

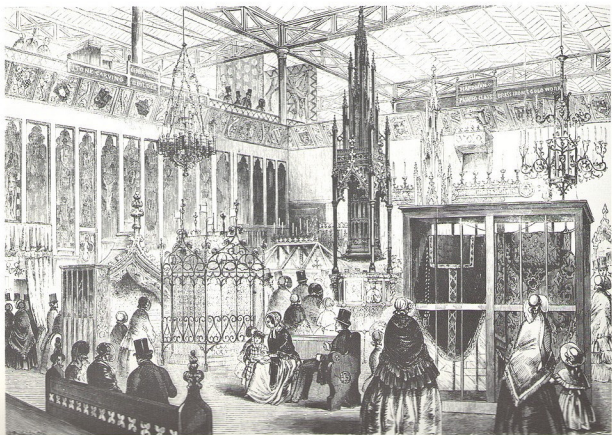
## 2 Gathering Grounds

Forty years before Morris brought News from Nowhere, the Queen and Prince Albert had opened the Great Exhibition. Sixty thousand people a day flocked to a Crystal Palace crammed with locomotives, printing presses, electric telegraphs, Indian umbrellas, astronomical clocks, the Koh-i-noor, light house lanterns, Turkish carpets and rows of the most sentimental sculpture the world has ever seen.

In the middle of the vast and chaotic collection of

up-to-date inventions (condemned by *The Times* as exhibiting "Universal infidelity in principles of design"<sup>1</sup>) was one court devoted with firm principle entirely to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: there were embroidered copes, jewelled chains, stained glass widows, painted tiles, pews, silver and metal gilt vessels, great carved font covers, ironwork

1 *The Medieval Court at the 1851 Great Exhibition*

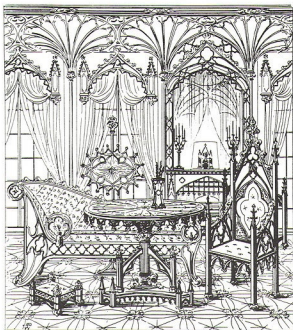


screens and lamps, even, as the *Illustrated Exhibitor* commented, "a pianoforte attempted in the Revived style".

"The Medieval Court", announced the *Exhibitor*, "in the strikingly-harmonious combination of its stained glass, hardware, woodcarving, hangings, encaustic tiles—all successful repetitions of Gothic models—will at least have the merit of suggesting to many, who would not otherwise have heard of such facts, the fullness of beauty and character, and the homogenousness, of medieval design, however applied, to domestic as to ecclesiastical purposes. . . . It is almost needless to say . . . that to the Messrs Pugin are due the entire design."<sup>2</sup> Messrs Pugin was an exaggeration since Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–1852) had designed virtually everything in the court. He now had little more than a year to live before he died at forty of overwork. He married three times, fathered eight children and designed more than a hundred buildings (mostly churches) as well as great quantities of church ornament, plate, furniture and vestments. He drew virtually every line himself and "asked why he didn't give the mere mechanical part of his working drawings to a clerk to do, he reposted, 'Clerk, my dear sir, clerk, I never employ one; I should kill him in a week.'"<sup>3</sup>

The taste for Gothic was very well established by the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Starting as an aristocratic fashion for picturesque Gothick country houses in the eighteenth century, by the time Pugin started to practise, Gothic was the accepted proper style for churches and widely used for other kinds of buildings. Pugin was himself deeply involved in the later years of Gothick. His father, A. C. Pugin, an aristocratic French émigré, had built up a flourishing practice from the 1790s onwards as a Gothic ghost who provided "correct" detailing for picturesquely medieval country houses of architects like Nash. The younger Pugin was thought even more knowledgeable than his father and, at fifteen, he was delegated to design the Gothic furniture for Sir Jeffrey Wyatville's reconstructions of Windsor Castle. (He later called these designs "enormities" and remarked that "a man who remains any length of time in a modern Gothic room, and escapes without being wounded by some of its minutiae, may consider himself extremely fortunate."<sup>4</sup>)

In his late teens, Pugin set up a business which provided "all the ornamental portions of buildings which could by possibility be executed apart from the structure and be fixed afterwards".<sup>5</sup> The firm was



2 Pugin's satirical modern Gothic room from which a man who escapes "without being wounded by some of its minutiae may consider himself extremely fortunate"

needed because after the long reign of classical architecture, there were very few craftsmen who could do Gothic work with correct feeling. It seems to have thrived for a short while but failed because he was no businessman.

He contrived an intimate connection with craftsmen throughout his career. With his friends the manufacturers Hardman and Herbert Minton, Pugin revitalized the crafts of ironwork, stained glass and ceramics; he was a partner\* in Hardman's firm, doing most of the design work himself. Yet there was a contradiction; in the fourteenth century, a church was (in Pugin's theory) produced by craftsmen working together, sometimes for several generations. They worked to a general design but within it each mason,

\* Several Victorian Gothic architects had to set up similar close links with manufacturers and craftsmen. For instance Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811–1878) worked closely with the Skidmore Art Manufacturers Company, metal craftsmen, and Clayton & Bell, stained glass manufacturers. His Albert Memorial (1863–1872) was in a sense a very early example of Arts and Crafts fusion of architecture, sculpture and craft work. (I am indebted to Gavin Stamp for this observation.) Integration of the arts was characteristic of the later Gothic revival, brought to a luxuriant (and witty) high pitch by William Burges (1827–1881).

carpenter and smith produced his own details. Pugin's paradox was that because of the lack of good "out workmen" he had to design down to the last nail to try to recreate the effect of a group of craftsmen working together. Pugin himself seems to have been unworried by the contradiction, but his paradox haunted succeeding generations of architects.

The great turning point in Pugin's life was his conversion to Catholicism in 1834. Its immediate result was *Contrasts*, in which Pugin preached the cause of Gothic as the only true Christian architecture by comparing a warm, Gothic pre-reformation England with the buildings and institutions of his own day shown at their meanest, most cold hearted and classical. "Catholic England", he believed, "was Merry England, at least for the humblest classes."<sup>6</sup> If Gothic was to be the style of a truly Christian architecture, what was the real nature of Gothic?

Pugin provided the answer on the first page of his next book, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. "The two great rules for design are these: 1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of the essential construction of the building. The neglect of these two rules is the cause of all the bad architecture of the present time."<sup>7</sup> These two principles were to influence the whole of the Arts and Crafts movement.

Pugin expounded: "Architectural features are continually tacked on buildings with which they have no connexion, merely for the sake of what is termed effect; and ornaments are *actually constructed*, instead of forming the decoration of *construction*, to which in good taste they should always be subservient."<sup>8</sup> He went on, with surprising effect, to show how the individual elements of Gothic church architecture all had some functional purpose. And he emphasized that "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."<sup>9</sup>

In the early years of Victoria's reign, "How many objects of ordinary use are rendered monstrous and ridiculous simply because the artist, instead of seeking the most convenient form, and then decorating it, has embodied some extravagance to conceal the real purpose for which the article has been made! If a clock is required, it is not unusual to cast a Roman warrior in a flying chariot, round one of the wheels of which, on close inspection, the hours may be desried; or the

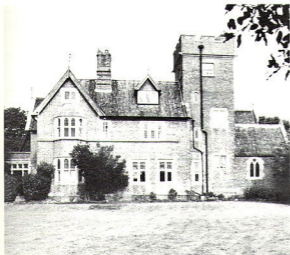
whole front of a cathedral church reduced to a few inches in height, with the clock face occupying the position of a magnificent rose window."<sup>10</sup>

A building and everything in it should be honest reflections of materials as well as of functions: "all plaster, cast iron, and composition ornaments, painted like stone or oak, are mere impositions, and, although very suitable for a tea garden, are utterly unworthy of a sacred edifice."<sup>11</sup>

It was not merely his approach to decorative details, but also Pugin's principles of domestic planning which foreshadowed the approach of the Arts and Crafts movement. "An architect should exhibit his skill by turning the difficulties which occur in raising an elevation from a convenient plan into so many *picturesque beauties*; and this constitutes the great difference between the principles of classic and pointed domestic architecture. In the former he would be compelled to devise expedients to conceal these irregularities; in the latter he has only to beautify them."<sup>12</sup>

Pugin's practical and picturesque approach to planning and elevating is perfectly shown in his own cliff-top house at Ramsgate, the Grange, built in 1844. It is of plain buff local brick with stone dressings. The principal elevation overlooks the sea and is dominated by the tower from which Pugin, an ardent sailor always dressed in shabby nautical rig, who once exclaimed, "there is nothing worth living for but Christian Architecture and a boat!"<sup>13</sup> used to watch in charity for ships in distress. The tower is balanced by a double-height bay window at the other end of the elevation. This, in proper Gothic style, fronts the most important rooms—the drawing room and the study above. The rest is very quiet; all with square-headed windows, apart from the simple pointed lights of his private chantry which sticks out towards the church of St. Augustine next door.

The exterior of St. Augustine's, built at Pugin's own expense, reveals another doctrine—fidelity to place—adopted by the Arts and Crafts movement. Like the Grange, the facade of the church is very simple. It is made of local Kentish black knapped flints banded in brown Whitby stone which was traditionally brought down the coast by sea. Perhaps because of his origins, Pugin had become an ardent English patriot: "What does an Italian house do in England?", he railed against the prevailing fashion for Italianate villas. "Is there any similarity between our climate and that of Italy? Not in the least . . . Another objection to Italian architecture is this—we



3 A. W. M. Pugin's house at Ramsgate, Kent, *The Grange* (1843-4)

are not Italians, we are Englishmen." He raged against the international style of his day: "a bastard Greek, a nondescript modern style has ravaged many of the most interesting cities of Europe."<sup>14</sup>

As St. Augustine's shows, Pugin wanted not only to escape from internationalism; he wanted to revive local as well as national architecture. "I would also have travelling students but I would circumscribe their limits. Durham, the destination of some—Lincolnshire's steeped fens for others . . . each county should be indeed a school—for each *is* a school."<sup>15</sup>

On Pugin's death, a memorial fund for travelling scholarships was set up on his model. It raised more than a thousand pounds, which was given to the Royal Institute of British Architects to provide the Pugin scholarship.\* Most of the leading architects

\* The RIBA has scandalously betrayed its trust and amalgamated the fund with others. Several Arts and Crafts architects benefited from the Pugin fund, including Lethaby and Stokes.



4 Pugin. St. Augustine's, Ramsgate (1845-52)

and critics of the day subscribed to the fund; even the young Norman Shaw put in his half guinea.<sup>16</sup>

One conspicuous absentee from the subscribers list was John Ruskin (1819–1900), by then the most widely acclaimed architectural critic and the archpriest of Gothic.

Despite a common dedication to Gothic, Ruskin was extremely hostile to Pugin, perhaps because he was thought by many to be a Puginite.

Ruskin vehemently denied any debt to Pugin and made the unlikely claim that “I glanced at Pugin’s *Contrasts* once in the Oxford architectural reading room during an idle forenoon. His ‘Remarks on Articles in the *Rambler*’ were brought under my notice by some of the reviews. I never read a word of any other of his works, not feeling, from the style of his architecture, the smallest interest in his opinions.”<sup>17</sup>

He thundered against Pugin in an appendix to *The Stones of Venice*:\* “He is not a great architect but one of the smallest possible or conceivable architects.”<sup>18</sup> He savaged Pugin for “being lured into the Romanist Church by the glitter of it . . . blown into a change of religion by the whine of an organ pipe; switched into a new creed by the gold threads of priests’ petticoats; jangled into a change of conscience by the chimes of a belfry.”<sup>19</sup>

Ruskin was out to prove that Gothic, though it had originally been built by Catholics, was the true style for Protestants in England. He performed this feat of intellectual sleight of hand in the great chapter in *The Stones of Venice* on “The Nature of Gothic” which, through Morris, was to have a formative effect on the Arts and Crafts movement.† Ruskin emphasized that Gothic was the architecture of northern Europe and that, unlike classical architecture built by slaves, it was the product of free craftsmen: in effect proto Protestants.

According to Ruskin, classical architecture was the architecture of slavery, aiming at perfection of execution according to a series of clearly defined rules; in the end, any workman could produce it if he were beaten hard enough. But a truly Christian and humane architecture, Ruskin believed, *must* be imperfect—what he called “Savage”. “You can teach a man to draw a straight line, and to cut one; to strike a curved line, and to carve it; and to copy and carve

any number of given lines and forms, with admirable speed and perfect precision; and you will find his work perfect of its kind: but if you ask him to think about any of those forms, to consider if he cannot find any better in his own head, he stops; his execution becomes hesitating; he thinks, and ten to one he makes a mistake in the first touch he gives to his work as a thinking being. But you have made a man of him for all that. He was only a machine before, an animated tool.”<sup>20</sup>

This argument had profound consequences. Pugin was prepared to grant machinery a limited role provided it was not used to imitate handwork—machines were widely used in the Hardman workshops for instance, and he urged that “We do not want to arrest the course of inventions, but to confine these inventions to their legitimate uses, and to prevent their substitution for nobler arts.”<sup>21</sup>

Ruskin was far more radical. In *The Lamp of Truth* he had already proclaimed that “all cast and machine work is bad, as work . . . it is dishonest”.<sup>22</sup> In *The Stones* he was more explicit: “the great cry that rises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace blast, is . . . that we manufacture everything there except men . . . to brighten, to strengthen, to refine or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages”.<sup>23</sup> The only remedy could be “a determined sacrifice of such convenience, or beauty, or cheapness as is to be got only by the degradation of the workman; and by equally determined demand for the products and results of healthy and ennobling labour”. He laid down three rules for encouraging such products. “1: Never encourage the manufacture of any article not absolutely necessary in the production of which *Invention* has no share. 2: Never demand an exact finish for its own sake, but only for some practical or noble end. 3: Never encourage imitation or copying of any kind except for the sake of preserving record of great works.”<sup>24</sup> These were the rules of Ruskinian “savageness” that for the next fifty years were applied by Arts and Crafts designers to everything they created from cathedrals to teapots.

Related to savageness was Gothic “naturalism”. The Gothic craftsman, Ruskin believed, not only expressed his own imperfections in his art but, by close observation of nature, the imperfections of his subjects too. Unlike the Greek sculptor who “could neither bear to confess his own feebleness nor to tell the faults of the forms that he portrayed”<sup>25</sup> the Gothic craftsman did not idealize, and struggled to render

\* Ruskin later regretted his outburst, and the appendix was dropped from editions of *Stones* published after Pugin’s death.

† And a much wider public. It was published as a penny pamphlet for working men and was widely sold.



5 William Butterfield. Coalpit Heath Vicarage, Avon (1844-5)

the characteristics of foliage "with as much accuracy as was compatible with the laws of his design and the nature of his materials".

Parallel to savageness in Ruskin's analysis of Gothic was "changefulness". Gothic was, he urged, the "only rational" architecture, for it could fit itself to every function. "Whenever it finds occasion for change in its form or purpose, it submits to it without the slightest sense of loss either to its unity or majesty." Can he really only have spent one afternoon glancing at Pugin when he said, "It is one of the chief virtues of the Gothic builders, that they never suffered ideas of outside symmetries and consistencies to interfere with the real use and value of what they did"? Ruskin explained that, "If they wanted a window, they opened one; a room, they added one; a buttress, they built one; utterly regardless of any established conventionalities of external appearance, knowing . . . that such daring interruptions of the formal plan would rather give additional interest to its symmetry than injure it . . . Every successive architect, employed upon a great work, built the pieces he added in his own way, utterly regardless of the style adopted by his predecessors."<sup>26</sup> This is a clear description of Pugin's "picturesque beauties" and a definition of architectural virtue adopted by the leading Arts and Crafts architects whether they worked with Gothic motifs or not.

No mid-Victorian architect could be untouched by Pugin and Ruskin. Three in particular, Butterfield, Street and Devey, were of great importance to the Arts and Crafts movement. William Butterfield was born in 1814, two years after Pugin, and died in 1900

the same year as Ruskin. George Edmund Street (1824-1881), like Butterfield, was an enormously successful church architect; but it is their secular buildings, less influenced by sectarian prejudices than their ecclesiastical work, that made the greater impact on Arts and Crafts people. George Devey (1820-1886) is a much more shadowy figure; he did not court publicity—a gentleman architect, most of his buildings were large country houses.\*

In their parsonages and schools of the 1840s and '50s Butterfield and Street took domestic architecture further towards informality than Pugin. As early as 1844 (the year Pugin's Grange was finished), Butterfield designed his first vicarage at Coalpit Heath, Gloucestershire in local stone. In outline, it is simple with a high gable terminating the main elevation. The Georgian sash windows are asymmetrical in a most un-Georgian manner and the first floor fenestration does not follow the windows on the ground floor. An enormous chimney crashes through the eaves to balance the gable. The chimney breast is half pierced with the window of an inglenook, and the massive porch barges into the window. These are the sort of changeful accidents that occur in vernacular building—and in a young architect's work.

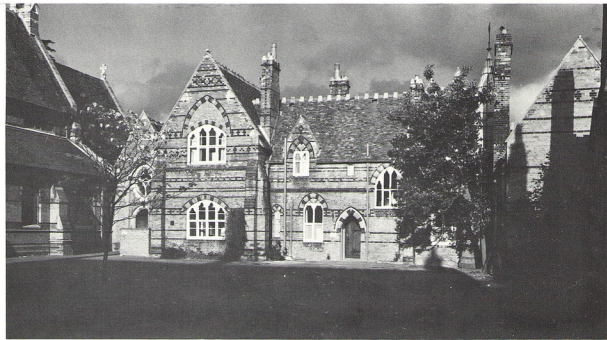
Street's first efforts were more controlled. In the little village school at Inkpen, Berkshire, completed in 1850, all the windows are flat-topped (at Coalpit Heath, many of the main windows have pointed arches). Gables in the tiled roof emphasize the principal windows, which are crowned with pointed arches flush with the bricks of the wall; the spaces between the arches and the flat tops of the windows are filled with a pattern of decorative tiles common in the district, and the upper floor of the attached school house is completely covered in plain red tiles.

Street's next major secular work, the vicarage and schools at Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, begun in 1854, is much more varied, with all sorts of gables, chimneys and buttresses, all in local red brick with blue brick bands and patterns. In the vicarage, windows are surmounted by shallow pointed arches but elsewhere Street used several variations, including quite steep pointed arches with brickwork between them and the heads of the flat-topped windows.

\* Little is known of Devey, though scholars are bringing more to the surface all the time. For very many years the only description of his work was a series of articles in the 1907 *Architectural Review* (Vol. XXI), then still under Arts and Crafts influence. Mark Girouard's articles in *Country Life* (see reference 28) are the best modern account.



6 Butterfield. *All Saints, Margaret Street, London (started 1851)*



7 George Edmund Street. *Vicarage and schools, Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, Berkshire (started 1854)*



Under the influence of Ruskin, Street had visited Northern Italy in 1853 and the strong patterning at Boyne Hill shows the influence of that trip to the striped churches of Lombardy, and of Ruskin's teaching that the "true colours of architecture are those of natural stone".<sup>27</sup> Street could not afford stone so the natural colours of brick were the next best thing.

Butterfield had already shown a grave gaiety in the elaborate brick and stone patterning on All Saints, Margaret Street, London (started 1849). But in a series of Yorkshire parsonages and schools started 1853, he adopted a much more restrained style. Cowick vicarage is typical: a four-square plain red brick house with a steeply pitched red tiled roof terminated at one end by a hipped gable which is balanced by a smaller gable further along. The walls are pierced by all manner of windows, mostly flat-topped narrow sashes, sometimes grouped and arranged higgledy-piggledy with, over the wider ones, pointed arches flush with the rest of the brickwork.

George Devey is quite a different kettle of fish. He too set up practice in the late 1840s, but he worked

**8 Butterfield. Cowick Vicarage, Yorkshire (1854)**

almost exclusively for large country landowners and produced at least twenty-five country houses, some of them very large, and innumerable estate cottages. His first important original work was restoring and adding to a group of cottages at the gate of Penshurst Place, Kent. With their red tiled roofs, half-timbering and roughcast, balanced over a ragstone ground floor, the cottages appear to be genuine vernacular buildings, yet only part of the delicately integrated group is truly old.

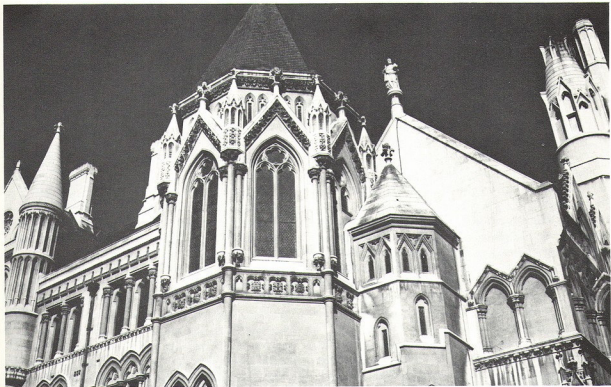
Devey trained as a watercolourist (under J. S. Cotman and J. D. Harding) as well as an architect; he never lost an exquisite sense of painterly picturesque, using native materials and techniques in a way Pugin would surely have admired. Devey's picturesqueness was much more locally based than that of the Gothic architects who built the *cottages ornés* of the early nineteenth century. As Mark Girouard has pointed out, "these had been deliberate excursions into fancy dress, but Devey's kind of rural archaeology had never been tried before".<sup>28</sup>



9 George Devey. Cottages, Penshurst Place, Kent (1850)



10 Devey. Cottage, St. Alban's Court, Nonington, Kent (1860s to 1880s)



**II** *High Victorian Gothic changefulness. George Edmund Street's Law Courts, Strand, London (designed 1866 completed 1882). Underlying symmetries are obscured by the clash of functionally generated forms*

Many of Devey's larger houses give the impression of having been built over many years, as indeed several were—St. Alban's Court at Nonington in Kent, for instance, was built from the 1860s to '80s. But with its Elizabethan and Jacobean styling it looks as if it had been built over two hundred years and finally finished two hundred years before Devey. He even used a ground floor of local ragstone which meets the brick of the upper storeys in a most haphazard and irregular line, giving the impression that a brick house had been built upon the ruins of a much older stone building.

This kind of complex artificial aging, which requires much reticence and humour on the part of the architect, was increasingly loved by clients (particularly those with new money) in the second half of the nineteenth century, and it became an important ingredient in Arts and Crafts thinking, which simultaneously embraced Pugin's principle of fidelity to

place and Ruskinian fidelity to function. The clash between the two approaches to design produced some of the most characteristic Arts and Crafts architecture.

Devey's love of local materials and techniques is clear, but there is no evidence that he was himself involved in practical work. Indeed, he almost certainly was not, for any obvious connection with trade would have caused him embarrassment with his grand clients. Butterfield is supposed to have been "engaged in practical smithery"<sup>29</sup>; Street certainly learned smithing so that he could design ironwork properly, and he painted murals in the Boyne Hill Church and believed that every architect "should himself be able to decorate his own building with painting and sculpture". But as his son remarked, "rapidly increasing press of work . . . convinced him, I think, of the inapplicability of such views in our modern times"<sup>30</sup>. Street had, in effect, decided that he could not resolve Pugin's paradox of the relationship between designers and craftsmen in his own way of life and became noted for detailed control over the way in which his buildings were built.

Ruskin squarely faced this paradox: "the painter should grind his own colours; the architect work in

the mason's yard with his men". Not that this should lead to equality "the distinction between one man and another [should] be only in experience and skill and the authority and wealth which these must naturally and justly obtain".<sup>31</sup>

Ruskin's early political views were a more harshly expressed version of the neo-feudalism Pugin had preached in *Contrasts* twelve years before. They gave him a rather peculiar view of freedom.

In *Stones* Ruskin avowed that "there might be more freedom in England, though her feudal lords' lightest words were worth men's lives . . . than there is while the animation of her multitudes is sent like fuel to feed the factory smoke".<sup>32</sup>

By the 1860s Ruskin had moved to a kind of state socialism, and in *Unto This Last*, he sketched out an ideal society almost as fierce as Utopia in which the old, sick and destitute are cared for, practical education is provided for all, there is a mixed economy, but the indigent are set "under compulsion of the strictest nature . . . to the more painful and degrading forms of necessary toil".<sup>33</sup>

In his last political stance, founding a society to pursue the ideals of the dignity of labour and fight against machines and their alienating effects, Ruskin anticipated the social experiments of the Arts and Crafts movement. In 1871 he founded the St.

George's Guild which aimed to give the example of a better life. Members were to be devoted "first to the manual labour of cultivating pure land . . . and secondly together with this manual labour and much by its means they are to carry on the thoughtful labour of true education, in themselves and in others".<sup>34</sup> Machinery was restricted to devices powered by wind and water—"electricity perhaps not in future refused". But "steam is absolutely refused as a cruel and furious waste of fuel to do what every stream and breeze are ready to do costlessly".<sup>35</sup>

The St. George's experiment failed after three ill starred communities were started at Barmouth, in Worcestershire and near Sheffield. Apart from Ruskin's progressive mental collapse, one of the main reasons for failure must have been his curiously contradictory attitude to authority. While embracing what he called socialism, Ruskin always stressed "the impossibility of equality". The St. George's Guild communities were under the charge of wise overseers imposed from above and so could never be the free groupings of husbandmen and craftworkers for which half of Ruskin longed. It was the guild socialism which William Morris preached in *News from Nowhere* which provided the logical answer to Ruskin's political dilemma.

1 *The Times* reprinted in the *Journal of Design*, 1851, quoted by Naylor, Gillian in *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, Studio Vista, London 1971, n. 18, p. 200

2 *The Illustrated Exhibitor* John Cassell, 1851, p. 91. The *Exhibitor* was published as a series during the course of the Great Exhibition.

3 Ferrey, Benjamin *Recollections of Pugin* 1861, Scholar Press 1978, p. 187

4 Pugin, A. W. N. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, London 1841, p. 47, Academy Editions, London 1973, p. 47

5 Ferrey *op. cit.*, p. 65

6 Pugin A. W. N. *op. cit.*, p. 70

7 *Ibid.*, p. 1

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*, p. 2

10 *Ibid.*, p. 27

11 *Ibid.*, p. 53

12 *Ibid.*, p. 72

13 *The Builder*, Vol. X, 1852, p. 605

14 Pugin, A. W. N. *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65

15 Pugin, A. W. N. *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, London 1843, reprint 1969, p. 20

16 Ferrey *op. cit.*, pp. 470-473

17 Ruskin, John *Modern Painters*, Vol. III, Appendix 3, in Cook and Wedderburn *Works of John Ruskin*, London 1904, Vol. V, p. 429

18 Ruskin, John *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. I, Smith Elder, London 1851, Appendix 12, p. 372. (This appendix was dropped in the second and all subsequent editions, which were published after Pugin's death.)

19 *Ibid.*, p. 371

20 Ruskin, John *Stones, op. cit.*, Vol. II 1853, Chapter III "The Nature of Gothic", p. 161

21 Pugin, A. W. N. *Apology, op. cit.*, p. 41

22 Ruskin, John *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Smith Elder, London 1849, p. 48

23 Ruskin, John *Stones, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 165

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166

25 *Ibid.*, p. 198

26 *Ibid.*, p. 179

27 Ruskin, John *Seven Lamps, op. cit.*, p. 47

28 Girouard, Mark "George Devey in Kent", *Country Life* 149, 1971, p. 745

29 Thompson, Paul *William Butterfield*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1971, p. 501

30 Street A. E. *Memoir of George Edmund Street RA*, John Murray, London 1888, p. 13

31 Ruskin, John *Stones, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 169

32 Ruskin, John *Stones, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 162

33 Ruskin, John *Unto this last* 1862, in Cook and Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVII, p. 22

34 Quoted in Naylor, Gillian *op. cit.*, p. 93

35 *Ibid.*