....	91

## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
18. View from the northeast entrance doorway .....	94
19. The eastern end of the chancel showing the roofline delineating the chancel and the Lady chapel. The chancel and great eastern window are to the right and the Lady chapel is seen to the left .....	108
20. Showing the variation of tile designs in the Pugin chantry .....	111
21. The nave of Canterbury Cathedral .....	114
22. The nave of Ely Cathedral .....	114
23. The archway separating the nave from the chancel, showing the rood .....	115
24. The chancel screen in its current position in the Lady Chapel .....	116
25. Detail of the bell tower roof .....	118
26. Quoin work on the corners and around the windows of the bell tower .....	119
27. A contemporary floor plan of St. Augustine's .....	121
28. Pugin's 1845 sketch of the floor plan he envisioned for St. Augustine's compound, showing cloisters, chantry, central piers and columns. He also clearly delineates the nave, chancel, aisle, Lady chapel and southwest porch .....	122
29. View of aisle, facing west showing carved wooden benches .....	123
30. End view of a bench in the nave .....	123
31. The baptismal font, located in the southeast corner of the aisle .....	125
32. Detail of the baptismal font, showing the carved Caen stone .....	126
33. Undated photograph. The pulpit, on the left wall, shown in its original position in the crossing .....	128

## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
34. The outline of the earlier pulpit is seen traced in the lighter-colored bricks and mortar. A wooden door leading to a circular staircase is seen behind the current free-standing pulpit. Doors leading into the two confessionals are seen on the left .....	129
35. A portion of the chancel screen in its current position in the Lady chapel, showing one of the parclose doors .....	131
36. A close-up view of the top of the center panel of the chancel screen with the banded cornice .....	132
37. Undated photograph [circa 1960]. View through the chancel screen (in its original position between the nave and chancel) to the altar topped with tabernacle and candlesticks .....	133
38. A contemporary view of the chancel showing an altar in the crossing and choir stalls under the east window .....	136
39. Caen stone altar in the Lady chapel .....	137
40. East window in the Pugin Chantry showing deeply carved tracery in a heart-shaped pattern .....	140
41. Two-light window of Pugin's design on the south wall of the Lady chapel.....	141
42. The ancient polychrome wooden rood hanging in the archway between the chancel and the nave.....	142
43. Silver ship lamp and silver-crowned stone statues of Mary and Child within a carved canopied niche. The Pugin chantry screen is seen on the right .....	143
44. Stone statue of St. Benedict in the nave.....	144
45. Stone statue of St. Joseph above the confessional doorways in the transept.....	145

## LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
46. Stone statue of St. Augustine within a canopied niche, holding a replica of the church in the crook of his left arm, located above the free-standing pulpit in the nave.....	145
47. Monstrance at St. Augustine's .....	147
48. Silver plate flagon, or cruet.....	148
49. Silver plate basin .....	148
50. Silver and enamel altar cross.....	149
51. A cope and hood designed by Pugin for use at St. Augustine's, Ramsgate .....	150

## LIST OF APPENDICES

<u>Appendix</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. Artifact Analysis Sheet A: Exteriors.....	207
B. Artifact Analysis Sheet B: Interiors .....	209
C. Artifact Analysis Sheet C: Objects.....	211
D. Informed Consent Form—Oregon State University .....	213
E. Permission to Use Photograph—Bloxam Archives, Magdalen College, Oxford, UK.....	215
F. Permission to Use Photograph—Westminster Diocesan Archives, London, UK .....	216
G. Permission to use Photographs and Archival Material, St. Augustine’s Church, Ramsgate, UK.....	218
H. Reproduction Permission—English Heritage, London, UK .....	219
I. Reproduction Permission—Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK.....	220
J. Reproduction Permission—Cambridge University Press, New York.....	222

A.W.N. Pugin and St. Augustine's, Ramsgate: A Nineteenth-Century Gothic Revivalist and His Church

**CHAPTER I**

**INTRODUCTION**

**A Sign of the Times**

During the summer of 2005 an indoor sports arena in Houston, Texas, was re-opened. Not as the mega-stadium it once was, showcasing professional basketball games and rock concerts but as a non-denominational church. The overall design is consciously void of all symbols of Christianity. The sanctuary can seat sixteen thousand. Large screen television sets stationed around the interior project the proceedings for attendees who may not be able to see the central podium clearly from their seats in the “nose bleed” section.

The church leader, a motivational speaker with no background in theology, delivers the weekly message from the podium, backed by a large, rotating globe. The quiet gurgling of an indoor fountain soothes the audience and music is provided by twelve rows of choral singers.

The terms “big-box” or “mega” are often attached to the word “church” when describing this kind of structure because, much like shopping at a Super Target store or a Wal-Mart Super Center, where one can buy anything from lawn furniture to socks and lettuce, virtually every conceivable spiritual need can be met within the confines of the church walls. And, like the typical four plain walls that encompass many big-



box stores the appearance of many mega-churches indicates that style is not always as important as size.

To many this new way of church building may seem to be the perfect solution to the dilemma of dwindling attendance in mainstream churches. Put ‘church’ in a place that feels familiar (who hasn’t been to a basketball game?), strip away the dogma and those pesky religious symbols and wipe away all of the mystery associated with ritual. Lay it all out there in a way that might appeal to the sports-minded. In other words, put ‘church’ in a place even the non-religious can recognize, offer entertainment value and messages that have broad appeal and the people will come.

Perhaps, given this recent radical turn in church building practices and in the reformation of the concept ‘church,’ it is a good time to take a look back in history to when very different ideas about what ‘church’ should be were being expounded upon by nineteenth-century Gothic Revivalists. One such person was the English architect A.W.N. Pugin.

### **Overview of the Study**

Augustus Northmore Welby Pugin (1812-1852) was a Gothic Revivalist architect and designer who lived during the first half of the nineteenth century in England. Through his architecture, design work and his writing he became well known in English architectural society, revered by some and disliked by others. Pugin was a crusader for retaining the mystery and reverence of ancient Catholic rituals and symbolism and to the continuation of church architecture that mirrored those qualities.

His passionate insistence upon using a revived Gothic design style in the early years of the nineteenth century caught the attention of some very influential people, among them the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury and Ambrose Phillips. These two men would be life-long supporters of Pugin and his work.

Pugin designed many churches during his short career. A few are on the scale of cathedrals, but most were parish churches and chapels. One church with a high level of personal significance to the architect was St. Augustine's, Ramsgate in the county of Kent, England. It was with this church that Pugin was able to build a structure in which his architectural principles could be fully realized. On his own land, using his own money, time and effort he could finally realize the church of his deepest imaginings, a Catholic church where form and content could find a perfect balance.

One component of this study looks at Pugin's work through the lens of creativity. The Gothic Revival was, after all, the revival of an ancient design style and may not be considered, at least at first thought, to be a particularly creative endeavor. However, creative genius was at work during the nineteenth century as Revivalists worked to adapt Gothic and Classical design styles into variations that suited the contemporary time and place.

One method of studying creativity in individuals is by observing, analyzing and interpreting the work of creative people. In order to have a fuller understanding of Pugin and one of his architectural masterpieces I made observations on-site at St. Augustine's and used primary and secondary resource materials to study the socio-cultural influences that affected the design of this structure. By doing so I was able to examine, in depth, Pugin's creative endeavor. In this study I show that Pugin's designs

for St. Augustine's, while predicated on certain design elements from ancient Gothic architecture, were original, novel and imaginative solutions for contemporary religious purposes.

### **Purpose of the Study**

In this study I examine the ecclesiastical architecture and interior design work of nineteenth-century English Gothic Revivalist Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. Pugin's own church St. Augustine's, Ramsgate is the focus of exploration. While there has been much research on Pugin, his ecclesiastical designs and the Gothic Revival there is little scholarly work that singles out St. Augustine's as a focus of study. I chose St. Augustine's because it is a church that had close personal meaning to Pugin. He not only designed and built it on his own property but, he used his own funds to support its construction.

Three research questions addressed in this study are as follows:

1. Is St. Augustine's a good 'fit' with Pugin's personal and zealously preached architectural philosophies?
2. How did early nineteenth culture and society, the period between the mid-1830s and the early 1850s influence Pugin's design of St. Augustine's?
3. Pugin is considered to be a creative individual. How does his design for St. Augustine's reflect his creative abilities?

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

The organization of the material in this review of literature is structured with the most general, broad topics reviewed first followed by progressively more specific topic areas. The review begins with a discussion on creativity research. One of the research questions in the present study looks at A. W. N. Pugin as a creative individual and his creative abilities are examined in the design of St. Augustine's. It is, therefore, important to survey some of the approaches that are used to study creativity and the works of creative people. Of particular interest to my study are the methods that have been developed and used to study creative individuals. These approaches add insight into how creative individuals are chosen as research subjects and under what criteria an individual is labeled 'creative.'

I follow the discussion of creativity with one about early nineteenth-century society and culture, the social and cultural milieu into which A. W. N. Pugin entered as a practicing architect. A greater understanding of the value and belief systems in play during his architectural career helps to establish a backdrop onto which Pugin, the man, can be placed and consequently studied as a creative person. The discussion includes highlights of the major political, religious, aesthetic, scientific and technological issues of the years prior to and during the early years of Victoria's reign. Early nineteenth-century architecture and interiors are then outlined and discussed with specific emphasis on the ecclesiastical structures of the time period. The

development of the Gothic Revival as a design style in nineteenth-century England is examined, and examples of Gothic Revivalist architecture and interiors are given.

A. W. N. Pugin's life and career as a Gothic Revivalist are highlighted in a brief biographical sketch. The greater focus of this section of the literature review is on his architectural works, his architectural principles and his writings. The final, and most narrow topic of the literature review focuses on Pugin's church, St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, the church on which my study is centered. Through an examination of prior historical research on the structure I will outline what is known of the building's provenance and its construction.

## **Creativity Research**

### Definitions of Creativity

'Creativity' is a rather ambiguous concept, but it is generally understood as having to do with novelty and a product of value.<sup>1</sup> Creativity "is a topic of wide scope that is important at both the individual and societal levels for a wide range of task domains."<sup>2</sup> Martindale calls a creative idea "one that is novel and, in some sense,

---

1. Richard E. Mayer, "Fifty Years of Creativity Research," ed. Robert J. Sternberg, *Handbook of Creativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 450. Mayer summarizes, in table form, the definitions of 'creativity' used by other authors in the *Handbook of Creativity* and lists the two main attributes of creativity as "originality and usefulness."

2. Robert J. Sternberg and Todd I. Lubart, "The Concept of Creativity: Prospects and Paradigms," ed. Robert J. Sternberg, *Handbook of Creativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3.

useful or appropriate for the situation in which it occurs.”<sup>3</sup> Eysenck lists three main interacting variables that “produce creative products and achievements:”<sup>4</sup> cognitive variables, including intelligence and technical skills; environmental variables, such as cultural and socioeconomic factors; and personality variables, including internal motivation and non-conformity.<sup>5</sup> Boden’s definition of creativity distinguishes two “senses” of creativity: psychological and historical. Psychological creativity refers to novel ideas from an individual that have never before surfaced for that individual in contrast to historical creativity which refers to original ideas that have never surfaced “in all human history.”<sup>6</sup> She states, “our concern is with the origin of creative ideas, not their valuation (the context of discovery, not of justification) . . . our prime focus is on how creative ideas can arise in people’s minds.”<sup>7</sup>

According to Amabile two commonly proposed definitions are useful in creativity research involving the use of criteria. Defining creativity as (a) “particular, specifiable features of products or persons or thought processes” and (b) as the “quality of the response that a product elicits from an observer” are both valuable

---

3. Colin Martindale, “How Can We Measure a Society’s Creativity?,” ed. Margaret A. Boden, *Dimensions of Creativity* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994), 159.

4. Hans J. Eysenck, “The Measurement of Creativity,” ed. Margaret A. Boden, *Dimensions of Creativity* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994), 208.

5. Ibid., 209.

6. Margaret A. Boden, “What Is Creativity?,” ed. Margaret A. Boden, *Dimensions of Creativity* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994), 76.

7. Ibid., 77.

research approaches.<sup>8</sup> Operationalizing the concept of creativity is a necessary tool in creativity research.<sup>9</sup> Amabile uses a “consensual” definition and a “ ‘companion conceptual’ definition”<sup>10</sup> in her research. She describes the “consensual” definition as “an explicitly operational definition that implicitly underlies most subjective assessment methodologies”<sup>11</sup> The specific definition follows:

A product or response is creative to the extent that appropriate observers independently agree it is creative. Appropriate observers are those familiar with the domain in which the product was created or the response articulated. Thus, creativity can be regarded as the quality of products or responses judged to be creative by appropriate observers, and it can also be regarded as the process by which something so judged is produced.<sup>12</sup>

The “conceptual” definition is used to “lay the foundation for a theoretical model of creativity”<sup>13</sup> and is defined as:

A product or response will be judged as creative to the extent that (a) it is both a novel and appropriate, useful, correct or valuable response to the task at hand, and (b) the task is heuristic rather than algorithmic.<sup>14</sup>

Csikszentmihalyi’s initial views of creativity were similarly based in the idea of the

---

8. Teresa Amabile, *Creativity in Context: Update to The Social Psychology of Creativity* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 19.

9. Ibid., 20.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., 33.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 35.

14. Ibid.

novel product<sup>15</sup> but over time, his definitions of creativity evolved, and he began to recognize society's role in determining creativity. "[I]t must refer to a process that results in an idea or product that is recognized and adopted by others."<sup>16</sup> In a broader definition along similar lines he states:

any definition of creativity that aspires to objectivity, and therefore requires an intersubjective dimension, will have to recognize the fact that the audience is as important to its constitution as the individual to whom it is credited.<sup>17</sup>

### Various Approaches to Creativity Research

In their studies on creativity research paradigms Sternberg and Lubart found that some investigators use multiple approaches to studying creativity. Recent studies have found that "multiple components must converge for creativity to occur."<sup>18</sup>

### **Systems Approach**

Among the creativity paradigms is the 'systems' approach used by Csikszentmihalyi, beginning in 1988. His research is based on three "main shaping forces": field, domain, and individual.<sup>19</sup> 'Field' is defined as "a set of social

15. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, "Implications of a Systems Perspective for the Study of Creativity," ed. Robert J. Sternberg, *Handbook of Creativity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 313.

16. Ibid., 314.

17. Ibid.

18. Sternberg and Lubart, 10.

19. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, "Society, Culture, and Person: A Systems View of Creativity," ed. Robert J. Sternberg, *The Nature of Creativity: Contemporary Psychological Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 325.



institutions . . . that selects from the variations produced by individuals those that are worth preserving.”<sup>20</sup> ‘Domain’ refers to the influence of culture on creativity and the flow of “selected new ideas and forms to the following generations.”<sup>21</sup> The ‘individual’ “brings about some change in the domain, a change that the field will consider to be creative.”<sup>22</sup> Using this model creativity is seen as “a phenomenon that results from interaction between these three systems;” field, domain and individual.<sup>23</sup> In a later study Csikszentmihalyi points to the importance of the role social structures play in judgments about what is and isn’t considered creative. “Creativity is not the product of single individuals, but of social systems making judgments about individuals’ products.”<sup>24</sup>

### **Evolving Systems Approach**

Researchers Gruber and Wallace use case studies and what they term “an evolving systems approach” to study creativity in individuals. The ‘evolving system’ is explained as a:

---

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 326.

24. Csikszentmihalyi, “Implications of a Systems Perspective,” 314.

system [that] does not operate as a linear sequence of cause-effect relationships but displays, at every point in its history, multicausal and reciprocally interactive relationships both among the internal elements of the system and between the organism and its external milieu.<sup>25</sup>

They suggest a two-part approach to conducting case studies on creative individuals using “detailed analytic and sometimes narrative description of each case and efforts to understand each case as a unique functioning system.”<sup>26</sup>

### **Case Study Approach**

Howard Gardner uses the case study approach to creativity research. His research revolves around the lives of creative individuals. Gardner structures his creativity research on three main themes: the individual, other persons and the work.<sup>27</sup> The individuals chosen to be included in his book *Creating Minds* were picked “because of the indisputable importance of their work; they have been chosen as well because each exemplifies a particular intellectual strength, talent, or intelligence as realized in a domain of their culture.”<sup>28</sup> He states that as a social scientist he is looking

---

25. Howard E. Gruber and Doris B. Wallace, “The Case Study Method and Evolving Systems Approach for Understanding Unique Creative People at Work,” ed.

Robert J. Sternberg, *Handbook of Creativity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 93.

26. Ibid.

27. Howard Gardner, *Creating Minds*. (NY: Basic Books, 1993), 45.

28. Ibid., 9.

for patterns: seeking out similarities and differences in the lives and works of the individuals he studies.<sup>29</sup>

### **Early Nineteenth Century English Society and Culture**

In lieu of writing an in-depth review of the vast quantity of available literature covering the breadth of what is known about early nineteenth-century culture and society, I will focus on the major themes relevant to the time period within the early years of that era in which the forces of culture and society would have shaped and influenced Pugin's life and work. Pugin was twenty-four years old when Victoria became queen in 1837 therefore it is important to include information here about the period of time prior to her accession to the throne, as those were formative years in Pugin's life. It is interesting to note that Victoria's coming into power coincided with the beginnings of Pugin's architectural career. His first book, *Contrasts*, was published in 1836, and with its publication came public awareness of his architectural principles. When Pugin died in 1852 Queen Victoria would go on to reign for more than fifty years.

Given this framework it is essential to discuss the Industrial Revolution, a major event in English history that had direct and lasting influence on culture and society during the early years of the nineteenth century. Reducing this largely eighteenth century phenomenon to its most basic terms, advancements in technology changed the face of the nation from one based on agriculture to one based on industry,

---

29. Ibid., 7.

and from one based in rural areas to one based in the cities.<sup>30</sup> One of the most overriding effects of the revolution was the change in class structure, as the middle-classes grew.

In reality the changes to society were not rapid ones. F. M. L. Thomson explains that while there was much awe and amazement at the seemingly limitless power of new mechanization the fact remained that “in 1830, the day when typical English men or women would be town dwellers, or factory workers, still lay emphatically in the future.”<sup>31</sup> The typical male worker in 1830 worked in industry, usually connected to farming, while the average working woman worked in domestic service.<sup>32</sup> As the middle classes were re-formed and re-shaped there were also changes in the basic ideology of society across classes. “Among all classes, the old morality- bribery and unbelief, drinking, wenching, and gambling- gradually became regarded as archaic if not antisocial.”<sup>33</sup>

E. R. Norman describes the complications that arose in religious society as a result of the rapid change in societal makeup by stating:

The adoption of social teachings in the Church was also complicated by the unprecedented acceleration in social change. The Church never caught up with the demographic and economic transformation of the nineteenth-century

---

30. For an excellent in-depth discussion of the multiple facets associated with the industrial revolution in England see Phyllis Deane’s book, *The First Industrial Revolution*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

31. F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 23.

32. Ibid., 26.

33. Christopher Harvie, “Revolution and the Rule of Law,” ed. Kenneth O. Morgan, *The Oxford History of Britain* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 473.

world -though it was far from being unaware of the problems themselves, as some have liked to suppose. The difficulty lay in translating awareness into activity; it was the difficulty of an elaborate, hierarchical, and largely rural institution, which required the sanction of Parliament for its own adjustment and reform. And the Church was also often internally divided about the nature of the adjustments to modern society which ought to be sought, and about the solutions appropriate in the novel social conditions.<sup>34</sup>

Thompson's book on the social history of Britain between 1830 and 1900 offers many details about the workings of pre-Victorian and Victorian society. He focuses on the economy, family issues, homes and housing, work, play and authority's role in society during that time period. According to Thompson the Reform Act of 1832 acted to further define and separate the middle and lower classes. Those who could "occupy a house of at least £10 annual value"<sup>35</sup> were allowed the vote. The division "forged a common bond of resentment and frustration between otherwise diverse social groups" amongst those who could not afford a house, and "defined the middle class as all those who came above the £10 line regardless of differences in social position."<sup>36</sup> Within this discussion about homes and housing Thompson gives a fairly clear idea of the importance of home in early nineteenth-century English society. Home was to be a quiet, peaceful place but its size, appearance and location were viewed as symbols of status. The home was "plainly visible as a statement of the owner's place in the social hierarchy."<sup>37</sup>

---

34. E. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England 1770-1970: A Historical Study* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1976), 5

35. Thompson, 16.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., 152.

As homes were reflections of class status so were clothing and fashion. For men the basic standard of dress entailed trousers, shirts, jackets and overcoats. Symbols of status were seen in embellishments such as buttons, cuffs, collars and hats. The cut of the sleeve, dress shape, fabrics, bustles and adornments to clothing were viewed as symbols of status in women's dress. According to *Victorian Britain, An Encyclopedia* there were four hundred types of fabrics available to dressmakers and tailors during this period: among them were silk, cotton and cashmere.<sup>38</sup>

Looking at historic architecture and interior design is one way of examining the culture and society of the age in which it was produced. The following two sections discuss early nineteenth-century built structures and interiors. The first section is a discussion of architecture and interiors in general terms, while the next section discusses Gothic Revival architecture as it evolved within the time period.

### **Early Nineteenth Century English Built Structures and Interiors**

An eighteenth-century aesthetic quality, called 'the sublime' was a major influence on built structures in the nineteenth century. According to James Stevens Curl the sublime is

---

38. Helene Roberts, "Clothing and Fashion," ed. Sally Mitchell, *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (New York, NY and London, UK: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 172.

associated with vastness, ruggedness, power, terror, and the ability to stimulate the imagination and the emotions. An exaggerated scale, powerful, massive, unadorned fabric, and gloomy, cavernous repetitive structures would be classed as Sublime.<sup>39</sup>

The sublime, among other ‘romantic’ architectural philosophies, such as the Picturesque, influenced the reawakening of interest in Gothic architecture. Literary arts of the time also had tremendous influence. In the early nineteenth century the books by Sir Walter Scott romanticized the middle ages, drawing “public attention to the romantic side of archæology. It had hitherto been regarded as a formal science. He charmed it into an attractive art.”<sup>40</sup> The direct influence of Scott’s novels on architecture of the time is difficult to measure, but there was certainly an increased interest in things ‘medieval’ as a result of his popular books.

Unlike the phrase ‘Victorian architecture’ suggests, Queen Victoria’s “personal tastes had in fact nothing at all to do with establishing the “Victorian” character of the architecture of her time.”<sup>41</sup> Several architectural revivals took place during the time of Victoria’s reign; Renaissance, Jacobethan, Grecian and Gothic.<sup>42</sup> With such a cacophony of stylistic diversity it is only possible to sort out the major styles here. In their book *Victorian Architecture* Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius discuss a number of Neo-Classical public buildings constructed during the early years of the

---

39. James Stevens Curl, *Piety Proclaimed: An Introduction to Places of Worship in Victorian England* (London, UK: Historical Publications, 2002), 21.

40. Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, ed. J. Mouldant Crook (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1970; reprint 1872), 114.

41. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain. Volume I: Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), 8.

42. Ibid., 13, 16, 17 and 18.

Victorian period. Of importance are the British Museum by Sir Robert Smirke, begun in 1823, but not completed until the 1840s and, what the authors claim is the last important example of revived Greek architecture built in England, Cockerell's Ashmolean Museum and Taylorian Institute at Oxford, begun in 1841 and completed in 1845. Among other reasons, Dixon and Muthesius consider Cockerell's building significant "in spite of its chaste Greek details, [it] is Victorian in its eclectic sources of inspiration, the lively modeling of its façades, and its use of colour."<sup>43</sup> In another example of revived architectural styles of the Victorian period Dixon and Muthesius discuss the Reform Club, which was begun in 1837. The façade of the Reform Club was designed in the palazzo style, or a variation of the Italian Renaissance style. Typical of the original style the "main divisions are the horizontals of the storeys, and the whole is crowned by a massive projecting cornice."<sup>44</sup> The increase in railways during the Victorian period was reflected in a succession of buildings constructed to support this mode of travel. Among them was the railway hotel. Also affected by the railway industry was the development of seaside resorts, and several were built during the nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup>

Thad Logan takes a socio-cultural point of view in his study of Victorian homes. He uses his focus on the Victorian parlor metaphorically as a study of Victorian culture and society in general when he states:

---

43. Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 146.

44. *Ibid.*, 76.

45. *Ibid.*, 78-81.



To study Victorian culture through an analysis of the parlour, to ask what such a room looked like, what it contained, and how it functioned within the system of the home and the larger social world, is to engage with the complex relations between materiality and ideology in a historically specific way.<sup>46</sup>

He considers the parlor as “a kind of synecdoche<sup>47</sup> for that culture itself, a microcosm of the middle-class Victorian world, miniaturized, as if under glass.”<sup>48</sup>

The parlor was the center of the home, both physically and symbolically, and as such it represented two important societal aspects of Victorian life: “the emergent culture of consumerism and the ideology of domesticity.”<sup>49</sup> In *The Victorian Home* Jenni Calder talks about the “typical” middle-class Victorian home and the hierarchy of space within that home. “The typical middle-class urban dwelling of the early Victorian period was likely to be a terrace house, and likely to be relatively new.”<sup>50</sup> She continues to explain that the basic floor plan of the terrace home was not particularly “suited to a modest style of life. To live comfortably in such a house

---

46. Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xiii.

47. *Synecdoche*: “A figure of speech by which a part is put for the whole . . . the whole for a part . . . the species for a genus . . . the genus for the species . . . or the name of the material for thing made,” *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary Of The English Language Unabridged*, ed. Philip Babcock Gove (Springfield, MA: G & C. Merriam Co., 1961), 2320.

48. Logan, xiv.

49. Logan, 23.

50. Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (London, UK: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), 15.

servants were a necessity.”<sup>51</sup> Because the laundry rooms and kitchen areas were situated in the basement of the typically three storey home workers had to trudge many stairs to bring food, laundry and bathing water to the floors above.

Pre-Victorian homes were not cluttered as later Victorian homes would be. “Georgian taste had manifested itself in light colours and clearly defined shapes, in elegant furniture that was not necessarily comfortable, in spaciousness and openness.”<sup>52</sup> Later in the Victorian period furniture and color schemes would become increasingly heavier and darker.

#### Early English Gothic Revivalist Built Structures and Interiors

Ian Sutton offers an answer to the question, “Why Gothic Revival?” when he states “Only one style crossed the line between game and earnest to become a serious alternative to Classicism, and that was Gothic.”<sup>53</sup> An interest in a revived Gothic architectural style began to appear in England as early as the seventeenth century. Many factors influenced this revitalization of medieval Gothic architectural style. Among them was the “craze for archæology.”<sup>54</sup> In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ‘associational’ attachments to Gothic architecture and interest in

---

51. Ibid., 17.

52. Ibid., 33.

53. Ian Sutton, *Western Architecture* (London, UK: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 271.

54. Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 72.

archaeological findings regarding the style helped fuel the revival.<sup>55</sup> Ancient ways had become associated with a glorified past. According to Sutton early nineteenth century ‘Gothic’ novels by Sir Walter Scott and others that fictionalized the Middle Ages were also an influence.<sup>56</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook explains that early nineteenth-century architectural writings and illustrations, especially those produced by John Britton, brought attention to English medieval structures. Britton produced a series of books under the title *Architectural Antiquities* in which he illustrated, with floor plans and measured drawings, medieval structures in England.<sup>57</sup> Although the first four volumes of this *Architectural Antiquities* were published between 1807 and 1814, well before Pugin’s first manifesto on the revival of Gothic architecture called *Contrasts*, Crooks states that “as editor, publisher, and publicist his [Britton’s] influence on the development of the English Gothic Revival ranks with that of A W. Pugin and John Ruskin.”<sup>58</sup>

Nineteenth century English architects were interested in developing a new architectural style that would reflect contemporary English society and imbue in it a sense of nationalism. They looked to a style with roots that could be traced back

---

55. Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and 19<sup>th</sup> Century Architecture* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abram, Inc. 1980), 316.

56. Sutton, 271-272.

57. J. Mordaunt Crook, “John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival,” ed. J. Summerson, *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, Inc., 1968), 110.

58. Ibid., 119.

through their own architectural heritage. Gothic was seen by some nineteenth century architects as a representation of a style that embraced English-ness.<sup>59</sup>

Pugin's awareness of the limitations inherent in copying ancient architecture was apparent when he said "[T]o copy a thing merely because it is old, is just as absurd as the imitations of the modern pagans. Our domestic architecture should have a peculiar expression illustrative of our manners and habits. . ."<sup>60</sup>

### Gothic Revival Ecclesiastical Architecture

By the early nineteenth century church reform and shifts in society from a mainly agrarian state to an urban one were also affecting the foundation of the Anglican Church. It was clear that new churches were needed to serve the growing urban centers, particularly London. In 1818 the Church Building Commission was formed to assist in this endeavor. Nearly two hundred Anglican churches were built as a result of the Building Commission's work in the 1820s.<sup>61</sup> The style of many

---

59. Kenneth Clark in *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* relates, in entertaining fashion, the early arguments surrounding the use of the word "Gothic" as a name for the revival of a medieval design style. In the late eighteenth century the term "Goth" still brought forth association with barbarians and discussion ensued, in architectural and archaeological circles, about the proper term to use. "English" was eventually attached as a more "official and self-assertive" term. "That national feeling, which was the most disastrous consequence of Romanticism, found satisfaction in claiming a national origin for all the arts; and the Napoleonic wars saved antiquarians from the troublesome discovery that the pointed arch existed on the Continent at an early date." It is not known how the "term" Gothic came into, and stayed in, vogue, 75-76.

60. A. W. N. Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London, UK: John Weale, 1843), 11.

Commissioners' churches built from 1818 into the 1840s and 50s was Gothic. This signified a new 'national' style for the Church of England, which had embraced classicism for years.<sup>62</sup> However new the idea that Gothic could represent the modern church nineteenth century church in England seemed, associations between the Gothic architectural style and religion had been made much earlier on. Simon Bradley states that "[m]oreover, a loose but secure connection between Gothic and a religious mood may be traced back well into the seventeenth century. . . ." He also quotes from a work by Milton written in 1632 regarding the experience of walking through an ancient church. These lines were often quoted in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries by historians and architectural writers furthering the association between Gothic and English nationalism. Bradley credits Milton's work as a literary influence on the Protestant minds of the times.<sup>63</sup>

Two important movements, both begun in the early 1830s would affect church-building practices for much of the nineteenth century. One, the Cambridge Camden Society<sup>64</sup> was established in 1836 under the name of The Ecclesiological Society. This

---

61. Andrew Saint, "Anglican Church-Building in London, 1790-1890: From State Subsidy to the Free Market," eds. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian Church-Architecture and Society* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 31-34.

62. Chris Brooks, "Introduction," eds. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian Church- Architecture and Society* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 7-8.

63. Simon Bradley, "The Roots of Ecclesiology: Late Hanoverian Attitudes to Medieval Churches," eds. Christopher Webster and John Elliott 'A Church as it Should Be' *The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence* (Stamford, UK: SHAUN TYAS, 2000), 24-25.

64. The relationship between Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society is discussed in greater depth in Footnote 326.

group was later reestablished as the Cambridge Camden Society in 1846. The Society was dedicated to Anglican religious ideals. “The Ecclesiologists were initially impelled by an antiquarian interest in medieval architecture, but they were also influenced by the need for liturgical reform, on pre-Reformation models”<sup>65</sup> The Society started a periodical called the *Ecclesiologist* in 1841. Through its journal the Society communicated its ideas regarding, among other topics, church building, fully supporting the revival of Gothic architecture as a style to represent the Church of England.

[That] as a practical matter the ecclesiologists and their fellow travelers were so taken up with matters of ritual and architecture, so firmly rooted in Britishness, that uncomfortable and divisive moral and theological concerns, though never ignored, were not the source of their movement’s power and interest.<sup>66</sup>

While the Cambridge Camden Society held sway over ecclesiastical architectural concerns during the early nineteenth century another movement, one begun by Oxford men had already begun its push toward reform in the doctrine of the established church. “[T]he Oxford Society was mostly academic in its activities and did not promote gothic with the same fervour as the Cambridge Camden Society.”<sup>67</sup> Although, as a group, the Oxford Society were not interested in a full revival of Gothic, Cardinal John Henry Newman, leader of the Oxford Movement, was briefly

---

65. Stefan Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870* (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 1

66. James Patrick, “Newman, Pugin, and Gothic,” *Victorian Studies* (Winter 1981): 196. [database on-line]; Ebscohost.

67. James White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologist and The Gothic Revival Movement* (London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 24.

part of a group of Oxford scholars who, in 1839, formed the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. After leaving the group Newman continued his interest in reviving Gothic architecture and in 1840 met Pugin over shared ideals. Although the friendship would end over differing philosophies regarding Gothic architecture as the only means to achieve societal salvation each of these men were, in some part, influenced by the other.<sup>68</sup>

### **Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin**

There have been many resource materials written that offer biographical accounts and chronologies of Pugin's life and his work.<sup>69</sup> Because well-researched accounts of Pugin's life already exist I will give only an abbreviated history of his life. The emphasis will be on his life and activities in Ramsgate, Kent, the location of St. Augustine's.

---

68. Patrick, 185-207.

69. See Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (London, UK: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1971); Michael Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin A Medieval Victorian* (London, UK: Sheed & Ward, 1932); Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A. W. N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin* (London, UK: The Scholar Press, 1978) [Originally published in 1861]; Denis Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival* (London, UK: Hollis and Carter, 1946); Ruth Emery, "Augustus Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1939); Alexandra Wedgwood, ed., 'Pugin in his home' by J. H. Powell (*Architectural History*, 31, 1988), 171-205; Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, eds., *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994); and Nicholas J. Glisson, "Augustus Welby Pugin: The Architect as Liturgist" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1997).

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin was born in London in 1812 and died at his home in Ramsgate on September 14, 1852 at the age of 40.<sup>70</sup> His interest in Gothic architecture was nurtured during his youth as he accompanied his architectural-draftsman and antiquarian father to observe and sketch Gothic architecture in England and on the Continent.<sup>71</sup> Those activities greatly influenced his life-long interest in ancient architecture.

In 1834, when he was twenty-two years old, Pugin converted to Catholicism. His conversion profoundly affected his life and his career; from the time of his conversion forward he devoted himself to the perfection of Christian, specifically, Catholic architecture. An understanding of the Catholic Movement in the early part of the nineteenth century helps to explain the relationship between Pugin's Catholicism and his work.

Being Catholic in early nineteenth century England meant being part of the religious minority. The Catholic Emancipation Act was instated in 1829, when Pugin was seventeen years old,<sup>72</sup> only five years prior to his conversion. One of the major ramifications of the Emancipation Act on Catholic society in nineteenth century

---

70. The exact cause of Pugin's death has not been substantiated but reports claim his end was caused by exhaustion, epileptic seizure, insanity or some combination of those events. According to Hill in her essay "Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin: A Biographical Sketch" ed. Paul Atterbury, *AWN Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival* (New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1995), 31-43, Pugin had been taking mercury for an eye inflammation and it was perhaps the effect of mercury poisoning on top of exhaustion that caused his death.

71. Stanton, *Pugin*, 13.

72. For a discussion of Pugin's Catholic beliefs and their influence on his work see Nicholas J. Glisson's "Augustus Welby Pugin: The Architect as Liturgist."



Britain “involved an alteration in the parliamentary oath, so that Roman Catholics entering Parliament could take seats without having to denounce their religion.”<sup>73</sup>

Pugin was married three times; two wives died and one survived him. He had eight children and some members of future Pugin generations went into architectural careers in their adult lives. During his short but prolific career Pugin designed many churches and secular buildings in various locations throughout the United Kingdom. Although most of his work consisted of ecclesiastical commissions, he was also a designer in the decorative arts. His designs for furniture, stained glass, metal, ceramics, textiles, and clerical vestments<sup>74</sup> were also a reflection of his passion for Gothic, like his churches. Many of these objects were created for ecclesiastical purposes.

One of the most notable secular designs of Pugin’s career was his collaboration with Charles Barry on the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament in London, designed and constructed between the mid-1830s and the 1860s. Fire had destroyed a large portion of the structure in 1834. Barry and Pugin won a design competition in which a prime consideration was the development of a national style. During Pugin’s lifetime there was confusion about the level of his involvement with the project but Alexandra

---

73. Norman, 79.

74. See Paula Johnstone’s *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Leeds, UK: Maney, 2002) for a discussion on Pugin’s ecclesiastical textile and vestment designs.

Wedgwood's recent research into Pugin's diaries shows clearly that he was the sole designer of some aspects of the interiors.<sup>75</sup> John Summerson calls the building "a virtual non-participant in the Victorian story"<sup>76</sup> for several reasons but mainly because the initial design was produced during the Georgian period, predating Victoria's reign by a few years. "Not even the freshness of Pugin's invention in the details could warrant the building as a true child of the Victorian age."<sup>77</sup>

Of particular interest to the present study is Pugin's life in Ramsgate, Kent. It was there on a bluff overlooking the sea that Pugin built The Grange, his family's home, and St. Augustine's, the Catholic church that is the focus of this study.

Rosemary Hill describes Pugin's decision to settle in the seaside town in her booklet called *Pugin and Ramsgate*.<sup>78</sup> The town of Ramsgate had been the home of Pugin's aunt, and when he was young he visited her there often. Pugin did not settle in Ramsgate permanently until the early 1840s after the death of his first wife. He bought the property on which to site his home and his church in 1843. In 1844, after building had begun on The Grange, his second wife Louisa, the mother of five of Pugin's six children at this point, died after a short illness.<sup>79</sup> Pugin was married again in 1848. His

---

75. Alexandra Wedgwood, "The New Palaces of Westminster," eds. Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994), 219-236.

76. John Summerson, *The Architecture of Victorian London* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1976), 5.

77. *Ibid.*, 2.

78. Rosemary Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, 2d ed. (Ramsgate, UK: The Pugin Society, 2004).

79. *Ibid.*, 8.

third wife, Jane Knill, bore him two more children. In 1852 Pugin died at his home The Grange. The cause of his death is not known but it has been surmised to have been related to exhaustion and mental illness.

### Pugin's Works

Augustus Northmore Welby Pugin's architectural training was received as he learned about Gothic architecture and drafting from his father. Augustus Charles Pugin taught drafting students, taking them on excursions around England and Europe to draw and observe various architectural sites. Young Pugin often went along and took a special interest in Gothic detail and later worked in several capacities where he could use his skills. He worked briefly as a furniture designer and designed furniture for use at Windsor Castle and later as a set designer before opening his architectural practice. He collaborated with his father on a set of "pattern" books illustrating Gothic ornamentation and decorative elements. Pugin is best known for his writings and architectural works, mostly ecclesiastical in nature, but he was also the designer of many secular and domestic projects.<sup>80</sup>

### Writings

One powerful way Pugin influenced the architecture of his time was through his writings. In fact, though he designed and built Gothic-styled architecture it is

---

80. See ed. Paul Atterbury's book *A. W. N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995) pages 223-392 for an extensive look at the body of Pugin's design work. This book was the written companion to an exhibition of Pugin's work at The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts in New York during 1995-1996.

perhaps through his written work that his architectural theories and philosophies are most clearly communicated. Michael Bright states, “we should turn to his books for a just assessment of the man and his influence.”<sup>81</sup> Pugin himself admitted to putting more energy into writing about his architectural principles than working on his design projects when he wrote to a friend in 1841, “I . . . turn all my attention to publications on these important subjects, by which true principles m[a]y be inculcated and become generally understood.”<sup>82</sup>

In Pugin’s books, essays and articles he expressed, with passionate conviction, his architectural principles and aesthetic, moral and religious philosophies. Beyond his earlier “pattern” books Pugin wrote and published his first major treatise, exemplifying to English society the importance of reviving Gothic architecture, in the form of a book called *Contrasts or A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*.<sup>83</sup> *Contrasts* was revised and republished in 1841 and was followed in print by his next book, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set*

---

81. Michael Bright, “A Reconsideration of A. W. N. Pugin’s Architectural Theories,” *Victorian Studies*, 22 (1979): 153. [database on-line]; Ebscohost.

82. Margaret Belcher, ed., *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin Volume 1 1830-1842* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 206.

83. A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts and The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (The Pugin Society Edition. Reading, UK: Spire Books Ltd., 2003).

*Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott*<sup>84</sup>, also published in 1841.

*True Principles* was given a “muted reaction” by leading Catholic publications at the time of its release according to Dr. Timothy Brittain-Catlin in his introduction to the 2003 edition. Pugin had, by then, become “a problematic figure, posing difficult questions to Anglican and Catholic builders alike . . .”<sup>85</sup>

Pugin's book *On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*.<sup>86</sup> was published in 1843 as was his *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*.<sup>87</sup> *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification*,<sup>88</sup> his final book, was published in 1851.

It was with the earliest 1836 edition of *Contrasts* that Pugin began in earnest to convey his enthusiasm for reviving Gothic architecture to the public. His message in *Contrasts* is evident on the first page; the architecture of the Middle Ages is far superior to any architecture created since. As the extended title *Contrasts or A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste* suggests Pugin's central motive for writing the book was to contrast examples of nineteenth century ‘pagan’-

---

84. A. W. N. Pugin. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. (London, UK: John Weale, 1841).

85. In the introduction to Pugin's *Contrasts* (2003 edition), i.

86. A. W. N. Pugin. *On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* (Oxford: St. Barnabas Press, 1969). This book, originally published in 1843, consists of two articles Pugin wrote for the Dublin Review. The first articles were published in May, 1841 and the second in February, 1842.

87. Pugin, *An Apology*.

88. A. W. N. Pugin. *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification* (London, UK: Charles Dolman, 1851).

based Neo-Classical architecture with those ‘noble edifices’ of the Gothic persuasion.

Pugin illustrated the book with his own etchings showing side-by-side comparisons, or contrasts, of buildings designed using classical versus Gothic styles. Both secular and ecclesiastical building types are represented. Public inns were one contrasted building form he illustrated. The neo-Classical example features segmented arches, pilasters and columns with Greek orders. The inn built in the Gothic style has undulating bays, tracery and a wide pointed arch defining the doorway. Another illustration shows contrasted college gateways. King’s College Strand, designed in the classical style with a rounded arch gateway is contrasted with Christ’s College Oxford, a Gothic Revival design, featuring pinnacles with crockets. Tracery decorates the windows over a large pointed arch gateway.

At the time Pugin’s contrasting architectural examples were seen by some as a point of contention and by others as a mere whim. “*Contrasts* was too amusing to be made fun of and too accurate in its view of English architecture to be attacked.”<sup>89</sup>

One of the first architectural principles that Pugin expounded upon in his writing was that of ‘architectural truth,’ or the ‘fitness’ between design and purpose. In *Contrasts* Pugin states “It will be readily admitted, that the great test of Architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once

---

89. Phoebe Stanton, “The Sources of Pugin’s *Contrasts*,” ed. John Summerson, *Concerning Architectural Writers and Writings presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (Baltimore, USA: Penguin Books), 123.

perceive the purpose for which it was erected.”<sup>90</sup> Bright calls this paradigm ‘objective Expressionism,’<sup>91</sup> a modern term for Pugin’s early nineteenth century idea: how successfully does the structure communicate its perceived function to the viewer? Pugin’s philosophy was that the principles of ‘architectural truth’ and ‘fitness’ were the foundations on which the ancient Gothic architectural style was based. This was especially true of Gothic churches. According to Pugin, Gothic architects based their church designs on three ‘great doctrines’: the cross, representing the Lord’s sacrifice and man’s salvation; the triangle, which represents the Holy Trinity; and verticality, representing Christ’s resurrection.<sup>92</sup> “When these gigantic churches were erected, each portion of them was destined for a particular use, to which their arrangement and decoration perfectly corresponded.”<sup>93</sup>

Pugin continued to develop architectural principles based on the idea of ‘architectural truth’ in his second book, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, published in 1841.<sup>94</sup> *True Principles* begins with a discussion about ‘pure’ architecture. This principle states that every detail should have meaning or a purpose and that the method of construction should reflect the type of material used.

---

90. A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts: or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, &c. &c. &c.* 2d ed. (London, UK: Charles Dolman, 1841; reprint, New York: Humanities Press, 1973), 1.

91. Michael Bright, *Cities Built to Music* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 114.

92. Pugin, *Contrasts* (1973 reprint edition), 3.

93. *Ibid.*, 35.

94. Pugin, *True Principles*.

Pugin listed two rules for testing excellence in design; first, that no unnecessary architectural elements, structural or ornamental should be used and second, that ornamental detail should be used only for the “enrichment of the essential construction of the building.”<sup>95</sup>

A good portion of *True Principles* is devoted to outlining the merits of using Gothic-style construction details as opposed to using ‘pagan’, classical ones. One example of his ideas on this subject had to do with the virtues of decorating and ornamenting flying buttresses rather than concealing them, as had been done at St. Paul’s in London.<sup>96</sup> Flying buttresses were an important design element that had developed in ancient Gothic architecture as a means to support the ever-higher vertical sidewalls of Gothic cathedrals. According to Pugin’s principle of ‘pure’ architecture exposing the buttressing system was a more honest and truthful way to show how the structure had been built. This line of thought is repeated in *True Principles* when Pugin described the “old English parish church” as “one of the most beautiful and appropriate buildings that the mind of man could ever conceive; every portion of it answered both a useful and mystical purpose.”<sup>97</sup>

Pugin’s *On The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* was originally published as two articles in the *Dublin Review* in 1841 and 1842. The articles were printed together as a book in 1843. In the first article Pugin discusses the importance and symbolism of various parts of a church. He describes the manner in

---

95. Pugin, *True Principles*, B.

96. *Ibid.*, 5.

97. *Ibid.*, 49.



which a church should be sited (with an eastern window in the chancel) and the various internal and external parts of a church. Subsections, such as “Of The Porch” and “Of The Altar” address the need to retain those symbols of Catholic tradition. In the second article of *Present State* Pugin continues his dialogue on the merits of building in the Catholic tradition. In much of the second article he is responding to remarks about literature on church building offered by the Camden Cambridge Society and follows that discussion with descriptions and critical analyses of several churches.

Also published in 1843 Pugin’s *An Apology* continues to carry the message that there is only one true way to build: follow the tenets of ancient architecture. In *An Apology* he lists and explains nine requirements for church architecture, which he calls “canons” and “rubrics.” These are the ingredients, or the basic principles, on which a church should be built; 1) a church should retain the ancient form and division of space, 2) there should be a bell tower, 3) galleries are not permitted, 4) a font must be present and used as originally intended, 5) pulpits are necessities, 6) chancel screens should remain in their original position between chancel and nave, 7) altars should be revived and placed in the eastern window, 8) chairs beside the communion table should be removed and the practice of using a sedilia should be restored and 9) the use of sacred imagery and symbols should be retained.

In *A Treatise On Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification*, Pugin’s final book, he writes about the history of chancel screens and their usage in ancient Catholic ceremony. The book contains many of Pugin’s etchings representing screens found in England as well as the Continent. The

tone of *A Treatise* is similar to his other books in its insistence on using proper ancient elements of church building. To drive the point home he states,

[F]or if any man says he loves pointed architecture, and hates screens, I do not hesitate to denounce him as a liar, for one is inseparable from the other, and *more*, inseparable from *Catholic arrangement in any style*, Byzantine, Norman, Pointed, or debased.<sup>98</sup>

In architectural history fashion he uses personal accounts and historic records to describe important screens in Europe. He also calls for the renovation and restoration of screens that have been altered or removed from their original settings.

## **Architectural Work**

Pugin designed both domestic and ecclesiastical buildings. In the following two sections some examples of his work in both of those architectural realms are discussed.

### *Domestic architecture*

Stanton describes one of Pugin's first architectural achievements at his family home near Salisbury, St. Marie's Grange. Evidently the young Pugin was intent upon building the first modern building built with nineteenth century technologies. "The steep roofs, large tower, pyramidal sacristy roof, bell-cote, and drawbridge composed an architectural ensemble that must have startled the passengers on the coaches

---

98. Pugin, *A Treatise on Chancel Screens*, 3.

passing along the road.”<sup>99</sup> In Alexandra Wedgwood’s essay on Pugin’s domestic architecture<sup>100</sup> she includes photographs of St. Marie’s Grange and reconstructed plans of the home. A watercolor of the interior done by Pugin is also included. It shows a Gothic archway opening from the library into the home’s chapel. Heavy Gothic-styled chairs flank the opening and tracery decorates the lanceted windows in the chapel. The altar displays tall candlesticks and, what seems to be, a cross made of metal.

Important domestic commissions included renovations at Alton Towers for one of Pugin’s principle supporters in his quest for the perfection of Catholic architecture, Lord Shrewsbury, and Scarisbrick Hall, in 1837, for Charles Scarisbrick who had inherited the property. “This was to be the largest single domestic commission of Pugin’s career.”<sup>101</sup> Photographs from Wedgwood’s essay<sup>102</sup> show, in part, Pugin’s renovation replete with heavily carved wood paneling and wide Gothic archways. In some places the carved woodwork is of Pugin’s design while in it has been dated to fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.

Pugin’s own house, The Grange at Ramsgate, Kent, was begun in 1843. This was Pugin’s final home, and it is located on the same property with his church St. Augustine’s. Stanton states that The Grange was not stylistically Gothic but “could never have been conceived without Pugin’s knowledge of medieval domestic

---

99. Stanton, *Pugin*, 15.

100. Alexandra Wedgwood, “Domestic Architecture,” eds. Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994), 43-61.

101. Stanton, *Pugin*, 29.

102. Wedgwood, *Domestic Architecture*, plates 84 and 85.

architecture.”<sup>103</sup> Stanton suggests that The Grange must have been a “livable house” because of the way the house was sited on the property and because of the arrangement of the interior spaces.<sup>104</sup>

### *Ecclesiastical architecture*

Among the many types of ecclesiastical architecture designed by Pugin were churches, chapels, Catholic schools, cathedrals and abbeys. Some of these designs remained in the design stage: on paper but never built. Many of his churches were constructed following his original plans while others were built, but never finished according to plan.

Phoebe Stanton, an architectural historian, having visited most of Pugin’s buildings first hand, includes a chronological listing of all of his buildings, domestic and ecclesiastical, in the back of her book on Pugin’s life and work.<sup>105</sup> In her notes she lists the name of each building, its location and her comments on the type of building being referenced; residence, chapel, hall, church and so forth. She also includes information about the structure: whether or not the building is extant and notes additions and changes made to Pugin’s original plans.

To give an idea of the scope and time frame of Pugin’s church building activity a selected listing of Pugin’s completed churches and their opening dates, or the dates of their construction, are as follows: St. Mary’s, Derby, 1837-1839; Chapel, St. Peter’s

---

103. Stanton, *Pugin*, 165.

104. Ibid., 166.

105. Ibid., 195-209.

College, Wexford, Ireland, 1838; Metropolitan Cathedral Church of St. Chad's, Birmingham, 1841; Holy Trinity, Radford, Oxfordshire, 1841; St. Augustine's, Kenilworth, Warwickshire, 1841-1842; Cathedral Church St. Barnabas and the Bishop's House, Nottingham, 1841-1844; St. Mary's, Brewood, Staffordshire, 1844; St. Giles', Cheadle, Staffordshire, 1846; St. Lawrence, Tubney, Berkshire (church, rectory and school), 1845-1847; Convent of Mercy, Nottingham, 1850; St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, 1845-1850.<sup>106</sup>

One of Pugin's mid-career ecclesiastical commissions was for an order of Cistercian monks at Mount Saint Bernard Abbey in Charnwood Forest, in the English countryside. It was begun in 1840 and consecrated in 1844. Funding for building the Abbey was provided by Catholic supporter Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. Pugin's design closely followed the tenets laid forth by ancient Cistercian architecture: "dignity, stability, and austerity."<sup>107</sup> Pugin designed the plan for the entire abbey, including the church, cloisters, chapter house, scriptorium, library, guesthouse and kitchen. The crossing tower and spire Pugin proposed for the church were never built. Although the building was not completed according to his design due to a lack of funding "it functioned well and the monks were delighted with the finished product."<sup>108</sup>

In Roderick O'Donnell's essay on Pugin's role as a church architect he states "For Pugin the Gothic style was not an option but an historical, moral and religious

---

106. Ibid., 197-208

107. Victoria M. Young, "A. W. N. Pugin's Mount Saint Bernard Abbey: The International Character of England's Nineteenth-Century Monastic Revival." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (Spring 2002): 3. [database on-line]; Ebscohost.

108. Ibid., 5.

necessity, particularly for English Catholics who claimed descent from the church of the Middle Ages.”<sup>109</sup> O’Donnell offers background information and descriptions of many of Pugin’s churches. He claims that two of Pugin’s most famous churches are St. Giles, Cheadle and St. Augustine’s, Ramsgate. Cheadle for its elaborate design and decoration and St. Augustine’s for its “restraint and simplicity, and in the balance between furnishing and structure.”<sup>110</sup>

At St. Giles, with financial support from Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin used pattern and ornamentation with abandon. Patterned ceramic floor tiles run up against patterned wall treatments. Deeply carved altars and screens adorn the interior. Bright colors are predominant throughout. O’Donnell describes the interior by saying:

“The iconographic complexity of the church is overwhelming: the interior really is a ‘text book’ in Shrewsbury’s phrase. There is Shrewsbury heraldry everywhere, and inscriptions in English in the floor tiles, sculpture and glass . . . The rood screen divided the sanctuary, with its alabaster high altar, a sepulcher, sedilia and piscina, from the church . . . Not only the plaster is painted, but also the stone, alabaster and woodwork.”<sup>111</sup>

To underscore the importance of St. Giles as a stylistic achievement Paul Atterbury states, “More than any other building, with the possible exception of the Palace of Westminster, St. Giles represents the complete expression of Pugin’s revived Gothic style in a fully integrated blend of architecture and interior design.”<sup>112</sup>

---

109. Roderick O’Donnell, “Pugin as a Church Architect,” eds. Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994), 65-66.

110. Ibid., 77.

111. Ibid., 76.

112. Atterbury, A. W. N. *Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*, 293.

## St. Augustine's

It is . . . of the greatest interest to see how he [A.W.N. Pugin] interpreted his own 'true principles' in the church which he built himself, next to his own house, lovingly and slowly at his own expense, and dedicated to his patron saint, and in which he and his family are buried. The result is a deeply felt, spiritual building, both strong and beautiful, full of the character of its designer.<sup>113</sup>

A search of the literature found little in the way of scholarly study specifically focused on Pugin's St. Augustine's although many texts mention the church, and some give extensive descriptive information. Two recent booklets, produced by the Pugin Society in Ramsgate, are available. Rosemary Hill's *Pugin and Ramsgate*<sup>114</sup> contains information about Pugin's life in Ramsgate and his family activities and personal connections there. Libby Horner and Gill Hunter's booklet<sup>115</sup> is specifically about St. Augustine's and details its architectural history. One chapter is devoted to descriptions of each separate area within the building; for example, explaining what objects and art works are seen in the cloisters, nave and Lady Chapel. The authors of both booklets use mainly primary resource materials as historical frameworks for their information.

In his book *Pugin: A Mediaeval Victorian* Trappes-Lomax<sup>116</sup> offers an in-depth description of the church and many of its fittings. He uses the writings and

---

113. Libby Horner and Gill Hunter, *A Flint Seaside Church: St Augustine's Abbey Church, Ramsgate*, with an introduction by Alexandra Wedgwood (Ramsgate, UK: The Pugin Society, 2000), ii.

114. Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*.

115. Horner and Hunter.

116. Trappes-Lomax, Michael, *Pugin: A Mediæval Victorian*.

analysis of other writers on which to base his own interpretation. However, it is not clear in his writing whether he personally visited the site to examine the building.

The design and construction of St. Augustine's on his property in Ramsgate, Kent, on the southeastern coast of England, were events of great significance in the life of A. W. N. Pugin. His conversion to Catholicism in 1835 inspired him to create numerous church buildings, but he also had the desire to build a church where he was free from the expectations and demands of commissions and where he could fully express his religious, moral and aesthetic convictions. "In the year 1846, to his own design and at his own expense, Pugin began to build, at a little distance to the east of The Grange [his family home], a church which was to express to the full his ideas on the restoration of Catholic art."<sup>117</sup>

Horner and Hunter list three probable reasons for Pugin's desire to build in Ramsgate: his family ties to the region, the area's connection with his patron saint Augustine (Augustine of Canterbury had landed in the year 597 off the southern coast of England) and his love of the sea.<sup>118</sup> Pugin began building The Grange, on his Ramsgate property in 1843 and shortly thereafter purchased adjoining land on which to build his church, St. Augustine's. Land in Ramsgate was already becoming scarce, and Pugin understood his good fortune to be able to expand his personal enclave.<sup>119</sup>

---

117. Ibid., 249.

118. Horner and Hunter, 14-15.

119. Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, 9.



The church was begun in 1844 and finished, without its spire, after Pugin's death in 1852.<sup>120</sup>

Descriptions of St. Augustine's are found in several books, articles, guides and essays.<sup>121</sup> One of the most detailed and colorful is Horner and Hunter's *A Flint Seaside Church: St Augustine's Abbey Church, Ramsgate*.<sup>122</sup> Their concise guidebook examines many of the interior and exterior features of the church. The authors "walk" the reader around the various sections of the structure, inside and out, using words and pictures to educate the visitor about its many interesting details. Many photographic details and Pugin's own drawings and paintings support the text. The guidebook also offers brief, but comprehensive, histories of the church's conception, construction and many of the church's major ecclesiastical artworks.

The exterior of the church was made from knapped flint, a cut stone found locally. Portions of the structure are banded using yellow sandstone. Pugin also used brick in sections for structural integrity. In J. H. Powell's memoir of Pugin and his work<sup>123</sup> there are details about the construction materials used to build St. Augustine's. He described the church as "a natural growth of the locality, of flints from the chalk

---

120. Horner and Hunter, 18.

121. See Libby Horner and Gill Hunter, *A Flint Seaside Church*; Michael Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin: A Mediæval Victorian*; Roderick O'Donnell, "Pugin as a Church Architect." Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, eds. *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994); Alexandra Wedgwood (ed.). 'Pugin in his home' a memoir by J.H. Powell, (*Architectural History*, 31, 1988.); Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A.W.N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin*. (London, UK: The Scholar Press, 1978), 173-4.

122. Horner and Hunter.

123. Wedgwood, '*Pugin in his home*.'

cliffs, all “napped” to look precious, a sound local stone for windows, piers and coignes was not to be found, so Pugin brought from Whitby the stone he had always admired at the ruins of St. Hilda’s Abbey.”<sup>124</sup>

The entire interior of St. Augustine’s is “faced with random coursed, plain jointed Whitby ashlar.”<sup>125</sup> The interior “impresses by its restraint and simplicity, and in the balance between furnishing and structure”<sup>126</sup> O’Donnell states that the interior is asymmetrical in plan and that the nave windows are randomly positioned and sized.<sup>127</sup> A floor plan illustrating his essay shows only the church portion of the structure, omitting the sacristies and cloister areas. Several photographs of interior details and a photograph of the exterior of the south transept illustrate O’Donnell’s words.<sup>128</sup> One interior photograph shows the original rood screen at the Crossing. O’Donnell explains that this screen has since been removed.<sup>129</sup>

While the window and door placements do add an air of asymmetry to the structure, Horner and Hunter call the floor plan “unusual [for Pugin] for its apparent symmetry.”<sup>130</sup> The floor plan they include in their guidebook shows the entire complex: church and attached cloisters, chapels and sacristies. The interior of the

---

124. Wedgwood, ‘*Pugin in his home*,’ 193.

125. Horner and Hunter, 18-19.

126. O’Donnell, Roderick, 77.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid., 78.

130. Horner and Hunter, 21.

complex is laid out in a regular pattern with visually balanced areas on each side of a central tower. The southern portion of the complex contains the main body of the church. It holds the nave, side aisle and font on the western side of the central tower with the pulpit, chancel and Lady Chapel on the east-facing side. Each of these areas appear to have somewhat similar dimensions.<sup>131</sup>

Benjamin Ferrey, a Pugin family friend, described St. Augustine's as follows:

The church, as it now stands, consists of a nave, chancel, centre tower, south aisles, and transept. Everything about it is truthful. The exterior is faced with flint banded with courses of stone; the oak roofs are covered with ornamental Staffordshire tiles, the walls with ashlar; the chancel and Lady Chapel ceilings are paneled and emblazoned; the floors laid with beautiful encaustic tiles; the altars and tabernacle are elegantly designed and executed in costly materials, the altar being entirely lined with plates of silver gilt, and the rood screen and stalls richly carved in oak. The font and cover are of unusual beauty. The painted glass by Hardman is excellent. Many of the fittings are yet wanting, they not having been completed before his death . . .<sup>132</sup>

In a descriptive passage in her book on Pugin, Stanton describes St. Augustine's as asymmetrical and "richer in its fittings, and more refined"<sup>133</sup> than other works of the time period. She attributes this to the fact that he financed the entire project himself. She writes that John Hardman and George Myers and other craftsmen who were loyal to Pugin and his projects, worked especially hard on the church at Ramsgate because the church was of such a personal nature to Pugin.<sup>134</sup>

Kenneth Clark describes St. Augustine's as Pugin's "favorite" church.

Referring to comments Pugin had written in defense of his devotion to 'pointed'

131. Ibid., 21.

132. Ferrey, 173-4.

133. Stanton, *Pugin*, 137.

134. Ibid.

architecture including hopes that he would someday be allowed to build a church with no restrictions, Clark declares that viewing St. Augustine's "shakes one's faith."<sup>135</sup> It is apparent throughout his chapter on Pugin that Clark does not highly regard the revivalist's architectural work. His negative tone continues with a discussion specifically about Pugin's design for St. Augustine's. "The exterior is undistinguished, the interior crowded; the masses are unco-ordinated, the proportions are bad."<sup>136</sup>

In the end, although the structure was not complete at the time of Pugin's death, several services were performed there during his lifetime: some baptism rituals and a family wedding. Sons Edward and Peter Paul continued working on the church after their father died, but it was never completed according to Pugin's original design.

### Summary

There has been much literature written about the early nineteenth century and the Victorian era and the multiple facets of culture and society during those time periods. The scholarly paradigms of authors on this subject are rooted in various fields: art history, history, the social sciences and the natural sciences. In my search for literature based on my interests in early nineteenth century and Early Victorian society, culture and architectural history I found that the cup overfloweth with information. Even on a topic as narrow as A. W. N. Pugin, the man and his architectural career, there are vast quantities of resources, most emanating from the

---

135. Clark, 134.

136. Ibid., 135.

field of architectural history. What were more difficult to find were focused in-depth studies on his church, St. Augustine's. Short histories and brief descriptions of the church were typically found imbedded within larger works about the architect's life and/or his work, if they were mentioned at all. I found this to be a very interesting phenomenon because, as I pointed out in the section on St. Augustine's, there were several references in the literature about this church having special meaning in the context of Pugin's entire body of work. He, himself, stated its importance in his own writing.

Using four different research methods: a phenomenological approach, the historical method, a modified artifact analysis and the application of a model used for studying the socio-cultural influences on creative individuals I present a clear, well-rounded account of Pugin and his church. These research methods are explained in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER 3

#### RESEARCH PROCEDURE

For my research project I examined the ecclesiastical architecture and interior design work of nineteenth-century English Gothic Revivalist Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. Pugin's own church St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, built on the southeast coast of England, was the principle focus of exploration. St. Augustine's was chosen as the central feature of the study because it is a church that had close personal meaning to Pugin. He not only designed and built it on his own property he used his own funds to support its construction. It was his intention that the church be a reflection of his architectural principles in their purest and most 'truthful' form.

What is being called St. Augustine's in this study is, in actuality, only a portion of the church compound that stands today. One of my initial goals was to include in the study all of the areas of the compound that were finished during Pugin's lifetime. These areas include the church, the north and south sacristies (the oldest sections of the compound), north and east cloisters<sup>137</sup> and the garth.<sup>138</sup> Although I did examine most parts of the compound I chose to focus mainly on the interior spaces and exterior surfaces of the four walls that encompass the church, which includes the nave,

---

137. *Cloister*: "an enclosed court, attached to a monastic or collegiate church, consisting of a roofed ambulatory south or north of the nave and west of the transept around an open garth, the walls (panes) facing the garth constructed with plain or traceried openings (sometimes wholly or partially glazed)." James Stevens Curl, *Piety Proclaimed*, 162.

138. *Garth*: "Open area surrounded by the *ambulatory* of a *cloister*." James Stevens Curl, *Piety Proclaimed*, 167.

chancel, aisle, Lady Chapel, and Pugin Chantry.<sup>139</sup> The north sacristy, north and east cloisters and the garth were examined briefly during my on site visits but were not included in this study due to time limitations and accessibility issues. I did not view the south sacristy during my visit.

Areas also examined but not included in the study were parts of the church compound that were not finished at the time of Pugin's death; the west cloister, the Digby chantry, the altar of the Sacred Heart, the St. Joseph chapel, the spire (which was never completed) and parts of the north cloister. Each of these parts of the compound were finished at later dates by Pugin's sons Edward and Peter Paul, with the larger share of the work done by Edward.

### **Inquiry Paradigms**

To achieve my research goals two scholarly paradigms were interwoven in the final analysis and interpretation stage: architectural history and social sciences. A variety of research methods were incorporated into the study: a phenomenological approach, the historical method, artifact analysis and an existing creativity model that had been developed for the study of creative individuals and their work within a socio-cultural framework.

---

139. *Chantry* or, *chantry-chapel*: a “separate part of a church established for the daily or frequent saying of Masses on behalf of the soul of the founder or founders of the *chantry* or *endowment*. Chantry-chapels were usually enclosed by screens (with or without a *canopy*), and were frequently erected over the burial-place of the founder, so incorporated an altar, reredos, tomb-chest, and effigy . . .” James Stevens Curl, *Piety Proclaimed*, p. 161.

The following is a list of my research questions and the methods I used to examine them:

1. Is St. Augustine's a good 'fit' with Pugin's personal and zealously preached architectural philosophies? The historical method and a modified artifact analysis method were used to examine this question. Referring to Pugin's own written architectural principles and my own on site observations I determined that the design and construction of St. Augustine's was true to his architectural principles. I analyzed the structure and its fittings on site in an attempt to match his words with his actions. Where it was possible I have tied Pugin's principles with the words of Durandus<sup>140</sup>, an ancient writer whose book on the symbolism of churches may well have influenced, at least in part, some of Pugin's architectural principles.

2. How did early Victorian culture and society, the period between the mid-1830s through the 1840s, influence Pugin's design of St. Augustine's? Utilizing a socio-cultural paradigm I looked at the influences of religion, aesthetics and social stratification on the design of St. Augustine's using the historical method, a modified artifact analysis method, a creativity model and the phenomenological approach.

3. Pugin is considered to be a creative individual. How does his design for St. Augustine's reflect his creative abilities? A creativity model, a modified artifact analysis method and the historical method were used to answer this question.

A phenomenological research approach was used during my first contact with the church building. It allowed me to make candid and unencumbered observations about the church before I began a structured analysis of the building and its details.

---

140. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of William Durandus.



The results of this approach are written in the first section of Chapter 4. The observations I made on my initial contact with the church will be interwoven in the conclusion chapter, Chapter 5, of this paper.

Along with notes, photos and videos made on site at the church and in various research locations in England I used written and illustrative sources that were procured through the Oregon State University library and its interlibrary loan system. Many primary and secondary written and illustrative materials on Pugin and his work were available through interlibrary loan. *The Builder*, *British Critic*, *The Ecclesiologist* and *The Rambler* were among the primary resource materials available on microfilm or microfiche. These period magazines contain comments and articles written about Pugin and his architectural work and in some cases they contain articles written by him. Among other materials available through the interlibrary loan system were collections of Pugin's writings, his transcribed diary entries and photographs of Pugin's drawings.

### **Research Methods**

Research in England consisted of making on-site visits to Pugin's St. Augustine's in Ramsgate, Kent and by researching primary written and illustrative resources and extant artifacts at various locations in London, Oxford and at the archives held by St. Augustine's Abbey across the street from the church. The materials available at those locations included original records, extant design works,

photographs, floorplans, sketches by Pugin, written work about Pugin and St.

Augustine's and original volumes of Pugin's writing.<sup>141</sup>

### Phenomenological Approach

My initial method of on-site research at St. Augustine's was phenomenological<sup>142</sup> in nature. While on my first visit to St. Augustine's I made

---

141. On display in the British Galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London were many examples of Pugin's design work. Household objects such as planter boxes and candlesticks were displayed along with jewelry, ceramic tiles, furniture, textiles and wallpapers, all of Pugin's design. Of interest to this study was a cope and hood designed specifically for St. Augustine's. This garment is discussed in detail later in this paper.

The House of Lords Records Office and British Library were also visited in London and I examined original letters and sketches at the Bloxam Archives held by the Fairchild Library at Madgalen College, Oxford.

It was unfortunate that during my research trip to England the Royal Institute of British Architects' Archives and Drawing Collection housed in the National Art Library within the Victoria and Albert Museum were closed for stock-taking. The collection contains many of Pugin's architectural drawings, diaries and other written works, including some correspondence. Other sources, including Archive catalogues, transcribed letters and diaries were available, however, through the interlibrary loan service at Oregon State University. For example, Alexandra Wedgwood's *Catalogue of the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection: The Pugin Family* (London, UK: RIBA, 1977) and her *Catalogue of the Architectural Drawings in the Victorian and Albert Museum: A. W. Pugin and the Pugin Family* (London, UK: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985); Margaret Belcher's *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin, Volume 1 1830-1842* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) and her *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin Volume 2 1843-1845* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Another excellent source of transcribed and annotated writings by and about Pugin is found in Belcher's *A. W. N. Pugin: An Annotated Critical Bibliography* (London, UK: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987).

142. An explanation of the phenomenological approach is found in Francine H. Hultgren's article "Phenomenology: The Pursuit of Meaning in Everyday Life." *Home Economics FORUM* (Spring 1990): 14-17. She describes the phenomenological

casual observations about the exterior of the church and the grounds, to see how it was sited on the property and to note the surrounding landscape. During this portion of the first visit I did not devote any time to detailed observations or to the interpretation of information. I gave myself the freedom to make spontaneous judgments about the building rather than to construe calculated observations. I allowed my personal feelings and emotions regarding seeing the church first hand to come to the surface and be self-acknowledged. I set aside all of my prior knowledge about Pugin and the church, temporarily, while I permitted the encounter to continue from a purely subjective approach.

Later, the same day, away from St. Augustine's, I recorded my first reactions and observations in a personal journal. In the personal journal, which was kept separate from the research journal, I made informal written notes and pencil sketches of the things I saw and experienced as I traveled around the country.

The "research" journal, as opposed to afore mentioned personal journal was where I recorded the data to be used in this study. At St. Augustine's, in particular, I used the research journal to record my observations of the interior and exterior of the building, its design details, construction materials and the finishes of each surface; walls, floors and ceiling. I also used this journal to make rough sketches of design details as I examined various parts of the church. Although the sketches were quickly

---

approach as a means "to allow the knowledge we seek to speak to us through the lived experience rather than through the categorical abstractions of knowledge found in schemas, models, and theories. The human interest comes first, and in listening to that voice we become more aware," 16.

made they helped me be more observant of fine details. I also kept records of photographs and videotape sessions in the research journal.

### Artifact Analysis and Historical Method

Artifact analysis is often used in the study of material culture. Artifact analysis consists of observing and analyzing objects made and used within a given culture as a way of learning more about a culture. Objects are analyzed for their construction material, their use, symbolism and aesthetics, among other properties. Three different artifact analysis models were examined for inclusion in the present study; a brief description of each of those models follows.

#### **Fleming Model**

Fleming's model for artifact analysis was developed from the scholarly paradigm of cultural history. The model emphasizes two types of conceptual tools: a "five-fold classification of the basic properties of an artifact and a set of four operations to be performed on these properties."<sup>143</sup> Classifications include history, material, construction, design and function. The operations performed on each of those classifications are identification, evaluation, cultural analysis and interpretation.

"History" refers to when the object was created, by whom and the location of its creation. "Material" and "Construction" refer to the materials used to make the object and by what means was it produced. "Design" classifies the object by its

---

143. E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 9 (1974): 153-173.

structure, form and style, including ornamentation and iconography. “Function” describes the intended and unintended purposes the object fulfills, its utility and what is communicated by the object. Using the operational procedures listed by Fleming the physical properties of the object are described, the object is evaluated by making comparisons with other similar objects, the object is analyzed according to the culture in which it was produced (What was its function in its own culture?) and finally the object is interpreted by the researcher to suggest its meaning and significance in relation to our own culture.

### **Prown Model**

Jules Prown’s artifact analysis model stems from the field of art history. Prown offers a good definition of what is at the core of artifact analysis: the study of material culture, in other words, the objects made by humans. He states that “[m]aterial culture is the study through artifacts of the beliefs- values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions- of a particular community or society at a given time.”<sup>144</sup> His approach uses three main stages of analysis. The first stage is called “Description” in which the researcher identifies and describes the object, detailing its physical properties, materials and construction methods. In this stage the content of the object is analyzed in what he terms “a reading of overt representations.”<sup>145</sup> The object is then analyzed for its “visual character.” The second stage is called “Deduction” which involves an

---

144. Jules David Prown, “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17 (Spring 1982): 1-19.

145. *Ibid.*, 8.

“empathetic linking of the material (actual) or represented world of the object with the perceiver’s world of existence and experience.”<sup>146</sup> Sensory engagement and emotional responses to the object are elicited from the researcher. How does the object feel? What kinds of emotions does the researcher have in response to the object? What does the object tell us? (Prown offers the example of observing a painting and asks “What time of day it is?” What is the season of the year?”<sup>147</sup>) The final stage of analysis is called “Speculation.” Here the researcher begins to develop hypotheses and theories about the objects. Within this speculative stage the researcher begins to develop a plan for investigating the “questions posed by the material evidence.”<sup>148</sup> At this point external evidence is studied to give a grounded analysis of the object.

### **New Brunswick Model**

The New Brunswick artifact analysis model<sup>149</sup> was developed out of a material culture class project at the University of New Brunswick. Like the Prown model the New Brunswick model has three major stages of analysis: Observable Data, Comparative Data and Supplementary Data. Among the differences between this artifact analysis and that of Prown’s is the dependence on comparative analysis.

---

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., 9.

148. Ibid., 10.

149. S. Smith, “Towards a Material History Methodology,” *Material History Bulletin*, 22 (1985): 31-40.

Following the initial stage of analysis of the object, which includes physical descriptions and information about its material and construction the model suggests using extensive comparison with similar objects, objects created by the same hand or within the general time period in which the object was created. The final stage of analysis, similarly to Prown's, requires the gathering of external data, written documentation about the object, oral histories, photographs and other sources of information about the object.

#### Development of Artifact Analysis Used in the Present Study

For my research I used the basic framework of Fleming's artifact analysis model and an adapted version of an artifact analysis tool used by Kathleen Bryant, a graduate student at Oregon State University for her research on a historic home.<sup>150</sup> I chose Fleming's model as a framework because of his classification and operations systems for analyzing artifacts. The framework allows for several different strategies for analysis beyond the merely descriptive. Specifically, the operation of analyzing artifacts from a cultural point of view was of great interest to me. Fleming's model for artifact analysis and Csikszentmihalyi's creativity model, discussed in the next section, seem to complement each other with focus on culture. My alteration to Fleming's model was the removal of the evaluation operation. Comparative analysis

---

150. Kathleen Bryant, "Talking Back: Voices From an Empty House The Interior Space of the Frantz-Dunn House As Artifact," Master's thesis, Oregon State University, 2004.

did not fit into the general scheme of my study because I was not evaluating Pugin's designs against similar objects or designs from other cultures or time periods.

For her project, Bryant used artifact analysis forms to organize her observations of the interior spaces and objects found within a regionally-based historic home. Bryant developed two forms: one for observations, analyses and interpretations of individual objects and another for observations, analyses and interpretations of individual rooms. Her forms seem to have evolved, in some measure, from Fleming's basic framework, although the format has been changed considerably. I chose to adapt Bryant's forms because her research, like mine, involved interior spaces and objects. I also thought the forms were well organized and could be readily adapted for my analyses of the interior, objects and exterior at St. Augustine's. By adopting and adapting both of these artifact analysis tools for my project I used research instruments based on the solid framework of classifications and operations as laid out by Fleming and Bryant's well organized scheme for observation and note-taking.

After my initial phenomenological encounter with St. Augustine's I began recording detailed observations of the structure and the grounds. I recorded those details in a variety of ways. My research records included informal written notes and sketches in my personal journal (as mentioned previously), notes and rough sketches in the research journal, as well as photographs and videotape with sound. I was given complete access to the church after morning mass each day and visited the building over a three-day period to record information.

The informal written notes and sketches were used for making personal records of my experience. A more formal, logical approach was taken utilizing the research



journal. Although the artifact analysis tool was not used in the traditional sense,<sup>151</sup> it was very helpful for organizing my on-site observations and helped me focus the note and photo taking phase during the data collection period.

Typically, artifact analysis models are organized around the study of a single historical artifact. For my research on St. Augustine's I used the basic structure of an artifact analysis and recorded information about the entire structure as well as some of the objects found within it. The tool I devised allowed me to document an expansive range of perspectives, from broad to detailed.<sup>152</sup>

As I began my formal analysis stage, I approached the exterior of the building from the position of the southeast porch doorway. This side of the building overlooks a cemetery in which many Pugin family members are buried. I traveled around the exterior of the building to the left of the porch and made observations, wrote notes and produced sketches that illustrate various structural details (roof pitch, towers and proportions), construction materials, architectural features, such as windows and doorways, and decorative elements, like constructional banding and tracery. The west side of the church, as will be described in detail later, was not accessible due to overhanging shrubbery so I did not venture far down this wall. I returned to the south

---

151. I did not use the sheets themselves to record information. I found them somewhat cumbersome and adopted a routine of note-taking that took into consideration all of the elements contained in the artifact analysis sheets. Information was recorded in the research journal about every wall, floor and ceiling surface and all of the major decorative components of the church. As stated, photographs and video tapes were taken to make visual records of all the various parts of the building.

152. See appendices A, B and C in the Appendices section.

porch and proceeded to my right down the south wall, around the Pugin chantry, and around the corner to the east wall and back onto the street.

I began my analysis of the church's interior as I faced the interior of the south porch door. I proceeded to my right and made notes in my research journal and took photographs as I moved around the space. Rather than use the artifact analysis sheets in a literal fashion I recorded information directly into my research journal. I made sure to include observations regarding each of the design elements outlined on the form. For example, I recorded information about the pattern and color of floor tiles in each of the different areas of the church, as well as general information about every stained glass window, how many lights they contained and the focus of the story being portrayed. I also included information about carvings on the walls and various pieces of furniture and ecclesiastical objects that were found throughout the church. Video tape was also made of the church and its fittings. Both interior and exterior details were included in the videotaping sessions. All of the data I collected on site is summarized, discussed and analyzed in the "Results" chapter in this paper.

### Historical Method

Primary resource materials, including extant artifacts, along with secondary sources were examined during the course of this study. Extant artifacts included the church and its fittings and artifacts related to the church located in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. I read Pugin's own words regarding his architectural philosophies in his works, *Contrasts*, *An Apology*, *True Principles* and *Present State*, as well as his book *A Treatise on Chancel Screens*. I also read the work of other architectural writers to determine Pugin's place in the domain of nineteenth-century

architecture and his place within the field of Gothic Revivalism. Through both primary and secondary means I examined Pugin's sketches and illustrations in which his design ideas for the church were represented. Although many of Pugin's original sketches were not available to me because of the temporary closure of the reading rooms of the Royal Institute of British Architects library at the Victoria and Albert Museum during my visit to London, I obtained copies of two original sketches of the church for inclusion in this paper. I examined one sketch at the Bloxam Archives held by the Fairchild Library, Madgalen College, Oxford. This sketch was part of a letter Pugin had written to his friend The Reverend R. Bloxam. At my request this sketch was photographed by a professional photographer and the photograph was sent to me. The other original sketch included in this paper was referenced in a secondary source and was also part of a letter by Pugin. In the letter he described his ideas for St. Augustine's to Bishop Thomas Griffiths. Correspondence between Griffiths and Pugin is held by the Westminster Diocesan Archives in London. I requested a photograph of the original sketch and my request was granted by the archivist there, who graciously took a digital photograph of the sketch on my behalf.<sup>153</sup>

---

153. A photograph of another sketch of the church was found in the archives at St. Augustine's Abbey in Ramsgate. I did not include that sketch in my research because I knew I would not get a clear image from the photo nor did I have any information to substantiate its provenance.

One the most complete and beautiful illustrations of St. Augustine's is a bird's-eye view of the entire property done in pencil and watercolor by Pugin in 1841-49. The painting is held in a private, most likely family, collection and is not available for viewing. Photographs of the painting appear in Horner and Hunter's book *A Flint Seaside Church*, on the page facing page 1. It also appears on page 340 in *A.W.N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival* edited by Paul Atterbury, color plate 98.

In the center of the painting is a representation of the church and Pugin's home, The Grange, from an aerial perspective, surrounded by farmland that used to

### Csikszentmihalyi's Creativity Model: A Basis for Data Collection and Analysis

Using Csikszentmihalyi's most recent model of a "systems approach" to creativity research (See Figure 1) I examined the influences of society and culture on Pugin's work. This framework helped organize resource materials into the three main systems used in the study of creativity in individuals as outlined by Csikszentmihalyi's tripartite model: domain, field and individual.

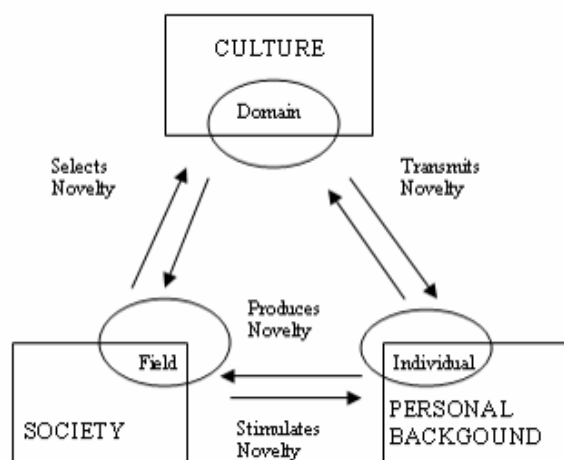


Fig. 1. A systems view of creativity.<sup>154</sup> (Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press. See Appendix J, page 222.)

The three systems shown in the model are placed in a triangular format with domain forming the top of the triangle and field and individual taking positions at the

---

envelop the property. The painting is exquisite in its detail. The central images are surrounded at the top and side edges by small painted scenes showing various parts of the interior and exterior of the church and other buildings on the property. Each small rectangular painted vignette is set off by narrow bands of floral patterns. These appear as paintings within a painting. In them Pugin has included detailed images of the nave, an exterior view of the north sacristy with the bell tower, a view from the garth and a complete floor plan of the church.

154. From Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, "Implications of a Systems Perspective for the Study of Creativity," ed. Robert J. Sternberg, in *Handbook of Creativity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 325-339, Figure 16.1.

bottom left and right of the triangle. In an earlier publication of a similarly constructed creativity model Csikszentmihalyi explained that starting points along the triangle are arbitrary because one component leads directly to another and are “dynamic links of circular causality.”<sup>155</sup> In describing the relationships between the basic components Csikszentmihalyi states:

The individual takes some information provided by the culture and transforms it, and if the change is deemed valuable by society it will be included in the domain, thus providing a new starting point for the next generations of persons. The actions of all three systems are necessary for creativity to occur.<sup>156</sup>

The purpose of Csikszentmihalyi’s model is to help define the cultural, societal and personal background of the creative person under study so that the work they produce can be better understood in relation to its time and place. In the later version, of which Fig. 1 serves as an illustration, the model includes a series of suggested questions that support the researcher’s focus on specific cultural, societal and personal background systems that are considered keys to allowing (or disallowing) creative activity to flourish during the time period under study. The questions range from ones about the means of storage of information and the accessibility of information within a culture to questions about the value of creative thought within society. Other questions relate to the personal background of the individual and ask, among other things, about the level of support given to the creative person by family members. The questions

---

155. Csikszentmihalyi, “Society, Culture, and Person,” 329.

156. Ibid.

also delve into the individual qualities of the creative person to reveal how personality characteristics can influence creative activity.

In the more recent version of his creativity model Csikszentmihalyi describes “domain” as the influence of culture on creativity. Csikszentmihalyi’s explains that “fields” are “made up of individuals who practice a given domain and have the power to change it.”<sup>157</sup> The “field” component was examined using literature written about the social milieu in which Pugin worked, those that describe early nineteenth century architects and interior designers and their work. Research gathered for “domain” was obtained through an examination of primary and secondary sources regarding cultural influences on architecture and design such as religious beliefs and overriding aesthetic theories with a discussion of architectural design styles that were considered fashionable during Pugin’s career. The “individual” refers to the creative person being studied. I used information gathered from primary and secondary sources about Pugin’s life to create a sense of Pugin the man. Also of importance to the field-domain-individual relationship is the influence of symbols on architectural design of this time period. Symbols used by Pugin in the context of his work are also examined using artifact analysis and the historical method.

Csikszentmihalyi’s definition of culture is as follows: “. . . creativity presupposes a community of people who share ways of thinking and acting, who learn

---

157. Csikszentmihalyi, “Implications of a Systems Perspective For the Study of Creativity” ed. Robert J. Sternberg *Handbook of Creativity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 313-335.

from each other and imitate each other's actions."<sup>158</sup> He uses the term "memes" or "units of imitation" from Dawkins (1976) to refer to the way we learn. "Memes" contain information about how to take action. Like genes that are passed from one generation to the next "memes are transmitted through learning."<sup>159</sup> Cultures are "systems of interrelated domains."<sup>160</sup>

Csikszentmihalyi's questions and hypotheses regarding the connection between culture and the incidence of creativity are as follows:<sup>161</sup>

1. How is information stored (orally, written records, etc.)?
2. How accessible is the information?
3. How available is the information?
4. How differentiated is the culture (how many separate domains such as religion, philosophies and mathematics does it contain)?
5. How integrated is the culture? The more integrated the culture, the more relevant an advance in one domain will be to the culture as a whole. This may make it more difficult for an innovation in any one domain to be accepted, but once accepted, it will be diffused more readily.
6. How open is the culture to other cultures? The more exposed the culture is to information and knowledge from other cultures, the more likely it is innovation will arise.

---

158. Ibid., 316.

159. Ibid., 316.

160. Ibid., 317.

161. Ibid., 318.

Within the framework of culture lies “domain.” Csikszentmihalyi defines domain as: Mathematics, music, religion, and so forth. “[W]ith time, a domain develops its own memes and system of notation.”<sup>162</sup> The following are the questions and hypotheses he links with determining how the domain potentially affects the incidence of creativity:<sup>163</sup>

1. How is information recorded?
2. How well integrated is the information in the domain- if the information is very tightly integrated, it might be difficult to change it; but if it is too loosely organized, it will be difficult to recognize valuable innovations.
3. How central is the domain to the culture? At different times, one or another domain will take precedence in the culture (e.g., religion in the Middle Ages, physics in the early part of the twentieth century), and it will attract the more talented minds to it, thereby making creativity more likely.
4. How accessible is the domain? When because of accident or planning a domain becomes identified with an elite, it becomes more difficult to introduce innovation within it.
5. How autonomous is the domain from the rest of the culture? At different times, one domain may achieve hegemony over the others (e.g., religion or politics over arts or the sciences), in which case it is more difficult to produce variations in the subordinate domain.

---

162. Ibid., 319.

163. Ibid.



Csikszentmihalyi defines society as “the sum of the individuals in its interrelated fields”<sup>164</sup> and his questions and hypotheses concerning society’s influence on the incidence of creativity are as follows:<sup>165</sup>

1. Is surplus energy available?
2. Does society value and encourage creativity?
3. Is the social and economic organization conducive to change?
4. How much mobility and conflict is there?
5. How complex is the social system?

Field is defined as “individuals who practice a given domain and have the power to change it.”<sup>166</sup> Csikszentmihalyi proposes that examining the following questions and hypotheses might reveal how field influences creativity in individuals:<sup>167</sup>

1. Is the field able to obtain resources from society?
2. Is the field independent of other societal fields and institutions?
3. How much does the domain constrain the judgments of the field?
4. How institutionalized is the field?
5. How much change does the field support?

---

164. Ibid., 321.

165. Ibid., 322.

166. Ibid., 321.

167. Ibid., 325.

Issues related to the influence of personal background are listed next in the model. Csikszentmihalyi's questions probe into the creative person's childhood and their development within the family unit. Hypotheses in this section attempt to link a familial and community support system, or lack thereof, with the creative individual's level of self confidence, willingness to experience new things and their ability to express themselves creatively.<sup>168</sup>

1. Do the family and community have surplus energy available?
2. Is there a tradition of respect for learning and culture in the child's environment?
3. Is the family able to introduce the child to a domain?
4. Is the family able to connect the child with the field?
5. Do early conditions support conformity or innovation?

The last section of the model deals with the creative individual's personality traits and innate talents. Theoretically, if a person has the particular set of traits, as found in the questions and hypotheses Csikszentmihalyi sets forth, they will be more likely to think in novel ways and make creative products:<sup>169</sup>

1. Does the person have special talents?
2. Is the person curious, interested, intrinsically motivated?
3. Is the person a divergent thinker interested in discovery?

---

168. Ibid., 329.

169. Ibid., 330.

4. Does the person have the relevant personality traits? To be able to innovate successfully, a person needs to have appropriate traits – which may vary depending on the field and the historical period. In general, one must persevere and be open to experience, as well as adopt apparently contradictory behaviors.

### **Summary**

The use of several research methods enabled me to look at Pugin's design at St. Augustine's through a variety of scholarly lenses. The church was initially examined using a phenomenological approach, used in social science applications to allow the observer to 'experience' knowledge rather than rely on more developed or 'rational' experimental systems. This phase let me get to know the church before I started collecting data for analysis. The historical method was used throughout the study as a means of data collecting before, during and after my on-site visit to the church. Resources from the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries were utilized to help formulate a sense of Pugin's place in history and determine the influences of culture and society that may have had an affect on his design for St. Augustine's church in Ramsgate. The artifact analysis approach was modified to permit me to make on-site observations regarding construction and design details at the church. This approach was modified because I was not conducting an artifact analysis, per se, but simply using the tools involved with that approach in order to collect the data necessary to determine if Pugin was true to his own architectural principles. A model developed to establish links between the influence of culture and society on creative individuals was also used.

Using a number of research methods in one study had advantages. I was able to utilize the data collection, analysis and interpretative tools required in each of those methods in order to examine multiple perspectives regarding Pugin and his design at St. Augustine's. The varied perspectives added depth to this study that may not have developed otherwise.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

#### **St. Augustine's: First Impressions<sup>170</sup>**

I arrived in Ramsgate during the mid-evening hours of September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2005 after driving up England's southeast coast through towns such as Hastings, Dover and Sandwich. My first experience with St. Augustine's was during my search for my accommodations in town. As I attempted to follow directions to the bed and breakfast, in the growing darkness, I unknowingly drove past the church several times. After several trips around what I had begun to think was some sort of fortress or a walled compound, consisting of several buildings surrounded by a dark stone wall, I realized that the buildings were actually Pugin's St. Augustine's and his home, The Grange. There are roads to the south, east and north of the property, and I'd been around various sides of the compound several times before I recognized the church. Eventually, in the darkness, I recognized the dark walls of the church with their light-colored banding, the bell tower and the dark entryway.

It is the north wall of the church that is most visible from St. Augustine's Road, the main road that lies to the front of the property. This long wall has few distinguishing features. I'd remembered from pictures I'd seen that the street-facing

---

170. As stated in the methods section, a phenomenological approach was utilized on my first encounter with the church. This research method allowed for an intuition-based initial interpretation of the church building and its setting. Beginning my research using a phenomenological approach meant that I could record my personal perceptions of the church before I began my analysis of the church.

wall and entrance to the church were rather austere. I also knew, generally, where the church was situated in relation to the rest of the town and that the church overlooked the ocean, which was nearby. The road on the south side of the property is at a lower grade than the church building and marks the end of the long churchyard. As a result, the building is barely visible (if visible at all) from that angle.

My first daylight experience with St. Augustine's Church occurred the next morning as I walked up St. Augustine's Road from the east and could see the roofline of the church and its bell tower. The road near the church is very busy with car and foot traffic. It is an uphill walk from the town center to the church from this direction. The bell tower of the church is visible for quite a distance up the road. See Figure 2.



Fig. 2. St. Augustine's in the distance on the left, walking west on St. Augustine's Road, Ramsgate.

Walking closer I noticed that all the buildings directly surrounding the church looked very much alike. They were made from similar construction materials, what appeared to be dark round stones with light warm-hued tan-colored banding at regular intervals. One gets the feeling that they were all built at the same time. They seem to belong to each other. The first of these buildings I walked past on my left was set back from the road slightly and had the appearance of an institution of some kind; I didn't recognize it. The building seemed too large and imposing to be a house, and I knew from its physical features that it was not Pugin's house, The Grange. Across the road was what I knew from the literature to be St. Augustine's Abbey. The Abbey was situated behind a tall wall made from whole, round stones. The only visible entrance to that building from the main street was a large pointed arch doorway with a large double wooden door decorated with metal strap work.

Directly across the road from the Abbey, and to my left, is St. Augustine's Church. As I stood next to it the church building felt a little off-putting on first impression; it looked somewhat foreboding because the building material is dark and of one basic type this wall felt very "solid" in appearance. There are some variations in this wall; it is not completely void of ornamentation. One area of interest is the bell tower that stands near the east end of this wall and was one of the first parts of the church someone walking up the sidewalk approaches. Beside it, to the east, was what I knew was the north sacristy. If these two forms stood alone they would have looked like part of a small church. See Figure 3.



Fig. 3. Northeast corner of the church showing the north sacristy and the bell tower.

A large stained glass window pierces the wall of the sacristy. The window was situated higher than eye level so was not completely noticeable as I stood beneath it. Under this window is a single plain pointed arch-shaped wooden door. But, because it was dark and recessed only slightly it didn't draw a lot of attention to itself. The wall to the west of this area, on the other end, was solid stone with no breaks or ornamentation for about fifty feet, or so, until I saw the main entrance to the church. See Figure 4.





Fig. 4. Low north wall between bell tower on the left and entrance on the right, fronting St. Augustine's Road.

The entrance was marked by an ornate deeply carved stone archway with double wooden doors shaped into a pointed arch. The doors have ornate iron strap work at the hinges, and there was a center door pull. Above the entryway were large carved stone statues set in niches on the façade. The area around the doorway was pushed out slightly from the main wall and formed a soft triangular shape with this area of the wall coming to a point around the statues. The edges of the doorway wall were lined with irregular light-colored stone, as was the lower portion of the doorway. The section of wall was topped by a stone cross. It isn't what would be considered a grand entrance, but because this area had been set apart from the main wall in so many different physical and visual ways--by being pushed out away from the main wall, having the area's edges lined with light stone and because of the interesting overall shape of the wall--the entry quickly caught my attention as I eyed this segment of the building. See Figure 5.



Fig. 5. Entry area on St. Augustine's Road, or north side.

Even though the entry area adds interest to this side of the building, along with stained glass window and tower base at the eastern end, an overall quality of impenetrability remains. I had the distinct feeling that I was meant to stay on my side of the wall. The solid-ness of this wall took me by surprise. My mental images of the church had been more closely tied to the opposite side of the building, the south side; the angle from which most photographs of the church are taken.

On closer examination the exact constitution of the construction material of the exterior of the church became more evident. What at first glance looked like the round ends of black glass bottles positioned in rows up the wall was actually the dark, glossy exposed interior of a round rock. "Knapped flint" is the term used by architectural historians when they've described the construction material from which the church is

made. It appeared that round flint rocks had been roughly chopped in half and then placed in even rows up each wall. Little, if any, grouting material was visible. Around the rim of each stone was the light outer layer of the natural flint stone. This thin, light-colored outer layer served to accentuate the darkness of the knapped flint. See Figure 6.



Fig. 6. Close-up view of the “knapped” flint construction material.

The physical texture of the stones, in places, was razor sharp. The cut stones had not been planed or smoothed out. The marks where the cutting tools hit the stone were highly visible. The result was a surface that shimmered in the sunlight. It reminded me of the black, shiny, glass-like obsidian rock that is prevalent in the lava beds of eastern Oregon. The rows of knapped flint were interrupted at regular intervals up the walls by bands of lighter, warm-colored sandstone. This stone had a regular, sandy texture and was in great contrast to the dark flint. The total effect was very visually satisfying. It was the intriguing construction materials, rather than the form of

the building that first attracted my attention. The form of the church was simple in structure from this angle and played a secondary role to the extraordinary materials it was built with. The roughness of the construction material gave the church a rustic, “hand-made” appearance because the “hand” of the stone mason was so evident in each of the exposed stones.

The entire north side of the church, on St. Augustine’s Road, was fronted by concrete sidewalk. Beyond the sidewalk was the road. The walls of the Abbey on the opposite side of the road and the road and sidewalk together with the wall of the church take on a unity of form. All are solid in form, darkly colored and uncompromised by much decoration. This continuity of dark solid surfaces lends a sense of enveloping mystery to the setting.

Standing in the entryway to the church I had to think a little bit about how I might be able to get in. Even though the carved stone entry area was an obvious opening into the building, the building itself seemed impenetrable. The large double wooden doors at the entry were decorated with heavy metal strap work and large bolts. Near the center of the door was a round door pull, but there was no doorknob. Turning and pulling on the door pull did not open the door; it was locked.

Knowing from the literature that Pugin’s intended “main” entrance to the church is located on the south side I walked back down the sidewalk to a gate near the east end of the building that read “St. Augustine’s Cemetery” and down a dark path along that side of the building. See Figure 7. At the gate I could see that the path led toward the back of the building. From the east side of the church I got a sense of the height of the roofline and the various changes in pitch where the roofline delineates

the different areas of the church's interior: sacristies, cloisters, chancel and aisle. But, because my purpose on this initial visit was to "experience" the building and not to examine it I didn't stop and inspect the exterior of the building very closely here.

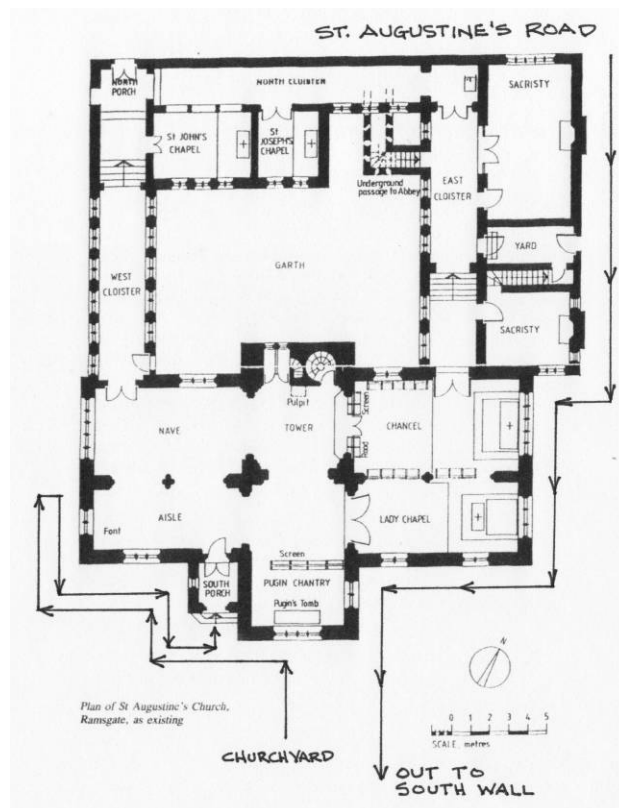


Fig. 7. Map showing the direction of travel around the church on my initial visit. (Used by permission of St. Augustine's Church, Ramsgate. See Appendix G, page 218.)

I walked down the path to the south end of the church and into the sun-lit cemetery. The path turns at the corner of the church building on my right. Coming out from under the trees at this point I could clearly see the ancient gravestones standing at odd angles in the slightly wild-looking grass that surrounded and enveloped the churchyard. I was very aware of openness to the sky here. The view from the north edge of the churchyard, near the church building, is completely open to the sky. It was



a bright and sunny day. In the distance there was a light, fuzzy fog. The light, airiness on this side of the building added to a sense of discovery. The shade of the trees felt tunnel-like and the lightness and airiness at the end of the path seemed to be leading me to my destination. See Figure 8.



Fig. 8. View around the southeast corner of the church.

I could see through a line of large shrubs out in the center of the churchyard blocking a full view out to the sea from where I was standing, that there was a low stone wall at the far south end of the property. I walked past the shrubs and through more of the churchyard, filled with grave markers, to stand at the wall. Just over the wall I saw a paved roadway that, most likely, did not exist in Pugin's time; certainly not in the form it is today. Beyond this road and further down the cliff is a fairly recent

addition to the landscape; a major port for ferries to the European continent. I was looking out over Pugin's beloved ocean. See Figure 9.



Fig. 9. View from south wall of the churchyard out to the ferry port and the English Channel.

The modern mechanisms of the ferry terminal stand in direct opposition with the quiet peacefulness of what was once Pugin's country outpost. Somehow, I think Pugin would have approved of the new technology as he had a great affinity for the sea and traveled to the Continent many times during his lifetime. If this convenience had been available to him I'm sure he would have made good use of it.

Turning around to view the church property I notice that to my left stands The Grange, the home Pugin built for his family. I had not expected it to be so large and bulky. It seems square and somewhat awkward. This assessment might be a reaction to the large square disproportionately-sized tower on the northeast side of the house.

From this viewpoint, in the churchyard, it was somewhat possible to compare the two buildings as they stood side-by-side, although, trees and shrubbery screen a full view of the house from this vantage point. At first glance The Grange seemed remarkably dissimilar in appearance to the church. The house has Gothic-style design elements, such as stone construction, crenellated rooflines, a square tower and steeply pitched rooflines but was built with smooth, light-colored stone rather than the dark roughness of the construction materials used on the church. Part of the roofline of the house is heavily pitched while the top edge of the large tower is crenellated. Despite the light color of the construction material the house seems heavy and bulky in contrast to the church. Perhaps it is the large number of small rectangular windows or the many different roof lines and chimneys that adds a sense of confusion. Although much of The Grange was covered in scaffolding and layers of protective plastic at the time of my visit the essential form of the house was evident.<sup>171</sup>

The house had few, if any, pointed arch forms; the windows and doorways were all rectangular with frames of irregular flat stones. The lightness of the construction material and horizontal qualities of the house were in contrast to the darkness and vertical emphasis of the church. It was, at first impression, a startling juxtaposition of forms. See Figure 10.

---

171. There has been a recent effort by the English Landmark Trust to fully renovate The Grange to its original state and it has now been reopened for public use.





Fig. 10. The Grange, under renovations, as seen from the churchyard.

After seeing the house from different angles I began to notice the similarities between it and the church. The tower on each building mimics the other in size and shape. The pitch of each roof seemed quite similar, although St. Augustine's was taller. The stone construction of each building added a feeling of weight and permanence; these buildings were built to endure.

As I walked back through the churchyard, away from the wall and past the shrubs, I got my first exposure to the whole south side of the church. See Figure 11.



Fig. 11. Full view of the south side of St. Augustine's.

Looking at the full view of this side of the church registered a completely different feeling in me than the one I'd experienced on the impenetrable, fortress-like north side. The view of the church from the south side felt welcoming and light. This was the exact view I'd seen in photographs. The building was surrounded by greenery; shrubs and trees overhang the east end, particularly the west end, and the grassy area of the churchyard was nearby. It is difficult to determine whether Pugin intended for the west side of the building to be so obscured by shrubbery. Pugin's drawings and paintings of the scene, or his vision of the scene, do not show bushes here. One can assume that in the intervening years the greenery on this side of the church has been somewhat disregarded. A watercolor painting made by Pugin between 1841 and 1849,

shown in Horner and Hunter's book *A Flint Seaside Church*<sup>172</sup>, shows little, if any, shrubbery or trees in the landscape nearest the church. The Grange has not had occupants for many years, and with no one going back and forth between The Grange and the church from this direction on a regular basis nature seems to have been left to take her course.

St. Augustine's was solid-looking from this side but seemed more like a large decorated house than the fortress-look of the north side. A small porch looked inviting as if encouraging visitors to find the door and come inside. There were large windows with deep stone tracery all along this wall that kept the eye moving from one to the next. The height of the roof was seen from here, and its pattern of tiles also added liveliness to the view.

There was a significant portion of the wall at the mid point in the south wall that jutted out several feet toward the churchyard. I recognized this as the outer walls of the Pugin chantry<sup>173</sup>; part of the transept.<sup>174</sup> The south wall of the chantry rose to a steep point topped with a cross. To the left of the chantry was the southwest porch, mentioned above, which Pugin intended to be the main entrance to the church. The porch was recessed slightly from the chantry and had a shed roof, lower on the west

---

172. Horner and Hunter, page facing page 1.

173. *Chantry*: "An endowment to provide for the chanting of masses. A chantry chapel was a small chapel devoted to the saying of masses for the dead. Most chantry chapels were in abbeys, cathedrals, and the grander churches in which it was considered a privilege to be buried, and thus were often over or attached to the grave of the person who provided the endowment." James Stevens Curl, *English Architecture: An Illustrated Glossary* (London, UK: David & Charles, 1977), 46.

174. *Transept*: "The transverse portion of a cruciform church; the arms on either side of the crossing." Ibid., 176.

side and higher on the east, that met the west wall of the chantry at a pitch similar to the roof pitch above the chantry. This was a nice continuation of line for the eye. I was visually drawn to the porch with its dark arched opening, but its roofline brought the eye back upwards to meet the pitch of the chantry roof, up to the cross at the roof peak and beyond, presumably to the heavens. See Figure 12.



Fig. 12. The southwest porch.

The little porch added an asymmetrical quality to the south wall because it broke the symmetry of the evenly spaced chantry and the position of the truncated spire above it. Deep within the recesses of the porch was a single wooden pointed arch-shaped door. The door is ornamented with iron straps that look like stylized

branches with tre-foil decorative elements at each terminus. There is a pair of large, dark outer doors here as well, presumably to protect the inner door from the weather. The under side of the roof of the porch is made of wooden planks supported by wooden beams.

The porch had a warm and inviting quality to it. Once inside the covered area I felt like I was being connected and welcomed into the building. I thought ‘It may let me in after all’ but after trying the doorknob, alas, the door here was also locked. Stone benches line either side of the space and a small niche, or stoup,<sup>175</sup> is carved into the east wall. A stone-framed opening at eye level pierces the west wall and allows light in. It seemed to be a fine spot of refuge from which to view the prospect of the churchyard. See Figure 13.

---

175. *Stoup*: “A vessel for holding consecrated water placed near the entrance to a church, usually in a simple niche, or cantilevered out. It is also called a holy-water stone.” James Stevens Curl, *English Architecture*, 162.





Fig.13. Detail of the southwest porch doorway.

After spending a few minutes looking at the south façade I became aware of some of the details. All of the window frames and the frame to the porch doorway were carved stone in pointed arch shapes. At the springing of every arch, where vertical line meets arching line, there was a small stone carving. Each carving was different from the next. For example, at the entrance to the porch there was a “green man” image on the left side of the archway and a carving of leaves on the right side. See Figure 14 and Figure 15.



Fig. 14. Sketch of the “green man” carving at the entrance to the southwest porch.



Fig. 15. Example of a leaf carving in the molding at the springing of an exterior window arch.

There were four stained glass windows lining the south wall, including a large four-light window, or four adjoining lancet windows, adorning the chantry. There was one triplet, or three-light, window on the west end of the wall and two couplets, or

two-light windows, on the east end. That variety, the windows in different sizes and styles on either side of the centrally located chantry, added to the asymmetrical feeling on this side of the church.

Looking at the south wall I could see the height of the building. The base of the truncated, unfinished spire was situated on the ridgeline over what on the interior was an area between the nave and the aisle. The ridgeline formed an almost horizontal line that ran across the length of the building. The height of the east end of the building is slightly taller than the west end. The base of the unfinished spire looks stark and unnatural; like something started and never finished, which, of course, was exactly what it was. Every time I looked at it my mind's eye tried to make it whole; to finish it off with a proud, tall spire reaching high above the church. But, instead it continued to look like a huge square building block set on top of the structure with no identifiable purpose. To view one version of Pugin's intended spire see Figure 16.



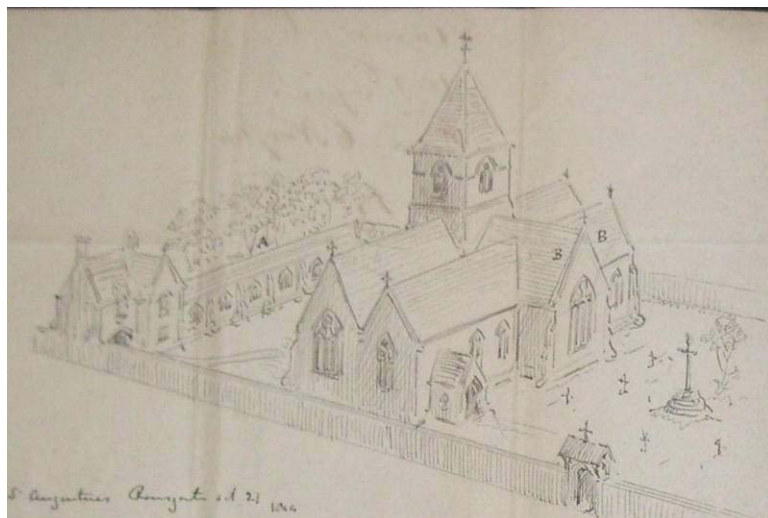


Fig. 16. A 1844 sketch by Pugin of the exterior of St. Augustine's.<sup>176</sup> (Used with permission from the Westminster Diocesan Archives, London, UK. See Appendix F, page 216.)

The overall height of the roof was more evident from the southern viewpoint than from the street side of the church. The entire church was roofed with iridescent dark-colored slate tiles. See Figure 17.

---

176. The sketch in Figure 16 was drawn by Pugin within a letter he sent to Bishop Thomas Griffiths on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1844. The letter is held in the Westminster Diocesan Archives. In the letter, Pugin describes his intentions regarding the construction of the church.



Fig. 17. A close-up view of roof tiles stacked in the garth.

The tiles seemed to be more a part of the overall design from this angle than they did from the north side because the visible surface area of roof was much greater from this angle. The square corners of each tile had been lopped off, and the tile course patterns varied at regular intervals up to the ridgeline. Along the ridgeline there were carved crocket-like details that ran the length of the building, and small crosses are visible at each end of the nave/chancel section of the church.

As I walked around the building to observe the west end I noticed that this end was situated very close to a stone wall that separated the church from the building next door. Trees and tall shrubs obscured much of the view to this end of the building. What I could determine about the exterior here was that this was the outer wall of the west cloister and the west end of the nave and aisle sections. There are several stained glass windows along this wall and again, each one had a carved frame of stone with

varying carvings at each arch springing. I wondered if it was in Pugin's plan to conceal this end of the church with plantings or if nature had simply taken over and was left to her own devices. I didn't venture down this wall very far.

My eventual entrance to the church was gained by going back down the path on the east end of the church to the gate leading to the sidewalk and crossing the road to the Abbey. I was guided in this task by an individual I met in the churchyard who, when asked, seemed to be familiar with the procedure of gaining entrance to the church. She led me across St. Augustine's Road and directed me to ring the doorbell at the Abbey while she crossed back over the road and disappeared into the churchyard.

The parish priest, who was one of the Benedictine monks living at the Abbey, expected my arrival and met me at the door. He asked me to wait for him back across the road at the church door. In a few minutes he appeared at the door to St. Augustine's which he had opened, much to my surprise, from the inside. He explained that there was a tunnel connecting the Abbey and the church under the roadway. The priest then graciously showed me how to lock myself in while I did my research. He explained that it was not entirely safe to be in the building with the door left unlocked.<sup>177</sup>

Rather than accept the priest's offer to give me a tour of the church interior I decided to roam and experience the building on my own for the first visit. I rationalized this decision hoping I would be able to more fully develop my own

---

177. Apparently, there was a rough crowd who sometimes roamed the neighborhood. This fact was evidenced later during my visit when an elderly woman, who did occasional dusting in the church, explained that the bruises on her face were a result from a "run in" with some of those unsavory characters.

perception of the space if I didn't know all of the details about it beforehand. I had already read the guide book by Hunter and Horner<sup>178</sup> and knew, generally, the lay out of the entire building.

I concluded the phenomenological approach phase of my research as soon as I entered the church. It was not my intention to continue using that approach to examine the interior of the building because I knew that my on-site research time was very limited, and I felt that I should begin my analysis phase as soon as I possibly could. I do, however, want to include my overall reactions to seeing the interior for the first time because I think it is of some benefit.

Having entered from the street side of the building I walked through the west cloister, which is the typical way a visitor enters the church from the road. As I walked down the passageway I had the feeling that I was in a very special place. The west cloister was lighted on both sides by golden-colored stained glass windows that made the area feel warm and welcoming. Walking through the enclosed cloister lent an air of mystery and adventure to the experience. Because visitors do not walk directly into the sanctuary from this direction they have a minute or two to anticipate their entry into the sacred chamber.

I had, of course, anticipated my visit to the church with great pleasure for a couple of years before my arrival there and looked forward to stepping into the sanctuary for the first time. As the priest opened the door and showed me in my first impression was of slight disappointment. The interior seemed very plain. The large

---

178. Horner and Hunter, *A Flint Seaside Church*.

open space was rather dim and cave-like despite modern overhead spot lighting and rays of colored light streaming through the windows. See Figure 18.

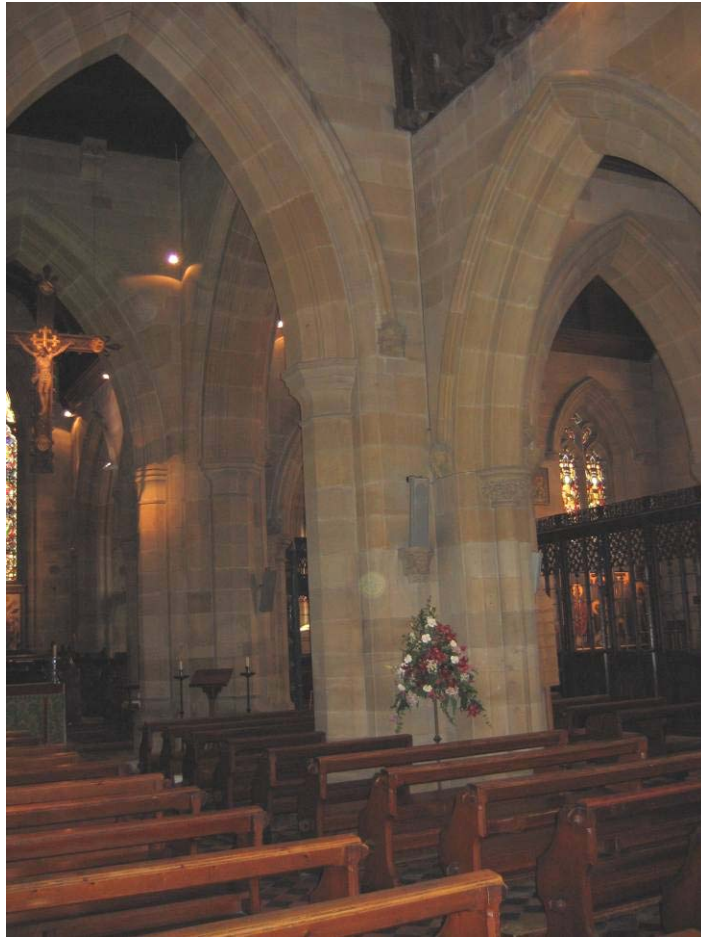


Fig. 18. View from the northeast entrance doorway.

It took several moments of quiet observation to understand and appreciate the rich details of the church's interior. As I grew accustomed to the low light level I began to look around and comprehend what I was seeing. I saw the bright windows and could easily distinguish the various parts of the church, the chancel,<sup>179</sup> Lady

---

179. *Chancel*: "The choir and sanctuary in the eastern part of a church appropriated for the use of those who officiate during services. The term was originally applied only to that part of the church where the altar was placed." James Stevens Curl, *English Architecture*, 46.

Chapel, aisle and nave because of the openness across the interior. I soon began to notice things, such as, the sculptures on the walls, the screen of the Pugin chantry and the magnificent dark baptismal font. Walking around in the space and observing each wall, surface and fitting also heightened my appreciation of the church. Exploring the interior of the church felt like a game of hide and seek; I had to slow down and do some hunting before I could become acquainted with the intricate details Pugin set forth in his design.

Peter Anson describes viewing Pugin's work this way,

The sole merit of Pugin's ecclesiastical furnishings and decorations . . . lies in the fact that they are works of imagination, whim and fancy. His best work possesses the quality of a medieval miniature painting. At a first glance one is only conscious of the composition as a whole. Then, if one studies it through a magnifying glass, one is amazed at the consummate perfection of tiny details.<sup>180</sup>

The initial feeling of intimidation I had experienced viewing the north side of the church dissolved as I explored the rest of the grounds and the interior of the church. I was given free-reign to explore the building as I wished, and I felt peaceful and focused as I went about the business of conducting my research on the church and its artifacts. People who entered the building while I was there acknowledged my presence without question, which added to my sense of acceptance within this sacred setting.

---

180. Peter F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings: 1840-1940* (London House & Maxwell, 1966), 36.

### **Pugin's Architectural Principles Realized at St. Augustine's**

Did Pugin follow his own rules or principles when he designed St. Augustine's, the church he built himself on his own property? Does the design of St. Augustine's exemplify Pugin's architectural principles? Does evidence at the site support his written commitment to these principles? To answer these questions I examined Pugin's major architectural principles, which appear in four of his books, *Contrasts*, *True Principles*, *Present State* and *An Apology*. I also visited the church and made observations about the interior, its fittings and the exterior architecture.

In this section I show how Pugin's main architectural principles, those principles he discusses in the above mentioned books, are physically represented in the design of the church. The connection between his written words and physical evidence at the church serves to illustrate Pugin's firm belief in those principles. The evidence shows that Pugin's St. Augustine's is indeed a good fit with the architectural principles he set forth in his writings.

Pugin wrote about numerous architectural principles, many of those principles having to do with church architecture. The architectural principles he expounded upon referred to the manner in which churches should be designed, the materials to be used for their construction, the objects and images that should be used and displayed therein and the importance of the symbols each component represented. Throughout the four books and other of his books on topics regarding Gothic and Gothic Revival architecture Pugin argues for his principles with passionate enthusiasm. It was Pugin's firm conviction that Gothic style architecture represented a proper Catholic and morally correct life. He never wavered from that conviction.

What is not entirely obvious from Pugin's writing is the basis of his principles. Did he develop these principles himself or were they contained in church documents to which Pugin had access? The answers to these questions come, in part, from a statement Pugin made in his *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* when he refers to "*principles*" and "*formularies*" suggesting that rules, or formulas, for church construction do exist. He also states that he deals with "canons and rubrics,"<sup>181</sup> which all seem to imply that, indeed, there were records of these architectural principles. But, in essence, these are vague remarks and not references to specific resources. Another example of the undocumented nature of Pugin's principles is found in a statement he made about the building practices of the Anglican Church, "if she acted on her present acknowledged doctrines and discipline, without even taking into consideration any probable change in her position, she must turn to Catholic antiquity for the types of her architecture and ornament."<sup>182</sup> But, alas, there is no reference to specific works here either.

Pugin's lack of reference material to substantiate his architectural principles in his early written work makes a thorough investigation into the roots of some his ideas very difficult. The difficulty of the researcher's task is elucidated in the following statement by Nicolas Glisson:

When viewed as a propagandist and champion for his cause, some peculiarities in Pugin's writing take on new light and explain his position. The difficulty for scholars today is to know when his persuasion is based on historical fact and when it is a flight of romantic fancy. Even in the late

---

181. Pugin, *An Apology*, 25

182. Pugin, *An Apology*, 25.



twentieth century, one can be lulled into accepting Pugin's version of the Middle Ages by his infectiously readable prose.<sup>183</sup>

For the purposes of my study I have examined Pugin's major architectural principles and, where possible, have tried to determine from what source or sources his ideas may have been generated, but for the main part I have chosen to take the words as Pugin wrote them at face value. In other words, my purpose was to compare his written architectural principles with on-site observations at the church, and not to discover the genesis of each principle. The most important association that is being formed here is the one between Pugin's written principles, principles he believed in deeply, and what was observed on-site at St. Augustine's that he carried out in practice--the ideal and the real coming together. More information about Pugin's place in the architectural milieu of the early nineteenth century will be presented later in this paper.

Some background information regarding what is known about resources available to Pugin is helpful here. One of the Catholic antiquaries Pugin may have consulted, for his later book, *An Apology*, was likely the work of William Durandus, a 13<sup>th</sup> century bishop who wrote about the symbolism of churches. Pugin quotes Durandus's first book, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, which was translated and given an introductory essay by two founding members of the Cambridge Camden Society, John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, in 1842.<sup>184</sup> Both of these men were

---

183. Glisson, 95.

184. William Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, written in the late 13th century. The translation was written by the Revs. John Mason Neale and

known to have contact with Pugin. Rosemary Hill, a Pugin scholar, writes that “[a]s far as ecclesiology was concerned their [the Cambridge Camden Society] principles, like his [Pugin’s], were derived from common antiquarian sources, notably Durandus.”<sup>185</sup> In fact, in a review of the translation of Durandus’s work featured in the Society’s publication, *The Ecclesiologist*, the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* was said to have “continued to the present time [1844] to be considered a standard authority in questions ritualistick [sic] and liturgical.”<sup>186</sup> Pugin acknowledges Durandus’s writing in his other book published in 1843, *Present State*.<sup>187</sup>

Durandus’s book is divided into nine main chapters. In them he outlines the meaning of various parts of a church and the rituals and ceremonies that take place

---

Benjamin Webb and published under the title *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments. A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* by the Cambridge Camden Society in 1843. These men were both founding members of the Cambridge Camden Society and as such had contact with Pugin. Although Pugin was never admitted to the Society he had a good relationship with its members.

The Cambridge Camden Society was devoted to the study, preservation and construction of Anglican churches while Pugin devoted himself to the Catholic ideal. This difference in religious outlooks and Pugin’s somewhat volatile personality were likely contributing reasons for the Society’s reluctance to include Pugin in its membership. However tenuous the relationship with the Society, Rosemary Hill writes that “[p]ersonally Pugin was on excellent terms with several Camdenians, including Benjamin Webb.” (“Letters and Comments,” *True Principles*, 42.)

The Society used Pugin’s design for their official seal; that act perhaps the truest testament to the congenial relations of these two nineteenth-century forces in the field of ecclesiastical architecture.

185. Rosemary Hill in “Letters and Comments,” *True Principles*, 2(4), (2002): 41.

186. *The Ecclesiologist*, Cambridge Camden Society, (February 1844) 3: 83.

187. *Present State* was originally published as two articles for the *Dublin Review*. One appeared in print in 1841 and the other in 1842, well before Webb and Neale’s translation of Durandus’s work. Therefore, Pugin likely read the original ancient manuscript.

there. Chapters include “Of a Church and its Parts,” “Of the Altar,” “Of Pictures, and Images, and Curtains, and the Ornaments of Churches.” Another chapter deals specifically with church bells, their placement and the meanings behind the physical bell and the sound of bells. His directions for church construction are fairly specific: A church will be made out of stone; the “head” of the church will face east; and there should be two distinct sections within the sanctuary, the outer area where the congregation gathers and an inner area where priests perform sacred rites.<sup>188</sup>

Interestingly, many of Durandus’s instructions are repeated in the nine “principles” and “formularies” Pugin puts forth in *An Apology*. Although Durandus’s name is not mentioned, this is where Pugin references the “canons” and “rubrics” of Catholic antiquity.

Built structures and written works by contemporaries on the Continent and by members of the Cambridge Camden Society in England also influenced Pugin and may have helped him form the architectural principles he so zealously tried to uphold. One important means of disseminating church building information in nineteenth century England was the Society’s periodical the *Ecclesiologist*. The *Ecclesiologist* was a widely available source of information for “all connected with or in any way engaged in church building, or the study of ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities”<sup>189</sup> after its initial publication in 1841. Within the 2d edition of Pugin’s *Contrasts*, published after his death, Pugin pays homage to the Cambridge Camden Society for their efforts

---

188. Durandus, 17-38.

189. *The Ecclesiologist*, (November 1841) 1, B.

to restore Anglican churches to their rightful condition: “I cannot refrain from paying a just tribute of respect and gratitude to the labours of the Cambridge Camden Society, who have already done much, and are still going on admirably in the good cause.”<sup>190</sup>

Contemporaries in France, architectural historians Montalembert and Didron, were also influences, and Pugin quotes from both in his books, even including a long essay by Montalembert in his revised edition of *Contrasts*.<sup>191</sup> Pugin also points to multiple historians’ work in the appendices of the 1841 version of *Contrasts*, offering a peek into the resources Pugin had at his disposal. His personal library was quite extensive and according to Horner and Hunter an 1853 auction of his books alone totaled “six hundred and forty-five lots.”<sup>192</sup>

The following discussion is divided into four subsections which represent the four books in which Pugin’s major architectural principles are found, *Contrasts*, *True Principles*, *Present State* and *An Apology*. The subsections are further divided into segments that outline each individual principle. Each principle is represented first in Pugin’s own words followed by an in-depth description of the features of the church that correspond to each principle as they were observed during my on-site research at St. Augustine’s.

---

190. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1898), 76.

191. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 1898. This second edition contains a lengthy essay in French by Mgr. Le Comte de Montalembert called “Account of the Destructive and Revived Pagan Principle in France,” 76-93.

192. Horner and Hunter, 4.

**“Contrasts”**

It will be readily admitted, that the great test of Architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected.<sup>193</sup>

And,

[A] Catholic church not only requires pillars, arches, windows, screens, and niches, but it *requires them to be disposed according to a certain traditional form*; it demands a chancel set apart for sacrifice, and screened off from the people; it requires a stone altar, a sacrarium sedilia for the officiating priests, and an elevated roodloft from whence the Holy Gospel may be chaunted to the assembled faithful; it requires chapels for penance and prayer, a sacristy to contain the sacred vessels, a font for the holy sacrament of baptism, a southern porch for penitents and catechumens, a stoup for hallowed water, and a tower for bells; --and unless a building destined for a church possess all these requisites, however correctly its details may be copied from ancient authorities, it is a mere modern conventicle, and cannot by any means be accounted a revival of Catholic art.<sup>194</sup>

To address the first of these two basic architectural principles, there is little doubt that a visitor to St. Augustine’s would not recognize the structure as a church, as long as the visitor knew the meaning behind the symbolism it reflects. Pointed stained-glass windows, crosses, stone statues and a bell tower are the most prominent features visible from the street-side, or northern exposure of the building. See Figures 3 and 5. It is true that from this elevation the structure is a bit puzzling, which has a great deal to do with the low wall separating the entry doorway to the left, facing the building, and the sacristy and bell tower to the right. The low wall serves to close off the church from the street, which may have been part of Pugin’s plan as he saw the church compound as an entity separated from the rest of the world. See Figure 4. This wall

---

193. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2d ed., b.

194. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 58.

was part of Pugin's original design but, the stone carvings in the niches above the doorway were completed after his death.<sup>195</sup>

The second principle, regarding the 'traditional form' of a church is also evident at St. Augustine's. Each of the elements Pugin lists in this principle; chancel, chancel screen, altar, sacarium sedilia, elevated roodloft, chapels, sacristy, font, southern porch, stoup and bell towers are all in evidence at the church. A full explanation of each is found in the subsection called "*An Apology*" where Pugin, himself, offers each element in list form and discusses them in detail.

With his book *Contrasts* Pugin began his career as an architectural writer. He had not yet built a church but was expressing his ideas for the type and style of architecture that would reflect the perfect 'Catholic' life. His first architectural principle, about the "great test of Architectural beauty" being the recognition of a building's function as reflected in its form, is certainly true of St. Augustine's as discussed above. The building has all of the requisite elements; not only the construction details of screens, niches, piers and pillars it also contains sacred symbols and the objects necessary for performing sacred ceremonies.

---

195. Horner and Hunter, 24.

***“True Principles”***

Convenience, Construction and Propriety

“1<sup>st</sup>, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety. . .”<sup>196</sup>

The architectural principles discussed in *True Principles* take a bit more effort to distinguish in Pugin’s design for St. Augustine’s than those stated in his later book *An Apology*.<sup>197</sup> Although Pugin’s design for St. Augustine’s is simple I think a visitor to the church would have difficulty making clear distinctions between “features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety” and features that are simply decorative or features designed for their own sake. For example, to a 21<sup>st</sup> century individual the height of the ceilings at St. Augustine’s could seem to be completely unnecessary. They do not seem necessary for convenience, construction or “propriety.” Practicality deems that the height of the ceiling merely means there is more space under the roof and more space above people’s heads to heat and keep cool. A ceiling as high of that at St. Augustine’s is not overtly “practical.” However, after looking deeply into Pugin’s writing and having a clearer sense of the meaning of his terms one can see that he has clearly defined the meaning of

---

196. Pugin, *True Principles*, B (John Weale, ed. 1841).

197. I am calling Pugin’s *An Apology* his “later” book as a matter of organization for the material in this study. *Present State* and *An Apology* were actually printed in book form during the same year, 1843. *Present State* did, however, appear in print earlier than *An Apology* in the form of two articles printed in the *Dublin Review* in 1841 and 1842 respectively.

“convenience,” “construction” and “propriety,” and I will show that these principles do indeed “fit” with Pugin’s design of St. Augustine’s.

“Construction” of course, has to do with the materials used and the manner in which a building is put together and in *True Principles* Pugin begins his argument by listing three materials for consideration; stone, timber and metal. He discusses each of those materials at length. The following is an example of part of his discussion in favor of a return to the Gothic style with a discussion about stone as a building material:

A pointed church is the masterpiece of masonry. It is essentially a stone building; its pillars, its arches, its vaults, its intricate intersections, its ramified tracery, are all peculiar to stone, and could not be consistently executed in any other material. Moreover, the ancient masons obtained great altitude and great extent with a surprising economy of wall and substance; the wonderful strength and solidity of their buildings are the result, not of the *quantity or size of the stones* employed, but of the *art of their disposition*.<sup>198</sup>

He continues to talk about various architectural features (columns, buttresses, vaulting and groining, pinnacles and spiral terminations, pitch of roof and mouldings) and construction materials (iron and wood) and how these features and materials should be used to create the ideal Gothic Revival structure.

Pugin defines “propriety” as “*that the external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is*

---

198. Pugin, *True Principles*, 2 (John Weale edition 1841).



*destined.*<sup>199</sup> Pugin himself recognizes that Gothic architecture may not seem to inherently embrace the principles he's laying down when he states:

Strange as it may appear at first sight, it is in *pointed architecture alone that these great principles have been carried out*; and I shall be able to illustrate them from the vast cathedral to the simplest erection. Moreover, the architects of the middle ages were the first who *turned the natural properties of the various materials to their full account, and made their mechanism a vehicle for their art.*

We shall have therefore to consider ornament with reference to construction and convenience, and ornament with reference to architectural propriety.<sup>200</sup>

Pugin very concisely lists his reasons why Greek architecture doesn't fit the Christian model for church building. It is perhaps most efficient to talk about his arguments against the use of "the architecture of Greek temples"<sup>201</sup> rather than list out all of his pro-Gothic style ideas. Pugin lists four main points that outline why "Greek temples cannot be introduced or imitated with "propriety" by Christians."<sup>202</sup>

To begin, temples were built for worshipers of idols, and the layout of the Greek temple was conducive to this type of ritual worship. The interior was dark and small and only entered by priests while the congregants waited outside. Christianity requires that the congregation be inside the church to experience the service. Secondly, there were no windows in Greek temples. Cutting windows into the walls

---

199. Ibid., 42.

200. Ibid., 1-2.

201. Ibid., 47.

202. Ibid.

would have altered the simple lines of the buildings. Thirdly, “Christian churches require bells, by the sound of which the faithful may be called to their devotions.”<sup>203</sup> A belfry or tower is requisite for this function— a feature not known in temples. Lastly, Pugin points out that the steep pitch of the Christian church roof is necessary because of weather conditions. The angle of the roofline must be able to move snow and precipitation off the roof. The flat roofs of Greek temples are well-suited to their warm and dry weather conditions.

St. Augustine’s is indeed quite different from a Greek temple. The roofline pitches steeply to allow rain and snow to run off of the building. Pugin used local stone, flint, as the construction material for the exterior of the church and light-colored Whitby stone to line the interior walls. The church’s floor plan resembles a cruciform rather than the linear outline of a Greek or Roman temple. The bell tower and unfinished spire also denote a “Christian” rather than pagan structure. The interior of the church is open and accessible to visitors. Windows, filled with stained glass, punctuate every wall allowing colored light to fill the space.

“Convenience,” to Pugin meant creating a floor plan that reflects the functions served by space followed by creating elevations that reflect the floor plan. In a statement regarding the benefits of adopting ancient building methods; building to follow the floor plan as opposed to following the formula of the “picturesque” where plans are made to fit the elevation, Pugin says,

. . . I am quite assured that all the irregularities that are so beautiful in ancient architecture are the result of certain necessary difficulties, and were

---

203. Ibid.

never purposely designed; for to make a building inconvenient for the sake of obtaining irregularity would be scarcely less ridiculous than preparing working drawings for a new ruin.<sup>204</sup>

At St. Augustine's one can see the relationships between the floor plan, the function of the space and the exterior of the building. This is not a 'picturesque' structure made to look irregular; it is the functions of the various spaces within the church that dictate the building's form. The roofline of the church is the first indication of Pugin's ideal. The roof over the chancel and nave is steeply pitched as is the roof over the Lady chapel and the aisle; creating a double-pitched roofline. See Figure 19.



Fig. 19. The eastern end of the church showing the roofline delineating the chancel and the Lady chapel. The chancel, and great eastern window, is to the right and the Lady chapel is seen to the left.

---

204. Ibid., 63.

The roofs at the eastern end of the building are slightly higher than the roofs at the western end, indicating the separation in the plan of the chancel from the nave and the Lady chapel from the aisle. The separations of space that are seen on the outside are seen again in the interior of the church. Chancel and nave are separated by pointed archways and a low step. The Lady chapel and aisle are also separated by pointed arches. The separations in both cases are also punctuated by the crossing, the area of the church directly beneath the spire. Large central piers here also serve to delineate space.

#### Ornamentation

*2<sup>nd</sup>, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.*<sup>205</sup>

He also states,

*In pure architecture the smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose; and even the construction itself should vary with the material employed, and the designs should be adapted to the materials in which they are executed.*<sup>206</sup>

To address the first principle regarding ornamentation; at St. Augustine's it is subtle. As I discussed in my phenomenological findings, the details at the church reveal themselves rather slowly. The stone statuary seen in the nave and aisle (See

---

205. Ibid., B.

206. Ibid.

Figures 43, 44, 45 and 46) is an example of that. They are made from the same stone or a similar quality of stone to that which lines the walls of the interior of the church. Although the statues have intricate details, especially those set in canopied niches of Mary and Child and St. Augustine, they visually blend into the walls. This is certainly evidence of Pugin's principle. More examples of the enrichment to St. Augustine's will be seen in greater detail in the subsection "*An Apology*" where each essential object and ornament will be discussed in detail.

The second principle, regarding how each detail and ornament should have meaning or a serve a purpose is also in evidence at St. Augustine's. Pugin's stained-glass windows relate Biblical stories, screens are placed to retain the mystery and symbolism of ancient Catholic ceremonies and his statues remind us of important religious figures. There are aspects of the church's ornamentation that don't seem to follow Pugin's rules, however. One of those is the tile on the floor throughout the interior. In the nave and aisle there is an overall checkerboard pattern of alternating plain terra-cotta and black colored ceramic tiles. In the Lady chapel and the chancel the coloration and design of the tiles changes dramatically. In the chancel there are three different tile patterns including fleur-de-lis designs in red and gold. In the Lady chapel there are also tiles of red and gold with a fleur-de-lis pattern. While the designs on the tiles may or may not have significance, they do serve to further delineate those sacred spaces from the nave and chancel areas. Tiles found in the Pugin chantry (see Figure 20) are quite ornate, with more color than other tiles found in the church and

more variations of designs. One tile design features the marlet, or small black bird shape, which represents the family crest.<sup>207</sup>



Fig. 20. Showing the variation of tile designs in the Pugin chantry.

The architectural principles Pugin's writes about in his book *True Principle's* are evident throughout St. Augustine's. The construction materials, the form of the church and his use of sparing ornamentation using materials in their natural state are all reflections of his principles put to use in the design and construction of St. Augustine's. His "honest" use of materials is probably the most recognizable. He uses stone, wood and metal in ways that bring out the inherent quality of the material while at the same time these materials decorate and enhance the structure. Pugin does not "cover up" any material used for construction. There is no plaster and there are no false walls. Statues are not painted or gilded and wood is recognizable as wood; in

---

207. According to Horner and Hunter, the designs of the encaustic tiles in the chantry are more than likely those of Pugin's son Edward, 39.

every case the original material is left in its natural state. Delineations of the functions of various spaces within the church are also quite recognizable features.

### ***“Present State”***

We will now consider what is to be regarded as forming a complete Catholic parish church for the due celebration of the divine office and administration of the sacraments, both as regards architectural arrangement and furniture. The southern porch, in which a stoup for hallowed water should be provided; at the western end of the nave, and usually in the south aisle, a stone font with a wooden cover fastened with a lock, and near it an ambry in the wall for oleum catechumenorum and holy chrism. The chancel at the eastern end should be separated from the nave by an open screen supporting the rood and rood loft, ascended by a staircase in the wall.

Wooden seats, with low backs, and placed wide enough apart to admit of kneeling easily, may be fixed in the nave and aisles, allowing alleys of sufficient width for the passage of processions. A stone or wooden pulpit sufficiently elevated may be erected in a convenient position in the nave.

The chancel floor should be raised at least one step above the nave, and the upper step be raised at least one step above the nave, and the upper step on which the altar stands three steps above the floor of the chancel. The altar stands three steps above the floor of the chancel. The altar should consist of one slab of stone (marked with five crosses, and a cavity for relics) raised on solid masonry or stone pillars.<sup>208</sup>

These basic principles are repeated again, in a slightly different order of appearance, in the next book, *An Apology*. In *An Apology* the principles are laid out in a more systematic, list-like format and therefore are more easily connected with my on-site observations. I discuss the south porch, baptismal font, chancel orientation and screen, seating arrangements, pulpit and altars in the next section.

---

208. Pugin, *Present State*, 12.

*“An Apology on the Revival of Christian Architecture”*<sup>209</sup>

Physical arrangement of the church

The ancient form and arrangement of the parochial churches, consisting of nave and chancel, should be preserved.<sup>210</sup>

According to Pugin’s principle there should be a distinction between the nave and chancel areas of a church. Historical extant evidence supports the existence of this architectural principle. Typical Gothic cathedrals illustrate some degree of physical separation of clergy from congregation by way of a smaller raised chancel, where the altar is located, and the larger adjoining nave filled with pews or, in the case of the following illustrations, the modern addition of chair seating. See Figures 21 and 22.

---

209. As stated in Footnote 197 I am taking the liberty of discussing *An Apology* as Pugin’s last book on architectural principles. The two essays that form the book *Present State* were actually printed earlier in the *Dublin Review*, in 1841 and 1842, although the book itself was published the same year as *An Apology*. It is for reasons of clarity and organization that I list the books in this order.

210. Pugin, *An Apology*, 25.





Fig. 21. The nave of Canterbury Cathedral.

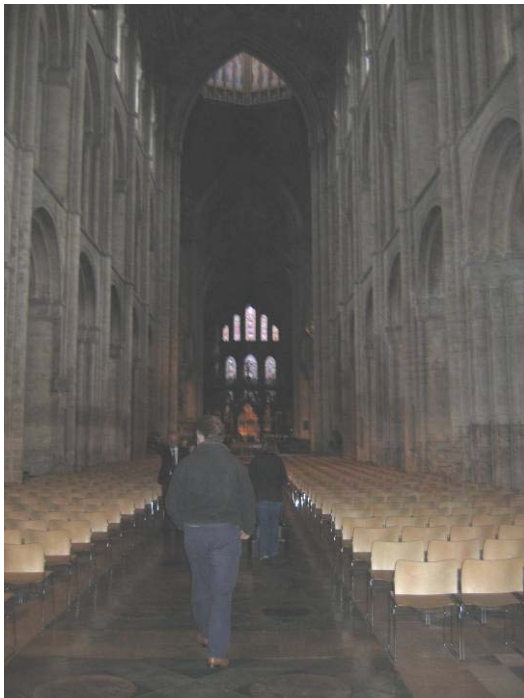


Fig. 22. The nave of Ely Cathedral.

Durandus spoke of the importance of arranging the interior of the church to mimic the parts of the human body. The chancel represents the “head” and is where the altar should be located. Toward the west, away from the east facing chancel is the “body”, or the nave, where the congregation gathers.<sup>211</sup>

At St. Augustine’s the nave and chancel areas of the church are separated from each other by a large open pointed archway carved in stone. A rood, or carved wooden representation of the crucifixion, hangs in the archway. See Figure 23.

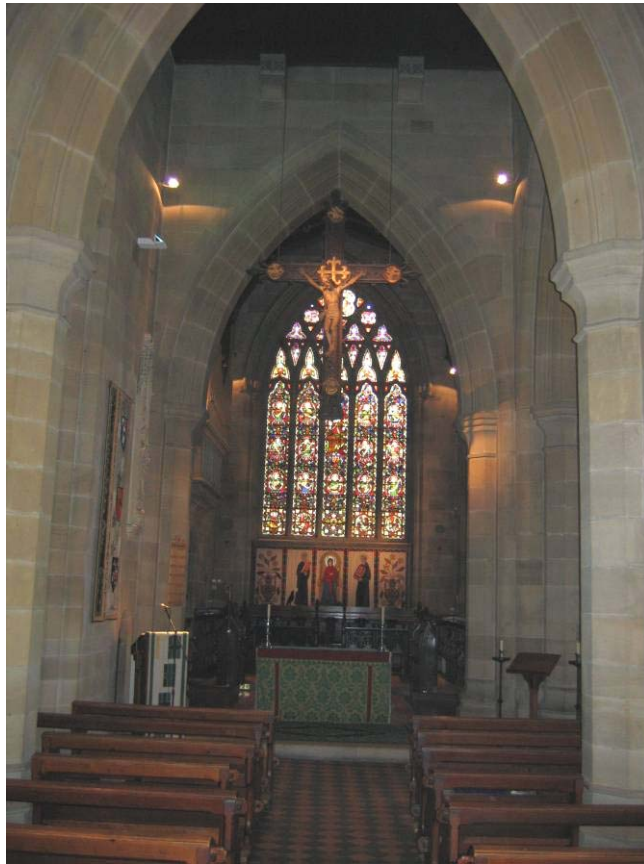


Fig. 23. The archway separating the nave from the chancel, showing the rood.

---

211. Durandus, 24-25

As a further means of separating the two spaces there is a short step up from the nave into the chancel area. Pugin's original design included an ornate chancel screen that was fitted between the piers of the archway and separated the chancel from the nave. During a restructuring of the church in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (around 1970) the screen was moved, directly south, into its current position in Lady Chapel. See Figure 24.

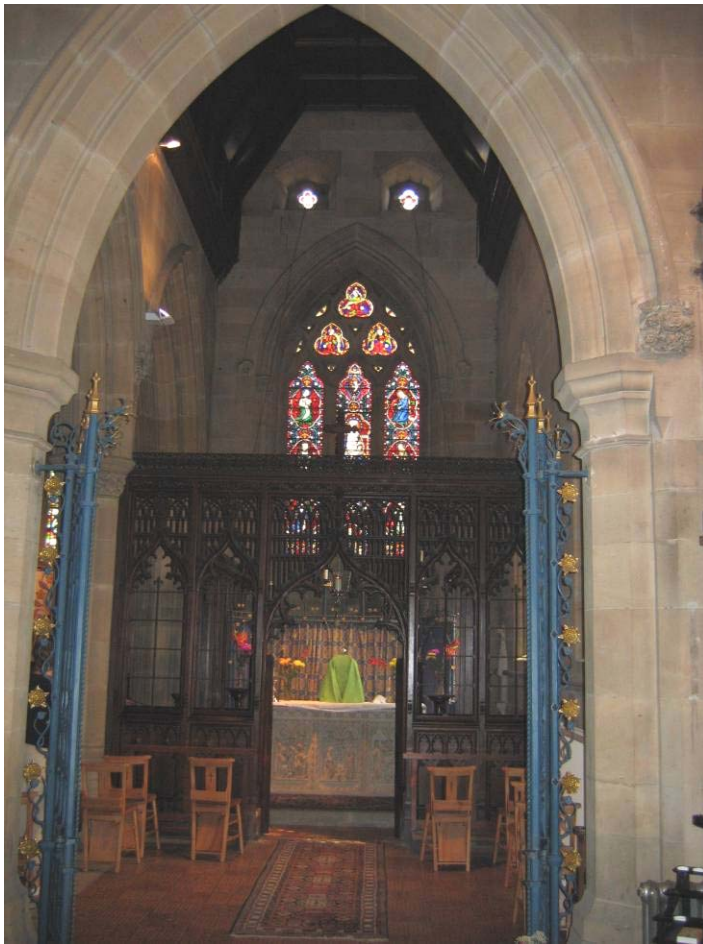


Fig. 24. The chancel screen in its current position in the Lady Chapel.

Had the screen remained in place it would have served to completely separate the chancel from the nave. The screen will be discussed more thoroughly in response to principles listed later.

### Bell towers

A tower for bells is required; and this important feature of a church was never omitted in England even during the most debased period of ecclesiastical architecture.<sup>212</sup>

The bells at St. Augustine's are housed in a turret near the north-east corner of the complex. The tower is, according to Horner and Hunter, 18 meters, or roughly 59 feet tall. The tower stands next to the north sacristy, with its five-light window, and is covered, like the rest of the building, in knapped flint with regularly spaced horizontal bands of light ochre-colored sandstone. See Figure 3.

The square tower rises, approximately, another twenty-five total feet beyond the steep roof of the sacristy and is capped by a four sided standing seam metal roof. See Figure 25.

---

212. Pugin, *An Apology*, 26.



Fig. 25. Detail of the bell tower roof.

Each wall of the upper portion of the tower is pierced by tall narrow pointed-arch shaped openings which are visually bound together by a continuous rounded molding that runs along the upper rim of each window and around each corner. Most of the area within each window opening is covered with slats to allow the sound of the bells to be heard. A distinguishing feature of the tower, as well as the rest of the complex, is the quoin work<sup>213</sup> at the corner of each wall joining. See Figure 26.

---

213. *Quoin*: “One of a series of stones or bricks used to mark or visually reinforce the exterior corners of a building; often through a contrast of size, shape, color or material, which may be imitated in non-loading-bearing material.” Ernest Burden, *Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture*, (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 172.



Fig. 26. Quoin work on the corners and around the windows of the bell tower.

There are quoins on all four walls of the upper tower, but it's the quoin work on the north side of the bell tower that begins at the sidewalk and reaches to the base of the metal roof. The quoin work is repeated around each window, as well. High above the sidewalk on the north wall of the tower, but below the openings for the bells, is a two-light stained glass window. The outer edges of this window also had quoin work and simple tracery decorates its pointed-arch shaped top edge.

From St. Augustine's Road, the main street leading up to the church, it is the bell tower that draws the visitor's attention to the church. It is the tallest point on the north wall, and, unlike the unfinished spire, its pointed roofline stands out from the other rooflines on the building in a graceful way that helps identify the building as a church.



## Galleries

Galleries are contrary to the intentions of the Anglican Church.<sup>214</sup>

Pugin continues by saying that “an ancient church nave, with its pillars, aisles, low open carved oak benches, and southern porch, is the proper model for present imitation.”<sup>215</sup> The “galleries” that Pugin refers to are the open, indoor amphitheater-style settings of many Neo-Classical churches in which the chancel is treated like a stage and the audience is seated in semicircular fashion around the central altar. Looking at the floor plan for St. Augustine’s one can see that no gallery-style layout is evident.

The layout of Pugin’s St. Augustine’s seems to be modeled closely to the “ideal” church form he describes above. The floor plan of the church includes two pillars, two free standing piers, an aisle, nave, chancel and a southern porch. This is seen in both a contemporary drawing of the floor plan and in a sketch by Pugin of his vision for the layout of the church. See Figures 27 and 28.

---

214. Pugin, *An Apology*, 26.

215. *Ibid.*, 27

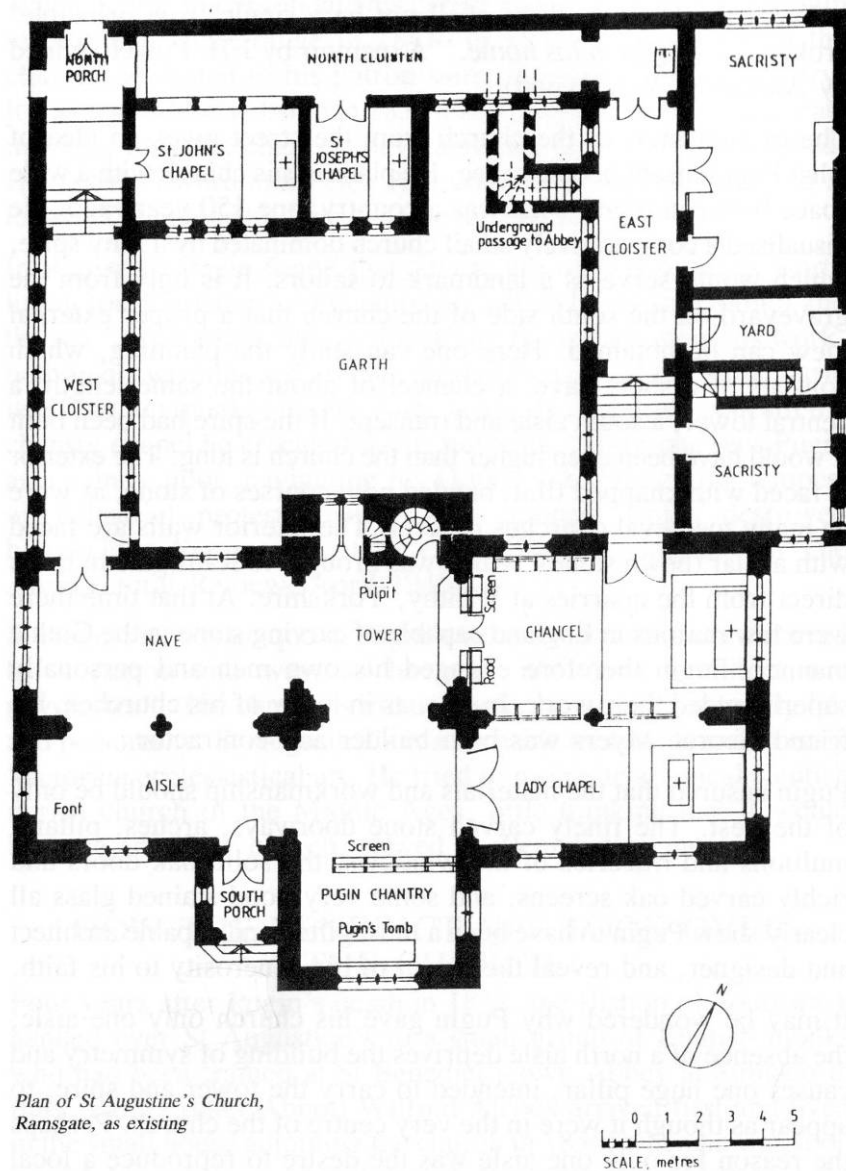


Fig. 27. A contemporary floor plan of St. Augustine's. (Used with permission from St. Augustine's Church, Ramsgate. See Appendix G, page 218.)



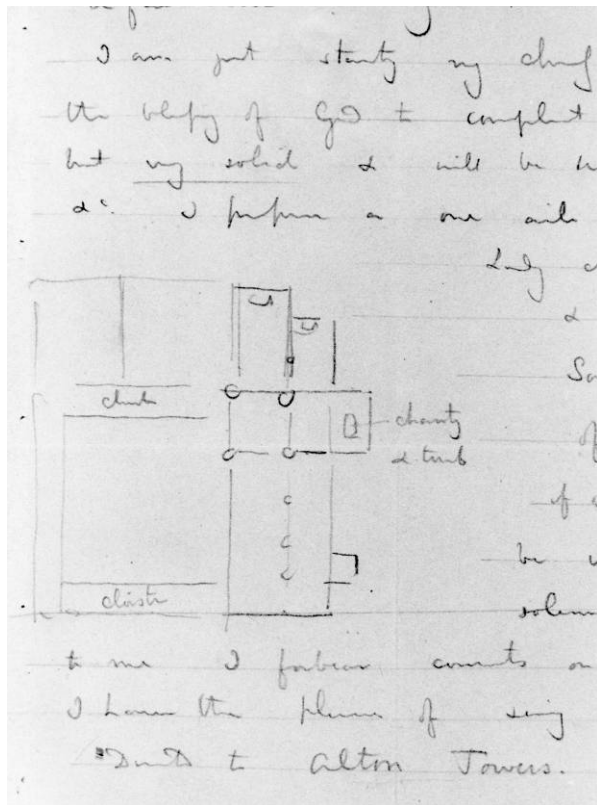


Fig. 28. Pugin's 1845 sketch<sup>216</sup> of the floor plan he envisioned for the St. Augustine's compound, showing cloisters, chantry, central piers and columns. He also clearly delineates the nave, chancel, aisle, Lady chapel and southwest porch. (Photo used with permission from the Bloxam Archives, Fairfield Library, Magdalen College, Oxford, UK. See Appendix E, page 215.)

The aisle runs the length of the south nave and becomes the Lady Chapel at the east end of the building. The two free standing piers are massive constructions at the crossing where the transepts intersect with the nave and aisle. The original intent was to use these piers to support the weight of the spire on the roof, but the spire was never

---

216. This sketch by Pugin was included in a letter to Rev. Bloxam in 1845. Pugin was very keen on including sketches of all kinds in his correspondence. One of Pugin's letters, held at the Bloxam Archives at Madgalen College, Oxford, showed several small detailed sketches of various ideas for church designs, each complete drawing measuring around two inches square.

completed. All of the pews are “low open carved oak benches.”<sup>217</sup> See Figures 29 and 30.



Fig. 29. View of the aisle, facing west, showing carved wooden benches.



Fig. 30. End view of a bench in the nave.

---

217. In *Present State* Pugin calls for “wooden seats with low backs.” (See page 110 in this document.) My interpretation of these differing descriptions is that Pugin is referring in to ‘seating’ generally, that has low backs as opposed to the box pew of the Georgian tradition that had “high wooden partitions around it, usually large enough for one family,” Curl, *English Architecture*, 33.

## Baptismal fonts

There is no alteration whatever allowable for ancient usage in respect of the Fonts: they are required to stand in their original position, with covers, and secured by locks.<sup>218</sup>

According to Anglican principles fonts must be in proper position with covers and locks.<sup>219</sup> “These covers may be made as lofty and ornamental as circumstances will admit.”<sup>220</sup> Pugin’s design for the baptismal font at St. Augustine’s resulted in a very elaborate structure. It is located in the southwest corner of the aisle. See Figure 31.

---

218. Pugin, *An Apology*, 27.

219. According to Horner and Hunter in *A Flint Seaside Church*, “The practice of covering fonts to prevent holy water being stolen for witchcraft, developed into an art form . . .”, 40.

220. Pugin, *An Apology*, 27.



Fig. 31. The baptismal font, located in the southeast corner of the aisle.

Together the font and its cover stand reach within a few feet of the ceiling and are elaborately carved. The entire piece rests on a stone base into which access steps are carved. The basin is octagonal, and it, along with the steps and base, is made from a single Caen<sup>221</sup> stone. At its base the font is narrower than at the top where the water basin has been cut out of the stone. Figures of saints are carved into each of the lower eight panels. Carved curving archways over each saint figure lead the eye upward to the larger top portion of the font. See Figure 32.

---

221. “Caen” refers to the area in France where this type of limestone is found.



Fig. 32. Detail of the baptismal font, showing the carved Caen stone.

On four of the eight sides of the upper font there are carved scenes of the Sacraments. Pugin's builder, George Myers, in whose workshop the piece was produced, included only four of the typically reproduced Seven Sacraments.<sup>222</sup> Myers included a Temptation scene with Adam and Eve, Christ's Baptism, the Crucifixion and a scene showing St. John in the wilderness on this font. On the four sides in-

---

222. According to signage at the base of the front. For an excellent account of Myers life and work as a builder and his relationship with Pugin see Patricia Spencer-Silver's article "George Myers, Pugin's Builder" in *Recusant History*, 20(2), (1990): 262-271.

between the Sacramental scenes are single angel forms, showing only torsos and heads, each with fingers touching in prayer.

The font cover is an ornately carved wooden piece topped with crocketed spires. The cover is carved from darkly stained oak, and some of the details are lost to the viewer in this dark corner of the church. The rich details and deep carving of the baptismal font certainly qualify it to be considered a “lofty” and “ornamental” piece. According to signage at the base of the font it was displayed at the 1851 Great Exhibition. Written evidence places the font in the church near the time of Pugin’s death. According to an obituary in the architectural journal *The Builder*, published just eleven days after Pugin’s death, the font “with lofty carved canopy” was one of the “beautiful details” that were seen on entering the church.<sup>223</sup> At the time of Pugin’s death the font had not been placed permanently in St. Augustine’s. In the year of Pugin’s death, 1852, Myers gave the font to the church and forgave the debit for its construction.<sup>224</sup>

## Pulpits

Pulpits, if properly placed on one side of the church, are not only unobjectionable, but necessary.<sup>225</sup>

---

223. T. Talbot Bury, *The Builder* (September 25, 1852), 605.

224. According to signage located at the base of the font.

225. Pugin, *An Apology*, 27

In an undated photograph a raised pulpit is shown attached to the north wall of the nave, just east of the recessed confessional doors. See Figure 33. A small arched doorway to the east of the pulpit led the priest up into the preaching platform.

According to Horner and Hunter a pulpit was donated to the church in 1869, well after Pugin's death. The marble balcony with carved balustrades rested on two carved stone supports. During the 1970 reordering this pulpit was removed.<sup>226</sup>

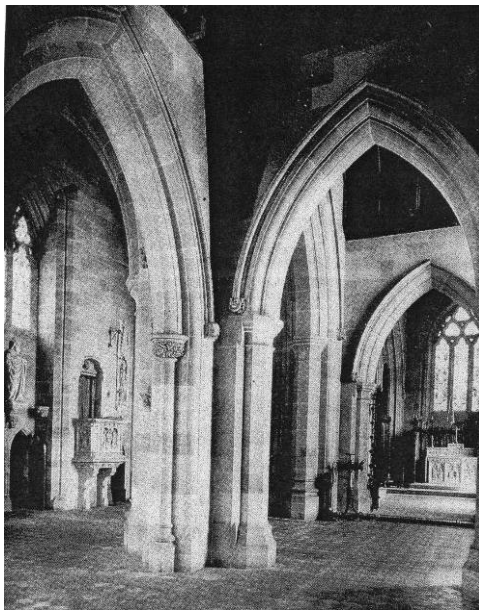


Fig. 33. Undated photograph. The pulpit, on the left wall, shown in its original position in the crossing. (Reproduced by permission of the English Heritage NMR, See Appendix H, page 219.)

Today, as seen in Figure 34, a detached wooden pulpit stands at the crossing between the nave and chancel. The current pulpit is situated to the left side of the opening between the nave and the chancel. It is interesting to note that a view of the nave

---

226. Horner and Hunter, 30-31

created by Pugin in a circa 1850 pen and watercolor piece shows a free-standing pulpit in the position of the current pulpit with no visible evidence of a raised pulpit.<sup>227</sup>



Fig. 34. An outline of the earlier pulpit is seen traced in the lighter-colored bricks and mortar. A wooden door leading to a circular staircase is seen behind the current free-standing pulpit. Doors leading into the two confessionals are seen on the left.

---

227. Shown on page 29 in Horner and Hunter's book. Horner and Hunter list this painting as available through the archives at St. Augustine's. I did not have access to it during my visit. It is possible that this painting is now at the RIBA collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.



## Chancel screens

In many cases the chancel screens yet remain perfect, with much of their ancient paint, gilding, and imagery of Saints and Apostles. They were *never removed in any case by authority*, but only from private ignorance, or love of innovation; and, so far from being opposed to Anglican custom, they are mentioned as necessary in old episcopal visitations.<sup>228</sup>

Among Pugin's many appeals to church architects was the preservation of chancel screens. Chancel screens are typically carved wooden partitions that separate the chancel from the nave. Screens symbolize the separation of the members of the congregation from the sacred workings of the priests during religious ceremonies. The screen signifies the importance and sacred quality of the chancel area.

The chancel screen at St. Augustine's is a beautiful, deeply carved wooden piece. See Figure 35 and also Figure 24.

---

228. Pugin, *An Apology*, 27-28.



Fig. 35. A portion of the chancel screen in its current position in the Lady chapel, showing one of the parclose doors.

The screen is made up of five panels, and in its present position it bridges the space between one of the main central piers that separates the nave and aisle and the south wall. The center panel of the screen has a large opening to provide access to the area behind the screen. Parclose<sup>229</sup> doors in the opening allow the screen to be completely closed. There are two matching panels on either side of the opening. These panels are solid carved wood to approximately four feet off the floor. Above the solid portions of the panels are lancet-shaped openings containing wooden tracery. The cornice piece that runs the entire length of the screen has an open lace-like effect. The screen's cornice consists of bands of densely carved wood. This solid-looking area helps to visually connect the screen to the solid stone wall and central pier. See Figure 36.

---

229. *Parclose*: "A screen separating chapels or tombs from the body the church." Curl, *English Architecture*, 125.



Fig. 36. A close-up view of the top of the center panel of the chancel screen and the banded cornice.

It would upset Pugin tremendously to know that his chancel screen at St. Augustine's had been moved in a reordering of the church in 1970.<sup>230</sup> Fortunately, it was not removed from the church entirely but was simply moved from its original position in the chancel to the place where it rests today, directly across the church in the Lady Chapel in the south aisle. It would have been a remarkable sight to have seen it in its original position. Properly placed it would have permitted an obscured view into the chancel from the nave and would have added the sense of mystery to the workings of the priests that Pugin desired.

In a circa 1850 painting created by Pugin of the nave of the church<sup>231</sup> he renders the screen in its original position between the chancel and nave. He also

---

230. Horner and Hunter, 22-23.

231. See Footnote 227.

depicts an ornate rood piece attached to the center top of the screen, looking much different from the rood that hangs in the chancel today. His depiction shows a cross standing on a tall carved base with two arms that extend out and upwards from the base. Atop each arm is a carved figure, but it is not clear from the photograph what is being represented. Peter F. Anson's photograph circa 1960<sup>232</sup> shows a more contemporary version of the view through the screen in its original position. See Figure 37.



Fig. 37. Undated photograph [circa 1960]. View through the chancel screen (in its original position between nave and chancel) to the altar topped with tabernacle and candlesticks. (Permission pending.)

---

232. After repeated attempts to contact the publisher of Anson's book, I am considering the search for permission to use the photograph to be a "dead-end" search. In the interest of "fair use" I am using the photograph, giving full credit to the author, Peter F. Anson and the publishing company, London House & Maxwell. The image is found on the page facing page 32.

## Altars

There can be but little doubt that stone Altars, placed at the eastern end of the chancel, will be generally revived.<sup>233</sup>

Like the pulpit, there is some confusion regarding the chancel altar at St. Augustine's. In their book, Horner and Hunter describe an altar that was blessed in the church in 1884, well after Pugin's death.<sup>234</sup> An undated photograph in Peter F. Anson's book shows an altar against the east wall that appears to be fronted with a textile. See Figure 36. The tabernacle seen in the photo, on top of the altar, is of Pugin's design, however, and was displayed at the 1851 Great Exhibition. It is not known if it was designed specifically for St. Augustine's, but it was given to the church following the exhibition.<sup>235</sup> According to a pamphlet available at the church "The plain stone high altar, benediction throne and tabernacle . . . were removed when the church was re-ordered."<sup>236</sup> In the obituary written days after Pugin's death, T. Talbot Bury describes the interior of St. Augustine's, where the funeral was held, and states "[t]he font . . . the rood screen, altar, stalls, canopied niches, lamps, &c. display

---

233. Pugin, *An Apology*, 28.

234. Horner and Hunter, 32.

235. *Victorian Church Art Exhibition November 1971-January 1972*, (Victoria & Albert Museum: London, UK, 1971), 20.

236. From, *A Short Guide to St Augustine's Abbey Church Ramsgate*, a pamphlet available to visitors at St. Augustine's.

the great skill in drawing for which he was justly celebrated.”<sup>237</sup> There is little doubt that there was an altar in the chancel at the time of Pugin’s death. What is not clear is what that altar looked like and where, exactly, it was placed within the chancel of the church.

Currently, there is an altar situated in the nave near the crossing<sup>238</sup> which is covered with fabric and topped with two candleholders. See Figure 38. Under the eastern window is a row of carved wooden choir stalls. This contemporary arrangement does not follow the principle regarding altars and their placement as Pugin wrote it in *Apology*.

---

237. T. Talbot Bury, *The Builder*, 605.

238. *Crossing*: “The junction of nave, cancel and transepts of a church, usually crowned by a tower,” Curl, *English Architecture*, 57.

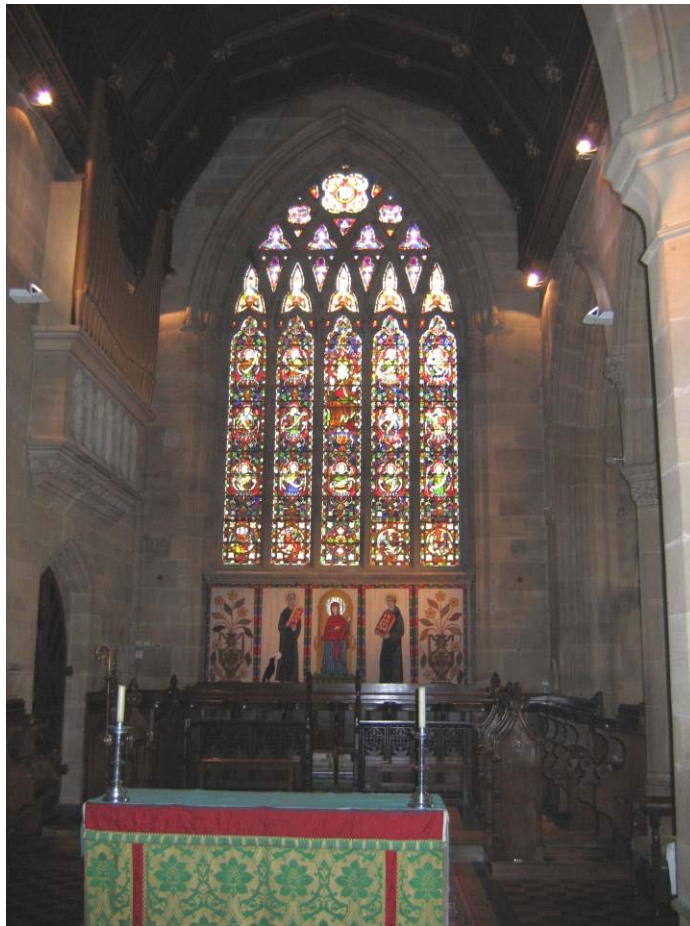


Fig. 38. A contemporary view of the chancel showing an altar in the crossing and choir stalls under the east window.

The white stone altar in the Lady Chapel was designed by Pugin. See Figure 38. It was carved from white Caen stone by Myers.<sup>239</sup> The front, facing the west, is deeply carved with scenes of the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Epiphany, all events of great significance in Mary's life. In its original position it was situated parallel with the east wall of the Lady Chapel under a three-light window which depicts many of the significant events of Mary's life. See Figure 39. Today, the altar stands directly west of its original position making room for an organ which has been

---

239. Horner and Hunter, 33.

placed behind a curtain blocking a view of the organ from the altar area. As with the chancel altar this arrangement does not follow Pugin's principle about altars, but the altar in its original position fulfilled the intent of the principle quite nicely.



Fig. 39. Caen stone altar in the Lady chapel.

#### Chairs at communion table

The two chairs, placed on each side of the communion table, are of very modern introduction, *and most unseemly*, as having their backs to the East.<sup>240</sup>

Pugin advocates for the removal of the two chairs on either side of communion table. He calls them a “very modern introduction.” At the time of my visit there were no chairs near the altar, or communion table.

---

240. Pugin, *An Apology*, 29.



## Sacred symbols and imagery

No doubt whatever can exist at the present time respecting the propriety of decorating churches with sacred symbols and imagery: the lively representation of the life of our blessed Redeemer, and the works and martyrdoms of the saints, cannot fail to be productive of much edification and good.<sup>241</sup>

Sacred imagery is a noble field for the exercise of the highest powers of art; and painting and sculpture, when devoted to the service of the Church, are calculated to improve and elevate the religious feelings of a nation in a surprising degree.<sup>242</sup>

The floor plan of St. Augustine's is a simple one (See Figure 27) as are the construction materials used to build the church. From either entrance; the north side or the south, the four main sections of the church, nave, chancel, aisle and Lady Chapel, are visible, at least partially. The four walls are built from a light tan-colored stone carved in large blocks. There is some slight variation in the color of the stone but that does not detract from the overall effect of lightness. The stone blocks cover each wall from floor to ceiling except for wood paneled areas on the west and east ends of the nave and chancel. Because of this relatively simple design approach it is the details that draw the visitor's attention. The stained glass, the statuary, the font, the screens and other sacred objects situated around the church become very obvious because of the richness and detail of their designs as they are set against the neutral-colored stone.

There is, however, a quiet, gentleness to how these details reveal themselves to the beholder, with the exception of the stained glass, which is very evident when

---

241. Pugin, *An Apology*, 29.

242. Pugin, *An Apology*, 31.

walking into the church for the first time. Although the walls are light-colored the interior of the church is somewhat dark. The stained glass windows glow with color and light in the dark interior of the church and draw the eye around the space. Every wall contains a series of stained glass panels. There are even stained glass windows inside the two confessionals on the north wall. Each stained glass panel in the church depicts part of a Biblical story or a story of saints and martyrs.

The sizes of the stained glass windows range from large multi-light<sup>243</sup> panels to small openings up near the ceiling, some of these open to allow air to circulate through the building. All of the major windows are formed into pointed arch shapes but some, the smaller higher ones, have quatrefoil shapes. All of the windows are surrounded, and in some cases divided, by flowing, deeply carved stone tracery.<sup>244</sup> See Figure 40.

---

243. A *light* is defined as “an opening defined by the *bars of tracery*.” See Curl’s *Piety Proclaimed*, 171.

244. *Tracery*, is the “arrangement by which panels, screens vaults, or windows are divided into parts or lights of different shapes and sizes by means of moulded stone bars or ribs.” See Curl’s *Piety Proclaimed*, for a comprehensive overview of different styles and types of tracery, 179-180



Fig. 40. East window in the Pugin chantry showing deeply carved tracery in a heart-shaped pattern.

Not all of the stained glass seen in the church today was designed by Pugin. Some of the stained glass panels were additions after his death, but all of the tracery was of his design. The Pugin windows stand out in their colorations and detail. According to Horner and Hunter the “east window, the two south windows in the lady chapel, and the south west window were completed with stained glass lights” at the time of Pugin’s death in 1852.<sup>245</sup> Windows of Pugin’s design are seen in Figure 41.

---

245. Horner and Hunter, 19.

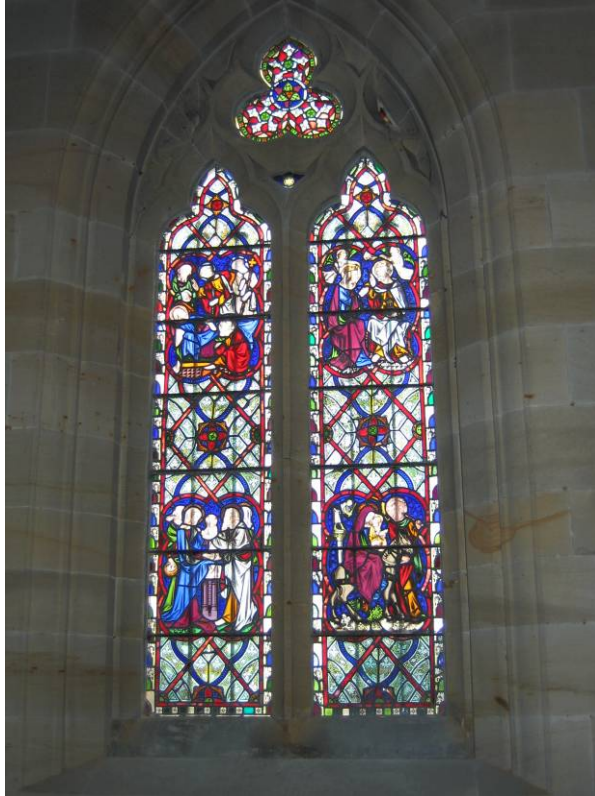


Fig. 41. Two-light window of Pugin's design on the south wall of the Lady chapel.

Many sacred objects can be found in the church's interior. Among them is the wooden rood that hangs down from the ceiling in the archway that defines the chancel. The rood was not designed by Pugin and is believed to be a fourteenth-century cross with a carved wood Christ figure from the fifteenth century attached. See Figure 42.



Fig. 42. The ancient polychrome wooden rood hanging in the archway between the chancel and the nave.

Horner and Hunter surmise that Pugin could have brought the objects back with him from a trip to the Netherlands.<sup>246</sup>

The font, as described previously, is one of the most visually significant sacred objects in the church. Because of its massive size, the intricateness of the carvings and its overall ornamentation the font becomes the focal point of the south and east portions of the church. Other visible sacred objects at the church include a silver lamp in the form of a ship, which hangs outside of the Lady Chapel near a sculpture of

---

246. Horner and Hunter, 31.

Mary and the Christ Child. Silver crowns top the statues of Mary and Jesus. See Figure 43.



Fig. 43. Silver ship lamp and silver-crowned stone statues of Mary and Child within a carved canopied niche. The Pugin chantry screen is seen on the right.

Three other stone statues decorate the walls of St. Augustine's. One above the confessional is of St. Joseph. A statue of St. Benedict, with a raven at his feet, is seen prominently in the nave. The third, and perhaps most significant of the three, at least from an aesthetic point of view, is the statue of the patron saint of the church, St. Augustine, located above the pulpit. He is represented offering a blessing to the church

with his right hand as he cradles a model of the church in the crook of his left arm.

The statue is set into a heavily carved canopied niche with three crocketed spires rising above the figure. A tracery-topped pointed arch frame surrounds the saint. He is clothed in Gothic-styled ecclesiastical garments, including a miter on his head. See Figures 44, 45 and 46.



Fig. 44. Stone statue of St. Benedict in the nave.



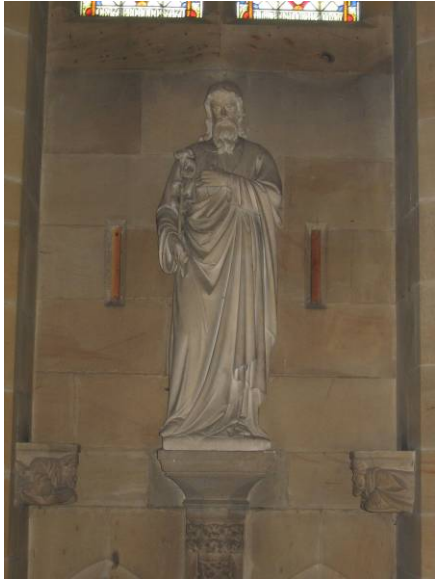


Fig. 45. Stone statue of St. Joseph above the confessional doorways in the transept.

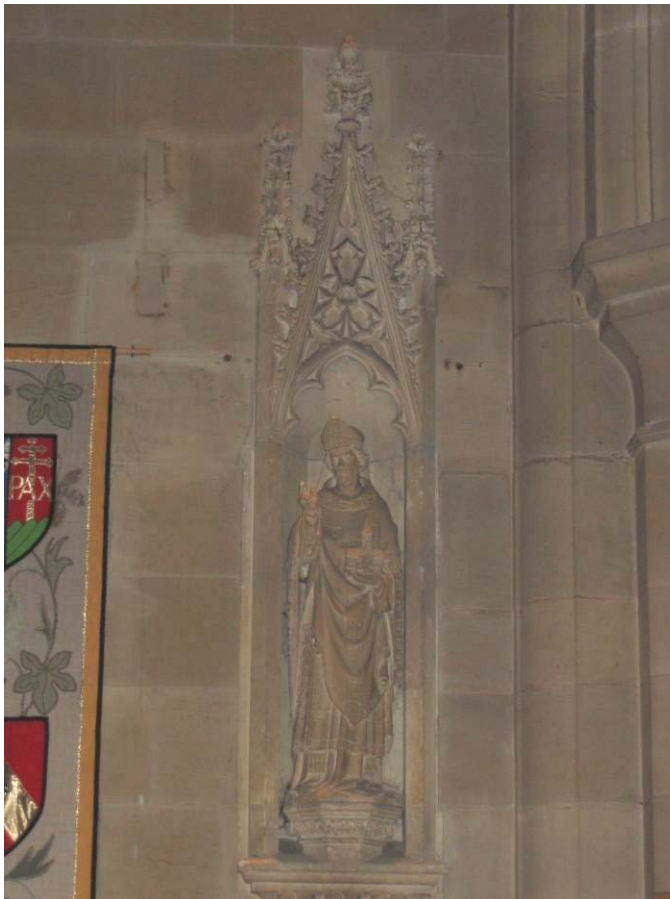


Fig. 46. Stone statue of St. Augustine within a canopied niche, holding a replica of the church in the crook of his left arm, located above the free-standing pulpit in the nave.



Sacred objects used during church rituals at St. Augustine's are housed in the north sacristy (one of two sacristies at the church) and are not visible to the casual visitor to the church. The north sacristy was the first part of the church to be completed.<sup>247</sup> Of the ecclesiastical objects housed there that were certainly designed by Pugin, is a monstrance, a flagon and basin, multiple candlesticks and altar crosses. The monstrance<sup>248</sup> illustrated in Figure 47 was displayed at Pugin's Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851. It is made of gilded brass and has a six-lobed base. Multiple sun rays containing star shapes radiate out from the center of the object and it is topped with an intricate cross on which fleur-de-lis shapes decorate its arms.

---

247. The north sacristy was used for services at St. Augustine's until the sanctuary was finished. In this room is a five-paneled stained glass window and a carved wooden cabinet both attributed to Pugin. The doors of the cabinet are carved with a linen-fold design, elaborated with carved trefoil shapes at the tops and bottoms of each "fold."

248. *Monstrance*: "A transparent pyx, in which the Blessed Sacrament is carried in solemn processions, and exposed on the altar," A. Welby Pugin's, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, 3d, (Bernard Quaritch: London, UK, 1868), 180. *Pyx*: "The box or vessel in which the sacrament is reserved," Curl's *English*, 138.



Fig. 47. Monstrance at St. Augustine's.

The flagon and basin shown in Figures 48 and 49 are made of silver plate. The designs of these two objects are simple. There is some shallow carving around the neck and widest portion of the flagon, and the lid is topped with a simple flat cross shape with a three-lobed terminus. The plate has a slightly rolled outer edge at its lip and a recessed area to fit the bottom of the flagon. There are no other decorative elements on the basin.



Fig. 48. Silver plate flagon or cruet.



Fig. 49. Silver plate basin.

An altar cross is shown in Figure 50. The cross is approximately two and a half feet tall and has six rounded lobes with six alternating pointed lobes at its base. Rising from the base is a four-sided support that is interrupted by six extending knobs. At the end of each knob is a gold-colored fleur-de-lis pattern on a blue background. Above this area is a two-sided trefoil form on which the focal point of the cross rests. There is a crest centrally located on the supporting column of the cross that represents Pugin's friend the Reverend Alfred Luck.<sup>249</sup> Luck, a Catholic convert, supported Pugin's efforts at St. Augustine's and gave "several gifts of plate."<sup>250</sup> The three arms of the cross end in large tre-foil shapes, each filled with green enamel and gold-colored fleur-de-lis patterns. The Christ figure is also gold-colored. The surface of the entire

---

249. Atterbury, A.W.N. *Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*, 296.

250. Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, 17.

cross is covered in a regular pattern of small blue quatre-foil shapes on a white enamel background.



Fig. 50. Silver and enamel altar cross.

Ecclesiastical textiles were also designed specifically for St. Augustine's. One of the cope and hood sets<sup>251</sup> he designed for the church is on display at the Victoria

---

251. *Cope and hood*; like a cape the *cope* is worn as an outer garment. It is open down the front with the two sides fastening at the neck. As an ecclesiastical garment it is used during ceremonies and processions. The type of *hood* that is seen attached to the cope in Figure 44 is a modification of the extension of a cape which usually covers the head. In 19<sup>th</sup> century ecclesiastical use the *hood* was non-functional and was often highly decorated, as in this case, with embroidery. See Christa C.

and Albert Museum in London.<sup>252</sup> See Figure 51.



Fig. 51. A cope and hood designed by Pugin for use at St. Augustine's, Ramsgate. (Photograph used with permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK. See Appendix I, page 220.)

The cope is approximately floor length. From the shoulders to the floor the garment is made from a woven cloth containing three colors; burgundy-red, red and gold. The background color is red with the surface pattern woven in a gold color. The

---

Mayer-Thurman's *Raiment for the Lord's Service* (Chicago, IL: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1975), 30-32.

252. There were three copes designed by Pugin for St. Augustine's, according to Paula Johnstone, Plate XXVII, A.

overall pattern is floral and depicts “a revised large palmette design.”<sup>253</sup>

The back of the garment is the only angle available for viewing. At the back of the neck line there is a narrow band of braid with a gold-colored background decorated with red, stylized four-petaled floral shapes at close regular intervals. Below this braid is an approximately six-inch band of solid burgundy-colored velvet that tapers down from the neck to the shoulder of the garment. Another piece of the braid, described above, separates the solid-colored fabric from the main body of the garment. Along this line of braid there are small brass buttons that hold the loops of the hood, to secure it to the cope as it hangs down the back of the garment.

The hood is finely embroidered and contains a depiction of the head of Christ in a center medallion. This portrait is encircled by two rings of floral patterns. The pattern within the circle directly around the center medallion is narrow and less defined than the larger circle. In the wider circle eight five-petaled pink flowers are set in fields of green foliage-type motifs. Braid, similar to that described above, outlines the entire hood. A fringe made of red and green fibers falls from the edges of the hood. The pinks and greens of the hood are in contrast to the deep red and gold of the cope.

Following Pugin’s discussion of the nine “principles” and “formularies” he writes,

Now to sum up. If, as I have shown, the Anglican Church requires bell towers, spires, naves, chancels, screens, fonts, altars, sacred symbols and ornaments, I will ask whether the types of these various features are to be found in the ancient pointed churches of England, or in the classic temples of antiquity? Surely no one can hesitate to admit at once that, in the former, we have perfect models for imitation; while, in the latter, we cannot find one

---

253. Ibid., 119.

corresponding arrangement or detail: and therefore, even in its present position, by its own existing canons and rubrics, the Anglican Church is bound, consistently, to work exclusively on the principles of Christian architecture, and to renounce all pagan adaptations whatsoever.<sup>254</sup>

In typical self-righteous fashion Pugin ends this section of *An Apology* with,

I trust I have now set forth enough to prove that the religious edifices of England, if consistently designed, should be arranged on the same principles as the ancient buildings erected by our Catholic forefathers. They must, of course, fall far short of the glorious solemnity that can alone be attained in a truly Catholic position; but, as far as they go, they should have all in common with English antiquity, and not the slightest accordance with classic arrangement and detail.<sup>255</sup>

The principles Pugin laid out in *An Apology* are quite easily related to the design of St. Augustine's. The structure and its layout as well as all of the ecclesiastical objects found at the church follow, very closely, Pugin's architectural principles. Given that construction of the church was started after the last of Pugin's books were published (at least the first editions, in some cases later editions came after the church was begun) it is clear that Pugin had designed the church with his words in mind.

---

254. Pugin, *An Apology*, 31.

255. Pugin, *An Apology*, 33.

### Summary

Some have said that St. Giles's church in Cheadle was where Pugin followed his own principles most closely<sup>256</sup> but, St. Giles's is a far more lavishly decorated church than St. Augustine's, done in the English Decorated style. Reading Pugin's words, in all of his books, one senses that it is not decorating for the sake of decoration and aesthetics that is of the utmost importance, it is following the tenets set out by the ancient builders, those who were following the "rules" or "rubrics" set forth by the early church. Function is of the most critical importance, form simply follows after.

St. Augustine's is, in essence, a simple church. It is cruciform in layout and contains the basic elements of church design as Pugin describes them: nave, chancel, aisle, Lady chapel and southern porch. Most of the details that enrich the space do not appear to have been placed there to decorate, although that is one function they perform. For example, stained glass windows, beautiful in their color and imagery are there to tell bible-inspired stories and the baptismal font, lavish in its ornamentation and carved detail, again, has deep-rooted meaning in the Catholic religious ceremony. Statues, screens and ecclesiastical objects are placed around the church as somewhat subtle reminders of Catholic ritual and ancient ideas.

Evidence revealed that St. Augustine's is a good "fit" with Pugin's written

---

256. See Atterbury, A. W. N. *Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*. "An ambitious structure, lavishly finished, almost regardless of cost, Saint Giles's represents the crowning achievement of Pugin's career as a church builder and the fulfillment of his dream of modern Christian architecture," 292.



principles. With his design at St. Augustine's Pugin truly made his celebrated, and sometimes reviled<sup>257</sup> architectural principles come to life.

### **Culture, Society and Creativity: Pugin and His Church**

There is little question that A.W.N. Pugin was a creative person. His ideas and designs helped move the Gothic Revival Movement forward<sup>258</sup> in nineteenth-century England. Pugin's work has been discussed and analyzed in written sources and on view in exhibitions in Europe and North America for over one hundred and fifty years. During his lifetime his original designs were featured in his own books on architectural principles and in the pattern books he created, as well as in the structures

---

257. In an example of the displeasure found in Pugin's earliest work *Contrasts* a book reviewer for the *British Critic*, January 1839 states "it betrays an utter want of either soundness or fairness in its pretence at argument . . . Though as we understand, Mr. Pugin has himself been converted to Popery by the argument of his Contrast, he has himself illustrated how unfairly it may be applied . . . the written part of his work is childish both in style and argument; in fact, it is scarcely worth reading, but for such remarks in it as are purely architectural, and for the quotations from Stow, Dugdale, Heylin, &c., and old French historians, in the Appendix. Mr Pugin ought never to write, when he can draw so infinitely better." As cynical as these statement are about Pugin's principles the reviewer also states that his contrasts of Classical and Gothic-styled structures "confirm us in our previous opinion that Mr. Pugin is the first Gothic architect of the age," 479-481. *The Rambler*, a Catholic periodical published during the nineteenth century, also had opinions of Pugin's work. *The Rambler* of January, 1850, responded to a pamphlet Pugin published admonishing their church building advice, saying "In the ages when Gothic architecture flourished, did they build in one style in a secluded vale and in another in the thickly populated cities? What on earth has the lancet style to do with secluded vales and Cistercian abbeys, seeing that when the lancet style was the living language of art, every church of every kind in every situation was built in that style? Loud would be the laughter of a Cistercian architect of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, could he appear again among his professing followers and hear them gravely tell him that a dark, gloomy, lancet-windowed building was the only thing he *ought to have erected* in his silent valley," 370.

258. "Pugin did much for the correct revival of Gothic architecture." T. Talbot Bury, in his obituary to Pugin in *The Builder*, Saturday September 25, 1852. The obituary was written 11 days after Pugin's death.

and ecclesiastical designs of his commissioned work. A display of the breadth of his design work was first included in The Great Exhibition of 1851 in London and continues to be shown in exhibits into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.<sup>259</sup>

Many extant structures and objects survive.

What is of interest to this section of the current study are two questions:

1. How did early nineteenth century culture and society, the period between the mid-1830s and the early 1850s, influence Pugin's design of St. Augustine's?
2. How does Pugin's design for St. Augustine's Church reflect his creativity?

To help answer these questions Csikszentmihalyi's creativity model<sup>260</sup> and the historical method were employed.

Both questions require looking at the influences of culture and society and the following is a discussion of the socio-cultural milieu in which Pugin developed his architectural principles that later resulted in his church at Ramsgate, St. Augustine's.

---

259. Examples of contemporary exhibits include the "A. W. N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival" exhibition at The Bard Center for the Decorative Arts in New York City in 1995 and more recently a traveling exhibition on the Arts and Crafts movement called "International Arts and Crafts: William Morris to Frank Lloyd Wright," in which a chair by Pugin was displayed. I viewed the exhibition at San Francisco's de Young Museum in the spring of 2006. In a book that accompanied the exhibition the author called Pugin's work, among others, "important antecedents to the [Arts and Crafts] movement." See Karen Livingstone's *Essential Arts and Crafts*, (London, UK: V & A Publications, 2005), 9-10.

260. A systems model for the study of creativity, developed by Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi, was used as the basis for my discussion of Pugin's creativity. Along with the physical model is a list of thirty questions that Csikszentmihalyi has identified as a means of directing research inquiries into the influence of culture and society on the development of the creative individual. The questions were used as guides to direct my data collection, analysis and critical interpretation of the data but, are not referred to directly in this section.

The influences are the ones that, in theory, allowed him to develop as a creative individual which, in turn, resulted in the design and construction of St. Augustine's, Ramsgate.

### Culture and Society in Pugin's England

Great Britain's position as a compact island, held together even in the early eighteenth century by a relatively advanced system of canals and roads, the free trade that nourished within its boundaries so much earlier than in other European nation states, the precocity and ubiquity of its newspaper and periodical press, and the fact that England and Scotland were the most swiftly urbanising parts of Europe in the 1700s: all of these economic conditions undoubtedly contributed towards the coming together and the continuing together of this essentially invented nation.<sup>261</sup>

The England of Pugin's time was set apart from continental Europe and to set the stage for Pugin's design at St. Augustine's, Ramsgate it is important to learn more about the world in which Pugin lived and which undoubtedly was an influence.

### Worldview

. . .the Protestant worldview which allowed so many Britons to see themselves as a distinct and chosen people persisted long after the Battle of Waterloo, and long after the passing the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 as well. For most Victorians, the massive overseas empire which was the fruit of so much successful warfare represented final and conclusive proof of Great Britain's providential destiny. God had entrusted Britons with empire, they believed, so as to further the worldwide spread of the Gospel and as a testimony to their status as the Protestant Israel.<sup>262</sup>

---

261. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging The Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 369.

262. *Ibid.*, 368-369.

This passage reflects several socio-cultural phenomena that merged to create a somewhat representative point of view from an early nineteenth-century perspective:

English society saw themselves as separate from others, which of course they were physically by way of their island nation, but the separateness was also a state of mind. Religious movements also impacted the worldview during this time period and as Young states,

Evangelicalism had imposed on society, even on classes which were indifferent to its religious basis and unaffected by its economic appeal, its code of Sabbath observance, responsibility and philanthropy; of discipline in the home, regularity in affairs; it had created a most effective technique of agitation, of private persuasion and social persecution.<sup>263</sup>

English society was recovering from the “gin-loving” period in the eighteenth century when morals were suspect and at the beginning of the nineteenth century across “all classes the old morality—bribery and unbelief, drinking, wenching, and gambling—gradually became regarded as archaic if not antisocial.”<sup>264</sup>

## Religion

As discussed, religion played a major role in the formation of the worldview in early nineteenth-century England as well as influencing the formation of Pugin’s architectural principles. Pugin converted to Catholicism in 1834. Although Catholics

---

263. G. M. Young “A Portrait Of An Age” ed. G. M. Young, 3d, *Early Victorian England 1830-1865, Volume II*. (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963), 416-417.

264. Harvie, 473.

had been freed from suppression by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829,<sup>265</sup>

England remained a Protestant nation throughout Pugin's lifetime.

By converting Pugin did not really do his career any favors. While Emancipation gave Catholics social and political rights they'd previously been denied, anti-Catholic sentiment hovered for years to come. Government was divided in support for the emancipation of Catholics and many people, including large numbers of women, signed Anti-Catholic petitions.<sup>266</sup> David Meara states,

Pugin's conversion was a courageous decision and not without its painful consequences. In becoming Catholic he denied himself the pleasure of worship in England's medieval buildings, he sacrificed the possibility of wide-spread architectural work with the Church of England, and he risked being relegated to a lower stratum of society. Worst of all, he joined a church whose buildings and liturgy gave him considerable pain.<sup>267</sup>

Clearly, Pugin motives were not related to aesthetics alone as some have conjectured.<sup>268</sup> Becoming so well versed in ancient monuments and their representations of sacredness and a moral life had given Pugin pause to consider how he could resurrect those elements and represent them in architectural form.

Other religious groups were gaining followers and the Evangelical Movement was gathering strength. In G. M. Young's *A Portrait Of An Age* he states

---

265. The Emancipation Act freed Catholics to vote, to "enter Parliament and fill the majority of civil offices if they possessed the necessary economic and social qualifications. But Catholics remained excluded from the throne (as they still are)." Colley, 334.

266. Colley, 333.

267. David Meara, "The Catholic Context" ed. Paul Atterbury A. W. *N Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*, 48.

268. *Ibid.*, 47.

The Evangelical discipline, secularized as respectability, was the strongest binding force in a nation which without it might have broken up, as it had already broken loose. For a generation and more the static conception of society had been dissolving because society itself was dissolving.<sup>269</sup>

The consequences of this effort toward respectability included societal pressure that resulted in the freedom of slaves in the British West Indies in 1833, the widening of political representation brought by the Reform Act of 1832 and the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

Religious reform and church building acts were prompted by the changing social climate in England. Urban populations were on the rise as the nation was moving, albeit slowly, toward urbanization and industrialization, and away from its dependence on an agrarian economic and social structure. Cities were growing and with that growth the need for church building. In the early 1800s the Church Building Commission called for the construction of hundreds of Anglican churches between the years 1811 and 1831.<sup>270</sup> After the Commission disbanded

the parallel activity of the Incorporated Church Building Society, dating from the same year as the Church Building Act, saw to it that in whatever direction London expanded, Gothic steeples soon rose above the clustering house-tops.<sup>271</sup>

---

269. Young, "Portrait of an Age," 417.

270. G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Great Churches in Great Britain 1832-1868* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1977), 17.

271. John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, UK: Pleiades Books, 1948), 293.

The Oxford movement started in 1833. This movement came out of the Established Church as a reaction relating to “opposition either to the excess of reform or its inadequacy, depending on differing ecclesiastical viewpoints.”<sup>272</sup> Tractarians, as they were called due to the large number of propaganda tracts they distributed, were opposed to the reforms brought about in the 1830s. People from evangelical and other dissenter points of view joined the growing movement. Through various means Pugin met leading members of the Movement, among them Rev. Bloxam and the group’s leader John Henry Newman. Events transpired in the early 1840s that lead Pugin to believe that there would be reconciliation between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. Newman eventually denounced the Church of England and converted to Catholicism. While Pugin believed he had found a true ally in his fight for the revival of Catholic traditions he and Newman would part ways over Pugin’s insistence on retaining chancel screens.<sup>273</sup>

Meara<sup>274</sup> suggests that Pugin’s later writings eventually brought him into opposition with his own religion. He had “effectively separated himself from the mainstream of Catholic thought and progress.”<sup>275</sup> His unrelenting system of beliefs and the non-negotiable quality of his architectural arguments had begun to separate him from his beloved, adopted religion.

---

272. Machin, 75.

273. Meara, 53-54.

274. I had the enormous pleasure of hearing Dr. Meara deliver a sermon, as a guest minister, at Ely Cathedral during my research trip to England. I met him afterward and introduced myself as a fellow Pugin devotee. He invited me to coffee at his Fleet Street parish, but unfortunately time did not allow for the visit.

275. Meara, 59.

## Technology

Thomas Carlyle described the technological “landscape” of early nineteenth-century England in the following passage from his 1829 essay “Signs of the Times:”

Were we required to characterize this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age. It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word; the age which, with its whole undivided might, forwards, teaches and practises the great art of adapting means to ends. Nothing is now done directly, or by hand; all is by rule and calculated contrivance.<sup>276</sup>

Carlyle’s essay pointed to problems associated with a culture in transition as England was during the early nineteenth century. Industrialization had begun to make its mark on England and changes were brewing on the horizon. The age of the machine had commenced. Carlyle was prophesizing an end to the importance of man’s spirit and the beginning of belief in the machine as a means of not only the production of goods, but a complete societal transformation.

Carlyle’s rather dire predictions have some merit worth looking at in relation to the mechanisms of culture and society during Pugin’s lifetime. Technology was improving at a rather rapid rate in some areas. One of those areas, for example, was agriculture where technological advances had successful outcomes for the English. In the early 1800s, agriculture in England was more productive than in any other European country.<sup>277</sup> With the nation’s population on the rise and more and more

---

276. An essay from Carlyle’s book *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays: Collected and Republished Volume I*. (Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1869; reprint, Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1839), 465.

277. Harvie, 477.



people moving into towns the increased efficiency of farming meant that these city and town dwellers could be fed.<sup>278</sup>

In 1801 about 30 per cent of the mainland British lived in towns, and 21 per cent in towns of over 10,000 population—a far higher percentage than in any north European country. Industrial towns, however, accounted for less than a quarter of this figure.<sup>279</sup>

In addition to increased agricultural production “three sectors were dominant—coal, iron, and textiles. . . textiles were the power which towed the glider of industrialization into the air.”<sup>280</sup> In 1800 cotton mills were “chief users” of Watt’s steam engine of 1774, but the technology also had later effect on transportation in the form of locomotives in 1804 and the shipping industry in 1812. The steam engine also affected the machining industry which made the machine replication process a more efficient task.<sup>281</sup> Phyllis Deane, in her book *The First Industrial Revolution*, states that

In manufacturing industry the technical transformation was most evident and most complete in the textile industries, particularly cotton . . . In textiles it was only the cotton industry that had been revolutionized by the early years of the nineteenth century, but it was clearly just a matter of time before the other textile industries responded to competition and example by adapting the new machines to their special needs.<sup>282</sup>

The Jacquard loom, which was invented in France and patented there in 1805, was catching on in England in the early years of the nineteenth century. In the 1820s an

---

278. Ibid.

278. Ibid.

280. Ibid., 479.

281. Ibid., 480.

282. Deane, 125.

English modification to the machine increased textile productivity, allowing the machine to be used in the “cottage industry as well as factory industry.”<sup>283</sup>

In addition to changes in textile production important changes occurred in transportation. Not only was the transportation of goods made more efficient as a result of improved technology, but travel was made easier as well. “It took nearly a fortnight to travel from London to Edinburgh in 1745, two and a half days in 1796, and around 36 hours by coach or steamer in 1830.”<sup>284</sup> By the time Pugin began building St. Augustine’s in the 1840s “2,400 miles of track connected London with Birmingham, Manchester, and Brighton.”<sup>285</sup>

Each of these technological advances would have had direct influence on Pugin and his work. He depended on manufactured goods for all of his designs and for the construction of St. Augustine’s. In Ramsgate, on the southeastern English coast, most materials had to be transported some distance to the site.

Workmen of various types were involved in Pugin’s architectural and ecclesiastical works, including the construction and fitting out of St. Augustine’s, Ramsgate. J. G. Crace, was a main source of interiors goods, such as textiles, wallpaper and furniture; Herbert Minton headed the ceramics company who supplied Pugin with encaustic tiles and other ceramic household goods; John Hardman & Company, was the chief manufacturer of Pugin’s stained glass design and metalwork; and George Myers, worked as Pugin’s builder. Hardman and Myers had offices in, or

---

283. Ibid.

284. Harvie, 481.

285. Ibid., 507.

near London, with Hardman & Co. located in Birmingham and Minton, even farther away, in Stoke-on-Trent. It is known that Crace once sent furniture Pugin had ordered for his home, The Grange, situated next to the church, via steamer, much to Pugin's distress, as the steamer could not come close to his home, and the items were transported by small boats to the shore.<sup>286</sup> During the construction of St. Augustine's "drawings, samples, and furnishings for Saint Augustine's arrived by post, boat, and after 1847, by rail at Ramsgate."<sup>287</sup> Without improvements to roads and means of transportation it is doubtful that Pugin could have operated his architectural business at the frantic tempo he set for himself, especially with his practice located in Ramsgate, away from a central hub of industry. Communications, travel to meet clients and workmen and the transportation of goods to construction sites would have all been hindered by the slower pace.

Pugin himself wrote about the efficiency of modern machines and their usefulness to the building trades.

[T]he Christian architect should gladly avail himself of those improvements and increased facilities that are suggested from time to time. The steam engine is a most valuable power for sawing, raising, and cleansing stone, timber, and other materials . . . Why should ten minutes be expended in raising a body which could be equally well done in two? . . . if I were engaged in the erection of a vast church, I should certainly set up an engine that would saw blocks, turn detached shafts, and raise the various materials to the required heights. By saving and expedition in these matters, there would be more funds and a greater amount of manual labour to expend on enrichments and variety of detail.<sup>288</sup>

---

286. Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, 9.

287. Hill, "Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin: A Biographical Sketch," 12.

288. Pugin, *An Apology*, 39-40.

One can presume that Pugin utilized, at least in part, the technologies that were available to him in the construction of St. Augustine's. Pugin hired masons<sup>289</sup> to cut stone at the church, but it is not known what tools were used in its construction.

### **Town Life**

Pugin's early life was influenced by rising populations. Although

[l]ife was safer and longer, and every census was swelled by the numbers of babies who now grew up, young people who now lived into manhood, old people who lingered on the early which a hundred years before they would have quitted in middle life<sup>290</sup>

life in industrial areas, like London, where Pugin was born, had negative effects.

Deane states that as a result of increased population in urban areas "the human environment was deteriorating perceptibly through the first half of the nineteenth century,"<sup>291</sup> and it would be many years before improvement was the rule rather than the exception. A polemic view of early nineteenth-century society would point to the extremely difficult and meager situation of the working class at one end of the socio-economic spectrum and to the relatively comfortable life of the land owner at the other. An example of this is seen in R. H. Mottram's description of Exeter in the early 1800s. At over 28,000 inhabitants the town was, in some parts, open and airy while other areas contained

---

289. Horner and Hunter, 19.

290. G. M. Young's "A Portrait Of An Age," 429-430.

291. Deane, 261.

old over-hanging houses, so built to keep the rain out, had shop fronts which were still unglazed; while the confusingly named west quarter, really the south-west suburb, where old-fashioned manual industries and hovels crowded on the walls above the bridge, was full of accumulated offal, pigsties, chicken runs, and manure heaps so valuable that their removal was strongly resisted.<sup>292</sup>

Mottram continues by describing the cholera outbreak of 1832 in London and how the unfortunate spread of the disease to towns like Exeter and Leeds played out over the course of several months that year. Town life in early Victorian England was “almost wholly unorganized: the physical basis of it was perilously unsound. There was little or no local government, and there were no drains.”<sup>293</sup> He continues to say that “[w]hole streets were floating with sewage.”<sup>294</sup>

Although populations were growing in the urban areas in the 1850s, near the end of Pugin’s life, “far more nineteenth-century Britons than is usually recognized lived in [rural] places . . . little worlds to themselves, cut off for most of the time by customs, poverty, ignorance and apathy.”<sup>295</sup> Ramsgate would probably not have been considered a place “cut off” in the early nineteenth as it was a coastal town and a growing and “fashionable” resort area,<sup>296</sup> but it was away from London and other industrial towns. Pugin’s beautiful watercolor of St. Augustine’s Church,<sup>297</sup> created

---

292. R. H. Mottram, “Town Life,” ed. G.M. Young’s *Early Victorian England 1830- 1865 Volume I* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963), 155-156.

293. Ibid., 166.

294. Ibid., 167.

295. Colley, 372-373

296. Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, 6.

297. For a detailed description of this painting see Footnote 153.

between 1841 and 1849, shows the church compound surrounded by fields bearing multiple crops. Pugin's pictorial view was a bit naïve, it seems, as in the years since he'd begun life there permanently, in 1844, the town had been growing closer and closer to his home and his church next door. The town had changed since the days he'd visited his aunt there as both a child and a young man. By the 1840s,

Ramsgate . . . had seen changes. It had grown in size and prosperity, the streets were now paved and lit by gas. There was a new Town Hall. The seaside towns grew as fast in the early nineteenth century as the industrial cities, and like them their expanding population was made up mostly of working people attracted by the prospect of employments. They tended to be low church in religion and for reform in politics.<sup>298</sup>

The population of Ramsgate swelled from around 4,000 inhabitants in the early years of the nineteenth century to approximately 15,000 by 1851.<sup>299</sup> Pugin tried, in vain, to serve the growing community surrounding him by starting a school and planning a hospital. The school project failed and the hospital plan never came to fruition. Though he made efforts to be connected with the town of Ramsgate, Pugin, in many ways, was still somewhat of a recluse behind the walls of his compound. He envisioned his property to be a medieval town within the larger town of Ramsgate and that a Gothic way of life would flourish there.<sup>300</sup>

---

298. Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, 7.

299. Ibid., 12.

300. Ibid.

## Communication and Travel

Technological advancements also had effect in the area of communications and travel. The exchange of ideas in early nineteenth-century England was not a particularly difficult endeavor, even for those people living outside of the industrial urban areas. Newspapers and periodicals were in abundance and offered information about a broad variety of topics. Bound books were also widely accessible. Fictional literature and poetry were written to record and expand on the human experience. Non-fiction books were also available in a multitude of subject areas from academic topics such as mathematics, science, the arts and philosophy to subjects of interest closer to the hearth on child-rearing and housekeeping. Pugin was not only a voracious reader, and as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, he owned hundreds of books.<sup>301</sup> In addition to his reading Pugin kept in contact with the world outside of his compound in two very important ways. He communicated through letter writing<sup>302</sup> and he traveled extensively.<sup>303</sup> In his travels Pugin was often exposed to the ways of other cultures. He was one of those in the middle and upper classes who could afford the expense of travel. Trips to continental Europe and beyond were a fairly common

---

301. Pugin read pattern books, architectural histories and kept abreast of the works of contemporary architects among other topics. In his book *Contrasts* he references authors such as historians Dugdale, Stowe, Strype, and Foxe.

302. Postal services were available to rural areas during the early years of the century but as F.M.L. Thompson explains in his book *The Rise of Respectable Society* “[b]efore the introduction of the penny post and the accompanying postal reforms in 1840 the postal service was a concern of politicians, businessmen, the well-to-do, and the privileged: it scarcely touched the mass of the people at all, except possibly as the carrier of newspapers that they read in public houses” p. 358.

303. See Footnote 344 for an example of Pugin’s travel schedule.

occurrence<sup>304</sup> and England's close physical proximity to France made it a prime destination. A trip to Paris "was as attractive as ever, and the main starting-point for an Italian tour."<sup>305</sup> The long standing relationship between the English and their French neighbors, although often rocky, made the sharing and adopting of each others' ideas quite natural. Pugin, being born of a French father spoke the language fluently and traveled there often.

### **Architecture and Aesthetics**

Architecture was a thriving enterprise in the nineteenth century but, there was also plenty of confusion about architectural style during this period. A. E. Richardson paints a lengthy, yet efficient description of the state of architecture during the first half of the nineteenth century:

During the first half of the nineteenth century an increasing number of architects had ranged themselves on the classic side, either by virtue of their training as pupils or assistants of classical architects, or because they preferred classic to the caprices of Gothic. They actually succeeded in maintaining an academic standard within their somewhat exclusive circle. The mass of building, not excepting the vast speculations on the Pimlico estates which were undertaken by Cubitts, who employed their own architectural staff, was pronouncedly classical. True, this volume of housing lacked the charm of the vernacular of the eighteenth century, but it had the merits of conspicuous uniformity and precision. Outside these circles the lapses into drab mediocrity were more palpable; then as now there was no controlling the grasping speculative builder; no guidance for the perplexed mechanic. Any

---

304. See a discussion on "holidays" in Edward Royle's *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-1985* (London, UK: Edward Arnold, 1989), 261-263.

305. Mona Wilson, "Travel and Holidays" ed. G. M. Young, 3d., *Early Victorian England: 1830-1865, Volume II*, ed. G. M. Young (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1936; reprint, London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963), 296 (page citations are to the reprint edition).



attempt to understand the art of the period must make allowances for the ease in which the speculator was then allowed to work. But for the intervention of the District Surveyors, but for the general desire of the middle class to be respectably housed, the vernacular might have been much worse.<sup>306</sup>

Richardson's view of the subsequent aesthetic quality of Victorian architecture also seems a bit dour when he says,

[t]he great merit of the Victorian period was that it left the countryside comparatively unspoiled . . . It was indeed blessed that mid-Victorian expansion and commercial prosperity was in the main confined to the towns, and in these centres Victorian Architecture, good and indifferent, flourished.<sup>307</sup>

Part of the confusion was that several major architectural revivals were occurring at around the same time; Classical, Gothic and Italian, or Renaissance.<sup>308</sup> A revival of Classical architecture was in mode in the early years of the nineteenth century but was begun even earlier. Examples of refined 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century English Classically-styled architecture abound. Christopher Wren had made his mark on London during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with the design and construction of St. Paul's cathedral whose dome, at the time, was one of the largest in the world. In the late eighteenth century English architect and designer Robert Adam had created magnificent Neo-classical buildings and elegant interior designs.

Prominent early nineteenth-century classical architects included, John Soane, 1753-1837, John Nash, for whom Pugin's father worked as a draftsman, Charles

---

306. A. E. Richardson, "Architecture" ed. G. M. Young's *Early Victorian England 1830-1865 Vol. II*, 201.

307. Ibid., 208.

308. Of most interest to this study are the Classical and Gothic Revivals, therefore they will be the ones discussed here.

Cockerell, 1788-1863, Robert Smirke, 1781-1867, who rebuilt the British Museum, George Basevi 1799-1845, Decimus Burton, 1800-1881 and Charles Barry, 1795-1860, with whom A. W. N. Pugin worked with on the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament from 1836 into the 1840s.<sup>309</sup>

In nineteenth century London, building, while not regulated, carried on the Classical architectural style for various reasons, one of importance was the influence of a rising number of banks and “assurance companies”<sup>310</sup> for whom presenting an image of affluence and stability was imperative. In 1838, one such company, the Globe, “seized one of the finest sites in the City”<sup>311</sup> and its offices were decorated with pilasters and a balustrade that followed the contours of the roofline.<sup>312</sup> Also in London, The Royal Exchange building was rebuilt between 1842 and 1844 by architect William Tite after a fire burnt it to the ground. The new façade featured “a huge Corinthian portico.”<sup>313</sup> These are but a few examples, but the style flourished for years during the Victorian era.

Gothic Revival also had roots in the past and was not a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century. The literature of Sir Walter Scott, the development of the Picturesque and the works of antiquarians all had influence on the movement to revive

---

309. For a lengthy discussion of early nineteenth century and Early Victorian architects and architecture see A. E. Richardson’s “Architecture,” 179-247.

310. Summerson, *The Architecture of Victorian London*, 17.

311. Ibid., 17.

312. Seen in Fig. 12, Summerson, *Architecture of Victorian London*, 20.

313. Ibid., 16.

Gothic.<sup>314</sup> A bridge, of sorts, happened in the early nineteenth century, between Classical architects and those involved with the revival of Gothic, which took the form of the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament. Following the disastrous burning of the building in 1834 there was a design competition to devise a plan that would represent the governing bodies of England, a design that would also embrace parts of the ancient building still standing. In the end Charles Barry, though known as a Classical architect, won the competition based on his brilliant design and the fact that his proposed design was Gothic in style. Kenneth Clark, who devotes a chapter to the Houses of Parliament in his book *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*, states simply in reference to the choice of designs, “Gothic must be used because it was the national style.”<sup>315</sup> Gothic might have been seen as the national style, but, the design for the Houses of Parliament was not without criticism. What was upsetting to many was

that the building had classical roots but . . . is was classical pretending to be Gothic and pretending in a specially wicked way, by exploiting a kind of Gothic which was considered to be a low and corrupt version of the style.<sup>316</sup>

The use of “low” and “corrupt” perhaps alludes to a sense of “falseness.” The use of

---

314. White, 8-9. For an extensive discussion of the development of Gothic Revival architecture from its roots in the eighteenth century, through Rococo Gothic and Picturesque Gothic to the beginnings of the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century, see J. Mourdant’s introductory section III “The Origins of the Gothic Revival” in Charles Eastlake’s *A History of The Gothic Revival*, ed. J. Mourdant Crook, pp. 27-57.

315. Clark, 115.

316. Summerson, *The Architecture of Victorian London*, 4-5.

Gothic design may have seemed like a veil, an architectural disguise.<sup>317</sup> It is also possible that dislike for the building had to do with Victorians desire to “turn their backs on the age immediately preceding their own. To turn one’s back on anything as big and expensive as the Houses of Parliament is a satisfying gesture, if not a very effective one.”<sup>318</sup>

R. Middleton and D. Watkin offer insight into the power and mastery of architects working in the Gothic style during the period:

It cannot be denied that in nineteenth-century England most of the finest minds and the most brilliant designers, with the exception of Cockerell, were drawn to the Gothic not the Classical Revival. There is simply no classical parallel to the astonishingly rich concatenation of Gothic Revivalists—A. W.N. Pugin, John Ruskin, William Morris, William Butterfield, George Edmund Street, and George Frederick Bodley.<sup>319</sup>

Within the ecclesiastical arena of the Gothic Revival were at least two camps. There were strong voices in the movement aligned with both the Anglican tradition and the Roman Catholic Church. Of the architectural leaders in the Anglican camp were Scott, Carpenter and Butterfield.<sup>320</sup> Summerson calls George G. Scott “a pioneer

---

317. In Hill’s “Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin: A Biographical Sketch,” Pugin’s Gothic is considered “scholarly” while its counterpart is called “the fashionable, novelty Gothic,” 37.

318. Summerson, *The Architecture of Victorian London*, 5.

319. From R. Middleton and D. Watkin’s *Neoclassical and 19<sup>th</sup> Century Architecture*, 253. It is of interest that after making the statement quoted above, the authors proceed to detail the work of Classical architects of the time, including much about Cockerell and Barry.

320. Summerson, *The Architecture of Victorian London*, 30.

in the building of these “correct” Gothic churches in London.”<sup>321</sup> R. C. Carpenter built a “model fourteenth-century church in 1849-52 and William Butterfield’s All Saints, Margaret Street in 1849 is called “the most striking church of the period.”<sup>322</sup>

Pugin, was the leading proponent in the Catholic camp of Gothic Revivalists. He was joined by other Catholic architects; J. L. Pearson, T. H. Wyatt, J. C. Buckler and others.<sup>323</sup> Churches designed by these Catholic architects include Pearson’s St. Matthew, Landscope in Devon, 1849-50<sup>324</sup> and J. C. and C. Buckley’s Choirister’s School at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1849-50.<sup>325</sup> Pugin was supported in his ideas in great measure by several influential people including Cardinal Wiseman, Philippe de Lisle and the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom he dedicated his book *True Principles*.

It was in this perplexed architectural climate that Pugin rejected the Classical style, aligned himself squarely in the Catholic camp<sup>326</sup> and forged his own stylistic

---

321. Ibid.

322. Ibid.

323. Eastlake, 210.

324. Eastlake, 79 (in appendix)

325. Eastlake, 80 (in appendix)

326. Although a staunch Catholic Pugin did have an amenable relationship with the Anglican society of architects interested in reviving Gothic architecture, known as the Cambridge Camden Society. The group was formed formally in 1839 and began publishing a regular periodical, the *Ecclesiologist* in 1841, which disseminated information regarding the activities of members and non-members, including church building activities. In August, 1844 the publication celebrated Pugin’s book “*Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, compiled and illustrated from ancient authorities and examples*” by saying “Mr. Pugin has produced a learned dissertation upon the former topic, arranged alphabetically under the words

path. His disgust over the confusion of architectural styles present in his time is evident in the following from *An Apology*,

Will the architecture of our times, even supposing it solid enough to last, hand down to posterity any certain clue or guide to the system under which it was erected? Surely not; it is not the expression of existing opinion and circumstance, but a confused jumble of styles and symbols borrowed from all nations and periods.<sup>327</sup>

And he also attacks his contemporaries who support Classical architecture,

The moderns, in their pretended imitation of the classic system, are constantly producing the greatest anomalies; and we are called upon to admire their thrice-cooked hashes of pagan fragments (in which the ingredients are amalgamated in utter confusion) as fine national monuments of the present age.<sup>328</sup>

John Summerson, in his book *Georgian London*, declares the effect of Pugin's early rejection of classical ideas and the dissolution of architectural taste on Victorian architecture when he states,

“*Taste* . . . entered into a phase of revolutions at the close of the Georgian era; and the first and greatest revolution was the revolution against taste itself. Too often, this phenomenon is represented merely as a pietistic intensification of the antiquarian revival of Gothic. It was far more than that. Its intuition was deep and formidable, perhaps more clearly conscious of what it wanted to destroy than what it wanted to build. To disrupt the rule of taste

---

which he explains; and exhibited the latter to the eye in all the glowing brilliancy of the richest hues: and on both accounts we owe him a large debt of gratitude,” 142.

327. Pugin, *An Apology*, 5.

328. Ibid.

was the first objective, performed with incredible ease. The three-centuries-old fabric collapsed within ten years of the publication of Pugin's *Contrasts* in 1836; the common stuff of early Victorian architecture was made up out of its ruins.<sup>329</sup>

The state of confusion surrounding architecture and aesthetic tastes during Pugin's lifetime seems to be a perfect foil to reflect the strength of his own architectural and design principles. Although culture and society did not have a clear picture of how to reflect their belief and value systems, Pugin was always exceptionally clear in his stance on a 'true' and 'Catholic' Gothic Revival style. He felt that such a style was a way to, if not reflect, demand a more morally acceptable societal posture.

### Pugin and His Background

Pugin was a skilled draftsman and designer from a very young age. His design talents emerged as a fifteen-year-old creating objects, including chalices and furniture, for Windsor Castle. He had keen interest in a variety of careers before he became a full-time architect and designer in his mid-twenties and the gamut of his previous employment ran from theater set and furniture designer to self-employed seaman.<sup>330</sup>

Pugin was born in 1812, to an economically modest family. His father was Auguste Charles Pugin, born into middle class eighteenth-century France. Auguste was a self-employed draftsman, of some note, working in the offices of John Nash,<sup>331</sup>

---

329. Summerson, *Georgian London*, 292.

330. Hill, "Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin: A Biographical Sketch," 38.

331. Ferrey, 1-25.

who also took on students and taught drafting skills. He published books of illustrations featuring Gothic designs and architecture, publishing the later editions with the younger Pugin's assistance. Pugin's English mother taught him writing skills and, as an only child, he often accompanied his father and his students on sketching trips around England and the continent where they toured Gothic cathedrals and ruins.<sup>332</sup> This early influence of his father and young Pugin's exposure to ancient architecture may have sparked what would later be his interest in the revival of Gothic architecture. Traveling and working with his father as the elder Pugin drew medieval architecture and worked on his pattern books must have inspired the young Pugin. His early drawing skills show his, seemingly, innate ability to see and record complex scenes.<sup>333</sup>

Pugin was raised in what would be considered the middle classes. According to Ferrey's account of his youth, Pugin was sent, as a day student, to Christ's Hospital or Newgate School, to receive his early education.<sup>334</sup> When Augustus Pugin was a young man and later as a young father, his households were served by maids, governesses and later a gardener.<sup>335</sup> Despite his busy career he was "always fettered by very limited funds in the execution of his churches,"<sup>336</sup> although that may have had more to

---

332. Hill "Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin: A Biographical Sketch," 31-43.

333. From Wedgwood, A. W. *N Pugin and the Pugin Family*. A scene, drawn during Pugin's early childhood shows a remarkable ability to discern perspective and detail, 122.

334. Ferrey, 32.

335. See Wedgwood, J. H. Powell's '*Pugin in his home*', 174-195

336. Talbot Bury, *The Builder*, Sept. 25, 1852, 607.



do with his employers than with his own financial situation. When his aunt in Ramsgate died she willed him £3,000, which helped him build a house in Salisbury for his growing family.<sup>337</sup> Pugin is seemingly being described in Young's portrayal of the rising middle classes early in the nineteenth century

[W]hile the new proletariat was falling below the median line of improving decency on one side, the middle classes were rising above it on the other, becoming progressively more regular, more sober, more clean in body, more delicate in speech.<sup>338</sup>

As will be seen later Pugin was a much regimented person and “clean in body” and spirit.

Pugin was a very energetic person. “All his movements were rapid, full of mental and bodily energy, shewing a nervous and choleric temperament.”<sup>339</sup> The Pugin household routine was quite rigid, and Pugin set aside regular times for meals and religious practice everyday. This involved “bell at eight for Prayers; Pater, Ave, Credo, Litany.”<sup>340</sup> Evening prayers were said as well. He did not allow alcohol or tobacco in his home.<sup>341</sup> In fact, Pugin had “an innate horror of tobacco and beer.”<sup>342</sup> As for Pugin's appearance, J. H. Powell, who lived with Pugin and his family for many years as his assistant, described Pugin as being

---

337. Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate*, 6.

338. G. M. Young's “A Portrait Of An Age”, 433.

339. Wedgwood, ‘Pugin in his home,’ 176.

340. See p. 174 of J.H. Powell's ‘Pugin in his home’ in *Architectural History*, vol. 31, 1988, edited by Alexandra Wedgwood.

341. Wedgwood, ‘Pugin in his home,’ 177.

342. Ferrey, 63.

never, at any time of life, what is called “dressed in the fashion”, but rather on what he called “true Principals (sic),” plenty of room for the toes spreading in shoes, coat tails long enough to keep legs dry, “Rig-outs” for all weathers, sketching coat with inside pockets roomy enough for biggest sketch blocks and apparatus, black silk knee-breeches and silver buckled shoes for Sundays and Feasts, an ample black velvet gown of his own design for professional wear . . .”<sup>343</sup>

Dressed in the “ample black velvet gown” is how we see Pugin’s likeness carved into the frieze of the Albert Memorial in Kensington Gardens, London, next to his peers dressed in vests, overcoats and trousers.

His exhausting work schedule kept him extremely busy in his home workrooms and out in the field. His diaries reflect his constant travels around England, Britain and the Continent as he checked on architectural commissions and met with clients, workmen and friends.<sup>344</sup> He was a prolific designer and had constructed and remodeled many domestic, secular and ecclesiastical built structures by the time of his death in 1852. Of his most notable secular works was his association with Charles Barry on the redesign and construction of the Houses of Parliament in London

---

343. Ibid., 177.

344. See Alexandra Wedgwood’s publication *Catalogue of the Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum: A. W. N. Pugin and The Pugin Family* (London, UK: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985). One example of Pugin’s busy travel schedule (page 62 in Wedgwood’s book) shows Pugin’s entries for the summer and early fall months of the year 1847. After September 3<sup>rd</sup>, that year, Pugin traveled to the following places (he begins at his home in Ramsgate): London, Birmingham, Carlisle, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Marr Lodge, Perth, Edinburgh, Ushaw, Darlington, Manchester, Winwick and Alton, back to London then to Ramsgate on the 18<sup>th</sup>; on the 22<sup>nd</sup> he travels from Ramsgate to Ostend, Belgium and on to Paris, Amiens and Boulogne and, via Folkstone, back to Ramsgate on the 25<sup>th</sup>. He leaves Ramsgate again on the 27<sup>th</sup> to go to London and Dorchester. He then continues to travel to various locations in England and doesn’t return to Ramsgate until the 17<sup>th</sup> of October.

beginning with the design competition after a fire destroyed the building in 1834. “In the design of the interior of the Houses of Parliament the hand of Pugin is everywhere to be seen.”<sup>345</sup> As has been discussed earlier, he also used his energy to write and illustrate books about Gothic Revival architecture, and he published numerous titles on the subject as has been discussed elsewhere in this study.

Pugin’s stubbornness and mental inflexibility on certain subjects surely aided him in his unfailing determination to revive Gothic architecture and design under often less than favorable conditions. His insistence on a complete return to the medieval-style building model as the only way to bring moral character back to the English people sounded a lot like fanaticism to his critics.

Personality traits of creative people are often described by words such as ‘novel’ and ‘imaginative’.<sup>346</sup> Pugin was certainly an imaginative thinker although he was not as interested in innovation and creating new and different ways of designing buildings as he was in restoring and resurrecting a design style of the past. Where the quality of innovation comes into play in Pugin’s case is his un-dogged determination to go against the dominant architectural paradigm which was insistent upon continuing the revival of Classical architecture. Pugin was so strongly against this point of view that he called all Neo-Classical architecture “pagan” and deemed it counter to the development of a strong and moral English society.

---

345. A. E. Richardson, “Architecture,” 220.

346. Kathryn L. Burton and Elaine L. Pedersen “Concept Analysis: Creativity,” *Journal of Interior Design*, in review.

Pugin was a person with novel ideas who stood out against the backdrop of those also committed to reviving Gothic architecture because of his ability to communicate his ideas with passion and persistence. Pugin wasn't alone in the quest for the perfect nineteenth-century representation of Gothic form but, his willingness to fight for his convictions with words and actions set him apart from other Gothic Revivalists.

His passion for Gothic was seen in every facet of his life. It was reflected in his own appearance and also in a painted portrait of his third wife, Jane Knill, as she wears a medieval-style gown and jewelry of Pugin's design. His home, The Grange, in Ramsgate, was built using Gothic design ideas, complete with a tower with a crenulated roofline and a private chapel. Almost every object Pugin designed had a Gothic-inspired quality. Gothic Revivalism was more than a novel idea for Pugin it was the basis of existence. Near the end of Pugin's life several of his designs were showcased at The Great Exhibition of 1851 held in Paxton's Crystal Palace in Hyde Park.<sup>347</sup> It was an international event, on a grand scale, where novel, innovative and creative ideas were shown to a paying public. Pugin was put in charge of the "Medieval Court" and many of his designs were displayed there. Among the objects designed by Pugin were ecclesiastical items including; candlesticks, chalices, altars, tabernacles and other household objects such as furniture, planter boxes and tiles.<sup>348</sup>

---

347. For a discussion of the planning, construction and event see R. H. Mottram, "Town Life," 212-223.

348. See examples of Pugin's display at the Great Exhibition in Atterbury's book *Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*, 381-392.

Individuals who are insistent and un-yielding in their ideas often times have difficulty persuading people to listen. Because Pugin was so adamant and persuasive in his writing he alienated people who, given another, less dogmatic approach may well have listened to him and accepted his ideas. If, in every statement you write your ideas are correct and everyone else's are wrong a lot of other people's ideas get left out in the margins.

### Creativity Summary

Pugin was born into a fairly sophisticated culture and society whose fabric was experiencing growing pains. England, as it has been seen, as a whole, valued the arts, and architecture was seen as a noble endeavor. Architecture's role in shaping the nation and reflecting its ideals was well recognized by the time of Pugin's birth.<sup>349</sup>

Pugin himself was highly influenced by his father's interest in Gothic architecture and saw, from a young age, a connection between the ancient design style and personal character. To him Gothic-style design elements symbolized Christian belief and all that was good about England. Gothic architecture and moral living were seamlessly integrated in his mind. When society reinstated Catholic rights it was natural for Pugin to convert to the religion that had built the structures that he believed reflected high moral values. He also appreciated the sense of mystery and order in Catholic ceremony and ritual, and one of his greatest desires was to maintain that

---

349. An example of this is seen in the architecture of the growing corporate world in the early 1800s. "Proud of their growing wealth and their rapidly expanding towns, Victorian businessmen naturally sought to create symbols of urban magnificence both public and private. Fine exchanges, market, town halls, and the like had frequently been built in the Late Georgian period . . ." Hitchcock's *Early Victorian Architecture Volume I Text*, 299.

sense of mystery and order in the buildings he designed. He wanted people to experience the divine, the spiritual and the awe-inspiring nature of the ancient Catholic service.

To Pugin the continuing revival of Classical architecture and design was like a slap in the face to English Christians, as he viewed all things Classical as representative of the worship of idols and polytheism. His interpretation of liturgy was literal. He believed that the words of Durandus and other ancient architectural writers and the actions of ancient church builders were directed by God.

Gothic Revivalism was not new to the cultural landscape in the early years of the nineteenth century. Before Pugin and his father emerged on the scene many had interest in the field, and there had been considerable studies on architectural antiquities. It was Pugin's fire and determination and above all else his passionate writing that took him to the forefront of the Gothic Revival Movement. Although his design ideas were gleaned from the past he embraced new technology and sought to create a version of Gothic architecture that fit into the nineteenth century.

This is precisely where Pugin fits into the creativity mold. The term 'creative individual' suits his personality profile: forward-thinking willingness to use current technological advances, divergent "against the grain" personal philosophies and superior artistic skills. This designation, of 'creative individual' fits from both the nineteenth-century and the twenty-first century perspective. The distinction of being termed a 'creative individual' in the nineteenth may be more difficult to discern from a twenty-first century perspective because of his seemingly backwards-looking ideas, but when taken in the context of his time, it is clear that he created new ways of

thinking and had influence on others in his and related fields. In his time he was considered talented and innovative. His designs and ideas were integrated and accepted into nineteenth century society and held positive influence in the fields of architecture, architectural theory and religion during his lifetime and beyond.

### Chapter Summary

Using phenomenological and modified artifact analysis methods I gained insights into Pugin's design and detail of St. Augustine's. There is a great deal of evidence to show that Pugin did follow his architectural principles when designing and building his church at Ramsgate and that his Catholic ideals were met. Portions of the building were never finished according to his plan, due in part to his early death, and alterations have been made to the original church which were prescribed by Catholic dictates, yet the essence of his principles can be seen throughout the structure. Changes to the church over the intervening years have been mostly cosmetic, and the basic plan with its various fittings remains intact. The church is truly a reflection of Pugin's earliest professed principle,

[T]hat the great test of Architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected.<sup>350</sup>

---

350. Pugin, *Contrasts*, (1841; reprint, Leicester University Press, 1973), 1.

There is no doubt in the visitor's mind that the structure is symbolizing sacredness. The visitor certainly does, as Pugin said, "at once perceives the purpose" for which St. Augustine's was constructed.

At first sight Pugin's contribution to architecture seems imitative, archaeological, and backward-looking; on closer scrutiny, it turns out to be pregnant with future possibilities. Well before his death in 1852, his medievalizing model had swept the established Church of England and was penetrating English-speaking communities around the world.<sup>351</sup>

Culture and society had a great deal of influence over his design. The world he was born into was one of change. The "age of the machine" had begun. Industrialization was beginning to impact, although slowly, many aspects of life. Three events took place in the 1830s in England that would transform the nation forever. One was the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, which improved the lives of Catholics in the country. It was certainly an event Pugin took notice of as he considered his conversion in 1834. The second was the Reform Act of 1832, increasing voting rights and the third was Britain's abolition of slavery in 1833. Colley calls the events "substantial achievements. No such sudden quantum leaps in terms of rights and citizenship would occur again in Great Britain until the wars of the twentieth century."<sup>352</sup>

Pugin was raised in a family where education was important, and at his father's side he began his initial exploration of Gothic architecture. As a result of his

---

351. Andrew Saint, "Pugin's Architecture in Context" ed. Paul Atterbury, A.W. N. Pugin: *Master of Gothic Revival* (New York, NY: Yale University Press, 1996), 97.

352. Colley, 361.



conversion to Catholicism he began thinking about how morals, generally, could be the same as morals taught in the religious setting. He combined the two ideas together to form a small, somewhat isolated world for himself and his family in Ramsgate. As he began to build St. Augustine's he was mindful of the words he had written earlier; the principles that guided his career. His church reflects the creative spirit that allowed him to stand firmly in his beliefs and convictions in the face of a culture and society who were not always on his side.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

Augustus Northmore Welby Pugin (1812-1852) was a Gothic Revivalist architect and designer who lived during the first half of the nineteenth century in England. Through his architecture, design work and his writing he became well known in English architectural society, revered by some and disliked by others. Pugin was a crusader for retaining the mystery and reverence of ancient Catholic rituals and symbolism and to the continuation of church architecture that mirrored those qualities. His passionate insistence upon using a revived Gothic design style in the early years of the nineteenth century caught the attention of some very influential people and riled others. He was a bit of a maverick and an unusual character, preferring to live in world of his own designing, a world where ancient ideas and ideals were of more importance than contemporary ones.

Pugin designed many churches during his short career. A few are on the scale of cathedrals, but most were parish churches and chapels. One church with a high level of personal significance to the architect was St. Augustine's, Ramsgate in the county of Kent, England. It was with this church that Pugin was able to build a structure in which his architectural principles could be fully realized. On his own land, using his own money, time and effort he could finally realize the church of his deepest imaginings, a Catholic church where form and content could find a perfect balance.

Three research questions or inquiry paradigms that guided this study:

1. Is St. Augustine's a good 'fit' with Pugin's personal and zealously preached architectural philosophies?
2. How did early nineteenth culture and society, the period between the mid-1830s and the early 1850s influence Pugin's design of St. Augustine's?
3. Pugin is considered to be a creative individual. How does his design for St. Augustine's reflect his creative abilities?

To achieve my research goals two scholarly paradigms were interwoven: architectural history and social sciences. A variety of research methods were incorporated into the study; a phenomenological approach, a modified artifact analysis, the historical method and a model developed for the study of creative individuals and their work within a socio-cultural framework.

The evidence strongly suggests that Pugin did indeed follow his own architectural principles in his design for St. Augustine's, Ramsgate. The phenomenological and modified artifact analysis approaches bore this out. The comparison between Pugin's major principles, as outlined in his books *Contrasts*, *True Principles*, *Present State* and *An Apology* and the design of St. Augustine's make a nearly perfect match. Pugin looked to the past to draw out what he considered the best of Catholic Church building practices and laid them all out in the design of his own church. From the eastern exposure through the chancel stained glass to the baptismal font near the southern porch Pugin got it all correct. The parts of the church that have been changed or unfinished do not take away from Pugin's basic design. Even with some missing information, such as the unfinished spire and unknowns

about the altar and pulpit that were in place at his death, Pugin's intentions come through and the church reflects his ideals.

Early nineteenth-century culture and society had a profound effect on Pugin. It was because of those influences that he developed his interest in Gothic. Changes in society and religious ideology in general forced Pugin to think in new ways. He saw the unsettled qualities of English society with its movement towards mechanized production and urban growth as signs of the need for a cultural salvation of sorts.

Having a French father and an English mother had an impact on Pugin's development, and he was fluid in both languages as well as worldviews. Pugin's early exposure to Gothic design and the great ancient cathedrals of England and on the Continent helped him put the pieces together that were, in essence, the beginnings of the Gothic Revival movement. Converting to Catholicism was his first step and preaching about the "sins" of Classicism was his next. His skills as a draftsman, designer and commanding writer combined with his natural energy made him a force to be reckoned with within the established architectural arena.

Once Pugin's ideas became better known, through his writings, his career as an architect began. As he stepped into the domain of ecclesiastical architecture and design culture and society had further influence over his practice. Because he was so adamant and firm about his beliefs in the revival of Gothic design he was limited, somewhat, in his career. Catholicism was a fairly newly re-sanctioned religion in the early years of the century, and anti-Catholic sentiment still existed. His conversion may have offered him an appealing avenue for his beliefs and values but, his unwillingness to look beyond Gothic as a design solution for church building did not

help his career. I think it is this point that makes Pugin such a compelling figure.

Regardless of the societal forces working against him he persevered and never faltered in his convictions. It is in this strength, this resolution to move forward with his own ideas, that sets Pugin apart from others in his field at the time. In a sense, it is in this character trait that Pugin's creativity is seen at its fullest. Creative people are often those who can see beyond the commonplace, who don't care about the consequences their points of view might invoke. They are willing to work outside of the proverbial box and push at the walls of the mainstream in order to create work they are satisfied with.

Pugin took risks and exposed himself to ridicule and, perhaps, shame to get his message out about the link between Gothic design ideals and morality. He did this at a time when society was moving in a very different direction and yet he did not let go of his beliefs. In his struggle he found others in English society who would listen and in the end he influenced countless architects and designers in their quests for perfection in architectural and ecclesiastical form.

St. Augustine's, Ramsgate is an extant artifact that reflects the belief and value system of one individual, A. W. N. Pugin. Does it reflect his creativity? Is this the result of a creative endeavor? The answer is yes. This is not, however, the answer a casual visitor to the church might have. The church is not an innately creative-looking structure. Its form and function are both very familiar. Most people would recognize it as a church or a sacred place of some sort by the form the building takes and the objects found within and without. The church becomes a reflection of Pugin's creativity when it is taken in the context of its time and place and when one considers

the difficulty of designing, planning and constructing such a structure. Pugin was a master draftsman and as such was able to draw details of objects he saw. He got so proficient at it that designs flowed from his mind at a furious pace and as his career grew he was drawing designs for a multitude of projects simultaneously.

It is in the details that Pugin's creativity is the most noticeable at St. Augustine's. Each of the statues, screens, ecclesiastical objects and textiles made for the church were of Pugin's own design. Because of his ability to fashion shape into form with ease on paper he was able to realize a great deal of detail in the design of the church. There is a fine and delicate quality to the carvings and objects found at the church. This quality is even noticeable in the tracery, which is all of his design. Creativity is not always about creating something unique, it can also be about creating something of quality and beauty.

St. Augustine's is not just another Gothic-Revival church; it is a monument that celebrates the coming together of the architectural principles of one of the nineteenth century's most influential designers. A. W. N. Pugin's creative spirit lives on within its walls.

It is important for today's visitor to the sanctuary at St. Augustine's Church in Ramsgate, England to realize that they are visiting a somewhat modified version of the space Pugin intended. The chancel screen has been moved to a new location in the Lady Chapel. The altar has been removed, no longer supporting the elaborate tabernacle of Pugin's design, and choir stalls fill the area where the altar once stood. A modern textile hangs beneath the east window. But, even with all of these changes the basic structure of St. Augustine's remains true to Pugin's original design. A small

pamphlet available at the church and signage located around the interior of the structure help the visitor realize the changes that have been made and offer viewers a deeper understanding of the significance of the objects there.

### **Future Research**

The use of integrated research methods to study historical interiors and architecture is one worth exploring further. Naturally, the historical method is of primary importance to those conducting historical research, and in this study it provided a means of collecting data from the time period in which Pugin operated as well as information written during the intervening years between the mid-nineteenth century and my view point in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The creativity model has implications for further study in historical and cultural aspects of the near environment. Applying the model and the questions it poses could be an effective method to contrast and compare creative individuals from two or more eras or cultural backgrounds. The resultant data could be evidence for how the influences of culture and society vary or, possibly, remain static across time and/or culture.

Further research could also include in-depth, true artifact analyses on Pugin's ecclesiological objects. For example, following one of Pugin's designs through the initial conceptualization process to production and eventual use would be a way to study an object of the material culture of the time.

Research into the basis of Pugin's principles could also be furthered. Examination of ancient Catholic and Anglican documents may reveal the sources of

the ancient architectural principles Pugin calls “Canons” and “Rubrics.” Documents such as *The Common Book of Prayers* and canonical edicts from ancient Catholic sources may contain the answers.

### **Reflections on Methods**

Of the four methods used the historical method combined with on-site observations was the most fruitful and ultimately useful. Using this method I was able to gather information from a variety of resource materials, both primary and secondary. This method relies heavily on interpretative means to form conclusions or base discussions. Because there is some amount of subjectivity involved in interpretation there is also license on the part of the author to include and exclude information based on the initial research inquiry. In other words there is freedom to explore data using this method. Also of critical importance to this study were on-site observations. This study could not have been properly conducted if I had not visited the church site and examined the building personally. Observing the site first hand was the only way to connect Pugin’s written principles with his design work at St. Augustine’s and was among the most valuable components of the study.

The first step in doing that was to use the phenomenological approach. The phenomenological method was new to me, and I found it useful for making initial on-site observations. Because I allowed my mind to be free from preconceived knowledge, and I was unfettered by the conventions of traditional empirical data collection during the phenomenological research phase of this project, I was able to develop a personalized perception of the place. This initial experience helped me to



become more deeply involved with the next step, the data artifact analysis phase of the research project. By simply experiencing the building I was able to “shake hands with the place”<sup>353</sup> and understand it better. I had a much different mindset as I was approaching the building from a phenomenological point of reference than when I started analyzing the various parts of the building. Allowing myself time to just “soak it all in” gave me the opportunity to relax and enjoy being at the church before the more focused phase of data collection began.

A much-modified artifact analysis approach was also employed. As has been explained, the artifact analysis tool was not used as it was originally intended. I initially thought that having forms on which to record information about the church and its details would be useful for organizational purposes. What I found was that the sheets were a hindrance and that it was much easier to write information down in the research journal as I proceeded through the various spaces inside and outside the building. The data collection sheets were always close at hand so that I could keep track of the kinds of details I needed to record, but I found that using them felt awkward and contrived.

The creativity model was the most difficult to use of the four methods employed. As I began my research I saw the model as a good way to organize data about the influence of culture and society on Pugin and his work. In the case of the present study, however, the simplicity of the model’s construction belied the complexity of the task of utilizing it. While the model does show the relationships

---

353. *Andy Goldsworthy, Rivers and Tides: Working with Time*, dir. Thomas Riedelsheimer, Edinburgh, UK: Skyline Production, 2001, DVD.

between culture/domain, society/field and personal background/individual and the directions of influences between these systems it does not include the relationship between the creative individual and the end product; evidence of the creative endeavor. In my study I was trying to determine the influences of culture and society on a particular piece of architectural work and found that the model does not necessarily support that approach. The model was developed to aid in the study of creativity from a psychological point of view and not necessarily as a guide to studying the products of creative people. I believe that the intention of the model is to guide the researcher's search for information that supports a given hypothesis or inquiry paradigm regarding the influence of culture and society on the creative individual. Csikszentmihalyi lists thirty questions meant to assist in that discovery. However, in my case the questions became burdensome because I was not trying to find out if Pugin was creative<sup>354</sup> but rather to discover whether or not his design at St.

---

354. Pugin's creativity has been written about in the literature. It would be difficult to consider a person uncreative who had Pugin's impact on nineteenth century architecture. While the actual words "creative" and "creativity" do not often come up in discussion about Pugin, other phrases and statements that imply his creativity do. The following are a few examples used by writers to describe Pugin and his work (the phrases and statements are in quotations followed by the source): "architectural brilliance," p. 129 and "he possessed gifts," p. 139 from Phoebe Stanton's *The Sources of Pugin's Contrasts* ed. John Summerson *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1968); "gift for drawing," p. 123 "great and inventive in the discovery of new truths," p. 144, "Thus Pugin laid the two foundation stones of the strange system which dominates nineteenth-century art criticism . . . the value of a building depends on the moral worth of its creator; and a building has a moral value independent of, and more important than its esthetic value," p. 149 from Kenneth Clark's *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962); "It should however be mentioned that (without his consent) Pugin was nominated to fill a vacancy amongst the members of the Royal Academy; unfortunately he was not elected, a circumstance much to be regretted, as so eminent a man ought to have been associated with a body of artists pre-eminently distinguished

Augustine's reflected that creative spirit. Because so much has been written about Pugin and his cultural and societal milieu answering many of the questions Csikszentmihalyi includes in the model seemed like a somewhat redundant task. As I was using the model and considering the inquiries and hypotheses as Csikszentmihalyi laid them out I felt as though I was merely rehashing old material rather than shedding new light on the subject. The abundance of material written about the culture and society of early nineteenth-century England made the task of identifying and sorting pertinent information a difficult one.

Where the work became more interesting was when I used questions from the model that delve more deeply into the personal background and personality traits of the creative individual. In the case of the current study questions that could be related to Pugin's immediate family, their potential influence on his creativity and his personality traits were very useful. For the purposes of this research the more specific the questions were to personality the more appropriate the information became.

I think that Csikszentmihalyi's questions and lines of inquiry would work very well to direct a study on a relatively unknown person who has yet to be identified as creative in a broader context. Researching data that links the relationships between cultural and societal influences on creativity could prove very fruitful in cases where an individual's creativity is in doubt or when information on those relationships has not been linked before.

---

by royal favour, his genius being confessedly of the highest order," p. 263 from Ferrey's *Recollections*; and "original," p. 68, "experimenter," p. 72, "isolated revolutionary," p. 94 from Henry-Russell Hitchcock's *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain Volume I Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954).

Using various research methods added dimension to the current study. Some of the methods were utilized more successfully than others. Studying historic personalities and their work involves reaching into the past and pulling forward information that tells a story. Using the historic method to gather, analyze and interpret data is, therefore, a natural fit, and in my study it proved to be the most valuable of the research methods used. The historic method takes into account primary resource material, including the extant church, and secondary resource material. Research on a man of the nineteenth century, Pugin, from a 21<sup>st</sup> century viewpoint has the advantage of using material that has been analyzed and interpreted using contemporary paradigms, thus positioning much of the information within a modern perspective.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A Short Guide to St Augustine's Abbey Church Ramsgate*. WP6412/97: The Graham Cumming Group: Ramsgate, UK.
- Amabile, Teresa. *Creativity in Context: Update to the Social Psychology of Creativity*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996.
- Anson, Peter. *Fashions in Church Furnishings: 1840-1940*. n.p.: London House & Maxwell, 1966.
- Atterbury, Paul, ed. *A. W. N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Atterbury, Paul and Clive Wainwright, eds. *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Belcher, Margaret. *A. W. N. Pugin: An Annotated Critical Bibliography*. London, UK: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin, Volume I 1830-1842*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin, Volume 2 1843-1845*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Boden, Margaret A., ed. "What Is Creativity?" *Dimensions of Creativity*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994.
- Bradley, Simon. "The Roots of Ecclesiology Late Hanoverian Attitudes to Medieval Churches." Edited by C. Webster and J. Elliott, *'A Church As It Should Be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*. Stamford, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2000.
- Bright, Michael. "A Reconsideration of A. W. N. Pugin's Architectural Theories." *Victorian Studies*, 22, (Winter 1979): 151-172. Database on-line, EBSCO HOST.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Cities Built to Music: Aesthetic Theories of the Victorian's Gothic Revival*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1984.
- British Critic*. Article VIII, (January 1839): 479-498.

- Brooks, Chris and Andrew Saint, eds. *The Victorian Church –Architecture and Society*. Manchester, UK and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- . *Introduction*. In *The Victorian Church-Architecture and Society*, eds. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Bryant, Kathleen J. "Talking Back: Voices From an Empty House The Interior Space of the Frantz-Dunn House As Artifact," master's thesis, Oregon State University, 2004.
- Burden, Ernest. *Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 1998.
- Burton, Kathryn L. and Elaine L. Pedersen. "Concept Analysis: Creativity." *Journal of Interior Design*, in review, 2007.
- Bury, T. Talbot. *The Builder*, "Obituary," (September 25, 1852): 605-607.
- Calder, Jenni. *The Victorian Home*. London, UK: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1977.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *Signs Of The Times*. In *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays: Collected and Republished, Vol. 1*. Boston, MA: Dana Estes & Company, 1869.
- Clark, Kenneth. *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 – 1837*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Crook, Mordant J. "John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival." Edited by J. Summerson, *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, Inc., 1968.
- . *Introduction III: The Origins of the Gothic Revival*. In Charles Eastlake's *A History of Gothic Revival*. Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1970.
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihalyi. "Society, Culture, and Person: A Systems View of Creativity." Edited by Robert J. Sternberg, *The Nature of Creativity: Contemporary Psychological Perspectives*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . "Implications of a Systems Perspective for the Study of Creativity." Edited by Robert J. Sternberg, *Handbook of Creativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Curl, James S. *Piety Proclaimed: An Introduction to Places of Worship in Victorian England*. London, UK: Historical Press Ltd., 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. *English Architecture: An Illustrated Glossary*. Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1977.

Deane, Phyllis. *The First Industrial Revolution*. 2d ed., Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Dixon, Roger and Stefan Muthesius. *Victorian Architecture*. New York, NY and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Durandus, William. *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments. A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*. With An Introductory Essay, Notes, And Illustrations, by The Rev. John Mason Neale, B.A., and The Rev. Benjamin Webb, B.A. Leeds, UK: T. W. Green, 1843.

Eastlake, C. *A History of the Gothic Revival* ed. J. Mourdant Crook. 1872. Reprint, Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1970.

*Ecclesiologist*. 1 (November, 1841): B

*Ecclesiologist*. 3 (February 1844): 83.

Emery, Ruth. "Augustus Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1939.

Eysenck, Hans J. "The Measurement of Creativity." Edited by M. A. Boden, *Dimensions of Creativity* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994.

Ferrey, Benjamin. *Recollections of A. W. N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin*. 1861. Reprint, London, UK: The Scholar Press, 1978.

Fleming, E. McClung. Artifact Study: A Proposed Model. *Winterthur Portfolio*, 9, (1974): 153-173.

Gardner, Howard. *Creating Minds: An Anatomy of Creativity Seen Through the Lives of Freud, Einstein, Picasso, Stravinsky, Eliot, Graham, and Gandhi*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1993.

Glisson, Nicolas. J. "Augustus Welby Pugin: The architect as Liturgist." Ph.D diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, 1997.

Goldsworthy, Andy. *Rivers and Tides: Working With Time*. Produced by T. Riedelsheimer. Edinburgh, UK: Skyline Production, 2001. DVD.

- Gove, P. B. Ed. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary Of The English Language Unabridged*. Springfield, MA: G & C. Merriam Co., 1961.
- Gruber, Howard and. Doris B. Wallace. "The Case Study Method and Evolving Systems Approach for Understanding Unique Creative People at Work." Edited by Robert J. Sternberg, *Handbook of Creativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Gwynn, Denis. *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival*. London, UK: Hollis and Carter, 1946.
- Harvie, Christopher. "Revolution and the Rule of Law." Edited by Kenneth O. Morgan, *The Oxford History of Britain*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Hill, Rosemary. "Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin: A Biographical Sketch." Edited by Paul Atterbury A. W. N. *Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pugin and Ramsgate*. Ramsgate, UK: The Pugin Society, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Letters and Comments." *True Principles*, 2(4), (2002): 41-42.
- Hitchcock, Henry-Russell. *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain. Volume 1: Text*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954.
- Horner, Libby and Gill Hunter. *A Flint Seaside Church: St. Augustine's Abbey Church, Ramsgate*. Ramsgate, UK: The Pugin Society, 2000.
- Hultgren, Francine H. "Phenomenology: The Pursuit of Meaning in Everyday Life." *Home Economics FORUM* (Spring 1990): 14-17.
- Johnstone, Paula. *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century*. Leeds, UK: Maney, 2002.
- Livingstone, Karen. *Essential Arts and Crafts*. London, UK: V&A Publications, 2005.
- Logan, Thad. *The Victorian Parlour*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Machin, G.I.T. *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- Martindale, Colin. "How Can We Measure a Society's Creativity?" Edited by M. A. Boden, *Dimensions of Creativity*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994.



- Mayer, Richard E. "Fifty Years of Creativity Research." Edited by R. J. Sternberg, *Handbook of Creativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Mayer-Thurman, Christa C. *Rainment for the Lord's Service*. Chicago, IL: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1975.
- Meara, David. "The Catholic Context." Edited by Paul Atterbury, A. W. N. Pugin: *Master of Gothic Revival*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Middleton, Robin and David Watkin. *Neoclassical and 19<sup>th</sup> Century Architecture*. New York, NY: Harry N. Abram, Inc., 1980.
- Mottram, R. H. "Town Life." Edited by G. M. Young, *Early Victorian England 1830-1865, Vol. I*. London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1936. Reprint, London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Muthesius, Stefan. *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870*. London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Norman, E. R. *Church and Society in England 1770-1970: A Historical Study*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- O'Donnell, Roderick. "Pugin as a Church Architect." Edited by P. Atterbury and C. Wainwright, *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*. New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Patrick, James. "Newman, Pugin, and Gothic." *Victorian Studies*. (Winter 1981): 185-207. Database on-line. Available from Oregon State University library system, EBSCO HOST.
- Prown, Jules David. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17 (Spring 1982):1-19.
- Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. London, UK: John Weale, 1841.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*. 1843. Reprint, Oxford, UK: St. Barnabus Press, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*. London, UK: John Weale, 1843.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Signification*. London, UK: Charles Dolman, 1851.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, 3d. Bernard  
London, UK: Quaritch, 1868.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Contrasts*, 2d ed. Edinburgh, UK: John Grant, 1898.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Contrasts: or, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages,  
and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, &c. &c. &c.* 2d ed. London, UK:  
Charles Dolman, 1841. Reprint, New York, NY: Humanities Press, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Contrasts and True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*.  
Reading, UK: Spire Books Ltd., 2003.
- Richardson, A.E. "Architecture." Edited by G.M. Young, *Early Victorian England  
1830-1865, Volume II*. London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1936. Reprint,  
London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Roberts, Helene. "Clothing and Fashion." Edited by Sally Mitchell, *Victorian Britain:  
An Encyclopedia*. New York, NY and London, UK: Garland Publishing, Inc.,  
1988.
- Royle, Edward. *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750 – 1985*. London, UK: Edward  
Arnold, 1987.
- Saint, Andrew. "Anglican Church–Building in London, 1790-1890: From State  
Subsidy to the Free Market." Edited by Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The  
Victorian Church-Architecture and Society*. New York, NY: St. Martin's  
Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Pugin's Architecture in Context." Edited by Paul Atterbury, A.W. N.  
*Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,  
1995.
- Smith, S. "Towards a Material History Methodology," *Material History Bulletin*, 22  
(1985): 31-40.
- Spencer-Silver, P. "George Myers, Pugin's Builder." *Recusant History* Vol. 20 Issue  
2, 1990: 262-271.
- Stanton, Phoebe. *Pugin*. London, UK: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Sources of Pugin's Contrasts*. Edited by John Summerson, *Concerning  
Architecture Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to  
Nikolaus Pevsner*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1968.

- Sternberg, Robert. J. and Todd I. Lubart. *The Concept of Creativity: Prospects and Paradigms*. Edited by Robert J. Sternberg. *Handbook of Creativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Summerson, John. *Georgian London*. London, UK: Pleiades Books, 1948.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Architecture of Victorian London*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1976.
- Sutton, Ian. *Western Architecture*. London, UK: Thames and Hudson, 1999.
- The Rambler*. "Article VIII." (January 1850): 367-375.
- Thompson, F.M.L. *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Trappes-Lomax, Michael. *Pugin a Medieval Victorian*. London, UK: Sheed & Ward, 1932.
- Victorian Church Art: Exhibition November 1971 - January 1972*. London, UK: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1971.
- Wedgwood, Alexandra. *Catalogue of the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collections: The Pugin Family*. London, UK: RIBA, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Catalogue of the Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum: A.W. N. Pugin and the Pugin Family*. London, UK: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. " 'Pugin in his home' by J.H. Powell." *Architectural History*, 31 (1988): 171-205.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The New Palaces of Westminster." Edited by Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright. *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*. New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Domestic Architecture." Edited by Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright. *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*. New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1994.
- White, J. *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologist and The Gothic Revival Movement*. London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- Wilson, Mona. "Travel and Holidays." Edited by G. M. Young, *In Early Victorian England 1830-1865, Vol. II*, London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1936. Reprint, London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963.

- Young, G.M.. *Portrait Of An Age*. Edited by G. M. Young, *Early Victorian England 1830-1865, Vol. II*. London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1936. Reprint, London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Young, Victoria. M. "A.W. N. Pugin's Mount Saint Bernard Abbey: The International Character of England's Nineteenth-Century Monastic Revival." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (Spring 2002): 1-17. Database on-line. EBSCOHOST.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

## ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET A: Exteriors

Object Location Code \_\_\_\_\_  
(Keyed to floor plan)

I. Artifact /document \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

II. Visual analysis and physical description of artifact/document

A. Function (Roof, wall, structural support, doorway, porch, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B. Approximate dimensions (Diagram plan/elevation/doors/windows)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

C. Architectural features (Doorways, windows, niches, columns,  
etc.) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

D. Material \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

E. Construction (technology) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

F. Ornamentation \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

III. External Evidence/documentation (Will attach photographs, sketches and  
other documentation \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

## ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET A: Exterior

IV. Cultural Analysis\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

V. Interpretation\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Other Remarks:

## APPENDIX B

## ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET B: Interiors

Location Code\_\_\_\_\_

(Keyed to floorplan)

I. Artifact /document(Name of area within the church- Nave, Chancel, Choir, etc)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

II. Visual analysis and physical description of artifact/document

A. Approximate dimensions

(Diagram plan/elevation/doors/windows\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

B. Architectural features of the area

(Doorways, windows, niches, columns, etc.)\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

C. Church fittings (pews, altars, screens, etc.)\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

D. Wall treatment\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

E. Floor treatment (materials, color, patterns, etc.)\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

F. Windows (type, color, ornamentation, iconography, etc.)\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

G. Ceiling treatment\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



## APPENDIX B (Continued)

## ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET B: Interiors

III. Function of space (current and historical)\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

IV. External Evidence/documentation (Will attach photographs, sketches and  
other documentation)\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

V. Cultural Analysis\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

VI. Interpretation\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Other Remarks:

## APPENDIX C

## ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET C: Objects

Object Location Code \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Keyed to floor plan)

I. Artifact /document \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

II. Visual analysis and physical description of artifact/document

A. Material \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

B. Construction \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

C. Approximate Measurements \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

D. Design Properties:

Shape \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Color \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Line \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Ornamentation \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Pattern \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Iconography \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX C (Continued)

## ARTIFACT ANALYSIS SHEET C: Objects

III. Function (current and historical)\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

IV. External Evidence/documentation (Will attach photographs, sketches  
and other documentation)\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

V. Cultural Analysis\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

VI. Interpretation\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Other Remarks:

## APPENDIX D

## INFORMED CONSENT FORM--OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY



Design and Human Environment  
 Oregon State University, 224 Milam Hall, Corvallis, Oregon 97331-5101  
 T 541-737-3796 | F 541-737-0993 | <http://www.hhs.oregonstate.edu/dhe/index.html>

**Informed Consent Form**

**Purpose of the study:** You are being asked to take part in a research study which will result in a doctoral dissertation on the architectural history of St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, UK. There is also the possibility that this study will be published in some form at a later date. The study will mostly involve gathering information from archives, on-site visits to the church and other writings and documentation about the church and about its architect, A.W.N. Pugin. I am particularly interested in how the design of St. Augustine's was influenced by Victorian society and culture. I am also interested in the creative aspect of Pugin's design for St. Augustine's.

**Purpose of this form:** This consent form gives you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be part of the study or not. You may ask any questions about the research, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else that is not clear. When all of your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to take part in this study or not.

**Why am I being invited to take part in this study?:** As a member of an institution that utilizes St. Augustine's you can provide information about how the building is used today. You may also have knowledge regarding some of the building's history that would be of value to the study.

**What will happen during this study and how long will it take?:** I will ask you open-ended questions about the church, its current functions and its history. You may also be asked for your opinion of the design of the building. The informal interview, which will take place at the church, should take no more than 10 minutes. I will record your responses in written form only. No electronic devices will be used to record the interview.

**What are the risks and benefits of taking part in this study?:** There are no known risks to taking part in this study. There are also no known benefits of taking part in this study. However, the resultant dissertation may be of interest to the people who use the church, therefore, the knowledge gained through this study may be of benefit.

**Will I be paid for participating in this study?:** You will not be paid for taking part in this study.

**Who will see the information?:** Your identity will remain anonymous. Any information you reveal to me will be used in a confidential way, your name and your responses will be kept separately so that no one will be able to directly identify you with your answers. The results will be written in a way that only identifies you as part of a group: the monks at St. Augustine's.

**Do I have a choice to be in the study?:** Your participation is purely voluntary. You can stop at any time without the loss of any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to

OSU IRB Approval Date: 08-31-05
Approval Expiration Date: 08-30-06

## APPENDIX D (continued)

Page 2 of 2

volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

**What if I have questions?:** If you have any questions regarding this research please contact the principal investigator: Dr. Leslie Davis, Design and Human Environment Department, Oregon State University, 224 Milam Hall, Corvallis, OR 97331. Telephone number: 1.541.737.0983. Email: [Leslie.Burns@oregonstate.edu](mailto:Leslie.Burns@oregonstate.edu). If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Oregon State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) Human Protections Administrator, at 1.541.737.3437 or email [IRB@oregonstate.edu](mailto:IRB@oregonstate.edu).

Your signature indicates that this research study has been explained to you, that your questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this study. You will receive a copy of this form.

Participant's Name (printed) \_\_\_\_\_

(Participant's Signature) \_\_\_\_\_

(Date) \_\_\_\_\_

OSU IRB Approval Date: 08-31-05 Approval Expiration Date: 08-30-06
---

## APPENDIX E

PERMISSION TO USE PHOTOGRAPH--BLOXAM ARCHIVES, MAGDALEN  
COLLEGE, OXFORD, UK

Dear Kathryn,

Thank you for your e-mail. Arguably, in this message you have asked for permission to use the photo in your dissertation, so that's all right.

I am therefore happy to confirm that we will grant you permission to use the photo in your dissertation, on condition that, in the appropriate place, acknowledgments are made to "The President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford". If you should wish to use the photo in a published article, then you will need to contact us again. Permission should be forthcoming, in return for sending us an offprint, but we can talk about that when the time comes.

I hope that this is sufficient permission for your needs, and I hope too that the final stages of your dissertation go well.

Yours sincerely,

Robin DS

--

\*\*\*\*\*

Dr. Robin Darwall-Smith

Archivist,

Magdalen College \* University College,

Oxford OX1 4AU \* Oxford OX1 4BH

Tel.: 01865-276088 (W-F) \* Tel.: 01865-276952 (M-Tu)

e-mail (all days): [robin.darwall-smith@magd.ox.ac.uk](mailto:robin.darwall-smith@magd.ox.ac.uk)

## APPENDIX F

PERMISSION TO USE PHOTOGRAPH—WESTMINSTER DIOCESAN  
ARCHIVES, LONDON, UK.

I'm glad the photos are OK - it's actually the first time I've used the digital camera for archive purposes, so you're my guinea pig!

Would £20 be OK for the photos? This would mean you could use them for any publication, provided you acknowledge the source. What would be the best way of sending it? Have you got any contacts in the UK?

God bless

Fr Nicholas

Fr Nicholas Schofield, M.A. (Oxon.), S.T.B.,  
Our Lady of Willesden,  
1 Nicoll Rd,  
London NW10 9AX

(presbytery) 020 8965 4935  
(diocesan archive) 020 7938 3580  
(mobile) 0785 482 5605

---

From: "Kathryn Burton" <klbkmb@comcast.net>  
To: "Nicholas Schofield" <njschofield@hotmail.com>  
Subject: Re: Pugin letter  
Date: Wed, 1 Mar 2006 10:26:23 -0800

Dear Fr Schofield,

The pictures are wonderful. I think they'll do perfectly for my purposes. Thank you so very much for taking the time to do this for me. I will give full credit to you for taking the photos and credit the Archives accordingly. I would be happy to pay a fee for publication permission. Do you mean publication other than my dissertation? Either way, I'm happy to oblige. Just let me know.

Thank you again for your help. It is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,  
Kathryn Burton

## APPENDIX F (continued)

----- Original Message -----

**From:** [Nicholas Schofield](#)

**To:** [klbkmb@comcast.net](mailto:klbkmb@comcast.net)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 01, 2006 10:16 AM

**Subject:** Pugin letter

Attached are some photos of the Pugin letter.

Let me know if the quality is OK (they're as good as I can do on our camera). We can then sort out permission - there would be nominal charge if you were going to use them for publication.

Thanks

Fr Nicholas

Fr Nicholas Schofield, M.A. (Oxon.), S.T.B.,  
Our Lady of Willesden,  
1 Nicoll Rd,  
London NW10 9AX

(presbytery) 020 8965 4935  
(diocesan archive) 020 7938 3580  
(mobile) 0785 482 5605



## APPENDIX G

PERMISSION TO USE PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN ON SITE AND ARCHIVAL  
MATERIALS—ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH, RAMSGATE, UK.

From Father Benedict Austen  
Parish Priest  
St. Augustine's Church  
Ramsgate, Kent, UK

Original Message -----

**From:** [JMBA64@aol.com](mailto:JMBA64@aol.com)

**To:** [klbkmb@comcast.net](mailto:klbkmb@comcast.net)

**Sent:** Tuesday, November 08, 2005 4:26 PM

**Subject:** Re: Research at St. Augustine's

Dear Kathryn

I am glad you are happy about your visit to the Abbey Church, Ramsgate, and I hope the whole of your travels in this connexion were satisfactory.

About the photographs. I suppose you could ask *me* for permission. I should say 'Go ahead' and acknowledge the parish priest's permission on behalf of the trustees [or something like that!]

All the best for your work which I hope you continue to enjoy.

Benedict

## APPENDIX H

## REPRODUCTION PERMISSION—ENGLISH HERITAGE, LONDON, UK.

Ref: B/5923/06/07

Dear Ms Burton

**Reproduction permission**

Thank you for your e-mail of 26.10.06. I apologise sincerely for the delay in responding to your original enquiry.

I am pleased to inform you that there would be no problem with the use of our image (B43/1205 St Augustine's Church, Ramsgate) in your forthcoming dissertation. Please feel free to go ahead with the use of the image, our preferred credit line is as follows:

❖ Reproduced by permission of English Heritage.NMR

Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can be of any further help.

Wishing you every success with your research!

Best wishes

Alyson

Alyson Rogers  
NMR Enquiries and Research Services (Buildings)  
Direct Dial: 01793 414628  
Direct Fax: 01793 414606  
E-mail: [alyson.rogers@english-heritage.org.uk](mailto:alyson.rogers@english-heritage.org.uk)

*Information supplied by the NMR is supplied under licence, details are contained in section 3 of the Terms and Conditions.*

*This email is intended solely for the above mentioned recipient and it may contain confidential or privileged information. If you have received it in error, please notify us immediately by telephone and delete the email. You must not copy, distribute, disclose or take any action in reliance on it.*

*Any views and opinions expressed in this message are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of English Heritage. English Heritage will not take any responsibility for the views of the author.*

## APPENDIX I

REPRODUCTION PERMISSION—VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM,  
LONDON, UK

Dear Kathryn Bruton

It is fine for you to use your own images or that from our website in your dissertation if it is not to published – i.e. for study purposes only. If and when you do have your dissertation published you will need to seek permission for the publication of a V&A approved image from V&A Images who can be contacted at [vanda.images@vam.ac.uk](mailto:vanda.images@vam.ac.uk).

Good luck with your dissertation!

Yours sincerely,

Louisa Collins  
Assistant Curator  
Furniture, Textiles and Fashion Department

>>> “Kathryn Burton” <[klbkmb@comcast.net](mailto:klbkmb@comcast.net)> 12/13/06 7:42 pm >>>  
Hello,

I am an American doctoral student who has conducted research on AWN Pugin and his church, St. Augustine's, in Ramsgate, UK. I visited the V&A in September of 2005 and took photographs of Pugin's cope and hood, museum number T 287.289-1989 which is on display in Room 122, in the British Galleries. I would like to get permission from the museum to include either my photograph of the cope and hood or the museum's photograph (which I just discovered on the Objects by Architects Trail on your website) in my dissertation.

Naturally, your photograph is much clearer than mine but, permission to use either photograph would be very much appreciated. I may, at some time in the future, be publishing my dissertation and I understand that kind of usage may require a different type of permission. For now, I am asking for permission to use the photo in my unpublished dissertation. Our university does subscribe to a service that allows for restricted distribution of dissertations for scholarly research purposes, however.

Your response to this issue would be most appreciated. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Kathryn Burton  
Doctoral Candidate  
Oregon State University  
224 Milam Hall  
Corvallis, OR 97331  
[burtonka@onid.orst.edu](mailto:burtonka@onid.orst.edu)

## APPENDIX I (continued)

-----  
Leonardo Da Vinci  
Experience, Experiment and Design  
Sponsored by Deloitte  
14 September 2006 – 7 January 2007 at V&A South Kensington  
Book now on 0870 906 3883 or [www.vam.ac.uk](http://www.vam.ac.uk)

Unleashing Britain  
20 June 2006 – 7 January 2007 at V&A Theatre Museum  
Admission free

V&A Museum of Childhood  
Now refurbished and reopened  
Admission free

Keep in touch ? visit [www.vam.ac.uk](http://www.vam.ac.uk) and sign up for our regular e-newsletter

-----

The information contained in this message is confidential and intended only for the individual named above. If you are not the intended recipient, or responsible for delivering it to the intended recipient you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution, copying, or disclosure of this information is prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us by telephone on 020 7942 2000. This message has been scanned for viruses by BlackSpider MailControl – [www.blackspider.com](http://www.blackspider.com)

## APPENDIX J

## REPRODUCTION PERMISSION--CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

**PUBLICATION PERMISSION**

February 12, 2007

Kathryn L. Burton  
1615 NE Mayview Dr.  
Albany, NY  
97321



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org

Telephone 212 924 3900  
Fax 212 691 3239

**Reference**

ISBN: HB 0-521- 572859 PB 0-521- 576048 Other 0-521-  
Author: Sternberg, Robert J. (ed.)  
Title: HANDBOOK OF CREATIVITY  
Selection/pp.: Figure 16.1

Additional:

**Use**

Reprint Title: A.W.N. Pugin and St. Augustine's: A Nineteenth Century Gothic Revivalist and His Church  
Publisher:  
Format: dissertation / thesis  
Quantity: 10  
Avail. Date: Spring 2007

**Rights/Acknowledgement**

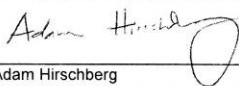
Permission is granted for nonexclusive rights throughout the world in the English language for interior text editorial use in the format described above, including non-profit editions for the visually and physically impaired. Please fully acknowledge our material and include the phrase "Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press."

**Restrictions**

This permission does not allow the reprinting of any material copyrighted by or credited in our publication to another source; Cambridge disclaims all liability in connection with the use of such material without proper consent.

- ☐ This permission is restricted to the indicated format only; for additional uses you must re-apply for permission.  
☐ This permission requires that you obtain the written consent of one author of our material, without which this grant is not valid.

Authorization:

  
Adam Hirschberg  
Rights and Permissions Coordinator