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# *The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J. H. Parker*

by SIMON BRADLEY

Why did the English Gothic Revival ignore continental architecture for so long? Horace Walpole used motifs from Rouen Cathedral at Strawberry Hill in the mid-eighteenth century, it is true, and James Wyatt drew on the Portuguese abbey of Batalha for part of Fonthill Abbey, but these were straws in a wind that did not blow with any force until around 1850.<sup>1</sup> The shift towards continental Gothic at that time, associated with Ruskin and with Benjamin Webb, is well known.<sup>2</sup> Yet the national monoculture that went before tends to be taken for granted, or to be overlooked in favour of the growth of Gothic archaeology or of the incipient 'Battle of the Styles'. This Late Hanoverian concentration on home-grown Gothic is doubly surprising when compared with the increasingly plural classicism of the day, which embraced Greek, Roman, Italian Renaissance, Louis XIV, and even Egyptian variants. It will be argued here that this *cordon sanitaire* can be linked with two continuing beliefs, sometimes held together, sometimes separately: that Gothic was invented in England, and that it reached its purest or finest expression there.

This is not to say that the supposed English origin of Gothic, rather than what might be called its naturalization in England, was always the main attraction in the eyes of those who adopted the style, still less that the Gothic Revival would not have happened without it. After all, the Revival consistently drew strength from a generally patriotic attitude to the past, a connexion recognized in existing scholarship on the subject.<sup>3</sup> This patriotism was essentially self-validating, as exemplified by the circular argument of the architect John Carter in the mid-1770s, that Gothic warranted reviving precisely because it was 'ages back the taste of Englishmen'.<sup>4</sup> English neo-Gothic architecture was therefore different in kind from English classical architecture, for which the founts of authority were distant in space as well as time, and recognizably continental elements would have seemed out of place within it. By the same circular reasoning, Gothic was also suited to the country whose landscape, materials and climate had formed it, just as (it was sometimes argued) the classical styles belonged in essence to the Mediterranean world.<sup>5</sup> Besides its secular appeal, associations with established religion and worship also recommended the revival of Gothic, especially once the boom in church building

began in 1818, in addition to which a kind of stylistic introversion suited the status of the Church of England as an autonomous national church.<sup>6</sup> With the era of Reform, ushered in by Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and continued into the 1830s under successive Whig governments, the Church became acutely defensive of its position in national life and history, and doubly grateful for the cultural prestige radiated by its own medieval buildings, whose Catholic origins were elided or disregarded.<sup>7</sup>

Nor, of course, did the Gothic Revival stand still simply because it did not take up continental models: new neo-Gothic buildings showed a steady movement towards archaeological accuracy, particularly in their details, and fresh specimens for imitation were published all the time. That these were devoted almost exclusively to British examples must also reflect the demand from the architectural profession, busy not only with the design of new neo-Gothic buildings but also with the restoration of medieval ones, particularly churches, on which continental motifs were plainly unsuitable. But if the cultural mood did not yet favour any adventures into continental Gothic for new buildings, the importance of the debate on how the style began in forming that mood should not be underestimated. Whether Gothic was diagnosed simplistically, as a matter of the use of pointed arches, or more sophisticatedly, as an aesthetically and structurally coherent system, a preoccupation with its national origins usually hovered in the background. The debate on the subject rumbled on without interruption even into the 1840s, far later than might be expected.

#### THE ENGLISH ORIGINS OF GOTHIC

The claim that Gothic was both invented and perfected in England seems to have begun with the first edition of William Gilpin's *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, published in 1786 but circulating in manuscript from shortly after 1772.<sup>8</sup> His patriotic ardour unsullied by foreign travel, Gilpin concluded that the Gothic abbeys and castles that studded the English landscape were in a style 'unrivalled among foreign nations', invented by the English 'without searching the continent for models', and found abroad only in the parts of France which the English had occupied.<sup>9</sup> Gilpin allowed some 'Saracen' influence on medieval English architecture, but confined it to the elaborate ornaments of the later Norman period, in opposition to the theory of Wren, that the entire style had a Saracen derivation.<sup>10</sup> For Gilpin, the fullest expression of Gothic was the 'middle style', a 'purely British' creation exemplified by York Minster and parts of Canterbury Cathedral, which was free from the 'Roman' or 'Saxon' motifs of earlier phases.<sup>11</sup>

Gilpin's opinions are also of special interest in that they preceded the more closely argued claims of John Carter and his ally the Revd John Milner, developed while Britain was cut off from the Continent after 1793 by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. This story, explored in detail some two decades ago by J. M. Frew, can be briefly summarized.<sup>12</sup> Carter and Milner were convinced that England had been spared from revolutionary destruction by what the latter called 'the care of a superintending Providence', and therefore had a divine mission to preserve its medieval monuments, which they considered the finest anywhere.<sup>13</sup> Carter argued the case chiefly in a paranoid campaign against architectural 'Innovation', fought in the pages of the

*Gentleman's Magazine* between 1798 and 1817. Milner, the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic of Western England and Bishop of Castabala in *partibus infidelium*, was more level-headed, but he shared Carter's highly coloured vision of departed medieval glories.<sup>14</sup> In his *History of Winchester* of 1798 Milner took matters further, establishing for the first time an archaeological basis for the claim that Gothic was English. Taking the pointed arch to be the essential feature of the style, he noted its appearance in the pierced, interlaced arcading of the choir gallery in the St Cross Hospital church outside Winchester — identified by him as part of the founder's work of 1134 — and seized on St Cross as the precursor of the entire style (Fig. 1).<sup>15</sup> The same arcading had been remarked in 1771 by James Benthham, who allowed that the germ of Gothic might reside in it, but he was uncertain whether its piercings were original.<sup>16</sup> Milner had no such qualms, and John Carter echoed his triumph. In his text for the Society of Antiquaries' survey of Durham Cathedral, published in 1801, Carter argued that England had invented Gothic and built its finest monuments, and even that continental traditions suggested that Gothic buildings abroad were of English design.<sup>17</sup> He also drew a



Fig. 1. *St Cross Hospital Chapel, Winchester. North side of choir, showing the gallery. After c. 1160 (Photograph 1969)*

striking analogy between the progress of architecture and the origin of the English language and people:

The nation assumed a new character about the time of Henry II. The language, properly called English, was then formed; and an architecture founded on the Norman, and Saxon, but extremely different from both, was invented by English artists. It surely is equally just and proper to distinguish this style by the honourable appellation of English.<sup>18</sup>

This conception of Englishness as an amalgam of Norman and Saxon traditions flourished in the early nineteenth century — it is one of the themes of Walter Scott's phenomenally popular *Ivanhoe* (1819) — and Carter's letterpress made it familiar to every member of the Society of Antiquaries, who were issued with the volume *gratis*.<sup>19</sup>

A still wider circulation for Milner's thesis was ensured by the appearance in 1800 of the *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, edited by the publisher John Taylor. This cheap and accessible octavo volume comprised the relevant passages from Milner's Winchester history (with some new material), and earlier texts by James Bentham, Francis Grose — the only one to assert that Gothic came from abroad — and Thomas Warton.<sup>20</sup> By 1808 it was in its third edition; in the following year the *Quarterly Review* described it as 'in everybody's hands'; in 1843 it was remembered as the 'chief guide' to the subject in the 1800s.<sup>21</sup> Though its contents were diverse and contradictory, their presentation was in fact subtly slanted towards Milner's view. The editorial introduction proffered 'English' or 'Norman' as alternatives to 'Gothic', without committing itself as to origin, but an additional section by Milner immediately followed pointing out oversights in the other essays (whose authors had all conveniently died during the 1790s).<sup>22</sup> Their chronological arrangement also favoured Milner's line, since an unwary reader would conclude that his researches at St Cross supplied the solution for which the others had been groping. The book therefore presumed to settle debate on the subject rather than to provoke it further, and many publications of the 1800s suggest indeed that Milner's theory was readily accepted. Authors who endorsed it included the architects William Wilkins and Samuel Beazley, and topographers and antiquaries such as Edward Brayley, Joseph Nightingale and George Millers.<sup>23</sup> The adoption of the 'English' nomenclature in the first volume of John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* (1807) also implies tacit assent, while the Revd James Dallaway moved from a presumption in favour of a French origin for Gothic in his *Anecdotes of the Arts* (1800) to the usage 'English' in his *Observations on English Architecture* (1806).<sup>24</sup>

The first substantial challenge to Milner's theory came in 1809, in the form of the Revd G. D. Whittington's *An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France*. The Peace of Amiens allowed Whittington to travel abroad in 1802–03, with a view to investigating the Gothic question at first hand. He died before the project was finished, but his friend and editor the fourth Earl of Aberdeen, the future Prime Minister, ensured its partial publication.<sup>25</sup> Even in this incomplete form, Whittington's survey brandished any number of red rags at John Bull's own Gothicists. He briskly dismissed the priority of the St Cross arcading, noting that French apses and crypts of the same period used pointed arches 'from accident and necessity', in similar isolation from any structurally Gothic system.<sup>26</sup> He questioned whether the piercing of the arcade was an original feature, remarking on the general paucity of datable pointed arches in England until the 1170s, long after Abbot Suger's pioneering Gothic work at St Denis

(1137–44).<sup>27</sup> He also observed that French cathedrals and greater churches were much larger than English ones until the fourteenth century at least, and that such developed forms as traceried windows had appeared first in France, whose thirteenth-century Gothic idiom he considered ‘never surpassed in any other age or country’.<sup>28</sup> To demonstrate this superiority he compared Amiens Cathedral point by point with its close contemporary at Salisbury — one of the most admired and stylistically consistent English cathedrals — finding the French church both more advanced and more beautiful (Figs 2 and 3).<sup>29</sup>

Whittington’s acute eye and undeceived scholarship were recognized by Nikolaus Pevsner and Paul Frankl, and more recently by Chris Brooks.<sup>30</sup> The last two state that contemporaries simply overlooked the book, but in fact it kicked up quite a fuss. John Carter was its fiercest assailant, raving in three numbers of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* against ‘Gallic scientific presumption’ and Whittington’s ‘mania of travelled prejudice’: tellingly counter-rational phrases.<sup>31</sup> Milner’s rather more measured response appeared in his *Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England* (1811), which he developed from his entry on Gothic in Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*, published in 1810.<sup>32</sup> Milner dismissed the identification of St Denis as the crucible of Gothic, on the (spurious) grounds that the parts in question might belong to rebuilding recorded there in 1231; Whittington’s preferences for size and ornamental profusion he decried as crude measures of architectural quality.<sup>33</sup> Milner also drew attention to the early Gothic work of the 1160s at Canterbury, pointing out that its chronicler Gervase nowhere suggested that it imitated anything abroad.<sup>34</sup>

Other publications showed a warmer welcome for Whittington’s arguments, however. The most conspicuous praise came from the Revd T. D. Whitaker, writing in the newly established *Quarterly Review* — already the leading intellectual Tory journal — who found ‘so much proved, and so little assumed’ in Whittington’s book.<sup>35</sup> Its influence may also be detected in William Mitford’s *Principles of Design in Architecture*; the main text, dated 1809, called Salisbury the first true Gothic exemplar, but an extended footnote dated 1810 dismissed any exclusive English claim to the style.<sup>36</sup> William Dodsworth’s account of Salisbury (1814) allowed that this acme of English Gothic was conceived in imitation of foreign buildings, using a style of Eastern derivation brought over from France.<sup>37</sup> The Whittington thesis was also restated by his friend John Haggitt, in his *Two Letters to a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on the Subject of Gothic Architecture* (1813), though this was scarcely noticed in the periodicals and was probably never well known. Haggitt briskly dismissed the theory that all the pierced arcades at St Cross were original, not least because the original aisle roof would have blocked most of the outside apertures.<sup>38</sup> Anglocentric antiquarianism was, he thought, altogether too narrow-minded to tackle the subject adequately:

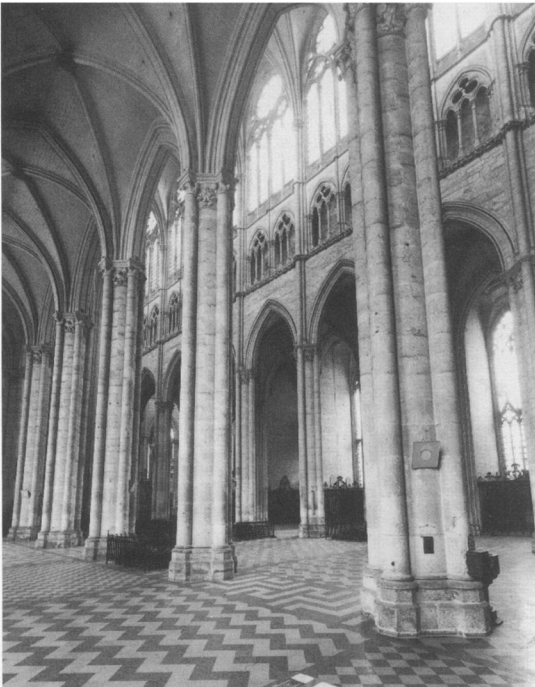
Whilst by the aid of numerous and ingenious draftsmen we have ransacked our most obscure Parish Churches for traces of this style, we seem to have forgotten the existence of such buildings as the Cathedrals of Rheims, Amiens, Strasbourg, Vienna ...<sup>39</sup>

Milner’s argument from aesthetic superiority was a worthless deduction from personal preferences; would any but an Englishman, Haggitt asked cuttingly, possibly believe the English claim to have invented the pointed arch?<sup>40</sup>





**Fig. 2.** *Salisbury Cathedral. Begun 1220. Nave interior, viewed from the south aisle (Photograph 1981)*



**Fig. 3.** *Amiens Cathedral. Begun 1220. Nave interior, viewed from the south aisle (Photograph 1981)*

At about the same time Milner's faction within the Society of Antiquaries was eclipsed, for in 1812 the provisional selection of Sir Henry Englefield as President was overturned in favour of Aberdeen himself, who held office until 1846.<sup>41</sup> Carter died in 1817; Milner confined his writings to polemical theology until his death in 1826; and after the return of peace in 1814–15 the Continent and its medieval churches once more lay open to all who could afford to travel. Yet the controversy about the birth of Gothic refused to die; and English primacy was asserted or reformulated in a mass of new publications. Prejudice and even wilful ignorance played their part in this — Gothic was, after all, a cultural prize worth fighting for — but matters were confused further by new theories from home and abroad, and by disputes about the relative claims of chronology and aesthetics.

Milner's own signal long remained audible amongst this babel of theorizing. One clue to its persistence can be found in the *Quarterly Review's* reception of Milner's *Treatise* of 1811, which again fell to T. D. Whitaker to review. He was persuaded by it that Whittington's book had been excessively partial, and that the intersecting arcading theory was after all 'simplest and most satisfactory', though not sufficient in itself to prove that England had invented Gothic.<sup>42</sup> He was also impressed by Milner's argument that England had priority in developing cusping and other mature Gothic features, based on a comparison of Amiens with the chapter house of York Minster, which Milner implausibly dated to the 1250s.<sup>43</sup> Taken together, Whitaker's reviews suggest no personal axe-grinding on the subject — an impression reinforced by his thorough and sober works of antiquarian topography — and it may be that the wider impact of Milner's last architectural publication, which ran to a further edition in 1835, has been underestimated.<sup>44</sup> Endorsements of Milner's theory were certainly not uncommon in the mid-1810s; Rudolph Ackermann's decidedly non-scholarly *Repository of the Arts*, Benjamin Holdich's anonymous *History of Crowland Abbey*, and W. Hawkes Smith's *An Outline of Architecture* are three examples.<sup>45</sup> Carter's linguistic analogy also found new supporters, such as the Exeter architect John Kendall, who in 1818 judged it sufficient grounds for calling Gothic 'English'.<sup>46</sup>

None of these writers necessarily knew of Milner's dispute with the Whittington faction. Thomas Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (1817), the next great landmark in understanding English Gothic, was rather better informed. Its very title is a reminder of what is sometimes forgotten, that the familiar coinages 'Decorated' and 'Perpendicular' are abbreviations of Rickman's 'Decorated English' and 'Perpendicular English', later developments of the more familiar 'Early English': 'English' meaning, of course, Gothic. Rickman certainly preferred the 'pure simplicity and boldness of composition' of Gothic buildings in England, and echoed Gilpin in his observation that 'Italian' or classical motifs marred those of the Continent.<sup>47</sup> He found in Milner's theories on intersecting arcading

convincing proof that the styles [of Gothic] were the product of the gradual operations of a general improvement, guided by the hand of genius, and not a foreign importation.<sup>48</sup>

Even so, he was careful not to claim for England the earliest examples of the style, which might have developed by a similar, independent process elsewhere. A similar hedging tone marks J. Norris Brewer's survey of the literature on Gothic in the final



volume of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, published the following year, which proposed that the 'pointed' or 'English' style developed in England and France in parallel, but was seen devoid of 'any servility of imitation' only at home.<sup>49</sup> By 1821 it was possible for the *Quarterly Review* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* to take opposing positions: in the former, Francis Cohen forcefully restated Whittington's arguments for continental precedence and achievement in Gothic; in the latter, the architectural critic Edward John Carlos claimed that the intersecting arcading theory was 'now almost universally sanctioned and supported by the most able antiquaries'.<sup>50</sup>

Meanwhile new theories of the origin of Gothic continued to spring up. What might be called the functional tradition was represented by the writings of the Cambridge architect James Essex (1722–84), whose papers passed to the Revd Thomas Kerrich, their subsequent expositor. Essex proposed that the pointed arch was invented as a means of vaulting irregular or non-square bays to a uniform height.<sup>51</sup> Any such explanation could itself reinforce the belief in an autonomous English origin for Gothic: for example, a notable paper on vaulting which the architect George Saunders read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1811 drew entirely on English examples, while avoiding the controversy of national origins.<sup>52</sup> Of the others, the Revd William Gunn — remembered as the propagator of the label Romanesque — revived in 1819 the old suggestion that the pointed arch sprang from 'deviations from legitimate architecture' in post-Imperial Rome; in the following year Rowley Lascelles endearingly attempted to derive it from inverted sections of Noah's Ark.<sup>53</sup>

The next transformation of the debate came from abroad, in the shape of Georg Moller's *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst* (1815–21), the substance of which became available in a cheap English translation in 1824.<sup>54</sup> Moller dismissed altogether the intersecting arcading theory, arguing that ornament always follows structure and not vice versa, and claimed primacy for Germany largely on the grounds that the cathedrals of Strasbourg, Freiburg and Oppenheim had the sharpest pointed arches of all: a Teutonic variant of the circular arguments of Milner and Whittington about whether English or French buildings were more truly Gothic.<sup>55</sup> Three nations were now in contention for the honour of having invented Gothic, and so the odds lengthened further against any consensus emerging. Even untranslated, Moller's text was enough to persuade the architect E. J. Willson: he had endorsed Milner's theories in the preface to the first volume of the *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* of 1821, but declared them 'ridiculous' in the second volume two years later, giving the palm to Germany instead.<sup>56</sup> Another supporter of the German claim was the connoisseur Thomas Hope, whose *Essay on Architecture* (1835), written probably in the mid 1820s, was fully alert to the strength of English prejudice:

those who assented not [i.e. to an English origin for Gothic] ... were almost accused of a want of patriotism and public spirit — of preferring the honour and credit of foreigners, to that of their own countrymen.<sup>57</sup>

Hope was probably correct that many English lovers of Gothic inclined to give their country the benefit of the doubt where the question of its origin was concerned. But there is altogether too much evidence of real uncertainty on the subject for the Anglocentric party to be convicted of consistent bad faith or wilful blindness. Even the

most thorough review of the debate, in the final volume of Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* (1826), concluded nothing firmer than that

it may, with great probability, be conjectured that some, at least, of the members and decorations of the Pointed style were derived from a foreign source.<sup>58</sup>

Britton had previously been unwilling to declare whether the early Gothic work at Canterbury showed a foreign derivation; in 1828 he was no nearer a conclusion, stressing that the dispute initiated by Whittington remained unresolved.<sup>59</sup> The attentive reader of around 1830 could therefore have been forgiven for thinking the matter confused beyond all help, even if he never encountered, for instance, J. S. Memes' attempt to assert Scottish priority over England in the use of Gothic, or the suggestion by Thomas Bell that the style sprang from the triangular-headed apertures of Ireland's round towers.<sup>60</sup> Other certainties were eroded by time, or by wider reading: by 1831, E. J. Willson's enthusiasm for the theories of Moller had evaporated, and he merely wondered whether English Gothic had paralleled or shadowed that of the Continent.<sup>61</sup> So much might be expected; more surprising is the extent to which the intersecting arcading theory retained adherents. They included the architect-antiquary John Chessell Buckler, the topographer Thomas Cromwell, and the Scottish connoisseur Archibald McLellan.<sup>62</sup> Support of a kind came from the Norman antiquary Arcisse de Caumont, best known for his *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales* of 1830 and later, whose earlier essay on medieval architecture was published in translation in a little-known Hampshire antiquarian magazine called *The Crypt*.<sup>63</sup> Caumont accepted Milner's theory as one which had 'ably and ... rationally held its ground', though he suggested that the arcading at St Cross was anticipated by similar work at Cluny.<sup>64</sup> As late as 1834, indeed, the architect E. B. Lamb could assert in J. C. Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* that the theory was 'now generally admitted'.<sup>65</sup>

A further cross-section of opinion in the mid-1830s is given by the papers of the Architectural Society, soon to merge with the fledgling Institute of British Architects.<sup>66</sup> The surviving addresses from its meetings are essentially derivative pieces, mostly by young men whose interests lay in architectural practice rather than antiquarian research, and are thus more representative of received ideas than any single published work could be. The opening address by T. H. Wyatt was firmly Anglocentric, praising Gothic as a style of obscure origin but 'at its height under our Edward the 3rd'.<sup>67</sup> However, T. L. Walker, a pupil of A. C. Pugin, cited Moller against any English claims, noting the Eleanor Crosses of the 1290s as typical of English emulation of continental ideas.<sup>68</sup> J. B. Watson would have had Gothic called 'English', since it had long been 'our national architecture', beginning with the first pointed arches during the 1130s: a strong echo of Milner.<sup>69</sup> Milner's ghost appears more clearly behind John Blore's paper, which endorsed both the intersecting arcading theory and the English claim to the greatest purity in the use of the style.<sup>70</sup> The issue was still enough alive in 1835, when the Institute of British Architects was formed, for it to urge members travelling abroad to fill in a questionnaire that might help resolve the 'long standing question' of the 'relative adoption and invention' of Gothic in England, France or Germany; the same question featured in its debates into the early 1840s.<sup>71</sup> So a highly Anglocentric conception of Gothic, far from being confined to a dwindling band of xenophobic

antiquaries, flourished within professional architectural circles into Queen Victoria's reign. That the Institute's members should address themselves to Gothic inquiries in this way also constitutes a modest but significant correction to the idea that the new body was collectively at odds with the Gothic Revival.<sup>72</sup>

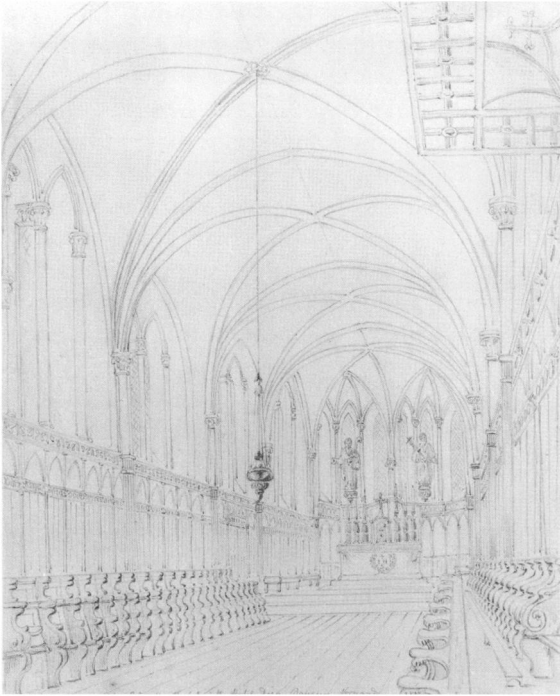
#### ENGLAND AND THE PERFECTION OF GOTHIC

The argument that the 'Englishness' of Gothic resided in its sheer superiority to other national schools was ultimately harder to refute than any claim to have invented the style. The statements of Gilpin and Rickman that English Gothic was more free of classical residues have already been noted. These were not the only grounds for preferring England. Sometimes it was enough to state that English Gothic churches were simply more numerous and beautiful than elsewhere. J. C. Buckler and M. H. Bloxam — both knowledgeable and discriminating antiquaries — did as much in the 1820s, as did the *Gentleman's Magazine's* review of John Britton and A. C. Pugin's *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (1828), written probably by E. J. Carlos.<sup>73</sup> Nor did an avowed belief that Gothic was a foreign importation always extinguish the claim to English supremacy. The *Edinburgh Review*, prompted by Britton's completed *Architectural Antiquities*, felt confident that:

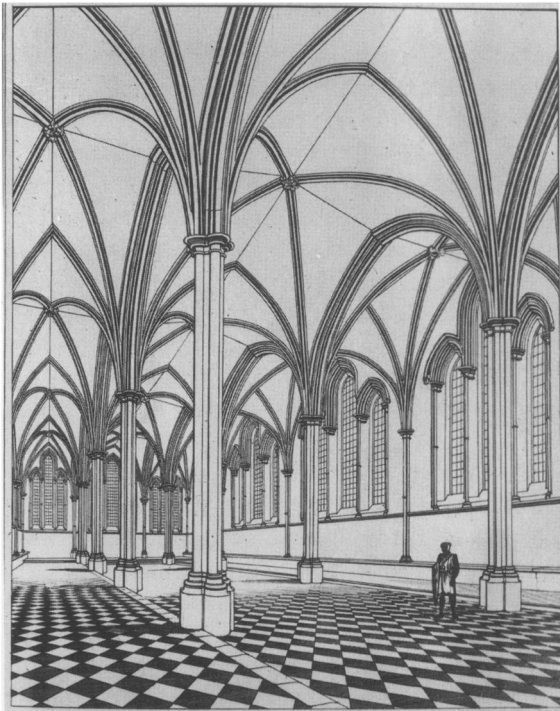
we were ... not far behind them [the French] in the use of it, and ... we far outstripped them in bringing it to perfection.

The magazine considered Winchester, Westminster Abbey, York or Salisbury more than a match for Amiens and the like, not from their mere size, but from their ornament and proportion.<sup>74</sup> *The Crypt* gave space to an anonymous and rather less temperate defence of Salisbury Cathedral against the criticisms of Whittington (dubbed a 'vulgar and uneducated tourist'), which plainly still rankled twenty years on.<sup>75</sup> As late as 1840, the architect George Wightwick suggested that continental Gothic cathedrals, as well as being aesthetically inferior, were also rather *too large*.<sup>76</sup>

Even some English writings devoted exclusively to continental architecture adopted this partisan line. Britton and Pugin found that the pyramidal form was used to excess in Normandy, and that the Gothic ornament there lacked the finesse of English patterns, the Flamboyant type in particular being mere 'fritter'.<sup>77</sup> Ill health had prevented Britton accompanying Pugin in his travels, so he judged from pictorial records only; but Rickman's writings on French medieval churches, published a little later and based on first-hand observation, were barely more sympathetic.<sup>78</sup> Rickman characterized French Gothic largely by its deviation from English forms, often in pejorative terms: the general tendency to breadth in the members, combined with the prevalence of flying buttresses, produced in France a 'want of clearness of outline'; circular or polygonal apses caused 'lumpishness'.<sup>79</sup> When he commended a building it was commonly because it resembled some English exemplar: thus Bayeux Seminary Chapel was 'in character and in simple beauty more like the East portion of the Temple Church than anything we saw' (Figs 4 and 5).<sup>80</sup> Though mindful that English and French Gothic were closely related — an idea he probably took from his travelling companion William Whewell (of whom more below) — he could not shake



*Fig. 4. Bayeux, Seminary Chapel. Mid-thirteenth century. Interior, looking east. Anonymous mid-nineteenth-century drawing (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)*



*Fig. 5. Temple Church, London. Choir interior, looking east. Consecrated 1240. Engraving from R. W. Billings, Architectural Illustrations and Account of the Temple Church, London (1838)*

off his native blinkers: only in England, he concluded, could be found 'the most clearly marked features of each style in its purity': his own Early, Decorated and Perpendicular English.<sup>81</sup>

A subtler explication of the matter came in the *Architectural Notes on German Churches* by the Cambridge polymath William Whewell, published anonymously in 1830, and reissued in 1835 under the author's name with a supplement on France. Whewell followed Moller in assigning Gothic to Germany, believing that pointed arches had first appeared there in vaults as part of a structural system, rather than scattered with 'caprice and indecision', as in early English buildings incorporating Gothic devices.<sup>82</sup> In his second edition Whewell also went out of his way to demolish Milner's reputation as an archaeologist.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless he pointed out that the lancet Gothic of the Early English period, though marred by 'severity and monotony', was uniquely free from residual Romanesque motifs, and that English thirteenth-century buildings such as Westminster Abbey demonstrated that the 'Decorated' Gothic made much faster progress there than in Germany, even if France outstripped them both.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, Whewell thought that of all the national schools of late Gothic the English Perpendicular was 'perhaps the most beautiful and the least degenerate'.<sup>85</sup> The second edition also praised Early English Gothic for being in advance of French Gothic in purity, returning to the familiar opposition of Amiens and Salisbury (Figs 2 and 3):

[Amiens] has not yet acquired the beautiful complex piers of Salisbury, in which the slender detached shafts combine so well with the deep bundles of arch mouldings ... It has a square abacus to most of the single shafts, a Norman feature which in England disappeared at the first dawn of good Gothic.<sup>86</sup>

Whewell's preference for Rickman's terminology is a reminder of the close association between the two men: Whewell accompanied Rickman on his architectural tour of France in 1831, and both writers conceived of Gothic in diametrical opposition to classicism and its Romanesque after-echoes.<sup>87</sup> Whewell, too, undeniably revealed some aesthetic bias against features of French Gothic, finding the deep west portals of Amiens gloomy caverns, and its enormous roof oppressive in effect.<sup>88</sup> Such preferences apart, the 1835 edition also looks back to Rickman's assertion in 1817 that English Gothic was uniquely pure, and further back — as we have seen — to William Gilpin.

There are affinities between this book by Whewell and his friend Robert Willis's *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy* of 1835. Willis likewise remarked on the special homogeneity of Early English, and gave England credit for the progressive elaboration of Gothic vaulting patterns, a process which he and Whewell both identified as the essence of Gothic as an integrated system; the style itself he considered a continental union of separate traditions, including the Saracen, the likely source of the pointed arch.<sup>89</sup> (The book incidentally dismissed any claims of Italy to have fostered the style, on the grounds of the impurity of its Gothic buildings, with their strong horizontal lines and classical admixtures.<sup>90</sup>) E. J. Carlos's articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* show a ready reception for these new interpretations. In 1835 he jettisoned Milner's theory at last, finding Willis's book 'better informed and more scientific', but he also singled out Whewell's favourable contrast of Salisbury with Amiens as something particularly interesting to the English reader.<sup>91</sup> Two years later he



countered a new translation of Moller's work, the *Memorials of German Gothic Architecture* edited by W. H. Leeds, with the old exemplar of Salisbury:

We have always been of opinion that no example of pointed architecture will ever be found which can dispute with Salisbury the claim to antiquity and perfectness ... unless a complete structure of the same date is shown us, we shall not be disposed to surrender the claims of England ... to the invention, or at least the perfection, of the style.<sup>92</sup>

Native pride was reinforced by the belief that medieval remains were better understood and better protected in England, especially by comparison with the old enemy across the Channel. In 1821 Francis Cohen — no chauvinist in wider architectural matters — contrasted the English impulse to protect ancient monuments such as Westminster Hall or Henry VII's Chapel with the 'disgraceful sloth and ignorance of the French'; only the endeavours of travelling English writers and artists would ensure that some record of their buildings survived.<sup>93</sup> The traveller Dawson Turner, himself part of Cohen's circle, found the French 'without any real affection for ancient architecture'; on his visit they were engaged with 'tasteless selfishness' in demolishing the ancient abbey of Jumièges.<sup>94</sup> When the architect Joseph Woods professed admiration for Gothic to the Italian classical antiquary Visconti, his 'shoulders touched his ears', while M. Millin, reputedly the greatest scholar of Gothic in Paris, proved 'not very profound in anything'.<sup>95</sup> In 1831 E. J. Willson still judged that French scholarship on the subject was 'half a century' behind England.<sup>96</sup> Even when the French Government instituted legal protection for ancient monuments, at least one English writer churlishly contrasted official policy with the continuing indifference of the population.<sup>97</sup>

The belief that English Gothic had unique and unsurpassable qualities seems furthermore to have inoculated many native critics and architects against infection by foreign strains, as Gothic-minded writings of around 1840 show again and again. Typical remarks include the Revd John Medley's, that 'the lancet window in its perfection is found in England only', or the young architect F. J. Francis's contrast of the 'happy union of grandeur with simplicity' in every phase of English Gothic with the profusely ornate styles of the Continent.<sup>98</sup> The Revd J. L. Petit, a well-travelled and observant critic, not only rated ordinary English parish churches above continental ones, but found that the whole span of Gothic building demonstrated English aesthetic superiority:

Our early English is a great improvement on the Continental Transition ... In the Complete Gothic, or Decorated with geometrical tracery, such buildings as Tintern, Netley and St Mary's at York, may fairly rival, in point of execution, any others that can be named. For the Flowing Decorated we almost look in vain on the other side of the Channel ... And our Perpendicular, as a style at once pure and beautiful ... far exceeds the Flamboyant, which ... soon began to run into extravagance.<sup>99</sup>

Even the younger Pugin, the Roman Catholic son of a French father, remained essentially Anglocentric in his attitudes, despite his exceptionally deep knowledge of continental Gothic.<sup>100</sup> A few of his buildings look across the Channel, it is true: notably the church of St Chad in Birmingham (1839–41), with its Germanic hall-church plan and twin west spires (Fig. 6). But Pugin's underlying preoccupations were with Old



Fig. 6. *St Chad, Birmingham*. By A. W. N. Pugin, 1839–41 and later. View from the north (Photograph 1977)

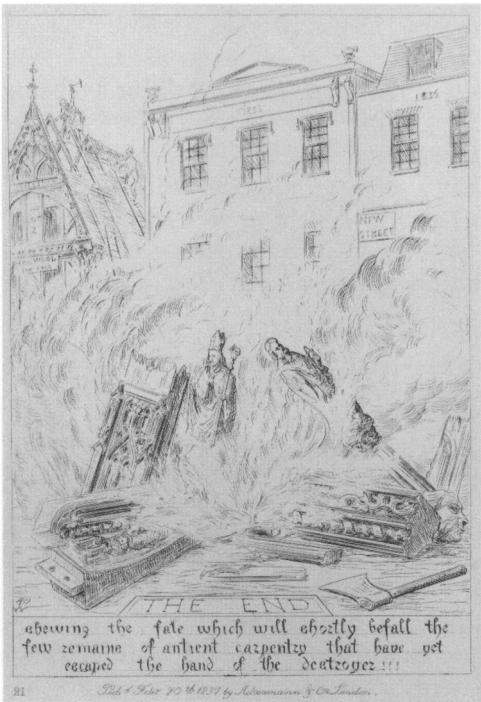


Fig. 7. A. W. N. Pugin, *Details of Ancient Timber Houses* (1836), Plate 21

England. His early *Details of Antient Timber Houses* (1836), published in the same year as the first edition of *Contrasts*, is a case in point. Its plates were devoted to timber gables and oriels, all of them decidedly foreign, of a kind then in vogue for *cottages ornées* and the like. The instructive exception, labelled 'shewing the fate which will shortly befall the few remains of antient carpentry that have yet escaped the hand of the destroyer!!!', shows a blazing bonfire of such woodwork, a most un-English house being chopped down for firewood, and two encroaching houses of London type, labelled 'New Street': in other words, even when the examples illustrated were continental, Pugin conceived of the threat to medieval buildings in terms of the contemporary English scene (Fig. 7).<sup>101</sup> His *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* (1843) made these sympathies more explicit, revivifying the old argument that Gothic was a naturalized English style with the claim that it suited a country which had 'preserved so much of her antient system' — the manor house, the parish church, the chantry chapel — by contrast with a Continent ravaged by war, revolution and secularization.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, his *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841) asserted that 'God in his wisdom has implanted a love of country in every man, and we should always cultivate this feeling.'<sup>103</sup> He therefore considered that the study of continental Gothic was suited only those already 'well-grounded in the traditions of ... native architecture'.<sup>104</sup> His cultural nationalism, like his devotion to the medieval Sarum Rite instead of the universalizing Tridentine mass of the Counter-Reformation, left him content to cultivate a local efflorescence of a wider European style.

The Cambridge Camden Society, too, concurred in a strongly Anglocentric view of the Gothic style. Its prejudices show up in the reading list appended to its first substantial publication, *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, written anonymously by J. M. Neale and John F. Russell in 1839, from which anything too cosmopolitan or controversial, like Thomas Hope's book or Whittington's, is conspicuous by its absence.<sup>105</sup> Through the pages of the *Ecclesiologist* the Society guarded the English Gothic Revival against miscegenation for some time, for instance by deploring Petit's suggestion that continental churches might furnish English architects with compositional formulae.<sup>106</sup> It also inflated the qualities Willis had discerned in Early English into something quasi-miraculous:

the great and hitherto unexplained phenomenon of Christian architecture ... this wonderful style almost instantaneously started into a vigorous existence.<sup>107</sup>

The parallel society at Oxford, if less strident, was just as resolute in its preferences: as a member declared in 1842, 'it should be enough for us that the three Orders of Gothic are *English*'.<sup>108</sup> Another of its early members, the Tractarian clergyman and architectural amateur Thomas Mozley, wrote in 1840 that 'our jealousy for the indigenous English Orders tempts us to predict that no style of foreign growth will ever answer here'.<sup>109</sup>

Such beliefs also chimed in, needless to say, with the widespread cultural self-satisfaction in the years after Waterloo, underpinned by older traditions of chauvinism and xenophobia. The last certainly declined after 1814–15, but even in the late 1820s after-echoes of John Carter's fulminating tone and flailing metaphors could still be caught in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In 1828 it insisted that Gothic, 'the style of our ancestors', remain 'undebased and unadulterated with foreign mixtures', and in the

following year the gloves came properly off:

The French make nothing without exuberance of ornament ... profuse decoration is generally more symbolic of foppery than taste ... Surely a man is not to be blamed for preferring roast beef to ginger-bread?<sup>110</sup>

Lingering prejudice of this kind casts its own light on Henry-Russell Hitchcock's diagnosis of 1957, that the English choice of Gothic models for revival was 'rabidly nationalistic'.<sup>111</sup> What may be less appreciated is that England was not the only country so excited, for the German Gothic Revival followed almost exactly the same course, as Michael Lewis has shown.<sup>112</sup> Just as in England, the belief that Gothic was a native invention antedated the French wars, which then made the style into a badge of a proud but beleaguered culture; just as in England, the weighty evidence that France was the true Gothic fount was countered by the argument that German Gothic was, if not the earliest, then certainly the finest of the national schools. In Germany, too, the early style was admired for its purity and chastity, though it was the later and more ornate Gothic of Cologne Cathedral, the cynosure of the German Gothic Revival, which retained the greatest prestige.<sup>113</sup> The nationalist case in Germany did not therefore collapse until as late as 1845–46, when August Nation demonstrated beyond doubt the dependence of Cologne on Amiens.<sup>114</sup> (In 1840s France, by contrast, Gothic was thought of as a home-grown style, but its revival lacked the same fierce conviction, partly, it has been argued, because it lacked a deep grounding in national religious life.<sup>115</sup>)

By the mid-1840s the Gothic Revival had entered its international phase — 1845 was also the year of George Gilbert Scott's victory in the competition for the Nikolaikirche in Hamburg — and heat was fast fading from the whole dispute.<sup>116</sup> But it is instructive to trace its long afterglow in the writings of the Oxford antiquary and publisher J. H. Parker, himself an early member of the University architectural society there, who championed the English claim to Gothic long after the Cambridge axis had accustomed itself to eclecticism. Parker's priorities are given away by his misleadingly titled *Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*, of which the first edition, of 1836, was illustrated exclusively with medieval English features. In 1849 he issued his *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, judged by the *Dictionary of National Biography* to have had 'a large share in the instruction of English students of medieval architecture', which identified the late twelfth-century St Hugh's Choir at Lincoln as the earliest pure and complete Gothic anywhere in the world.<sup>117</sup> His own loyalties remained with the English Gothic of the thirteenth century, a style he urged George Gilbert Scott to adopt for the new Foreign Office in 1859.<sup>118</sup> As late as 1881, his *A.B.C. of Gothic Architecture* asserted that Gothic 'was undoubtedly developed from the Norman, in England, earlier than anywhere else': measured, that is, by its emancipation from classical or Romanesque traditions.<sup>119</sup>

In the architectural world of the 1880s, when the continental medieval styles had come and partly gone and the later periods of English Gothic were once again the rage, such persistence no doubt seemed somewhat irrelevant. But the extreme case of Parker shows none the less how resilient the proud assertion of the Englishness of Gothic turned out to be. And its significance for the 1820s and 1830s, the formative period for mass neo-Gothic church building, has surely been overlooked. For the continuing belief in national primacy in the style naturally discouraged the use of foreign motifs, which



could be dismissed as aesthetically inferior at best, at worst as derivative and degenerate sprigs from the true native stock. This emphasis on the home-grown quality of Gothic must also have allayed anxieties about its Catholic origins or associations, and may even have implied an analogy with the relationship between the Reformed Church of England, with its medieval inheritance of hierarchies, cathedrals, liturgy and ceremonial, and the 'corrupt' Roman Catholic Church on the Continent. Finally, at a time of widespread but financially straitened church building it was very handy that the special merit of English Gothic, particularly the much-imitated Early English version, was so often thought to be its abstention from profuse ornament.

It would thus impose a false order on the early-nineteenth-century architectural world to assume that pioneering scholars such as Whittington could easily overturn received ideas about Gothic. Conceptions about the relationship between English and continental architecture developed instead by a kind of dialectical process rather than through the simple propagation of ascertained facts, such as the date of Suger's work at St Denis or the height of the vault of Beauvais. Even as evidence was marshalled against it, the patriotic argument was redeployed out of range, from the grounds of priority in inventing Gothic to those of primacy in its fulfilment. It seems, too, that what so many chose to absorb from the clamour of conflicting opinions about the Gothic was too much swayed by love for the familiar, or by perceptions of national prestige and character, for the clearest voices always to prevail over the loudest or most repetitious.

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#### NOTES

- 1 On the sources for Strawberry Hill see Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven, 1987), p. 80. James Wyatt derived the Revelation Chamber at Fonthill from the mausoleum of King João I at Batalha, via James Murphy's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha in the Province of Estremadura in Portugal* (London, 1795), which his patron William Beckford visited in 1794. A handful of earlier nineteenth-century churches drew explicitly on continental models; for the most famous example, neo-Romanesque rather than neo-Gothic, see Neil Jackson, 'Christ Church, Streatham, and the Rise of Constructional Polychromy', *Architectural History*, 43 (2000), pp. 219–52.
- 2 See most recently Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1999), pp. 297–305, and J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Benjamin Webb (1819–85) and Victorian Ecclesiology', *Studies in Church History*, 33 (1997), pp. 423–57.
- 3 Acutely analyzed by Brooks, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 23–82. J. Mordaunt Crook, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival*, Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Papers xvii (London, 1995), p. 68, n. 28, lists some of the recent literature on English nationalism during the period.
- 4 *The Builder's Magazine* (London, 1774–78), part II, p. 64.
- 5 An argument still in evidence when the Houses of Parliament were rebuilt after 1834: see e.g. Col. J. R. Jackson, *Observations ... on the New Houses of Parliament* (London, 1837), quoted in *The Architectural Magazine*,



4 (1837), p. 198.

6 On the new churches see M. H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches: a Study of the Church Building Commission, 1815–56, and its Church Building Activities* (London, 1961). For the religious associations of Gothic see Simon Bradley, 'The Roots of Ecclesiology: late Hanoverian attitudes to medieval churches', in Christopher Webster and John Elliott (eds), *A Church as it Should Be* (Stamford, Lincs., 2000), pp. 22–28.

7 Threats to ancient buildings in the later 1820s and 1830s routinely raised the darkest political forebodings: see Simon Bradley, *The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790–1840*, (doctoral thesis, University of London, 1996), pp. 138–59.

8 Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London, 1927), p. 119. By the third edition of the *Observations* (1792) these claims had been abandoned, and no opinion on the national origin of Gothic was put forward (pp. 13–18).

9 William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, 2 vols (London, 1786), I, pp. 12–15. Horace Walpole, who knew Gilpin and who seems to have urged publication on him, echoed this opinion concerning French Gothic in a letter to Joseph Cooper Walker, 21 December 1790 (W. S. Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 47 vols (Yale, 1937–83), xxix, p. 101, xlii, pp. 305–06).

10 *Observations*, I, p. 16; cf. Christopher Wren, *Parentalia* (London, 1750), p. 297. For the other well-established and opposing belief, that the style represented a corruption of classical architecture in the wake of the Gothic invasions, see Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: literary sources and interpretations through eight centuries* (Princeton, 1960), pp. 284–314.

11 Gilpin, *Observations*, I, p. 16.

12 J. M. Frew, 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of Gothic as England's National Style', *Art Bulletin*, 64 (1982), pp. 315–19; see also Brooks, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 130–36, and Crook, *John Carter*.

13 John Milner, *A Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Antient Cathedrals* (London, 1798), p. 51.

14 *Dictionary of National Biography*; see e.g. John Milner, *The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester*, 2 vols (Winchester, 1798), I, p. 6.

15 Milner, *Winchester*, II, p. 153. This part of the church is now generally dated later in the twelfth century: see Nikolaus Pevsner and David Lloyd, *The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 707.

16 James Benthham, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely* (London, 1771), p. 37.

17 The Society of Antiquaries, *Some Account of the Cathedral Church of Durham* (London, 1801), p. 3. Some such tradition seems to have survived into the nineteenth century, at least in Normandy: see e.g. Mrs Charles Stothard, *Letters Written During a Tour Through Normandy, Brittany and other Parts of France* (London, 1820), p. 21.

18 Society of Antiquaries, *Durham*, p. 3.

19 Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford, 1956) p. 214; Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (1819), ch. 44. See also Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: the Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 22–23.

20 Warton found the Saracen theory plausible and considered that the Gothic style appeared on the Continent first, though he was unable to identify any datable Moorish buildings that might have inspired its creators (*Essays on Gothic Architecture* (London, 1800), pp. 109–15).

21 *Quarterly Review*, 4 (1809), p. 143; Richard Mant, *Church Architecture Considered* (Belfast, 1843), p. iv. The importance of the *Essays* has long been recognized: see Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1928), 1964 edn, p. 60.

22 *Essays* (London, 1800), pp. iii, viii, xi–xxiv. Benthham died in 1794, Grose (author of the *Antiquities of England and Wales*, 1773–87) in 1791, Warton (editor of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 1762) in 1790.

23 William Wilkins, 'An Account of the Prior's Chapel at Ely', *Archaeologia*, xiv (1803), pp. 106–08; Samuel Beazley, 'An Essay on the Rise and Progress of Gothic Architecture', pp. 29, 40–43, in *Essays of the London Architectural Society* (London, 1808); *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 18 vols (London, 1801–16, various authors), IV (1803), pp. 418–19, VI (1805), pp. 109–12, both by E. W. Brayley, XIII part I (1813), p. 232, by Joseph Nightingale; Millers, *A Description of the Cathedral Church of Ely* (London, 1807), pp. 15–16, 31. On Wilkins see also R. W. Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1779–1839* (London, 1980), p. 21. Nightingale and Millers both also accepted the usage of 'English' for the style, following Carter's linguistic analogy. The counter-argument of Robert Smirke, that Italy had priority in the style, was shot down by Sir Henry Englefield, a member of the Carter-Milner axis: see their papers in *Archaeologia*, xv (1806), pp. 363–72.

24 John Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 5 vols (London, 1807–26), I (1807), Malmesbury

- Abbey section, p. 3; James Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* (London, 1800), pp. 9–14, *Observations on English Architecture* (London, 1806), p. 14. Cf. John Carter's statement that Milner's theory 'now gains ground in general belief', in *The Itineraries of Archbishop Baldwin*, ed. Sir Richard Colt Hoare (London, 1806), reprinted in John Carter, *The Progress of Architecture* (London, 1830), pp. 10–11. On the antiquarian publisher John Britton see J. Mordaunt Crook, 'John Britton and the Genesis of the Gothic Revival', in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 98–119.
- 25 Aberdeen, a philhellene, confessed to finding the subject 'not in itself very generally interesting' (G. D. Whittington, *An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France* (London, 1809), p. xiv). For the origin and progress of the book see Liscombe, *William Wilkins*, pp. 21–23.
- 26 Whittington, *Historical Survey*, pp. 87, 108.
- 27 Whittington, *Historical Survey*, pp. 109–10. The arcade openings towards the aisles are more likely to be an original feature lighting the gallery space (Pevsner and Lloyd, *Hampshire*, p. 709).
- 28 Whittington, *Historical Survey*, pp. 51, 64–65, 130–32.
- 29 On Salisbury see Christopher Wren, *Parentalia* (London, 1750), pp. 303–08, and Francis Price, *A Series of Particular and Useful Observations upon that Admirable Structure, the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (London, 1753), *passim*.
- 30 Nikolaus Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1972), pp. 19–20; Frankl, *The Gothic*, pp. 498–99; Brooks, *Gothic Revival*, p. 137.
- 31 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 79 (1809), pp. 523–26, 627–30, 929–31.
- 32 See F.C. Husenbeth, *The Life of the Right Rev. John Milner D.D.* (Dublin, 1862), p. 189. The *Cyclopaedia* appeared serially in 1802–20.
- 33 Milner, *Treatise*, pp. 85–88, 133. The first argument was spurious because Whittington made a clear distinction between Suger's work and the thirteenth-century rebuilding of the nave and transepts (Whittington, *Historical Survey*, p. 111).
- 34 Milner, *Treatise*, pp. ix–xi.
- 35 *Quarterly Review*, II (1809), p. 141; H. and H. C. Shine, *The Quarterly Review under Gifford: Identification of Contributors 1809–1824* (Chapel Hill, 1949).
- 36 William Mitford, *Principles of Design in Architecture* (London, 1809/10), pp. 110, 295. The first, anonymous edition seems not to have appeared until 1810, with the footnote already included; editions of 1819 and 1824 were published under Mitford's own name.
- 37 William Dodsworth, *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Sarum or Salisbury* (Salisbury, 1814), p. 126.
- 38 William Haggitt, *Two Letters to a Fellow of the Society of Antiquities on the Subject of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1813), pp. 21–22; compare with n. 27, above.
- 39 Haggitt, *Two Letters*, p. 59.
- 40 Haggitt, *Two Letters*, pp. 29, 73–74.
- 41 Evans, *Society of Antiquaries*, pp. 219–20.
- 42 *Quarterly Review*, VI (1811), pp. 67–70; Shine, *The Quarterly Review under Gifford*.
- 43 *Quarterly Review*, VI (1811), pp. 69–71; cf. Milner, *Treatise*, pp. 103–08; Whittington, *Historical Survey*, pp. 142–57. The chapter house at York is now thought to have been begun c. 1275 (Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: York and the East Riding* (London, 1995), p. 134).
- 44 See e.g. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Archdeaconry of Craven* (London, 1805). The 1835 edition of Milner's *Treatise* is described as the third, but I can trace no printing between 1811 and 1835; it may therefore be that Milner's chapter in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* was the notional first edition.
- 45 *The Repository of Arts, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics*, 1st series, 9 (1813), pp. 107, 338; Benjamin Holdich, *The History of Crowland Abbey, Digested from the Materials Collected by Mr Gough* (Stamford, 1816), pp. 164–65, 176; W. Hawkes Smith, *An Outline of Architecture: Grecian, Roman and Gothic* (Birmingham, 1816), pp. 22–24. The last preferred Milner's theory to the proposition by Sir James Hall that Gothic arose from stone imitations of ancient bentwood mission churches: another argument, however fantastic, consistent with an English or British origin (Sir James Hall, *An Essay on the Origin and Principles of Gothic Architecture, from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1797). Hall restated his ideas in *An Essay on the Origin, History and Principles of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1813), see especially pp. 110–25; Smith's reference is to a more widely disseminated source, the commendatory end-note to Walter Scott's verse romance *The Lay of the*

*Last Minstrel*, on the description of Melrose Abbey (London, 1805, p. 233).

46 John Kendall, *An Elucidation of the Principles of English Architecture, usually denominated Gothic* (London, 1818), pp. 7–8.

47 Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (London, 1817), p. 37.

48 Rickman, *An Attempt*, p. 38.

49 J. Norris Brewer, *An Introduction to ... the 'Beauties of England and Wales'* (London, 1818), pp. 442–43, 476.

50 *Quarterly Review*, 25 (1821), pp. 133–46; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 91 (1821), part I pp. 223–24; see the *Dictionary of National Biography* for Cohen's authorship. Carlos was still arguing Milner's case ten years later: see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 100 (1830), part I, pp. 581–82, 101 (1831), part I, p. 299. On Cohen see also n. 93, below.

51 Pevsner, *Architectural Writers*, pp. 20–21.

52 George Saunders, 'Observations on the Origin of Gothic Architecture', *Archaeologia*, 17 (1814), pp. 1–29.

53 William Gunn, *An Inquiry into the Origin and Influence of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1819), p. 35; Rowley Lascelles, *The Heraldic Origin of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1820). By 1819 the French coinage *roman* and German *romanisch* were already current: see David B. Brownlee, 'Neugriechisch/Néo-Grec: the German vocabulary of French Romantic architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 50 (1991), pp. 18–21.

54 Georg Moller, *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst* (Darmstadt, 1815–21), translated as *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, traced in and deduced from the ancient edifices of Germany* (London, 1824).

55 Moller, *Essay*, pp. 68–69, 80–81.

56 A. C. Pugin and E. J. Willson, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture, Selected from Various Antient Edifices in England*, 2 vols (London, 1821–23), I (1821), pp. xv–xvii, II (1823), pp. x, xvii.

57 Thomas Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture* (London, 1835), p. 399; pp. 370–78 put the case for the German origin of Gothic. Hope's own preferences were of course for the classical styles.

58 Britton, *Architectural Antiquities*, v, p. 67. Britton's account of the style treats it as developing under its own internal momentum, illustrated exclusively by native examples (pp. 103–81).

59 John Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury* (London, 1822), p. 54; John Britton and A. C. Pugin, *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (London, 1828), p. iii. Britton's *Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages* (London, 1838), p. 22, merely refers the reader back to his survey of 1826.

60 J. S. Memes, *A History of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*, Constable's Miscellany 39 (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 326–31; Thomas Bell, *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture* (Dublin, 1829), p. 88.

61 A. C. Pugin and E. J. Willson, *Examples of Gothic Architecture, Selected from Various Ancient Edifices in England*, 3 vols (London, 1831–38), I (1831), p. xiii.

62 J. C. Buckler, *Views of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (London, 1822), preface; Thomas Cromwell, *A History and Description of the Ancient Town of Colchester* (London, 1825), pp. 216–17; Archibald McLellan, *An Essay on the Cathedral Church of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1833), p. 13.

63 *The Crypt*, 1 (1827), between pp. 89 and 229, 2 (1828), pp. 71–78. The essay was read to the Normandy Society of Antiquaries in 1824. *The Crypt* was published in Ringwood in 1827–29.

64 *The Crypt*, 1 (1827), pp. 189–90.

65 *Architectural Magazine*, 1 (1834), p. 345. Extracts from Milner's *History of Winchester* remained the standard guidebooks to the cathedral and to St Cross Hospital until at least c. 1840, so the theory may have found unwary converts even in Victorian times.

66 On the Architectural Society see H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, 3rd edn (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 42–43.

67 RIBA, MS AS1/1 (1833), pp. 3–4.

68 RIBA, MS AS1/2 ('Essay on the Study of Gothic Architecture', 1833), pp. 8, 39–40.

69 RIBA, MS AS1/7 (1835), pp. 3, 17, 20.

70 RIBA, MS AS1/5 (1834), pp. 2–3.

71 Institute of British Architects, *Address and Regulations* (1835), pp. 55–56; papers addressed to the RIBA by Charles Fowler and Ambrose Poynter, 1838–39, RIBA, MS Sp.3/4, p. 1, and RIBA *Transactions*, 2 (1842), pp. 74–80.

72 See Frank Salmon, *Building on Ruins: the rediscovery of Rome and English architecture* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 145. On the other hand, compare the suggestion in 1838 by T. L. Donaldson, the Secretary and early driving force of the Institute, that a new, synthetic classical style might emerge which would warrant the name 'the

English': surely a deliberate provocation to the Gothic party (*ibid.*, p. 146).

73 [John Chessell Buckler], *Observations on the Original Architecture of Saint Mary Magdalen College, Oxford* (London, 1823), p. 3; M. H. Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Architecture, Elucidated by Question and Answer* (London, 1829), p. 12; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 98 (1828), part II p. 520. The *Dictionary of National Biography* identifies Carlos as the magazine's chief reviewer of such books in 1828–48, but only from c. 1830 did these appear in any quantity: see *The Nichols File of the Gentleman's Magazine*, ed. James M. Kuist (Wisconsin, 1982).

74 *Edinburgh Review*, 49 (1829), pp. 435–36.

75 *The Crypt*, new series, 1 (1829), pp. 241–46.

76 George Wightwick, *The Palace of Architecture: a Romance of Art and History* (London, 1840), p. 140.

77 Britton and Pugin, *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, p. xiv.

78 'Four Letters on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France', *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), pp. 159–87; reprinted in Rickman, *An Attempt*, 4th edn (1835), and later editions.

79 *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), p. 160.

80 *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), p. 180.

81 *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), pp. 186–87. My thanks to Alex Buchanan for pointing out Whewell's likely influence here.

82 William Whewell, *Architectural Notes on German Churches* (London, 1830), p. 73. On Whewell see Carla Yanni, 'On Nature and Nomenclature: William Whewell and the Production of Architectural Knowledge in Early Victorian Britain', *Architectural History*, 40 (1997), pp. 204–21.

83 Whewell, *Architectural Notes*, 2nd edn (1835), pp. 224–31.

84 Whewell, *Architectural Notes* (1830 edn), pp. 7–8, 15.

85 Whewell, *Architectural Notes* (1830 edn), p. 23.

86 Whewell, *Architectural Notes* (1830 edn), p. 145.

87 Whewell, *Architectural Notes*, 3rd edn (1842), preface pp. xiv–xv; the connexion was pointed out by Pevsner, *Architectural Writers*, p. 46. Compare Rickman's table of differences between classical and Gothic in *An Attempt* (1817 edn), pp. 110–11.

88 Whewell, *Architectural Notes* (1830 edn), p. 147.

89 Robert Willis, *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy* (London, 1835), pp. iv–v, 155, 183. On Willis see Alex Buchanan, 'The Science of Rubbish: Robert Willis and the Contribution of Architectural History', in *Gothic and the Gothic Revival: Papers from the 26th Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 1997, ed. Frank Salmon (1998), pp. 25–33.

90 Willis, *Remarks*, p. 140.

91 *Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, 4 (1835), pp. 153, 291; cf. n. 51, above.

92 *Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, 8 (1837), p. 164.

93 *Quarterly Review*, 25 (1821), pp. 132, 147, reviewing instalments of John Sell Cotman and Dawson Turner, *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (London, 1819–22); cf. his similar sentiments in *Quarterly Review* 36 (1826), pp. 316–18. Cotman and Turner aimed to shed light on the origin of Norman architecture; Cotman himself was an admirer of Whittington's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities* (see Andrew Hemingway, 'Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*: some Amendments to Kitson's account', *Walpole Society*, 46 (1976–78), pp. 164–85).

94 Dawson Turner, *An Account of a Tour in Normandy*, 2 vols (London, 1820), I, pp. 137, 187, II, p. 17. Cohen married Dawson Turner's daughter in 1823, adopting the surname Palgrave.

95 Joseph Woods, *Letters of an Architect, from France, Italy and Greece*, 2 vols (London, 1828), I, pp. 27–28. The references are to Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751–1818) and Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison (1759–1818). Woods' travels took place in 1816–18.

96 Pugin and Willson, *Examples*, I, p. xii. See Georg Germann, *The Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas* (London, 1972), pp. 73ff. for the growth of continental Gothic scholarship.

97 *British Critic*, 4th series, 27 (1840), pp. 337–53. The *Ecclesiologist* was more generous: see Chris Miele, 'Victorian Internationalism and the Victorian View of Monument Care on the Continent', in *Gothic Revival: Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe 1815–1914*, Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium, 7–10 November 1997, ed. Jan De Maeyer and Luc Verpoest (Leuven, 2000), pp. 211–22 (pp. 213–18). For parallel legislation in the United Kingdom see Timothy Champion, 'Protecting the Monuments: archaeological legislation from the 1882 Act to PPG 16', in Michael Hunter (ed.), *Preserving the Past: the rise of heritage in modern Britain* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 38–56.

98 John Medley, *Elementary Remarks on Church Architecture* (Exeter, 1841), p. 28; Frederick J. Francis, *A Series*

of *Original Designs for Churches and Chapels* (London, 1841), pp. vi-vii.

99 J. L. Petit, *Remarks on Church Architecture*, 2 vols (London, 1841), I, p. 13, II, p. 81.

100 See Roderick O'Donnell, 'Pugin as a Church Architect', in *Pugin: a Gothic Passion*, ed. Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright (London, 1994), pp. 63-89 (p. 72); also Alexandra Wedgwood, 'A. W. Pugin's Tours in Northern Europe', in *Gothic Revival*, Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium, pp. 93-98, and Timothy Brittain-Catlin, 'A. W. N. Pugin and Nodier's Normandy', in *True Principles: the voice of the Pugin Society*, 2/iii (2001), pp. 3-6.

101 A. W. N. Pugin, *Details of Antient Timber Houses* (London, 1836), pl. XXII. Conversely, the first edition of *Contrasts* included examples from Ypres and Rouen, of which only the former was repeated in the second, 1841 edition.

102 A. W. N. Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* (London, 1843), pp. 37, 46-47.

103 A. W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1841), p. 55.

104 Pugin, *Apology*, p. 20.

105 *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, 1st edn (London, 1839), p. 8; on its authorship see James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 237.

106 *The Ecclesiologist*, 1 (1841) p. 92; cf. Petit, *Remarks*, II, p. 33. For the Society's general hostility to foreign models at this period see White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 123.

107 *The Ecclesiologist*, 1 (1841), p. 96.

108 Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Report (Hilary Term, 1842), p. 8, by J. P. Harrison of Christ Church. The usage of three 'orders' for English Gothic looks back to Milner.

109 *British Critic*, 4th series, 28 (1840), p. 490. For Mozley's architectural activities see his *Reminiscences, Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols (London, 1882).

110 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 98 (1828), part II p. 521; 99 (1829), part I p. 138, reviewing Joseph Woods' *Letters of an Architect* (1828). E. J. Carlos is the likeliest author: see n. 73, above.

111 Henry-Russell Hitchcock in 'High Victorian Gothic', in *Victorian Studies*, 1 (1957), p. 48.

112 Michael J. Lewis, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival: August Reichensperger* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), pp. 75-85.

113 Lewis, *German Gothic Revival*, p. 78.

114 Lewis, *German Gothic Revival*, pp. 82-85. The pre-eminence of Cologne in his account of the German Gothic Revival is however contested by Karen David-Sirocko, 'Anglo-German interconnexions during the Gothic Revival: a case study from the work of Georg Gottlob Ungewitter (1820-64)', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), pp. 153-78.

115 See Odile Boucher-Rivalain, 'Attitudes to Gothic in French architectural writings of the 1840s', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), pp. 145-52.

116 It is significant that Scott himself subscribed to the idea that Gothic emerged independently in France, England and Germany, recognizing the dependence of Germany on France only in 1847 (George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (London, 1879), pp. 125, 146-47).

117 J. H. Parker, *An Introduction to Gothic Architecture* (Oxford, 1849), p. 102.

118 Ian Toplis, *The Foreign Office: an Architectural History* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 83-84.

119 J. H. Parker, A.B.C. of Gothic Architecture, p. 5; cf. his paper 'On the English Origin of Gothic Architecture', *Archaeologia*, 43 (1871), pp. 73-96.