

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

75-4554

MARLIS, Alan Philip, 1945-
AUGUSTUS WELBY NORTHMORE PUGIN'S
INFLUENCE IN THEATRE.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1974
Theater

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

AUGUSTUS WELBY NORTHMORE PUGIN'S INFLUENCE
IN THEATRE

by

Alan Marlis

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Theatre in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1974

- i -

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

9/6/1974
date

Robert J. Doolan
Chairman of Examining Committee

9/6/74
date

Stanley A. Ware
Executive Officer

Stanley A.
Edward Murray Roberts
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

PLEASE NOTE:

Illustrations throughout the dissertation are very poor. These will not reproduce well in xerographic copies. Filmed in the best possible way.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks is given to Professors Robert Dierlam, Stanley A. Waren, Vera M. Roberts, and Daniel Gerould for their assistance in the preparation of this paper. Thanks is also due to my mother for tireless efforts in improving the illustrated material, and a special thanks goes to Michael Hersh, who, eight years ago casually mentioned the fascinating personality of A. W. N. Pugin.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
Chapter		
I	INTRODUCTION Introduction Organization	1
II	ANTECEDENTS Augustus Charles Pugin Early Architectural Career Pugin's Publications Pugin's Architectural School Pugin's Early Theatrical Career <u>The Microcosm of London</u> A. C. Pugin and Daguerre The Diorama A. C. Pugin and the Diorama The Gothic Revival Horace Walpole James Wyatt A. C. Pugin The Houses of Parliament A. W. N. Pugin	17
III	A. W. N. PUGIN: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NINEENTH-CENTURY SCENE DESIGNER Early Biography Mathews' <u>Memoirs</u> A. W. N. Pugin's Model Theatre Important Scene Designers of the Past (Jones, Peruzzi) Clarkson Stanfield	69

	The Grieves	
	Scene Painting for the Romantic Theatre	
	Theatrical Fare of the Period and Scott	
	Later Biography	
	Catholicism	
	The Sea	
	Epilogue	
IV	A. W. N. PUGIN'S WORK IN THE THEATRE.....	138
	Drawings from Pugin's Sketchbooks	
	<u>Kenilworth</u>	
	<u>The Elfin Sprite</u>	
	<u>La Juive</u>	
	<u>Le Comte Ory</u>	
	Innovations in Stage Mechanics: Rearranging the Stage at Drury Lane	
	Costume and Decoration	
V	A. W. N. PUGIN'S POSSIBLE INFLUENCE ON THE EARLY CINEMA.....	196
	Victorian England as a Visual Society	
	The Aesthetics of Scene Painting	
	Scene-Painting and the Early Movies	
	Conclusion	
VI	CONCLUSIONS.....	215
APPENDIX	AN INTERVIEW WITH H. WELBY PUGIN.....	239
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	247

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The Houses of Parliament, London. By Sir Charles Barry, A. W. N. Pugin, and E. M. Barry. Executed 1840-c.1865.
2. Paris Diorama.
3. London Diorama in Regent's Park.
4. An example of another Gothic interpretation of the period by Karl Friedrich Schinkel.
5. Carl Gropius' Berlin Diorama.
6. An omnibus advertising the Regent's Park Diorama.
7. The facade of the Diorama as it looks today.
8. King's Theatre Haymarket, drawing by A. C. Pugin.
9. King's Theatre Haymarket, drawing by A. C. Pugin.
10. Rotunda, Drury Lane Theatre, drawing by A. C. Pugin.
11. Theatre Royal Haymarket, drawing by A. C. Pugin.
12. Haymarket Theatre, drawing by A. C. Pugin.
- 13.) Two colored etchings by Thomas Rowlandson.
- 14.)
- 15.) Three stages of a Pugin and Rowlandson Theatre design of Sadler's
- 16.) Wells for The Microcosm of London.
17. Sadler's Wells sketch by A. C. Pugin.
18. A. C. Pugin's sketch of Covent Garden.

19. First Covent Garden Theatre, drawing by Pugin and Rowlandson for Microcosm.
20. Second Covent Garden Theatre, drawing by Pugin and Rowlandson for Microcosm.
21. Drury Lane Theatre in 1808, drawing by Pugin and Rowlandson.
22. The old Burgtheatre on the Michaelerplatz in Vienna.
23. Covent Garden Theatre drawing by Pugin and Rowlandson.
24. A Daguerre scene design.
- 25.) Three Gothic drawings by Daguerre. (Note the similarity of Figure
- 26.) 27 church interior and A. W. N. Pugin's design for La Juive.
- 27.) Figure 55.)
28. Front facade and ground plan of London Diorama, drawn by A. C. Pugin. This and the five drawings, Figures 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, come from John Britton's Illustrations of the Public Buildings of 1923 with the text for the theatre section written by Charles Dibden and the drawings done by A. C. Pugin.
29. Ground plan and Cross-section of the auditorium and picture emplacement of the London Diorama. The diagrams are A. C. Pugin's.
30. A photograph of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin.
31. These drawings are representative of the "Panoramic Scenes" Pugin showed in his homemade model theatre for guests and friends when he was child, and a young man.
32. Interior scene for Le Comte Ory opera by Rossini, scenery and costumes by A. W. N. Pugin. Note the ceiling, i.e., the built-in ceiling. This was an architectural advance in the stagecraft of the period. The costumes are also more historically correct and realistic than other costumes for similar period piece operas.
33. Two scenes from A. W. N. Pugin's book Contrasts which revolutionized English Architecture and brought to the forefront the Gothic Revival Style of architecture. Note the dramatic elements of the scenes depicted (they are commented on in the text). This is the best example of the delicacy and grandeur of Pugin's pen in delineating Gothic designs.

34. A drawing by A. W. N. Pugin c. 1837 of the internal corridor at Scarsbrick Hall.
- 35.)
- 36.) Four drawings by A. W. N. Pugin probably used for the 1831 Covent
- 37.) Garden production of Chateau de Kenilworth.
- 38.)
39. A drawing by A. W. N. Pugin probably used for the 1831 Covent Garden production Chateau de Kenilworth.
40. A drawing by A. W. N. Pugin probably used for either the 1831 production of Kenilworth or the 1833 production of The Elfin Sprite.
41. A drawing by A. W. N. Pugin from his La Juive period, circa 1833-35.
- 42.) Two views by W. Hollar. Above (Figure 42), Greenwich; below
- 43.) (Figure 43), The Islington Waterhouse.
44. A watercolor by A. W. N. Pugin for a possible classical setting.
45. A watercolor by A. W. N. Pugin of a possible northern Gothic prospect for a scene design.
46. Pugin's costume for the lead, Zoe Beaupre as Queen Elizabeth in Kenilworth.
47. Ballet of Kenilworth. Banqueting Hall by Moonlight.
48. Playbill for 1833 performance of Le Chateau de Kenilworth including a description of the spectacle, the costumes and scenery of which were designed by A. W. N. Pugin.
- 49.) An example of a Dioramic effect; before (Figure 49) and after
- 50.) (Figure 50).
51. Playbill for 1833 performance of Elfin Sprite; and the Grim Grey Woman in which Pugin's name appears beneath that of Mr. Grieve.
52. An outdoor scene from Act I of La Juive.
53. An indoor scene from Act III of La Juive.
54. An indoor scene of Act II of La Juive.

55. An Interior scene from the original Paris production of La Juive.
56. An outdoor scene from the original Paris production of La Juive whose sets and costumes were designed by A. W. N. Pugin.
57. The indoor scene of the Finale of Act III of La Juive.
58. An outdoor scene of Act II of La Juive.
59. An outdoor scene of Act IV of La Juive.
60. An outdoor scene, the Finale, from the Paris production of La Juive.
- 61.) Center: (Figure 62) Final scene of an 1850 production at Covent
- 62.) Garden of La Juive of which there is a strong possibility that the
- 63.) sets and the costumes were the original ones designed by A. W. N. Pugin for the original Paris production. The two other scenes (Figures 61 and 63) are of contemporary representations of Gothic stage designs.

- 64.) Pugin's home, St Marie's Grange, Ramsgate. Below (Figure 64) the
- 65.) plan and an outside view. Above right (Figure 65) an outside view
- 66.) from the south. Left (Figure 66), an interior watercolor by Pugin c. 1835-36.

67. A scene from the original Paris production of the Halevy opera La Juive of which the costumes and sets were designed by A. W. N. Pugin.

68. The outdoor scene of the Finale of Act I of La Juive.

69. An indoor scene from Act I of La Juive.

70. An outdoor scene from Le Comte Ory by Rossini designed by Sanquirico, performed at La Scala in Milan. Note the artificiality and other-worldly fantasy of the attempt at Gothic usage by Sanquirico.

71. An illustration of the alterations of the Drury Lane stage initiated by A. W. N. Pugin.

72. The Third Drury Lane, the exterior of the building that A. W. N. Pugin rearranged the stage for.

73. A caricature of Kean with Drury Lane upon his shoulders.

74. The plan of the new Drury Lane, the Theatre that A. W. N. Pugin rearranged the stage for.
75. A page from the Glossary.
76. Patterns for the Sacred Vestments from the Glossary,
77. Names and fittings of the Sacred Vestments from the Glossary.
78. Illustrations of English priests drawn from monumental effigies from the Glossary.
79. Illustrations of Roman, French, and Flemish priests drawn from monumental effigies from the Glossary,
80. Illustrations of priests drawn from monumental effigies from the Glossary.
81. Illustrations of Bishops from the Glossary.
82. Costume for Rachel in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
83. Costume for le Comte Ory in Le Comte Ory, designed by Pugin.
84. Costume for la Comtesse de Fomoutiers in Le Comte Ory, designed by Pugin.
85. Costume for D'Isolier in Le Comte Ory, designed by Pugin.
86. Costume for Rachel in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
87. Costume for the Jew Eleazar in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
88. Costume for Princess Eudoxie in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
89. Costume for Cardinal Brogny in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
90. Costume for Prince Leopold in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
91. Costume for Princess Eudoxie in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
92. Costume for Prince Leopold in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
93. Costume for a Page of the Cardinal de Brogny in La Juive, designed by Pugin.

94. Costume for L'Empereur Sigismond in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
95. Costume for Femme d'Artisan in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
96. Costume for the Page of Princess Eudoxie in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
97. Costume for Grand-Prevot in La Juive, designed by Pugin.
98. Three costumes for Le Comte Ory, designed by Pugin.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In The Gothic Revival, Kenneth Clark states: "I believe we can say that every visible foot of the Houses of Parliament is the work of Pugin."¹ Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) was an architect and writer noted for his prominent role in the Gothic Revival movement in England. There are over one hundred churches designed by Pugin in the British Isles. Although a prodigious builder, his published works exerted a greater influence than his architecture. His book, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841) became a textbook for the Gothic Revival. Pugin also published Details of Ancient Timber Houses of the 15th and 16th Centuries (1836), Contrasts (1836), the book that made his reputation, Apology (1843), and Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (1844), "a work of great learning which would have kept an ordinarily industrious man employed for many years,"² and which is the authority on the subject to this day.

¹Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950, originally published in 1922), p. 114.

²Ibid., p. 112.

Pugin worked with Charles Barry on the Houses of Parliament, London, chiefly directing the execution of fittings and ornamental details. The buildings, designs, and writings of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin made him a leading figure in the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival movement in England, and his work in the theatre during that period had a significant influence in maintaining the pre-eminence of the Gothic style.

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin was the son of a famous architectural draughtsman, Augustus Charles Pugin,³ who emigrated from France in 1796. A. W. N. Pugin studied Gothic design under his paternal master. During a period of his life A. W. N. Pugin spent a great deal of time designing Gothic scenery and costumes for London and Parisian theatres. Much of Pugin's writing, drawing, and personality was colored by his theatrical background. Early in Pugin's career, his father and he were entrusted with Daguerre's secret formula for dioramic painting and construction. This early mechanical knowledge aided Pugin when he rearranged the stage machinery at Drury Lane.⁴ This exposure to Daguerre's evolving cinematic vocabulary led Pugin to develop initiatives in design theory that would prove influential during the period of early cinema scenic design.

³Hereafter, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin will be referred to as A. W. N. Pugin or Pugin. His father will always be identified as A. C. Pugin or the elder Pugin.

⁴Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, ed., The Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1921) V, xvi Pecock-Robins, p. 450.

In his book Victorian Architecture, Robert Fumeaux Jordan points to Pugin's importance in the history of the English stage. "By the time he was twenty-five he had designed scenery for Drury Lane--altering the history of English stagecraft."⁵

The most influential churchman of the English Catholic Revival was John Henry Newman. Cardinal Newman was quoted widely when he gave his opinions on men and matters that concerned the Church. Cardinal Newman wrote:

Mr. Pugin is a man of genius; I have the greatest admiration of his talents, and willingly acknowledge that Catholics owe him a great debt for what he has done in the revival of Gothic architecture among us. His zeal, his minute diligence, his resources, his invention, his imagination, his sagacity in research, are all of the highest order. It is impossible that anyone, not scientifically qualified to judge of his merits, can feel a profounder reverence than I do, for the gift with which it has pleased the author of all Truth and Beauty to endow him.⁶

Cardinal Newman described his reaction to a particular church decorated and designed by Pugin in the following manner:

The new Cheadle Church, which is to be consecrated on Sept 1, is the most splendid building I ever saw. It is coloured inside every inch in the most sumptuous way--showing how Gothic--in these countries where there is no marble, contrived to make up for mosaics, etc. of the south. The windows are all beautifully stained. The Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament is, on entering, a blaze of light--and I could not help saying to myself "Porta Coeli."⁷

⁵Robert Fumeaux Jordan, Victorian Architecture (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 78.

⁶Newman cited by Nikolaus Pevsner, Preface, Phoebe Stanton, Pugin (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), p. 7.

⁷Newman, cited by Stanton, Pugin, p. 108. The Cheadle Church opened in 1846.

C. Northcote Parkinson, in his book, East and West, traces the rise and fall of civilizations--from ancient Sumeria to the present day--and he shows how power has alternately shifted from East to West in a seesaw pattern of dominance down through the ages.

Parkinson affords Augustus Welby Pugin a prominent role in the transition of occidental to oriental emphasis on culture. He contends that it is with Pugin's work in the Gothic Revival that the West started loosening its grip and absorbing eastern culture in the middle of the last century:

The Greek and Roman tradition represented the assertion of the more purely Western aesthetic, contrasting scornfully with the world of Asia. The medieval tradition had represented something quite different, the frank admission that wisdom comes from the East. It was toward the East that the churches were orientated. It was from the East that their doctrines and rituals had come. And now, after 1840, the movement began for a return to the Middle Ages, to the last period of Oriental dominance. Augustus Welby Pugin entered the Church of Rome in 1837; his masterpiece--the first monastery to be built in England for three centuries--being consecrated in 1844. In 1840, Charles Barry began the construction, in Gothic style, of the present Houses of Parliament. By 1850 the trend was well established, leading eventually to much that was sensible in domestic architecture. It also led, and logically, to buildings of a specifically Oriental style--to Islamic railway stations in India and Malaya; to Moorish arcades and bazaars in England itself.⁸

Pugin's drawing for the Houses of Parliament and the Big Ben bell tower are, perhaps, the most notable designs that have been constructed

⁸G. Northcote Parkinson, East and West (New York: Mentor Books, 1965), p. 218. Barry's Houses of Parliament were built with the aid of Pugin's designs.

in Britain in the past two hundred years. Figure 1 is a photograph of the Houses of Parliament, as they appear today.

There is much material available on A. W. N. Pugin and his works. However, most of the evidence deals with his achievements in architecture and design theory. While most authors writing about Pugin mention his work in the theatre, their assessments as to its scope, importance, and influence vary considerably. No author with a background in theatre history has approached the subject of Pugin's theatrical career and dealt with it in the comprehensive manner it requires. The intent of this paper is to demonstrate the importance of Pugin's work in the theatre in order to clarify Pugin's position in nineteenth-century English theatre history.

The information and analysis set forth in this paper will attempt to prove that the scope of Pugin's theatrical endeavors was greater than heretofore thought. By investigating productions that Pugin worked on, as well as illustrations of sets he designed, his theatrical career takes on a new meaning. Pugin worked for the Paris Opera, Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and other theatres. His work for the theatre set a standard for authenticity in the Gothic style. Pugin's theories of design were to influence the theatre during the period of the early cinema. It is hoped that this study of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin as a man of the theatre will add much to nineteenth-century British scenic studies.

Books and articles from three major areas were primarily utilized. These areas were: (1) Architectural discussions on Pugin that evolved

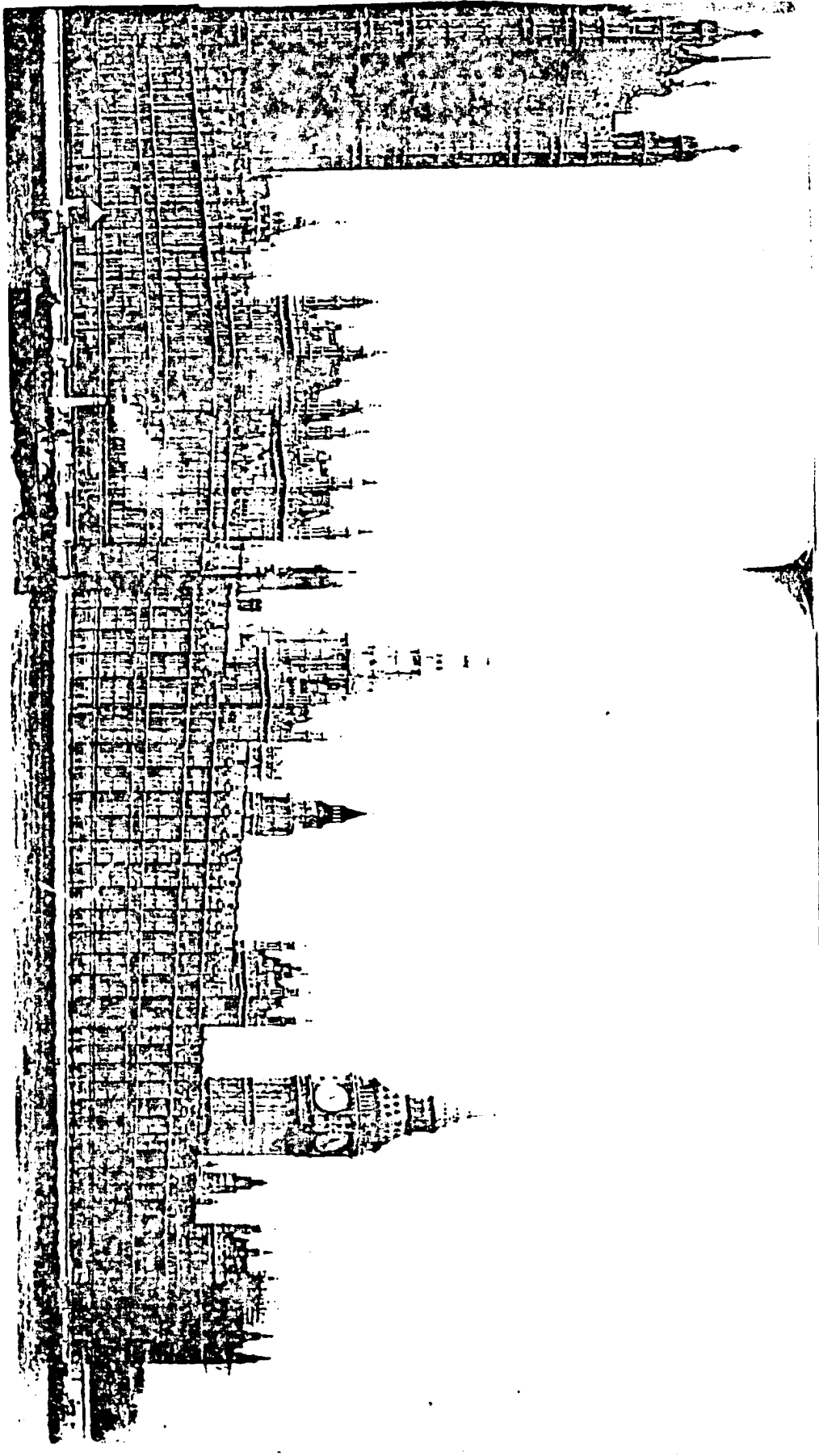


FIG. 1.

into biographical accounts; (2) Theatre sources, commenting on Pugin's achievements as well as influences of the period in which Pugin worked; (3) Books of the cinema which discussed certain cinematic processes (such as the Diorama) to which Pugin was exposed and utilized in his work in the theatre. An aesthetic discussion of the relationship of scene-painting and design in the fields of the theatre and the cinema comprised a portion of my study.

What follows is a survey of the literature concerned only with Pugin. These books and articles of architectural-biography have been closely examined and their contributions to Pugin study have been noted. We will start with material on Pugin produced by his contemporaries, then move to men who participated in the Gothic Revival after Pugin had died.

Benjamin Ferrey was a student with Pugin in his father's architecture school when they were both young boys. Ferrey was the official biographer of the Pugins and furnishes most of the biographical material in the paper.⁹

Ferrey tells of the pleasure that the elder Pugin took in the theatre. He mentions the elder Pugin's friendship with Charles Mathews, the celebrated English comedian. The fact that on a visit to Wales (after Mathews' ship had wrecked off the Welsh coast) Pugin and Nash (the man for whom the elder Pugin worked as an architect and illustrator) met Mathews and performed The School for Scandal at the Carmarthen Theatre, did much to

⁹Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin (London: Edward Stanford, 6, Charing Cross S. W., 1861).

give A. W. N. Pugin a bit of a theatre legacy. Mathews' son was also enrolled in the elder Pugin's architectural school. This information was incorporated in my section devoted to the Elder Pugin.

Pugin's meeting at the age of fifteen with George Dayes, the Covent Garden manager of stage scenery, is related by Ferrey. Pugin's wonder upon being admitted behind the scenes is graphically described. The errors current at the time in scene-painting are given a critical appraisal, and Pugin's soon-to-follow success in the historical ballet-opera Chateau de Kenilworth is noted. The influences on Pugin of the works of Peruzzi (the first notable artist to utilize perspective on the stage) and Inigo Jones are noted by Ferrey.

Pugin's final frustration with working on the small scale in the theatre, and his desire to build large churches are Ferrey's parting remarks on Pugin's relation to the theatre.

Ferrey as a source often expresses himself in stilted language, and is difficult to follow, as his organization of the book is faulty. He is also hard to track down as to sources, since he does not footnote. Yet, being practically a member of the Pugin family, his narrative is indispensable.

Pugin's son, Edward Welby Pugin, presented a document¹⁰ defending his father's reputation, and claims credit for his father as the co-architect of the Houses of Parliament. In claiming the credit for his father, it

¹⁰Edward Welby Pugin, Who Was the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament? (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster Row, 1867).

is interesting to note that his son points to Pugin's work in the theatre as early as page three to cement his father's reputation as an artist. The presentation of a letter by the English scene-painter, Thomas Grieve, for whom Pugin worked designing sets, told a great deal about Pugin's work behind the scenes: the fact that he designed all of the Gothic scenes, did little painting, and often would drop by the scene-painter's loft and design all day.

Paul Waterhouse points out in his article that, "Pugin, like his father, was the most efficient "ghost-architect" and "ghost-writer" of his time."¹¹ In 1894, Waterhouse seemed concerned that Pugin was becoming forgotten by his country. Pugin's possession of the Frenchman's love of system is considered. Pugin's hatred of James Wyatt and his Gothic tradition of scene-painting is expressed by an anecdote in which Pugin, when passing a Gothic structure of Wyatt shouts out "I hate Wyatt!" Waterhouse also mentions Pugin's receipt of a gold medal by the Pope.

Harry Sirr gives information of Pugin's help to his father when they traveled to France together when Pugin was twelve.¹² Pugin spoke fluent French and assisted in sketching. Pugin's activities as a "Freemason" are mentioned by Sirr, and I used this analogy in comparing Pugin with Mozart.

¹¹Paul Waterhouse, "Augustus Welby Pugin," The Architect and Contract Reporter (London, July 6, 1894), pp. 2-4.

¹²Harry Sirr, "Augustus Welby Pugin: A Sketch," The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects (London, August 1910), v. xxv. no. 10., Third Series, pp. 213-226.

Pugin's youthful promise is emphasized in the article. Pugin's friendship with the artist and scene-painter Clarkson Stanfield is first mentioned by Sirr, and was incorporated into the section of this paper dealing with influences on Pugin. Pugin's despair at his death that he had not accomplished all he wished, and his eccentric dressing habits were cited by Sirr, who presented a very incisive selection of documents about Pugin's life in his short sketch.

Michael Trappes-Lomax's biography of Pugin, written nearly seventy years after Ferrey's, is rich in information and analysis as to the life and accomplishments of A. W. N. Pugin.¹³ Modern scholarship is utilized in this biography, furnishing a large number of footnotes and an abundant bibliography. Trappes-Lomax mentions some of the fun at the Pugin school, and tells a little anecdote of how A. W. N. Pugin built a little theatre contraption that showed by spinning it around how each student in the class was doing. Pugin's mother's role in preventing him from being exposed to the theatre is first mentioned here.

The inefficiencies of English scene-painting at this period are described as well as Pugin's introduction to the scene-painters, Thomas and William Grieve. Pugin's accomplishments in the scene-painting department are noted in a discussion of the success of Kenilworth. A short discussion of Pugin's work in Paris on the operas Count Ory and La Juive is also included.

¹³Michael Trappes-Lomax, Pugin--A Mediaeval Victorian (London: Sheed & Ward, 1932).

Pugin's model theatre is minutely described in this book, as are the psychological reasons for Pugin's abandonment of the theatre as an architectural object for that of the boat. Ruskin is cited for a description of the reasons why Turner and Prout drew boats: "They saw elements of real power in boats that they didn't see in the buildings or scenes immediately around them." Pugin's ambition to make his drawings into real buildings is given as the basic reason for his deserting the theatre.

Pugin's first marriage to Anne Gamett was accomplished through his theatre connections, and his love of the theatre lingered as he built his next office in Hart Street, Covent Garden.

An ethical attack on the Irish practice of reviewing religious services as the Theatrical Observer reviewed plays was enlightening, and was incorporated into the section of this paper dealing with Pugin and Roman Catholicism. Another article, in which Pugin compares a church built on Christian tradition and symbolism with Covent Garden Theatre, is also found here.

Pugin's relation to floral ornament and Art Nouveau, his knowledge of French, Greek, and Latin, his early mastery of perspective, and his early love for books of chivalrous romance and medieval architecture are also chronicled in this informative biography.

Charlotte M. Kelly's article on Pugin was used to show how he related his experience in the theatre to problems he was having working for his adopted church, the Roman Catholic Church of Britain.¹⁴

¹⁴Charlotte M. Kelly, "Augustus Pugin," Irish Monthly (Dublin, 1933), v. 61., pp. 380-389.

H. E. G. Rope, a Catholic clergyman, was intent on defending Pugin from what the ravaging of time can do to a reputation. In his book Pugin, Rope mentions opinions about the elder Pugin's title, points out the tragic circumstances in Pugin's life, speaks of Pugin's "crusading spirit" as a youth, but most importantly, he points to Pugin's often overlooked ability as a "master of English prose, varying from brilliant satire to clear exposition or doughty argument and rising at times to a fervent eloquence."¹⁵

Sacheverell Sitwell, in a page-long footnote describes in Dickensian language the plight of the students of the elder Pugin's school. The stem Mrs. Pugin's rules of awaking at 4:00 AM, and working two hours before breakfast seem harsh and nearly inhuman. The cold, cheerless and unvarying round of duty in the Pugin school is described as wretched and discouraging.¹⁶

Kenneth Clark's The Gothic Revival, originally published in 1922, and reissued in 1950 with considerable new commentary, comes to the conclusion that to a great extent Pugin was the Gothic Revival.¹⁷ Yet, Clark, one of Britain's foremost art historians often attacks Pugin in various areas where a Pugin enthusiast must be alert to defend his man. Clark starts his discussion by giving the psychological foundations for

¹⁵H. E. G. Rope, "Augustus Pugin," Irish Monthly (Dublin, 1933), v. 61, pp. 380-389.

¹⁶Sacheverell Sitwell, British Architects and Craftsman (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946).

¹⁷Clark.

the Gothic Revival--the aristocrat's love of Gothic was representative of a limitless pedigree. The purchases of Gothic objects and homes were to suggest an ancient lineage. This notion suggests that when Pugin's father, A. C. Pugin, came to England at the time of the French Revolution he imported the informed appreciation of the Gothic style from France. The elder Pugin left his family and his title compte back in France and brought his pedigree to England in the shape of the Gothic Revival.

Clark carefully examines Pugin's written works for their "dramatic" quality. Pugin's Apology and Contrasts--a book of plates comparing a Gothic city to a modern city, are incisively reviewed. Clark discusses the ethical tone of Pugin's writings; his unsparing exposure of the system of shams in architectural design.

Clark picks up an attack on Pugin's architecture, an accusation of theatricality caused by the fact that Pugin did not think in volume. Clark qualifies his agreement with this statement by relating Pugin's exposure to the old Wyatt tradition of scene-painting (romantic, unresearched Gothic), a tradition that his accuracy in Gothic detail did much to end.

Pugin's penchant for wearing costumes is discussed as well as his final mental breakdown from overwork at the age of forty initiated by the pressures of arranging the Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition in 1851. Pugin's last months in the insane asylum at Bedlam are mentioned. The first discussion of Pugin's anonymity, the fact that more than half of his best work was done anonymously, is given a place in Clark's account.

Clark's book is the best critical appraisal of Pugin's work as an architect and influence on the Gothic Revival. He takes less from nineteenth-century sources, and seems intent on giving the opinions of a twentieth-century art historian--himself.

Phoebe Stanton's article¹⁸ contains a discussion of Pugin's architecture that seemed very close to various descriptions of the music of Mozart. Details concerning Pugin's "self-taught" enthusiasm for Gothic architecture, his reliance on what he called his "authorities," and his accumulation of an encyclopedic knowledge of Medieval Art were incorporated in my chapter on Pugin the Academician.

Miss Stanton's book Pugin¹⁹ is a major reassessment of A. W. N. Pugin's contribution to nineteenth-century architecture. Pugin's three periods of church building are described in an elaborate series of essays. A discussion of his secular works is also included. For the purposes of this study her account of Pugin's work for the Marquis of Stafford's private theatre, and the set pieces for Kenilworth were valuable. His Catholicism and the theatricalism it perpetuated in his career with processions, dramatic lighting effects, screens, and Catholic moods form an effective thread throughout her study. Pugin's links to France and the influence of certain antecedent engravings lead directly to issues of my study. She

¹⁸Phoebe Stanton, "Pugin At Twenty-One," Architectural Review (New York, September 1951), pp. 187-190, illust.

¹⁹Stanton, Pugin.

has a valuable illustration of a corridor that connects Pugin to knowledge of theatre carpentry and the sea. A conversation with Mrs. Stanton gave me information pertaining to the theatre that was contained in some of the seven thousand Pugin letters she has collected. A further Pugin book is scheduled that will bear the fruit of her twenty-two years of work on Pugin.

Though Kenneth Clark and Phoebe Stanton have done important work in Pugin scholarship, their interest was mainly in architectural design. This study proposes to look at Pugin's work in the theatre.

The importance of this Pugin material is threefold. First, it uncovers and places in historical perspective important and influential work done in the theatre by a highly innovative designer during a period when much of the work done by scene painters remained anonymous. Second, it adds a greater appreciation to the output and reputation of a figure who has been virtually ignored by scholars in the field of theatre history and dependent upon irregular revivals by devotees in the field of art history. Kenneth Clark and Phoebe Stanton have led the field with their works on the Gothic Revival and A. W. N. Pugin's significance as an artist. Third, this study is an example of the trend toward interdependence in art which was to find its height of expression later in the nineteenth century. This trend sees its expression in this paper with the coordinated concern with theatre, cinema, architecture, painting, design, and theory, all facets of the art world used to aid in understanding the significance of the major artistic contributions of A. W. N. Pugin.

ORGANIZATION

Chapter II deals with A. W. N. Pugin's antecedents, especially his father. A. C. Pugin's background and early architectural career is sketched, including his work with John Nash, his publications, and his architectural school. The father's early theatrical career and his work on the Welsh circuit with Henry Masterman's company is explored with the help of Charles Dibdin the younger's memoirs, in order to show the father's experiences influenced A. W. N. Pugin's interest in theatre. A. C. Pugin's work with Thomas Rowlandson on The Microcosm of London helped make his reputation. The technique of the work and its importance are discussed. The history and description of Daguerre's Diorama and its social effects is described. A. C. Pugin's work on the Diorama and Daguerre's career as a scene designer were to influence A. W. N. Pugin's theatre career. The background and theory of the Gothic Revival rounds out this chapter.

Chapter III is devoted to A. W. N. Pugin and the development of the nineteenth-century scene designer. It describes the effect of the theatre on Pugin's life. Herein is also sketched Pugin's biography, his connection with the sea, his Catholicism which includes his publications, along with a postscript showing various areas where the Pugin bequest to the theatre has survived.

In Chapter IV, A. W. N. Pugin's work in the theatre is discussed. At first we shall look at his theatrical sketches, designs, and watercolors

from his notebooks and sketchbooks. These drawings will cover the whole period of his theatrical work and consist of styles from many architectural periods. His designs for Kenilworth, The Elfin Sprite, La Juive, and Le Comte Ory are detailed, and contemporary criticism and a review of these productions will be given as well. Innovations in stage mechanics, with his rearranging the stage at Drury Lane, make up the second part of Pugin's theatre work. Finally, his work on costumes and decorations is displayed.

Chapter V discusses A. W. N. Pugin's contribution to theatre during the early period of the development of cinema. A theory of Victorian England as a visual society, with Barry's Houses of Parliament, promote a detailed discussion of the social considerations of the Gothic Revival.

Scene painting at the time of the early cinema introduces an aesthetic consideration of scene design and the role of the scene painter in theatre and cinema. The techniques of construction and perspective are discussed. A discussion of certain problems of cinematic scene design ends Chapter V.

Chapter VI states the conclusions of the study.

An Appendix will include an interview with A. W. N. Pugin's grandson, H. Welby Pugin.

CHAPTER II

ANTECEDENTS

Augustus Charles Pugin

Early Architectural Career

Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832) was born in France and claimed descent from an aristocratic French family. Driven from his country by the horrors of the Revolution and by private reasons connected with a duel, or so he said, Pugin arrived in Wales in 1796 after a swim across the Seine and a boat trip from Rouen.¹ He wandered throughout Wales trying to earn a living by his untrained gifts as an artist and draughtsman. Jobs were available in the theatre. He joined a theatre company in Carmarthen. It was here by a stroke of fortune that he met a man who was looking for "the services of a foreigner."² That man was the architect John Nash.

The elder Pugin's theatre career will be discussed later in this chapter. At this point it is important to explore Pugin's relationship to Nash with particular reference to his early architectural training.

¹Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), v, xvi, p. 448.

²Terence Davis, John Nash (South Brunswick and New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1966), p. 21.

John Nash is known to art historians as "The Prince Regent's Architect." As the leading architect of his day, Nash designed many spacious Georgian buildings including Buckingham Palace and Regent Street in London and the sweeping extensions towards Regents Park.³ Born in 1762, he was apprenticed at an early age to Robert Taylor, a distinguished eighteenth-century architect.⁴ Nash formed various partnerships over the years, and, at the time of his meeting with Pugin, he was successful enough to start employing specialised craftsmen in his rapidly expanding business.⁵ Being pressed by clients to make drawings of plans for the Gothic style of building which was once again coming into fashion, Nash found himself constantly required to provide drawings for a style of which he had no experience.⁶ He advertised for a draughtsman stating that "the services of a foreigner would be preferred." By foreigner Nash hopefully meant French as he always showed a preference for anything French and was to visit Paris several times during his life.⁷ Enter A. C. Pugin. Nash found that he had both intelligence and skill in dealing with Gothic designs. Nash took him on and he became an excellent draughtsman with a liking for Gothic detail. His earliest work with Nash consisted in making colored perspective views of certain Gothic mansions on which his master was

³Denis Gwynn, Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival (London: Hollis and Carter, 1946), p. 5.

⁴Davis, p. 15.

⁵Ibid., p. 21,

⁶Gwynn, p. 6.

⁷Davis, p. 21.

engaged. To increase his powers as an artist, the elder Pugin entered the schools of the Royal Academy.⁸

Nash, who treated his pupils and assistants with great kindness and hospitality, discovered in Pugin a valuable subordinate. Gothic art, though ill understood, was warmly appreciated by the distinguished clients for whom he worked, and Nash set Pugin to produce a collection of trustworthy drawings from medieval buildings which might form the basis for future buildings. The verisimilitude of Pugin's drawings in form and color at once attracted attention. A change was then coming over water-color art. The old style--brown or Indian ink outline with a low-toned wash--was giving way to the more modern practice of representation in full color, and Pugin, though he limited his palette to indigo, light red, and yellow ochre, was an active supporter of the new movement, and its ultimate predominance was largely due to his influence.⁹

Work with Nash continued intermittently for two decades. In 1821 there appeared the first number of Specimens of Gothic Architecture, the first fruits of the mission which Nash had laid upon Pugin. This was a volume of prints of every Gothic structure in London and its environs. This volume made Pugin's reputation. Pugin in 1824 was asked to make the drawings for a volume illustrating the Brighton Pavilion, and while he was engaged upon the work King George IV, who came to watch, accidentally upset the color-box, and, mindful perhaps of illustrious parallels in the

⁸Stephen & Lee, p. 448.

⁹Ibid.

past, picked it up with an apology that greatly gratified the artist.¹⁰ Perhaps Pugin's gratification came from a belief that the King recognized his aristocratic roots.

In 1825 Pugin visited Normandy with some of his pupils. The drawings which he and his assistants (among them his son) made in France on this and later occasions are among the most important of his productions.¹¹

These trips to France and his French ancestry enabled Pugin to be noticed by some of the members of the French art and theatre world. The most important of these was Daguerre.

When the elder Pugin was employed by Daguerre to construct the London Diorama he was empowered to choose its London site. His choice of a site in Park Square East, Regent's Park (Figure 3), was probably influenced by the fact that this area was then being developed by his friend and employer John Nash as a fashionable residential district. Nash was the designer of the park and architect of most of the elegant Regency terraces encircling it. In 1823 he was building Park Square, and so was able to make the facade of the Diorama (Figure 7), containing the entrance hall, the center part of his terrace. Pugin, assisted by James Morgan, a civil engineer, constructed at a cost of ten thousand pounds the rotunda and picture emplacements, i.e., the purely functional parts of the Diorama, at the back (in Peto Place) invisible from the terrace.¹²

¹⁰Ibid., p. 449.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Helmut Gemsheim and L. J. M. Alison, Daguerre the History of the Diorama and the Daquerreotype (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), p. 20.

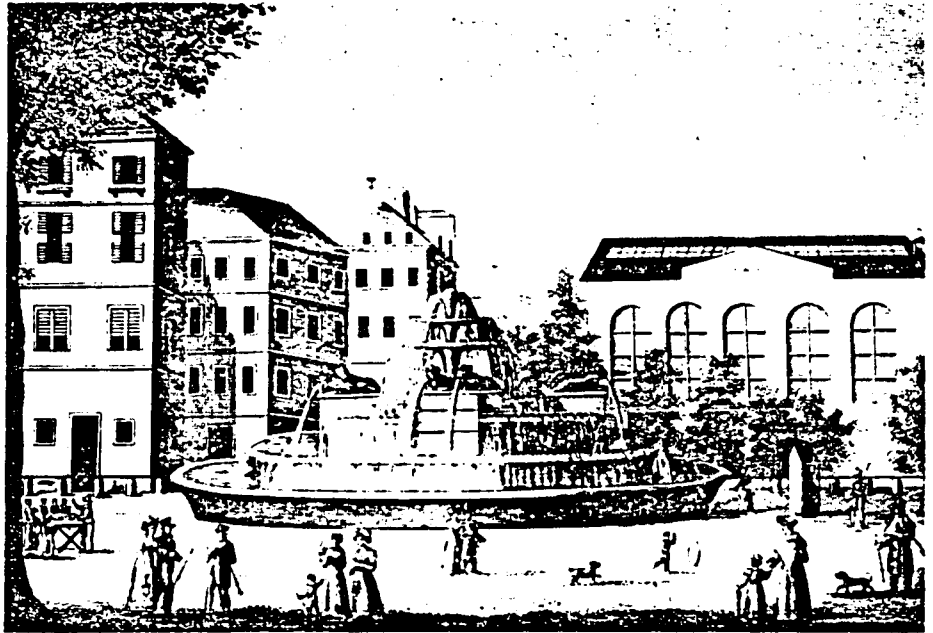


Fig. 2.

■ The Diorama in Paris. Woodcut, c. 1830, showing in the background the cupola of Colonel Langlois' panorama

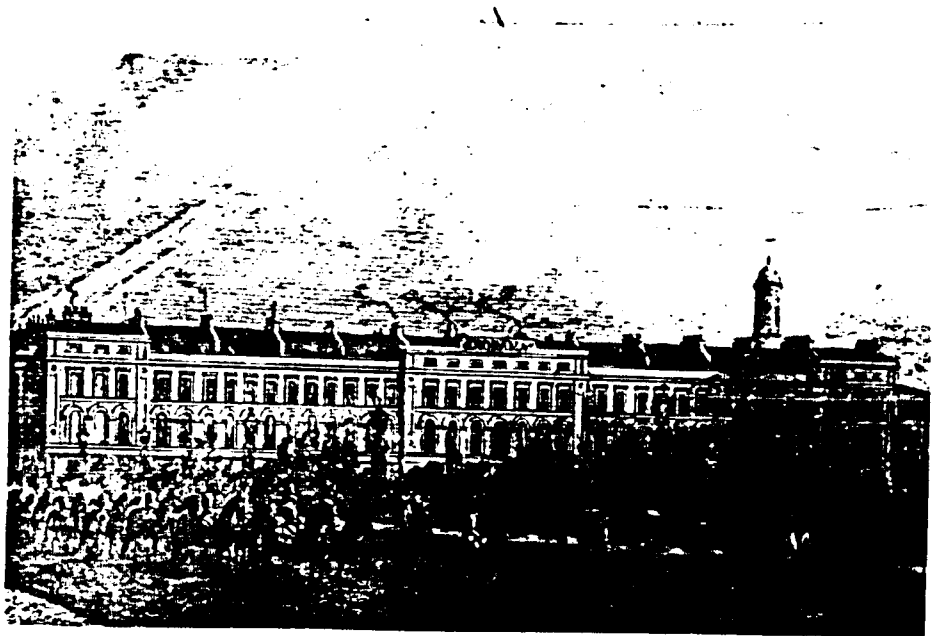


Fig. 3.

■ The Diorama in Regent's Park, London. Coloured engraving dated 1829, from a drawing by H. Shepherd

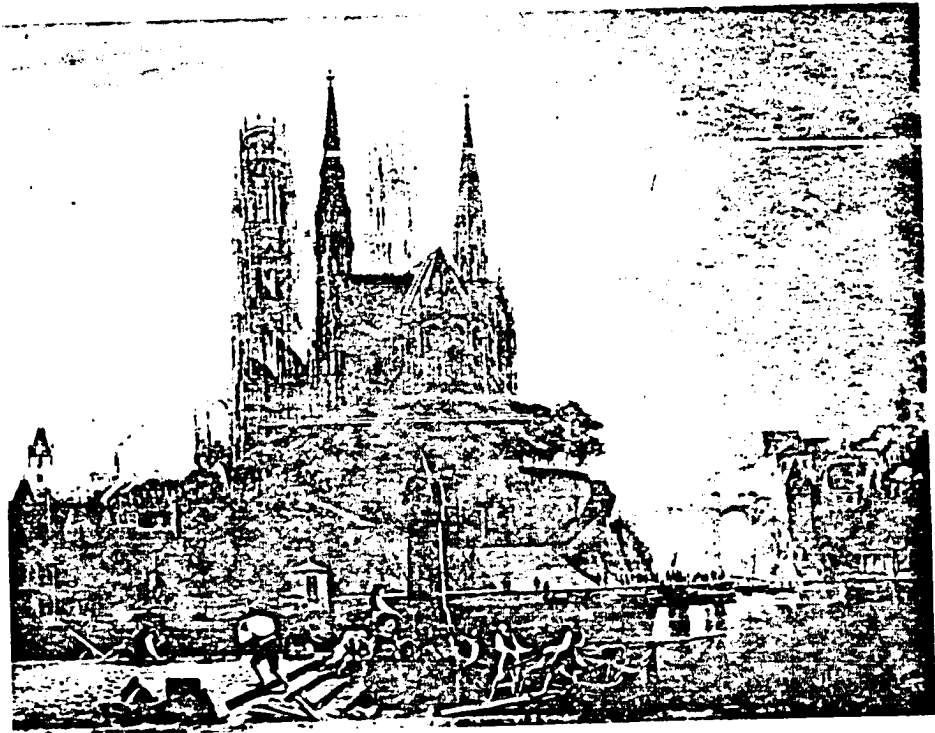


Fig. 4. ■ A Gothic cathedral. Oil painting by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1815

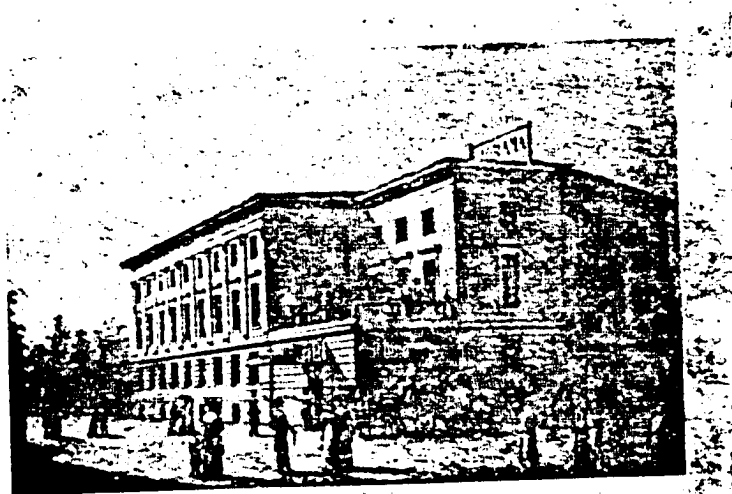


Fig. 5. ■ Carl Gropius's Diorama, Berlin, 1827. Reproduction.

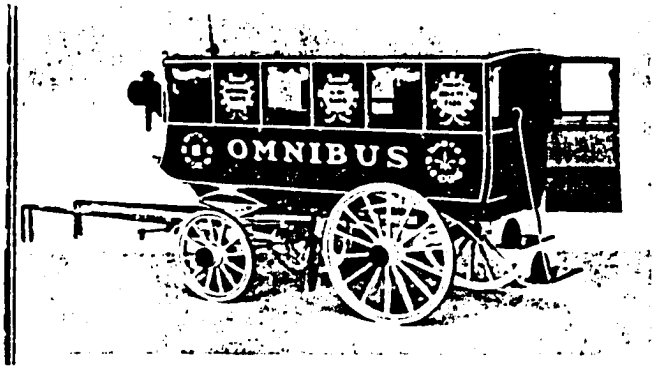


Fig. 6.

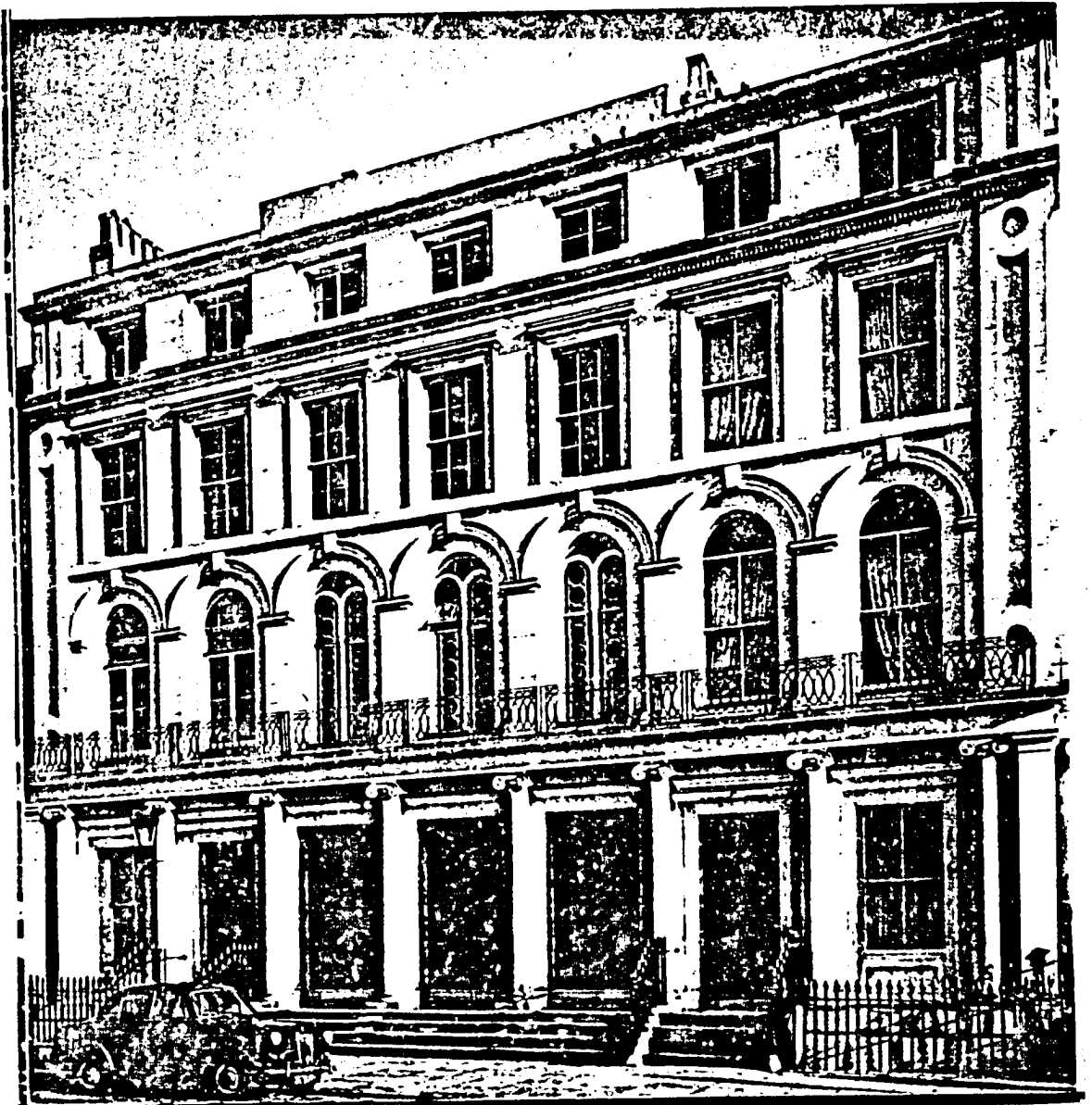


Fig. 7.

The elder Pugin's French background, and, more important, his familiarity with stage machinery and theatre interiors and design earned him this position with Daguerre's diorama as well as the position of designer of the internal decoration of the Cosmorama in Regent Street (destroyed by fire). The importance of Daguerre to scene-design and scene-painting is discussed extensively in this paper. As Pugin and his son were involved with constructing the diorama, whose functioning process was held strictly secret until 1839, they were in a position to utilize Daguerre's techniques of realistic pictorial design and painting in their subsequent work for the theatre.

Pugin's Publications

Augustus Charles Pugin gained public recognition with his work on Rudolf Ackermann's publication The Microcosm of London which began to appear in the spring of 1808. Pugin drew the architecture of London which the famous caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson would fill with the bustling inhabitants of the British capital. The book attained great popularity and was to influence the representations of theatre interiors. A separate section in this paper will be devoted to this book.

In 1823 he published, in conjunction with E. W. Brayley, a set of panoramic views in Islington and Pentonville, for which he had been collecting materials at least eleven years.¹³ Islington is a borough of London

¹³Stephen & Lee, p. 449.

in the north east section of that city that has an area of about six square miles. It is the section of London where Sadler's Wells is located. Islington was almost rural in 1807, and the Wells audience would walk out between the acts and take a breath of Islington air, loiter in the long shadows of poplar trees and watch the great dome of St. Paul's settling in the London haze.¹⁴

After the French Revolution, Islington became the headquarters of Royalist emigration, and there Pugin met his future wife, Catherine, daughter of William Welby, barrister, and a relative of Sir William Welby. She was known as the "Belle of Islington." After her marriage (February 2, 1802) she exercised a firm control over Pugin's architectural pupils as well as his household.¹⁵

From 1825-1828 Pugin with J. Britton put out an eight volume set of Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London which had a whole section devoted to illustrations of the interiors of theatres during performances, along with various measurements.¹⁶ Pugin gained a reputation for excellence through these illustrations. The water-color technique he exhibited in these drawings was subject to much praise by the members of "The Old Walter-Colour Society"; the association that elected Pugin to its membership in 1808.¹⁷

¹⁴Augustus Charles Pugin and Thomas Rowlandson, The Microcosm of London, ed. John Summerson (London: Penguin Books Limited, 1943), p. 29.

¹⁵Stephen and Lee, p. 449. ¹⁶Ibid. ¹⁷Ibid., p. 448.

As an architect, Pugin had little or no practice. His office was first at 34 Store Street, Tottenham Court Road, but in his later years he resided at 105 (now 106) Great Russell Street. There he died, after a long illness, on December 19, 1832. His wife survived him till April 28, 1833, and both were buried in a family vault at the Church of St. Mary, Islington, where they had been married.¹⁸

Pugin earned his title to fame partly as an educator of young architects, notably his own son, but chiefly by his work as an illustrator of Gothic architecture; for by his careful drawing of medieval buildings he paved the way for the systematic study of detail which was the basis of that true revival which followed the extravagant and unlearned period of "Strawberry-Hill" enthusiasm.¹⁹

Pugin's Architectural School

Pugin's band of pupils included, besides his celebrated son A. W. N. Pugin, W. Lake Price and Joseph Nash, who became members of the Old Water-Colour Society (thereby continuing Pugin's influence on that body), James Pennethorne, Talbot Bury, J. D'Egville, son of the ballet-master of the Italian Opera; B. Ferrey, biographer of the Pugins; Francis T. Dollman, architect and author of several architectural works; and Charles James Mathews, the comedian. Pugin's connection with Mathews proceeded from

¹⁸Ibid., p. 449.

¹⁹Ibid.

Pugin's activities in the Welsh Theatre group. Joseph Nash (no relation to Pugin's employer John Nash, who also had acted with Masterson's Welsh group) was to become an engraver of theatre pieces and books of plays-- especially Shakespeare's plays. The ballet-master D'Egville's son links Pugin to the English opera, for which his son was later to create sets and costumes. Pugin's son was to become one of the most important influences in the London theatres in designing Gothic stage sets. The elder Pugin's school was a seminal influence in theatrical practice of the period in London, housing some of the foremost actors, designers, dance-directors, and illustrators who would be working later on for the London stage.²⁰

Early Theatrical Career

The mania for theatricals which seized the English gentry between 1770 and 1825 made attendance at the playhouse an obligation. A knowledge of the finer points of acting was held to be essential to anyone who would be considered "polite," and the slightest change in the customary interpretation of favorite roles was followed by bitter argument. Not even the adulation given in our own day to film stars can seriously rival the attention and awe which the stage heroes and heroines of the period were accorded.²¹

This enthusiasm was evident in Wales in the large number of amateur performances that were given and in the ready patronage that was bestowed

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Cecil Price, The English Theatre in Wales (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1948), p. 71.

upon the professional theatre. Welsh gentlemen vied with each other in private theatricals.

The first circuit that was confined to Wales was formed by Henry Masterman in the 1780's. Beginning with less than ten shillings capital, he built up over a period of twenty years a flourishing and well-loved company. In its ranks played celebrated actors like Charles Mathews, Montague Talbot and Thomas Dibdin.

The Welsh theatres were of all sorts and sizes. At Carmarthen, their shows were given in the theatre in Water Street. Descriptions of this vary from the dry comment, "it is an old place fitted up in the old way," to Charles Mathews's exuberant, "it is a beautiful theatre and holds thirty pounds."²²

In October 1795, Charles Mathews joined Masterman's troupe at Swansea. Mathews and Talbot found there a playbill announcing a performance of Wild Oats and Ways and Means. Both men were short of money, so they went along to Masterman and offered their services. They were given every encouragement, since the appearance of strangers "for one night only" was a novelty that always filled a theatre. That evening they attended the performance and approved of the theatre, wardrobe, and scenery as well as the acting.²³

²²ibid. "Holds thirty pounds" refers to the size of the theatre, and means that it can hold thirty pounds worth of paying customers.

²³ibid., p. 87

Mathews remained with Masterman from October 1795 until March 1798. From Swansea, the players journeyed to Carmarthen. "Set off on horseback, in company with Mr. Masterman and family in a post chaise. We slept at Glannon." Mathews was very satisfied with his (acting) performances and with the fact that he was now playing only principal roles. He also made some acquaintances who were later to be his greatest friends.²⁴

In 1796, A. C. Pugin and John Nash enter the Welsh theatrical scene. Pugin shared Nash's love of amateur theatricals (a trait in the architect's character that expressed itself in everything he did, everything he created, when given the chance),²⁵ and together they devised plays and other entertainments and collaborated with Masterman's small company in Carmarthen. On January 8, 1796, the Carmarthen Theatre presented The School for Scandal and The Farm House.²⁶ In The School for Scandal three gentlemen amateurs took the parts of Sir Peter Teazle, Charles and Tripp. They were Mr. John Nash, Mr. Hughes and Captain Vaughan. The last two were local squires. Nash, the future architect of Regent Street, was of Welsh birth, and had pushed himself forward from carpentry to building and architecture.²⁷ Nash played Sir Peter Teazle and Mathews called his performance "admirable."²⁸ In the cast and audience were many local personalities through whose offices Nash had built up his Welsh practice.²⁹ It has been

²⁴Ibid., ²⁵Davis, p. 21. ²⁶Ibid., p. 22.

²⁷Price, p. 88. ²⁸Davis, p. 22. ²⁹Ibid.

suggested that he had put some money into the Water Street Theatre, but it is more likely that he found attendance at this playhouse an excellent means of keeping in touch with the gentry.³⁰

A. C. Pugin was employed by Masterman as a scene-painter. Wynne Sugg was the leader of the orchestra. Half blind and morbidly sensitive, he was with Masterman for many years. Both Sugg and Pugin showed talent in their work. Not all members of such a venture were talented. There were also wastrels who were frequently attracted to a strolling company.³¹

Masterman succeeded in establishing a vigorous company and a profitable circuit.³² From 1780-1804 the company carried on their business and worthily followed (at a distance) in the tradition of the Kembles. Their scenery and costumes were acknowledged to be of quite a good standard, and the actors competent. Because of their respectability, Masterman was allowed to play regularly in the chief towns of South Wales, and for twenty years brought his "Cambrian Company of Comedians" to divert a genteel audience.³³

Some feeling for the aspirations and camaraderie of these provincial artisans who were awaiting patiently their chance at fame and fortune can be gathered through the feelings of one of the more successful of the group, Charles Dibdin. Dibdin was another player in Masterman's company who

³⁰Price, p. 88.

³¹Ibid., p. 89.

³²Ibid., p. 91.

³³Ibid., p. 86.

was to later work with Augustus Charles Pugin on a publication on theatre architecture. This same Dibdin's brother Thomas would be a valuable resource to Pugin's son when he would pursue his theatre interests. Fifteen years after their Welsh experience, in 1808, Augustus Charles Pugin would be sitting in the balcony of Sadler's Wells, the theatre managed by his "old friend's" brother, Thomas Dibdin, immortalizing in water color the Dibdin theatre. His son would later rearrange the stage machinery at the Drury Lane.

Dibdin joined the Masteman group in 1793 and played at Carmarthen and Haverfordwest. Though only twenty-two, he had played all over England and Scotland before trying Wales. He was very pleased at this "very promising engagement . . . made with as good-hearted and honest a little manager as ever had to boast a shrewish wife and a company of actors who governed him at pleasure."³⁴ His talent for writing comic songs found plenty of scope and, while playing at both towns, he wrote and sang a new ditty every week. One rainy day, he tried his hand at a burletta and sent it to his mother in London to see if she could find a producer for it:

We soon left Haverfordwest for Carmarthen where my wife also gave birth to her first production in the form of a beautiful daughter. . . . I now began to be a little serious and contemplative and, not having anything better to do, went to the devil one day (a tavern so called in Carmarthen) to read the London news. The first lines that attracted me were in a Sadler's Wells advertisement announcing the repetition of the favorite burletta, "The Rival Loyalists."³⁵

³⁴Ibid., p. 86.

³⁵Ibid.

He went immediately to Masterman to ask for permission to go to London and the manager agreed to allow him to travel, but he suggested Dibdin should not resign till he was certain of future success.³⁶ Full of hope, Dibdin set off and he was lucky enough not to have to return to his "old task of scribbling 'doggerels' for the merry folk of Carmarthen."³⁷ He did not, however, forget the generosity with which he had been received in Wales and when he wrote the burletta St. David's Day, he dedicated the work to "the inhabitants of Camarthen and Haverfordwest and every native of the principality who practices hospitality with characteristic warmth experienced by the author in the above-named towns."³⁸ In his Reminiscences, he recalled Masterman's kindness and quoted a letter from the manager, running, "I am sincerely happy to recognize you by your paternal appellation. . . . Don't sell your pieces too cheaply." The first of these remarks was caused by the fact that Dibdin, like many other actors, was ashamed of his provincial status, and had played under the assumed name of T. Merchant. Under this pseudonym, he published at Carmarthen in 1794 his Comic Songs, now rare.³⁹

The friendships made among these men of the little Welsh acting troupe lasted throughout their lives. Each an artist in his own right, they were to share the experience and knowledge gained in a professional acting company. The elder Pugin and Nash were to extend their collaboration in scene-painting to that of architecture. Hints for the character of

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 87.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

Monsieur Mallet, which Charles Mathews frequently impersonated at the old Adelphi Theatre, were drawn from his knowledge of Pugin and of his troubles as a newly arrived foreigner in England.⁴⁰ Charles Dibdin and Pugin were to work together from 1825-1828 producing John Britton's Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London where Charles Dibdin described the histories of the theatres of London and Pugin supplied their illustrations and measurements (see following Figures 8-12). With such a rich and rewarding experience in the theatre to their credit, it is not surprising that virtually all of the sons of these gentlemen acquired a love for the theatre and spent a part of their lives working for it.

"The Microcosm of London"

The importance of The Microcosm of London to this study is in its drawing of theatre interiors. There was a long tradition in the nineteenth century of drawing theatre interiors from far back in the dress circle so that the curves of the galleries make a surprising frame to the view. Early examples are some of the Pugin-Rowlandson views for their Microcosm of London. The style continues in a lithograph by H. A. Thomas of the Chatham Garden Theatre in New York in 1825. And it reaches its most intriguing peak in the mysterious series of water colors of London theatres in the 1880's, signed A. B. but so far unattributed.⁴¹

⁴⁰Stephen and Lee, p. 449.

⁴¹Bamber Gascoigne, World Theatre (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), p. 315.

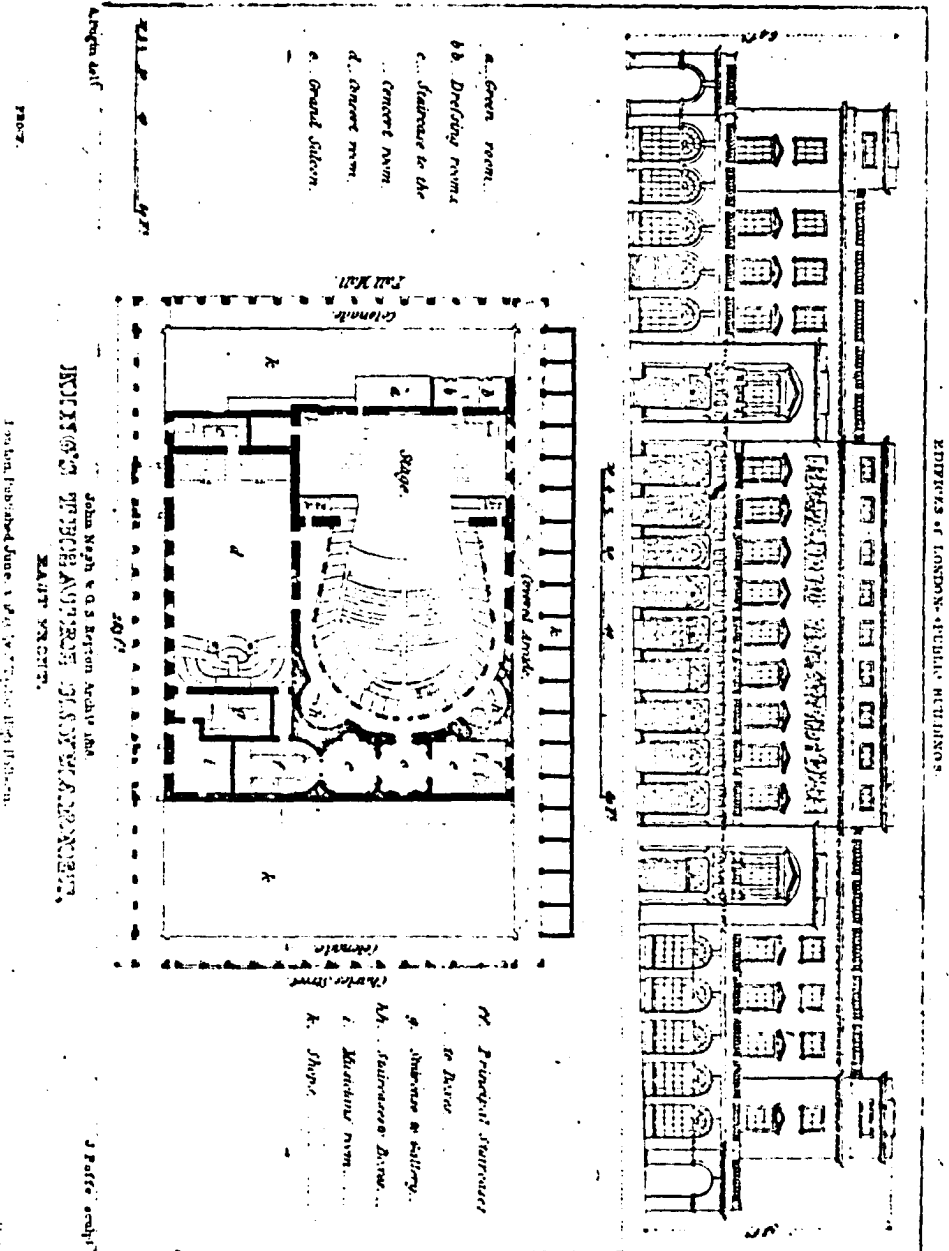
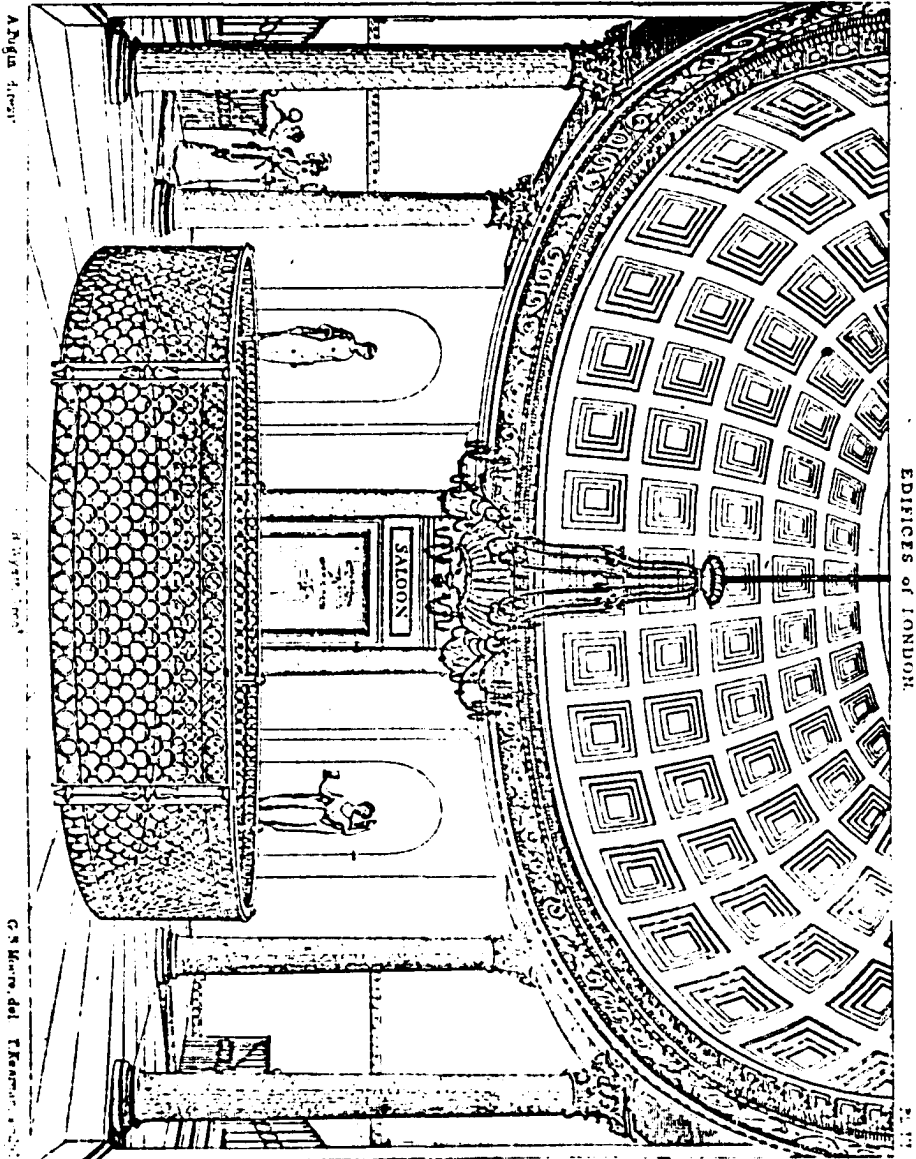


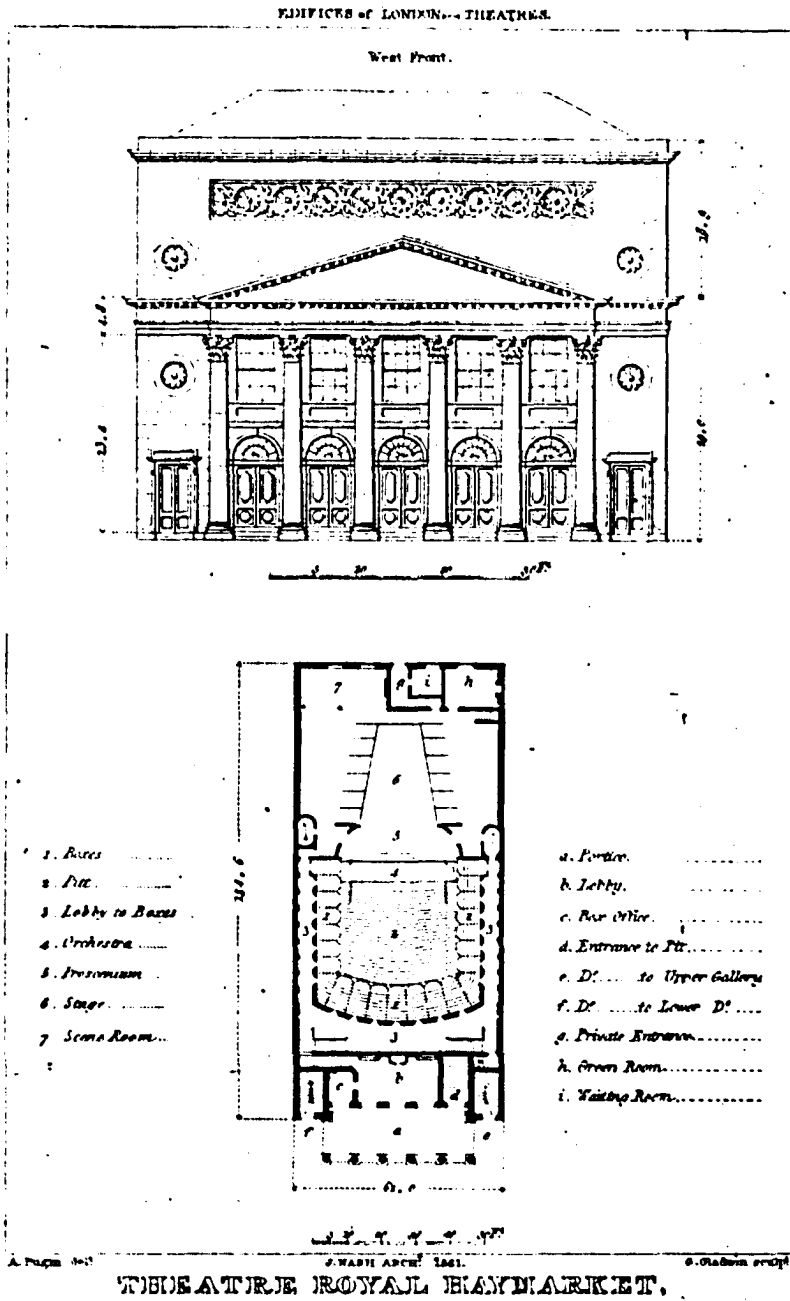
Fig. 8.



EDIFICES OF LONDON.

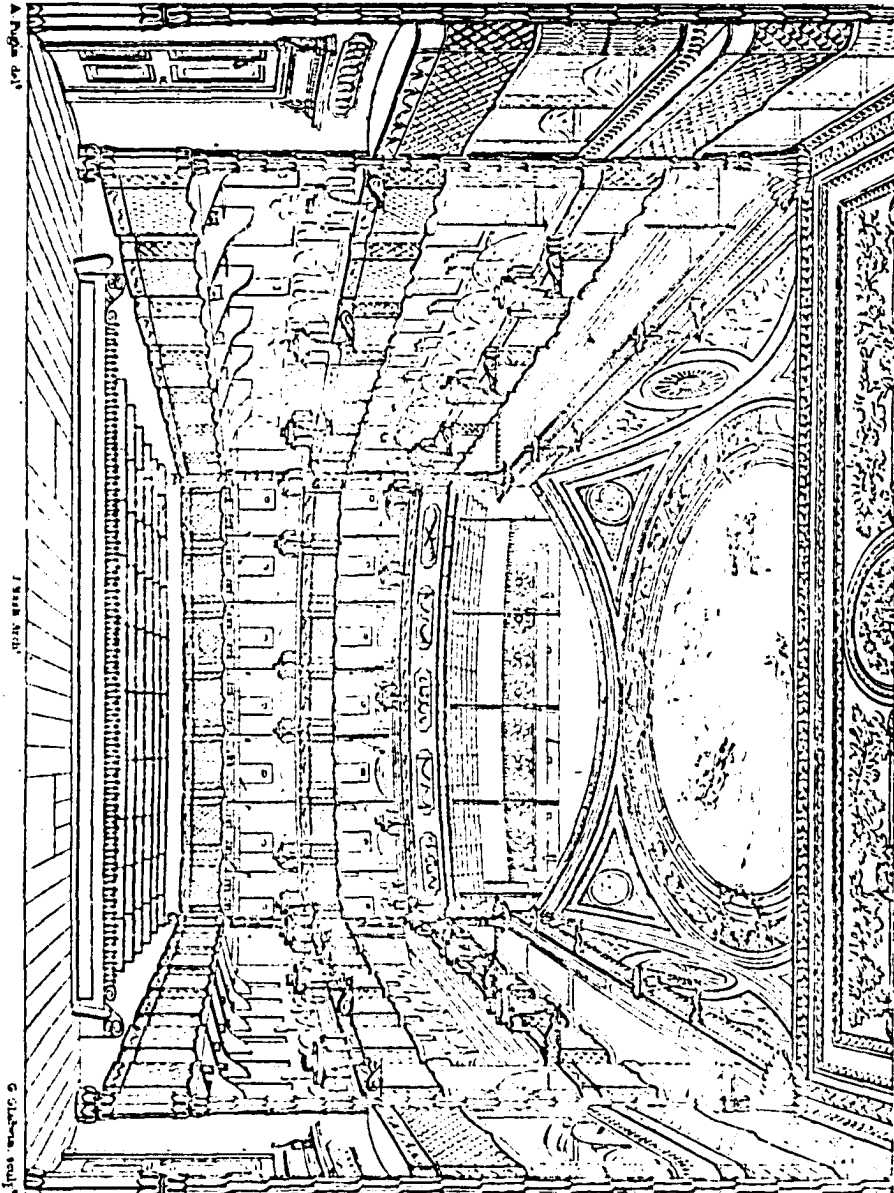
London, Published Sept. 1846 by Strand, 111. No. 11.

Fig. 10.



London, Published Nov. 1. 1843 by J. Taylor & R. Hobson.

Fig. 11.



THEATRE OF LONDON. INTERIOR.

HAYMARKET THEATRE.

INTERIOR VIEW FROM THE STAGE.

London. Published by the Architect, J. C. B. & Co., 1851.

Fig. 12.

The Microcosm of London began to appear in the spring of 1808. Trafalgar had been won, but the war had a long way to go. Napoleon was busy with Spain, almost the last victim on his list. Spain was resisting. In London, people were alarmed and uneasy and crying out for a British offensive. Now, if ever, they declared, was the time to attack--"to strike," as one Londoner put it, "a bold stroke for the rescue of the world."⁴² Foreign Secretary Canning made the decision. The bold stroke was planned. Arms and supplies were poured into the peninsula and an expeditionary force prepared.

Such was the look of things when, in a London most unhappy about the war, about the too frequent withdrawals, their inability to do anything in time, but a London living an almost normal civilian life under a peaceful sky, the famous picture book of the capital was published.

Rudolf Ackermann was not one of London's "smart" publishers. Human and gregarious, he drew his artists and contributors from a dim world of hard-up refugees and hard-drinking Englishmen, most of whom were his very good friends.⁴³ To this world belonged the two illustrators of the Microcosm, A. C. Pugin and Thomas Rowlandson.

They were absurdly unlike. Pugin was a rather pompous, aristocratic little man, as precise as his own drawings and very consciously a gentleman of the ancien regime. He drew the architecture in all the plates of the Microcosm. The figures he left to Rowlandson.

⁴²T. Rowlandson & A. C. Pugin, ed. John Summerson, p. 5.

⁴³Ibid.

Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) followed in the satirical tradition of William Hogarth, carrying Hogarth's satire further with his keenly observed caricatures of every level of human society. The happenings in drawing room and parsonage, in tavern and prison were all depicted with drastic humor and lusty vigor. His forceful line, drawn with a reed pen, contrasted with the delicate, flat water-color washes, heightened with reds and blues. In his drawings facial expressions and exchanged glances convey vividly the emotional involvement of each character. With all their typical breezy action, his compositions are carefully planned.⁴⁴

An example of Rowlandson's unrestrained work is seen in Figures 13-14. "Tragedy Spectators" (Figure 13) and "Comedy Spectators" (Figure 14), two colored etchings reflecting the variable moods of London theatre audiences in the 1790's. Occupants of the pit, gallery and boxes never shrank from revealing their emotions. Sometimes attentive and even tearful, more often they were boisterous and unruly as these plates show.

Ackermann saw that these two--A. C. Pugin and Rowlandson--were apt complementaries. A. C. Pugin could draw architecture; Rowlandson could draw life. And a great city is a panorama of architecture and life. Hence the Microcosm. It is true that Pugin's prim formality curbed Rowlandson's gaiety; and the full swagger of his style is more apparent in other works. But the combination remains good. We have Pugin's

⁴⁴Erwin O. Christensen, The History of Western Art (New York: Mentor Books, 1959), p. 270.



Fig. 13.

"Tragedy Spectators" (above) and "Comedy Spectators" (below), two colored etchings by Thomas Rowlandson, reflect the variable moods of London theater audiences in Walpole's day. Occupants of the pit, gallery and boxes never shrank from revealing their emotions. Sometimes attentive and even tearful, more often they were boisterous and unruly, as Walpole seems to have found on an evening in 1711 that he described in a letter to Lord Lincoln: "I went to a play / other night for the first and last time. Such actors, such an audience, such a noise!"



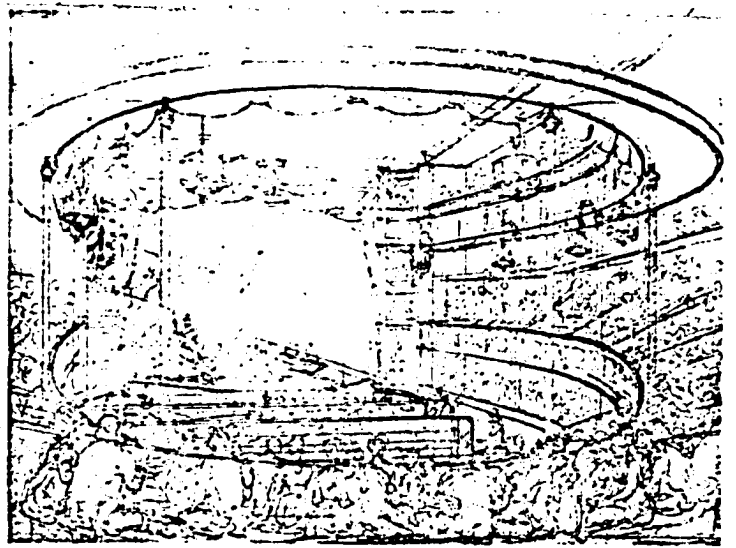
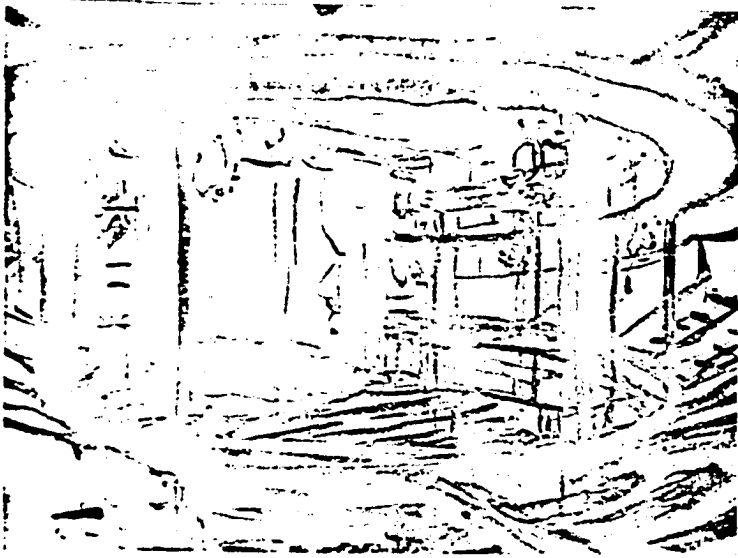
Fig. 14.

photographic accuracy and his feeling for subtle lighting on fine architecture. And we have Rowlandson's humanity, his sharp observation and magical knowledge of what makes an English crowd.⁴⁵ It is remarkable that anyone had the foresight to see the future success of a project in which A. C. Pugin, an almost finicky individual would cooperate with the broad and boisterous genius of Rowlandson. The association has a later parallel in the incomparable teamwork of Gilbert and Sullivan who were both distant from one another, but who created a sum of work that is timeless. Rowlandson had established a great reputation with innumerable caricatures, illustrations, water colors, and drawings. He was a graphic artist, and like Daumier he saw the world as people, not as architecture, nature, or ideas.⁴⁶

A. C. Pugin first prepared the architectural background. His strong and free sketches, made in pen and ink, often assisted with wash put on with a brush, are preserved to show us how gifted he was with spontaneity and understatement (Figures 15, 16, 17). These were the preliminaries for the painstaking and meticulous pencil drawings which followed, each of them a masterpiece of architectural rendering. These drawings were then sent to Rowlandson who was to people the frozen world of buildings with human beings and make it come to life. Comments and suggestions

⁴⁵T. Rowlandson and A. C. Pugin, p. 6.

⁴⁶Hugh Edwards, "A Distinguished Collaboration," Antiques (New York, March 1946), vol. xlix, No. 3, p. 168.



SADLER'S WELLS THEATER. *Left.* Drawing in brush and wash by Augustus Pugin. From Vol. III of the *Microcosm*. A rough and spontaneous sketch which was the first step in the preparation of the material. *Right.* Drawing in pencil by Thomas Rowlandson and Augustus Pugin for the *Microcosm*. Sadler's Wells, one of the oldest of London theaters, already had a long and interesting history at the time the *Microcosm* was published. When this drawing was made it was noted for its aquatic performances and such a scene is represented here.

Fig. 15.

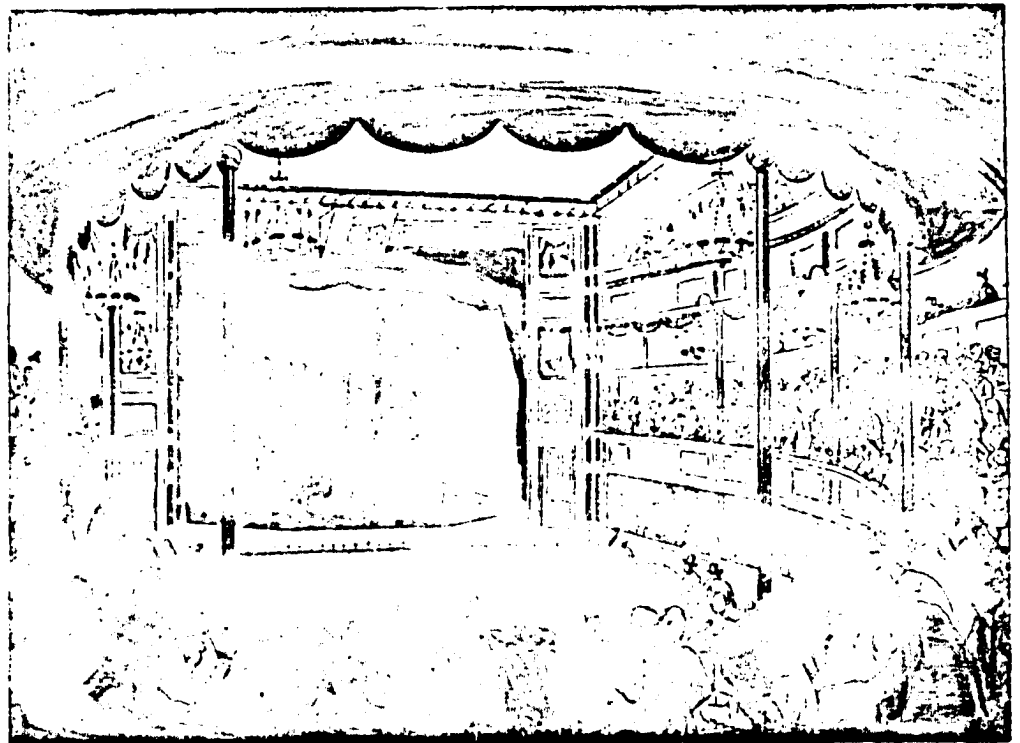
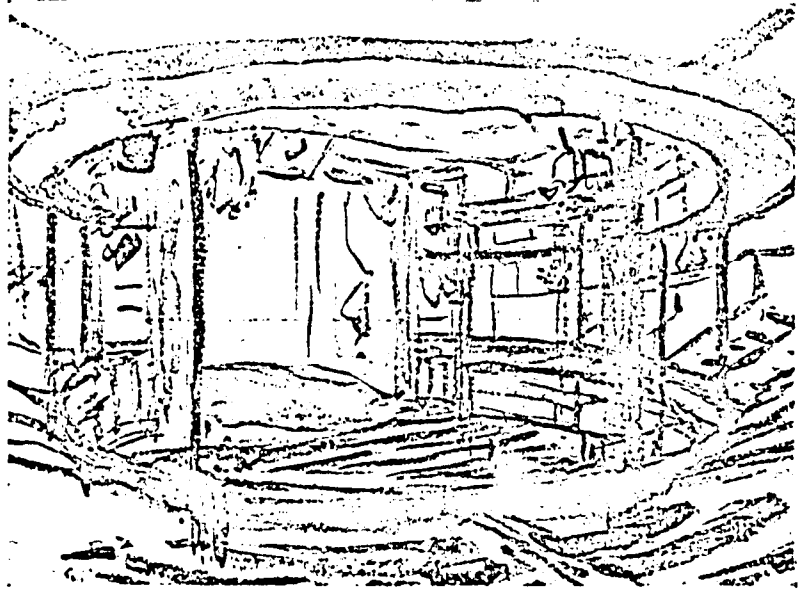
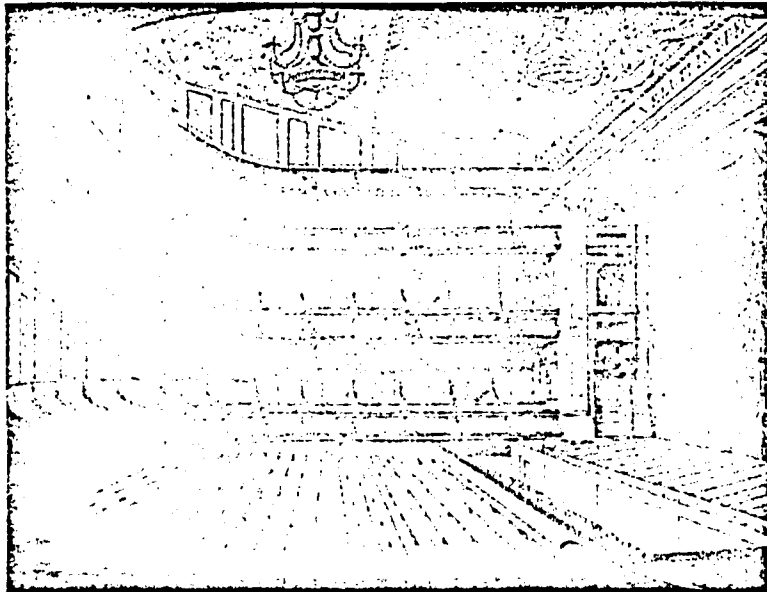


Fig. 16.



SADLER'S WELLS

Water colour wash by Augustus Pugin (*circa* 1809). This was a preliminary sketch for a colour print by Rowlandson and Pugin.



COVENT GARDEN

The theatre as altered in 1792 from designs made by Henry Holland.

for corrections are often written on the drawings, many of them in the hand of Rowlandson, others by Pugin.

The next move was transferring the pencil drawings, with the help of tracings, to copper plates on which they were etched. Once the etching of the plates was completed, they were passed on to the professional engravers who covered the entire surface with aquatint grain. This did much for the suggestion of light and shade with the resultant loss of some of the beauty and purity of the line work.

After the aquatint came the final step, which was printing the illustrations in color from one plate in a single printing. Whereas A. C. Pugin preserved the past and held in place buildings and streets against the destruction of wars and the eating of time, Rowlandson showed us that humanity does not change very much and lives in innumerable forms which persist and persevere no matter what the age and conditions may be.⁴⁷

The following quotation refers to Figure 15, the two preparatory theatres:

Sadler's Wells Theatre. Drawing in brush and wash by Augustus Pugin, from Volume III of the Microcosm. A rough and spontaneous sketch which was the first step in the preparation of the material. To the right is a drawing in pencil by Thomas Rowlandson and Augustus Charles Pugin for the Microcosm--Sadler's Wells, one of the oldest of London theatres, already had a long and interesting history at the time the Microcosm was published. When this drawing was made it was noted for its aquatic performances and such a scene is represented here.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 169.

In 1807 one went to the Wells (Figure 16, completed sketch) as one went to any other theatre or as today one goes to the cinema, on the chance of getting a good laugh or a good cry or both. It was always chancy. Many of the shows at the Wells must have been extraordinarily boring, except to the very simple-minded. The proprietors, Mr. Charles and Mr. Thomas Dibdin, wrote thousands of songs and dozens of operas to keep the place going. All the operas are forgotten and only one song--the one about Britain being a "right little, tight little island"--remembered. Nor would anybody wish to revive "aquatic representations" like the one shown in Pugin's drawing, when the stage was supplied with running water from the neighboring waterworks and wobbly effigies of Neptune and his horses sailed in from the wings. The modern ballet audience prefers its "Triumph of Neptune" dry.⁴⁹

Like all the older London theatres, Sadler's Wells has been rebuilt many times. The present building is modern. Its predecessor, which had degenerated into a cinema, was nothing like the one Pugin drew. This, with its immense ceiling and frail-looking galleries, was late eighteenth-century, done up in 1802. Being a popular middle-class theatre there were few boxes, most of the house being given up to long, hard benches.⁵⁰

The Dibdins, who were the proprietors of the Wells, had various personal connections with Augustus Pugin, as mentioned above. Thomas Dibdin's brother, Charles Dibdin the younger, was also a dramatist, and

⁴⁹T. Rowlandson and A. C. Pugin, p. 28.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 29.

upward of thirty years a manager of minor theatres. In 1824, Charles Dibdin was the editor of a twopenny journal entitled The Old Woman. It lasted for only six numbers. The next year Charles was asked to write the text for the theatres in John Britton's Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London. This useful work contains plans and elevations by Augustus Pugin of Covent Garden, Drury Lane, the King's Haymarket, the English Opera House, and Astley's Amphitheatre, for each of which Dibdin provided a historical note and a technical description (except for Drury Lane, which was written with E. W. Brayley). The theatre prints were issued separately in an edition of only twenty-five copies in 1826. Dibdin comments, ruefully, that his research into the history of these theatres took about six times as long as he had anticipated.⁵¹

It is mentioned in Architecture Through the Ages, by Talbot Hamlin, that "diligent poring over the Gothic examples in the books of the elder Pugin [Augustus Charles Pugin] and of Britton "enabled early Gothic Revival architects to produce buildings with a 'Gothic feeling.'"⁵²

The Importance of the "Microcosm"

It was part of the purpose of Pugin and Rowlandson's book, The Microcosm of London, to present a visual record of the interiors and

⁵¹Charles Dibdin, Professional and Literary Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1956), p. 139.

⁵²Talbot Hamlin, Architecture Through the Ages (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1953), p. 590.

exteriors of buildings in London during the first decade of the nineteenth century. One valuable record they preserved was in connection with Covent Garden Theatre.

On the night of September 20, 1808, Sheridan's Pizarro was played. This forgotten tragedy calls for the discharge of a gun; and it has been conjectured that a piece of smouldering wadding from this gun may have caused the fire which broke out at four o'clock the following morning. Whatever its origin, it raged almost unchecked; by six o'clock the interior was gutted and the roof had fallen. Everything was lost: scenery, costumes, armor, jewellery, playbooks; the huge collection of printed and manuscript music, and Handel's organ, which he had bequeathed to John Rich (Covent Garden manager) at his death. This organ was drawn by Pugin and Rowlandson in an aquatint for their book (Figure 19), and this is perhaps the only visual record of how the organ looked, and how the stage of Covent Garden Theatre was adapted to house it during a performance of an oratorio.⁵³

In 1808 important buildings were planned and completed a great deal more rapidly than they are today. Three months after the destruction of the old theatre, on December 12, 1808, the foundation stone of its successor was laid by the Prince Regent. The theatre reopened its doors on September 18, 1809--less than twelve months after the fire--with a

⁵³Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Covent Garden (New York: Chanticleer Press, 1948), p. 18.



Fig. 19.

The interior of the first Covent Garden Theatre showing Handel's organ. After an aquatint by Pugin and Rowlandson

From Theatre to Liberty Bells



Fig. 20.

COVENT GARDEN: THE SECOND THEATRE
As rebuilt after the fire of 1808
Coloured aquatint by Pugin and Rowlandson from 'The Microcosm of London'

performance of Macbeth. Once again, Pugin and Rowlandson were on hand in the first weeks of its opening to record in a colored aquatint for the Microcosm of London--"Covent Garden: The Second Theatre as rebuilt after the fire of 1808" (Figure 20). So within one year A. C. Pugin was able to include within the confines of one volume a record of two Covent Garden Theatres. In the intervening period (on February 24, 1809) Drury Lane had also been burnt to the ground, and was not to reopen until 1812. It would be A. C. Pugin's son, A. W. N. Pugin who would rearrange the stage at Drury Lane a little more than two decades later.⁵⁴

Anyone with a love for the past will see in the Microcosm the costumes of another age, the furniture, the interiors, reproduced with fidelity, honesty and imagination (Figures 21, 23). It is a work of art and information which unites genius with the timeliness of a good newspaper.

Pugin and Daguerre

L. J. M. Daguerre was the most revolutionary stage designer of the early nineteenth century. For a brief period of his career Daguerre was connected with the Pugin family in the construction of the London Diorama. A. C. Pugin constructed this edifice and his son, A. W. N. Pugin would be influenced by it. Therefore, a discussion of Daguerre's achievements in the early nineteenth-century theatre seems appropriate at this time.

⁵⁴Stephen and Lee, p. 450. See Chapter IV, fn. 55.

Fig. 21.

■ Drury Lane Theatre in 1808, after the rebuilding by Sheridan in 1794. Mrs Siddons called it 'a wilderness of a place', and the immense auditorium led the actors to enlarge their gestures and amplify their voices to the detriment of their technique

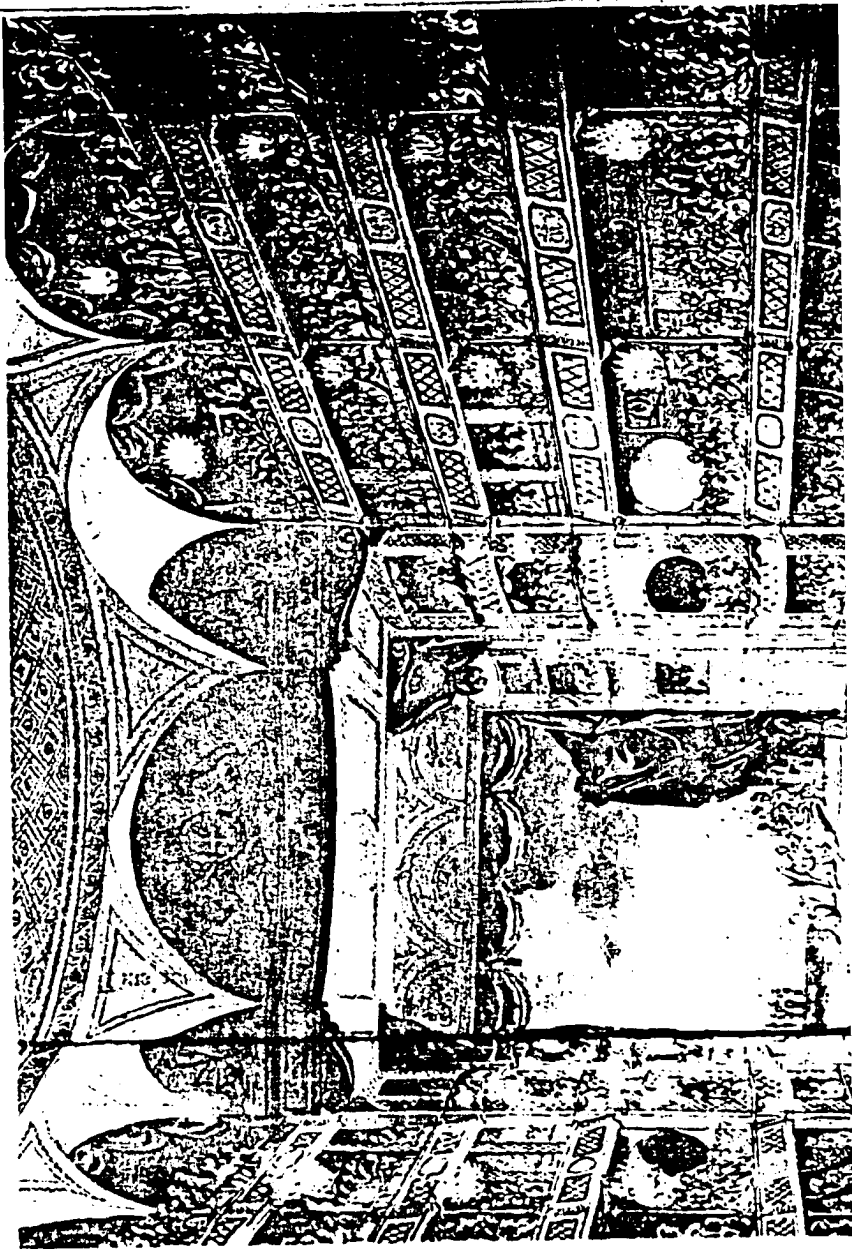


Fig. 22.



Interior of the old Burgtheater on the Michaelerplatz in Vienna, named after 1776 Hof- und Nationaltheater. Colored engraving, early 19th century.

The Covent Garden Theatre in London at the beginning of the 19th century. From Thomas Rowlandson's series of caricatures Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque. London, 1815.

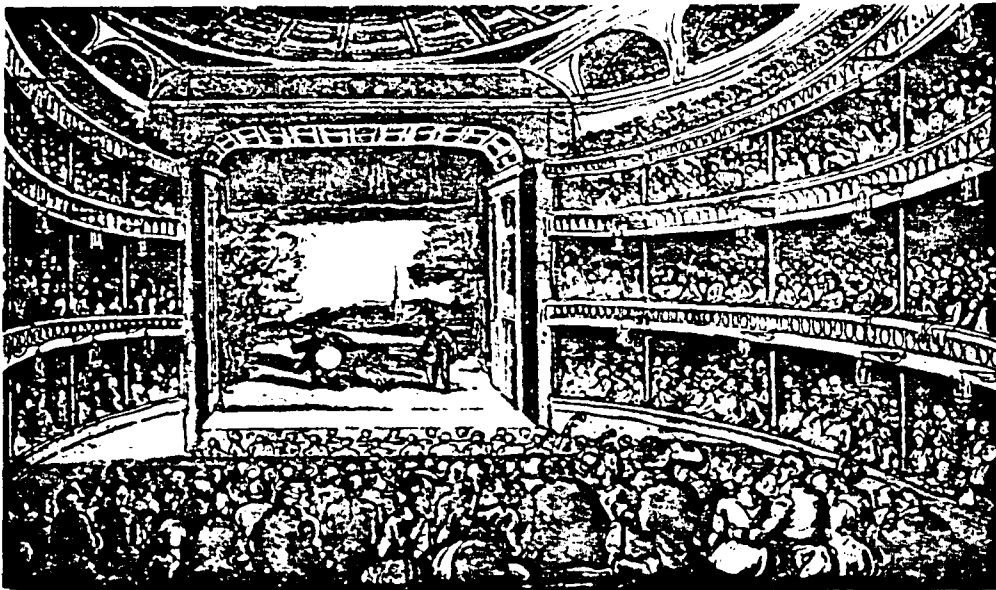


Fig. 23.

Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre (1789-1851) was to go down in history as one of the founders of photography. Though his reputation rests on his invention of the Daguerreotype in 1837, this study is concerned with his earlier work which led him along the path to his great photographic breakthrough. It was Daguerre's work as a skilled scenic painter, and the inventor of the spectacular Diorama with its lighting effects moving over painted landscapes, that led the inventor Nicephore Niepce to take him on as a partner in 1829. Their collaboration would lead to the Daguerreotype and other photographic inventions.

It was as a stage designer, or rather as creator of stage effects and clever illusions, that Daguerre's imaginative powers first found their true outlet. His talent was at once apparent when early in 1816 he obtained a contract as stage designer at the Theatre Ambigu-Comique, at a salary of 5,000 francs a year (then two hundred pounds). The genre of melodrama presented here depended to a great extent on excitement and spectacle. And since the visual aspect of the entertainment was gradually assuming greater importance, talented artists found ready employment in Parisian theatres.

Daguerre's first task at the Ambigu was to redecorate the auditorium. His curtain revealed a Gothic gallery with an admirable effect of light. Daguerre was fond of architectural perspectives. His lighting effects, however, were his forte.⁵⁵

⁵⁵Gemsheim, p. 1. Throughout this section technical discussions are cited directly from Gemsheim.

During the period 1816-22, Daguerre designed the scenery for thirteen melodramas at the Ambigu (Figure 24). His extraordinary ability to seize upon a theatrical point and produce a spectacular effect firmly established Daguerre's reputation as an innovator.⁵⁶ The success of his decors at the Ambigu turned Daguerre into a seeker after effects with which to win easy popular acclaim. His striving for extreme naturalism led him more and more beyond the bounds of art into the field of showmanship. Ten years earlier, no French dramatic critic would have dreamed of mentioning in his review the name of the stage designer;⁵⁷ however, now it was evident to all that the novel decors of Daguerre and his imitators were revolutionizing the theatre. Daguerre had a vivid sense of the taste of the middle and lower classes--the patrons of the little theatres on the "boulevard du crime" (melodramas)--for sumptuousness and spectacular effects. It was the beginning of a policy in the pursuit of which a hundred years later Hollywood turned the cinema into the biggest entertainment industry.

At the end of 1819 Daguerre, now a celebrity in the theatrical world, was invited to become one of the chief designers at the Academie Royal de Musique.⁵⁸

Accounts of Daguerre's achievements in the theatrical field have given rise to the quite unfounded but often repeated claim that prior to Daguerre the art of stage design in France was in a state of infancy. This backward condition was undoubtedly true of the post-Revolutionary

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 10.

⁵⁸op. cit., p. 10.

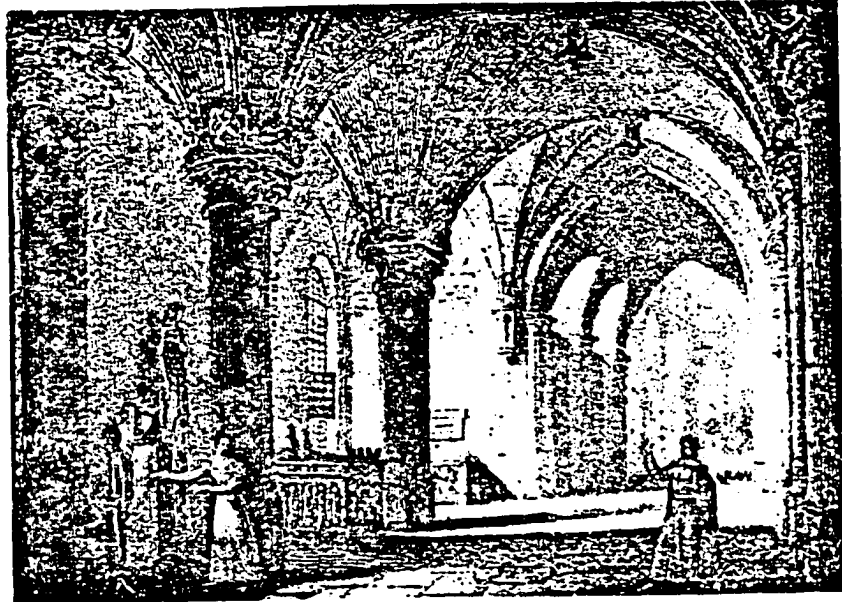


Fig. 24. ■ Lithograph of Daguerre's *décor* for "Elodie", Act III, Scene 1, at the Ambigu-Comique, 1822

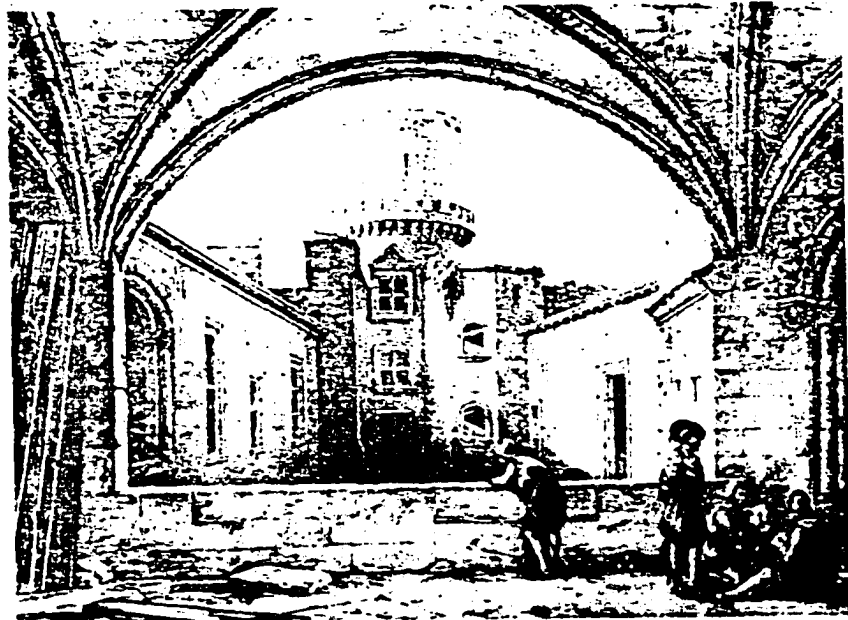


Fig. 25. ■ Château de Tournœil, gallery leading to the chapel. Lithograph from a book by Le Duc de Dangeville, 1829



Fig. 26.

● The Bridge of Thiers. Lithograph from a drawing by Daguerre, 1833

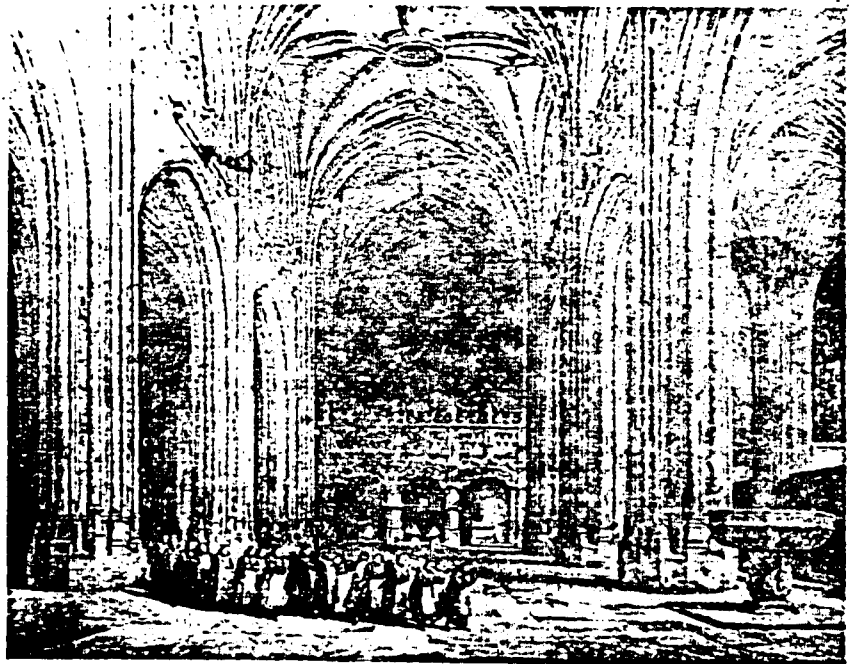


Fig. 27.

● The church of Brou. Lithograph from a drawing by Daguerre, 1833

period. However, there were designers like Giovanni Girolamo Servandoni (1695-1766) with whose ideas Daguerre nearly three-quarters of a century later surprised the public afresh. Servandoni had made full use of ingenious mechanical devices for deus ex machina scenes, artificial fountains, pyrotechnique effects and movable colored sources of light.⁵⁹

The Diorama

The term Diorama is derived from a Greek word signifying to see through.⁶⁰

An entry in the Art Library Catalogue of the Forty-Second Street center of the New York Public Library gives some idea as to the nature of the secrecy of this process and the date of its publication, "Daguerre, Louis Jacques Mande, 1789-1851":

History and practice of photogenic drawing on the true principles of the daguerrotype, with the new method of dioramic painting; secrets purchased by the French government, and by their command published for the benefit of the arts and manufactures: by the inventor L. J. M. Daguerre. . . . Translated from the original by J. S. Memes . . . London: Smith, Elder and Co.; and A. Black and Co., Edinburgh, 1839.

A handbook published in London in 1840 entitled, Handbook of Heliography With the Art of Dioramic Painting as Practiced by M. Daguerre, gives a rough account of the process of Dioramic Painting in Daguerre's own words, after an introduction by the unnamed author:

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁰Handbook of Heliography (London: Robert Tyas, 8, Paternoster Row, 1840), p. 91.

This species of painting was invented by two French artists, M. Daguerre and Bouton, of whom M. Daguerre was the chief. In compliance with the terms of the agreement through which the French Legislative Chamber secured to him his pension of 6000 francs, that gentleman was bound to make his whole process of diorama painting public, and the following detail is condensed accurately from his own account.

M. Daguerre explains the grounds of dioramic effect upon the principle of the decomposition of light. He states that, if two colors be put upon the canvas, the one red and the other green, and a red glass be interposed between the colors and the light that falls upon them, the red color will reflect its consonant rays, but the green will remain black. If green glass be interposed, the converse will take place; the green will show green, but the red will appear black.⁶¹

Briefly the method was as follows:

The first effect was painted on the front side of transparent white calico, which had to be as free from joins as possible, and which was prepared on both sides with two coats of parchment size. The colors were ground in oil but applied to the calico with turpentine, and in single strokes, to avoid causing opacity. The second effect was painted on the verso of the calico by transmitted light, so that the artist could judge where to preserve and where to paint over the transparent parts of the first effect. This was done with opaque grey paint, the gradation of tones being produced by variation in the opacity of the paint. When this general effect of light and shade was obtained, the picture was colored in transparent tints. In conjunction with colored screens, Daguerre then achieved what he termed "the decomposition of form," on the principle that if a green and a red part of the painting was illuminated by red light, the red object will vanish while the green one will appear black, and vice versa. In this way astonishing changes could be brought about in the picture, and figures which had not been visible in the first effect appeared one by one in the second effect.⁶²

Much of the completeness of the illusion arises from the circumstance of the spectators being placed at a distance from the picture. They

⁶¹ Handbook of Heliography, p. 94.

⁶² Gernsheim, p. 19.

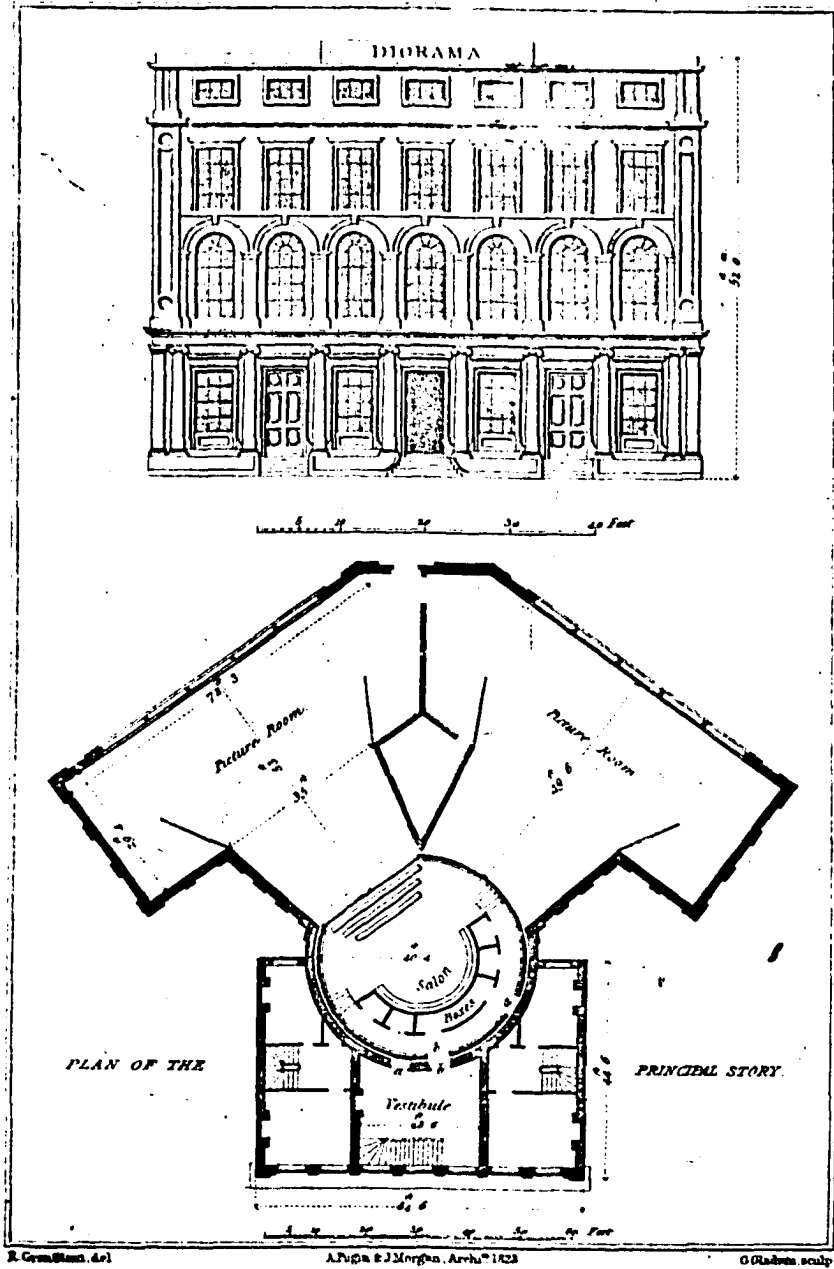
sit in a darkened room forming an arc of a circle fitted with concentric seats. Before them is a species of proscenium, less than the picture, which is placed several feet beyond it, so that minute defects are not evident except to an artistic observer, and on an intent inspection. Such an artistic observer was John Constable, the English artist, who was not pleased with the show.⁶³

The auditorium--a light wooden construction twelve metres (thirty-nine feet) in diameter and seven metres seventy five cm. (twenty-five feet two and one half inches) high--was supported by a strong wooden framework which turned round upon a pivot, its circumference resting upon struts with rollers which revolved on a circular rail. The ingenious mechanism could be worked by one man, who at the sound of a bell turned a crank until the proscenium (seven metres fifty cm. wide x six metres fifty cm. high (twenty four feet four and a half inches x twenty-one feet one and a half inches) came to rest opposite the second picture, which adjoined the first (see plan, Figures 28, 29). At the back of the rotunda, which was decorated with painted draperies and ornamental shields bearing the names of famous artists, were nine boxes seating forty people, while the amphitheatre in front held three hundred and ten more, mostly standing, though a few benches were provided.

Like stage scenery, the pictures were set back from the auditorium (Figure 28), thirteen metres (forty-two feet three inches) from the front

⁶³Handbook of Heliography, p. 94.

EDIFICES OF LONDON PUBLIC BUILDINGS



R. Greenham, del.

A. Pugin & J. Morgan, Arch^s 1823

G. G. Greenham, sculp.

DIORAMA, MUSEE S. QUAI DE L'ORIENT A PARIS.

London Published Nov. 11 1823 by Taylor, High Holborn.

Fig. 28.

row, at the end of an enormous tunnel formed by screens, which had the double function of giving depth to the painting and concealing its margins. The spectator was seated in a dim light until the curtain was drawn up and the picture, lit up from the roof and from its rear, was revealed. Being painted on fine transparent linen, the effect was one of extraordinary beauty and reality of appearance. The great diversity of scenic effect was produced by a combination of translucent and opaque painting, and of transmitted and reflected light by contrivances such as screens and shutters. The front of the painting was illuminated by daylight from a ground-glass skylight, into which a number of colored transparent screens could be interposed to vary the effect. Most of the changing light effects were produced by modifying the daylight passing through the back of the picture (hence diorama--Greek dia through, horama view) from the long vertical ground-glass windows. This was achieved by interposing a large number of similar colored screens, which were worked by pulleys and counterweights. In this way the most varied effects from brilliant sunshine to thick fog could be produced.⁶⁴

While the ingenious construction and lighting arrangements of the Diorama were protected by patent--at any rate in England--the most important part of the invention--the method of painting the pictures--was not revealed for seventeen years; in fact not until after the destruction of the Paris Diorama by fire, and then only in consideration of an extra

⁶⁴Gemsheim, p. 19.

amount in the French Government's pension for the daguerreotype. A shrewd businessman, Daguerre knew how to drive a bargain.⁶⁵

Daguerre's oil paintings are so remarkably realistic that in a reproduction of them, they may at first sight be taken for actual photographs.⁶⁶ Parisians paid admission to see such make-believe scenes as an Alpine village (Figure 49) before and after its destruction by an avalanche, or Midnight Mass at the Church of St. Etienne-du-Mont. The illusion was so perfect that a lad from the country threw a coin onto the stage "to find out if it really was space in front of him." When an art student set up an easel and began to paint the Diorama of Napoleon's Tomb, Daguerre said to him, "Young man, come as often as you want to, but don't work here, because you'll be making nothing but a copy of a copy. If you want to study seriously, go out doors."⁶⁷

The success of the Diorama depended almost entirely on its scenery. This was also to become true of the plays of this period. As there

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 20.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 25.

⁶⁷Beaumont Newhall, The Daguerreotype in America (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1961), p. 16. As early as 1640, Joseph Furttentbach, The Elder, drew a plan for a "Schawspilsaal," which had many features similar to Daguerre's Diorama. Four stages were placed at the corners of a large room. In the middle of the room was a large round table, large enough for twelve persons to be seated and served. "Now the table and all the seats are placed on a round platform fully thirteen feet in diameter, to turn on a pivot resting in a die on the lower floor. While the guests sit quietly, unnoticed, the platform is turned by the capstan." Joseph Furttentbach, The Elder, Barnard Hewitt, ed., Translated by George R. Kernodle, in The Discourse on Civil Architecture, 1638, quoted from The Renaissance Stage (Coral Gables, Florida, University of Miami Press, 1958), p. 249.

were sociological reasons for the decline of fine dramatic writing, spectacle moved in and filled the gap by entertaining the Victorian audiences. . . . This is one explanation for the paucity of fine drama in this period of the English stage.

To assist him in obtaining exact perspective, Daguerre, like so many other artists of the day, used a camera obscura. This instrument was simply a box, with a lens at one end and a ground glass at the other, on which the lens formed an image. By laying thin paper over the glass, the image could be traced.⁶⁸

Some expert opinion on Daguerre and his Diorama is available in Beaumont Newhall's book, The History of Photography. According to Frederick Lemaître:

. . . M. Daguerre, as a painter, has a fine talent for imitation, and an exquisite taste for the arrangement of his pictures. I believe he has an unusual understanding of stage machinery and lighting effects; the connoisseur, visiting his establishment, can easily convince himself of that.⁶⁹

According to this statement, Daguerre, the photographer, was a probable influence on Pugin in the field of stage machinery. This emphasis of the innovation and innovator influencing other, older arts is a significant part of Marshall McLuhan's theory of communication.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 17.

⁶⁹Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1964), p. 14.

Rather than following the logic that the new cinematic process borrowed from the available theatrical practices, the opposite has been found to be the case. Daguerre and his Diorama were the influence that made mid-nineteenth century scenic art what it was.

A good example of the effects of the illusion created by the Diorama can be found in a statement by M. J. Nicephore Niepce, soon to become a partner of Daguerre:

These representations are so real, even in their smallest detail, that one believes that he actually sees rural and primeval nature, with all the illusion with which the charm of color and the magic of chiaroscuro can endow it. The illusion is even so great that one attempts to leave one's box in order to wander out into the open and climb to the summit of the mountain. I assure you there is not the least exaggeration on my part, the objects are, or seem to be, of natural size.⁷⁰

This trend toward illusion precipitated a great advance in scenery construction and design. "The age of purely ocular spectacles has arrived," announced Gautier in one of his dramatic notices at this time. To produce the effects required for Romantic pieces, stage designers began to build their sets more solidly than before and to take full advantage of the progress made in lighting. The Diorama was adapted for the stage, and the installation of gas lighting made possible gradual lighting changes. Old Gothic ruins, wild landscapes, exotic scenes, tempests, mysterious forests were all depicted in the theatre with a truth that seemed magical to the audiences of Romantic times. The scene designer became

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

an important artist in his own right: Pugin, Ciceri of Paris, and the brothers Grieve and Charles Marshall who worked in London, designed many wonderful scenes for the Romantic ballet.⁷¹

At this time, in London alone there were as many Diorama and Panorama buildings as there are cinemas today.⁷² Just how many different optical spectacles that were available in walking distance to the King's Theatre, Haymarket is made evident by a letter written to the editor of the Theatrical Observer, which appeared on the back of the playbill of Kenilworth, the opera-ballet of which Pugin was the scene-painter. Ironically enough, the author of the letter, Paul Pry, was a dramatic character of the period.

"March 4, 1831

"To the editor of the Theatrical Observer

"Dear Mr. Editor-

"Monday I visit the Diorama, in the Regent's Park, to see the two new and enchanting views--Mount St. Gothard, painted by M. Daguerre, and Village of Unterseen, in Switzerland, painted by M. Daguerre--these chef d'oeuvres, will shortly close to make room for two other beautiful views just finished.

"On my return thro' Regent Street I step in to see the Wonders of Art at the Cosmorama . . . fourteen beautiful views--Mount Vesuvius in a blaze, Mount St. Gothard with the Devil's Bridge and the old city of Rome and ancient monuments--depicted so as if you were on the spot.--crowded daily.

"Tuesday call at the Queen's Bazaar 78, Oxford Street--splendidly fitted-up and magnificently arranged--visited the British

⁷¹Ivor Guest, A Gallery of Romantic Ballet (London: New Mercury Ltd., 1965), p. 11.

⁷²C. W. Ceram, Archaeology of the Cinema (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965), p. 23.

Diorama, the four views, by Stanfield, highly interesting--Lounge in the Physiorama, fourteen views from all parts of the world truly unique and beautiful--Step into the Octorama, Eight new views of the French Expedition to Algiers; to which is added a new Grand Exhibition of the French Revolution, painted on many thousand feet of canvas--grand composition, inimitable execution, and vast labour--crowded daily with fashionables. I then pop into Week's Royal Mechanical Exhibition, 3, Tichborne Street, Picadilly.
"Paul Pry."⁷³

A better example of the richness of mechanical-optical displays in the year of 1831 would be hard to find. In our own day, this cinematic explosion, so vivid in 1831, seems to be regressing. Already the cinema is yielding to television as a mode of universal entertainment, and the time may well come when the luxurious glittering picture palaces which are now an accepted feature of all our towns will be as rare as the Diorama in Regent's Park.⁷⁴

Kenneth Clark makes a valid point when he shows how it was the misfortune of the Gothic Revival style to be born in a period when Daguerre and photography also were born:

the real reason why the Gothic Revival has been neglected is that it produced so little on which our eyes can rest without pain. Nor is this distaste purely a matter of fashion. In the past the pendulum of fashion swung slowly, so slowly that the metaphor of a pendulum seems a little ridiculous when we must count a hundred years between the beats. But when photography opened a vast field of aesthetic experience to the most stay-at-home person, the world of taste became like a cuckoo-clock, the pendulum rattling

⁷³The Theatrical Observer and Daily Bill of the Play, Friday, March 4, 1831.

⁷⁴Olive Cook, Movement in Two Dimensions (London: Hutchinson of London & Co., Ltd., 1963), p. 13.

away at a great speed, and the critic emerging with a triumphant cry of discovery every hour.⁷⁵

Thus, the exposure of people to so much visual experience just at the time when a style of architecture known for its picturesqueness was dominating the nation, poisoned the awakening eye with a force of individuality too strong for the needs of the moment. Therefore, Daguerre who influenced and aided the Pugin family was eventually to bring the total effort of their endeavors into disrepute. The wheel had gone around full circle.

Pugin and the Diorama

The phenomenal success of this novel entertainment in Paris encouraged Daguerre and his partner, Bouton, to extend their activities to London, where reports of the Paris Diorama had aroused the greatest interest. Early in 1823 Charles (Arrow) Smith, Daguerre's brother-in-law and assistant at the Diorama, was sent to London to prospect the scene, and entrusted the work to the French emigre architect Augustus Charles Pugin. Pugin went over to Paris to inspect the construction of the Diorama, on which the London Diorama was to be modelled.⁷⁶ At this time, secrecy was maintained for this process, and the Pugins were among a very small group who had first-hand knowledge of how this process worked.

⁷⁵Clark, pp. ix, xx.

⁷⁶Gemsheim, p. 20.

It is my contention that the younger Pugin, when he visited Paris with his father, went to many showings of the Diorama programs just as youngsters today constantly go to the movies. The fact that his father brought the plan of its operation back to England and built the English Diorama seems to point to the younger Pugin's involvement, perhaps as an assistant in this construction. Though Pugin was only twelve years old during the Diorama's first successful year in England, his prodigious talents, and his soon-to-be-whetted appetite for the theatre point to his involvement, even if only as a spectator, with his father's project. It is also probable that Daguerre's expertise as a stage mechanic had an influence upon the younger Pugin, considering that the Parisian theatres which he no doubt visited with his father during their several stays in Paris had all adopted methods and devices of scenic display which had been invented and first used by Daguerre, who was France's most prominent stage and scene designer of the first half of the nineteenth century. In fact, two of the stage effects in Pugin's 1833 production of The Grim Grey Woman, notably "the magic bridge or staircase, that suddenly descends from the steep of the Drachenfells," and "the sudden multiplication of the character (as in Faustus), where the likenesses of the lady rush through the wall and recede as rapidly,"⁷⁷ seem to owe a great deal to Daguerre's pioneer role in European scene design.

There was little difference between the Paris and London buildings, except that the latter had only two picture emplacements instead

⁷⁷The Atlas, London, Sunday, April 14, 1833, pp. 225-226.

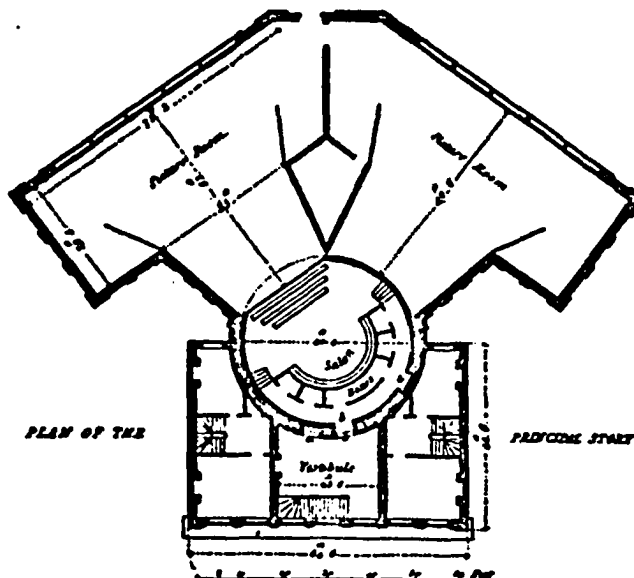
of three as in Paris, because it was originally intended to show at Regent's Park only pictures already exhibited in Paris, so a studio for painting a new one while the others were on view was superfluous. Some English journalists claimed that the London Diorama was larger than the Paris one, but the dimensions were actually the same; in fact the auditorium held only two hundred, though presumably in greater comfort. The rotating machinery was constructed by an engineer named Topham on the same principle as that in Paris (Figure 29).

Up to 1830 all pictures shown at London had already been exhibited in Paris for long periods--sometimes for over a year. After being shown in Regent's Park for a season they were sent on to the Diorama at Bold Street, Liverpool, to Dublin, and to America.

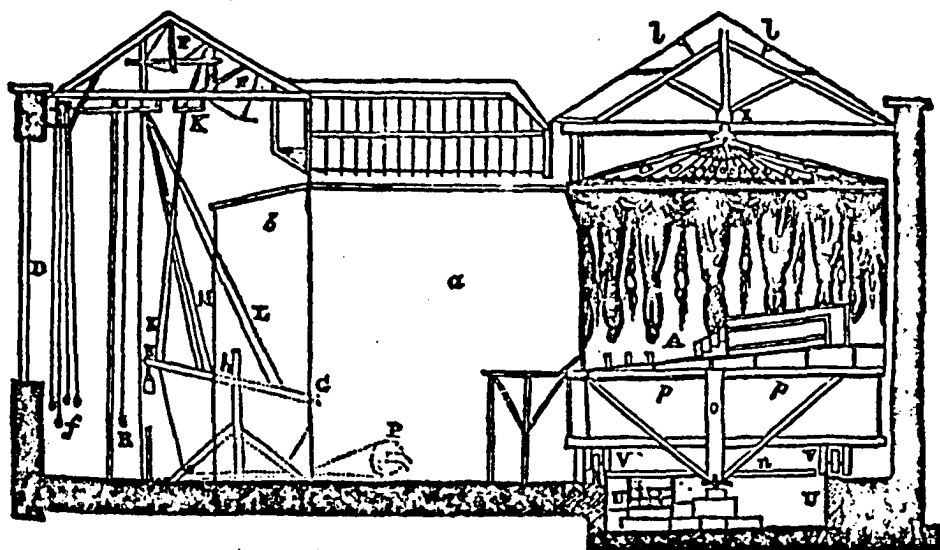
A broadsheet published in Philadelphia in 1841 proves that Daguerre's Dioramas were shown in America. It reads: "Daguerre's Diorama (from Paris). Brought to the U. S. by Mm. Maffey and Lonati, and just arrived from New York. At the Masonic Hall." It is impossible that any dioramas came direct from Paris in 1841 because the Diorama there had been destroyed by fire on March 8, 1839. These must have been shipped from England. If they were shipped from England, I would like to offer the hypothesis that it was Pugin's shipping freighter⁷⁸ that brought them over, of which Mm. Maffey and Lonati would have taken charge.

⁷⁸Gernsheim, pp. 21-22. See Chapter III, p. 126.

THE DIORAMA



(a) Ground plan of the Diorama building, London, by A. Pugin and J. Morgan, 1823



THE DIORAMA.

(b) Cross-section of the auditorium and picture emplacement of the Diorama, London

Fig. 29.

The Diorama soon surpassed the Panorama (one continuous view) as a popular spectacle. Of all the Diorama buildings, Daguerre's Regent's Park Diorama is the only one that survives,⁷⁹ for those that were not destroyed to make way for new developments almost inevitably fell prey to fire. It opened to the public on September 29, 1823, a ticket of admission costing two shillings. The performance went on from 11:00 AM till 4:00, 5:00, or 6:00 PM, according to the season; and during the darker months of winter the establishment was closed. Bouton was in charge of the London Diorama while Daguerre returned to Paris.⁸⁰

During this period, the elder Pugin designed the internal decoration of the Cosmorama in Regent Street. Thus, in the mid-1820's Pugin's father was exposing his son to cinematic processes which he, the son, would utilize in the period of 1827-1831, the peak years of his theatrical interest, which would help to revolutionize English stagecraft.

Daguerre's London diorama was advertised on the first omnibus introduced into England by G. Shillibert, a coach builder. Two started to run on July 4, 1829, between Paddington and the Bank, in London, and the fare was one shilling. Each omnibus carried twenty-two passengers inside and was drawn by three horses.⁸¹ An illustration of the omnibus and the Regent's Park Diorama advertisements is shown in Figure 6.

⁷⁹Ceram, p. 69.

⁸⁰Cook, pp. 38, 39.

⁸¹Marjorie Connell and C. H. B., A History of Everyday Things in England (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 200.

Carl Wilhelm Gropius (1793-1870), grandfather of Walter Gropius, opened a diorama in Berlin in 1827 (Figure 5). Gropius, a theatrical painter, had visited the Paris and London Dioramas, and his interior arrangement was similar to that in Paris and Pugin's in London.⁸²

At the time of its closing down no fewer than five rival dioramas were competing with each other in London, not to mention the panoramas and a host of other "oramas" which had sprung up during the 1820's, '30's, and '40's under grandiose titles leaving one guessing about the form of entertainment, ranging from peepshows of prints to geological models: Betaniorama, Cosmorama, Cyclorama, Europorama, Georama, Hydrorama, Kalorama, Kineorama, Nausorama, Neorama, Octorama, Physiorama, Pleorama, Poecilorama, Typorama, Udorama, Uranorama.

In a way, all these shows were descendants of the Eidophusikon of Philip de Louthembourg, Royal Academy (1740-1817), which enjoyed immense popularity in London in the 1780's. On a small stage six feet wide by four feet deep were shown model scenes with ingenious lighting and sound effects.⁸³

Just before the diorama, in the early 1820's, when the panorama was the rage, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and Drury Lane, "Moving Panoramick Views" were sandwiched between a tragedy and a pantomime.

⁸²Gernsheim, p. 44.

⁸³Ibid., p. 41.

Following the popularity of the Regent's Park Diorama, the Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres added to their repertoire dioramas painted by a number of artists, including Clarkson Stanfield, Royal Academy, the marine painter, and David Roberts, Royal Academy, famous for Eastern subjects. Thomas Grieve, the famous scene painter, was also involved with dioramic painting. The diorama of "The Overland Mail" at the Gallery of Illustration, 14 Regent Street, in 1850, was much indebted for its success to his artistic aid. These effect pictures regularly appeared in the program to fill up the evening, just as the early "flickers" helped to fill variety theatres in the 1890's. Indeed, the titles of these "Grand Moving Pictures" foreshadow the desire for newsreels and travel films: "Moving Diorama of the Polar Expedition, being a series of views representing the progress of His Majesty's ships the Hecla and Fury in their endeavors to discover a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean"⁸⁴ (shown by David Roberts at Covent Garden in 1830; and Stanfield's "Grand Moving Picture of a voyage to the Isle of Wight including a visit to Cowes Regatta" at Drury Lane, 1828. These moving panoramas and dioramas were presumably painted on a continuous roll of material, which was unwound from one giant spool on to another.⁸⁵

Clarkson Stanfield, Thomas Grieve, and A. W. N. Pugin were to work together in the London theatre. Pugin would design Gothic scenes

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 42.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 43.

for Grieve, and be involved in productions where Stanfield was employed. Throughout his life A. W. N. Pugin would consider Grieve and Stanfield close friends. Pugin's father and Daguerre presented the dioramic process to London, where Stanfield and Grieve became its chief exponents. As A. W. N. Pugin was closely connected to the design and construction of the diorama, as well as many theatrical productions that utilized it, I see him as a link to the successful transmission of the process from Paris to London. Stanfield, Grieve, and A. W. N. Pugin should be thought of as a group who profited by the work of that previous duo A. C. Pugin and Daguerre. Stanfield and Grieve will be considered more thoroughly in Chapter III as important contemporary designers of A. W. N. Pugin's theatrical career.

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

This discussion of the Gothic Revival in England will trace its growth and achievements through the work of those representative figures who most closely affected the direction that A. W. N. Pugin's career would take. These men are Horace Walpole, James Wyatt, Charles Barry, and A. C. Pugin. An introduction to the period will furnish a perspective of their relative place in the Revival, and the section will close with a brief consideration of A. W. N. Pugin's contribution.

The eighteenth century made a new discovery of the classical past, and sooner or later the Middle Ages were bound to share with the classic

period in the attention of the learned. In England, eighteenth-century antiquarianism turned with growing excitement back to medievalism, and Sir Horace Walpole, who combined the functions of critic, amateur, and wealthy patron, gave this new medievalism respectability. Walpole, like the other early practitioners of Gothic building during the Revival, gave free response to his own whims, and with an almost complete neglect of such architectural qualities of good planning and construction that was in any real way integrated with the forms, he was after "effects," as a writer goes after effects, and the means by which the effects were gained apparently meant nothing to him.⁸⁶

Gothic building became a kind of plaything for the wealthy, and the lords and rich gentry who strove to follow the new fashion were out to produce the "picturesque," an emotional, even sentimental, reaction toward things antique and strange.⁸⁷ In this light, the Gothic Revival was an expression of the demand for the opulence and eclectic freedom of an "architecture of pure taste." The apostle of taste was merely demanding the right to use any set of forms his fancy dictates or his heart desires. An architecture of taste has been traditionally the prerogative of a conservative elite. In the nineteenth century it was variously the language of the new landed gentry (William Beckford's preposterous "Gothick" pile of Fonthill Abbey), or of the resurgent Roman Church (Pugin's

⁸⁶Hamlin, p. 577.

⁸⁷Ibid.

"Christian" Gothic).⁸⁸ A few novels by Sir Walter Scott; a couple of thin, acidulous tracts by Augustus Welby Pugin; two incandescent sermons by Ruskin--and the centuries-old Renaissance tradition was overturned by the creaking literary machine of the Gothic Revival. Here was a classic case where the critics spoke over the heads of the profession to a new middle-class audience, and the architects had no choice but to follow, bringing up the rear.⁸⁹

Unfortunately, the enthusiastic desire for the Gothic style preceded the architect's competence in it, and, from the very beginning the revival of medieval architecture was cursed with the complete separation of the appearance and the construction. The lack of solid craftsmanship, combined with a strange insistence on "style" and "beauty." The amount of building done in the nineteenth century was enormous, but had no natural style of its own. The rules of thumb and the pattern books, which had so admirably served for the Georgian period, were generally discarded as too simple and too "inartistic." Businessmen and town planners wanted art for their money. Accordingly, when the other specifications had been fulfilled, the architect was commissioned to provide a facade in the Gothic style because this had been prevalent in what had been called the Age of

⁸⁸James Marston Fitch, Architecture and the Esthetics of Plenty (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961) p. 264.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 254.

Faith.⁹⁰ The new churches rising to minister to the new London population were the fruit of earnest country rambles, singly or in groups, by countless young architects and earnest members of the Ecclesiological Society, whose sketchbooks were fortified by published books gamering sketches compiled by the industrious John Britton or composed by the fertilizing genius of Pugin.⁹¹

Horace Walpole

"The history of England throughout a very large segment of the eighteenth century is simply a synonym for the works of Horace Walpole"-- this verdict by Leslie Stephen confirms Walpole's belief that posterity would value the history of his time written by one who knew everybody and went everywhere and who spiced his account with instances of the age's follies and the ambition and vanity of its leaders.⁹² Horace Walpole was the historian of Georgian England, English painting, gardening and Richard III, the Goth who built Strawberry Hill and wrote the Castle of Otranto and The Mysterious Mother, the Member of Parliament busy

⁹⁰E. H. Gombrich, The Story of Art (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1972), p. 395.

⁹¹Priscilla Metcalf, Victorian London (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 38.

⁹²Sir Leslie Stephen, cited by Wilmarth S. Lewis, "40 Years in Walpoleshire," Yale Alumni Magazine, Nov. 1973, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, p. 31.

behind the scenes who wrote the memoirs, and the artist who wrote the incomparable letters.⁹³

Walpole's importance to the Gothic Revival was in the fact that he aristocratized Gothic. In 1750 the taste for pinnacles was associated with parvenus, but when the exquisite, cultivated Walpole took up Gothic, society began to feel that there might be something in it. Walpole gave Gothic social standing.⁹⁴ But Walpole's contributions were more important and far reaching than that. He introduced a romantic style and instead of using borrowed forms freely, he insisted on copying them. When Walpole bought Strawberry Hill in 1747 and began gothicizing the villa, sham ruins and a feeling for the picturesque were to be the dominant requisites. He seemed to oppose anything made of its right material. Papier-mache, plaster and canvas, helped fill Strawberry Hill with new devices to render craftsmanship unnecessary--new wallpaper which was stamped to imitate stuccowork, and new artificial stone which allowed the architect to order his detail wholesale. As Kenneth Clark says, "nothing in that house was simple, natural, and solid; nowhere had the workman followed his own bent. Instead of good workmanship he introduced the quaint--a word which covers everything silly and unnecessary in style."⁹⁵ Yet Walpole was the first to use designs laboriously extracted from ancient folios. However, a fireplace might be comprised of details of shrines, altars, and tombs from different places, and of different epochs.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Clark, p. 49.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 52.

In having a picturesque "end" produced by a synthetic "means," Walpole killed craftsmanship. It was reserved for later Gothic revivalists to resurrect it. A. W. N. Pugin would be the major resurrecting deity. The fact is, he was--literally. It is one of the great artistic ironies that Strawberry Hill is now a Roman Catholic training college. It was enlarged for this use by the firm of Pugin and Pugin.⁹⁶ The story of Strawberry Hill is the story of the pre-Pugin Gothic Revival. Survival of constructional principles did not effect the early revivalists; the very idea was not grasped till Pugin made it his gospel.

James Wyatt

James Wyatt (1740-1813) was raised by private interest and the caprice of public taste to be the fashionable architect of his day--loaded with commissions from every quarter, patronized by Bagot and flattered by Walpole--he believed himself to be a great architect, and induced the world to think so too.

Country squires sent for him to embellish their family seats, Oxford dons allowed him to pull down and rebuild the ancient colleges of their university, Deans and Chapters committed noble cathedrals to his notions of improvement and restoration. No one stopped to ask his qualifications, or how much personal supervision he could afford to allow to each. He was the "eminent" architect of their day. Artistic reputation was enough.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 50, f.n.

Everybody had employed him, and therefore everybody continued to do so.⁹⁷

Wyatt improvised and even executed designs in his travelling carriage as he rolled along the road to his country clients. He dashed off his notions upon paper, left them to be realized by his subordinates, and took no pains to consider and revise them, lest he be losing another job.⁹⁸

The very extent of Wyatt's professional employment left him little or no leisure for the study of ancient examples; and the consequence was that instead of tampering and correcting the vitiated taste of his day, he simply pandered to it.

His style of architecture was "Gothic" only in the original and contemptuous sense of the word.⁹⁹ It brought discredit on the cause of the Revival, and to some extent retarded its progress. Many English churches bore the painful evidence of his presumption and ignorance. Later and more educated tastes have removed his ill-devised additions, and replaced features which he was permitted to destroy.¹⁰⁰ His most famous construction, Fonthill Abbey, collapsed a few years after it was built. Wyatt's

⁹⁷Charles L. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1872), p. 93.

⁹⁸Ibid. p. 94.

⁹⁹The name "Gothic" probably came from Italy and referred to the "Goths" of barbarians and was a word of contempt.

¹⁰⁰Eastlake, p. 95.

ignorance of correct detail, and his lack of an historical basis for his drawings caused A. W. N. Pugin to detest the buildings and scenes that he produced. "I hate Wyatt,"¹⁰¹ was often shouted by Pugin as he passed one of his "monstrosities."

Augustus Charles Pugin

The story of A. C. Pugin's importance to the Gothic Revival in England becomes apparent once we enter the more learned phase of it. This phase has a lineage of architectural and literary publications.

According to Alf Boe in his book, From Gothic Revival to Functional Form, the Gothic Revival developed in a serious fashion when books with plans and ornamental details appeared in increasing numbers to promote its correct application, among them Augustus Charles Pugin's Specimens of Gothic Architecture, which was published in two volumes in 1820 and 1827 (A. W. N. Pugin having a hand in this edition). In 1831 A. C. Pugin brought out his Examples of Gothic Architecture, the second volume of which appeared five years later. In the introduction to the 1836 volume of Pugin's Examples one reads the statement that:

A servile adhesion to ancient models, exclusive of all invention, cannot reasonably be required. Modern edifices must be adapted to modern habits of life, and the wants and wishes of the present generation.¹⁰²

This pronouncement marks a noteworthy development in the history of the Gothic Revival, where from now on a retrospective interest in its

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁰²Waterhouse, p. 3.

archaeological and romantic aspects gave room beside it for practical considerations concerning the material needs of the nineteenth century.

The significant lines were written by A. C. Pugin's friend and collaborator Edward James Willson; they heralded a new phase in architectural criticism, in which the most prominent figure was to be Pugin's son, A. W. N. Pugin, who edited the work for publication after his father's death in 1832.¹⁰³

Specimens of Gothic Architecture supplied the practical architect with geometrical and carefully measured drawings of ancient roofs, doors, and windows to guide him in his designs, and to help him in reviving a style the details of which had been as yet imperfectly studied. Previously the books on Gothic that were published were chiefly those which either served to illustrate a principle in the history of the style, or possessed some picturesque attractions in the way of general effect. Through Pugin and Willson's work the structural glories of Westminster Hall were revealed with mathematical nicety; the graceful mouldings of York and Lincoln were accurately profiled on a large and intelligible scale; the towers and gateways of Oxford were measured with scrupulous care. Previously the proportions of oriel windows, groined porches, canopied tombs and flying buttresses had been guessed at by those trying to imitate their designs. Now, these designs were transferred to paper, line

¹⁰³Alf Boe, From Gothic Revival to Functional Form (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1957), p. 19.

for line, with every dimension clearly figured, and every feature separately dissected and explained.¹⁰⁴

The consequences of Pugin's work was that an age of ignorance was succeeded by an age of plagiarism. If an architect wanted a spire, there was that of St. Mary's at Oxford drawn to scale and ready for imitation. Pugin and Willson's volume supplied a series of examples for selection.

This was not a satisfactory state of things, but it was better than the situation that preceded it. Faithful copies of old work were more tolerable than bungling attempts at original design. And it was impossible for modern architects to originate successful designs in Gothic, until they had learned to appreciate the value of proportion, and had mastered the grammar of detail in ancient examples. Pugin's works helped their studies in an eminent degree, by both the carefully written and well-arranged text and the illustrations which formed the bulk of the volume.¹⁰⁵

The Houses of Parliament

As we have suggested, the difficulty of the Gothic Revival architect was to somehow skirt the two unpleasant alternatives of producing sham antiques or freak inventions. Some nineteenth-century architects succeeded and their buildings have become landmarks of the cities in which they stand, and we have come to accept them almost as if they were part of the natural scenery.

¹⁰⁴ Eastlake, p. 89.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 90.

This is true of the Houses of Parliament in London, whose history is characteristic of the difficulties under which architects of the period had to work. When the old chamber burned down in 1834, a competition was organized, and Charles Barry's design won. Barry was an expert on the Renaissance style. It was found, however, that England's civil liberties rested on the achievements of the Middle Ages, and that it was right and proper to erect the shrine of British freedom on the Gothic style. Accordingly, Barry had to seek the advice of an expert on Gothic details, A. W. N. Pugin, "one of the most uncompromising champions of the Gothic Revival,"¹⁰⁶ whose "brilliant and successful propaganda"¹⁰⁷ would influence architecture into the twentieth century. The collaboration amounted more or less to this--that Barry was allowed to determine the overall shape and grouping of the building, while Pugin looked after the decoration of the facade and the interior. Seen from the distance, through the London mists, Barry's outlines do not lack a certain dignity; and seen at close quarters, the Gothic details still retain something of their romantic appeal.¹⁰⁸

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin

The best introduction to A. W. N. Pugin's position in the Gothic Revival is a quotation by Charles Eastlake from his History of the Gothic Revival:

¹⁰⁶Gombrich, p. 396.

¹⁰⁷Hamlin, opposite p. 577.

¹⁰⁸Gombrich, p. 396.

However much we may be indebted to those ancient supporters of Pointed Architecture who, faithfully adhering to its traditions at a period when the style fell into general disuse, strove earnestly, and in some instances ably, to preserve its character; whatever value in the cause we may attach to the crude and isolated examples of Gothic which belong to the eighteenth century, or to the efforts of such men as Nash and Wyatt, there can be little doubt that the revival of medieval design received its chief impulse in our own day from the energy and talents of one architect whose name marks an epoch in the history of British art, which, while art exists at all, can never be forgotten.

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin . . . 109

What A. W. N. Pugin did was to realize the structural basis of medieval architecture. Pugin was an accomplished student of Gothic architecture and ornament,¹¹⁰ and he understood with growing intensity throughout his short and checkered career that buttress and pinnacle, vault rib and tracery, existed at least in part because of the structural demands of the building, and that their forms had arisen largely because of such structural necessities. He established these facts in his superb satirical books Contrasts and On the State of Christian Architecture, where he took delight in poking as much fun at the earlier castellated Gothic of the mansions and the thin lath-and-plaster Gothic of the earlier Revival churches as he did at what seemed to him the stupidities of the Classic. He came more and more to realize that no revival of medieval architecture, in the older sense, was possible, because conditions and structural methods had so deeply changed, and that the only thing which was possible was a new architecture beginning where the Gothic had left

¹⁰⁹Eastlake, p. 145.

¹¹⁰Fitch, p. 264.

off. Using Gothic ornament and the pointed arch--for these seemed to him essentially Christian elements, and he was looking for a Christian architecture above all--but trying always to design honestly and creatively in accordance with the necessities of the individual problem, it was the tragedy of Pugin that in his own work he was seldom able to rise to this ideal. He complained savagely that his clients wanted cathedrals for the money which could only build a modest parish church, and that consequently he was forced time after time to compromises of which he did not approve.¹¹¹

This section was a background to the art, artists, and society that preceded A. W. N. Pugin's entrance into the Gothic Revival. A more complete assessment of his solutions to the problems of the early Gothic Revival than those already given would deal with more material than is in the scope of this study. However, Phoebe Stanton has supplied a cogent idea of what Pugin's achievement appeared to be to his contemporaries, in her reprint of a reviewer who in 1844 asked himself why and how Pugin was unusual.

Pugin was to be praised for his earnest pursuit of his chosen style. In these copying days . . . it is something to have an architect who has so thoroughly studied the style in which he is to build that he can copy it correctly, and his buildings have not only the general form but really the meaning and some of the spirit of the ancient ones.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Hamlin, p. 582.

¹¹² Stanton, Pugin, p. 191.

CHAPTER III

A. W. N. PUGIN: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCENE DESIGNER

Early Biography

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852, Figure 30) was born on March 1, 1812, at 34 Store Street, Bedford Square. After being educated at Christ's Hospital as a private student, he joined his father's pupils, and for two or three years assisted in his father's work as an archaeologist, architect, and illustrator. In his thirteenth year, about the year 1825, the elder Pugin thought his son sufficiently advanced to accompany him on an architectural visit to Paris. His son made such good use of his pencil, his drawings testifying to his precocious powers of sketching, that he was of real service to his father.¹

In 1827, Pugin again accompanied his father on a professional tour in France, and gratified his now rapidly developing taste for Medieval art by visiting the splendid Churches of Normandy.² While in Paris, he was taken ill from overwork while sketching in the cathedral of Notre-Dame. His first important independent work was designing the furniture

¹Stephen and Lee, pp. 449-450.

²Eastlake, p. 146.



Fig. 30.

for Windsor Castle.³ By the time he was in his early teens, Augustus Welby Pugin had visited every Gothic church in England and Paris. His father initiated this love for the Gothic.⁴

The elder Pugin was the most efficient "ghost-architect" of his time, and it seemed likely that his son would follow that profession, which indeed he always exercised.⁵ Hamlet said "There's hope a great man's memory may outlive his life half a year; but by's Lady he must build churches then, or else shall he suffer not thinking on." Yet a great man may build churches and still be forgotten by his country.⁶ So it was with Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, a man whose life from a purely natural standpoint was a tragedy.⁷

Because most of the work of Pugin in the theatre was accomplished before he was twenty years old, it is necessary for me to make a strong case for his being a child prodigy. Sir Kenneth Clark, who, in his book The Gothic Revival did more for Pugin's reputation than any man living, went far in denigrating the achievements of Pugin's youth:

I need not dwell on Pugin's childhood. At this period of their lives, it seems, men of talent are all much alike--the same solitary school-time, the same violence of temper, the same omens of a brilliant future. Pugin's first drawings, preserved in the British Museum, are no better and no worse than the scribbles of many gifted children; and for us his life has little importance till 1826.⁸

³Stephen and Lee, p. 450.

⁴Waterhouse, p. 3.

⁵Waterhouse, loc. cit.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Rope, loc. cit.

⁸Clark, p. 166.

It seems that the best defense of Pugin's early drawings lies within Mr. Clark's statement. These drawings are preserved in the British Museum, an institution unaccustomed to handing down "the scribbles of . . . gifted children" to posterity. Mozart's early symphonies come to mind in a discussion of preadolescent art, and Mozart's life has many points of similarity to Pugin's. The two men had similar methods of composition. Like Mozart, Pugin drew his designs (Mozart's notes) rapidly, and never deigned to revise. The design (Mozart's notes) was in his brain distinct; without hesitation he pencilled or penned it in, and he never rubbed out or altered. In one of his letters to a Mr. Osmond, a mason-sculptor, after his signature Pugin added "Freemason."⁹ Mozart was also known to value this Brotherhood.

There is a short statement of Pugin's artistic issue that seems closely related to the music of Mozart:

Pugin throughout his life seems by preference to have drawn and sketched in the diminutive, a method which gives his drawings a singular fragile vividness. This affection for the small, almost microscopically accurate drawing seems in curious contrast to the exuberant floridity of his personality.¹⁰

As with Mozart, who died at thirty five, when Pugin died at the age of forty, it was said by his doctor that he had done "a hundred years' work."¹¹

⁹Sirr, p. 224.

¹⁰Phoebe Stanton, "Pugin at Twenty-One," Architectural Review, p. 187.

¹¹Clark, p. 173.

The Dictionary of National Biography speaks well of Pugin's early achievements:

A. W. N. Pugin inherited a remarkable facility in draughtsmanship. After being educated at Christ's Hospital, as a private student, he joined his father's pupils, and for two or three years assisted his work as an archaeologist, architect, and illustrator (all before his thirteenth year). In his thirteenth year he was sufficiently advanced to accompany his father on an architectural visit to Paris; and a drawing of Christ Church, Hampshire testifies to his precocious powers of sketching.¹²

Examples of architectural prodigies are rare. America, however, was the home of one of the greatest. Frank Lloyd Wright was given textiles and colored block-like forms to play with before he could walk. His father and mother promoted his talent for using plastic materials. The same was true of the younger Pugin.

In the case of sensitive children (who may develop into artists), there seems to be something about a rigid upbringing which either frustrates them to the point of neurotic futility or, if they can stand it, turns them into geniuses; and the tendency is strengthened, it appears, when the home is dominated by a powerful mother.¹³ Sitwell describes life in the Pugin home:

At the Pugin home, a discipline was enforced in the social system of the establishment which owed its origin to Mrs. Pugin. It was severe and restrictive in the extreme, and the smallest want of punctuality or infringement of domestic rules excited the marked displeasure of the lady. Mrs. Pugin usually retired to

¹²Stephen and Lee, p. 451.

¹³Reginald Turner, Nineteenth Century Architecture in Britain (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1950), pp. 55-56.

rest at nine o'clock and rose in the morning at four; she therefore thought it salutary that the pupils should commence their studies at six o'clock in winter as well as in summer; indeed, from the moment the mistress of the house awoke, no one was ever permitted to get any rest. It was a pitiful sight to see the shivering youths reluctantly creeping down in the midst of winter to waste their time in a sleepy attempt to work before breakfast. First came the loud ringing of the bell to rouse the maids, then in quick succession the bell to summon the pupils from their beds, and the final peal requiring their presence in the office by eight o'clock. At half-past eight they were summoned to breakfast, and on entering the room Madame was already seen at the head of the table; on approaching it each youth made a profound bow, the neglect of which would quickly have been visited with reproof. A short prayer was then said, and breakfast despatched in constrained silence. After dinner, the pupils continued to work incessantly at the desk till eight o'clock. The only leisure afforded them was from that hour till ten, when they retired to rest. Nothing could exceed the stern manner in which this routine was carried out. The cold, cheerless and unvarying round of duty was wretched and discouraging.¹⁴

That Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin had in him the makings of a Theater Man was first exhibited here. Pugin entertained the other pupils by making a theater-of-sorts. Augustus created great amusement by illustrating the ups and downs of the pupils on a wheel of fortune. Every week the rotary machine was sketched with great spirit, each pupil being represented standing upon a projecting bracket attached to the wheel. The favorite was always at the top, capering and laughing with pencil in hand, while the one least fortunate was seen hurled to the ground by the revolution of the wheel. Others were planted on the

¹⁴Sitwell, p. 188, f.n. This account of Pugin's childhood is retold by Mr. Sitwell in a Dickensian spirit. This author does not necessarily agree with the psychological deductions that Turner throws out at the reader, but considers them interesting enough for inclusion in this paper.

ascent or descent, according to the degree of favor in which they stood with their master, their doleful or joyous faces being cleverly expressed by a few spirited touches. Great amusement was produced by this humorous device; and the publication of a new wheel of fortune was eagerly looked for by his fellow pupils. Though this was a favorite amusement with him he was not less successful by the droll manner in which he illustrated any passing event wherein he could find subject for fun.¹⁵

In childhood, Pugin developed the vehement crusading spirit, the love of the sea and adventure, and the dramatic talent that marked him through life.¹⁶ A. W. N. Pugin, in time incredibly short, had developed exceptional abilities, and soon in early manhood years became an influence through his writing and executed work on the art history of the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁷ Pugin knew Greek, French, and Latin, and was mastered by a Frenchman's love of system.¹⁸ Beyond passing through the usual elementary courses, Pugin made himself a master of perspective. He was enamored of books of chivalrous romance, and of the architecture of the Middle Ages.¹⁹ Pugin's knowledge of medieval buildings of all kinds in England was extraordinary. That the elder Pugin was pleasantly disposed toward the theatre can be ascertained by the fact that among Pugin's father's earliest pupils was Charles Mathews, the distinguished

¹⁵Trappes-Lomax, p. 11.

¹⁶Rope, p. 3.

¹⁷Sirr, p. 213.

¹⁸Waterhouse, loc. cit.

¹⁹Ferrey, p. 35.

comedian.²⁰ In Sigmund Freud's book, Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious, the younger Mathews' relation to Pugin is suggested in an anecdote: "Charles Mathews, the elder, one of England's greatest actors, was asked what he was going to do with his son (the young man was destined for architecture). 'Why,' answered the comedian, 'he is going to draw houses like his father.'"²¹

Mathews' father and Pugin were intimate friends. Pugin was in the habit of relating many amusing stories of this celebrated comedian, and invariably asserted that it was from himself that Mathews acquired the humorous facility of personation and mimicry for which he became so renowned through his performances known as "Mathews at Home."²²

Mathews' Memoirs

In doing research on the period when Pugin was a student in his father's office, I have come upon a wealth of information as to how influential the elder Pugin was in initiating a love of spectacle in many of his pupils. One of the elder Pugin's pupils was destined to become the most famous English comedian of the nineteenth century. ~~Charles~~ James Mathews, son of Pugin's friend, the actor and comedian Charles Mathews, writes in his biography, The Life of Charles James

²⁰Ibid., p. 28.

²¹Sigmund Freud, Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1917), p. 44.

²²Ferrey, p. 29.

Mathews, edited by Charles Dickens, the most valuable account now extant of what it was like to be a young architectural student in the elder Pugin's office:

The time arrived when my future profession was to be decided on. The matter being referred to me, I soon made my choice. From the first I was passionately fond of drawing and mathematics, in which I had now made considerable progress. Architectural subjects especially took my fancy, and--why I can scarcely say--my ambition was to become an architect. I obtained elementary books, and ultimately announced my desire to follow that profession. My father saw no objection, and the matter was settled at once. Indeed, I think he was greatly pleased at the selection I had made, for he saw his way in a moment.

Somewhere about the year 1797, when he was a struggling actor on the Welsh circuit, he made the acquaintance of Mr. Nash, the builder, at Swansea, who was a great patron of the theatre, and occasionally indulged in amateur performances himself. I have a playbill in my possession, announcing him as Sir Peter Teazle, and I have heard my father say that he performed it admirably.

John Nash, the humble builder of Swansea, was now the celebrated London architect in the zenith of his fame and my father lost no time in calling upon him, to ask his advice as to the best mode of forwarding my architectural aspirations. The recognition was most cordial; and another acquaintance was brought to his recollection by Mr. Nash, in the person of the late Augustus Pugin who had painted the scenes for the little Welsh theatre of bygone times.²³

Mrs. Charles Mathews, in her biography of her husband, Memoirs of Charles Mathews, Comedian, verifies this account with the following entry:

During (my husband's) engagement in Wales, Mr. Pugin, since well-known as an architectural draughtsman and by his many published works, was scene-painter to the theatre. Here

²³Charles James Mathews, The Life of Charles James Mathews, ed. Charles Dickens, Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), pp. 36-39.

he became acquainted with Mr. Nash, who afterwards employed and brought him forward in London. It was to this gentleman that Charles was placed to learn architectural drawing in 1819.²⁴

To continue with Charles James Mathews' account:

Mr. Pugin was a French gentleman of high family, who, having fought a duel in Paris, which ended fatally, had sought refuge in England, landed on the Welsh coast, and having great talent as an artist, earned his living for the time being by his pencil. Accident having opened a new and most congenial career to him, and having become a great favorite of and of much use to Mr. Nash, he ultimately accompanied his patron to London, and soon became the founder of a school of his own creation, and one much needed and highly patronized. Watercolor drawing was at that time in its infancy, and architects flew to him to have their plans and elevations put into correct perspective, and surrounded with the well-executed and appropriate landscapes. These Pugin was so skillful in producing, and he had now been for many years at the head of his profession as an architectural draughtsman.

By Mr. Nash he was recommended as the man of all others required to undertake my instruction. The early friends fraternized, and all went upon wheels. A heavy premium was paid for my initiation, and on the fourth of May, 1819, I was installed in Pugin's office for a period of four years as an articled pupil.²⁵

Mathews was a pupil at Pugin's when Pugin's son, A. W. N. Pugin was seven to eleven years old. During this early period of the young Pugin's life he has been called a child prodigy, mastered three languages and read extensively. Much of what appertains to an older boy like Charles James Mathews might also apply to Pugin even though he was nearly eight years Mathews' junior.

²⁴Mathews, Mrs., Memoirs of Charles Mathews, Comedian, Vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, New Burkington Street, 1839), p. 169.

²⁵Charles James Mathews, pp. 39-40.

Here I first made the acquaintance of James Hervet D'Egville, now a distinguished member of the Institute of Water-color Painters, but then educating, like myself, for an architect. He was the son of another esteemed old friend of my father's (who was the Ballet Master at the Italian Opera Company), and our acquaintance soon ripened into the strictest fellowship; we became constant companions in and out of the office, studied together, went to Italy together, and for upwards of fifty years, though we have neither of us followed the profession we were intended for, and have branched off in such opposite directions, we have retained a close and uninterrupted friendship.

Pugin and John Britton, the well-known archaeologist, were closely associated, and much rivalry existed between the pupils of the two offices. Britton was then engaged in his splendid publication of "The Cathedrals of England"; and his right-hand man was George Cattermole, who, like ourselves, ultimately burst his trammels, and soon became remarkable by his original genius as a water-color painter, taking rank among the brightest ornaments of his profession.

I now set to work to begin life in earnest. Every day increased my love for the profession I had adopted. I actually doted on the delightful science of architecture, and pursued the acquirement of it with positive passion. The consequence was, of course, soon apparent. I began to show decided marks of proficiency, and I persevered with all the ardour of a first and not "unfortunate" attachment.

Pugin was a delightful instructor. In business hours strict enough and firm enough to command obedience and respect, at other times he was all gaiety and good humour, making himself quite the companion of his pupils, and joining in all their amusements with the ardour of a boy.²⁶

The association between Pugin and the young Mathews was an agreeable one to master as well as to pupil. Pugin, writing to Mrs. Mathews in March, 1823, says:

I have a great pleasure to report that my pupil and friend Charles is now making rapid progress in his profession, and I trust will continue to improve. In regard to his pleasing and elegant manners, I cannot praise him so much, because it became natural to him, having had all his life so good an example at home.²⁷

²⁶Ibid., p. 40-42.

²⁷Ibid.

A direct compliment, for which Pugin's French nature would seem to be responsible.

It was a singular fact that, though he had been domesticated in England for some forty years, and spoke English perfectly, as far as volubility was concerned, his French accent and his French idioms were as marked as if he had only recently arrived. If he talked in his sleep he talked in French, and in computing money he always mentally reduced the pounds and shillings into francs before he could ascertain their exact value.

He was a charming artist, and produced his effects by the most simple means, confining himself literally to the use of the three colors, indigo, light red, and yellow ochre. It would puzzle some of our modern water-color painters to find themselves thus limited.

My first essay as an architect was a large gallery for my father's theatrical pictures (now in the Garrick Club) which was done at our home at Ivy Cottage. At seven every morning I mounted my horse, and rode into town to business, and at five returned to dinner, and the two phases of the day were as distinct as they were valuable. The mornings were devoted to professional study, and the evenings passed in the society of the wits and celebrities of the time; Coleridge, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, and a host of artists, authors, actors, and beaux esprits, whose conversation dazzled and whose intelligence elevated.

The time at Pugin's was agreeably varied by constant sketching excursions to York, Oxford, Windsor, Winchester, Lincoln, Cambridge, Salisbury, and other places of pictorial and architectural interest, in search of examples for his popular publication called Specimens of Gothic Architecture. It was the first work that had been attempted containing measured details for practical purposes, and had a great success.

Then came the Public Buildings of London, to which I had the honour of contributing many drawings. One of them, a section of St. Paul's, and my most elaborate effort, had my name engraved below it, as an especial distinction, of which I was highly proud. It was the first time I had ever seen my name in print, and I immediately grew an inch taller.

The Pavilion at Brighton was the next very popular undertaking, and was most artistically executed, under the personal superintendence of George the Fourth, for whose especial pleasure it was designed.

But the crowning happiness had yet to come. Business called Pugin to Paris, where he was engaged to make a series of drawings

for publication. This was an event. His pupils all went with him, and there my eyes were opened and my senses awakened to a thousand new pleasures hitherto never dreamt of.

The days were occupied with work, making the drawings which formed the principal objects of our study, and the evenings in visiting the theatres. Here was a new field of enjoyment, in which I positively revelled. Those were the days when, in one theatre--the Varieties--were to be found the combined talents of Potier, Brunet, Vemet, Tiercelin, Odry, Bosquier Gavaudin, Alcide Tousey, Lepeintre Cne, Mdle. Flore, Jenny Vertpre, and a host of others, who have become world celebrated. Perlet, too, and Gonthier, Leontine Fay (afterwards Madame Volnys), and Dejazet, just coming into bloom at the Theatre de Madame, since known as the Gymnase, interpreting the sparkling comedies of Scribe and Melesville; Talma and Duchesnois, Fleury, the two Baptistes, and Mdle. Mars at the "Francais"--and for the first time the theatre became an object of attraction to me. I was enchanted with the grace, the nature, the fascination of these masters of the dramatic art, and I felt a thrill of pleasure of a kind until that moment never experienced.

How I should have stared if anyone had told me, that some fifty years later I should myself be playing in French at this very same Theatre des Varietes, to a succession of houses as crowded and as enthusiastic as were then assembled, attracted by the bright galaxy of stars I have mentioned!

On my return to London, fired with a new mania, I burned to indulge in humble imitation. A private play was soon organized at the English Opera House (the site of the present Lyceum), and I made my first attempt upon the boards of a theatre.²⁸

On Friday, April 26, 1822, three plays were performed at the Theatre Royal, English Opera House, Strand. The three plays were, Mr. H-, Le Comedien D'Etampes, and The Sorrows of Werther. Mathews played the parts of M. Perlet, M. Emile, and Werther in two of the plays. In Le Comedien D'Etampes, M. Perlet's performance was stated to be "(positively for this night only, as he is engaged to play the same part at Paris tomorrow evening)." ²⁹ The closeness of London to Paris exemplified by

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 40-46.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

this comment strengthens the fact that Pugin was involved with two Parisian productions while being flooded with work in Britain. These elaborate productions could afford to purchase his designs and Pugin could afford to make the short trip to Paris. The resulting work is shown in Chapter IV.

The two parts of Machou de Beaubuisson in Le Comedien D'Etampes, and Schmidt in Werther were excellently played and sung by Mathews' friend James D'Egville. After Le Comedien D'Etampes "A Lover's Confession," in the shape of a song by M. Emile was performed.³⁰

At the expiration of my articles with Pugin, the time arrived to enter an architect's office, and acquire the practical part of the profession; and Mr. Nash renewed the offer he had made to receive me, but a circumstance occurred which completely altered all previous arrangements.³¹

In a letter to his father written on March 11, 1823, Mathews writes:

You will not be surprised I daresay when I tell you how delighted I shall be, and with what pleasure I look forward to the expiration of my four years at Pugin's, though, to do them justice, they have for a long time past been uniformly kind to me. There is a new work of his upon the point of appearing in which there are several plates with my name to them: this is very friendly on his part, since it is a rule among artists never to allow the names of their pupils to be attached to their works until their engagements or apprenticeships have expired.³²

This statement reinforces the irony of the two Pugins' not always receiving credit for the ghost work they did for other scene painters, including the Grleve family.

The elder Pugin's influence upon Charles James Mathews was threefold in the area of the theatre. Pugin introduced him to that "new field of

³⁰Ibid., p. 50.

³¹Ibid., p. 60.

³²Ibid., p. 65.

enjoyment," the theatre. He acquainted him with Paris, and the French theatre, which Mathews was to parody in his first performance as M. Perlet and M. Emile. And, Pugin himself, with "his French accent and his French idioms," was undoubtedly also a source of parodic material for the young Mathews' impersonations of French performers.

This extensive discussion of the early career of Charles James Mathews is considered essential to this study because the elder Pugin had a similar influence upon his son A. W. N. Pugin as well as the fact that A. W. N. Pugin repeated Mathews' trips to Paris many times with his father and other students, and was most assuredly exposed to the same French theatre in the evenings on these visits as was Mathews. As this period of A. W. N. Pugin's life is sparsely documented, Mathews' account is the closest picture we have of what it was like to be a student at the elder Pugin's school. Also, the Mathews account gives an idea of the theatrical fever and atmosphere that must have been prevalent in the Pugin office after the students' first trip to Paris.

The craze for Gothic buildings was spreading fast, and Pugin brought his son into his office to help him. Nash had urged Pugin's father to produce the textbooks which he had published, but the younger Pugin was evidently a much more original and prolific artist than his father had ever been, as Nash was soon to note.³³

³³Gwynn, p. 34.

Model Theatre

A restless temperament and immense vitality drove A. W. N. Pugin to seek other outlets than his father's office, and in his boyhood he undertook ingenious enterprises in stage carpentry.³⁴

Pugin was commissioned in June of 1827 to design the furniture for Windsor Castle. This led incidentally to an acquaintance with George Dayes, son of the artist Edward Dayes.³⁵ This first acquaintance with the professional theatre occurred when Pugin was fifteen. Mr. George Dayes was gaining a precarious livelihood by doing odd jobs in Morel's office by day (Morel was a man for whom Pugin was designing furniture) and acting as a scene-shifter by night. He was in the management of stage scenery at Covent Garden Theatre. In a diary which Pugin now began to keep is the following entry:

June 26, 1827. Designed furniture for Windsor Castle. While at Mr. Morel's I became acquainted with a person called George Dayes, son of the celebrated artist of that name, and it was through him that I first imbibed the taste for stage machinery and scenic representations, to which I afterwards applied myself so closely.³⁶

When he joked with Dayes, Dayes invariably replied in a droll manner, adding gesture, and imitating the voice of some well-known actor. Pugin was amused by George Dayes, and his imagination was fired by the latter's description of stage machinery. One evening he allowed himself to be persuaded to accompany his new friend behind the scenes, to the

³⁴Ibid., pp. 6-7.

³⁵Stephen and Lee, p. 450.

³⁶Ferrey, p. 57.

scene-painter's loft, and there he could observe how art of another sort was practiced. It was the first time he had entered a theatre. His mother had seen to that.³⁷

Pugin's first visit behind the stage seems to have filled him with wonder. The complicated and interesting mechanical contrivances were things of which he had not the slightest previous notion; but his quick perception soon assured him that they could be improved and might be made to produce far more magical results than had yet been seen.³⁸ The stimulus was immense, and, overburdened though he must have been by his extensive researches, a vigorous work schedule, and success, he responded with passionate intensity. Wonder quickly yielded to curiosity as to the working of what he saw, and curiosity to suggestions of methods of improvement. He saw defective design adopted in scene painting, and immediately determined to reform the scenic department--an introduction being obtained through Mr. Bartley the stage manager to Messrs. Grieve the scene painters. He made himself sufficiently useful to be allowed to continue his theatrical experiences. But that was not enough. He had to get to the roots of the matter. The scenery at Covent Garden, though fascinating enough to a neophyte, needed improvement in design. He went

³⁷Trappes-Lomax, p. 25. With the Mathews material as a background, I feel it would be naive of us to state that Pugin's appearance behind the stage at Covent Garden with George Dayes was his first visit to a theatre. Perhaps as far as his mother knew, it was his first visit, but she had not travelled along with her son and the elder Pugin when they and Pugin's other students visited Paris.

³⁸Ferrey, p. 58.

to Messrs. Grieve (Thomas [1799-1882] and William [1800-1844]) whose father also had been a scene painter, for lessons in the use of the scene painter's materials, learned the art of distemper painting on canvas, and the peculiar colors used, and then proceeded to produce better Gothic designs than his teachers; for, Messrs Grieve and their contemporaries, though capable of producing fine landscapes, were hopelessly at sea when architecture had to be represented, the most absurd incongruities being called "Gothic," and compositions full of the grossest anachronisms being shown as genuine architecture. Thus Pugin was able to paint scenery, designed by himself in the Medieval style.³⁹ And young Pugin was just the man to correct the current errors in judgement; he no sooner set about it than he achieved great success.

Pugin's parents, seeing him set on his career as a scene designer and making a success of it, handed over to his use the upper floor of their house in Great Russell Street.

At considerable cost, he converted this attic space into a model theatre. In this remodeling activity, he removed the attic ceiling, cut away the roof, and constructed cisterns, adopting everything necessary to his object.

There was nothing of the toy about Pugin's model theatre. It was a serious piece of work with a serious object: the making of experiments and the study of compositions before adaptation to the stage; and for it he

³⁹Trappes-Lomax, p. 26.

designed the most exquisite scenery, with fountains, tricks, traps, drop-scenes, wings, soffites, hilly scenes, flats, open flats, and every magic change of which the stage mechanism of his time was capable.⁴⁰ Upon this stage was presented for invited guests a moving panorama of "Old London"⁴¹ (see Figure 31).

Pugin's excellent reputation as a scenic artist, coupled with his proven ability as a stage mechanic as seen through his work with his model theatre at Great Russell Street, created a great demand for his services in the painter's lofts in London's theatres. It was due to these achievements that he was subsequently employed in the rearrangement of the stage machinery at Drury Lane.⁴²

And then, as suddenly as it had begun, his interest in theatrical matters was deferred. His connection with the theatrical world served to gratify his taste for a while, but his impulsive mind could not rest satisfied with mere fictitious representations of buildings. His desire was to carry into reality some of the designs which he so skillfully indicated upon a small scale. It was not enough to have large parties coming to see his performances; it was not enough to have mechanisms so admirably adjusted that the changes in the scenes, wings, and sky-pieces were effected with marvelous rapidity--for his model theatre was provided with

⁴⁰Trappes-Lomax, p. 27. See Chapter IV for Pugin's innovations in stage carpentry at Drury Lane Theatre.

⁴¹Stephen and Lee, p. 450.

⁴²Sirr, p. 218.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF "OLD LONDON" - A RECREATION



—A Catholic Town in 1440.



—The same Town in 1840.

...ion of the Transformation of a T

Fig. 31.

lines, pulleys, grooves, balance weights, and machines for ascents and descents; it was not enough to have what was probably the best model theatre in the world. For his model theatre was but a means to an end, and that end was only scenic representation. Pugin's mind, fed on past magnificence, cried out for reality. His model theatre was only the shadow of a shadow. He put both it and his career aside.

Instead, he bought a boat.⁴³

Pugin, perhaps through the influence of ex-seamen like Clarkson Stanfield, or a close interest in the maritime stories he helped illustrate on the stage, became enamored of the maritime life. He expressed a great desire to go to sea, and bought a boat.

This attempt to go to sea, and his passion for sailing ships which played a large part in his later life, will be discussed later in this chapter. At this time, Pugin was already sought after with commissions from architects who had discovered his extensive knowledge of Gothic art.⁴⁴

For his next job, that of producing Gothic decorations of grace and beauty, the young Pugin leased extensive premises in Hart Street, Covent Garden, having still a lingering affection for his old haunts. One result of choosing Covent Garden for the site of his factory had been that he was able to keep in touch with his former theatrical friends, occasionally going to the theatre to see how matters were going on, and to enjoy a little conversation with the Messrs. Grieve.⁴⁵ Here, also, he could pick up some

⁴³Trappes-Lomax, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁴Gwynn, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁵Trappes-Lomax, p. 28.

quick money by stopping into the scene-painter's loft when there was Gothic work to be done.⁴⁶ It was probably owing to this circumstance that he met Miss Anne Garnett, for she was a grandniece of Edward Dayes-- the father of the man who first took him behind the scenes. The courtship was short, for in 1831, to his parents' displeasure, though they did not withhold their sanction to the match, fearing to thwart him in a matter of such delicate nature, they were married.⁴⁷

At about this time, Charles Barry's plans for Parliament were accepted over Pugin's entry. The decision to use Charles Barry's groundplans for the Parliament buildings implied that Pugin must expect to accept an inferior position as a Catholic in regard to public works,⁴⁸ which in itself guaranteed him a career never wholly out of the red, hence, the continual work as a designer of stage scenery for Gothic representations.

Important Scene Designers of the Past
(Jones, Peruzzi)

Fifty years ago the theatre lover whose devotion ran not only to the thing itself but also to talk about the thing, would have found a five foot shelf too ample for the indispensable theatre books which were available in English.⁴⁹ At that time families in the theatre handed down personal

⁴⁶Gwynn, p. 20.

⁴⁷Trappes-Lomax, p. 28.

⁴⁸Gwynn, p. 20.

⁴⁹Rosamond Gilder, A Theatre Library (New York: Theatre Arts, Inc., 1932), p. vii.

knowledge of their art to their children and relatives. Apprenticeship was the method for those interested in the performing arts.⁵⁰ Another method was simply to jump into the field and do it. Now, special training is the usual method of initiation into the theatre. An extensive bibliography is now available to support this trend toward specialization. As the apprenticeship period of Pugin was involved with exposure to inefficient practices and methods of scene design, this period should not be overrated in importance. Pugin, perhaps the first teenage theatre academician, went to books for a basic foundation for his new art.

The problem of a theatre bibliography is mentioned as far back as 1640, by the German theatre architect Joseph Furtttenbach the Elder when he states:

I acknowledge that far more famous and far more expert men are to be found today, especially in Italy, men who understand far more of what concerns stage decoration than insignificant I. At the same time, it is to be noted that some of these masters are not willing to communicate the details of their methods, that others will not go to the expense of having copper plates made, and that still others, and these the most prominent masters, are not willing to take the necessary pains to prepare such things for print.⁵¹

By 1833 the younger Pugin had assisted in the illustrations of his father's books, had made for himself a reputation as a designer of Gothic

⁵⁰Eugene Berman states in Scene Design for Stage and Screen, p. 308, "Apprenticeship is the very best school an aspiring designer could possibly have."

⁵¹Joseph Furtttenbach, translated in Bernard Hewitt, ed., The Renaissance Stage (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1958), p. 203.

furniture and of stage settings in the Gothic style, and had, as these drawings show, focused the curious intensity of his enthusiasm upon late medieval architecture. So great was that enthusiasm that he had taught himself--not at all a matter of course at the time--to be accurate in his medieval detail, to make use of what he called his "authorities," and in short, to begin the accumulation of the encyclopedic knowledge of medieval art.⁵²

In the midst of his pressure of work Pugin gathered an extensive library of books bearing on medieval art and worship. A fine collection of prints, carvings, enamels, and objects of ancient art also adorned his Ramsgate house.⁵³

So completely did the mania for theatrical representations enthrall him that he was forever making experiments in order to produce startling and novel mechanical changes, and he made himself acquainted with all that had been written and published on the subject; but little was to be obtained either from the designs of Peruzzi or any more modern artists.

The only man in comparatively recent⁵⁴ times who devoted attention to the subject was Inigo Jones, who displayed great fancy and talent not merely as a scene-painter, but in producing pageants and masques, and planning the decorations and machinery for them.⁵⁵

⁵²Stanton, "Pugin at Twenty-one," p. 188.

⁵³Stephen and Lee, p. 452.

⁵⁴It is interesting that Ferrey considers the seventeenth century artist Inigo Jones a "recent" practitioner of the craft. When a country has one star in a field they tend to not be strict when talking of dates.

⁵⁵Ferrey, p. 60.

Perhaps Pugin might claim to have done as much in his way for producing correct representations of the pageants of the Middle Ages.

When a Pugin Church was dedicated, or the foundation stone laid, he was often in charge of the processional pageant that celebrated the event. Like Inigo Jones, Pugin pulled out all the stops in these pageants. The following is a description of a processional pageant at the Church of St. Alban's:

The foundation stone of St Alban's was laid in April 1839, with pomp and celebration. A procession, which included churchwardens in fifteenth-century costume carrying banners and a large silver cross, marched through the streets to the site. Pugin was among the marchers, bearing the silver trowel. He must have winced at the sight and the sound of the groups at the rear of the column, which included the bands and the assembled membership of the Female Sick Club, the Sick Club of St Patrick and St Bridget, and the Hibernian Societies, all decorated with green rosettes and harps. Macclesfield received its new church with dignity, for there was "not one yell of 'No Popery,' not one groan for Romanism." The Reverend Dr Rock, in white and gold vestments, laid the stone, and the Honourable and Reverend George Spencer preached the sermon.⁵⁶

This success did not come without hard work. By reading everything published on the subject, and devoting time to his experiments, he convinced his parents of his sincerity.⁵⁷ In his attempt to master the art of stage perspective, Pugin drew from the designs of the Italian artist Baldassare Peruzzi.

Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536) was one of the earliest Italian scenic artists, who, in studying perspective, discovered the point of distance to

⁵⁶Stanton, Pugin, p. 49.

⁵⁷Trappes-Lomax, p. 27.

which all lines making an angle of forty-five degrees with the ground are drawn. Peruzzi's work benefited to such an extent by this discovery, that Titian, while viewing the artist's mural decorations, is said to have demanded a ladder in order that he might assure himself by actual contrast that what looked like relief work was not actually carried out in relief. Peruzzi was perhaps the first artist to apply perspective scientifically and systematically to the theatre, and in doing so he apparently excited widespread interest in the effects he created.⁵⁸ Pugin created new perspectives based on Peruzzi.

Clarkson Stanfield

Pugin delighted in country scenery, had an excellent eye for color, and was a good landscape artist. Herein affinity with his friend Clarkson Stanfield is discovered. The two men had much in common. Both were devout members of the same church, both inherited a taste for drawing, they were blessed with great energy, in scene-painting had achieved success, and they were equally lovers of the sea. A difference in age of twenty years--the younger man was Pugin--counted as nothing.⁵⁹

Clarkson Stanfield was born in Sunderland December 3, 1793. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to a heraldic painter. In 1808 he

⁵⁸Joseph Harker, Studio and Stage (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1920), p. 155.

⁵⁹Sirr, p. 222.

went to sea in the merchant service. In 1812 he was pressed into the Navy. He first began scene painting for shipboard theatricals and naval balls.⁶⁰ Like Pugin, Stanfield had a great deal of sailing experience. It is ironic that Stanfield was apprenticed to a heraldic painter, as Pugin was to become Britain's foremost authority on heraldry.

Stanfield joined up with David Roberts at the Coburg Theatre in 1822.⁶¹ This is a theatre where Pugin's production of The Elfin Sprite would play eleven years later. In 1822 Stanfield began what was to be a twelve year engagement at the Drury Lane Theatre. During his stay there, Pugin would rearrange the Drury Lane stage.

Stanfield made a name for himself as a dioramist very early in his career. The direct connection of Augustus Charles Pugin with Daguerre and his diorama and dioramic secrets has been discussed above. Let it be assumed that Stanfield was early associated with the Pugin family with his interest in this new dioramic scenic device that they brought to London.

Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson points to the importance of Clarkson Stanfield and his group (of which Pugin was sometimes a member) in the history of English scene painting. "British scene painting has always been prominent from the days of Clarkson Stanfield and David Roberts to our own time. I would even go further, since my experience of scene

⁶⁰George E. Bogusch, "Clarkson Stanfield, R. A.: Scene Painter, Artist, Gentleman, and Friend," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Oct. 1970, Vol. LVI, No. 3, pp. 244-255.

⁶¹Ibid.

painting in other countries leads me to the conclusion that not only are we prominent, but indeed pre-eminent, in the scenic art."⁶²

Clarkson Stanfield was an artist who left an indelible impression on English scene-painting. Stanfield designed some wonderful panoramic scenes that heralded a new and lasting scenic fashion. So great, indeed, was the revolution accomplished by his work that most of the best-known scene-painters of the time, including men like David Roberts, Sam Brough, and the Grieves (for whom Joseph Harker worked as a lad of seventeen), found it expedient to follow where he led. Stanfield's work influenced Phelps' use of panoramic art in his series of Shakespearean revivals at Sadler's Wells. Stanfield aided and abetted William Beverly "the Watteau of Scene-painting" in his early efforts as an artist. Clarkson Stanfield revelled in marine subjects.⁶³

Earnest Reynolds calls Stanfield "the most memorable of the scene painters of this time," and adds that "marine scenery by Stanfield was enough to ensure any play's success."⁶⁴

Stanfield produced a spectacle at Drury Lane on December 26, 1829 called a "Grand Local Diorama" which contained a series of typical panoramic views of Windsor and its vicinity with a number of dioramic effects such as moonlight and waterfalls, one of which required thirty-nine tons of water.⁶⁵ Pugin's employment at Windsor Castle during this period has

⁶²Harker, p. 3.

⁶³Ibid., p. 164.

⁶⁴Bogusch, pp. 246-7.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 247.

been mentioned. One wonders whether Stanfield influenced Pugin, or Pugin influenced Stanfield.

Stanfield used a vertical diorama in an 1833 Christmas pantomime at Drury Lane.⁶⁶ The vertical diorama was a device also first introduced to London by the Grieves in 1824.⁶⁷ However, it was later that year that Stanfield was credited with contributing innovative and trend-setting scenery for the play The Minister and the Mercer. A pen-and-ink sketch of the setting of Act II from the promptbook of the play shows wing and back-shutters with an elaborate staircase leading to a practical upper door on stage right.⁶⁸ This seems to be a similar description of a scene that Pugin designed for Elfin Sprite which was produced at an earlier date. It was the magic staircase. "The arrangement of the Magic Stairs and Elfin Ladder is also as new as it is good." "The interiors are superb; one, more particularly, in which cedar doors, inlaid with gold, stand between tapestried walls of the most magnificent woof. The magic bridge or staircase, that suddenly descends from the steep of the Drachenfells, is a splendid piece of machinery."⁶⁹

Another scene in this same production of Stanfield's was entirely closed, with gilded cornices, an elaborately painted ceiling and a large sky-light, with another complete suite of rooms visible through the folding doors at the back. The use of levels and large set-pieces for a domestic comedy is indicated in this design as well as the influence of the

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 248.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

box-set introduced by Madame Vestris a few years before.⁷⁰ Pugin also used a box-set in a scene "a few years before" in his production of Le Comte Ory (see Figure 32). This set seems to be very much like the set of Stanfield's just described. The other descriptive comments of the set, the "gilded cornices," "elaborately painted ceiling," "sky-light," and "complete suite of rooms visible through the folding doors at the back,"⁷¹ seem to describe the work of someone intimately connected with the domestic architecture of Inigo Jones.

The "complete suite of rooms visible through the folding doors at the back"⁷² seems to be a new variation of an effect of perspective that was current at this period when the box-set opened up new possibilities in sight lines. These perspectives and classical touches seem to be an underlying motif of the set. I feel the influence of Pugin was at work here. We must also remember Pugin's biographer Benjamin Ferrey's comments about his use of architectural set pieces. "The architectural portion of this spectacle (Kenilworth) which was considerable, showed great originality of treatment, being in striking contrast with the old and ill-painted scenes, wings, and sky-pieces which formed the staple for all scenery no matter in what age or country the story of the opera might be laid." Thus, when it is stated that "Once again Stanfield seems to have been able to adapt and use a new design feature,"⁷³ we must amend the

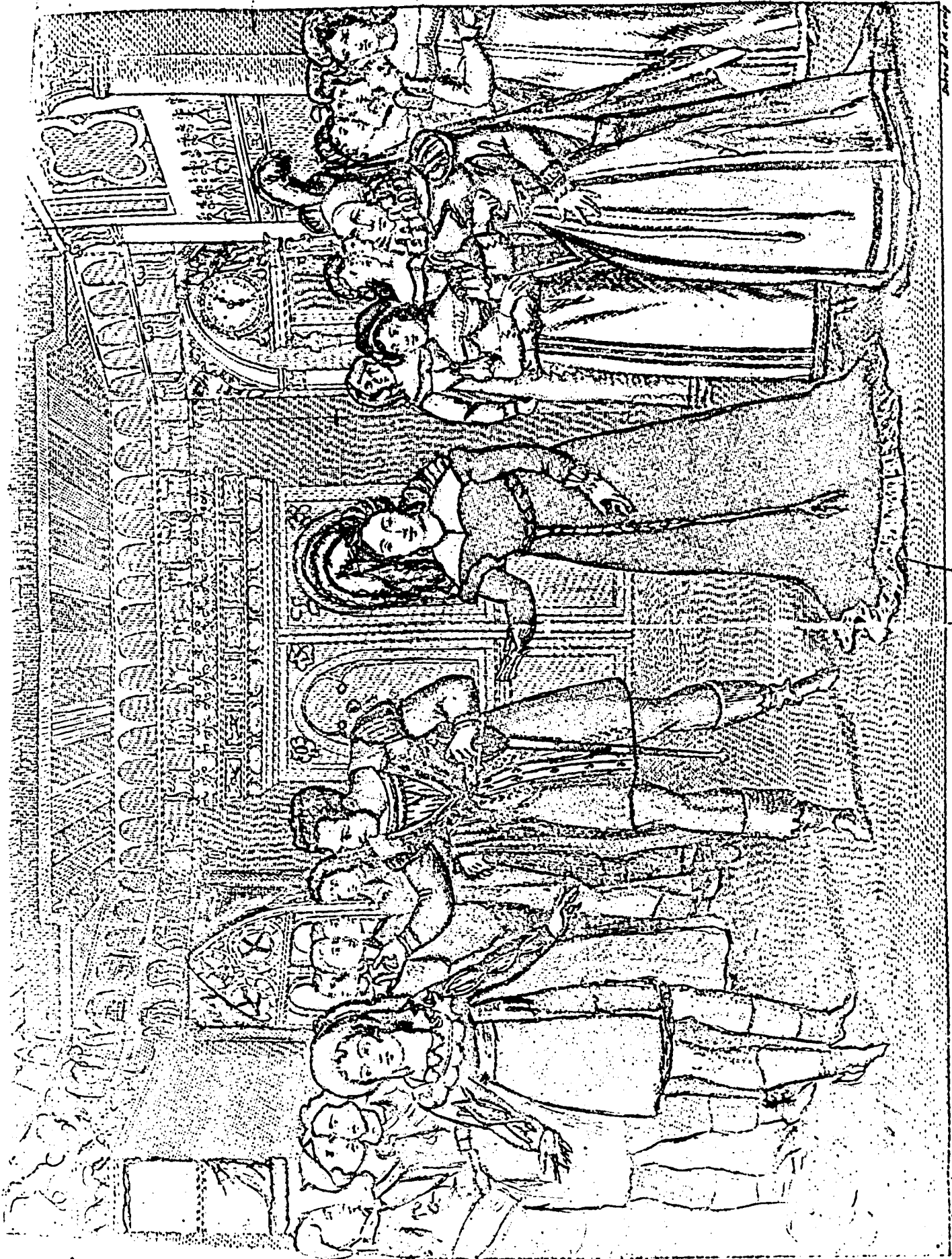
⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

Fig. 32.



praise to perhaps include one or two of those "ghosts" who frequent the nineteenth century scene lofts.

This credit problem also affected Stanfield quite deeply in his career. Shattuck, in his study of Macready's promptbook of Comus, notes that Stanfield's name was not publicized though he designed and perhaps painted the scenery.⁷⁴ In 1847 for a production of Philip Van Artevelde, Trewin states that the scenery, which "glowed on the stage,"⁷⁵ was by Stanfield, but the review in The London Illustrated News of November 27 credits the scenery to a Mr. Brunning. From the available evidence, it may be conjectured that Stanfield did the initial sketches of the scenery and that the staff artists of the theatre did the final painting. At least four such productions of Stanfield's are mentioned and the opinion is offered that these sketches of Stanfield may have been as detailed and authoritative as are modern designers' plans and renderings, or they may have been only rough ideas meant to suggest basic arrangements, compositions, and colors, and the staff painters may have done most of the creative work.⁷⁶

This raises the question of the designs of such productions: "Whose work is it?" Pugin, of course, was a participant in the same practice. And, for much of his theatre work only the Grieve letter, which is soon to follow, and my thesis can begin to associate Pugin with the work done by him.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 252.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 253.

The Grieves

In 1828, the principal Covent Garden artists were David Roberts and the famous scenic triumvirate, Messrs. Grieve, and Thomas and William Grieve. The Grieves had long been famous for their pantomime scenery, and in the brilliancy of their style, the strong feeling of reality which they communicated to the spectator; in the taste and artistic beauty of their landscape compositions, as late as 1871 it could be stated that "they have since had few rivals, and have never been excelled. To Mr. T. Grieve, and his son Mr. Walford Grieve, the modern stage (1871) has been largely indebted."⁷⁷ An important sentence follows this appraisal in The Era Almanack, 1871: "Several drop scenes for the late Theatre known as Her Majesty's, though coloured by the late William Grieve, were drawn by Pugin, the great restorer of ecclesiastical Gothic architecture in this country."⁷⁸ Here, the connection of Pugin to the Grieve family's William is made, making Pugin the designer of several of his drop scenes. It is also important to note that another London theatre has been added to the list of London theatres that Pugin produced work for, Her Majesty's Theatre. However, the most substantial connection of Pugin to the Grieve family's scenic career is made evident by the comments of another Grieve, Thomas, whose evidence on the matter is quite conclusive.

⁷⁷The Era Almanack, 1871, p. 37.

⁷⁸Ibid.

A letter to Edward Welby Pugin (A. W. N. Pugin's son) by Thomas Grieve concerning the controversy over who designed the Houses of Parliament (Charles Barry or A. W. N. Pugin), sheds a revealing light upon Pugin's work as a scenic artist during this period:

"August 20th, 1867

"1, Palace Road, Lambeth

"Dear Sir, -Circumstances having postponed my intended visit to Ramsgate, I reply to your questions without further delay. I was very intimate with your father, when he was making the drawings and designs for the Parliament Houses. He frequently stated to me (in confidence) that he was the Designer of the Houses. I remember that on one occasion he said: - 'Is not this a regular joke? Here are these two rivals competing for one prize, and I am making the designs for both.'

"It may be interesting to you to know that your father, when quite a boy, left his father's office and entreated to be employed by me, to which I consented. I soon discovered his great value in drawing Gothic Architecture. The rapidity and the excellence of his work was the admiration of all. From first to last he rarely, if ever, painted; but that was of no consequence to me, as all I wanted was his designs. After he left me, he would often come into my painting room, and in a few hours (if there was anything Gothic going on) do a surprising quantity of work. Knowing that your grandfather was in a good position, I was astonished at his coming to me, and I heard afterwards that, at the office, he could knock out work at the rate of 10 pounds a day.

"Dear Sir, Yours truly,
"Thomas Grieve"⁷⁹

There are many important issues that come out of a careful reading of this letter that relate directly to the scope of much of Pugin's "anonymous" theatre work. Grieve was "very intimate" with Pugin "when he was making the drawings and designs for the Parliament Houses." The Old Palace at Westminster burned down on the night of October 16, 1834.

⁷⁹Edward Welby Pugin, pp. 9-10.

According to Clark, "Pugin was working for Barry before the fire; immediately after it Barry visited Pugin, and the next day we get the entry in Pugin's notebook, 'Worked all night Parliament H.' Barry's designs were accepted, and from September 1836 to January 1837 every day of Pugin's diary contains direct reference to designs made for Parliament. In 1837 there is a lull. Pugin has become known and was too busy to be Barry's 'ghost.' During this period we find letters from Barry imploring Pugin to help him; in 1844 he expresses a desire to meet Pugin 'to consult you generally and to enter into some permanent arrangement that will be satisfactory to you!' At last Pugin complied and was given the official appointment of Superintendent of the wood-carving."⁸⁰

Pugin's work on the Parliament buildings lasted over eleven years. 1836 and 1837 were the years when he worked most intensively. This connection with Thomas Grieve throughout any major period of his work on the Parliament buildings broadens the scope of the amount of time allotted Pugin in the theatre world. Surely in his middle and late twenties, and even perhaps in his thirties, Pugin was with Grieve, participating in a close friendship that at times became a working relationship. Thus, the practical ceiling of how old Pugin was when he worked in the theatre is raised considerably.

Grieve goes on and establishes a practical floor to how young Pugin was when he began working in the theatre. " . . . your father, when

⁸⁰Clark, p. 144.

quite a boy, left his father's office and entreated to be employed by me, to which I consented." The note in Pugin's diary, as noted above refers to June 26, 1827 as the period, after this meeting with George Dayes, that he "first imbibed the taste for stage machinery and scenic representations, to which I afterwards applied myself so closely." This would have Pugin as a fifteen year old. Does this fit the "when quite a boy" of Grieve's letter? Perhaps not. During the Victorian era a boy became a young man much earlier than he does in our modern age. Education for members of the upper classes also commenced much earlier than it does in our day and often was completed in a shorter time. Therefore, the "quite a boy" comment seems to be relative. The entry in Pugin's diary would seem to refute any claim to Pugin's theatre practice before the age of 14-15. However, there is a confusion of the logic of an entry made in June, 1827, that can speak so assuredly of an "afterwards." How can Pugin speak of events that were to follow if the date of his entry is June 26, 1827? He can't. Therefore, I feel a setting back of the date of his introduction into the theatre world seems most probable. Thus, two inferences from Grieve's letter seem to make his entrance into the theatre world of London earlier than anticipated (remember the trips to Paris and the evenings at the Parisian theatres with his father and Charles Mathews), and the length of his active work in the theatre also greater than heretofore suspected.

The nature of Pugin's work behind the scenes in the scene painter's loft seems to follow the experience of Stanfield and others. ". . . he rarely, if ever, painted; but that was of no consequence to me, as all I wanted was his designs." The importance of designs as opposed to actually painted surfaces need not be elaborated. The comparison is something like filling in the already outlined figures in a coloring book. "After he left me⁸¹ he would often come into my painting room, and in a few hours (if there was anything Gothic going on) do a surprising quantity of work." The simplest conclusion that can be drawn from Thomas Grieve's letter is that for a great deal of time throughout A. W. N. Pugin's career his designs for Gothic scenery were produced for plays in which Thomas Grieve and his brothers would be getting the credit.

Earlier in this paper, I developed the idea that Pugin eventually taught his masters, the Messrs. Grieve, many important ways to improve the accuracy of their scene designs. Throughout this paper, however, and throughout the various histories of English stage-design, one almost invariably comes across the names of these two masters surrounded by the most unanimous and uncompromising praise. Though it is, admittedly, an unpleasant role for a writer to sustain the reputation of his protagonist by pointing out the weaknesses of other, companion artists, I must admit

⁸¹It would be safe to say that Pugin could be said to have "officially" left Grieve's employ circa 1835, when he converted to Catholicism. He left in 1833, but then returned.

that it was with deep satisfaction that I came across the following discussion in Richard Southern's book, Changeable Scenery:

The reference is once more highly critical, and is the more interesting in that it roundly condemns work which came from the hand of one of the great scene-painting names of the period. Even the masters were indicted. The Dublin Theatrical Observer for April 1821, speaking of the opera of The Devil's Bridge at the Theatre Royal says:

"As to the scenery, we have to commend the manager's modesty for saying nothing of it, as has been usual, in the bills, for certainly nothing could be worse--we had the old Scotch Fisherman's hut changed to an Alpine Cottage, and when we expected to see the Alps frowning above us, we were presented with a beautiful Italian view, and an Inn where Guido had refreshed on his way to Mirandola--not a pine or a fir could be recognized in the side wings, but the old elms, which answer for every country from the North Pole to the Southern Pacific, and in the prison where Belino sang of 'vaulted roofs' we had rustic beams, entwined with straw. What are the Messrs. Grieve about?--the absence of their brush in appropriate scenery upon this occasion was indeed grievous."

One is not made quite clear about whether the complaint against the Grieves was for painting unsuitable scenery or for failing to paint scenery at all so that the settings had to be drawn from stock. But the critical attitude against unsuitability of details is very clear. The old haphazardness was not to be tolerated.⁸²

Some reasons have been given why Pugin's name is missing from many of the playbills of shows he helped design scenery and paint scenes for. His youth, his position as an apprentice, and his will-o'-wisp way of dropping by the scene-painter's loft to sketch for a few hours and then leave have all been cited. Southern tells of the plight of the scene-painter in England as late as the year 1952:

Today the name of the scene-painter is scarcely ever mentioned even upon the programmes, let alone in the preliminary

⁸²Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 24 Russel Square, 1952), p. 310.

flourishes to a play. We may have a more or less considerable acknowledgement of the scene-designer, but never now of the man who put the designs on scene canvas and made them pieces of theatre. The scene-painter today marches with the labourers or the contractors, while the designer of the scenery may never lay brush to flat in the whole course of the show's preparation. In those days the scene-painter was both designer and executant.⁸³

As the Stanfield experience and these comments indicate, Pugin was not alone among English scene-painters and scene-designers of the period who need careful investigations of their work by graduate students of the current era in order to place them in true perspective in regard to their own era.

Scene-Painting for the Romantic Theatre

There developed in England at this time a lust for antiquarian accuracy in scenic design. This was coupled with the Gothic Revival in architecture and literature. It was not the custom in nineteenth century England for one designer to prepare all the scenes of a play. As many as six painter-designers were sometimes employed in one production. The pairs of wings and shutters went into the stock of the theatre and often reappeared in productions of other plays. The theatre of illusion was immeasurably enhanced by the introduction of gaslight, which could be controlled from a distance at the turn of a cock. The two main theatres of London were equipped with gaslighting in 1817, on the stage and in the auditorium.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 193-194.

For the next sixty years many fine designers painted scenes to be lit by this subtle, soft, glowing light--so marvelous for cloths and transformations.

In the Romantic theatre, scenery had basically consisted of wings running parallel to the footlights, borders above the stage from wing to wing, and backcloths or drops which had replaced shutters during the eighteenth century. Painters like De Louthembourg, Capon, Telbin, Lloyds, and Cuthbert made this a visually exciting period of theatre.⁸⁴

Up to the time of Pugin, the Wyatt tradition of scene-painting⁸⁵ was the foundation of Gothic representations on stage, and in the rural areas of England.⁸⁶ His was an overromanticized conception of the Gothic style. By the age of twenty, Pugin's studied Gothic representations did much to erase the influence that Wyatt's unlearned "Gothic" had had upon the stages and landscapes of Britain.

Theatrical Fare of the Period and Scott

Before looking at the four productions for which Pugin has been granted the lion's share for the scenic richness and Gothic spectacle, we should investigate the English Theatre of which he was a part. The Gazette Musicale de Paris, in its 1835 volume, printed an article by its London critic that gives a partial idea about the theatrical fare offered in that city:

⁸⁴Cook, p. 36.

⁸⁵See Chapter II, p. 61, for a discussion of the work of James Wyatt.

⁸⁶Waterhouse, p. 3.

We have in London a sufficient number of singers to form an excellent opera company, if only these singers could be brought together under a single director; but unhappily none of our theatres limits itself to a particular genre as is true of the Parisian Theatres. Our two great National Theatres, they have not only tragedy and comedy, but they present opera, melodrama, vaudeville, and fairy tales, and the same variety of genres is still permitted in the theatres of inferior quality. The result of this is that we have no business enterprise which possesses a complete troupe for tragedy, comedy, or opera. We have rather a theatre called the English Opera House--which has now fallen into complete decadence and there is not one single good actor.⁸⁷

The long continued financial crisis of Covent Garden Theatre was the subject of much editorial comment in the contemporary press. The Spectator of May 4, 1843 carried a long and interesting article on the breaking up of the theatrical monopoly and the plight of the "two huge overgrown houses which have long been tottering to their fall."⁸⁸ The burletta license permitted minor theatres to perform plays provided they included music and a specified number of songs.⁸⁹

This same year, 1833, was the year that the Negro Tragedian Ira Aldridge was given his opportunity to appear at Covent Garden on the same bill as Pugin's Elfin Sprite production probably because Laporte, the new lessee, was a Frenchman, with the Revolution not too far behind, and with a liberal attitude toward color⁹⁰ and a noted Frenchman's twenty-one year old son's efforts to increase his reputation in the scene-painter's art.

⁸⁷Gazette Musicale de Paris, Paris: Au Bureau D'Abonnement, Rue Richelieu, 1835, n. 97, p. 401.

⁸⁸Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, Ira Aldridge the Negro Tragedian (London: Rockliff Salisbury Square, 1958), p. 132.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 52.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 131.

A few words should be said about Sir Walter Scott before we discuss the production of Chateau de Kenilworth. The sorry fate of the literary theatre in the nineteenth century is related by Barbara and J. L. Hammond in their book, The Bleak Age:

If anybody had been told in 1780 that in the next half-century the English people would grow much richer; that every industrial town would have a large, comfortable class with leisure; that this accession of wealth would be accompanied by a burst of literary power; he might well have supposed that the theatre would play a great part in the life of this time, and help to guide and inspire the imagination of the great population that was growing in England. What would have seemed more natural than that writers who were masters of another literary form, like Scott and Dickens, would turn to the drama, as Fielding and Goldsmith had turned to it in the eighteenth century, and as Galsworthy and Bennett were to turn to it in the twentieth? What would have been the surprise of such a person to be told that the theatre would rapidly decline, that in 1853 there would be one theatre in Manchester and no theatre at all in Salford, and that in 1873 Kingsley would be able to write: "Few highly educated men now think it worth while to go to see any play, and that exactly for the same reasons as the Puritans put forward; and still fewer highly educated men think it worth while to write plays; finding that since the grosser excitements of the imagination have become forbidden themes, there is really very little to write about."⁹¹

It is essential to an understanding of nineteenth century British Theatre to recognize that Sir Walter Scott's appearance as the most staged author of the period excepting Shakespeare, signaled a decline in the theatre's fortunes. Just as the ship "Sir Walter Scott" sinks to the bottom of the Mississippi River in Mark Twain's novel Huckleberry Finn, the burden of the spectacle plays of the Middle Ages which Scott furnished this theatre

⁹¹J. L. and Barbara Hammond, The Bleak Age (West Drayton Middlesex England: Penguin Books, 1934), pp. 125-126.

would eventually sink it through the minimizing of the actor's role and its strangle hold on new original authorship and new themes.

The New Theatre Royal, built in Edinburgh in 1768, and in operation for ninety years, was, at the beginning of the next century, taken over by Sir Walter Scott.⁹² From this base, Scott prepared to flood the British Isles with dramatizations of his novels. Six different adaptations of Scott's Ivanhoe appeared in London in 1830 alone.⁹³ Guy Mannering, was among the first of Scott's novels to be dramatized. The growing demand for novelty and dramatic material had already, in the second half of the seventeenth century, started the dramatization of novels, but it was not until Scott's time that the whole field of fiction was eagerly and systematically ransacked. Rob Roy was perhaps the most popular of these adaptations.⁹⁴ Appearing in 1831, Chateau de Kennilworth was one of the very first works of Scott to be staged.

Later Biography

In 1831, at the age of nineteen, Pugin married Ann Garnett (a niece of George Dayes), who died in childbirth in 1832. Soon after the marriage, Pugin was imprisoned for debt, and after his release opened on Hart Street, Covent Garden, a sort of workshop of architectural details. The venture was not successful, and Pugin was forced to abandon it.⁹⁵ At this time

⁹²Vera Mowry Roberts, On Stage (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 268.

⁹³Ibid., p. 385. ⁹⁴Marshall & Stock, p. 88.

⁹⁵Stephen and Lee, p. 450.

Pugin was interested in buying property for a home. Yet, since he was under age he had to ask his father's permission. His father refused to grant this permission "remembering and disapproving his conduct in connection with the theatrical world."⁹⁶

However, the theatrical knowledge he had picked up during this period could still be called on. In the early 1830's Pugin built a temporary private theatre for the Marquis of Stafford which was used to show off an opera in his private house in London.⁹⁷

It was also during this period that Pugin had to make a crucial decision concerning the theatre. At about the time of his first wife's death, 1832, there is extant a letter from Pugin's mother to her sister wherein is included the fact that the Paris Opera offered him a job, to be their scene designer, but he turned it down, no doubt due to his overpowering desire to become an ecclesiastical architect. Perhaps it was the depression caused by his wife's death that brought about the idea to emigrate to Paris and work there in the theatre in which he had distinguished himself twice before. It probably gave him some pleasure to recollect, as did Charles Mathews, those carefree trips to the Parisian theatres with his

⁹⁶Ferrey, p. 71.

⁹⁷Stanton, Pugin, p. 196. The information concerning the temporary private theatre Pugin built for the Marquis of Stafford has recently come to light through Pugin's letters as collected by Miss Stanton. The writer has been unable to track down further reference to this work, though there is a possibility that the Pugin sketchbook drawings were designed with this theatre in mind.

father's architectural school on their sketching trips to France. England was to be his home, however, and in 1833 he married his second wife, Louisa Burton, and established himself at Salisbury. Subsequently he settled at Ramsgate, where resided his aunt, Miss Selina Welby, who eventually made him her heir. Soon after his second marriage he was received into the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁸

In 1835, Pugin privately printed Contrasts, and its blend of art, religious enthusiasm, and satire brought it a notoriety and eventually a sympathy that was to make the rest of his career a continual succession of Christian landmarks in literature as well as in building.

Meanwhile Pugin began a regular architectural practice. Under the patronage of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Pugin designed buildings and published two books on Gothic furniture and house design.⁹⁹ In 1837 Pugin was formally appointed to the teaching staff at Oscott College as Professor of Ecclesiastical Art and Antiquities. At this college (through Lord Shrewsbury's influence) he did the plans for a new college complex of buildings, completing the plans of an earlier architect, Mr. Potter.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, at Oscott, he was not only the Professor of Ecclesiastical Art but the architect employed on most ambitious buildings as well as the rebuilding and organization of the college.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸Stephen and Lee, p. 450.

⁹⁹Stephen and Lee, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁰Gwynn, p. 47.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 56.

Pugin's role in building the British Houses of Parliament is substantiated by the fact that in E. H. Gombrich's book, The Story of Art, printed in 1966, Pugin's name appears alongside Charles Barry's as coarchitect of the edifice.¹⁰²

Pugin's practice rapidly increased. In 1841 appeared Pugin's True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, a book which shows that the author combined his enthusiasm with a remarkable power of logical analysis. There followed An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England in 1843, and the Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume.

Pugin had already made many sketching tours in France and the Netherlands, and his masterly sketches are not the least of his artistic achievements. In 1847 he made, for the first time, a tour in Italy.

Although his practice at this period was in full vigor, and the pressure on his time, powers, and eyesight was enormous, he published in 1849 a work in chromolithograph, Floriated Ornament. He also managed to publish a book on medieval plainsong. In 1851 Pugin was commissioned to arrange the medieval court at the Great Exhibition. It was arranged as a simultaneous setting of the medieval theatre. The vestments for this display were made by the costume makers of the Italian Opera. He was already overworked and quite unsuited to a labor which involved committees,

¹⁰²Gombrich, p. 377.

commissioners and all the paraphernalia of concerted human endeavor. The nervous strain of dealing with foolish or unsympathetic public bodies inflamed Pugin's mind. The wording in his letters began to show more than his usual violence; once or twice his verbal behavior became dangerous. But no one could restrain his furious industry or calm his impatience. In the spring of 1852 he suffered an attack of what he called nervous fever; by summer he became definitely insane and was removed to Bedlam.¹⁰³ When the public became aware that Pugin had been placed in Bethlehem (Bedlam), there was a general outcry that a man so distinguished and remarkable should receive shabby treatment and become a public charge.¹⁰⁴ On September 14 A. W. N. Pugin died.¹⁰⁵ His last days were spent in designing ink-pots and umbrellastands.¹⁰⁶

His second wife had died in 1844, and, after paying addresses to two other ladies, he had married, in 1849, a third wife, daughter of Thomas Knill. His son, Edward Welby Pugin had taken charge of his professional work during his last illness.¹⁰⁷

Into the short span of forty years he crammed three marriages with eight children, and two unsuccessful courtships; he brought a sense of architectural accuracy to the rendition of Gothic settings that was to be carried on after his death; he wrote a number of books that were to influence

¹⁰³Clark, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴Stanton, Pugin, p. 190.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 173.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 179.

¹⁰⁷Stephen and Lee, p. 451.

his contemporaries in the most profound manner and carry architectural criticism to the threshold of our own era; he traveled widely in the Continent, read extensively, and carried on a large practice as an architect-- building churches and castles all over the country as well as two houses for himself.¹⁰⁸

Pugin was never a candidate for personal honor, and when his name was prepared for the associateship of the Royal Academy, it was without his sanction. The Pugin Travelling Studentship, controlled by the Royal Institute of British Architects, was established as a memorial after his death.

Pugin had no vanity, but he developed a bitterness toward his fate. Men who are dedicated to a cause for which they crusade in their youth, care more for the success of their cause (especially when it has a religious foundation as did Pugin's Gothic architecture) than any personal consideration. When they near their end, and have the opportunity of reviewing their life, the years they spent teaching (Pugin taught the elements of architecture to English college students) and doing other people's work are apt to make them bitter.

"I have been all my life instructing men, while others profited from the results of my labours."¹⁰⁹ The letter from which this extract is taken was written when Pugin was in very bad health, six months before he died in 1852.

¹⁰⁸Boe, p. 20.

¹⁰⁹Sirr, p. 218.

Pugin enacted many roles in his brief life. In St. Augustine's Church he could put on his velvet cloak and shut himself away from the world and work and look like the monkish builders he worshipped. Or, dressed as a sailor, drifting sailless in his fishing-boat, he would execute his designs moving out in the English channel.¹¹⁰

Throughout life disregard of personal appearance in the matter of dress was one of his characteristics; what has been called his slovenliness amounted to eccentricity. Ferrey testified that about the period 1839 he was in the habit of wearing a sailor's jacket, loose pilot trousers, jack-boots and a wideawake hat.¹¹¹

Quick in movement, a frank and voluble talker whether at work or at table, master of a fund of anecdote and a dramatic manner of narration, Pugin fairly overflowed when in health with energy and humor.¹¹²

No one could enter the room in which Pugin worked, "with no tools but a rule and rough pencil, amidst a continual rattle of marvellous stories and shouts of laughter," without catching some spark of his medieval vehemence and whole-heartedness.¹¹³

Yet, in a victorian age, this aspect of Pugin's character proved detrimental to how the world was to value his achievements, "All parties were half ashamed of this uncouth renegade, this lob who did ten men's work while they slept, and allowed them to claim it as their own."¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰Clark, p. 173. ¹¹¹Sirr, p. 224. ¹¹²Stephen and Lee, p. 452.

¹¹³Clark, p. 117. ¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 178-179.

A. W. N. Pugin's fame was great and widespread in his own day, but for a long time dimmed by the overshadowing position of John Ruskin from the fifties onwards--and most likely by Protestant prejudices on the part of the public as well, for Pugin was chiefly employed by Roman Catholics in his ecclesiastical designs. It has been left to the present generation of critics to place him in the undisputed position of a forerunner of modern ideas, and an innovator of architectural principles of the very first order.¹¹⁵

Catholicism

Students of theatre history are aware of the relationship between the ritual of Catholicism and the rebirth of drama in the Middle Ages. The dramatic ritual of the Mass is the foundation of the Catholic service. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin entered the Church of Rome in 1837. As this conversion postdates his most intensive period of theatre work, I feel he was influenced as much by the ritualism of the stage as by the Catholic spirit of the architecture he promoted. His conversion to Roman Catholicism in Anglican Britain did not help to further his career. It probably cost him a knighthood. However, like another Catholic artist, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (upon whom was bestowed The Order of the Golden Spur by the Pope, making him "Chevalier de Mozart"), Pugin was presented with a gold medal by the Pope, making him a member of an international brotherhood.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵Boe, p. 19.

¹¹⁶Waterhouse, loc. cit.

Most probably his all-absorbing interest in medievalism and in theatrical picturesqueness was instrumental in bringing Pugin over to the Catholic Church, where he soon became prominent among the avant-gardistes of its revival.¹¹⁷ He took this step under a sense of its spiritual importance, though on his own admission he was first drawn to Roman Catholicism by his artistic sympathies. He believed the Roman Catholic religion and Gothic art to be intimately associated.¹¹⁸

His formal conversion took place in 1835, and in the next year he published the work which was to bring him into the public eye as a champion of Catholic Gothic Revival, and which also marks an epoch in the history of art criticism; this work was the much celebrated Contrasts. This slim volume of fifty-eight pages with another forty-six pages of appendices contains nineteen engraved plates of illustration, juxtaposing dramatic scenes which--with somewhat exaggerated unfairness--compare corresponding specimens of medieval and contemporary architecture, to the carefully planned disadvantage of the latter.¹¹⁹ This remarkable and polemical book became famous for its satirical sketches and cutting sarcasm; the so-called "Pagan" method of architecture is compared to its disadvantage with the "Christian."

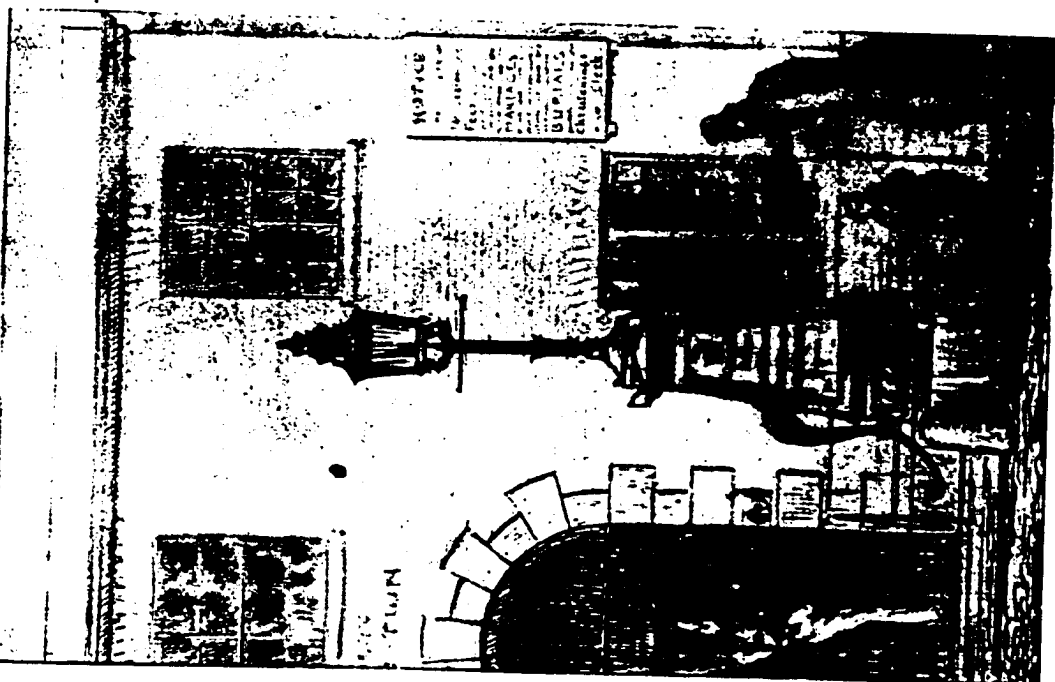
The tiny plates contain the germs of Christian Socialism and St. George's Guild. In the Residences for the Poor the ethical note is perhaps a trifle shrill. Bentham's Panopticon makes an amusing counterpart to

¹¹⁷Boe, p. 20. ¹¹⁸Stephen and Lee, loc. cit., ¹¹⁹Boe, p. 21.

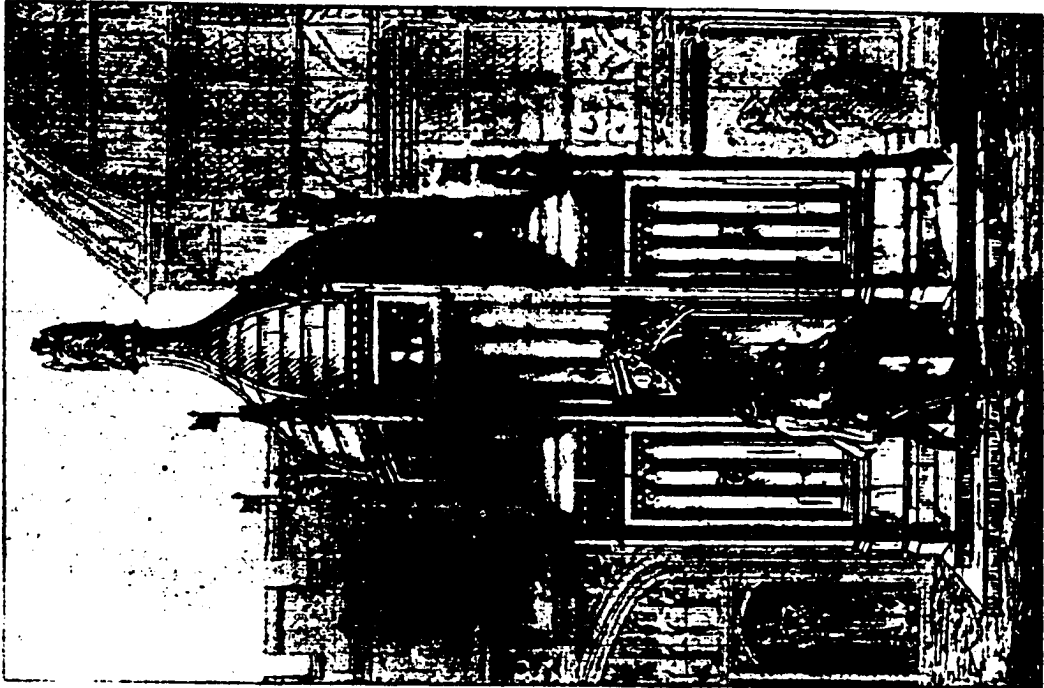
St. Cross; but the modern Master, with his top boots, irons and "cat," is melodramatic, and the contrast between him and the gentle, generous medieval master is too sharp. We suspect sentimentality, and are put on our guard. Ethical suggestion is more cunningly introduced into the Contrasted Public Conduits (Figure 33). The viewer must choose between the "Gothic" scene or the "Modern" scene. Freely, from the rich Gothic fountain, a robust young man is drawing a cup of sweet water. But from the foul modern pump a policeman has driven away a wan urchin who has come with his battered can (only a drop of water!); while another policeman lunges sardonically in the door of the police court--and indeed his colleague's action is unnecessary, for the handle of the pump is fastened with an immense padlock. Not all the nineteen plates weight the scales so openly; but none provides the material for an unbiased architectural judgement. Nevertheless, the skill with which Pugin has made Gothic appear rich and solid--the lavish shading and well-contrived detail, and the nineteenth-century architecture, skimped and preposterous, is irresistible.¹²⁰ There can be no doubt that his theatrical scene-painter's knowledge helped his case.

Pugin's love for Gothic was also increased through the sentimental human qualities he found imbedded in it, as when he ascribes its excellence to the spiritual attitude of those who built in the Middle Ages. Describing in vivid terms the beauties of a Catholic Gothic cathedral--the

¹²⁰Clark, p. 197, 199, 200.



CONTRASTED CONDUITS
From Pugin's "Contrasts"



CONTRASTED CONDUITS
From Pugin's "Contrasts"

description sounds almost like a stage set for a theatrical play--he states that:

Such effects as these can only be produced on the mind by buildings, the composition of which has emanated from men who were thoroughly imbued with devotion for, and faith in, the religion for whose worship they were erected. . . . They felt they were engaged in one of the most glorious occupations that can fall to the lot of man--that of raising a temple to the worship of the true and living God.

It was this feeling that operated alike on the mastermind that planned the edifice, and on the patient sculptor whose chisel wrought each varied and beautiful detail . . . and it is a feeling that may be traced throughout the whole of the numerous edifices of the Middle Ages, and which, amidst the great variety of genius which their varied decorations display, still bespeaks the unity of purpose which influenced their builders and artists.¹²¹

The talent, quality of mind, and feeling for architecture of the builder and his workman were always important to Pugin, for he supplied few drawings, preferring to let the building evolve in consultation with his builder.¹²²

However, Pugin was essentially a dreamer and a designer; and for these reasons it is appropriate to study his architecture not in his finished building, but in those exquisite etchings which, published with appreciative comments by himself, formed the substance of his later books. The frontispiece to Pugin's Apology represents twenty-two churches and chapels, chosen from his work, ranged like a Gothic New Jerusalem before the rising sun. The dramatic effect (largely obtained by the expedient of suppressing cast shadows) is tremendous. Our spirit is exalted by the aspiring pinnacles.¹²³

¹²¹Boe, p. 22. Also, Pugin, Contrasts.

¹²²Stanton, Pugin, p. 70. ¹²³Clark, pp. 182-183.

There is a criticism that Pugin lacked the essential quality of an architect in that he did not think in volume; an attack which is in substance but a restatement of the accusation of theatricality brought against his work. This, to which the success of the scenery in Kenilworth unfortunately lent excuse, is well stated by Mr. Clark:¹²⁴

There is a malicious footnote in Fergusson's History of Modern Architecture which must always distress Pugin's admirers. "The true bent of Pugin's mind was toward the theater, and his earliest successes achieved in reforming the scenery and decorations of the stage; and throughout his life the theatrical was the only branch of his art which he perfectly understood." I used to think this part of an elaborate protestant sneer, for the note goes on to say, "It is, no doubt, very beautiful; but as protestants we may be permitted to ask whether all this theatrical magnificence is really an essential part of the Christian religion." But I am afraid it is shrewd criticism. Pugin's etchings, with their brilliant lighting and their well-placed figures, are primarily dramatic, and his buildings belong to the best of (i.e., with their dramatic shadows and placement) the old Wyatt tradition of scene-painting. My point, that he did not think in volume, is only an amplification of Fergusson's remark; and his most satisfactory design known to me was drawn in his Covent Garden period--an imaginary cathedral raising its gorgeous, impossible towers unembarrassed by the laws of gravity.¹²⁵

"Why," Mr. Clark goes on to ask, "spend so much time on a mere scene-painter?"¹²⁶ And Mr. Clark goes on to give many answers.

Pugin's expertise and utilization of his background in architecture, design, design theory, Medieval scholarship, and experience with stage carpentry enabled him to be a strong influence in both the theatrical and architectural communities of his epoch.

¹²⁴Trappes-Lomax, p. 252.

¹²⁵Clark, p. 186.

¹²⁶Ibid.

Nevertheless, Catholics in Britain have found it necessary to defend Pugin's reputation by systematically issuing pamphlets reviewing his achievements. The Reverend H. E. G. Rope, M.A., in a pamphlet entitled, Pugin, printed by St. Dominic's Press, in 1935, points to Pugin's often overlooked ability as a writer.

Pugin was a master of English prose, varying from brilliant satire to clear exposition or doughty argument and rising at times to a fervent eloquence.¹²⁷

One can gain an insight into what he considered the relationship of the theatrical to his newly adopted religion, Roman Catholicism, from a portion of a work written in 1849, A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use, and Symbolic Significance:

If religious ceremonies are to be regarded as spectacles they should be celebrated in regular theatres, which have been expressly invented for the purpose of accommodating great assemblages of persons to hear and see well. It has been most justly said, that there is no legitimate halting-place between Catholic doctrine and positive infidelity, and I am quite certain that there is none between a church built on Christian Tradition and symbolism and Covent Garden Theater with its pit, boxes, and gallery.¹²⁸

At various periods of Pugin's life the theatre and Pugin's religious biases confronted each other. In his Treatise, Pugin also states, "I have been credibly informed, that an amphitheatre was deliberately proposed, a few years since, as the best form of a Catholic Church for London."¹²⁹

¹²⁷H. E. G. Rope, Pugin (Ditchling Hassocks, Susses: St. Dominics Press, Pepler & Sewall, Publishers, 1935), p. 2

¹²⁸Trappes-Lomax, p. 231.

¹²⁹A. W. N. Pugin, A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts (London: Charles Dolman, 61, New Bond Street, 1851), f.n., p. 8.

Later on in this work, while discussing the use of screen in Durham Cathedral, Pugin says,

Although the screen was of most debased design, and erected by a Pagan architect (Inigo Jones), at a Pagan period (Elizabethan) . . . it was ten times preferable to the modern vacuum caused by its removal.¹³⁰

The chancels he designed and fitted up with metalwork, tiles, stained glass, sculpture, fabrics and vestments were richly appointed chambers in which the solemn drama of the Mass could be reverently performed. Pugin did not value the manner of worship more than the fact of it; he wanted everything to be perfect, which meant to him not only the restoration of the artistic style appropriate to his purpose, but also a return to the dignity of the medieval church and its faith. His definition of "fitness" included the mood, the color, and the customs and religious practices of the past.¹³¹

Still further on in this antagonistic vein, Pugin's musical bias for medieval song (he had written a book on the subject) makes itself felt when he discusses a man with whom he has often been compared, "If he likes Mozart he is no Chancel and Screen man. By their music you shall know them, and I lost all faith in the Oratorians when I found they were opposed to the old song."¹³²

On one of his frequent visits to Ireland, Pugin was appalled by the theatrical excesses of the Irish worshipers:

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 65.

¹³¹Stanton, Pugin, p. 90.

¹³²Gwynn, p. 125.

Men of devout minds are scandalized with the foreign trump-ery that is introduced on the most solemn occasions, and the noisy theatrical effects that are substituted for the solemn chants and hymns of the Church. . . . It is painful to see these wretched practices puffed off in Catholic journals, and described much in the same strain as is used in the Theatrical Observer--a list of performers,--criticisms on the execution of solos and quartets during that Holy Sacrifice which fills even the angels with disgust.¹³³

Pugin found his theatrical background useful when he was commis-sioned to design vestments for the Catholic clergy of Britain. Such was the quality of the craftsmanship of the day, that he had to have his vest-ments made by the costume makers of the Italian Opera, the only people capable of carrying out his ideas.¹³⁴

An ethical tone pervaded all his writings, and in condemning facades or blind windows he used such expressions as "unworthy deception" or "abominable sham." "Perhaps the greatest service has been done," wrote Ferrey, "by Pugin's unsparing exposure of the system of SHAM S in archi-tectural design."¹³⁵ To a student aware of Pugin's background in the theatre, this abhorrence of shams seems ironical, as theatre scenic design has always been based on shams and illusions. Perhaps this hos-tility toward shams had its source in a puritanical reaction to his theatre days.

Pugin demanded an observance of traditional forms far stricter and a symbolism far more fully developed than any which had preceded him.

¹³³Ibid., p. 186.

¹³⁴Kelly, p. 388.

¹³⁵Clark, pp. 201-202.

He gave ecclesiology, so closely connected with his love of ritual, a prominent place in his work.¹³⁶ I feel it would be careless not to acknowledge a relationship between the love of ritual in Roman Catholicism and the love of the ritual of the theatre, especially to a young man as sensitive and impressionable as was the young Pugin.

Pugin tried hard to educate his Catholics in the true principles of their religion. Herein he brought theatre imagery. "Scarcely less melancholy is it to see modern Catholics with their own hands polluting and disfiguring, by pagan emblems and theatrical trumpery the glorious structures raised by their ancestors of the faith." Apparently Pugin believed that the theatrical trumpery should be left in the theatre where it originated.¹³⁷

Pugin comments in his second edition of Contrasts on Royalty's love of the theatre at the expense of the sacred. His attack on the Queen here is astonishing, as she was one of his greatest admirers, and it was she who would grant his wife five hundred pounds per year after his death. Pugin's total commitment to his religious ideals, however, was uncompromising. These remarks were addressed to the Queen on the subject of Westminster Abbey:

The apathy of royalty towards this sacred fabric. . . . We hear much of the interest certain distinguished personages take in the performances of a learned monkey, or equestrian evolutions, but small regard indeed do they pay to the resting-place of their ancestors.¹³⁸

He suggested that "A visit to the neglected and desecrated pile of Westminster

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 203.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 87.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 86.

might teach them the instructive lesson that royalty departed is easily forgotten."¹³⁹

In the Church of St. Chad, at Birmingham, Pugin's mural decoration is decidedly the feature par excellence of the church.¹⁴⁰ In this church, Pugin's love for the sea is subtly conveyed, as plate glass was permitted (only) in those windows which commanded a sea view, but small "quarried" glazing is chiefly adopted for the others.¹⁴¹

In the church of St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Pugin utilized dramatic lighting effects. Because the windows were small the church was dark, but the contrast between the brilliant light of the eastern chamber and the dimness of the nave, with its delicate but beautiful wooden roof, must have been effective.¹⁴²

Pugin's home, The Grange at Ramsgate, south-east of London is still standing, and is of considerable interest as it includes a chapel for private service, on the furnishing and upkeep of which Pugin spent large sums. It might be said that Pugin traded-in his attic in his father's house where he staged one type of production, for a chapel in his own house where he would stage another. He furnished his home with furniture, and other objects of his own design as well as designing clothes and jewelry for his wife.¹⁴³

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Eastlake, pp. 156-157.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 164.

¹⁴²Stanton, Pugin, p. 56.

¹⁴³Boe, p. 32.

Clark looks at the Frontispiece of Pugin's Apology which incorporated a view of London comprised of all the churches that he had built up to that time:

These romantic prospects show an imaginative power and a knowledge of the true spirit of Gothic unprecedented in the revival. No one else had this power of making his designs look natural and solid. . . .

.....
Nor was his love of detail purely architectural. He was one of those truly religious men to whom ritual gives sensuous pleasure.¹⁴⁴

Thus Clark's eulogy is complete. Or, is it? This comment of Clark is given even further meaning by these comments of Michael Trappes-Lomax:

Pugin did not go to sea with the idea of gaining profit either from the discipline of labour or from petty trading. He went to sea because he liked it; and the rest followed. Similarly, he did not go to the theatre because he wished to become a scenic artist: he became a scenic artist because he liked going to the theatre.¹⁴⁵

These two comments are most essential to an understanding of how Pugin's tastes developed psychologically throughout his life. Trappes-Lomax's point strengthens my doubt that George Dayes's 1827 introduction of Pugin behind the scenes at Covent Garden was Pugin's first visit to the theatre. No matter how prodigious a young mind is, initially, what goes on in front of the curtain has more interest than what goes on behind it. Pugin's trips to Paris and/or his friendship with Thomas Grieve gave him an appreciation of the magic of theatrical art. Pugin loved and knew the theatre before 1827. Also, Pugin knew Catholicism before 1835. It was not only the buildings that converted him, it was the ritualistic chivalry

¹⁴⁴Clark, pp. 119, 120.

¹⁴⁵Trappes-Lomax, p. 30, f.n.

and ornament, and language of the Catholic ages which he imbibed with his mother's milk that put him on the road to Catholicism. The "sensuous pleasure" Pugin received from ritual explains Pugin's love for Christian architecture, Catholicism, and the theatre. Pugin's three marriages, his aggressive catholicism, his lifelong passion for the theatre and the sea, these are all ritualistic experiences filled with separate vocabularies and costumes. Pugin was fascinated by systematized rituals. His Glossary, True Principles, Contrasts, and work on the buildings that were to house the greatest secular ritual of them all, the Government, all attest to the fact that Pugin, though a Goth to the grave, was the noblest Roman of them all. Great Britain today is no longer a world power. Predictions have it that by 1984 she will be a poor nation.¹⁴⁶ A.W.N. Pugin embodied within him much that future generations will remember of England--England as the Ritual of History.

The Sea

Reference already has been made that immediately following his theatrical work, Pugin became possessed by an extraordinary passion for a maritime life.¹⁴⁷ He purchased a smack, and subsequently a lugger, and, to the great distress of his father¹⁴⁸ he actually commanded for a

¹⁴⁶These are the pessimistic conclusions of Baron Rothschild's 1973 study on the future of Britain.

¹⁴⁷Ferrey, pp. 59-60.

¹⁴⁸That Pugin's father was distressed can be seen by a quote from Ferrey wherein the father moans his "Poor Augustus, dressed like a common sailor." See Ferrey, p. 71.

short while a small merchant schooner which traded between England and Holland. In addition to the little freight, for the convoy of which Pugin was responsible, he managed to bring over some interesting specimens of old furniture and carving from Flanders, which afterwards helped to fill his museum at Ramsgate. In one of these cruises he was wrecked on the Scotch coast near Leith--a temporary misfortune, which he had no reason to regret, for it brought him into contact with Mr. Gillespie Graham, an Edinburgh architect of some repute, who, doubtless knowing his father's name, and perceiving the ability of young Pugin, recommended him to give up his seafaring hobby and stick to his profession--a piece of sound advice which the young man had good sense to follow.¹⁴⁹ Many of the etchings which he prepared for the illustrations of his books were executed when he was afloat on some yachting expedition. He was very fond of the sea, and would certainly have been a sailor if he had not been an architect.¹⁵⁰ Pugin, like other great innovative artists was appreciative of the efficiency of the sailboat. This section of the paper will concentrate on the relationship of Pugin's work as an innovator and scenic artist with his seaman-ship.

The immediate reasons for Pugin's purchase of a boat are not known; but the underlying psychological causes are clear enough. He bought a boat under the same impulsion which caused Turner and Prout to draw boats. As Ruskin was later to write (The Harbours of England; 1895 edn; p. 46):

¹⁴⁹Eastlake, pp. 147-148.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 153.

Both Turner and Prout had in them an untaught, inherent perception of what was great and pictorial. They could not find it in buildings or in scenes immediately around them. But they saw some elements of real power in boats.¹⁵¹

Apparently Pugin could find that "perception of what was great and pictorial" in the buildings and in the boats. The epitaph on his tombstone reads: "There is nothing worth living for but Christian Architecture and a Boat."¹⁵²

In his Autobiography, America's greatest nineteenth-century architect, Louis Sullivan recalled some formative incidents--and their psychic equivalents. One of them was "watching his father at sea in a boat, he had sensed the strife and power in the world."¹⁵³ Sullivan goes on, and on the next page describes another maritime procedure of him and his father, "that of visiting the shipyard and learning how men in the real world work together for great practical ends."¹⁵⁴ Perhaps it was this overriding sense of "the real world" so different from his Gothic imaginings that brought Pugin to cherish the sea.

It is important to look at Pugin's period of infatuation with the sea as closely tied to his endeavors as a scene-painter. Chronologically, Pugin was introduced to the theatre (pre-1831), left for the sea, then went back to the theatre (1833-1835). Throughout his later years, Pugin was always sailing, though his work as a scene-painter was not as continuous.

¹⁵¹Trappes-Lomax, pp. 27-28.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Sherman Paul, Louis Sullivan (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, inc., 1962), p. 7.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 8.

We are told Pugin worked with little assistance, and largely without the usual instruments (he never used a T-square). In his hands which worked in drawing with marvelous rapidity, a stump of pencil, his compasses, and a carpenter's rule sufficed for even the most elaborate work; and he could turn out his exquisite drawings under the most untoward circumstances--even in a Ramsgate steamer rolling off the North of Ireland.¹⁵⁵

That Pugin's method of sketching aboard ship showed certain parallels with his work as a scene-painter is at once apparent. In both cases Pugin lacked ideal conditions for architectural designing, a moving ship and a rising backdrop, and a situation where proper architectural instruments could not be utilized. This last point, however, proved not to be a hindrance to Pugin's architectural designs, for Pugin never used architectural instruments, but solely a pencil and paper. Thus, where other designers were at a disadvantage, Pugin was not. One look at his designs shows that for meticulousness and accuracy of execution they are second to none. Other Gothic designers of the period whose work was charged with accuracy and truth, were not always fortunate when it came to rendering their architectural designs on canvas flats. Pugin's development of a method of sketching without instruments (except a pencil, and at times a compass) was to render his theatrical designs the most accurately detailed of the period.

¹⁵⁵Stephen and Lee, pp. 451-452.

It was noted in a review of Kenilworth that Pugin had inaccurately produced a harbor scene where boats were anchored with their sails aloft. Michael Trappes-Lomax, in his biography, Pugin--A Medieval Victorian, mentions that in this field (maritime drawing) Pugin was soon to acquire greater knowledge.¹⁵⁶ Whether Pugin's enthusiasm for expertise in the sailing profession was stirred by this criticism, or by his friendly rival Clarkson Stanfield's acknowledged supremacy as the foremost artist of maritime subjects in England, or both, has not yet been determined. However, as stated earlier in Ruskin's quotation, two of the great artists of the period, Turner and Prout, were drawn to the sea and the drawing of boats.

These men, especially Turner and Pugin, were innovators in their art. Both attacked the structure of their fields, Turner becoming a precursor of Impressionism, while Pugin became the first theorist for functionalism in modern architecture according to Alf Boe's book, From Gothic Revival to Functional Form.

Another artist who attacks structure in his field is Buckminster Fuller. Fuller points out that the sailboat, through its great efficiency, exhibits a modernity and uniqueness of construction that appears evident to the minds of artistic innovators.

¹⁵⁶Further study has shown that this comment was originally made by Benjamin Ferrey in his earlier biography, which is cited above, on pp. 59-60.

Remembering the quotation, "There is nothing worth living for but Christian Architecture and a boat," one is not surprised when one sees a heading in the index of Buckminster Fuller's book, Ideas and Integrities, entitled "cosmic viewpoint of Sailomen." Fuller asserts that, "It is a sailorman's credo that there is a generic difference between himself and a landlubber."¹⁵⁷ He goes on to say that, "Without thinking of themselves as cosmogonists, sailors naturally develop a spontaneous cosmic viewpoint."¹⁵⁸

Fuller's next comment gives an insight into C. Northcote Parkinson's statement of Pugin's importance as the main proponent of oriental influence in the West during the 1830's.

To the landsman "the East" and "the West" are places, to the sailorman they are directions in which he may move. To the sailorman entered upon the great Pacific, it is final proof of the landlubber's nonsense that the sun is not only forced to do this rising and setting act, but perversely to do so on the wrong stage. Viewed from the Pacific, the sun rises from the Occident and sets in the Orient."¹⁵⁹

Viewed from a cosmic viewpoint, Medieval religion and architecture are systems which developed out of Oriental (Eastern) ethics and morality. Pugin is credited with integrating the East with the West in his Gothic Revival. His attacks on Pagan artists and designs have a despotic (fanatic) flavor that is eastern in origin.

¹⁵⁷Buckminster Fuller, Ideas and Integrities (New York: Collier Books, 1963), p. 119.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 55-56.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 120.

This exclusiveness of a seaman's outlook is echoed in Pugin's position concerning Christian or Gothic architecture. On ethical and moral as well as structural grounds, Pugin's claim of this architecture's superiority is equalled by the sailor's claim of uniqueness and superiority in relation to other men. Much of Roman Catholicism is also based upon a system of exclusivity. Thus, three factors are working together here to form Pugin's outlook, personality and theories. They are: his position as a sailor, his understanding of Gothic architecture, and his role as a Roman Catholic.

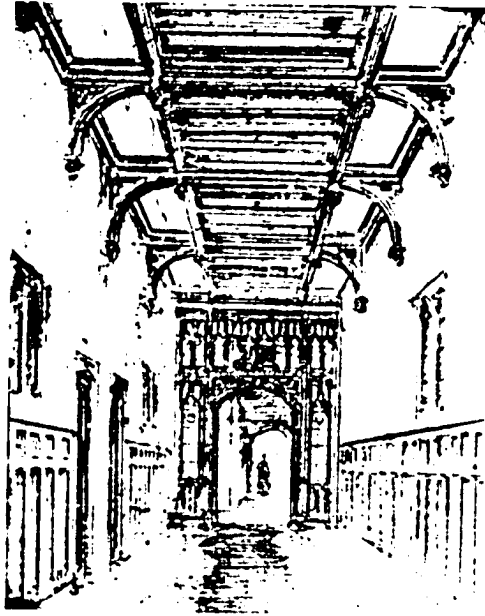
Fuller designed an innovative construction utilizing design brought over from marine technology. This was his 1930 4 D Dymaxion car. In a series of illustrations in Robert A. Marks' book, The Dymaxion World of Buckminster Fuller, Fuller's car is drawn and described in terms of a sailboat. Fuller's early study of air flow effects around a conventional car and one whose contour was an ideal streamline form show the greater efficiency of the sailboat (streamline) form. His studies of the "hull" structure of the 4 D Dymaxion car further parallel this car's debt to sailboat form. The hull was to have an inverted V bottom to provide air "keel" at high speeds as well as to lift the tail of the transport. The consequence was to be an infinite wheel base. The faster such a car accelerated, the smoother would be its ride as in the case of the airplane. There was planned, further, a fan tail for increased "rudder

windage," when "planing." Under the skin of the projected transport was a pneumatic, longitudinal, guard rail.¹⁶⁰

This discussion of the sea and sailboats and their influence on the minds of artistic innovators is included in order to put in perspective the work of maritime artists, of which Pugin must be included, for, as well as drawing maritime subjects, he did many of his designs aboard ship. The close approximation of his theatre work with his seaman's work makes the relation of the two areas overlap, and it is felt that such a strong "cosmic" as well as "practical" influence upon his designs and method of sketching is too important to exclude from this study.

An example of a Pugin design influenced by his maritime experiences is Figure 34. Figure 34 is the internal corridor at Scarisbrick Hall, a view from the lobby at the foot of the staircase. Pencil drawing by Pugin c. 1837. Because of its vigor and freshness, and Pugin's straightforward solution of the problem of the corridor, this design belongs among his early achievements; it suggests the architecture of ships or the galleries above the stage in a theatre. Benjamin Ferrey asserts that in the 1820's and 1830's Pugin was an adventurous and intrepid sailor, and the numerous sketches of ships which appear among his drawings bear witness to his genuine preoccupation with the sea. He had surely had

¹⁶⁰Robert W. Marks, The Dymaxion World of Buckminster Fuller (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), p. 98.



● The internal corridor at Scarsbrick Hall, a view from the lobby at the foot of the staircase. Pencil drawing by Pugin, c. 1837.

Fig. 34.

ample experience of the architecture of the stage, for he had worked, perhaps intermittently, as a set designer at Covent Garden between 1830 and 1833.¹⁶¹

The rigging of the stages of the eighteenth and nineteenth century British theatre was derived from the rigging of ships. Sailors were often employed to work backstage at theatres throughout the British Isles. These seamen made and developed the maritime mechanics of riggings, pulleys and winches that were to dominate the stage until the advent of electricity. It is probable that Pugin met maritime influences in the theatre through the mechanics if not through friendships with ex-seamen like Clarkson Stanfield. His immediate turn from backstage to sailor's vessel strengthens this conjecture.

EPILOGUE

In the 1944 English movie, "The Lodger," starring Merle Oberon, George Sanders, and Laird Cregar, which concerns the turn-of-the-century Jack-the-Ripper murders, there is a Music Hall number featured at the end of the movie starring Miss Kitty Langley (Merle Oberon). This number takes place at the "New Theatre Whitehall Palace." The fidelity to detail in this movie seemed definitive in all aspects of the costuming and architecture. The same can be said of the theatre interior in this

¹⁶¹Stanton, Pugin, p. 32.

last scene. After Miss Langley's number, an act drop curtain fell, and upon this curtain appeared A. W. N. Pugin's most famous design, "The English Houses of Parliament."

The act drop is a curtain directly behind the front curtain proper, but not, like it, of plain material; instead it was a painted canvas just like any drop scene, though its subject was more decorative than representational. This was used instead of the front curtain, to drop at the act-intervals, so that the front curtain devolved to its original use--only at the beginning and end of the show, while the acts were marked by the special act drop.¹⁶²

Certain "act drops" had been adopted by a theatre much as a signature tune is adopted by a dance band today--retained from one of its signal successes to become a symbol or badge on ensuing occasions. Such, I feel, was the case at the "New Theatre Whitehall Palace."

William Telbin, the famous scene designer, wrote in a special article on "Act Drops" in the Magazine of Art, July 1895, p. 335, that

in the interval between the acts a painted canvas, either representing drapery or other form of decoration, or a landscape (classical mostly), has been used. . . . For an act-drop to be successful a design should, in my opinion, be only suggestive, and not bear too directly upon any one special aspect of the drama, as our theatres in the vicissitudes of their existence fall into strange hands, being sublet at certain periods to tenants whose productions are as the antitheses of art to one another. . . . Perhaps the arrangement most acceptable to architects and generally favored by managers is the painted drapery "blind."¹⁶³

¹⁶²Southern, p. 168.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 169.

It is interesting to note that the managers of the "New Theatre Whitehall Palace" were going against tradition by using an architectural design by Pugin for their act-drop. This was probably due to the great popularity of the design, as well as its symbolic significance, as it represented to the English public the emblem of their country and empire.

In a certain sense, a Pugin design has been on the stage throughout late Victorian England up to the present day. Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta Iolanthe has its Second Act set as follows, "The scene is Palace Yard, Westminster. Westminster Hall is in the left and on the right the Clock Tower." This Pugin design was evident when the movie "The Great Gilbert and Sullivan" showed a selection of this comic-opera, which had its debut when it was produced in London on November 25, 1882. In another regard, almost any and every movie placed in Britain has a scene where the Houses of Parliament are displayed. Nowadays, television commercials, and television spy shows invariably have a background shot containing these buildings. Needless to say, the symbol of Great Britain has become Parliament and Big Ben, both of which were in part designed by A. W. N. Pugin.

There was a tradition of Gothic Revival drawings that continued after Pugin's death. These were the Pugin studentship drawings: a selection from sketches, measured drawings, and details of domestic and ecclesiastical buildings in England and Scotland, drawn while certain artists, among them G. Washington Browne, were Pugin travelling students

of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1878, together with a number of drawings for which the studentship of that year was awarded. These drawings were published at Edinburgh, by D. Douglas, in 1887. They contained seventy-five plates and fifteen pages.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴Information gotten from a card in the card catalogue at the Forty-Second Street Library. The card was under the name of Pugin, Augustus Welby, Studentship Drawings.

CHAPTER IV

A. W. N. PUGIN'S WORK IN THE THEATRE

This chapter contains representations and criticisms of A. W. N. Pugin's work in the theatre. In dealing chronologically with this material, we first examine designs found in his sketchbooks which are examples of Pugin's early theatre work that have not been assigned to any specific productions. In this work Pugin inherited the Baroque influence of Inigo Jones, but soon adopts a surety of his own, and more closely identifies himself with the French inspired Gothic style that had become popular during the Gothic Revival. There follow illustrations and reviews of his four major theatrical productions: Kenilworth, The Elfin Sprite, La Juive, and Le Comte Ory. These are described to give as complete a picture as possible of the fruits of Pugin's theatrical association. Next, Pugin's work at Drury Lane, where he rearranged the stage and made various innovations in the architecture of the house has been examined and are detailed in a description of this theatre during the 1830's. Lastly, Pugin's work in costuming and ornament is examined at length with many illustrations from his book on Ecclesiastical Vestments and Ornaments. This leads to a study of the numerous costumes he did for his productions.

Drawings from Pugin's Sketchbooks

The following descriptions and comments concern the theatre drawings and watercolors found in A. W. N. Pugin's sketchbooks. These sketchbooks are currently in the Drawings Collections of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

The first drawing (Figure 35) is pencil on white paper, blind stamped Bath under a coronet (230 x 185 mm.). Figures 35-38 only show 2/3 of the drawing: at the bottom of the sheet is a design numbered 3 (presumably my Figure 39) somewhat similar to Figure 36. Figure 39 has narrower projecting wings and in the center a slightly raised area at the back of which is an arch, perhaps a screen and rose window above. To the side is a shallow tree arch, presumably an idea for the arch in the center of Figure 39. Finally a detail of the projecting wing from Figure 39. They are all in a bulbous "Gothic" style.

Figure 35 is an early drawing complete with a proscenium arch that is not so much Gothic as Baroque. The spirals and drawings are in pencil on white letter paper. The wing set thus shown here (Figure 36) has a rapid diminution of perspective and looks as if it might be a setting for a Monteverdi opera.

The number 3 drawing I have in Figure 39. It was found in a book called High Victorian Gothic by George L. Hersey.¹ Hersey identifies

¹George L. Hersey (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University, 1972), p. 163 f.n.

Fig. 35.

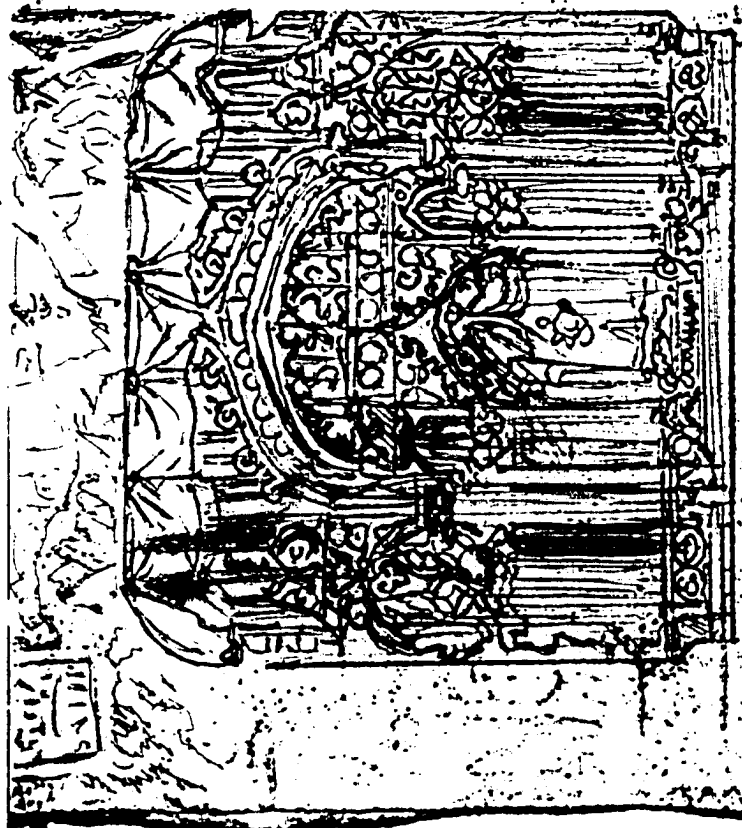


Fig. 36.

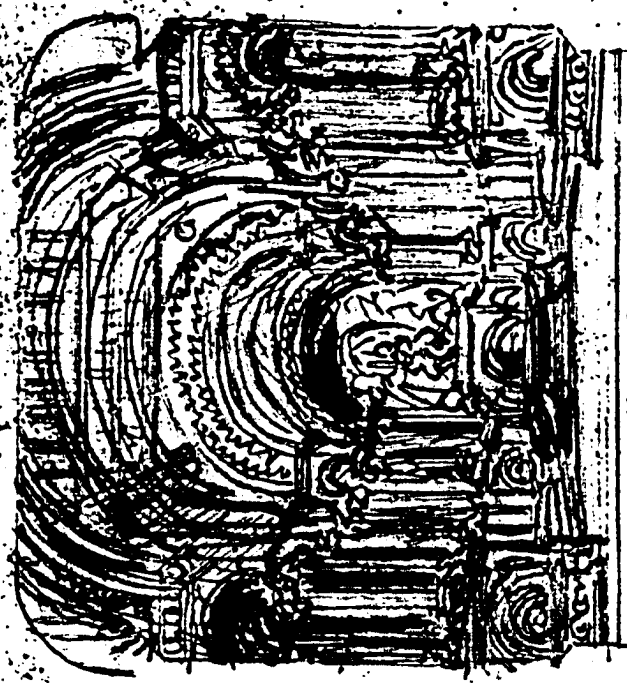


Fig. 37.

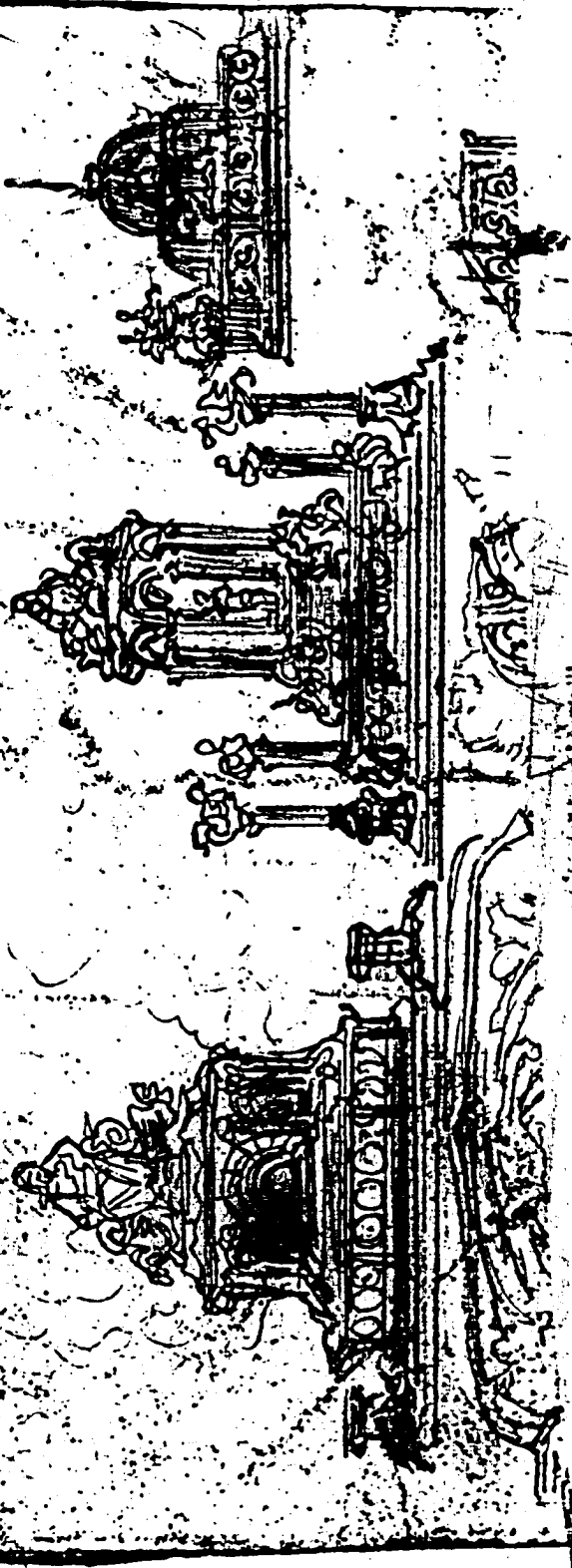
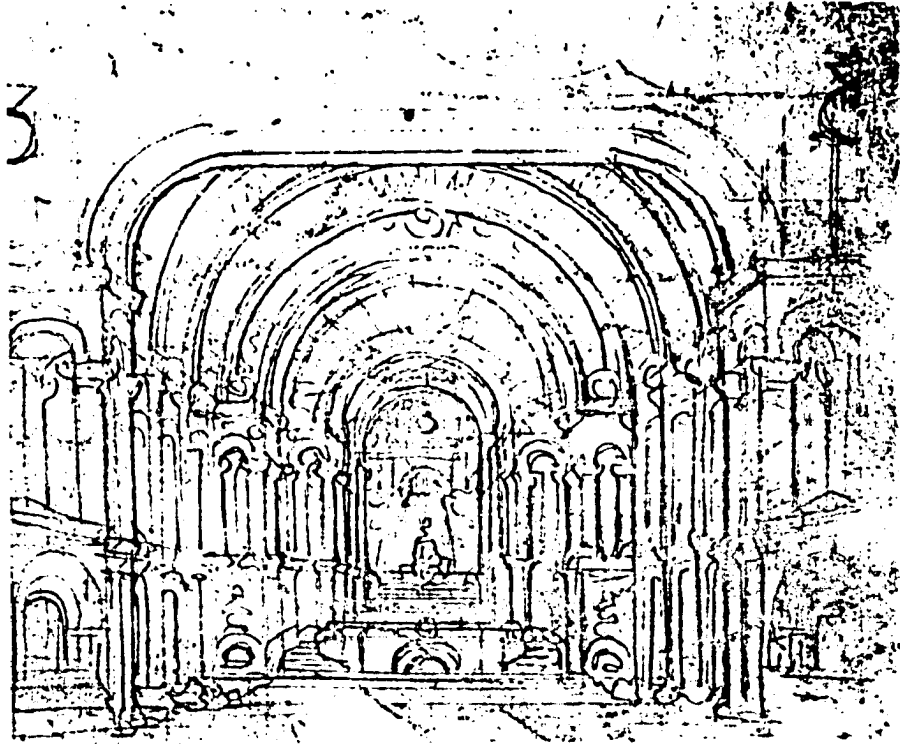


Fig. 38.



■ Drawing (of hall of Leicester Castle?).
A. W. Pugin. Ca. 1838. Courtesy R.I.B.A.

Fig. 39.

it as a drawing of the hall of Leicester Castle used for the settings of an opera at Covent Garden. Hersey concludes that the opera for which Pugin designed these settings (most assuredly Figures 35-39) seems to have been Donizetti's Castello di Kenilworth, which received its world premiere in Naples in 1829 and was performed in London in 1831.² It was in fact a group of settings for the ballet, Deshayes Chateau de Kenilworth of 1831 that Pugin was employed to furnish. The settings (Figures 35-39) Hersey claims is not for Kenilworth but Leicester Castle. "Act 1, scene 5, takes place in a 'galleria magnifica nell'interno del Castello', which in a Pugin version could well be a reproduction of the Norman Great Hall, 84 by 58 feet, at Leicester, which, like the sketch, is aisled and divided into bays. However, the Leicester Hall had a timber roof."³

Indeed, the settings are probably of Leicester Castle, as the Earl of Leicester is one of the protagonists of the story of Kenilworth; however, it is for Deshayes' production of Kenilworth that these scenes were designed. Figure 39 with its staircase and mechanical drawings mirror one particular action in the Deshayes production of which these drawings are a part. "The last scene showed Amy repulsing Varney's advances and escaping from him up a staircase. Across a passage she sees her husband (the Earl of Leicester) and his friends and runs towards them, but at that moment Varney touches a spring, the floor opens, and she falls to her

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

death to the horror and confusion of all."⁴ Therefore Figure 36 is not only the setting for this scene, but has added to it studies for the trick machinery. (Figures 37-38)

The third drawing (Figure 40) is pencil on white paper (155 x 173 mm.). It shows two round arches with a few windows. A Gothic gateway, more solid and less ornate than that to be shown in Figure 36, diagonal wings to either side, apparently coming to the front of the stage, with round arched windows to the first floor. The arch in the gateway is lighter than that in Figure 36, and through it can be seen a flight of steps to a raised platform which has buildings around it. An outline of a proscenium arch surrounds the drawing. Verso: A sketch for the gateway, and a diagram possibly of stage machinery.

I use this drawing as an example of the type of set that Pugin used for The Elfin Sprite magic stairway and gate or as we have just seen, the disappearing trick of Kenilworth. This "flight of steps to a raised platform which has buildings around it" seen through the arch in the gateway seems to be a duplicate of the effect gotten by Clarkson Stanfield that was commented upon at length above.⁵ It is also a duplicate of the effect in Kenilworth described by Hersey. The drawing of the stage machinery on the page seems to add to my conclusion that this drawing was either done for The Elfin Sprite, an 1833 production, or Kenilworth, an 1831

⁴The Morning Post 1, 4, 7, and 14 March 1831, as cited by Ivor Guest, The Romantic Ballet in England (London: Phoenix House Ltd., 1954), pp. 51-52.

⁵See Chapter III, p. 95.

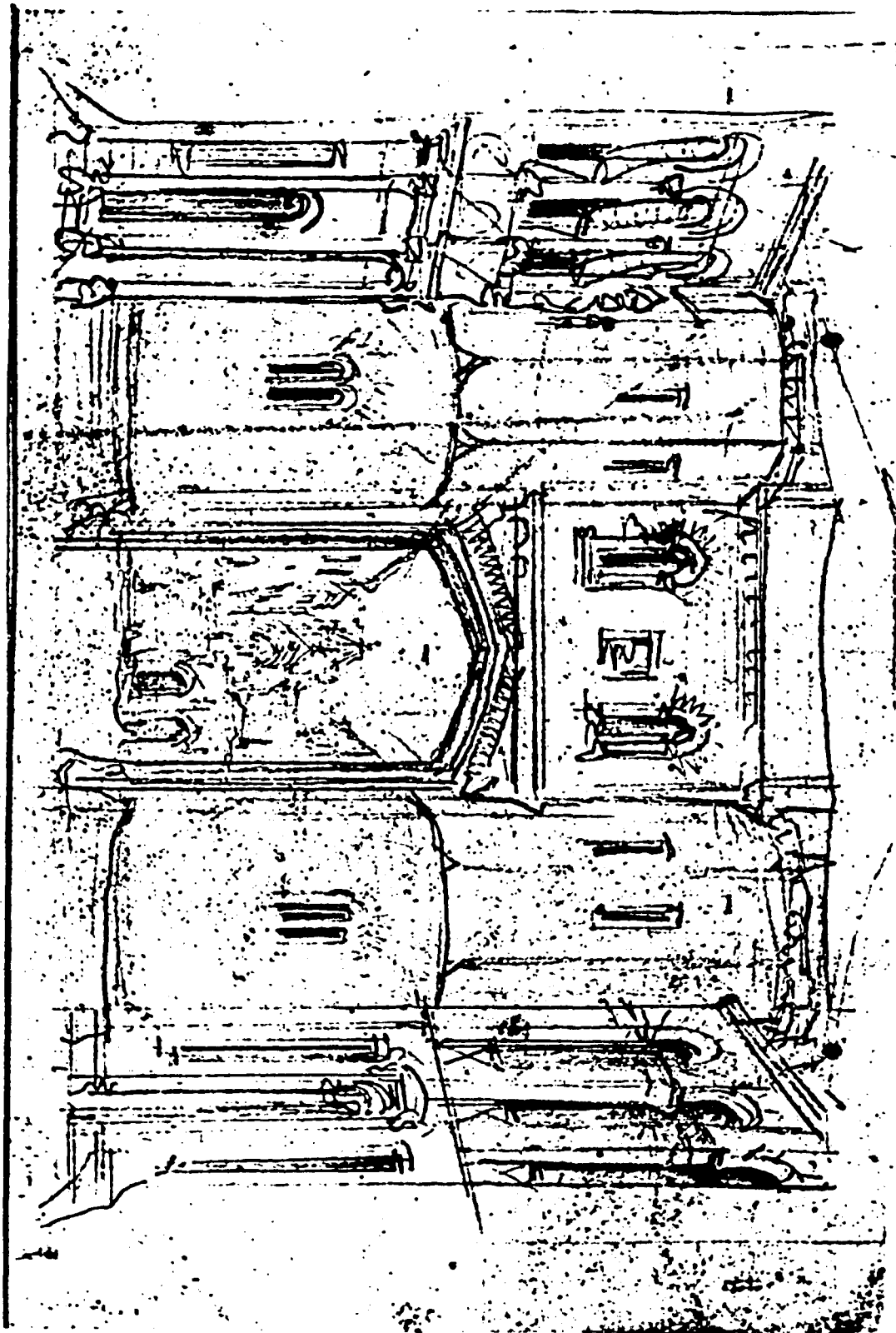


Fig. 40.

production. The use of the "diagonal wings on either side" and the perspective view of the stairs through the arch seem to mirror the influence of Italian Renaissance designers.

The gateway, practical arches, stairways, fountains, traps, monuments, sculptures and proliferation of proscenium wing set-ups seen in Figures 35-40 seem to attest to Ferrey's belief that Pugin utilized set pieces and the architectural portions of a set to a new and fuller degree than they had been used previously by other scene designers. His expertise at stage carpentry and machinery also manifested itself to a great degree in this production of Chateau de Kenilworth.

Stylistically these designs (Figures 35-38) for Kenilworth, a ballet filled with masques and ensemble and solo dancing, reverts to the influence of Inigo Jones' bulbous, Italianate Gothic. This style of design as practiced in the nineteenth century came to be known as Speluncar Gothic.

The Speluncar, or southern style of design, could be executed in polychrome materials and was capable of monumentality. It was largely a paper architecture. The style in a sense was as fantastic as its name, but this very quality, and the freedom it bestowed made it an effective foil for the commonplace reality of "mechanical imitation" and the functional purity that was later to be called "Puginism."⁶

Speluncar churches, as a separate type, were first written about in 1845, though the name was not given them until 1851.⁷ From the first

⁶Hersey, p. 75. ⁷Ibid.

the precedents of Italian Gothic were mentioned in connection with Speluncar; the churches were to be massive, usually round-arched, low-roofed, often glassless and carved with tropical flowers and fruits such as the Victoria Regia, the cactus, the bayan, and the pawpaw. Not only Romanesque but even Anglo-Saxon detail was recommended. Heavy planes, stubby piers, open screens, and, in particular, brilliant polychrome, either structural or applied, were in abundance. There were to be few moldings, and the entire effect was to depend on outline and mass rather than on variety and contrast of surface. One author even suggested "a complete Pointed style, which is almost without windows."⁸

Here also the idea of searching back for the origins of "Catholic" architecture in order to rekindle its living spirit was an issue. However, this search would exhaust the southern climes of the Chinese, Siamese, Indians, Mexican, Egyptian, Persian, and Babylonian with its actual influence on Christian art in the ecclesiology of Chaldea, Ethiopia, and the Easter Empire.⁹ Pugin absorbed this idea and sought out near eastern sources for the Gothic.

Speluncar's most immediate root or fortuitous parallel in the Gothic Revival was Pugin himself. In sketches from his early days as a scene designer at Covent Garden (Figures 35-40) we have found massive, round-arched images quite unlike the small-featured Rundbogenstil generally

⁸Ibid., p. 76.

⁹Ibid.

used by Schinkel (Figure 4), Durand, or J. W. Wild. Instead, with their monumental vaults, these designs at once recall Boullée and anticipate Richardson. They also seem to anticipate what can be divined from verbal descriptions of the tropical designs of the ecclesiologists of the 1840's.¹⁰ Thus, according to the testimony of George Hersey and the stylistic evidences supplied by the High Victorian Gothic period of building, Pugin's earliest theatrical scene designs, those for Chateau de Kenilworth though not in the later Northern-Franco-English caste, still had a great influence in spreading the southern, or Italian Gothic flavor to interested Gothic architects of his day. Thus, even when Pugin went to Inigo Jones to experiment with the precedent masque architecture and design of the seventeenth century his explorations were to bear fruit in the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival. Much of the Gothic that Pugin was to represent in his early delineations had Baroque trimmings set upon Northern Gothic structures. This reflected the range of what was to be considered Victorian Gothic. Victorian Gothic had an enormous range which included: far eastern, northern soaring, later Tudor modifications, and Italian fifteenth and sixteenth century sources.

Figure 41 is pencil on white paper (200 x 240 mm.). Its scale is: 1/2 in. to 1 foot. This illustration seems to show an advance in Pugin's travels along the Gothic Revival road. This exterior view has a combination of elements from Hollar (Figures 42, 43), that is, northern gothic

¹⁰Ibid.

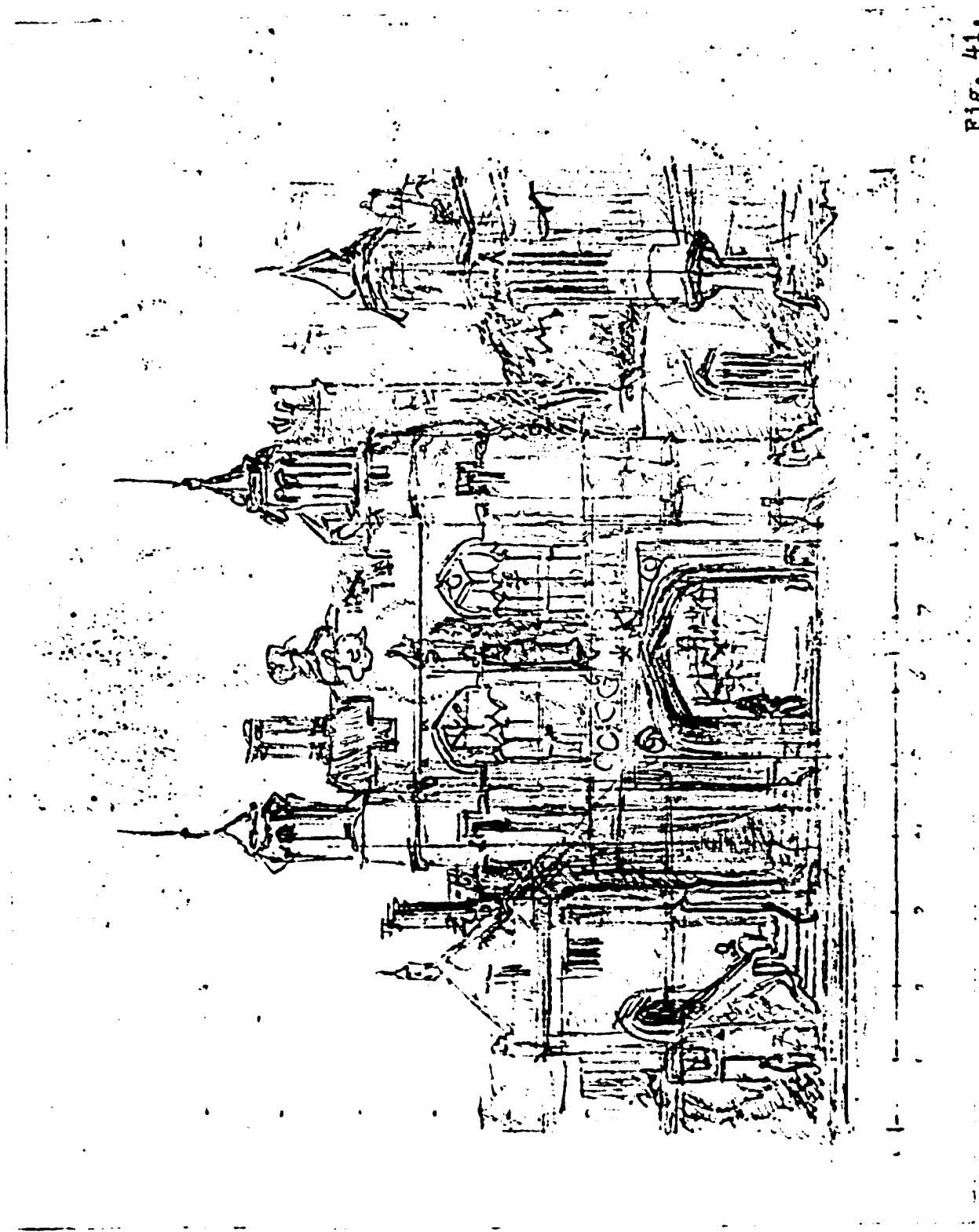


Fig. 41.

110-27

turrets, chimneys, and relative sparseness. It reflects his architecture from the time of his building his home at The Grange, Ramsgate. That would be his La Juive period. However, he still maintains his Christopher Wren Italianate bell towers. Yet, the reduction, if not elimination of the classical orders, and the palladian synthesis of these orders shows this drawing of a stage set to be much advanced and nearer to Pugin's architectural ideal--a functional and aesthetic purity in Gothic building.

The staircase, apparently workable at the left, and the perspective view through the entrance archway toward buildings at the interior show an appreciation of Peruzzi and the Bibienas; Peruzzi for the archway perspective view, and the Bibienas for the desire to accent the stage with different views of staircases. As has been mentioned in his other productions Pugin liked to look for and utilize staircase effects.

Figure 41 is an architecturally planned drawing containing blocked out architectural spaces and graphic numbering dividing the stage into architectural entities. Figure 40 with its intersecting perspecting lines seems to be a layout containing architecturally independent perspectives. This is also true of the perspective layout of Figure 41. These were novel practices drawn from an architectural background. Pugin was a practicing architect, and his knowledge in this field was reflected in his scenic work in an innovative way. These architectural procedures led to the architectural model theory of the early movies (see Chapter V).

Figure 44 is a watercolor in pencil, blue, grey, black and brown washes (117 x 65 mm.) back mounted. It is a view through an Arabic inspired window of a classical architectural courtyard. This appears to be yet another example of Pugin's stylistic virtuosity, as this courtyard is neither Speluncar Gothic, Hollar-northern Gothic, but a strictly Roman classical design. This watercolor does not have the flourishes associated with Inigo Jones's Renaissance Italian designs, and it lacks the palladian fullness or sumptuousness. It is simply a chaste usage of classical roman architectural principles. The circular topped building in the background with its slight lean might be the Leaning Tower of Pisa, or at least inspired by it. The Arabic window seems to be an arbitrary "masking." Such masking effects were utilized to eliminate the need for expansive and expensive sky borders. However, it might represent the near-eastern Gothic looking out on an age that knew it not, an age that was more or less self-sufficient, the Age of Imperial Rome, with a hint of the Renaissance in the background--the Leaning Tower. Therefore, this watercolor is an allegory of the Gothic and the High Renaissance eavesdropping on the greatness of an age that was to predate both, the age of Rome.

Figure 45 is also a watercolor (125 x 80 mm.) back mounted. This apparently is an idea for a set, or the visualization of an actual set as used for a performance. Since the view is also through the same Arabic down-stage masking as Figure 44 it is safe to assume that they were used

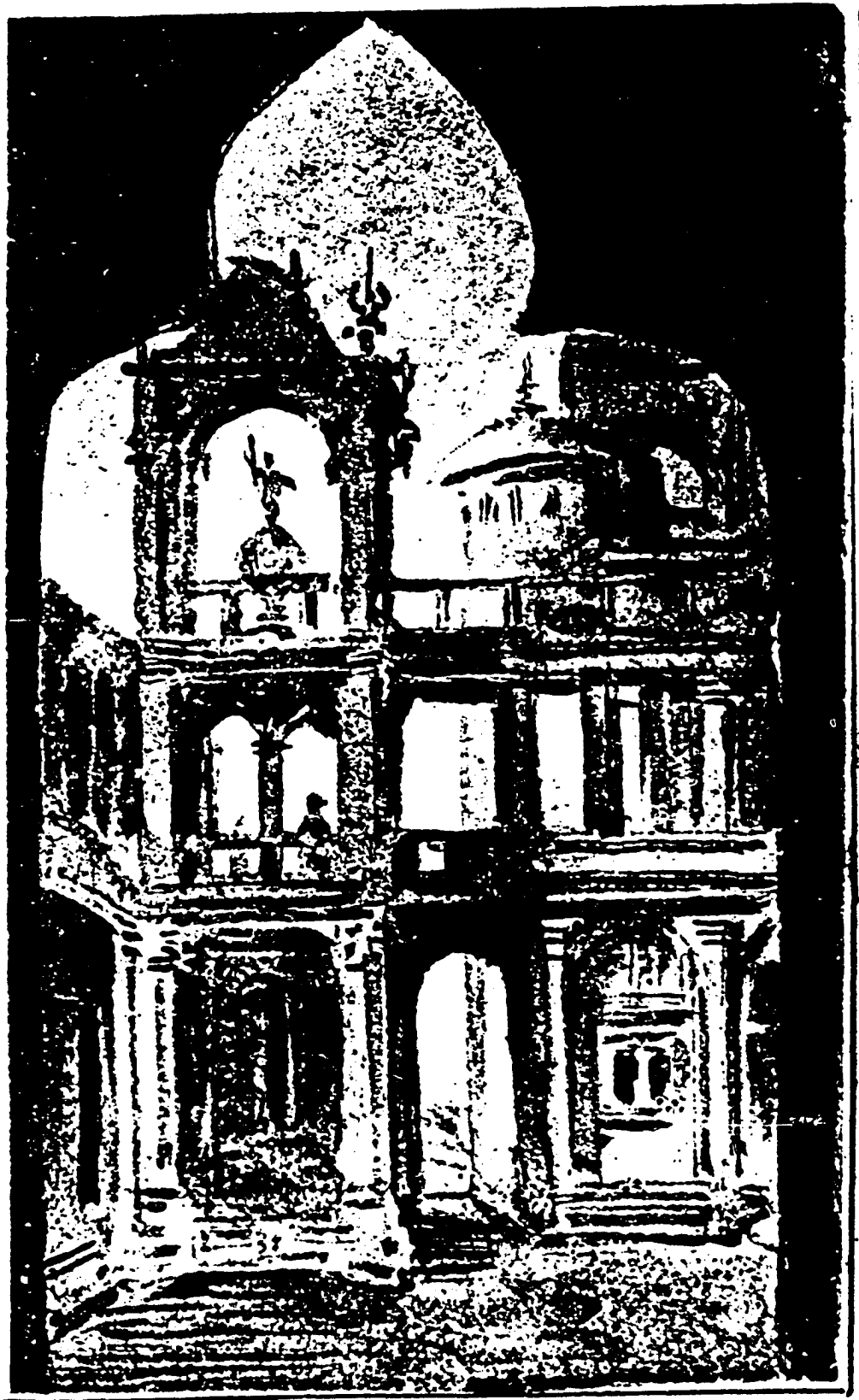


Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.

for the same production. However, the building at the left of this set is from an altogether different tradition than the buildings of the previous plate. Here we undoubtedly have Hollar and his northern European baroque as seen through the eyes of Pugin. The mansard roof and gable, the hint of a turret, and the emphasis on height speak of France. The second story and its shuttered windows and surrounding cornice seem derived from Hollar. Yet, the first story and its hint of pillars, and Palladian bay opening speak of the Renaissance. The steep entering staircase is also Bernini--Palladian Baroque. In the center to the back of the stage, however, is the unmistakable skyline of a medieval Gothic French town. The towers, spires, steeples, the huddled proximity of heights, the blending in with the trees, all bespeak the soul of medieval Gothic, as seen in Pugin's production of La Juive. The seeming reflection of Stonehenge-like spires in a lake directly in front of the sky-line are either the reflection of these Gothic spires, or a hint of another allegory.

This watercolor is another allegory similar to the previous plate. Here, the same Arabic near-eastern inspired window looks out upon a foreground that has a Renaissance-Baroque-Palladian foundation that builds to a northern-Gothic Hollar second story and roof. The leaning tree at the right of the picture represents one view of the source of the Gothic style in nature, the bending trees in an arbor, and the covered spire they produce which approximates the spire and vaulting of a Gothic church. In the background amidst the company of trees is a Medieval Gothic sky

line, which seems to be reflecting a Stonehenge image in the lake before it. Stonehenge is the source of Britain's pre-history. Here, Pugin seems to be hearkening back for a pedigree just as those parvenus who first developed a taste for Gothic Revival architecture. Above the Stonehenge reflection is what seems to be gravestones. An open space, like a tennis court follows this, and approaches the sky line.

These two watercolors are haunting. The style of the drawing seems to be close to Piranesi with their dark outlining and emphasis on height. Yet the most astonishing feature of these watercolors is the feeling that one gets from viewing them. Because of the definition of the architectural styles in use one feels that he is seeing much more than just a view.

The placement of the tree in the foreground with the house in Figure 45 seems to be another example of set pieces. Also, the floor level around the tree and the house both slope upwards toward the side wings. This is an innovative use of the stage floor. In order for this down-stage masking procedure to be effective, the accent must be on height. Obviously Pugin was a man who could effectively utilize height, as his position as church builder and a leading figure in the Gothic Revival attest. The form of the Arabic window with its central curl really is a tricky way of emphasizing the height element of the scene, if not exaggerating it. The cutting off in these two views of the tops of edifices and the tree also gives an added effect of height.

These two watercolors are mysterious vehicles in which Pugin dealt allegorically and experimentally with issues of style, architectural history, and height and perspective considerations. They have an enigmatic quality about them wherein the more one studies them, the more questions are raised. This is born out by the nature of a notebook, or a sketchbook. They serve the purpose of the artist in putting down intimate problems that he confronts in his art and life. Pugin's notebooks are exquisitely illustrated documents not unlike medieval manuscripts in the spirit, delicacy and proliferation of the images and ideas contained within them.

1. Kenilworth

Historical operas were most popular in the 1830's, and they afforded a wide scope for the introduction of beautiful scenery and costume. The manager of the Italian Opera, hearing of A. W. N. Pugin's known skill in medieval art, sought his assistance, and commissioned him to design all the scenery for the new opera-ballet Chateau de Kenilworth with music by Michael Costa, and choreography by A. J. J. Deshayes, brought out on March 3, 1831, at the King's Theatre, London. Here his efforts as a scenic artist, though he did not allow them to interfere with more serious architectural study, were crowned with success, and in 1831, when he was nineteen, he reached the climax of his new career. In this year, he not only produced the Ballet-Opera Chateau de Kenilworth, but laid the foundations for his work on the scenery and decorations for La Juive in Paris. Though there is no definitive evidence that Pugin handled the

costumes for Kenilworth, his costuming for the opera La Juive came after this production, so the possibility for his having a hand in the Kenilworth costuming could have acted as a show piece for future commissions. The Paris production of Le Comte Ory preceded Kenilworth by three years. In all three of these productions, all the scenery was designed by Pugin and executed under his control.¹¹

Chateau de Kenilworth, ballet by M. Deshayes; music by Michael Costa was presented at the King's Theatre March 3, 1831, and at Covent Garden on February 9, 1833.¹² When it appeared at Covent Garden, the Athenaeum called it "magnificent beyond description," because of the pageantry and beautiful contrasts. A pas de deux by Amy and the Earl made "a living picture, full of tenderness and beauty."¹³

Chateau de Kenilworth, one of the most successful of Deshayes' grand ballets, had the added distinction of introducing to ballet two of the most powerful monarchs of the century: Queen Victoria, who, as the eleven-year-old Princess Victoria, saw it on April 19, and Napoleon III, then Prince Louis Napoleon, who was in the Duchess of Bedford's box with his mother on May 31. The ballet adhered to the well-known romance of Sir Walter Scott with unusual fidelity, and though many incidents of the

¹¹Ferrey, pp. 59-60.

¹²Henry Adelbert White, Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 12.

¹³Ibid., p. 134.

novel had of course to be omitted, what there was left retained both the essential features and the balance of the original story.

The first act opened in the Black Bear Inn, where Tressilian learns of Amy Robsart's presence at Comnor Place and the intrigues of Varney to arrange a marriage between his master, the Earl of Leicester, and Queen Elizabeth. The scene then changed to Comnor Place, where the fight between Tressilian and Varney and Leicester's farewell to Amy, whom he has secretly married, are depicted; and finally there was a scene of rustic revelry outside the inn. The incidents in the second act included the Queen's arrival at Greenwich, Raleigh's gesture with the cloak, the reconciliation between Leicester and Sussex, the presentation of Tressilian's petition accusing Varney of having abducted Amy, and Varney's declaring her to be his own wife. For the third act, the scene changed to Kenilworth Castle. After the Queen's arrival a masque is performed before her. When it is over, she retires to a grotto, where Leicester, urged by Varney, joins her. Their tender exchanges are there observed and interrupted by Amy, but Varney, declaring that she is out of her mind, drags her from the grotto. Amy's confidante discloses the truth, and Leicester, acknowledging that Amy is his wife, craves the Queen's pardon. The last scene showed Amy repulsing Varney's advances and escaping from him up a staircase. Across a passage she sees her husband and his friends and runs towards them, but at that moment Varney touches a spring, the floor opens, and she falls to her death to the horror and confusion of all.

The whole strength of the company took part in the ballet, which abounded not only in splendid processions and pageantry, but also in passages of expressive mime. Caroline Brocard "Beautifully embodied all the most 'poetical imaginings' of the lovely and unfortunate heroine;" Lefebvre enacted the role of Leicester; Zoe Beaupre made her first appearance at the King's Theatre in that of Queen Elizabeth (Figure 46), for which, however she was more fitted by "the lightness of her than by the dignity of her form"; and Simon made a sinister Varney.¹⁴ Only one other source was found where the aptness of Miss Beaupre's regal portrayal is commented upon, and that is in an edition of Ces Demoiselles de L'Opera, where it states, "Celebrated for her carriage in porcelaine and her fancy dressed horses, a gift of the prince of Montbarrey. The duchess of Valentinois owned a similar equipage, the following quatrain was sent to her--

Beautiful Valentinous, leave beneath the porch
The fragile carriage with vaulted reason;
The virtue of the piece proceeds all undertaking
To carry it with fragility (delicacy).¹⁵

Miss Beaupre debuted in this piece in the British Isles, as did her scene and costume designer A. W. N. Pugin. Their dual successes were to lead to a pair of successful careers in Britain and on the Continent.

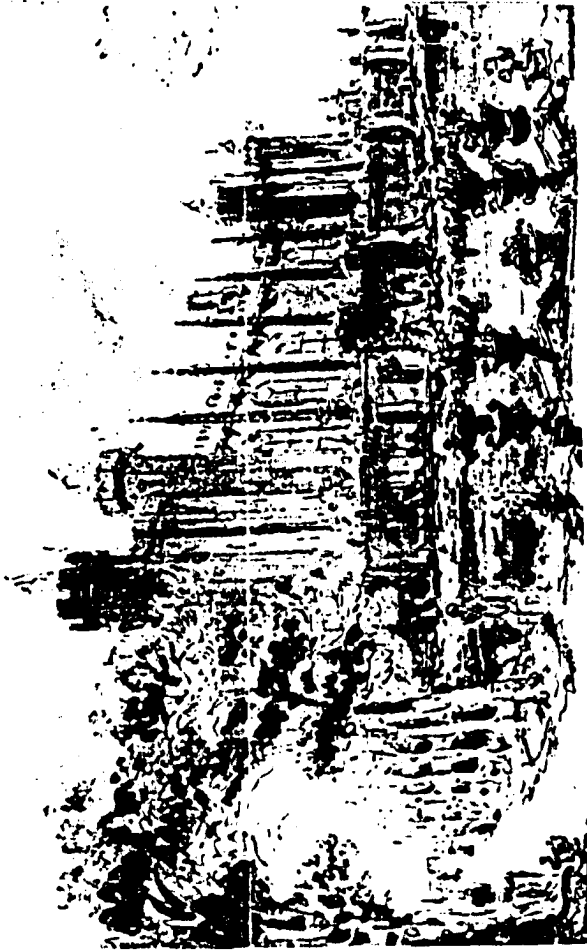
¹⁴Ivor Guest, A Gallery of Romantic Ballet (London: New Mercury Ltd., 1965), pp. 51-52.

¹⁵Ces Demoiselles de L'Opera, Paris, Tresse at Stock, edituers (Paris-Royal, 1837), p. 85.



Fig. 46. *Queen Elizabeth in Ayinworth*
Harrold by A. E. Chubb

Fig. 46.



Ballet of *Kentworth*. Banqueting hall by

moonlight.

Fig. 47.

In his arrangement of the action Deshayes introduced a group inspired by a popular engraving of the time showing Amy Robsart sitting at Leicester's feet, and produced a striking effect in each of the Queen's entrances, particularly that of the third act when she appeared on the stage riding a white palfrey. The final catastrophe was "terribly real." The dances came in the third scene of the first act and in the last act, and featured Paul and his sister, Pauline Montessue; they included several pas in the classical style, and, in contrast, the masque, which was "admirably grotesque" and "produced much merriment."

At the end there was a general call for Deshayes, and the curtain rose to show him, surrounded by the dancers, "the principals of whom, with the utmost bonhomie, thrust him forward, patting him on the back and applauding him after the manner of Coulan and Pauline Leroux on the first night of Masaniello." ¹⁶

The production of Kenilworth created a great sensation, presenting as it did in all its features one of the most gorgeous and correct representations of medieval scenery which had hitherto been witnessed. In addition, according to Ferrey,

the architectural portion of this spectacle, which was considerable, showed great originality of treatment, being in striking contrast with the old and ill-painted scenes, wings, and sky-pieces which formed the staple for all scenery no matter what age or country the story of the opera might be laid. ¹⁷

¹⁶Guest, The Romantic Ballet in England, p. 52.

¹⁷Ferrey, p. 60.

Its music, however, was harshly criticized in the Athenaeum of July 9, 1831, wherein, too, an error of Pugin's was carefully noted:

King's Theatre. With the Othello was coupled the ballet of Kenilworth, Pour l'amour des convenances, it would not be amiss to inform the scene-painter that ships do not usually lie at anchor with their topsails set.¹⁸

In such matters, also, Pugin's knowledge was shortly to increase. Kenilworth, in fact, was an outstanding success, and Pugin was responsible. That great success which attended the performance of this opera was almost entirely due to the attractiveness of the scenery and costume.¹⁹

A musical publication, The Harmonicon, emphasized the fine setting in its short review of the ballet:

As to the Chateau de Kenilworth, it is a delightful union of the arts, a union whence the lovers of music, of scenery (which, when good, is the most effective of painting), of well designed dresses and decorations, of expressive acting, of picturesque, etc. can be fully satisfied. Much of this production is entitled to great praise.²⁰

A scene for the ballet Kenilworth, the banqueting hall by moonlight, is reproduced as Figure 47. Noteworthy in this scene is the architecturally correct handling of Kenilworth Castle, with its diagonal perspective toward stage left, the sixteenth-century Italian wing-set of an arbor on stage right, and the set-piece flower pots and descending stairs suggested at stage left foreground. This design effectively utilizes Italian baroque scenic effects, and shows a familiarity with the bulbous gothic used in seventeenth-century stage designs by Inigo Jones. Both of these sources speak of the style of design Pugin was using in the early stages of his theatrical career. The Kenilworth Castle, however, exhibits a restrained gothic feeling, not the ornate kind of gothic that Jones was apt to use. This shows that Pugin at this time was well on his way toward establishing himself as a champion

¹⁸Ibid., p. 59. ¹⁹Ibid., p. 60. ²⁰Harmonicon, May, 1831, p. 129.

the Spectacle. The scenery, dresses, etc., are of the most costly and appropriate description.²¹

The full Athenaeum review of March 5, 1831 emphasized the visual magnificence of the production:

M. Deshayes' new ballet was produced, and we must say, as a whole, it is magnificent beyond description. Sir Walter Scott's beautiful novel has been closely studied and well understood in this adaptation of it to the stage. We confess we had some fears for the undertaking, considering the subject as too familiar with the generality of the audience, but the admirable tact of M. Deshayes has thrown even an additional magic over the story, and enchanted us by his realization of the pageantry, romantic situations, and beautifully contrasted characters of the original. A pas de deux by Brocard and Lefebvre (as Amy Rosart and Leicester) was a living picture, full of tenderness and beauty--her kneeling to him when he is seated beneath the canopy, was exquisite. We object to Brocard's dress; she appeared more like a Georgian or Persian harem girl than the simple, retired Amy; but her dancing was beautiful. . . . A Madlle. Zoe Beaupre, made her debut in the Virgin Queen, and looked and acted with dignity and expression. . . . The scenery is gorgeous in the extreme, particularly Kenilworth Castle by moonlight, which does infinite credit to Messrs. Grieve . . . at the conclusion, M. Deshayes was thunderingly called for by the audience to receive in person the applause of his decidedly splendid production. The house was well attended.²²

The critic's comments about the Kenilworth of Scott shows how popular his works were. There was actually a situation in the 1830's where discerning members of the literary public felt saturated with his work to the point that they held reservations on the efficacy of further popularizations of his material. The influence of chivalric literature,

²¹The Theatrical Observer and Daily Bill of the Play (London: Friday, March 4, 1831). No. 2876.

²²Athenaeum, March 5, 1831.

THE
Theatrical Observer;
AND
Daily Bills of the Play.

“Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.”—ORNALDO.

No. 2876. Friday, March 4, 1831. Price 1d.

“The Play’s the thing!”—Ask for Thomas’s Observer.

Cobent Garden Theatre.

SHAKESPEARE’S Comedy of *Much Ado About Nothing* was performed at this Theatre last night, followed by *Married Lovers*, and *The Omnibus*.—The house was full.

Drury Lane Theatre.

The Brigand, *The Illustrious Stranger*, and the Pantomime, were the entertainments at this house last night, which was numerous and fashionably attended.

Dapmarket Theatre.

The performances of that very talented actor M. Bouffé are, we fear, drawing to a close; we, therefore, strongly advise all persons who have a taste for natural and true acting, to take the opportunity to see him before he leaves us, not we trust for a very long time. The performances, last night, were ‘*Le Malade Imaginaire*,’ ‘*Le Bénéficiaire*,’ and ‘*Voltaire chez les Capucins*.’ The Opera being on the same night prevented the house being so fashionably attended as would otherwise have been the case.

King’s Theatre.

LAST night after the Opera of *Il Matrimonio Segreto*, a new Ballet founded on Sir Walter Scott’s novel of Kenilworth, and entitled *Le Chateau de Kenilworth*, was produced at this Theatre with triumphant success; it is certainly, in every sense of the word, the best ballet that has been seen in this country, both as regards the interest of the story and the gorgeous splendour of the Spectacle. The story follows very correctly that of the novel:—It commences with a scene at the Black Bear, at Cumnor; at the manor of Cumnor Place, Amy Robsart is discovered, and is visited by Leicester.

The second act passes at the Queen’s Palace at Greenwich, and it is not until the third, we arrive at Kenilworth; here the story very closely follows the novel;—Amy Robsart has an interview with the Queen in the garden, Leicester’s marriage is discovered, Amy is borne off to a tower of the castle, and perishes by the falling of the trap-door, as related in the novel, the only difference being that the catastrophe in the ballet occurs at Kenilworth. Mons. Deshayes by the production of this splendid ballet, has confirmed his high reputation; and if possible increased it; at the conclusion he was loudly called for and appeared surrounded by the corps de ballet, to receive the enthu-

RESERVE DANCE CLIPPING

Fig. 48.

and Arthurian romance played its part in that a Persian influence would mesh with a Gothic situation's decor. The set of "Kenilworth Castle by moonlight" may have influenced a moonlight diorama by Daguerre. (See Figure 50.)

The Morning Post notes the magnificence of the decor:

This production of the ballet was "very grand and elaborate." Grieve surpassed himself in designing the sets: the scene of the Thames of Greenwich, with the arrival of the Queen and the Royal cortege in State barges, and that at Kenilworth Castle ablaze with light for the revels were particularly brilliant. No less magnificent were the costumes, to the preparation of which considerable historical research had been devoted.²³

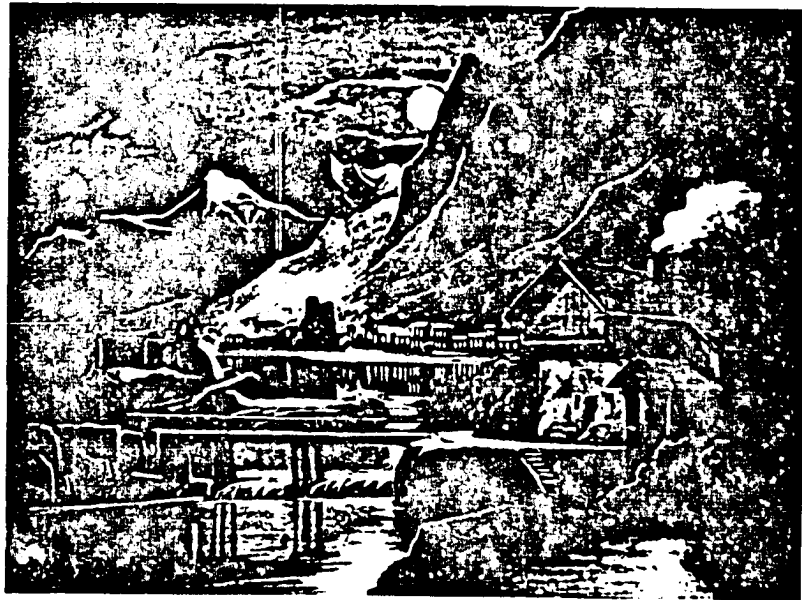
Pugin, as a nineteen year old, is not given name credit in the reviews. However, a historical sketch of the revolution that was going on in the scenic department of the King's Theatre would be meaningless without an appreciation of his contribution.

Deshayes was the first choreographer to benefit from the revolution that took place in the scenic department of the King's Theatre under Laporte. "The old conventional scenes," wrote the Times in 1839, "which were almost worn down to a display of their naked canvas, and which represented by turns ancient Rome as Greece, modern Italy or Constantinople, have passed away, and given place to scenes which for beauty will not yield to the works of any theatrical artist, while the characters, instead of wearing the first suit of clothes that the gods or dressmaker

²³Morning Post, 1, 4, 7, and 14 March 1831, as cited by Guest, The Romantic Ballet in England, p. 51.



■ Dioramic coloured lithograph of an alpine village, c. 1836. Daylight scene by reflected light



■ The same picture. Night scene by transmitted light

Fig. 50.

(warranted, if repaired, to convert a suit of amour into a Highland kilt) might provide, have been clad in dresses both appropriate and, if necessary, magnificent. The names of William Grieve, stage designer at the King's theatre from 1829 until his death in 1844, and of Charles Marshall who succeeded him in 1845--both artists in their own right--deserve honorable mention in the annals of the Romantic Ballet in London."²⁴

2. The Elfin Sprite

The next piece of evidence of a Pugin scene design appearing in London is from the Covent Garden production of The Elfin Sprite, and the Grim Grey Woman, given April 8, 1833. There is reproduced here a playbill (Figure 51) for Covent Garden Theatre, Wednesday, April 10, 1833, on which the following appears:

Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden Complete Success!!! The new Serio-Comic Legendary Fairy Tale called The Elfin Sprite, and The Grim Grey Woman, was received on its second presentation with roars of laughter and applause. The Splendid Scenery and Machinery were honored throughout with enthusiastic approbation. This Highly Successful Novelty will therefore be repeated every evening until further notice. The Scenery, Machinery, Dresses and Decorations are entirely new. The Overture and Music composed and selected by Mr. G. Stansbury. The Scenery painted by Mr. Grieve, Mr. T. Grieve, and Mr. W. Grieve. Assisted by Messrs. Pugin, Thom, Morris, etc. The Tricks Decorations Changes and Transformations by Mr. W. Bradwell. The Machinery by Mr. Sloman--The Dresses by Mr. Mead and Mrs. Galding. The whole arranged and produced by Mr. Farley.²⁵

²⁴Ibid., pp. 51-52.

²⁵This playbill can be found in the Marshall and Stock, Ira Aldridge book mentioned above, Figure 7.

The scenes are described in this playbill as:

The Elfin Glen In The Drackenfeldt. A Ferry across the Rhine, Sir Joddril's Chateau in the distance. Interior of Julian's Cottage. Grand Tapestry Chamber, in the Chateau of Hildersheim [sic].²⁶

A London periodical of the period called The Atlas, in its Sunday, April 14, 1833 issue had the following revue published of this "Legendary Spectacle":

Theatricals - Covent Garden.

As it is scarcely possible to conceive a more valuable property than would be the patent right of performing spectacles, while the exclusive privilege of perpetrating the drama is a matter which appears to grow daily less worth contending for, it becomes the critic to study the laws which regulate the production of pantomimes and Easter pieces, to banish from his mind the recollections of poetry and passion, and to care only for an accurate eye, and an ear than can endure anything. Thus qualified, let him sit down to the examination of the Grim Grey Woman, and he will rise edified and delighted. A moonlight view of a castle seen through a wood, in which fairies grow in clusters like nuts, and spring, like squirrels, from bough to hole, introduces us to the grim guide of virtue, the Grey Woman, and her elfin sprite, with a tail of Brownies and Will-o'-the-Wisps, as long as Leaming-lane; Mr. H. Payne's activity, and Miss Poole's precocity being as apparent as ever, to say nothing of the antics of Master Mitcheson, who has not forgotten his Christmas honors in the Cat. We are told at once that a lady fair, whom we afterwards find to be Miss Romer, is in a predicament. She has one lover for herself, and another for her fortune, and a third, who loves her because he likes it, and carries her off because he can. The lover she loves is poor Julian (Mrs. Vining), who has been cheated by the coxcomb, Sir Joddril (Keeley), out of his fortune, and is frightened by the ruffian, Baron Wolfenfeldt (Haines), almost out of his wits. Sir Joddril is patronized by the father of Lady Blanche, who bequeathed her in his will to the heir of Hildersheim, which Julian was by his right, and Joddril is by his wrong. However, in the Easter holidays, there is always a fairy to be had, for love or money, to help young lovers

²⁶Ibid.

→ at a pinch, and the elfin sprite devotes herself and adherents to assist Julian against Wolfenfeldt, and the Grim Gray Woman delights in brining Joddril into all sorts of difficulties to keep him out of the way of the lovers. Poor Keeley suffers a metempsychosis, and is transformed into the likeness of a little eagle-beaked, turtle-finned, ape-browed, lobster-paced lump of deformity, to the terror of the servants at Hildebrand, and to the great delight of the devil's darlings, the jack-a-lantern spunkies that follow in the train of the sorceress. The elfin sprite assumes the disguise of a Savoyard and of an old woman, and in both proves the goodness of Julian's heart; in return for which, she shows him a phantasmagoria of his lady and her lovers, and afterwards builds a bridge, of a very romantic character, to help him up to the top of the Drachenfels, and does not leave him till the place of a sprite is supplied by his mistress. Sir Joddril is no less constantly persecuted by his supernatural attendant, who even goes a hunting with him, and pitches him into a slough, out of which he makes his way in a most odorous condition. The Baron is delivered over to a pair of giant nutcrackers of sheer fire, by which he is grappled like a filbert, and carried off to the regions below "in a very awful manner," as the story-books say.

The Rhine, better known than the Tyne, supplies subjects for the out-of-doors scenery, all of which is beautiful. The interiors are superb; one, more particularly, in which cedar doors, inlaid with gold, stand between tapestried walls of the most magnificent woof. The magic bridge or staircase, that suddenly descends from the steep of the Drachenfels, is a splendid piece of machinery. In one scene, the sudden multiplication of the character (as in Faustus), where the likenesses of the lady rush through the wall and recede as rapidly, is very well contrived; and when we have said that three beautiful horses are very prominent characters, as are also a bear and a pack of hounds, we need hardly add that this piece is a regularly constructed, legitimate, and powerful drama, according to the new school.²⁷

A most favorable review of The Elfin Sprite was printed in the Athenaeum of April 13, 1833:

Covent Garden. The Elfin Sprite and the Grim Gray Woman was produced, to regale the holiday children of all sizes; and

²⁷The Atlas, London, Sunday, April 14, 1833, pp. 225-226.

regale those who were there it certainly did, for it is perhaps the most agreeable of its class since "Peter Wilkins," of pleasant memory. . . . The machinery and tricks is in the best style of Covent Garden, long established as the theatre in which such matters are best managed. We could quarrel with the management, or the author, or whoever is father to the fault, for the views on the Rhine not being genuine. If there were not scenes upon that beautiful river fully equal to any of those which fiction has produced in the present instance; and if those scenes were not the very head-quarters of legendary tales, it would be a different thing; but where truth is to be had superior even to fiction, we can imagine no excuse for its being disregarded. We have no other fault to find; for the execution of the scenery is excellent. The painting of the Grand Tapestry Chamber is admirable. The arrangement of the Magic Stairs and Elfin Ladder is also as new as it is good. The Flight of Fairies, in the last scene, gives a lively and tasteful finish to this Easter show, which possesses an ample variety to please the eyes without being deficient in a fair proportion of broad fun to gratify the ear.²⁸

It is on record that for two years Pugin worked at Covent Garden, inventing devices to heighten the effect of those operas the scene of which was set in the middle age.²⁹ A playbill with Pugin's name on it for the April 10, 1833 Covent Garden production of The Elfin Sprite appears as plate No. 51. This gives Pugin's span of work at Covent Garden with the Grieves a minimum of six years (1827-1833). During this period Pugin built his own private theatre in his father's attic where he experimented with new and miraculous transformations and scenic techniques. Also, during this time Pugin visited Paris and worked for the Paris Opera. It was at this period that our reviewer informs us "The machinery and tricks is in the best style of Covent Garden, long established as the theatre in which such matters are best managed." Pugin was a part of the backstage

²⁸Atheneum, April 13, 1833.

²⁹Rope, p. 2.

milieu at Covent Garden. His connection with Daguerre, who was the Continent's greatest trick technician adds more convincing proof of just how much Covent Garden's prestidgial matters were Pugin's metier. The description of "the sudden multiplication of the character (as in Faustus), where the likenesses of the lady rush through the wall and recede as rapidly" is a dioramic effect borne of Daguerre. "The magic bridge or staircase, that suddenly descends from the steep of the Drachenfels" is a piece of machinery whose effect also was drawn from a Daguerre dioramic model. Pugin had not visited the Rhine at this time in his life so his lack of geographical exactitude is understandable; however, though this technicality is raised, the scenery is praised as "excellent."

3. La Juive

In a pamphlet entitled, Who Was the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament?, A. W. N. Pugin's son, Edward Welby Pugin, in his effort to claim for his deceased father credit for designing the most important buildings in Britain, points to his father's work as a scenic artist as a foundation for his argument:

Anyone who has beheld his scenes and decorations in the Operas of Kenilworth (in London), or La Juive and Count Ory (in Paris), will have recognized a richness of conception, powers of delineation, and a knowledge of Gothic architecture and detail perfectly wonderful.³⁰

³⁰E. W. Pugin, p. 3

The opera La Juive was produced on the Continent at Paris February 23, 1835. La Juive was in five acts, music by Jacques Halevy, libretto by Augustin Eugene Scribe, produced at the Paris Opera. La Juive was one of the first grand operas to which brilliant mise en scene, gorgeous decorations, etc., added success.³¹

The scene of the opera is laid in Constance; time, 1414. Leopold, a prince of the empire, returning from the wars, is enamored of Rachel, a beautiful Jewess, daughter of Eleazar, the goldsmith. The better to carry out his plans, he calls himself Samuel, and pretends to be a Jewish painter. Circumstances, however, dispel the illusion, and Rachel learns that he is no other than Leopold, husband of the Princess Eudoxia. Overcome with indignation at the discovery of his perfidy, she publicly denounces his crime, and the Cardinal excommunicates Leopold, and pronounces his malediction on Rachel and her father. Rachel, Eleazar, and Leopold, are thrown into prison to await the execution of the sentence of death. During their imprisonment Eudoxia intercedes with Rachel to save Leopold's life, and at last, moved by the grief of the rightful wife, she publicly recants her statement. Leopold is banished, but Rachel and her father are again condemned to death for conspiring against the life of a Christian. Eleazar determines to be revenged in the moment of death upon the Cardinal, who has sentenced them, and who is at the head of a

³¹Charles Annesley, Home Book of the Opera (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1937), p. 340.

church which he hates; and just before they are thrown into a caldron of boiling oil, reveals to the spectators that Rachel is not his own, but an adopted daughter, saved from the ruins of the Cardinal's burning palace, and that she is his child.³²

The Gothic Cathedral of Constance dominates the action.³³ In Act One, the curtain goes up to reveal a square in the city of Constance, in Switzerland (the action takes place throughout in this city). On one side of the square can be seen the great door of a church (Figure 52); on the other, amongst other shops, the house and workroom of Eleazar. Act Two shows a room in Eleazar's house, where the feast of the Passover is being celebrated (Figure 53). Act Three can begin with an indoor scene for Eudoxia and Rachel (Figure 54), or when this scene is omitted, the act begins in the gardens of the Emperor's palace, where a festival in honor of Leopold is in progress (Figure 56). The Emperor is seated at a high table, and a ballet is performed. Act Four is a chamber in the Court of Justice (Figure 57). In Act Five, from a tent, a view is to be had of the ground on which the scaffold is erected for the martyrdom of the two Jews (Figure 58). Rachel mounts the scaffold and is thrown into the cauldron by the executioners³⁴ (Figures 59, 60).

³²Frederick P. Upton and Felix Borowski, The Standard Opera Guide (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, Garden City, 1895), p. 139.

³³Frederick M. Martens, A Thousand and One Nights of Opera (New York: F. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), p. 147.

³⁴Gustave Kobbe, Kobbe's Complete Opera Book (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), pp. 681-685.

ACTE 1. — SÉRÉNADE.



6. — La Juive

ÉDITIONS MUSICALES ÉCONOMIQUES

Depuis les traités internationaux. Publié avec l'autorisation de Herby Lacombe et G. Éditeurs à Paris.
J. TALLANDIER, ÉDITEUR, 8, rue Saint-Joseph, PARIS (2^e arr^t).

Fig. 52.

ACTE III. — BOLÉRO



LA JUIVE

ÉDITIONS MUSIQUES ÉCONOMIQUES

Leçon selon les traités internationaux. Publié avec l'autorisation de HENRY LAMONTAGNE et C^{ie} Éditeurs à Paris.
J. TALLANDIER, ÉDITEUR, 8, rue Saint-Joseph, PARIS (2^e arr.).

Fig. 53.

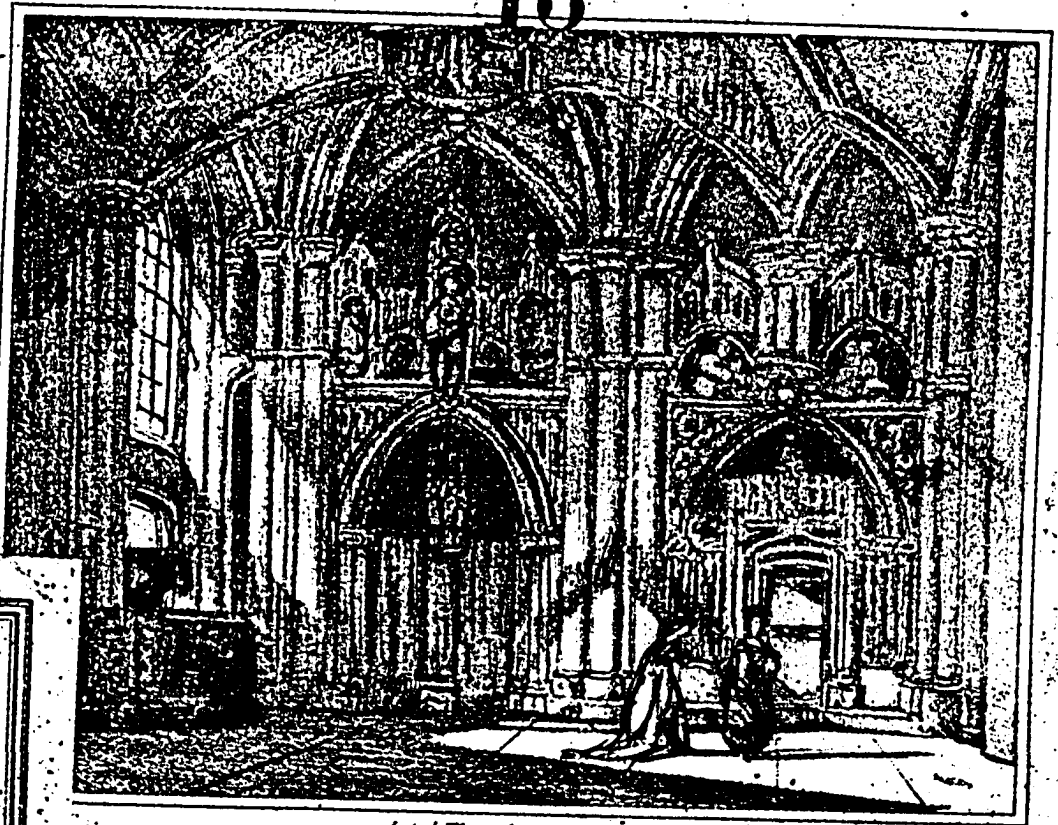


LA JOUE
D'OPERA

J. TALLANDIER, EDITEUR, 5, rue Saint-Joseph, PARIS (2^e arr.).

Fig. 54.

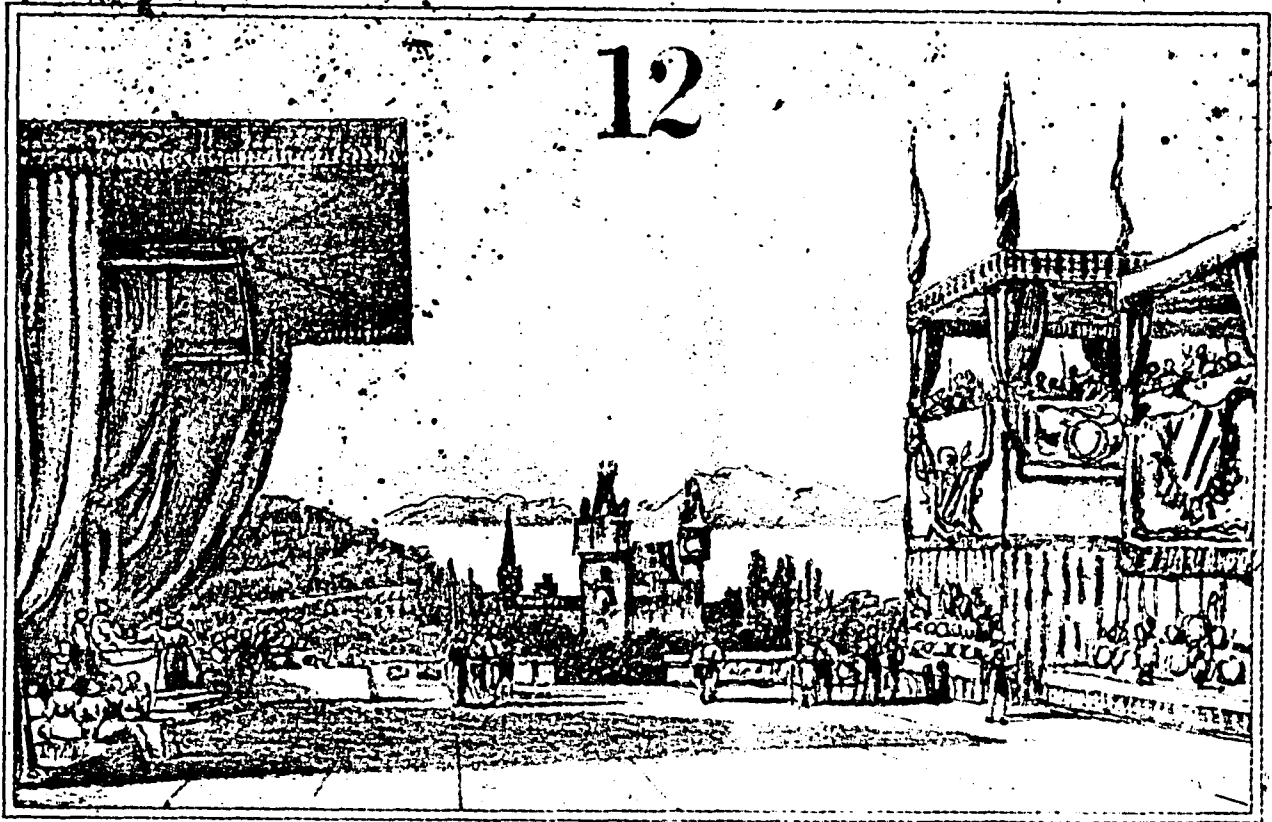
13



Les Arts et Métiers, par M. de la Harpe



Fig. 55.



Les Variétés, 1854

Mosaïque

QUATRE SUITES

Mélange des Aïres, Duos, Marches, Chœurs.

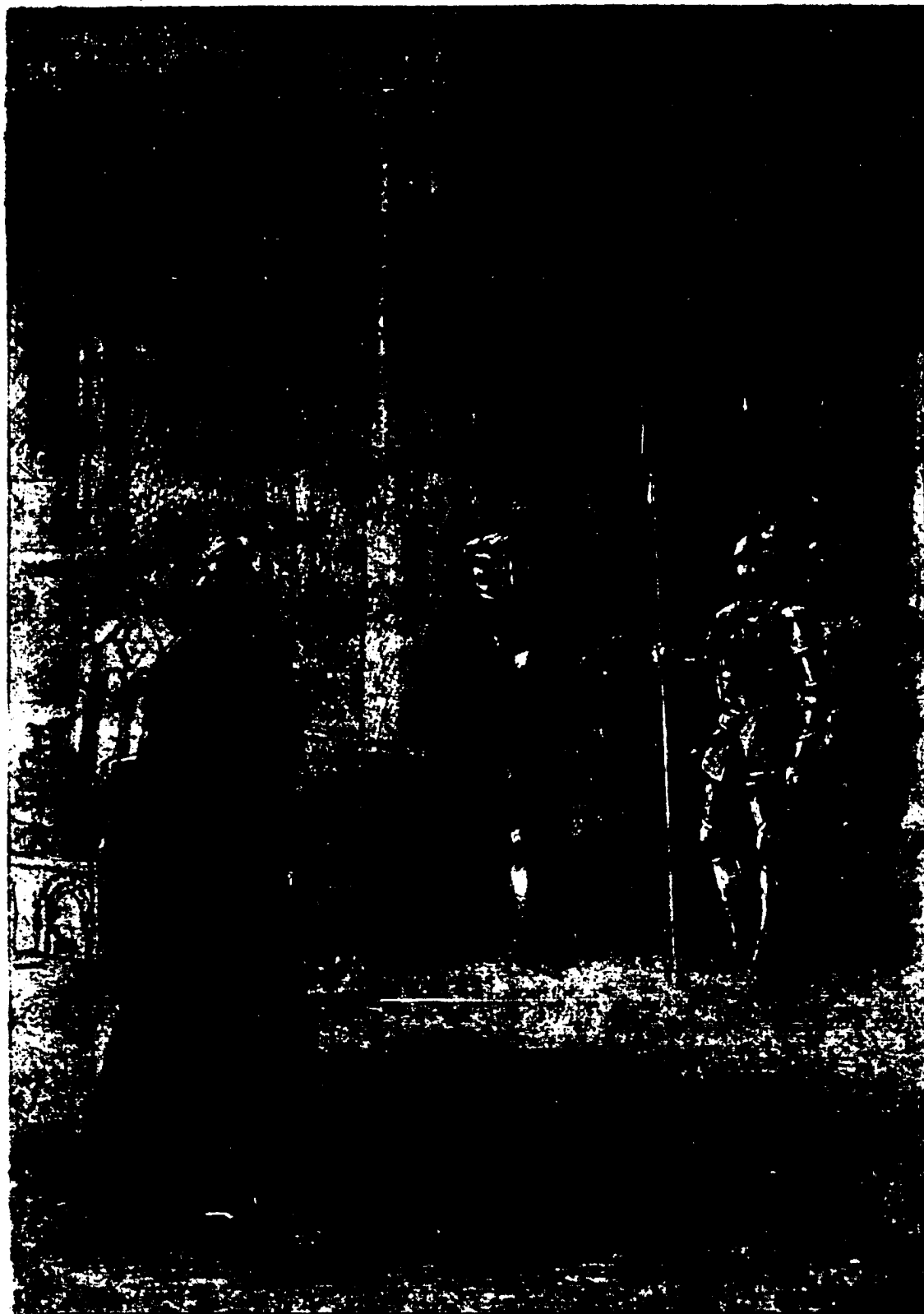
DE LA VILLE

de F. Halevy

pour Piano

Fig. 56.

ACTE III. — FINALE.



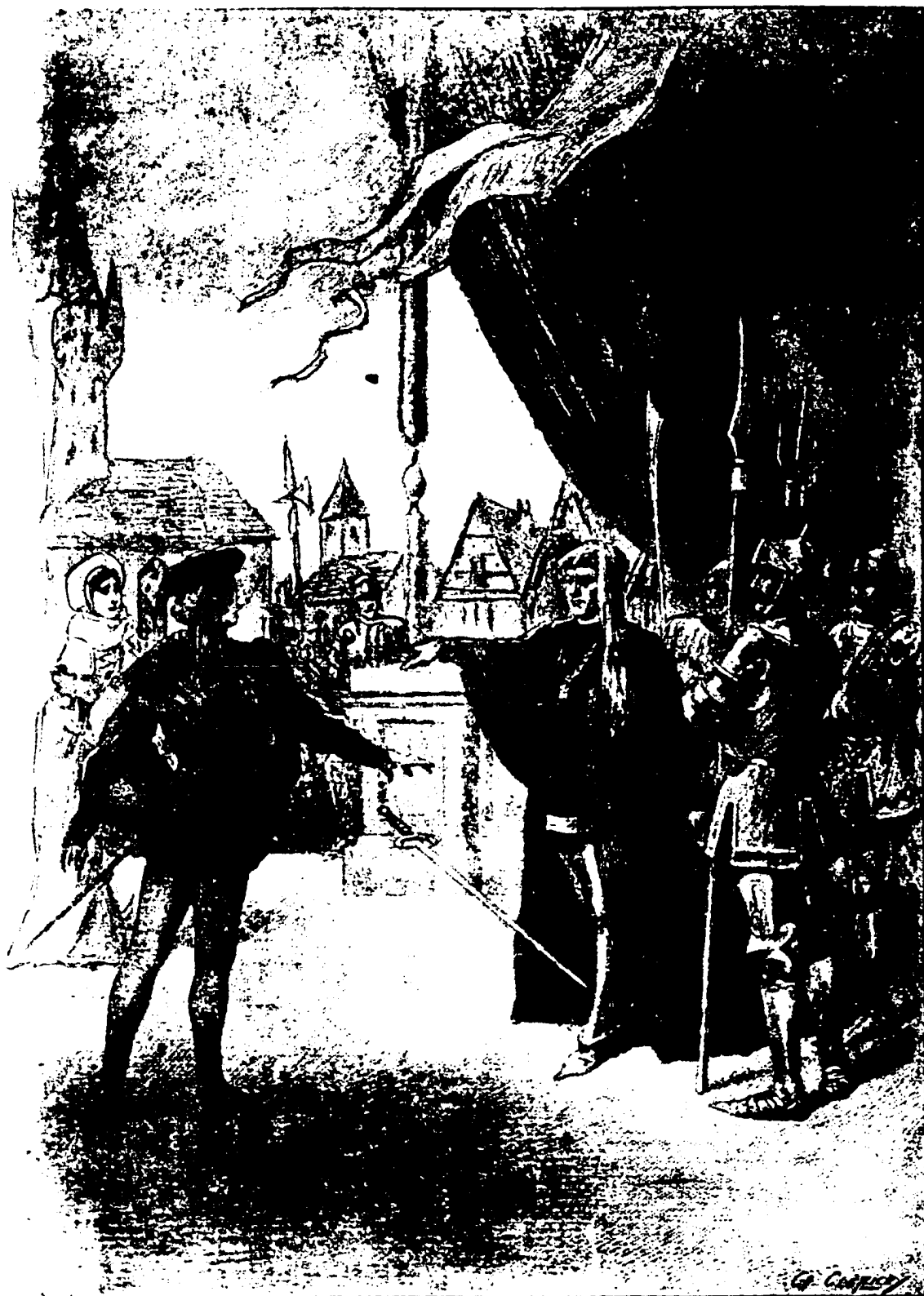
— LA JUIVE

ÉDITIONS MUSICALES BOHÉMIQUES

Reproduit selon les traités internationaux. Publié avec l'autorisation de Messrs Treves et Co. Éditeurs à Paris.

J. TALLANDIER, ÉDITEUR, 8, rue Saint-Joseph, PARIS (2^e arr^t).

Fig. 57.



LA JUIVE

OPERA EN CINQUE ACTES

Représenté pour la première fois à l'Opéra le 22 Mars 1837, avec l'autorisation de Messrs. Lamoignon et de M. de La Fayette à Paris.

J. TALLANDIER, EDITEUR, 8, rue Saint-Joseph, PARIS. — BRUX.

Fig. 58.



LA JUIVE

LEONCE

J. TAILLADIER, EDITEUR

Fig. 59.

LA JUIVE

OPÉRA EN CINQ ACTES

Paroles de E. SCRIBE

Musique de F. HALÉVY



1. — LA JUIVE

EDITIONS MUSICALES ÉCONOMIQUES

Déposé selon les traités internationaux. Publié avec l'assentiment de Henry Lemoine et Co, Éditeurs à Paris.

J. TALLANDIER, ÉDITEUR, 8, rue Saint-Joseph, PARIS (2^e arr^e).

Fig. 60.

The French periodical Gazette Musicale de Paris, in its 1835 edition gave the following reviews to this production:

The most beautiful cortege that anyone ever saw marched majestically around the theatre.³⁵

.....
It is really impossible to imagine the magnificence of this scene, all the people bustling and flowing over the huge portico, these companies of halberdiers with their shining swords, the princes of the church decked out with purple and gold, the richly caped horses, the clicking of all of the armor, all this sparkling, glitter and noise was enough to make one dizzy.³⁶

.....
They gave in then to the director and to the art of the dance the task of occupying our senses during a part of the third act which began with the celebration that Eudoxia organized in honor of her husband. It is unnecessary to describe the stateliness of the decoration of the ballet and of the banquet and also the sumptuousness and the accuracy of the costumes. This theatrical magnificence is brought to such ends that although at this moment the orchestra came forth with all its artfulness its efforts were almost nullified by the great prestige of the scenery.³⁷

.....
The prodigious luxury which characterizes the staging, scenery, and design, is at all times evident...³⁸

.....
For the staging, decors, and costumes obviously no one has tried up till now anything equal to that. The whole Middle Ages is brought to life with the fidelity and accuracy which we are accustomed to with M. Duphanchel, it is true with a splendour in decorating the most insignificant object, elevating to great heights the prize of the brilliant discoveries of the artist.³⁹

On April 10, 1835, Donizetti, returning to Naples from Paris--where he had supervised the staging of his Marino Falieri and had attended the

³⁵Gazette Musicale de Paris (Paris: Au Bureau D'Abonnement, Rue Richelieu, 1835), No. 97, p. 72. Translation my own.

³⁶Ibid., p. 73. ³⁷Ibid., p. 91. ³⁸Ibid., p. 119.

³⁹Ibid., p. 75.

premiere of I Puritani and either the premiere or a very early performance of La Juive--wrote as follows from Leghom to his friend Innocenzo Giamplerei:

I saw La Juive at the Grand Opera . . . and I say that I saw it because as for popular music it has none. Illusion is carried to the extreme. . . . You would swear that everything is real. The king's armory real, the costumes of the armed men, doublets, lances, etc., real; and those which were false--the doublets of the extras--were copied from real ones and cost 1500 francs each. Too much truth . . . the final scene too horrible and the more horrible because of so much illusion. At Constance (the scene of the opera)! A Jewess, because of her relations with a Christian, is thrown with her father into a caldron of boiling oil. Before it comes to that, we go through a thousand surprises, but everything is rich and everything is magnificent--if one closes one eye.⁴⁰

There are several English productions of La Juive that are of interest to this study due to the possibility that Pugin's designs for the French La Juive may have been utilized, if, indeed, Pugin himself, did not create new designs for these productions.

Although a spoken version of Scribe's drama, adapted by James Robinson Planche, and with incidental music by Thomas Simpson Cooke, had been given at Drury Lane on November 16, 1835, London did not hear Halevy's opera until July 29, 1846, again at Drury Lane, in French. It was sung at Covent Garden in Italian on July 25, 1850. La Juive was sung five times at Covent Garden that season, twice in 1852, and once in 1893, and then vanished from the repertoire.⁴¹ The Gazette Musicale

⁴⁰Wallace Brockway and Herbert Weinstock, The World of Opera (New York: Pantheon Books, 1941), p. 519.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 520-521.

de Paris speaks of the 1835 English production of La Juive:

They played also, at the same theatre of Drury Lane, a play entitled The Jewess, staged with almost unequaled magnificence. It's a liberal (free) translation of M. Scribe's opera, with several changes in the arrangement of the scenes. The splendour of this spectacle far exceeds anything that I have ever seen in the theatre. In the procession were several horses ridden by warriors in the complete armor of polished steel. Miss Ellen Tree, the foremost English actress, played the role of the Jewess, who joined to the pathetic the most strikingly touching energy. The audience was bowled over and the applause approached frenzy. The new play that they were to show (put on) after this one was a translation of the Horse of Bronze, with music by Auber. You see that we continue to borrow a great deal in our theatre.⁴²

We have some pictorial evidence of the possibility of Pugin designing the July 25, 1850 Covent Garden production of La Juive. An engraving of the scene where the Jew and Jewess are led to execution appears in the August 3, 1850 edition of the London Illustrated News. This engraving is reproduced here (Figure 62) in a smaller version than the original along with the following review:

The Royal Italian Opera presentation of La Juive. The mise en scene is the theme of universal admiration. The costumes are magnificent and are historically correct in many instances. The procession in the first act--the Emperor's cortege, with civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities--is admirably managed. Grieve and Telbin have surpassed all their former scenic displays in this opera, particularly in the view of Constance and the Minister, with the ancient streets in the foreground; the gardens in which the Emperor's banquet is given, for extent of stage never approached, and the grand square, filled with the vast populace, and the city in the distance, where the Jew and Jewess are led to execution. [See the Illustration, Figure 62.] The groupings in all these scenes, and the general stage business, under Mr. Harris's direction, are worthy of every praise. Since the first

⁴²Gazette Musicale de Paris, 1835, p. 401.

Zampa at Her Majesty's in 1844. *Zampa* (by Luciano Fornasari) insults the statue Manfredi which, at the last crucial moment just as in the case of *Don Giovanni*. Louis (1817-1833) earned fame with this work combined lady-in-distress motives with those of the statue. The overture is with us yet.



Fig. 61.



Fig. 92. The final scene in *La Juive* (*The Jewess*) by Jacques Halévy, who was a pupil of Cherubini and lived from 1799 to 1862. His masterpiece tells how Rachel, whose father, Eleazar, as she thinks he is, is a Jewish goldsmith. She is thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil (up stage centre) whereupon it is revealed that she is really the Cardinal of Constance's daughter. The tenor part of Eleazar has been a favourite with many singers including Caruso. In this Covent Garden production in 1850 Mario can be seen pointing in group, right centre. Rachel, the Jewess, was sung by Pauline Viardot.

Fig. 62.

A piece now forgotten was an adaptation of *Tempest*, the prologue of which was written for the scenic designers and was so successful. It was written for London and performed at Her Majesty's in 1850. Sontag sang the part of Caliban. Ariel, who can just be seen in the left of the broken mast, was played by Maria, cousin of the great soprano and the creator of *Giselle*.

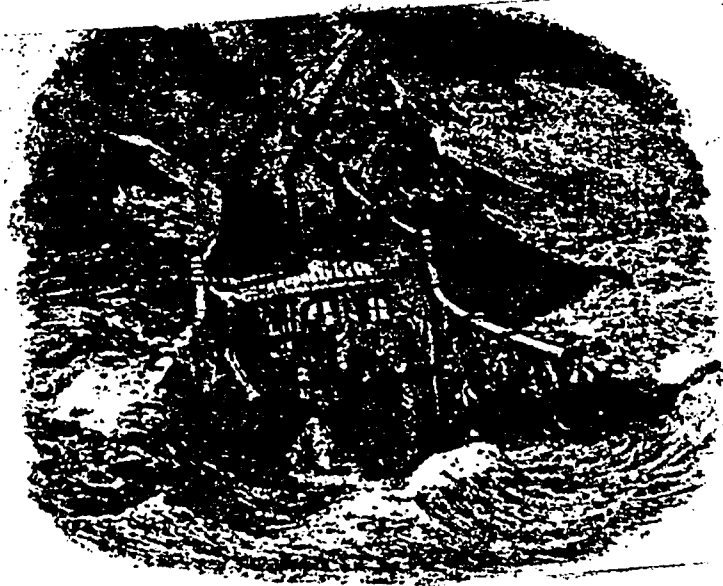


Fig. 63.

night the opera has been curtailed, and it plays under four hours. On Thursday La Juive was repeated for the fourth time.⁴³

Figure 61 is an illustration of a Gothic set for Zampa produced at Her Majesty's in 1844. It shows an advance in carefully delineated Gothic design from earlier English efforts. Pugin's influence on historical accuracy and careful rendering of detail had been felt by this time in the London theatres.

Figure 63 is an example of a maritime subject, The Tempest, produced at Her Majesty's in 1850. It was on such scenes that Clarkson Stanfield excelled, and Pugin gained a visual experience remote from his architectural world. Perhaps Pugin acquired his love for the sea through his work on the portions of his productions that had maritime scenes.⁴⁴

A famous set of seventeenth-century views of Gothic Britain was printed by Wenceslaus Hollar (Figures 42, 43). These prints were collected by A. W. N. Pugin during the period of the opera La Juive, the building of his home The Grange, at Ramsgate, and other early designs.

That Hollar's architectural and topographical prints supplied Pugin with seminal ideas and models for his own style of illustration is borne out by a comparison of Hollar's view of the interior of Westminster Abbey and other prints of Gothic architecture and Pugin's etching of St. Mary's, Derby. In addition to his collection of framed Hollars, Pugin owned a

⁴³London Illustrated News, August 3, 1850, pp. 105-106.

⁴⁴See Atheneum review of July 9, 1831 for Kenilworth, p. 7.

beautiful copy of Dugdale which possessed its full complement of the Hollar illustrations.⁴⁵ Some Pugin buildings do preserve mannerisms that are part of Hollar's drawing style; St. Marie's Grange is rather attenuated, and the school at Spetchley verges on quaintness. But by and large when he was working in his best form, as at the Bishop's House in Birmingham and at his own house, The Grange, Ramsgate, only Hollar's lessons, not his details, influenced him.⁴⁶ Yet these influences can be seen. Contrast Figures 42, 43, 64, 65, 66, 67. The Hollar prints, the Ramsgate House, and the La Juive architecture all come from the same root. Compare their roofs, towers, walls, and chimneys. Compare also the windows of the La Juive interiors and The Grange interior (Figures 66, 69, 57).

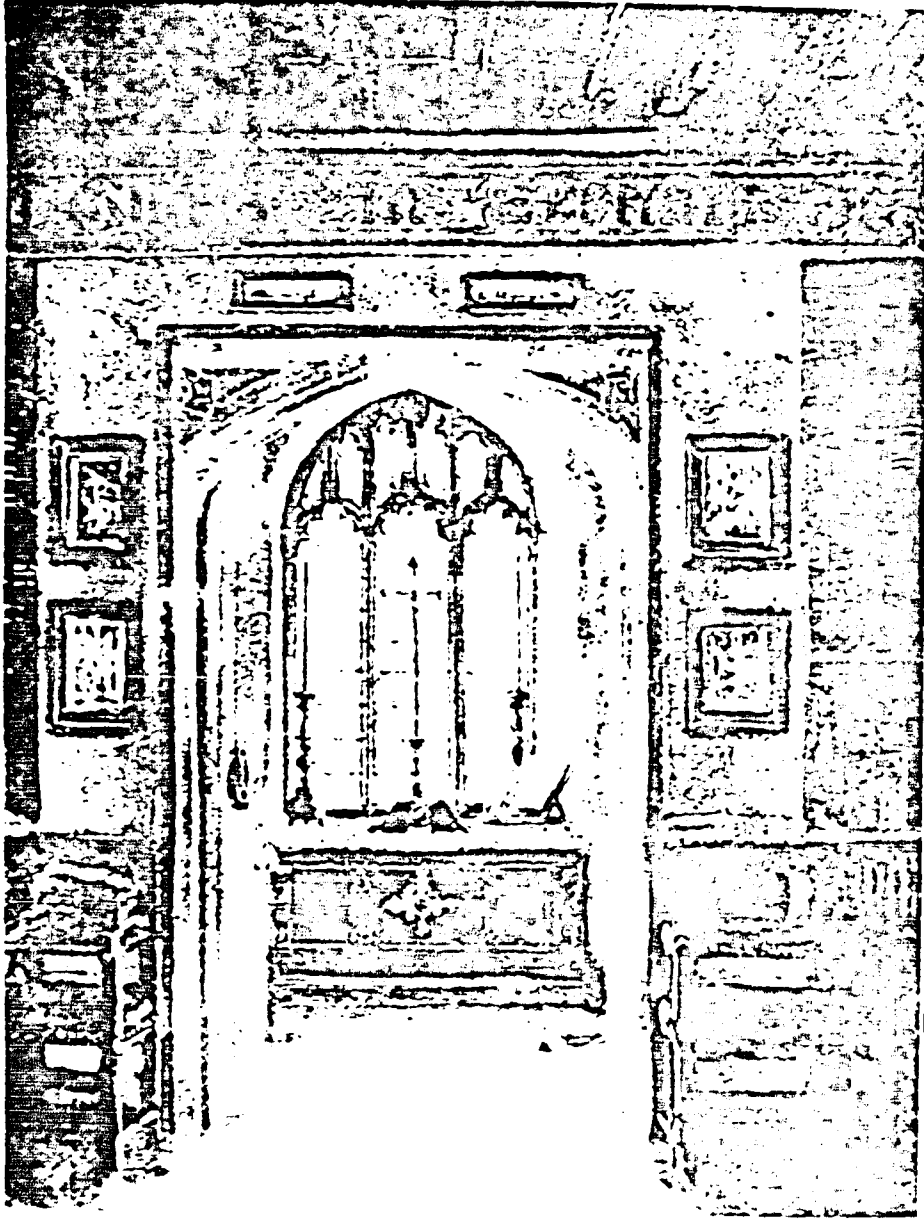
There are two factors that add to the probability of Pugin's having a hand in this production besides the stylistic evidence present in the illustrations. First, it has been noted that Pugin would often go to the costumers of the Italian Opera Company when his Catholic clients wished to have ecclesiastical vestments made, as they were the only craftsmen who could make them with any degree of accuracy and skill. The second factor in Pugin's association with this performing group was the fact that, as mentioned previously in the discussion of Charles James Mathews' studentship with Pugin's father, a fellow student and friend of Pugin,

⁴⁵Stanton, Pugin, p. 156.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 159.

Fig. 66.

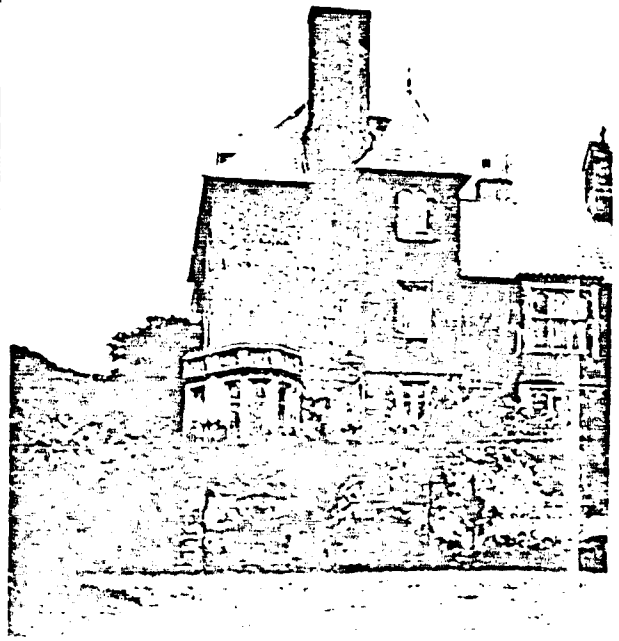
-168a-



● St Marie's Grange. The door between the library and the chapel, from a watercolour by Pugin, probable date 1835-6.

● St Marie's Grange from the south. The bays are additions and other changes can be seen in the brickwork.

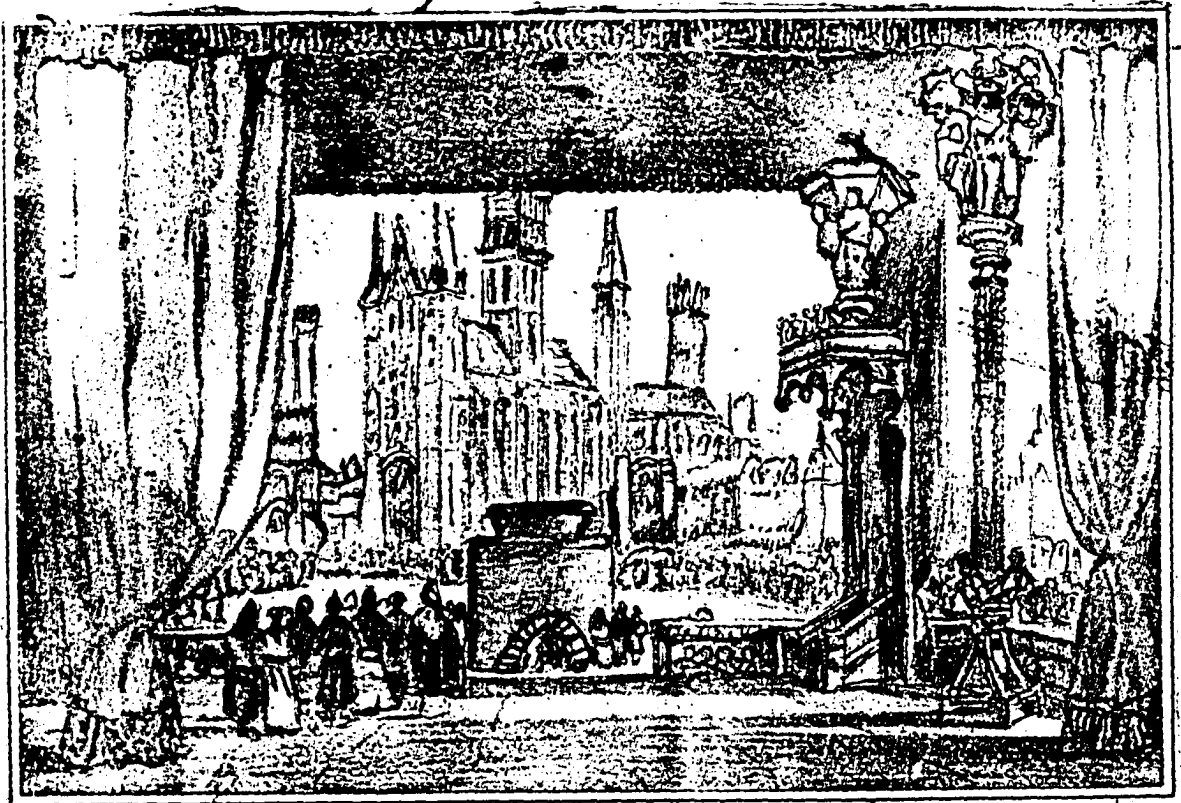
Fig. 65.



● St Marie's Grange, cast from Pugin drawing enclosed in a letter to J. Wilson, July 1835.

■ Photograph, St Marie's Grange, same angle as Plate 1 showing additions and changes.

Fig. 64.



L'abbé de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis

Mosaïque

QUATRE SUITES

Mélange des Airs, Duos, Marches, Chœurs.

Fig. 67.



— LA JUIVE

EDITIONS MUSICALES ECONOMIQUES
Déposé selon les traités internationaux. Publié avec l'autorisation de Henry Heugel & Co. Editeurs à Paris.
J. TALLANDIER, EDITEUR, 8, rue Saint-Jacques, PARIS (2^e arr^e).

Fig. 68.

ACTE - VALSE



LA JUIVE

EDITIONS MUSICALES ECONOMIQUES

Déposé selon les traités internationaux. Publié avec l'autorisation de HENRY LAMOND et Co, Éditeurs à PARIS.

J. TALLANDIER, EDITEUR, 8, rue Saint-Joseph, PARIS (2^e arr^t).

Fig. 69.

James Hervet D'Egville was the son of the Ballet Master of the Italian Opera Company, who was an esteemed old friend of the elder Pugin from his scene-painter days in Wales.

4. Le Comte Ory

The fourth and final Pugin production to be investigated is his earliest known major scenic work, that for Rossini's Le Comte Ory, Le Comte Ory was a two act opera by Gioacchino Rossini: libretto by Augustin Eugene Scribe and Charles-Gaspard Delestre-Poirson, debuting at the Paris Opera on August 20, 1829. The opera had a French text. We have preserved for this opera a rather large engraving of the interior of the Countess's Apartment (Figure 32). This set apparently had a practical roof, and appears to be a box set. Also shown here are three costumes designed by Pugin for this production.

The story of Le Comte is as follows: The action takes place in the castle of the Countess de Fomoustiers, a young widow; she and the ladies of her court are in the third year of passionate waiting for the return of their gallant menfolk from the Crusade. It is Ory's young page, Isolier, who gives Ory the bright idea of getting himself and his companions into the castle in the guise of female pilgrims from the Holy Land in anguished flight from Count Ory. Isolier is himself in love with the Countess.

In the first act we see Count Ory in pursuit of the Countess of whose charms he has heard, masquerading as a venerable hermit, complete

with long white beard, in the vicinity of her castle, where his virtue and his wisdom are alike highly respected by the credulous country folk. The Countess comes to consult the Holy Man with regard to a malady of the nerves that is pulling her down. In her company is Isolier, whom, of course, Ory at once recognizes; and, scenting a rival, he proceeds to poison the Countess' mind against him. His own identity, however, is soon revealed by a well-meaning but blundering preceptor of his who has been searching everywhere for him; Ory is unmasked and discredited, to his own vast annoyance and the general satisfaction.

In the second act we see him and his riotous crew playing off on the Countess and her ladies a variant of the trick by which he had scored off others. In the end, of course, the wicked Count is pulled up in his tracks by the news that the long absent and eagerly awaited knights are back from Palestine and almost at the doors of the castle. Thus, Count Ory is discomfited again, after having been scared off unmercifully in a comic scene in a dark room in which he makes love to Isolier in the belief that he is the Countess.⁴⁷

The Revue Musicale, a Paris publication, in 1829 had the following to say of Le Comte Ory:

All the details of the mise en scene of Comte Ory are carefully executed. The accuracy of the costumes, the props and other decorations leaves nothing to be desired.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Earnest Newman, "A Rossini Revival," Sunday Times (London), August 22, 1954., n.p. clipping.

⁴⁸Revue Musicale (Paris: Alex. Mesnier, Place De La Bourse, 1829), tome iv, p. 91.

A look at two libretti of Le Comte Ory gives an idea of the two scenes and the decorations and props used in the production. "Act One, scene one: A landscape--in the depth of the stage is seen the castle of Fomoutiers; the drawbridge down, Woods, through which the entrance to the hermitage can be distinguished."⁴⁹ "A different libretto describes this first scene as 'A country place, with the Castle of Fomoutier in front groves and fields at the side, with a footpath leading to the hermitage.'"⁵⁰ Act Two, scene one is described by the first libretto as, "The Countess' Bed-Chamber,"⁵¹ whereas the second libretto calls it, "Apartment of the Countess."⁵²

Le Comte Ory reached London, in Italian, at the Haymarket Theatre, on February 28, 1829. It was the final new production of the 1854 Covent Garden season, appearing on August 8. It opened the following season on April 13, 1855.⁵³

Reproduced here, along with Pugin's interior for the Parisian production of Le Comte Ory of 1828, is the exterior scene of this opera, as painted by the Italian scene-painter, Alessandro Sanquirico, for the Milan production (Figure 70). The incongruous architecture and costumes are evident from this print, exhibiting the dire difficulties most scene-painters

⁴⁹Eugene Scribe and Delestre-Poirson, Le Comte Ory (Baltimore: E. J. Coale, 1831), p. 5.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 5.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 33.

⁵²Ibid., p. 31.

⁵³Brockway and Weinstock, p. 455.



FIG. 70.

of the period encountered when trying to represent something like Gothic architecture. A brief description of Sanquirico's work would be helpful, I feel, in order to compare Pugin and the English stage designers and their practice with that of the Continent:

Sanquirico, although shifting between the hybrid marriage of traditional neoclassical tendency, in which he was early shaped, with the new romantic tendency, thanks to his enormously skillful technical mastery, also knew how to create around himself an atmosphere of admiration and concern; and for many years (from 1817 to 1832) he ruled supreme at the Teatro alla Scala. To him were entrusted, among other works, the scenic designs for the world premieres of the operas of Rossini. He would represent scenes in the most natural and the most spectacular manner. He was also a good designer of ballets and costumes. Sometimes cold, in the neoclassical exercises, other times, on the other hand, oppressed by a pedantic turn of style, close to the historical climate of the opera, in which case a strong pictorial element often emerged victorious and determined the effects achieved, the art of Sanquirico is typical of that concept which makes of the theatre a means of representing in the manner more natural or more spectacular, given the framework of a scene, without, however, keeping well in mind the limits marked by the libretto (poetry) of an opera. Perhaps for this reason Sanquirico was most effective in his sets for ballet, where certainly there predominates the necessity for a set which holds closest to the single spectacular concept of the stage.⁵⁴

However, Pugin's background as an architect and scholar of the Middle Ages prevented his work from falling into a personal idiosyncratic style withdrawn from a recognizable source, a curse that awaited much Gothic architecture of the 1830's, and Pugin's genius prevented any of his theatre designs from ever becoming mere plagiarism.

⁵⁴Claudio Sartori, Enciclopedia della Musica (Milano: 1964), Vol. 4, Rev-2, pp. 145-146. Translation my own.

The "Apartment of the Countess" (Figure 32) appears to be a box-set with a workable ceiling of beams and boards. This appearance of a box-set in August, 1828 with its accordant closed and sturdily placed architectural wings would antedate Mme. Vestris' introduction of the box-set to England at the Olympic Theatre in 1832. The use of gothic ornament for the windows and doors in this set combined with the use of classical orders in the columns, cornices, and pilasters, shows Pugin's early combination of gothic and baroque elements in his set designs. However, the emphasis of the arches as set forth in the windows, upper cornices, door design, and molding ornamentation is unmistakably gothic.

Innovations in Stage Mechanics: Rearranging the

Stage at Drury Lane

Pugin became so adept at stage machinery, and he mastered scene-painting to such a degree, that he was commissioned toward the middle of the nineteenth century to rearrange the stage at Drury Lane. According to the Dictionary of National Biography,

His meeting George Dayes, the stage-manager . . . drew Pugin into practical work in the London and Parisian theatres. Pugin set up a model theatre in his father's house where he presented a moving panorama of "Old London." Pugin followed in 1831 with work on the ballet-opera Kenilworth, and was subsequently employed in the rearrangement of the stage machinery at Drury Lane.⁵⁵

The result of his work could be seen in the staging of plays prior to the twentieth century. A valuable article published in the London Magazine,

⁵⁵Stephen and Lee, p. 450. Article written by Paul Waterhouse.

in 1901, and titled, "The Making of a Great Play. How the Drury Lane Drama is Prepared," gives a first-hand account of the practices that were initiated and influenced by Pugin's work years before. A summary of the article will give an idea as to the scope of Pugin's responsibility as well as some of the results of his labor.

Drury Lane (c. 1840-1900) had an exceptionally large amount of space in the wings, and this adds most materially to the efficiency of the stage, especially in a drama that involves frequent scene-changing on a large scale.

Hanging from the flies, was an intricate mass of timbers and ropes, with any number of "cloths," as the drop scenes are called, ready to be lowered or raised at the right moment by the flyman and his assistants, who roam about in the wooden galleries overhead. Drury Lane used to boast of a phantom flyman, whose voice was occasionally heard, but whose form was never seen by mortal eye; but the recent alterations in the galleries have destroyed this illusion forever, and the flyman had to carry on his operations in full view of the people on the stage.⁵⁶ Beneath the flies, a large staff of men were busily engaged in the stage carpenter's workshop behind the stage.

While this was going on, the scene-painters were heard at work in the studio--a lofty room with a deep basement from which the huge canvases

⁵⁶W. J. Wintel, "The Making of a Great Play. How the Drury Lane Drama is Prepared," London Magazine (London: Dec. 1901), No. 40, v. vii, p. 374.

could be wound up on rollers, so that all parts in turn were brought within reach of the artists. Small drawings, and in some cases photographs, of the various scenes and buildings were provided for their use, and from these were made the immense paintings that would be displayed on the stage.

Another busy department at the theatre was the property room. A large staff of men and women were kept busily engaged for a long time before the production of a piece.⁵⁷

During the later rehearsals, there usually was scheduled a rehearsal of the scene-shifters. The scene ends, then the lights suddenly go out, and the theatre is in darkness for a few seconds. Then the lights are turned up, and a marvellous change is seen to have taken place in an incredibly short space of time. The secret lies in skillful and well-rehearsed stage management.

The scenes, notwithstanding their great size and weight, were so nicely balanced that they revolved on casters. The "slum" is simply on the other side of the "restaurant." Electricity and mechanical adjuncts of every kind were in use at Drury Lane, but the services of a small army of scene-shifters and property-men were needed to accomplish such a change as has been described. Everyone had to be in his place and to do his special work at the right moment or flats would lean over, properties would become upset, and scenes wouldn't be accurately joined up.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 376.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 378.

Drury Lane drama then cost ten thousand pounds in initial expenses and involved a weekly expenditure of eighteen hundred pounds throughout the run of the piece.⁵⁹

Paul Waterhouse credited Pugin with rearranging the stage machinery at Drury Lane.⁶⁰ I have not been able to find a record of the changes made. Chances are, they are on record. There were two periods of alterations of Drury Lane during his creative lifetime in which his work or advice were almost assuredly utilized.

Drury Lane, opened in 1812, was designed by Pugin's hated enemy, the practitioner of aristocratic romantic indulgence in the Gothic style, Benjamin Wyatt, after the universally admired theatre of Bordeaux.⁶¹ This 1812 Drury Lane (Figures 71, 72, 73, 74, 10) is the basic house which, with many subsequent interior renovations, is still in use.⁶²

The interior of Drury Lane was redecorated before the season of 1830-31, and again before 1836-7, when Alfred Bunn, spent £ 1,500 pounds on an elaborate scheme. Alterations to the stage (Figures 71, 72, 73) were made by opening up spaces on either side to provide room for "arranging processions and scenic illusions." To replace the rooms lost by these changes, Pugin built on the south side a small extension containing a new Green Room and some dressing rooms.⁶³

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 380. ⁶⁰See Stephen and Lee, p. 450, f.n. 55.

⁶¹Roberts, p. 392. ⁶²Ibid., p. 393.

⁶³London County Council, Survey of London, v. xxxv, Theatre Royal Drury Lane and Royal Opera House Covent Garden, p. 65. See also Stephen and Lee, f.n. 55, p. 450.

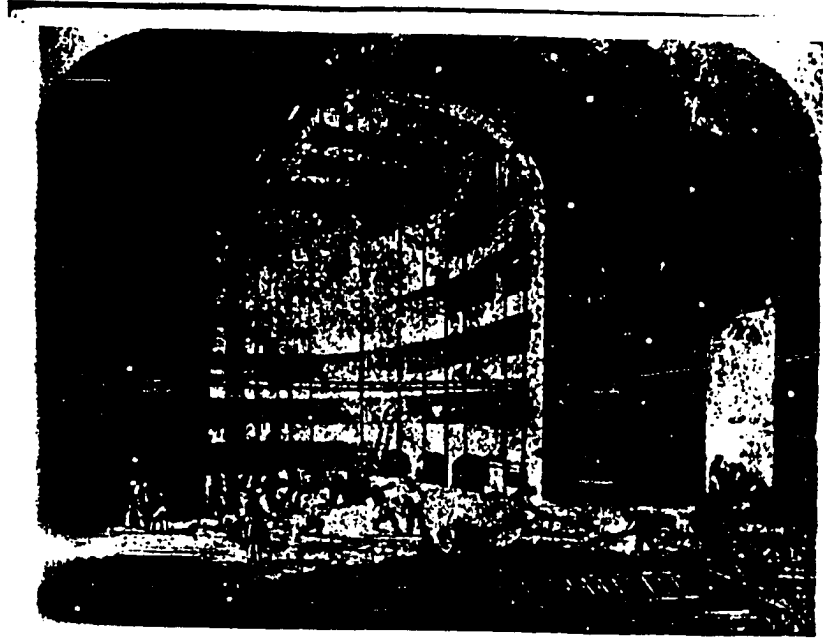


Fig. 71.

INTERIOR OF THE DRURY LANE THEATRE DURING ALTERATIONS.



EDMUND KEAN, AS RICHARD III,
THE DRURY LANE UPON HIS SHOULDERS.

Fig. 73.

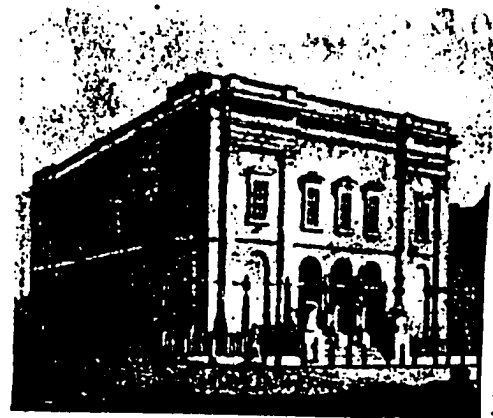
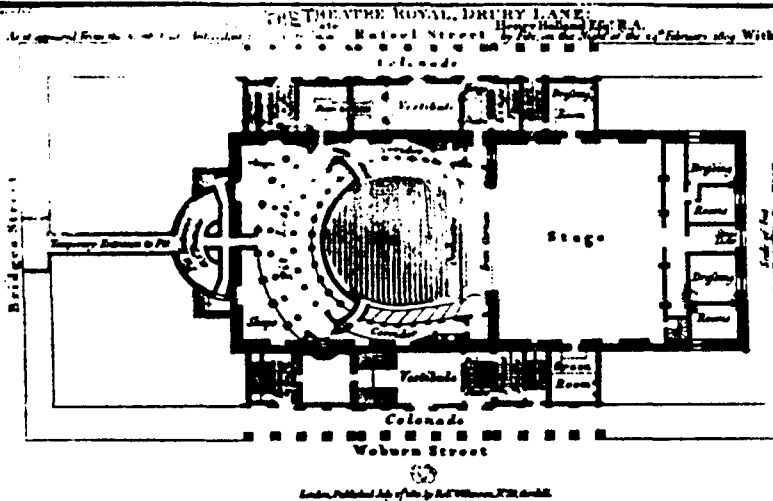
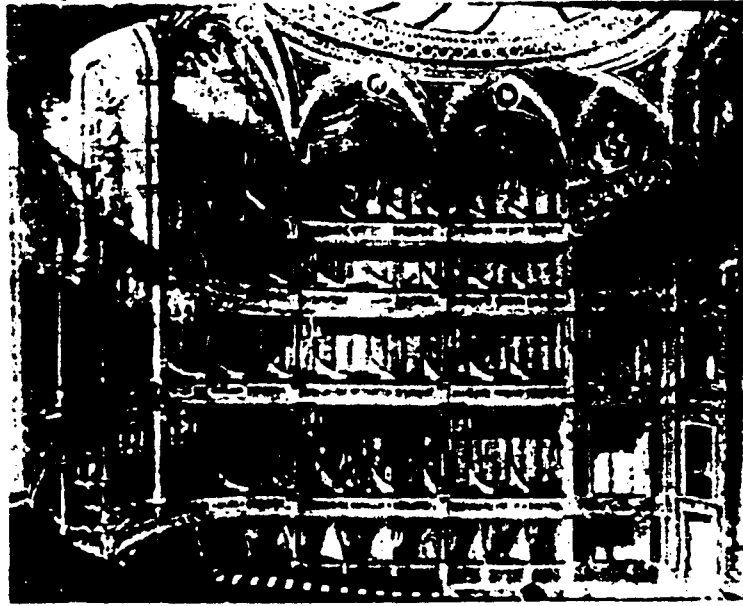


Fig. 72.

THE THIRD DRURY LANE.



■ **New Drury Lane**

Above, the interior of the New Drury Lane, opened in 1794, as the "largest theatre in all Europe." Below, the plan of the 1794 Drury Lane. Note the abbreviated apron stage and the increased stage area for scenes and machines. The actors are now performing largely "within the scene," i.e., behind the proscenium arch. (Yale Theatrical Prints Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery)

Fig. 74.

In December 1841 Macready took over the management of Drury Lane, an event which was hailed with enthusiasm in theatrical circles. The season began on December 27, 1841 with The Merchant of Venice. The interior of the house had undergone a thorough renovation, again under the direction of Beazley.⁶⁴ The stage now had a total depth of some eighty feet, made possible by demolishing the original scene stores and painting rooms at the back. Its floor rose with a gentle slope for a depth of forty-five feet and was furnished with a series of lifts. The back part was level and fixed. On either side was a lighting gallery, a fly-gallery, and a loading gallery below the grid. To the east of the stage, and south of Wyatt's scenery store, has been added at various times a large scenery painting room, a property room, and an electricians workshop.⁶⁵

As it has been impossible to find in the records of Drury Lane Theatre, or in the comments of historians of this period of the theatre a precise name reference to Pugin in terms of an exact time or a description of a specific work assignment in his rearrangement of stage machinery at Drury Lane Theatre, this section has included all of the changes made in the Drury Lane stage area during the period in which Pugin had been known to be in the employ of the theatre. It seems likely that the work he would

⁶⁴Raymond M ander and Joseph Mitchenson, The Theatres of London (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), p. 67.

⁶⁵Survey of London, p. 67.

have done on the stage machinery would coincide with these years of employment.

Costume and Decoration

The seriousness with which Pugin approached Ecclesiastical costuming can be seen in his truly magnificent volume, The Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled from Ancient Authorities and Examples, 1844, "a work of great learning which would have kept an ordinarily industrious man employed for many years."⁶⁶ In this volume, the effort of Pugin toward producing historical accuracy of costume, his knowledge and use of fabrics and appropriate color and design, and his acquaintance with examples of the historical manner in which these costumes and objects were handled show a devotion toward functionalism in costume similar to that which he had shown in architecture. The following accounts drawn from Pugin in regard to Ecclesiastical costuming are presented before his theatrical designs as an indication of the kind of disciplined approach he would have been apt to render this material.

Pugin comments on colors, designs, objects, decors and garments describing their symbolic purposes, with antique examples of how they were used, where they were used, and where they are still in use. Some examples of entries from the Glossary are the following:

White is the most joyous of the canonical colours; the emblem of innocence and purity; the vesture in which angels and the redeemed

⁶⁶Clark, p. 112.

are clad in Heaven; the favourite of the Church alike in mourning and rejoicing; of all her colours the most ancient and universal. Gold is reckoned as white.⁶⁷

There follows a commentary by Georgius on the symbolic meaning and uses of white in costume and decoration. This is followed by actual examples of where white was used in the past and who used it. An "Inventory of Lincoln Cathedral" is then listed with white items described. A "Commentary" by Catalani follows this giving further sacred precedents for the meaning of white.

The word "Flowers" can be used here as an illustration of a symbolic design and how Pugin treated them.

Flowers have been constantly used in the Church as emblems of Joy and Festivity; and also as symbols of Love and Devotion towards the Saints and Martyrs; whose manifold graces and virtues are shadowed forth in their rich variety of hue and odour.⁶⁸

Customs of Bishops and Saints in regard to the use of flowers is cited as well as the continuance of the practice in the English Church.

An example of a piece of wearing apparel is the Albe. The entry is a long one:

Albe. (See Plates II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. XXX. XXXI. XXXII. XXXIII.) A long linen garment reaching to the heels, and folded round the loins by a girdle, formerly the common dress of ecclesiastics. It is now used only in sacred functions, and is the second vestment put on by the priest in preparing for the celebration of the Mass.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, Glossary (London: Bohn, 1844), p. 243.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 138.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 4.

The ecclesiasts who wore albes are described. The colors, measurements, and workmanship of the apparel is given. A comparison of modern and ancient albes is discussed. A list of the mystical significations attached to albes by ecclesiastical writers is given in Latin quotations. Prayers recited by the Clergy in putting on the albe are also given in Latin. Extracts from French books on Ecclesiastical costume by Bocquillot, De Moleon, and Claude de Vert are given in French. Extracts from Latin authorities and English authorities are also given. Then comes a description of these items in the various Cathedral Churches of England. Finally, references to some authorities for the form and ornaments of ancient albes are given.

An example of a Pugin description of an ornament are crockets:

Crockets. Crockets are enrichments running along the sides of pyramidal and curved lines, generally modelled from vegetable productions, but occasionally animals and images are introduced. See Plate XVIII.⁷⁰

Pugin then describes the "most beautiful crockets" which "consist of vine or other leaves, with a pointed or varied outline, which are either represented doubled as lying on a ridge, or extended along the edge."⁷¹ He describes various types of crockets, how they are modelled, the churches and chapels where they are found, what surfaces they can cover, and when and how to outline and contrast the color. He refers to his Plate XVIII.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 89.

⁷¹Ibid.

A canopy may serve as part of stage decor. For that reason this study cites Pugin on the canopy.

Canopy. A rich cloth or covering borne in processions over the Blessed Sacrament, Reliques, or distinguished personages."⁷²

Pugin gives an illustration of a canopy alongside this description (see Figure 75). Pugin describes the materials it was made from, the colors utilized by the Romans, French, Flemings and English, and he names two churches where canopies can be found--one of which is quoted from Jacobs's History of Faversham.

The last example used is for an object which might serve as a prop in a play:

Ciborium (see cut) also signifies a vessel in which the blessed Eucharist is reserved. In form it nearly resembles a chalice with an arched cover from which it derives its name.⁷³

Its former uses and customs are mentioned followed by its more modern ones. A description of the ciborium at Rheims Cathedral is then given which includes how it was hanged as well as the colors and materials that ornamented it.

The text of the Glossary is 245 pages in length, followed by over thirty full page full color illustrations of costumes and ornaments, designs, objects and colors used by the Ecclesiasts of the past and present age. All six of the full page plates consisting of costumes are included: The first plate (Figure 76) gives the measurements, colors and designs of the vestments therein represented. The second plate (Figure 77) gives front and

⁷²Ibid., p. 56.

⁷³Ibid., p. 75.

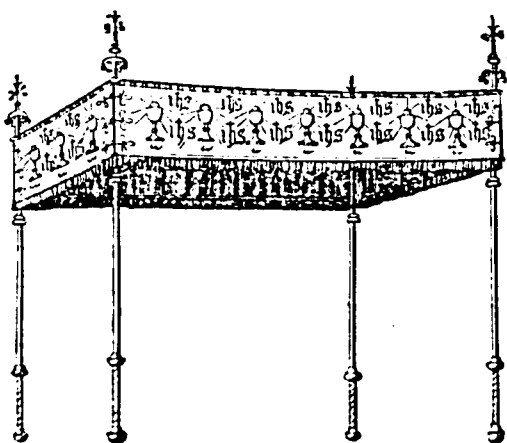
Canister.—Canopy.

*ferrea, ex auro et argenta parata, majora quindecim, minora septem,** candlesticks of iron, ornamented with gold and silver, fifteen larger, and seven smaller ones. Bishop Conrad, in his Inventory of the Mentz sacristy, says, "There were two great *candelabra*, which were placed near the altar, of silver; and others, smaller, which were placed upon the altar; under which were placed large circular plates (*rotæ late*) on account of the droppings of the candles." For more examples see Du Cange's Glossary.

Canister. The metal case in which altar breads are kept previous to consecration, is sometimes called a Canister in old inventories.

A silver gilt canister for wafer breads, is mentioned as belonging to Canterbury Cathedral, in the reign of Charles the First. See ALTAR BREAD.

Canopy. A rich cloth or covering borne in processions over the Blessed Sacrament,† Reliques, or distinguished personages.‡



It was made of velvet, silk, or cloth of gold, and richly embroidered with appropriate devices and borne by four, six, eight, or twelve staves of wood or silver, to which small bells were usually attached.§ A canopy of state was also borne over the hearse in funerals of noble persons.

According to the Roman use the canopies borne over the Blessed Sacrament are white; but in the French and Flemish churches they were generally red. In England the two colours seem to have been used indifferently.

Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk.

—"A cloth of *blue* silk to bear over the Sacrament with chalices of gold embroidered thereon; the gift of Robert Miller."

Parish Church of Faversham.—"Item, a canopy clothe, pounsyd, garneyshd about with purpill velvett,

* S. Ansegisus presented to the Monastery of Fontenelle, three silver candelabra, "*habentia solidos nonaginta, i. e. unumquodque triginta,*" containing ninety solidi, i. e. thirty apiece: the solidus being a gold coin equivalent to our sovereign.

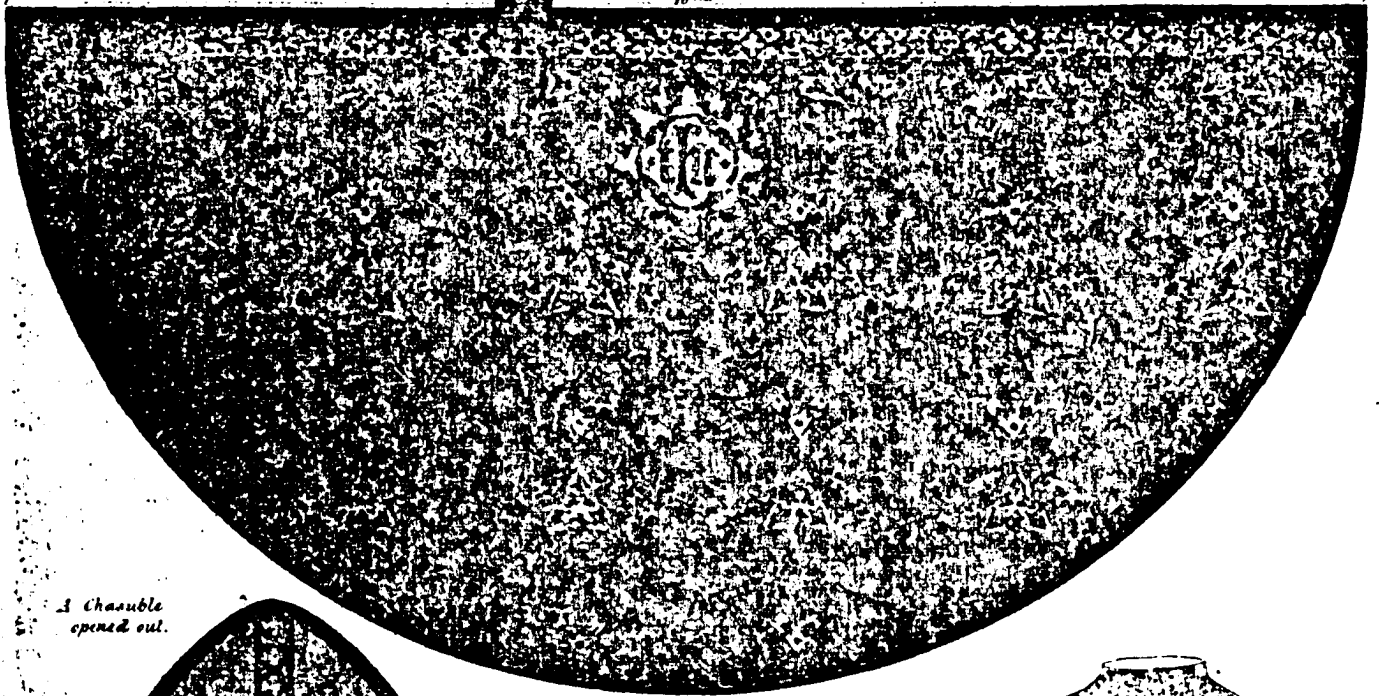
† "Ipso die summo mane præparetur per Sacristam, vel alios ministros baldachinum album perpulchrum super sanctissimum Sacramentum deferendum."—*Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, L. II. c. 33.

‡ "At the foot of the stairs entering the cloyster or stone gallery, do twelve Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber attend, with a rich canopy of cloth of gold; who when the sovereign approacheth receive him under it, &c."—*Askmole's Order of the Garter*, p. 548. In the inventory of old St. Paul's, time of King Edward VI.—"Item, a large Canopie of Tissew for the King's Majestie when he cometh thither."

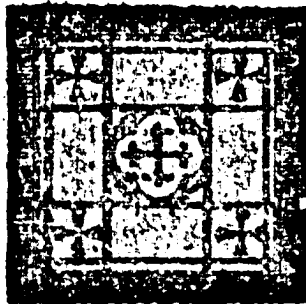
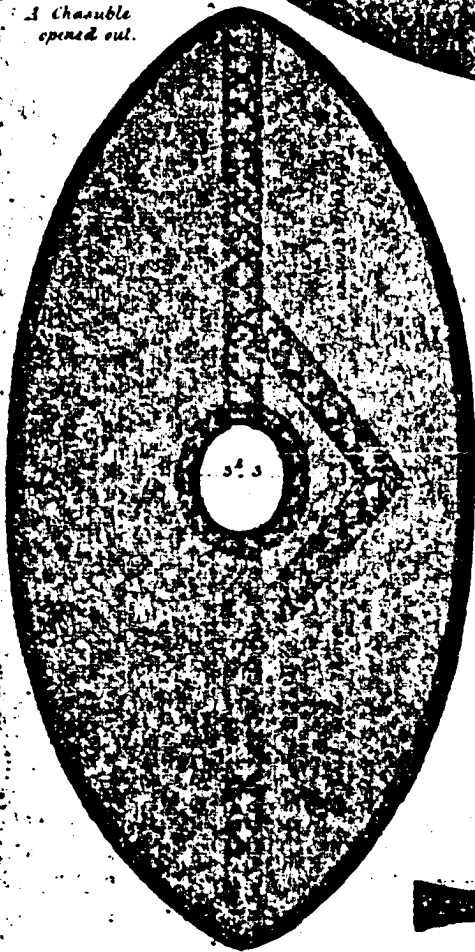
§ These staves were generally borne by noble and dignified laics. "Deputentur etiam nobiles viri, seu barones, et alii, qui *hastas Baldachini* per viam processionis portant."—*Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, lib. ii. c. 33. In an account of a procession of the Blessed Sacrament in Durham Abbey at Easter, we read, "and proceeding in procession from the high altar to the south quire door, where there were four antient gentlemen belonging to the Prior, appointed to attend their coming, holding up a very rich canopy of purple velvet, tassled about with red silk and a gold fringe, and at every corner of the canopy stood one of those antient gentlemen to bear it over the said Image with the Holy Sacrament."—*Antiquities of Durham Abbey*, p. 17. In the Churchwarden's account of St. Mary Hill, London, are the following items:—"Item, a canopye of blue cloth of Baudkyn with buds of flours in gold; Item, a canopye of red silke, with green branchys and white flours poudyrd with swannys of golde betweeno the branches."—*Illustrations of Ancient Times*, p. 113.

Fig. 75.

*Cope, opened out.
30 in.*



*Chasuble
opened out.*



*Chalice Veil,
Lined with Silk.*



*Corporas Case, vulgo Busse,
Lined with Linen.*



30 in.

Manipal, opened out.



*Albe, with the Apparels,
which are sewed on.*



Stole, opened out.

M. & M. Handmade & Sewing with Patterns.

+ The Form and Sizes of the Sacred Vestments. ✠


Fig. 76.

H Priest vested for Mass

H Deacon vested

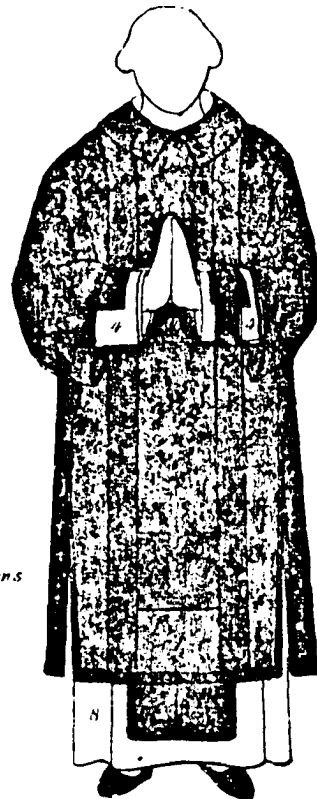
- 1 Apparel of neck
- 2 Orphrey of chasuble.
- 3 Chasuble.
- 4 Sleeves of Albe
- 5 Apparels.
- 6 Maniple.
- 7 Ends of Stole.
- 8 Albe.
- 9 Apparel of Albe.

The Stole is worn by Priests crossed in front, and fastened by a girdle



- 1 Apparel of neck.
- 2 Dalmatic, or Tunicle
- 3 Orphreys of Dalmatic
- 4 Sleeves of Albe
- 5 Apparels
- 6 Maniple
- 7 Apparel of Dalmatic
- 8 Albe
- 9 Apparel of Albe

Ina Stole is worn by Deacons over the left shoulder




- 1 Miter, of which there are three sorts, 1 Pretiosa. 2 Aurifrigiata
- 3 Simplex.
- 2 Crozier
- 3 Apparel of neck
- 4 Chasuble.
- 5 Pallium
- 6 Orphrey of Chasuble.
- 7 Maniple.
- 8 Dalmatic
- 9 Tunic.
- 10 Apparels of Albe
- 11 Glove
- 12 Ends of Stole, which is worn without crossing
- 13 Albe
- 14 Sandals.
- 15 Bushings

A Pastoral Staff for a Bishop



In front Behind



- 1 The Cope.
- 2 The Mucro
- 3 The Orphrey
- 4 The Albe
- 5 The Apparel
- 6 The Stole
- 7 Ends of Albe

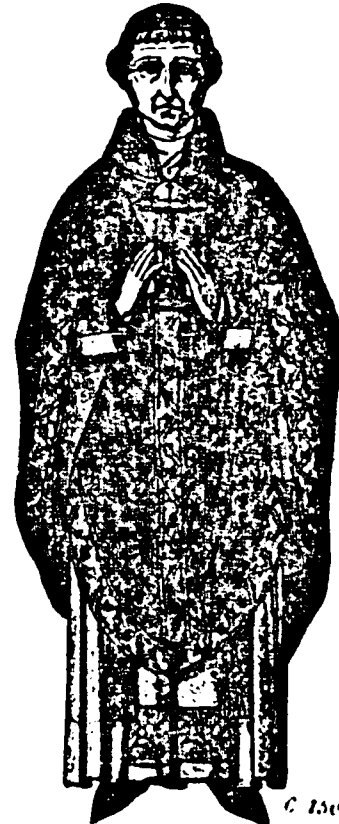
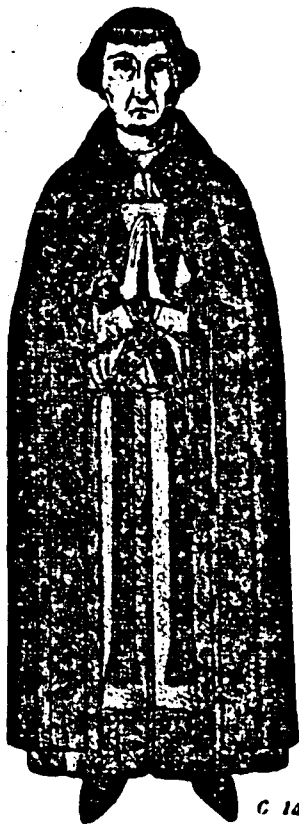
M.C. Maguire chronolithi
Ha Archbishop vested for Mass.

Priest in a cope

Fig. 77.

back views of vestments as worn by clergymen, with the name of each of the parts of the garments listed. The third plate (Figure 78) contains illustrations of English Priests taken from *Monumental Effigies*, with the date of the Effigy at bottom left, and various objects in the hands of the priests. The fourth plate (Figure 79) contains three Roman (Italian) priests at the top and three French and Flemish priests at the bottom, with the date and the church where the effigy stands listed at the foot of each figure. The fifth plate (Figure 80) contains a German, Venetian, Roman, French, and two English ecclesiasts. The sixth plate (Figure 81) contains two English and one Roman Bishop.

The whole approach of Pugin toward ecclesiastical dress as exemplified in this volume proves that he undertook the consideration of all facets of history and art when he had to depict costumes that were worn in past ages. Pugin went to Medieval church effigies to find contemporary examples, and since as a child he had drawn every Cathedral in England and France on various excursions and assignments with his father, A. W. N. Pugin was no stranger to effigy, stained glass, statuary, paintings, and illustrated volumes wherein were contained illustrations of costumes of medieval origin. It only remained for there to be the opportunity of an opera or play set during this period, and Pugin would be able to draw from his memory bank and library, costumes which for accuracy of detail and more important, symbolically functioning meaning were truly breathtaking when presented on the casual proscenium stage--for figures from sacred



H. C. Maguire chromolith.

M.A.S. Bankard Chromolith Printers

+ English Priests, from Monumental Effigies etc. Showing the application of the various patterns, drawn out at large

Fig. 78.

+ Roman Priests. *La*



Church of S. Lorenzo. 1410



Church of S. Maria del Popolo. c. 1400.



Church of S. Alessia. c. 1400.



In Rouen Cathedral. c. 1300



Clousters Loure. c. 1400



Clousters Loure. c. 1400

H. C. Meguire Chromolith

+ French and Flemish Priests. *La*

Fig. 79.



1 A German Bishop. Cologne 1450.

2 A Venetian Priest. 1563.

3 An English Priest. Cantish. 1480.



4 A Deacon. Cantish. 1160.



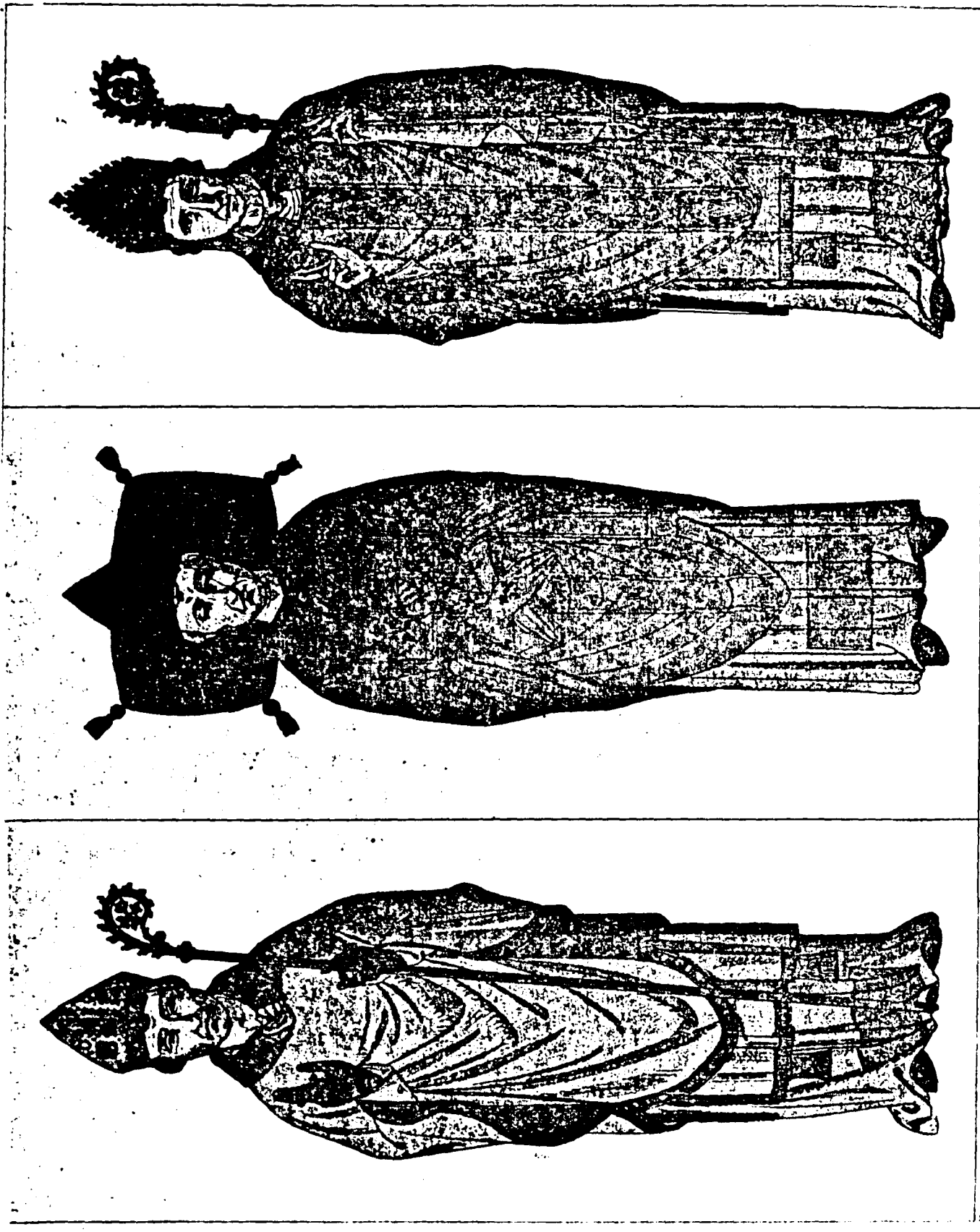
5 A Roman Deacon. c. 1450.



6 An English Priest. 1480.

H. C. Maguire Chromolith

Fig. 80.



H. C. Murphy

English Bishop

H. C. Murphy

Roman Bishop

H. C. Murphy

English Bishop

ages walk in mythic splendor. It is important to grasp this fact of sacerdotal ritual. Like Martin Luther, who nearly had a nervous breakdown during his first Mass as a priest, when the symbolism or meanings behind acts, objects, and designs were fully comprehended and conveyed the reaction of participants (the audience in a theatre are participants in the theatrical experience presented) is electric. Pugin was a functionalist; that is why, as an architect he was one of the great masters. He was also a ritualist. This explains to some extent the many varied rituals he partook of during his life: the sea, Catholicism, the theatre, architecture, and the degree of depth he developed in each of these disciplines. A man who spends his life in constant awe of ritual has probed the past for the sources of his rapture. The man who spends his life trying to mate functional expressions to aesthetic needs understands the strength of the functional form and the reasons for its beauty. These strengths and reasons often have long histories. The historian of any discipline always admires people whom he meets in his studies who have exhibited a profound respect for, and an expert utilization of the past. Pugin's position as an interpreter of the past is on the summit. After all, he was a Revivalist. Nowhere more than in his costuming and ornamentation has Pugin shown a true Revivalist's genius.

The following is a color description of the major costume plates from Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's two French productions: La Juive and Le Comte Ory.

Melle. Cruvelli's costume (Figure 82) as Rachel is of yellow with black trim. Yellow floral designs are outlined by black. The shoes are in Persian-Oriental style, white with a pink puff.

Mr. Gontier in the Role of Comte Ory (Figure 83) wore a cream-colored hat with red streaked sea shell, and blue ribbons. The blouse was blue with a white collar, and the dress was a dark gray.

The fold-out scene from Le Comte Ory (Figure 32). The background costumes of the women on stage left are sky blue. The woman in the foreground's costume is burnt sienna brown with a dark green cape and black trim. Her hat is dark green with a white feather. Her ruffs and trailing veil are also white. To her right, the chambermaid's costume is white with red trim and a deep red hat. The woman in the foreground has a costume of deep red with a yellow belt and white trim. Her hat is red and white zebra stripes. The man at stage center has a deep green doublet with brown hose. His sword is black and gold. The figure he points to is dressed in black with white trim. The hat is also black. The shoes are gold. The young men in the background at stage right are dressed in a light blue-gray, with sky-blue hose. The draperies of the set are sky-blue with gold ornament. Comice pieces of wood are also gold. The larger wooden pieces are of a flesh color. Some red stripes have been added to glass approximating stained glass in the window at the back of stage right in this scene.

THÉÂTRE DE L'OPÉRA



Fig. 82.

10
N.º 442

M. GONTIER Rôle du COMTE ORY
dans la Pièce de ce nom - Vaudeville

M. de Vaudeville



Dessiné par M. de Vaudeville

A Paris, chez M. de Vaudeville, Libraire, au Palais National, N.º 442

Les Morts, en Palestine,
Sont les soutiens de la foi.

Scene XII

Fig. 83.

The costume of the Comtesse de Formoutiers (Figure 84) has a red sleeved blouse with white fur at the center. The dress portion is yellow with black and white trim. A white fur hem is at the bottom. The trailing veil is white and the crown gold with red jewels.

The costume of D'Isolier (Figure 85) is of navy blue with gold trim. His belt is black with gold outlining. The hat is purple as are the shoes. The hose is yellow.

The costume of Melle. Falcon in the role of Rachel (Figure 86) has a white hat in the Persian turban style with white trailing veil. The coat is light blue with white trim and gold epaulettes and inside sleeves. The cuffs are white. The dress is yellow with a black stripe.

The costume of the Jew Eleazar (Figure 87) is brown with a black undergarment whose sleeves are exposed. The hat is black with a light brown ornament. His hose is blue. The shoes are light brown. The belt is light yellow.

The costume of Princess Eudoxie in Act II (Figure 88) is pink with black fur trim and cuffs. The inner blouse is golden yellow. Her hat is light blue with white trim and a white trailing veil. The jewel in her right hand is gold. Her shoes are white. Her earrings are gold.

The costume of Cardinal Brogny (Figure 89) has a red hat, and red cape with white fur and black trim. His inner garment is light blue. He has a white belt. His shoes and hose are red.

Costume de M^{me} CINTI DAMOREAU, rôle de la comtesse de FORMOTIERS.

11067

dans le Comte Ory opéra.

Académie Royale de Musique



Des. M. de la Harpe. Gravé par M. de la Harpe. Paris, chez M. de la Harpe, Libraire, rue de la Harpe, N. 153 et 155.

M. de la Harpe

*Vous que l'on dit esquilles
Deignez, s'il est possible
Couvrir le mal loisible
Dont je me sens mourir!* Act. 1^{er}. Scène 8^{te}.

Fig. 84.

*Costume de M^{lle} JAWURECK, rôle D'ISOLIER, Op. Obij
dans le Gimpelberg Opéra
Cathédrale d'après le Musée*



Chez Eschsché sur Martine, Libraire rue du Coy. 11ⁿ 13 et 15, à Paris. Malouine 11

*Une Dame de haut parage
Tient son cœur en un doux serouage*

Fig. 85.

*Costume de M^{lle} FALCON, rôle de RACHEL
dans la Juive, Opéra.
Académie Royale de Musique*



Che. Huet, éditeur, rue du Fay 17 et 19 à Paris

Fig. 86.

Costume d'Adolphe NOURRIT, rôle du Juif ELÉAZAR, 91° 94°
dans la Juive. Opéra.

Académie Royale de Musique.



Maisonne

Chez Mouton-Martinot, Editeur, rue du Coy N° 63 et 65 à Paris

Fig. 87.

Costume de M^{me} DORUS, rôle de la P^{re} EUDOXIE,
dans la Juive. Opéra

913 940

Académie Royale de Musique



Acte II

Chez l'Antiquaire. Montmartre. L'édifice, rue du Fay, N° 17 et 19 à gauche

Fig. 88.

Costume de LEVASSEUR, rôle du Cardinal BROGNY,
dans la Juive. Opéra.

117
126
91^o 944

Académie Royale de Musique.



Chez Hautecœur-Marchet, Editeur, rue du Cinq, N^o 65 et 68 à Paris.

Fig. 89.

The costume of Prince Leopold (Figure 90) has a black hat and boa, a scarlet red cape and a brown suit. His hose is light purple. His shoes are black as is his belt, purse, and dagger scabbard.

Princess Eudoxie's costume in Act III (Figure 91) has a yellow sleeved top with white fur and black ornament. Her skirt has alternating red and white squares containing a crowned lion. The red squares have a white lion and the white squares a red lion. Her crown is gold, her shoes white. She has a pink necklace.

There is a lapse of historical accuracy in the silhouette of Princess Eudoxie's costume as worn by Mme. Donus in Figure 91. Her bustled skirt and forced curvature emphasizes the Victorian silhouette popularized by Queen Elizabeth. The Medieval period maintained a close fitting drapery that created a straight silhouette.

The costume of Prince Leopold in Act III (Figure 92) has a light blue undergarment. His front toga is gold with black crowned birds containing a red and white insignia. His left arm holds a drapery that is white with a yellow lion and red stripes. His cape is of white fur and black ornament. His shoes are yellow. His crown is gold with red jewels.

The costume of Cardinal Brogny's Page (Figure 93) has a panel and cap that is olive drab with a red cross. His under-blouse is white and his sleeves and hose are blue. His shoes are white.

The costume of the Emperor Sigismond (Figure 94) is gold armor. His cape is gold with a white fur inner lining. He has a white plume atop his helmeted crown.

*Costume de LAFONT, rôle du Prince LEOPOLD,
dans la Juive. Opéra*

n° 243

*117
126*

Académie Royale de Musique



Actes 1 et 2

Chez Mouton - Martini, Editeur, rue du Coq, N° 15 et 16 à Paris

Fig. 90.

Costume de M^{lle} DORIS, rôle de la Princesse EUDOXIE,
dans *la Juive*. Opéra

117
126

Académie Royale de Musique



Acte III.

Chez Mouton-Machuel, Éditeur, rue du Coq N° 17 et 19 à Paris.

Fig. 91.

Costume de LAFONT, rôle du Prince LÉOPOLD.
dans la Juive. Opéra

117
220
N° 947

Académie Royale de Musique



Acte III

chez L'éditeur - Martinet, Éditeur, rue du Coq, N° 15 et 16, à Paris

Fig. 92.

117
117
126
N. 949.

*Costume de l'Empereur SIGISMOND,
dans la Juive Opéra*

Académie Royale de Musique



Malouin

*Acte I et II
chez Mouton-Roussel, Éditeur, rue du Fay, N° 15 et 15 à Paris*

Fig. 94.

The costume of Mme. Montessu the Femme d'Artisan (Figure 95) is blue with a dark blue trim. Her blouse and cuffs are white. Her hat is white with a trace of light blue. Her shoes are dark blue with light blue trim. Her hose is white.

The costume of the Page of Princess Eudoxie (Figure 96) is blue with a black bird design at center. Dark blue ornament is embossed across the costume. The right leg has white hose, the left leg blue. The shoes are black. The crown is gold.

The costume of the Grand-Prevot (Figure 97) is scarlet red with a black toga with yellow crowns and a scarlet stripe. His shirt has gold trim. His cape has a white fur inner lining with black ornament. His shoes are black in Persian-Oriental style. His hat is black and also of the Persian-Oriental turban caste.

The influx of near eastern elements into Pugin's middle ages costumes was mentioned earlier in the Athenaeum review of Kenilworth, "We object to Brocard's dress; she appeared more like a Georgian or Persian harem girl than the simple, retired Amy." Pugin here was acting well ahead of his time. It seems to have been a practice of Pugin to add near-eastern features of costumes and design to all of his productions of theatrical works that dealt with the period. As C. Northcote Parkinson's quotation at the beginning of this paper stated, East met West when Pugin enforced with his Gothic Revival "the frank admission that wisdom comes from the East. It was toward the East that the Churches were oriented. . . . after



the Hantecour-Marchand, Editeur rue du Cinq-A-Octobre à Paris

Fig. 95.

*Costume d'un PAGE de la 1^{re} EUDOXIE.
dans la même Opéra*

Académie Royale de Musique

90° 95' 113 119
026



Cher. Paulsen, Munich, Edition, 1875, p. 107, n. 100

Fig. 96.

*Costume de DABADIE, rôle du GRAND-PREVÔT,
dans la Juive Opéra*

96.932
114
119
026

Académie Royale de Musique



Makino

Chez Hautecœur-Marchand, Éditeur, rue du Fay N°5 et 15 à Paris

Fig. 97.

1840, the movement began for a return to the Middle Ages, to the last period of Oriental dominance."⁷⁴ Pugin is not in the least inconsistent with his near-eastern bias. It was an important part of the epoch the study of which was to comprise his life's work.

The sole costume that has come down to us from the production of Chateau de Kenilworth is that of Queen Elizabeth (Figure 46). The costume is a golden yellow, with a trailing cape whose inside is a white fur with black ornament. This inner ornament, ermine tails, is exactly the same as that for the regal capes of the Grand-Prevot (Figure 97), the Emperor Sigismond (Figure 94), Prince Leopold (Figure 92), Cardinal Brogny (Figure 89), and the blouse of Princess Eudoxie (Figure 91), of La Juive as well as the blouse of the Comtesse de Formoutiers (Figure 84), of Le Comte Ory. The queen is wearing a sumptuously jeweled crown with a jewel bedecked belt.

The three costumed figures in Le Comte Ory (Figure 98) are dressed in yellows and blues. Their garments, like most of the garments used in his French productions have fur hems and linings. The central figure is wearing a pastoral-woman's garb with a flowered hat and a long trailing yellow veil.

The costumed figures in the illustrations of La Juive (Figures 52-69) show how effectively these costumes appear in dramatic action. Figure

⁷⁴Parkinson, p. 218.



LE CONTE DRY

Fig. 98.

60 shows hooded monks in the foreground, and a grisly hangman at stage center. Cardinal Brogny seems to be at the right of the drawing.

Figure 52 of the Act One Serenade shows the colorful plumes and trailing veils of the characters. The tailoring of the doublets and hose, and the Robin Hood moccasins place this scene authentically in the Middle Ages.

The shadows and silhouettes of Figure 69 accentuate the grimness of the action. The Act One Finale Figure 68 shows the Cardinal, and behind him Bishops of the church arrayed in ecclesiastically correct garments. The soldier's armor at the right and the left of the picture was drawn from contemporary martial dress of the Middle Ages.

The swords and especially the draperies in the scene depicting the Act Two Trio Figure 54 are borne of near-eastern influence. The Arab tents and scimitars once again show Pugin's predilection to use something near-eastern in his Medieval productions.

The windows in the Act Two Trio Figure 91 are of the same design as those at Pugin's home, the Grange (Figure 66), also the same is the decoration of the chair. The figure on the right's ermine tailed collar and trailing veil and sleeve shawl are used to good effect as they capture her rushing movement. Her ermine tailed hem is also worthy of note.

The scene of the Act Three Bolero (Figure 53) shows the Cardinal on his knees. His two-tone undergarment becomes visible for the first time. It is white. His cap is red.

The entrance of the armed guards in the Act Three Finale (Figure 57) once again displays their full armor decor. No chain mail cheap substitute has been essayed to these supernumerary figures, they have been attired with a full suit of medieval armor. Their spears are straight in this scene, with little arch. They are actually pikes as used up to the time of the Thirty Years War throughout the European continent. This utilization of correct armaments also gives much to the feeling of authenticity achieved by the production in Paris.

The Act Four Scene Et Duo (Figure 59) shows a substantially differently attired military guard. Here, their helmets are those of infantry pages, not the visored helmets of the warriors. Their hemmed cloth garments are apparent with touches of metal protection at the knees, elbows and wrists. A hint of chain mail is derived from their collars. These are a military guard comprised of pages used to complete the unattractive duty of leading a young woman to her execution. A higher officer or regular military man would be out of place rendering such service. Pugin, with his rich background in Medieval studies was aware of this fact. The ghostly legion of masked clergymen in white robes accompany the Jewess on her final journey.

The pageant for the final scene in La Juive (Figure 62) as seen in this 1850 Covent Garden production was very like the pageants Pugin staged at the opening of some of his churches as described in Chapter III. The decor of this scene with its curtain and drapery is similar to that of

the Paris production (Figures 56, 67). Banners of Saints, heraldic shields and flags and large numbers of supernumeraries overlooking a distant prospect of a Cathedral seem to suggest that many of the elements of the French production were repeated in London. As Pugin was still alive in 1850, it is possible that he had a direct hand in the Covent Garden production as well.

The direct evidence of the degree to which Pugin participated in the costuming of his four major theatrical productions is evasive. However, the following points should be considered highly relevant to any assessment.

The Gazette Musicale de Paris, 1835, implies that where a particular expertise was required to deal with a historical or stylistic epoch the designer participated in all offices of stage design, decoration, decor, costumes, etc. This practice has been true throughout the history of the theatre. Inigo Jones designed stages, scenery, and costumes. The noted Victorian designer Wilhelm (John Charles Pitcher) participated in designing sets and costumes, though he was primarily a costumer. In the cubist period, Picasso and Leon Bakst designed all facets of theatre art, and the Futurist school had a Bauhaus where designers dealt with the total concept of the stage performance.

In the Gothic Revival period, historical accuracy in scenery and costumes was an equally adored specialty and the specialist was expected to advise in his area of expertise. That is what he was paid for. Theatre

was special to Pugin's career; a special sideline in which he was a respected and honored enthusiast. He would not restrict himself on major commissioned work. It was not part of his nature to do so.

When Pugin was offered the Paris Opera position as designer it would have been surprising had they not considered his talent for costuming as inclusive with his theatrical expertise in accurately representing the Gothic period. As described earlier, Pugin considered it essential to work with the builders and all other workmen coordinating all elements of production on his various architectural projects. It is in keeping with his philosophy of artistic production, borne of the medieval period, that in his major productions Pugin would superintend the efforts of his costumers and weavers, as to the color, symbolism, heraldry, length, and fabric of the costumes in a production of the medieval period. Sadly, Pugin often had to share the anonymity of the medieval craftsmen he so wished to emulate, as in much of his architectural work and unfortunately his theatrical work his efforts were not always accredited.

We have been told for Kenilworth "all the scenery was executed under his control." His son refers to "his scenes and decorations for Kenilworth, La Juive, and Le Comte Ory," We also have proof that Pugin produced and directed Medieval Pageants for the opening of his major churches where medieval costumes were worn. Miss Stanton supplied an example of a procession that Pugin costumed. Pugin worked with the costumers of the Italian Opera to create vestments for the Catholic Church.

His work with this group also included the commission he had as the director of the Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition. Here also, Pugin was in charge of Medieval costuming. It was this same manager of the Italian Opera who knew of Pugin's knowledge of the Medieval period and commissioned him to design all the scenery for Chateau de Kenilworth.

The most influential work of Pugin in the area of costume would have to be in his famous book, Contrasts. In this book, as stated above, he costumed his characters in his juxtaposed scenes in modern and medieval dress. These costume drawings influenced all historical costuming of the period. Pugin's other books, including the Glossary, were filled with medieval costumes that were also fitted out in heraldic grandeur and were historically accurate.

The natural conclusion of Pugin's interest in costume would be the fact that in his personal life he wore costumes, allied with the information that he designed clothes and jewelry for his wife.

It was A. W. N. Pugin's fondest wish to resurrect correctly the life of the Middle Ages. Life is people, and people to a great extent the clothes they wear. Throughout his career Pugin always remained conscious of this.

This abundance of material concerning Pugin and costume suggests that he had a formative role in the costuming of his major productions.

We have seen in Pugin's sketchbook designs a trend in his development from an Inigo Jones inspired Speluncar Gothic to a more French pointed style. His early use of architecturally planned drawings with their complex perspective treatments, angle wings, and set pieces showed a commitment to presenting an interesting and mobile stage picture.

Pugin's Kenilworth production received high praise for its sumptuous scenery and decor. This production was under the influence of an earlier baroque style--Inigo Jones and the Sixteenth century Italians. Near-eastern elements in costume made their appearance in this production as in all of Pugin's productions that have left a visual or critical record.

The Elfin Sprite emphasized elements of production concerned with machinery and trick effects. Magic bridges and staircases and a character who walks through walls relates this production to early English pantomime and Daguerre diorama techniques.

The opera La Juive showed Pugin's full development in the French Gothic pointed style of architectural design. Pugin's principles of historical accuracy and sumptuous display reached their fruition in this Paris production of La Juive.

Le Comte Ory and its varied scenes gave Pugin an opportunity to do landscape design as well as gothic castles. An interior scene "an Apartment of the Countess" survives and appears to be a box-set,

Alessandro Sanquirico, the Italian scene designer is discussed at this juncture to compare a noted Continental designer with Pugin in so far as their treatment of the Gothic style.

Pugin's actual work in rearranging the stage machinery at Drury Lane remains obscure. A history of this theatre's renovations during the two periods when Pugin would most likely have participated in its alterations is included in the text.

Pugin's serious approach to costume was demonstrated with examples from his Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, whose emphasis on historical accuracy and symbolic expression mark it as an important reference book to this day. The various costumes used in Pugin's productions mirror this fidelity to historical authenticity. Sumptuous jewels, near-eastern elements, and the use of correct armor and armaments are added touches that helped establish these productions as aesthetic and scholarly events in the history of performing arts.

CHAPTER V

A. W. N. PUGIN'S POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY CINEMA

Victorian England as a Visual Society

Before going into the last section of this paper, which will be a discussion of Pugin's theories of design in relation to scene-painting and early motion picture practices in design, this study includes background to the birth of cinematic consciousness in Great Britain, especially emphasizing Pugin's period and work.

David Thomson, in his book, Movie Man, calls his first chapter "Background to a Visual Society." In this discussion, Thomson shows how movies were a necessity for industrial man, the logical consequence of the development of society and communication. Movies, he says, cannot be isolated from the processes of urbanization and mechanization which had been set in motion over a hundred years before Lumiere and Melies, and which had themselves been the consequence of the previous stages of society. This evolution is concerned not only with methods of production but with the sort of terms in which man thinks of himself.¹

¹Thomson (New York: Stein and Day, 1967), pp. 11-12.

One of the four headings in this chapter is Architecture. Here, Thomson focuses on the Gothic Revival, and especially Pugin and Barry's Houses of Parliament. This section is quoted in its entirety here for the convenience of the reader because of the extensive rebuttal which will follow.

The gap between the ethos of aristocracy and the response of a slave populace is expressed in the scale and soaring points of Gothic architecture. It is significant that, with very few exceptions, the Gothic buildings that remain are castles or cathedrals. Their amplitude was believed to be filled by the authority of the nobles and the Church, and in a comparatively underpopulated country the differences in riches and power that the size manifested could be accepted. The peasant dwellings were so primitive that most of them have long since collapsed.

Ironically, at a time when such social differences were becoming intolerable, a bastard Gothic style was still being employed in architecture. The 1832 Reform Act and the destruction of the old buildings by fire demanded a new parliamentary chamber that would implement the new desire for political expression. The competition for designs stipulated the Gothic or Elizabethan styles and the accepted building, as planned by Barry and Pugin, was part of the Gothic revival. It was more functional than Strawberry Hill or Beckford's Fonthill, which were still aristocratic self-indulgence, but it did not seem to approve of the reformed political structure and even the original efficiency of its lay-out had degenerated within a hundred years into a legislative chamber that imposed absurd privations on its elected members.

The English Gothic revival was one element in the eclecticism of Victorian architecture. For although the cities and their purpose were palpably novel there was no successful new architectural form to assist them. In England the innovation of the Crystal Palace was ridiculed. Thus, houses, built by the Victorians had resorted to precedent styles because, as social buildings, they were not new. The new sort of domestic unit was the urban worker's house. In row after row in the new cities it comprised not only the slum but a fact of political implication. It is from the slums created by speculative building that we derive the credo that "form is the function of purpose." The conclusion to be drawn from degrading housing was that it indicated an opinion that the lower classes had only a depressed purpose; this provoked them to political consciousness. Through form people became more aware that they might have a purpose.

Out of this consciousness a sense of modernity was born. In the 1830's Barry [and Pugin] could not have conceived of a

"modern" architecture because his society lacked a contemporary sense of itself. Instead its yardsticks were the monuments of past styles: the image of the Parthenon recurs in innumerable Victorian public buildings. [Pugin and] Barry's Houses of Parliament was envisaged as being permanent because of a universally felt security. Its present redundancy, on the other hand, would make it impossible for any new legislative assembly to be built without the recognition that it served only for a limited time. It is, of course, contrary to conventional "artistic" conceptions of the architect that his work should be only temporary.

Against this idea there is now posed the practicality of kinetic architecture: buildings of steel, glass and plastic that can alter their shapes to suit the various functions of the inhabitants. Such an architectural form corresponds with the conditions of a film soundstage, the hangar-like building in which a large part of a film is shot. The controlling factor on a soundstage is the need of "now." All lights, all technical abilities, all recording equipment, the energy and creativity of actors, director and crew are concentrated in a small quarter of the building and a small area of emotion and action within the larger context of a film's script. The localization of this intensity will be transferred as soon as one shot has been completed. Then another set, previously struts, paint and cardboard, will be made to take on cinematic life, and the used one broken down and parts of it employed in making another set. National architecture may yet have to acquire a similar ability to focus its materials and skills, and landscape may even become as fluctuating as skyscape.²

Though many of Thompson's comments would seem to be negative in terms of Pugin and Barry's relationship to the society that was to become one of the pioneer manufacturers of motion pictures, a careful analysis of his comments will show certain imperfections and inconsistencies in his reasoning and point to the progressive influence of Pugin's theories and work. First of all, on the positive side, Thomson grants the importance of Pugin and Barry's designs for the Houses of Parliament to the background of Britain's visual society--and the advances this society would

²Ibid., pp. 14-15.

soon make in motion pictures must therefore, I feel, be a reflection of this Gothic revival period, which immediately preceded the great technical advances in the moving pictures of Friese-Greene and William Dickson, among others.

Thomson's use of the term "bastard" in his description of this new Gothic style is inaccurate. The whole point of the Pugins' Gothic revival was to produce an architecture built on a firm foundation of proven architectural principles and functional utility. Their concern with the ethical and moral aspects of this style together with their strict adherence to historical accuracy--combined with a new concept of functional architectural theory (as will be seen in the next section of this paper), makes the use of this adjective "bastard" inaccurate. No medieval or, as Thomson says, "precedent" piece of architecture can be compared to Pugin's designs of Gothic architecture because Pugin never built a medieval building. He built modern buildings in the Gothic revival style.

Thomson admits that Pugin and Barry's Houses of Parliament were "more functional than Strawberry Hill or Beckford's Fonthill, which were still aristocratic self-indulgence." This would seem to suggest that Pugin's Gothic revival was merely an improvement upon this "Strawberry Hill" school of design. Surely it was an improvement--but it was much more--it proposed itself as an improvement of all architectural styles of that period--and in almost all cases it was just that. This adoption in a

Protestant country of "True Christian (Catholic) Gothic Architecture" for over fifty years as its dominant national style is in itself unique.

Thomson states that, "the original efficiency of its lay-out had degenerated within a hundred years into a legislative chamber that imposed absurd privations on its elected members." How many buildings do retain their efficiency for one hundred years, especially buildings built in the last two centuries which, according to Buckminster Fuller, have developed an increasingly shorter cycle of change than ever before-- whereby a society's rate of change that was formerly fifty years, at the present time is five years?

In Thomson's final proposition of a kinetic architecture capable of movement and easy assembling and disassembling, his description,

As soon as one set has been completed . . . another set, previously struts, paint and cardboard, will be made to take on cinematic life, and the used one broken down and parts of it employed in making another set,³

is very close to a description of what the "Strawberry Hill" school of architecture was, whose walls, like those of Fonthill Abbey, waved in the breeze, and finally collapsed, and when "broken down . . . parts of it (were) employed in making another set."⁴

Thomson's discussion of the sociology concerning the background of the British visual society, is correct in its declaration of the importance of the Parliament buildings to that society, but due to a lack of an accurate

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

understanding of what Pugin's accomplishments and the accomplishments of the Gothic revival were (in the areas of theory and efficiency of construction particularly), he has painted this revival as a negative influence rather than portraying the truly positive influence it had on the great cinematic inventors of the next generation--Friese-Greene and William Dickson.

All his life, A. W. N. Pugin crusaded for a complete visual rearrangement of British society. His books consistently described the aesthetic poverty of industrial society through illustration and satire. Thomson portrays movies as the offspring of the processes of urbanization and mechanization. What he fails to consider is that it was the stimulating visual daring offered by the Gothic Revivalists, of which Pugin was the foremost architect and publicist, that created the desire for the visually unique; a demand so effectively filled by the early cinema.

The Aesthetics of Scene-painting

The following discussion of the qualities necessary for success in the field of scene-painting is given as evidence to demonstrate the fact that A. W. N. Pugin possessed these qualities to an extraordinary degree. For the most part this section quotes opinions and experiences of scene-designers and art critics whose practical knowledge will give the truest picture of the technical and aesthetic virtuosity required by a master of this art form.

Robert Edmond Jones once said, "Stage designers, like musicians, are born and not made. One is aware of atmosphere or one isn't."⁵ This statement is a good vantage point from which to investigate the qualities necessary for success in the field of scene-painting.

According to Oliver Smith, a great scene designer for ballet, musicals, and opera should have the following qualifications:

- 1) A talent for architectural design, a sense for the use and dynamics of space and movements of objects in space.
- 2) The ability to paint, preferably in several styles, both abstract, romantic and realistic.
- 3) A tireless energy and adaptability to change, especially to those who are uninformed about architecture and painting, if not indifferent to it.
- 4) Administrative ability, with practical use of psychology as well.
- 5) A passion for the work itself. Without this not only is the work too exhausting, it is financially unrewarding.⁶

Pugin possessed these qualities to a high degree.

Rolf Gerard has made a few pertinent statements about the responsibilities of an opera designer. He says that an opera designer must search deeply into the music for its own meaning and explanation. In addition, he must listen to the text not only in translation but also in the opera's

⁵Orville K. Larson, ed., Scene Design for Stage and Screen (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1961), p. 27.

⁶Ibid., p. 191.

original language in order to get both its full meaning and feeling.⁷ Pugin spoke fluently the languages of which his three operas were composed. Pugin also published a book dealing with the efficacy of plainchant in the Catholic service.

Horace Armistead goes into more detail as to what a great ballet designer must do before a production. Great ballet designers must have knowledge of the area of their stage, and all it contains and all it might contain, the machinery with which it has worked, and even how it may be made to work. This must not have been difficult for the young Pugin, who among other responsibilities observed and worked in the back stage area rearranging the stage machinery at Drury Lane Theatre. The designer lays out the floor plans and hanging plots, draws up the perspective color sketches and the working drawings. He makes sure there is sufficient space for the dancers, off stage and through the exits as well as on stage.⁸

Joseph Harker, one of England's most eminent late Victorian and early twentieth century scene-painters, in his book, Studio and Stage, voices several opinions as to the nature of a good scene-painter:

There is no use trying to differentiate scene-painting from any other branch of the whole art of painting. Paint is paint the world over, whether it is applied to a large canvas or a small canvas. The man who knows how to apply paint is a painter. A painter who desires to specialize in painting scenery should have some feeling for drama and some sense of the theatre, to say nothing of the technical equipment implied by a fairly complete knowledge of the architecture of every period and of furniture and decoration in every style. The scene-painter, too, must have made a complete study

⁷Ibid., p. 202.

⁸Ibid., p. 212.

of the methods and means of stage lighting, while, again, a more or less thorough knowledge of what may be called occasional subjects, such as heraldry, classic form, and ecclesiastical ornament would also be found useful. No young man who is not a first-rate draughtsman, a sensitive colorist, and an all-round enthusiast can ever be turned into even a moderately good scene-painter.⁹

Pugin published a book on heraldry, and his book on ecclesiastical ornament is still the definitive work. Pugin was said to have a "remarkable facility in draughtsmanship,"¹⁰ and as a colorist it was written that he "had an excellent eye for colour."¹¹ Pugin's enthusiasm for the theatre also became a subject of note, "so great was that enthusiasm that he taught himself--not at all a matter of course at the time."¹²

Throughout my biographical study of Pugin's life as it touched issues concerned with theatrical art it became apparent that A. W. N. Pugin contained within himself an unusual proficiency in areas pertaining to effectiveness in scene design, and where there were gaps in his knowledge, Pugin trained himself in the traditions of early masters and contemporary artists.

The scene designers of the nineteenth century sought reality by using a distant vanishing point to avoid an unreal effect in their perspectives. This practice passed without any particular artistic result, other than the fact that they brought the wing stage to a "faked world of flapping,

⁹Harker, p. 170.

¹⁰Stephen and Lee, p. 451.

¹¹Ferrey, p. 71.

¹²Stanton, "Pugin at Twenty-one," p. 188.

painted canvas."¹³ Pugin substituted plastically built three dimensional set pieces. Pugin attacked simplicity of stage design which stood for gloomy "backgrounds." His detailed sketches brought an exactitude to the scenery along with a three dimensionality that was quite forceful.

Throughout the history of the theatre the stage and scenery have been built according to geometric principles, and the appearance of a new style of scenery has been connected with a change in geometric principle. The fact that in the eighteenth century designers abandoned the axial symmetric system and built scenery on the diagonal greatly enriched the possibilities for expression. As diagonal art is essentially an art of perspective, Pugin and his associates could step in and revolutionize the English and Continental stage. Thus it was that these new scenic ideas appeared almost simultaneously in so many different countries, and with the help of geometric methods, these ideas were purified and further developed (Craig and Appia).¹⁴

Joseph Harker discusses the use of stage perspective, a field in which Pugin was considered an expert and an innovator:

Stage perspective need not present insuperable difficulties to those who have a complete grasp of the principles of true perspective. The problems of stage perspective arise from the fact that the artist has a real foreground (the stage) to contend with, in addition to what the backcloth or other parts of the scene may

¹³Elmer Nagy, "New Plastic Effects and the Revival of Perspective," Player's Magazine (Jan. 1942), p. 6.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 23.

show. The scene has to be designed to look right, or as nearly right as possible, from every part of the house. One's difficulty therefore is that of blending the actual and the artificial in such a way as to make a satisfactory and convincing whole. Instinct, whose only true source is experience supplies the answer to the problem. Some of the ordinary rules of perspective have to go by the board, of course--but one must thoroughly understand those rules before one is able to play "monkey tricks" with them.¹⁵

Harker seems to hold the opinion of Mordecai Gorelik, that technical work can always be learned. These men feel that the real and only mystery about a genuine artist is the power of his imagination.¹⁶

Pugin and his associates did much to enhance the reputation of English scene-painting. In the 1910 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica the whole subject of scene-painting throughout Europe is described in nineteen lines and the English methods come out with honors as the following extract shows:

Regarding the actual designing and painting of the scenery, the English scene-painter may be now considered in advance of his continental and American colleagues, although the productions of some notable ateliers at Vienna and Munich run the English scene-painters work very closely . . . it is to be anticipated that it will never again be necessary to import scenery from Austria.¹⁷

The article goes on to give an insight into the position of the scene-painter at the turn-of-the-century:

¹⁵Harker, p. 174.

¹⁶Mordecai Gorelik, "Hollywood Art Machinery," Hollywood Quarterly (Berkeley, 1947), January, p. 153.

¹⁷Vladimir Polunin, "The Continental Method of Scene-painting," Amateur Stage (London), Oct. 1928, v. 3, no. 34, p. 271. The Encyclopedia Britannica quotations come from this article.

The profession of the scene-painter is particularly difficult inasmuch as whilst artistic temperament and thorough knowledge of art are essential for the practice of his vocation it is equally essential that he should be thoroughly practical and to a considerable extent a mechanic. He lacks recognition among artists and there is unfortunately a tendency to deprecate his work.¹⁸

The old methodology of scene-painting current at the time of Pugin, was to suspend the canvas from a moveable vertical frame and paint from ladders or scaffolding. Thus for most of the time the scene was obscured unless an army of assistants was employed. Also, it being the nature of paints to flow according to gravity all the painting had to be arranged so that this drawback should not ruin the work. In consequence, the characteristics of the designer's work could never be faithfully transferred to the scene. Only one medium, a viscous one could be used, and the transparent delicacy of the watercolor was impossible to achieve. With the varying mediums lighter priming was possible. An economy of colors resulted, also an economy of space.¹⁹

Pugin had an influence on the practices of the theatre during the early period of motion picture development. He was the foremost architectural theorist of the nineteenth century. A discussion of some early problems in motion picture scenic development and their relation to some of Pugin's major theories has been chosen as the final topic for this paper.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

Scene Painting at the Time of the Early Cinema

The early movie backdrops and scenery were basically theatrical. Pugin's practice of building architecturally independent perspectives for theatrical sets was adopted in the architectural model theory of the early movies. The development of architecturally planned drawings, and the stage's division into architectural entities (see Figure 41) were methods used by early designers, that had a great influence on the cinema. The architectural plan was involved with a perspective layout (see Figure 40 with its intersecting perspective lines, also Figure 41), that is, a series of interacting various perspectives on the stage at one time. The critical stage designer who represented the Prix de Rome school of architecture, based upon research in depth coupled with an extensive imagination, was A. W. N. Pugin, whose Papal medal, bibliographical interest in "authorities," and library of chivalric romances gave him a background with which to influence the theatre during the early staging of motion pictures.

The designer in the movies has less freedom of expression than in the legitimate stage. He can't visualize the setting from one angle as the stage designer can and must. He must build each set in his mind and then go around it, as if it were an architectural model, looking at it from new perspectives. But, it must be remembered, he cannot work with the one point ducal perspective current at Pugin's time. The movie designer must have the fundamental approach of the architect-cameraman. He must

look upon the setting as a structural unit with four walls, and relate it to the drama and the camera. The stage setting surrounds the actors, while in the movies, the actors surround the set.²⁰

In an exhibition entitled, "Scenery for Cinema," held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, John Koenig presented a quantity of material devoted to the foundations of the cinematic scenic art. Up until that time, 1942, no one had investigated this field with anything bordering on thoroughness.

As Pugin had an influence on the practices of the theatre during the early period of motion picture development, some salient points of Mr. Koenig's survey have been considered necessary to include in this paper.

No such thing as an art director existed in the early silent cinema. Instead, local carpenters built stock "center door fancies" in slavish imitation of the theatre. Walls wriggled and doors slammed with a soft shudder; but no one minded because, by gum, the dang picture moved. This was the first point in the development of movie settings, the painted set.²¹ Pugin's hatred for the cardboard picturesqueness of Fonthill Abbey whose facade shook in the wind made him a worker in the theatre for stock-pieces of built up flats into an architectural entity--the antithesis of the painted set.

²⁰Eustis Morton, "Designing for the Movies," Theatre Arts Monthly, p. 784.

²¹Koenig, n.p.

Gradually it became apparent that the realistic nature of cinematic stories demanded equally real settings. Flapping theatrical scenery was laughable in a film and had to be replaced with honest construction. But the nearly rigid flats still required decoration, and thereupon the movie setting wrongly borrowed examples of the currently ugly style of blinding wallpaper and east-lake mission furniture as details of design. This period of scenic development was called the wallpaper craze.²² Pugin seems to be the originator of some few specific principles that almost became an obsession with certain of his later colleagues, concerning the decoration of flat surfaces. His sense of logic wounded to the quick, he complained in his True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture about certain forms of contemporary Gothic wallpapers,

where a wretched caricature of a painted building is repeated from the skirting to the cornice in glorious confusion, --door over pinnacle, and pinnacle over door. . . . Again, those papers which are shaded are defective in principle; for, as a paper is hung round a room, the ornament must frequently be shadowed on the light side. . . . Flock papers (another variety of the species) are admirable substitutes for the ancient hangings, but then they must consist of pattern without shadow, with the forms relieved by the introduction of harmonious colours.²³

The next step in the scenic development was the art setting, which derived from Joseph Urban whose designs were individual conceptions of geometric designs of Claude Bragdon's treatise on dynamic symmetry. Urban's style was highly personalized. From a dramatic standpoint the effect was chic rather than contributive; but from an historical standpoint

²²Ibid.

²³Boe, p. 30.

the opposite is true.²⁴ Pugin would have attacked chic design on moral and structural grounds such as he does in his True Principles:

Architecture (should be) utterly opposed to all deception: better is it to do a little substantially and consistently with truth than to produce a great but false show. Cheap deceptions of magnificence encourage persons to assume a semblance of decoration far beyond either their means or their station. . . . Glaring, showy, and meretricious ornament was never so much in vogue as at present; it disgraces every branch of our art and manufactures, and the correction of it should be an earnest consideration with every person who desires to see the real principles of art restored.²⁵

A transitional period ensued wherein arches and moldings were used to enhance the three dimensional quality of the whole scene.²⁶ Herein, tips were borrowed from the work of Pugin and his contemporaries. Whereas Pugin was expert enough in the field of botanic design to publish a book on floriated ornament entitled, Eicones Plantarum, in which he exhibited an early appreciation of Art Nouveau,²⁷ the meandering flora and emasculated mouldings were as indecisive for the early movies as Copeau's new stage or Sak's Fifth Avenue's window.²⁸ In discussing the difference between ancient and modern artists and their representation of foliage, Pugin, in his book, Floriated Ornament, gives a lesson which shows how this period in cinematic design was defective and how floriated ornament should have been executed:

The great difference between ancient and modern artists in their adaptation of nature for decorative purposes, is as follows. The former disposed the leaves and flowers of which their design

²⁴Koenig, n.p.

²⁵Boe, p. 26.

²⁶Koenig, n.p.

²⁷Trappes-Lomax, p. 283.

²⁸Koenig, n.p.

was composed into geometrical forms and figures, carefully arranging the stems and component parts so as to fill up the space they were intended to enrich; and they were represented in such a manner as not to destroy the consistency of the peculiar feature or object they were employed to decorate, by merely imitative rotundity or shadow; for instance; a pannel, which by its very construction is flat, would be ornamented by leaves or flowers drawn out or extended, so as to display their geometrical forms on a flat surface.

On the other hand, a modern painter would endeavor to give a fictitious idea of relief, as if bunches of flowers were laid on, and, by dint of shadow and foreshortening, an appearance of cavity or projection would be produced on a feature which architectural consistency would be required to be treated as a plane.²⁹

It was at this stage in the cinema's development that the film art departments were influencing home decoration. The effective consideration paid to minute details and organization of ornaments in settings were visual lessons to the movie-going public who, subconsciously or not, learned how to improve their own backgrounds. Pugin, through his exactitude in Gothic representations in the London theatres, had a means of influencing his public to become interested in a revival of this period to which his later life was devoted to making churches, homes, and ornaments.

The use of painted perspective in a film is something to be gotten over with in a hurry: a prolonged shot would attract snickering attention, for such a truly theatrical technique is out of key with any realistic movie setting. Generally a movement of people helps to destroy detection, and always, the camera must maintain its one station point to preserve the

²⁹Boe, p. 31.

trick.³⁰ Pugin was aware of the danger in the use of perspective in designs when he stated in his True Principles:

A moment's reflection must show the extreme absurdity of repeating a perspective over a large surface with some hundred different points of sight: a panel or wall may be enriched and decorated at pleasure, but it must always be treated in a consistent manner.³¹

The purpose of these few closing remarks is to show A. W. N. Pugin's influence on the theatre at the time of the beginning of the early cinema, and to show how his theory and practice as applied to mid-nineteenth-century scenic art was adopted by it.

CONCLUSION

I think of cinemas, panoramic sleights
With multitudes bent toward some flashing scene
Never disclosed, but hastened to again,
Foretold to other eyes on the same screen;

And Thee, across the harbor, silver paced
As though the sun took step of thee.

Hart Crane, "To Brooklyn Bridge"³²

An attempt has been made throughout this paper to relate the greatest English architect of his day, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, to the theatre, and to trace his influence in theatre at the period of the early cinema, in which he had what must be considered a meaningful influence.

After burrowing through piles of materials, the author feels that Pugin's importance in these fields has only just been established, and

³⁰Koenig, n.p.

³¹Boe, p. 26.

³²Oscar Williams, ed., Immortal Poems (New York: Washington Square Press, 1960), p. 563.

that, in the course of time the experts in these fields will have to study and include his achievements in any comprehensive historical study of theatrical scene design during the period of early cinematic art.

CHAPTER VI

C O N C L U S I O N S

In this paper, *A. W. N. Pugin's Influence on Theatre*, it has been essayed to gather the fragmentary and scattered information and illustrations concerning the theatrical career of A. W. N. Pugin, and by a careful insight into the period in which he worked and the artists and techniques that aided him discern and bring to light his essential achievements in this area. The treatment deemed most effective when dealing with such an influential but relatively unknown artist as Pugin, is to place him solidly in a time and place and show how he effected that time and place and how this effect was to influence later periods. When interpreting the work of genius an investigation of his sources of knowledge and inspiration is a procedure likely to yield fruit. One gains a closer understanding of the individual personality and how he dealt with the problems and questions he faced. This study, therefore, was a blend of history, criticism, and biography. While showing how Pugin influenced theatrical art through his major theatrical productions and theoretic writings on design, we also had the opportunity through its refraction of investigating one of the foremost

artists of his time and determining when and where the theatric art was influencing his art, architecture, design, writing, thinking, personality, and life. Therefore, the discussion of Pugin, as set forth in this paper, is a diorama, where, by changing the point of vision a different yet related effect is disclosed. By exposing a larger canvas--Victorian England--to the light that was Pugin, a picture of his influential work is seen in all its Gothic glory. By introducing the color to a deeper penetrating light we see behind Pugin a group of artists and a style that were to dominate England for sixty years.

In Chapter I I introduced A. W. N. Pugin and reviewed his accomplishments in the world of art. I presented quotations from Kenneth Clark, John Henry Newman, C. Northcote Parkinson, and Robert Furneaux Jordan establishing the critical merits of Pugin the designer and thinker. I reviewed the literature on Pugin, citing Phoebe Stanton as the major contemporary authority on Pugin's work and the Gothic Revival. I set out an outline that spanned the life and times of A. W. N. Pugin as well as presenting a lengthy chapter for his antecedents and his heirs.

Chapter II dealt with Pugin's antecedents, especially his father, A. C. Pugin. A. C. Pugin's origin's were traced to France, and his background and early architectural career with John Nash was described as beneficial to his son as they introduced him to later associates in the theatrical and artistic worlds. A list of A. C. Pugin's publications was considered, including his highly influential work Specimens of Gothic

Architecture, a group of volumes with details of Gothic designs that helped promote correct use of the style among professional architects. His career as the master of his own architectural school was detailed, and a list of his students supplied containing future leaders of the European theatrical world. A. C. Pugin's work on the Welsh theatrical circuit with Henry Masteman's Company is covered with the aid of Charles Dibdin's Memoirs. Pugin's role as scene painter and raconteur is exposed. The lasting friendships with Charles Mathews, Nash, and Dibdin were established at this time.

The Microcosm of London, A. C. Pugin's most enduring work was considered at great length. Thomas Rowlandson was described, and the technique of the work with illustrations of the methodology of its draughting (Figures 15, 16) was also included emphasizing the juxtaposition of Pugin's formal constructions with Rowlandson's lively caricatures. The importance of The Microcosm was its presentation to posterity of the last pure view of Georgian London as life in it was lived. Illustrations of some completed plates were included.

A description of Daguerre's diorama is given in detail from the different perspective of optics, mechanics, and aesthetics. This is essayed in order to fully expose as much of the sum total of source material this unique process offered Pugin's fertile mind when he was introduced to it. The major social effect of the diorama was to reemphasize the preference for optical spectacles so typical of that period in the theatre. It was seen

that the theatre was to borrow from this new process reinvigorating a waning trend for historical spectacle. The proliferation of "-oramas" throughout the period is found in the advertisements and articles within Chateau de Kenilworth's program. They grew with Pugin. It was felt that the twentieth-century disrepute of Gothic Revival buildings was related to Daguerre's invention of photography. The eye became too familiar with multivisual experiences in the outer world so that a constant bumping into exotic Gothic buildings with their forceful individuality hurt the newly formed cosmopolitan aesthetic. Thus, Daguerre was a father and a slayer of the Gothic Revival fashion.

A. C. Pugin's role as assisting architect-designer of the London Regent's Park Diorama in 1823 is considered in lieu of the influence this dioramic process was to have on his son's work in the theatre. Daguerre's career as a scene designer is given to support the contention of the diorama's revolutionizing influence to scene design. A. C. Pugin's work on the Diorama is detailed.

A final section of Chapter II gives a description of the background and theory of the Gothic Revival in England up to the advent of A. W. N. Pugin. The source of the word "Gothic" is found in the denigrating term "goth" implying barbarism, used by Italians to describe this style. Literary, historic, and artistic sources are drawn for the establishing of Gothic as a dominant style in nineteenth-century England. Horace Walpole and his Strawberry Hill enthusiasm was seen as a parvenu's love of the

picturesque and elegant. The original motives for the upper-classes courting of the Gothic style are seen as searching for an ancient pedigree, and a patriotic love for what was considered Britain's national style. A. C. Pugin's work in the Revival is focused on and seen as the first serious study of Gothic edifices and ornaments set forth for the use of architects when they attempt to build in the Gothic style. A short description of A. W. N. Pugin's major architectural achievements are given in order to lend a fuller perspective to the early Gothic Revival period.

Chapter III dealt with A. W. N. Pugin and the development of the nineteenth-century scene designer. Pugin's early biography is described, and we see how even as a child he possessed prodigious abilities for the invention of gadgets and illustrations for entertaining others. His mother's strict Victorian household is viewed in its psychological aspect as a repressive influence that would perhaps be expiated by Pugin's semi-defiant entrance into the theatre world.

Charles James Mathews Memoirs are referred to at length in this section as they give an excellent picture of the day to day life of a pupil in A. C. Pugin's architectural school. Mathews gives a detailed account of the school's trips to Paris and their theatre-going, and establishes beyond a reasonable doubt that it was there that A. W. N. Pugin got his first taste for theatrical entertainments. Mathews' generous character study of A. C. Pugin's personality is helpful, as it is the only one that

approximates the feeling that a youth the same age as his A. W. N. Pugin would feel for the old aristocrat.

Pugin's introduction at age fifteen backstage of Covent Garden through a friendly scene shifter, George Dayes, and his meeting with the Grieve family and subsequent employment by them establishes his early professional enthusiasm for the technical and artistic sides of theatre. His construction of a complete model theatre in the upper story of his father's house and the productions he presented there to an audience of family and invited guests is evidence that the young Pugin desired to take initiative in the technical field of stage mechanics and carpentry. A description of his theatre is given along with an illustration of what his homemade production "Panorama of Old London" might have looked like (Figure 31). Some defects in the then current method of applying Gothic detail are established, and the hypothesis drawn that A. W. N. Pugin would be the one to remedy such deficiencies.

Important scene designers of the past were investigated. We saw that Inigo Jones, and Jones's baroque style of theatre architecture and design were the first influence on A. W. N. Pugin despite his later Gothic commitment. This influence was later firmly established by Pugin's sketch-book plates for Chateau de Kenilworth whose "Speluncar" Gothic was a derivative or parallel application of Jones's baroque style. The enthusiasm with which Pugin collected books and studied theatre techniques, and the difficulties posed by a lack of published material available during his

period implied a determined effort on his part to acquire expertise in the field of theatrical art. Baldassare Peruzzi is seen as the major influence on Pugin's use of theatrical perspective. It was upon Peruzzi's principles that Pugin would base his experiments. An example is given from Kenilworth, a plate showing the application of wing and drop perspective to a series of indoor scenes. A later plate also shows a freer adaptation of perspective principles to an outdoor scene.

The two important contemporary designers we focused on in our discussion were the men with whom Pugin worked in the theatre during those years of his greatest influence there. Clarkson Stanfield was seen as an excellent dioramist and panoramist, two techniques Pugin also mastered. Stanfield's love for the sea and maritime experiences was viewed as sympathetic to Pugin's and showed an affinity of personalities. Two descriptions of Stanfield productions are studied and it was seen that effects utilized by Stanfield that were considered innovative by the critics, such as an architecturally fitted stairway and door, a perspective view between two doors to another room backstage, and a box-set, were earlier used by A. W. N. Pugin. It was also established that it was during the twelve year period when Stanfield worked for Drury Lane Theatre that Pugin rearranged the stage there. Stanfield worked at other theatres where Pugin had been active, like Covent Garden and the Royal Coburg. Stanfield and Pugin were good friends though Pugin was twenty years his junior. This

seemed no surprise as Stanfield had an even closer life-long friendship with Charles Dickens who was also twenty years younger than him.

The Grieve family was an even more important influence on Pugin and his theatrical career. It was seen how Pugin was introduced behind the scenes and put to work by these brothers at Covent Garden in 1827. A letter is produced from Thomas Grieve describing this period of Pugin's life and the method of his work for them on productions dealing with the Gothic period. Because of the misreading of Pugin's diary for 1827, and the use of the term "mere boy" by Grieve in his letter to E. W. Pugin, and the mentioning of the period when Pugin worked on the Parliament Buildings as the period of Pugin's most intense theatrical activity, this letter seemed to establish the major portion of the Pugin theatrical career in lieu of London and the Grieves to a minimum of seven years (Diary of 1827 - to The Elfin Sprite of 1833). There is a strong possibility, as seen in the description of his method of work and close friendship with Grieve and other members of the theatrical world, of its being stretched from twelve to sixteen years. In point of fact, throughout his life Pugin participated to some extent in the theatre. Whether designing private theatres for operatic performances like the Marquis of Stafford's, or his own chapel for performance of ritual, there was always something going on, some need for theatrical help in the design or construction in the amateur and professional theatre. It is likely that Pugin supplied this need when he was able. The Era Almanack of 1871 stated that Pugin

designed several drop scenes for William Grieve at the Princess's Theatre. This established another Grieve and another theatre with which it is on record Pugin's career had come in intimate contact. The Grieves were seen as the innovators of the diorama and the vertical diorama on the London theatre in 1823-1824. As A. C. Pugin, his son A. W. N. Pugin, and Daguerre were all involved with this process at its inception during this period, and Clarkson Stanfield and the Grieve family were to become its most successful exponents, I look upon A. C. Pugin, Daguerre, A. W. N. Pugin, Stanfield, and the Grieves as a group to which most of the new methods and ideas in scene design, stage architecture, and carpentry which emanated from Daguerre's work were to be realized in the English and Continental Theatres.

The experiences of Stanfield, Pugin, and other scene designers of the period in having a great deal of their best work exhibited with no mention of their names or, when their names are mentioned, a confusion as to what aspects of the scenery they worked on, is one of the difficulties of studying the Romantic theatre. This practice placed a burden on nineteenth-century theatre historians of design. A close familiarity with the biography and stylistic approaches of theatre artists of the period is more necessary here than at other periods.

James Wyatt's inaccurate, but pictorially effectively placed Gothic structures and designs created the tradition of scene painting utilized at the time of Pugin's entrance into the theatre. Pugin added correct detail

and a historical basis for the designs he put on the stage. This was an advance over Wyatt's unlearned tradition of landscapes and stage designs,

The theatrical fare of the Romantic period was found to lack a strong direction. The talented singers and dancers were spread diffusely among different productions, and it was rare to find a strong well-rounded performance. Scenic artists were more fortunate, as they usually attached to one theatre for a contract period that could last many years. Finances were strained and the theatrical monopoly kept a conservative attitude on the British stage up to the 1830's. Laporte's lesseeship of Covent Garden in the '30's brought a liberal attitude to questions of aesthetics and race. Under this Frenchman's aegis Ira Aldridge, the Negro Tragedian, performed, and A. W. N. Pugin, the emigre's son designed. The French, in fact, had invaded England's theatre in the early decades of the nineteenth century. A. C. Pugin, Daguerre, Laporte, and A. W. N. Pugin all brought innovations from knowledge of their arts gained in France.

The dominant plays, however, were by an Englishman, and their roots were wholly English. Walter Scott's appearance as the most staged author of the period excepting Shakespeare, signaled a decline in the theatre's fortunes. The spectacular plays dealing with the Middle Ages furnished through his deep and abiding love of medieval history and architecture minimized the actor's role and impeded original authorship and new themes. However, it gave medievalists and "goths" the opportunity to present pictures of the people and structures of this age to a public stimulated by Scott's

vivid descriptions in the Waverly Novels. Pugin took advantage of this desire to make a reputation for himself in the theatre. His first and greatest success was Chateau de Kenilworth.

Chapter III includes descriptions of theatrical aspects of Pugin's Catholicism, his writings that incorporated theatrical elements, a discussion of his maritime life, and an Epilogue.

It is seen that subsequent to his period of most intense work in the theatre, Pugin set up premises at Covent Garden. He built private theatres for Royalty, married the scene-shifter Dayes's niece, and turned down a job offer from the Paris Opera. For the Great Exhibition of 1851 Pugin arranged the Medieval Court as a simultaneous setting of the Medieval theatre. He had the costume makers of the Italian Opera make the vestments for this display. These activities outside the professional theatre show how throughout his life Pugin was called on to put his theatrical experience to work.

Pugin's conversion to Catholicism in 1835 completed a trend toward orthodoxy, ritualism, and Medieval identification that had been in action for perhaps fifteen years. As his conversion postdates his major period of theatrical work I feel the ritualism of the stage as well as the Christian Mass affected this close association in his mind of the Roman Catholic religion and Gothic Art. In subsequent writings Pugin compared church architecture and rituals to theatrical conventions. These comparisons usually emphasized the theatrical excesses of worship. The construction

of his private chapel at Ramsgate was seen as a trading in of the theatrical productions of his father's house for the sacred performances of his own.

Pugin's Contrasts was, perhaps, the foremost work of artistic satire of the period. The dramatic situations of medieval and industrial Britain used in the illustrations to compare the moral and aesthetic value of their architecture are born of a Dickensian narrative spirit. Pugin could tell a story drolly or dramatically in a picture.

Pugin's etchings and watercolors with their dramatic shadows and placements show lessons learned from the Wyatt tradition of scene-painting. One builds on the best qualities of established methods in the quest for new ideas. Aside from its technical faults and the haphazard quality of much of its design, the Wyatt tradition made for effective Romantic Gothic atmosphere, and in Pugin's propagandistic publications the object was to catch the fancy as well as the intellect of his reader.

Pugin's passion for the sea, also immediately postdating his major theatrical efforts was viewed as the expression of an inherent perception of what was great and pictorial. There are elements of real power in boats. Pugin's epitaph: "There is nothing worth living for but Christian Architecture and a boat," reflects this life long passion. He found in Nature a secret--one that scholarship ignores or views as an appendix, an irrelevancy of anecdotal status, whereas in truth the dedication to share the

maritime life so vital to his island's history was in the truest tradition of England's master authors from Hobbes to Gilbert and Conrad, painters from Turner to Prout and Whistler, heroes from Drake to Nelson and Mountbatton.

Pugin's passion for boats is seen as a structural innovator's appreciation of the sailboat's efficiency, modernity and uniqueness of construction. It is the same admiration the flight conscious Leonardo felt for the anatomy of birds. In their unique and efficient construction lies the answer to flight. Buckminster Fuller expands the vision of the great source material of the ocean by considering the "cosmic viewpoint of Sailomen." The "spontaneous cosmic viewpoint" of sailors gives them a greater sense of direction, both physical, moral and ethical. The sense of exclusivity of sailors, Catholics, and for Pugin, Gothic architecture are seen to converge during this period of Pugin's life. Also, the rigging of the stages of the eighteenth and nineteenth century British theatre was the same as the rigging found on ships. Sailors were often employed as backstage workers. They made the riggings and developed the maritime mechanics of riggings, pulleys and winches that were to dominate the stage until the advent of electricity. Pugin could not have helped knowing these maritime influences, whether riggings or ex-seamen like his friend and associate Clarkson Stanfield, during his years at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Perhaps they influenced his immediate turn to the sea at the termination of his theatrical career. Pugin's work habits aboard ship corresponded to the problematic working techniques of the theatre. Both ship and loft

lacked the ideal conditions for architectural designing, a moving ship and a rising backdrop, and a situation where proper architectural instruments couldn't be utilized. Ironically these difficulties were no problem to Pugin as his individual style of draughting required no instruments save pencil and paper. Therefore it should be seen as a direct and inevitable path that led Pugin, master of practical carpentry, structural innovator of Gothic designs and theories, sensitive artist of the great and pictorial, Christian cosmologist, and intimate friend of former seaman Clarkson Stanfield, to a maritime passion.

Pugin's personality was seen as that of an erratic character. His love of costumes and slovenliness and the sense that he conveyed at times of living in another world were juxtaposed with his good humor and dramatic manner of narration.

The comment by Kenneth Clark concerning the sensuous pleasures Pugin derived from ritual did much to connect Pugin's love of the Medieval, and Roman Catholicism, to his love of the sea and the theatre. These are seen as expressions of the psychological transference of this sensuality for ritual. Pugin is seen as the embodiment of the British nation through his design for Parliament. England is seen as the ritual of history. The Victorian era is the bellwether of her greatness. Parliament is the eternal visual representation of this.

An epilogue of Pugin's theatre career is given showing how his designs continued to flourish in London theatre. Pugin's design of the English

Houses of Parliament was used as an act drop curtain at least up to the turn-of-the-century at theatres and music halls. Its position in such a relatively lower-class environment as the late Victorian Music Hall suggests the adoption of the design as the popular symbol of England. This is a satisfactory affirmation of Pugin's genius, as a parallel with America will show. In the United States nine theatres used our Capitol building as its badge or symbol on an act drop.

Iolanthe's second act set is Palace Yard, Westminster, an enclosure with buildings designed by Pugin. Almost every movie placed in Britain has a scene where the Houses of Parliament are displayed. Television commercials and spy shows invariably have a background shot containing these buildings. This fact is really indigenous to Britain. One reason for it is doubtless that the symbol of Great Britain has become Parliament and Big Ben.

A tradition of Gothic Revival drawings continued after Pugin's death. These were the Pugin studentship drawings. The excellence Pugin displayed in producing sketches, measured drawings, and delicate details of domestic and ecclesiastical buildings inspired a continuing school of Gothic drawing. This procedure is comparable in the field of painting to the French Prix de Rome.

Chapter IV is dedicated to representations and criticisms of A. W. N. Pugin's work in the theatre. His sketchbook designs are analyzed, and three of them appear to be for Kenilworth. These three designs show an Inigo Jones inspired Speluncar Gothic which is more baroque looking than medieval in feeling. Pugin's angle wing and perspective treatment of these sets show a working out of ideas suggestive of Peruzzi and Jones, and his predilection for staircases and fountains suggests a knowledge of Italian sixteenth century scene design. These early architecturally planned drawings for Kenilworth with their gateway, practical arches, stairways, fountains, traps, monuments, sculptures and proliferation of proscenium-wing set-ups substantiate Ferrey's contention that Pugin utilized set pieces and the architectural portions of a set in a way just then changing English Nineteenth Century scenery. The studies of trick machinery, and the description of what must have been the first use of a "vampire" trap--for the sudden disappearance of Amy in Kenilworth--show Pugin's constant concern for stage carpentry and creative trick effects, and this bias places him sympathetically with the Renaissance Italian scene-designers.

Another, later scene design (Figure 41) is of a more northern and unmistakably Gothic castle. Here, Hollar and the French and Flemish Gothic which Pugin had learned as an architect in drawing, came to the fore in his theatrical designs. The northern Gothic turrets, chimneys, and relative sparseness of decorative elements in this drawing and its

closeness to the design elements utilized in his Ramsgate home place it in his La Juive period. The Italianate bell towers, the practical staircase at the left, and the archway perspective view show the remnants of Renaissance Italian influence.

The two watercolors (Figures 44, 45) were seen as allegories of an Arabic-Medievalism overlooking Imperial Rome, with the Renaissance eavesdropping behind it, and a composite building in Figure 45 with Renaissance lower levels, Hollar and French Gothic upper stories with a symbolic leaning tree and a Medieval French town like that of La Juive in the background of the illustration.

Reviews and descriptions of the Kenilworth production show that the decor received such high and unanimous praise from the critics and audiences. The description of the set of "Kenilworth Castle by moonlight" shows the influence of a moonlight diorama by Daguerre (Figure 50). The description of a "Georgian or Persian harem girl's costume" shows that Pugin's work was still somewhat under the influence of the earlier baroque style. The Persian element is evidence of Pugin's love for chivalric literature, Arthurian romance, and historical truth, as the Near East was very influential during the Middle Ages contrary to western historical bias of Pugin's time. Pugin always included near-eastern elements in his Gothic stage presentations. Parkinson states that Pugin's role in the Gothic Revival was to demonstrate that wisdom came from the East. Pugin's theatrical work proves that his attitude appeared in his designs as well as his writings.

Pugin's next Covent Garden production we recorded is The Elfin Sprite. The descriptions and reviews of this production point to a concern with machinery and trick effects. The magic bridge or staircase, and the multiplication of a character who then walks through walls are effects seen as possibly derived from Daguerre diorama techniques and early pantomime. The playbill with Pugin's name on it is an effective piece of evidence used in determining the span and scope of Pugin's theatrical career.

The opera La Juive, produced in Paris in 1835, shows a development of Hollar-northern French Gothic design to the virtual exclusion of Speluncar Italianate Gothic. The roofs, towers, turrets, and chimney of La Juive match Hollar's and Pugin's own Ramsgate house. The windows of La Juive are also similar to the Ramsgate home. The many subsequent French and English productions of La Juive are seen to rely heavily on the decor of the original Paris production, and Pugin, if he did not have a direct hand in revivals of La Juive was certainly represented by the principles of historical accuracy and sumptuous display he established in his original production. There is also a good possibility that actual sets and costumes designed by Pugin were reused in later revivals and adaptations of La Juive.

Le Comte Ory debuted in Paris in 1828, and its varied scenes gave an opportunity for landscape design, a country place and a castle, a country grove with a footpath, and "an apartment of the Countess." We

have reproduced this "apartment of the Countess," which is the only Pugin set design that this writer has been able to find from the production. It appears to be a box-set with a practical ceiling. It demonstrates Pugin's innovative bias as the box-set was a relatively new concept. Pugin wasn't afraid of trying it out in this production. The design mixes elements of Gothic with baroque classicism, yet the unmistakable emphasis, as seen through the arches of the windows, upper cornices, door design, and molding ornamentation is on the Gothic.

Alessandro Sanquirico is described as an example of a continental scene designer of Rossini's other operas and ballets. His work ranged from cold, neo-classical exercises to pedantic turns of style, with occasional forays into the pictorial and picturesque sphere. His Gothic representations (Figure 70) were borne of the latter influence and were hopeless figures of his fancy rather than historically accurate designs. Pugin's background as an architect and scholar of the Middle Ages prevented his work from falling into the Romantic trap of "fancy" that awaited much Gothic architecture of the 1830's, and his genius prevented any of his theatre designs from ever becoming mere plagiarism.

Pugin rearranged the stage at Drury Lane. As Drury Lane has had frequent renovation before and after Pugin's work there, a description of the house as it came down to the twentieth-century (1901) was given in detail so as to see what type of changes had become staples to the modern building. Pugin rearranged the stage machinery during one period of the

theatre's alterations. Benjamin Wyatt designed the 1812 Drury Lane after the universally admired theatre of Bordeaux. It is suggested that Pugin may have installed the underground system of changing scenery as practiced on the continent from what we know of his model theatre in Great Russell Street and his work for the Paris Opera. The 1831 renovations angled the stage, and opened up spaces on either side of the stage to provide room for "arranging processions and scenic illusions." To replace the rooms lost by these changes, they built on the south side a small extension containing a new Green Room and some dressing rooms. The pit and stalls were arranged more comfortably, and a new curtain of crimson velvet with gold fringes that opened in the center was purchased. The stage was enlarged to 80 feet in depth. The floor rose with a gentle slope for a depth of forty-five feet and was furnished with a set of lifts. A lighting gallery, fly gallery, and loading gallery were also added. The greater utilization and availability of space and the positioning of work rooms were two aspects of this rearrangement that would come down to modern times. This 1831 renovation of Drury Lane was most likely the one Pugin participated in.

The seriousness with which A. W. N. Pugin approached costume is demonstrated by his Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, compiled from ancient authorities and examples. Examples and illustrations (Figures 75-81) are given from this work which describes colors, designs, objects, decors and garments, giving their symbolic purposes,

with antique examples of how and where they were used, and where they are still in use.

Pugin considered all facets of history and art when he had to depict costumes worn in past ages. He went to medieval church effigies to find contemporary examples and his childhood sketching excursions to French and English cathedrals made him no stranger to effigy, stained glass, statuary, paintings, and illustrated manuscripts.

Pugin was able to go to the historical roots of ritual and thereby make its functional expression more easily apprehended by an audience. His studies showed him the symbolic meaning of the costume and ornamentation he used. The mythic grandeur of his costumes, therefore, became more easily apparent to an audience when put on the Victorian stage.

The many costumes for La Juive and Le Comte Ory are described in color (Figures 82-98). We noticed the preference for blues, yellows, and scarlet for Royalty with white used for touches and veils. The hems are often outlined in black fur, and emine tails line the capes of most of the Royal personages. Jewels are generously supplied to the ladies, and crowns and purses to the supernumeraries. Near-eastern elements were seen in the Persian turbans, Turkish pointed moccasins, and one or two Persian harem girl costumes were noted by reviewers. Pugin recognized the influence of Islam in all of his medieval productions. The tent draperies in La Juive remind us of Arabian Nights scenes, as do the scimitar-shaped pikes of various supernumeraries.

The use of full armor and correct armaments on most of the military costumes in La Juive showed a historical scholarship rare for the period. Using pages instead of knights to escort Rachel to the cauldron displays a knowledge of medieval military etiquette. The pageant, as shown in an illustration of the 1850 Covent Garden production of La Juive (Figure 39) with its banners, heraldic shields, flags and supernumeraries suggests the pageants Pugin staged at the opening of his churches. It is possible Pugin had a hand in this Covent Garden production of La Juive as well.

Chapter V explores A. W. N. Pugin's involvement at the period of early cinema art. The discussion of Victorian England as a visual society focusing on Pugin and Barry's Houses of Parliament, and drawn from a book by David Thomson reflects the misconceptions of the role of the Gothic Revival in the history of British taste. It is seen how irrelevant issues concerning politics, history, economics, and the ever-arrogant attitudes of "had they only had our vision," and "we are better than they were," distorts the simple reality that the Gothic Revival during the period of Parliament's construction, Pugin's career, and the careers of his most inspired followers Butterfield and Brooks, produced the most noble, efficient, and interesting architecture appearing in Britain during two hundred years.

The aesthetics of scene painting is discussed in its technical sense including its mechanics, methods, materials, and goals. It is seen how A. W. N. Pugin contained the qualities necessary for success in the field

of scene painting to an extraordinary degree. It was admitted by Joseph Harker and Mordecai Gorelik that technical work can always be learned, and that the real and only mystery about a genuine artist is the power of his imagination. The Gothic Revivalist Pugin, with his "New Jerusalem Delivered" frontispiece to Contrasts was a man of remarkable imagination. As a man whose every pencil push was an endeavor to teach his fellow Catholics the true principles their credo was founded upon, A. W. N. Pugin was a creator of faith, i.e., an artist.

Scene painting at the time of the early movies was discussed in an exhibit by John Koenig. Included at this time is the applicability of Pugin's enduring theories of design to early scenic practices in the cinema. It was shown how A. W. N. Pugin directly preceded and effected an advance toward an intelligent theory of design by the film industry through his architecturally planned drawings historically based methodology, hatred of sham and cardboard picturesqueness, theory of wallpaper, moral and structural attacks on chic design, book of floriated ornament, Eicones Plantarum, and its early Art Nouveau appreciation, use of Gothic theatrical representations to interest the public in the merits of a Gothic Revival, and his awareness of the dangers in using repetitive perspectives as set forth in True Principles.

This study closes with a poem about a bridge by Hart Crane. It is fitting that the last words concerning A. W. N. Pugin should be given by a poet. And a bridge is an effective metaphor--for artists and poets are

bridges that draw men nearer the spirit of grace. This dissertation on
A. W. N. Pugin is my grace cup for a long meal at the symposium.

APPENDIX

AN INTERVIEW WITH H. WELBY PUGIN

On a cold, bleak afternoon in London in January 1971, I opened a London telephone directory and saw the name H. Welby Pugin. A five year commitment to Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin could now be "legitimized" if, indeed, this H. Pugin was of the noble "comte's" lineage. The "Welby," of course, gave me good reason for hope, as in his name was incorporated the names of two of my subject's patriarchs. I dialed. A middle aged woman answered and I asked if I could speak to Mr. Pugin. I identified myself as an American graduate student who was writing a dissertation on the theatrical work of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. I said I would love to have an opportunity to talk to Mr. Pugin about his grandfather. She informed me that Mr. Pugin was just recovering from a recent illness, but hold on and I'll speak to him. I waited. An elderly man answered the phone. "Are you connected with that American woman who has been writing a book about my grandfather?" he said. "No." I answered. "You must mean Phoebe Stanton, I've read her articles, though." "Well, you can come this afternoon about 2:00 PM. But I've been ill, I'm eighty-seven, you know. And I can't talk too long." "Thank you," I replied. "I'll be there."

The tube took me to a rural section of London. There was some jostling of bicycle riders and traffic, pedestrians and shoppers, but once you crossed a little bridge after a three block walk from the station you were in a quiet, rural residential district, a place where men spend their spare time bird watching, and women plant begonias. I walked down the correct lane and I came to a stately if slightly worn down cottage. Something about it spoke of tradition. Perhaps it was the glowing golden name plate on the middle of the front door with the name Pugin spelled out in elegant Gothic letters.

I rang and was greeted by the lady of the house. She was a blonde, middle aged woman who had recently married Mr. Pugin. This was his first marriage.

I was graciously taken into a study, where a tall, thin, almost gaunt gentlemen greeted me and shook my hand. It was Hubert Welby Pugin. He helped me off with my coat and we sat down to talk. He asked me my name. I said "Alan Marlis." He thought I was a Pugin, a relation from Canada, as one section, the only remaining proliferating section of the Pugin clan settled there. I imagine it seemed strange to him that I, an American, would be so wrapped up in a study of his grandfather--unless I was a relative, a Pugin also. He was surprised when I told him I was no relation. He told me, however, that it seemed as if Americans took more interest in his grandfather than did the British. I agreed.

The room was like a gothic antechamber. Pugin sat at a tall upholstered Arthurian chair, and I sat five feet from him at a table. An iron box of relics lay at his feet. There were designs of churches, naval motifs, and family portraits hanging along the wall, along with some gothic ornaments made of wood. He took out of the box a little pocket miniature of his great grandfather, Augustus Charles Pugin.

"This was my great grandfather, Augustus Charles Pugin. He came from Rouen, France. All of my other Pugin relatives were killed off in the Revolution. He was French, not Swiss, as one writer claims. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, my grandfather, was his son. My grandfather had three sons and five daughters, but only three lived. My grandfather, A. W. N. Pugin, built and lived in a home he called The Grange. It has become a Benidictine school for small boys. They've ruined it. It looks shoddy. Pugin had a seaman's steeple built at the church that he built on his property, but it was never finished. There, Pugin built the first brass bedstead ever made. He designed over ninety churches and buildings. He worked for the Earl of Shrewsbury who was his patron. He built his mansions. Pugin designed and made the furniture for Windsor Castle. Queen Victoria insisted that a statue of Pugin go on the Prince Albert Memorial. Victoria felt that he designed and built the Houses of Parliament. When Pugin died he left no will. His wife was left with nothing. Queen Victoria gave Pugin's wife three hundred and fifty pounds per year. At that time, Pugin wall paper came out on the market and sold for five

pounds per sheet. Pugin's third wife was a real Tartar--like his mother--she ran the household like a Tartar."

Here Mr. Pugin took out a small miniature of a strong gray haired woman in a polka-dotted dress seated in an arm chair. This was Pugin's third wife; H. Welby Pugin's grandmother.

"When he was young, my grandfather made an architectural instrument no one bought. He became bankrupt and was sent to jail. His aunt Welby got him out. His son, Peter Paul Pugin, worked himself to death at fifty-two years old. He was my father. He was an artist. He was good at painting; he did not have a flare for architecture. My uncles were swashbucklers. Cuthbert (Welby) and Edward Northmore. My sister is an artist."

Here he showed me an article about Pugin where Harry Sirtz gives an account on Pugin's theatricality on page 216 of his article when he states: "The classic setting is indubitably travestied, bringing to mind a similar tendency in the writings of Charles Dickens when his feelings were aroused." "Freiburg-im-Breisgau," Pugin says as I read the article and look up, not quite catching his train of thought.

"We can't find where A. C. Pugin was buried. We don't know exactly where it is. My grandfather, A. W. N. Pugin built the stables in Brighton. The roof of Tatus Horse Market in Knightsbridge also was built by him. When he died we found checks he never cashed. He got little out of his Parliament designs. The Pugins were rebels. I was con-

sidered a rebel. Queen Victoria gave the right of shore at The Grange. A ship crashed at our shore and Edward Pugin claimed it and ran up the flag. He won the case in the House of Lords (The House his father built-- how could he lose?). My uncle Cuthbert told me "Never marry, let the family die out. We're a hundred years too late." Once an American woman asked me if it was true that I was a Baron. I told her that my great grandfather was but renounced his title when he came to England. I told her, though, that I could call myself a Baron. She said she would marry me if I was a Baron." Pugin laughed at the anecdote.

"There were caves built at The Grange so you could get from the Halls to the sea. The caves were used for people during the war. Now the caves are shut up. He could see the umbrella on the coast of France on a clear day from his room in The Grange. My grandfather had his own chaplains. A thunderbolt hit The Grange and it started a fire that burnt the house badly, but it was rebuilt. I have some watercolors of the sea that were done by my father--Edmund (Peter Paul). My grandfather A. W. N. Pugin gave away enormous sums to the church. We truly had a 'family born too late.'"

"I am a rude man. I have settled rows and disquisitions in my time. We were born aristocrats. We knew how to handle men--servants. People seem to be sheep now. I know the Duke of Norfolk. I don't like Lord Snowdon. I respect the Royal Family. America has no tradition, it is too mixed. In 1911 I met Charlie Chaplin. My theatre experience is

limited to that and the fact that I did illustrations for Music Hall Play-bills." He showed me a few of them and they showed a fine sense of line, and a unique gift for caricature. It was as if his great grandfather's collaborator, Thomas Rowlandson, appeared briefly in this third generation son. His wife brought in some beer and put ice cubes in it because, as she said, "Americans like theirs cold." I drank the beer and had some cookies.

"I became a mechanical engineer and moved to Canada to work. I was a Major in World War I in the Canadian Army. My grandfather's sons went to the new Architecture. They showed a Crystal Palace appreciation. There is something people have a misconception about. The Albert Memorial has a statue of Albert reading a book. This book is not the Bible, as most people think, but the catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851. My grandfather designed Killarney Cathedral in Ireland. At Fulham there is a great steeple of a Pugin church. Many were destroyed during the war. Today there is a Pugin church for sale. The reason it is on sale is because it is too small and can't be enlarged. It is for sale for 10,000 pounds."

Here he took out his family tree, a chart of his lineage going back hundreds of years on his father's and mother's sides.

"Once someone in the telephone book had the name Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. I called him up to see if he was claiming a relationship. He wasn't. He was a Jamaican Negro. My grandfather's London residence was sold awhile back to a Jew. He takes good care of the place and won't

change a hairsbreadth of it. Most of the Pugins left--moved to French Canada. There they have bred like rabbits. There are many over there. There is a Welby Pugin at 935 A Maxwell Terrace, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401. You might write to him to find out some facts."

Here he paused and thought back about his grandfather. "A. W. N. Pugin brought carvers over from the continent and showed them how to carve the designs and sculptures of the Parliament Buildings." The he divulged a family joke. Augustus Welby Pugin had the same initials A. W. P. as Albert Prince of Wales, so, on the tiles in Parliament are my grandfather's initials A. W. P. Ha! Ha!" And in that laughter one knew who the real art architect of the Houses of Parliament was. Why his name was stamped all over it.

At this point Mr. Pugin's wife asked me to stay for dinner, but I had to decline for I had another dinner engagement thirty miles outside of London. Before I left, Mr. Pugin offered to give me some memento of my visit. However, Phoebe Stanton had bought nearly everything of A. W. N. Pugin's that he possessed. So, he reached into his iron chest and gave me a photograph of A. W. N. Pugin, a photograph of Ramsgate, a photograph of A. W. N. Pugin's London residence, a short Guide to Ramsgate (now St. Augustine's Abbey Church, and a sepia postcard of the same church, on the back of which I had him sign his name, H. Welby Pugin.

From all of the materials including letters, sketches, notebooks and drawings that Phoebe Stanton purchased from H. Welby Pugin that she included in her book Pugin (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 216 pp., the only new information relating to the theatre work of A. W. N. Pugin appears on pp. 195-196:

After working as a stage carpenter at Covent Garden in November 1830, Pugin began a business of his own in carving and joining, with furniture as his speciality. . . . This first venture into business failed shortly after it began. This disappointment may have prompted Pugin to return to the theatre, and in March 1831, he built two scenes for the ballet Kenilworth; the backcloths of each were by W. Grieve. On the recommendation of Grieve Pugin was then employed to build a temporary private theatre and stage for the Marquis of Stafford. Some studies for stage settings by Pugin are in the Royal Institute of British Architects.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. Books

- Annesley, Charles. Home Book of the Opera, New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1937.
- Boe, Alf. From Gothic Revival to Functional Form, Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1957.
- Brockway, Wallace, & Weinstock, Herbert. The World of Opera, New York: Pantheon Books, 1941.
- Ceram, C. W. Archaeology of the Cinema, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965.
- Ces demoiselles de l'opera, Paris, Tresse at Stock, editeurs. Palais-Royal, 1887.
- Christensen, Erwin O. The History of Western Art, New York: Mentor Books, 1959.
- Clark, Kenneth. The Gothic Revival, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950.
- Cook, Olive. Movement in Two Dimensions, London: Hutchinson of London & Co. Ltd., 1963.
- Davis, Terence. John Nash, South Brunswick and New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1966.
- Dibdin, Charles. Professional and Literary Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger, London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1956.
- Eastlake, Charles L. A History of the Gothic Revival, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1872.

- Ferrey, Benjamin. Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin. London: Edward Stanford, 6, Charing Cross, S. W., 1861.
- Fitch, James Marston. Architecture and the Esthetics of Plenty. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Freud, Sigmund. Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1917.
- Fuller, Buckminster. Ideas and Integrities. New York: Collier Books, 1963.
- Gascoigne, Bamber. World Theatre. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968.
- Gemsheim, Helmut and Alison. L. J. M. Daquerre The History of the Diorama and the Daquerreotype. London: Secker & Warbourg, 1956.
- Gilder, Rosamond. A Theatre Library. New York: Theatre Arts, Inc., 1932.
- Gombrich, E. H. The Story of Art. London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1972.
- Guest, Ivor. A Gallery of Romantic Ballet. London: New Mercury Ltd., 1965.
- _____. The Romantic Ballet in England. London: Phoenix House Ltd., 1954.
- Gwynn, Denis. Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival. London: Hollis and Carter, 1946.
- Hamlin, Talbot. Architecture Through the Ages. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1953.
- Hammond, J. L. and Barbara. The Bleak Age. West Drayton Middlesex England: Penguin Books, 1934.
- Handbook of Heliography 1840 with the Art of Dioramic Painting as Practiced by M. Daquerre. London: Robert Tyas, 8, Patemoster Row, 1840.
- Harker, Joseph. Studio and Stage. London: Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1920.

- Hersey, George L. High Victorian Gothic, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University, 1972.
- Hewitt, Bamard, ed. The Renaissance Stage. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1958.
- Jordan, Robert Fumeaux. Victorian Architecture, Middlesex England: Penguin Books, 1966.
- Kobbe, Gustave. Kobbe's Complete Opera Book. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1922.
- Larson, Orville K., ed. Scene Design for Stage and Screen. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1961.
- London County Council, Survey of London, v. xxxv. Theatre Royal Drury Lane and Royal Opera House Covent Garden.
- Mander, Raymond & Mitchenson, Joseph. The Theatres of London. New York: Hill and Wang, 1961.
- Marks, Robert W. The Dymaxion World of Buckminster Fuller. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960.
- Marshall, Herbert & Stock, Mildred. Ira Aldridge the Negro Tragedian. London: Rockliff Salisbury Square, 1958. The playbill of The Elfin Sprite appears as plate #7, opposite page 57.
- Martens, Frederick H. A Thousand and One Nights of Opera. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937.
- Mathews, Charles James. The Life of Charles James Mathews, Ed., Charles Dickens, Vol. 1, London: Macmillan and Co., 1879.
- Mathews, Mrs. Memoirs of Charles Mathews, Comedian, Vol. 1. London: Richard Bentley, New Burkington Street, 1839.
- Metcalf, Priscilla. Victorian London, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.
- Newhall, Beaumont. The Daquerreotype in America, New York: Duell, Soan & Pearce, 1961.
- _____. The History of Photography. New York: The Museum of Modern Art. 1964.

- Parkinson, C. Northcote. East and West. New York: Mentor Books, 1965.
- Paul, Sherman. Louis Sullivan. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.
- Price, Cecil. The English Theatre in Wales. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1948.
- Pugin, A. W. N. A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts. London: Chales Dolman, 61, New Bond Street, 1851.
- _____. Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, compiled and illustrated from ancient authorities and examples. London: Bohn, 1844.
- Pugin, Edward Welby. Who Was the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament? London: Longmans, Green, and Co., Patemoster Row, 1867.
- Quennell, Marjorie & C. H. B. A History of Everyday Things in England 1733-1851. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.
- Roberts, Vera Mowry. On Stage. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.
- Rope, H. E. G. Pugin, Ditching Hassocks, Sussex: St. Dominics Press, Pepler & Sewall, Publishers, 1935.
- Rowlandson, Thomas, & Pugin, Augustus Charles. The Microcosm of London. Ed. John Summerson. London: Penguin Books Limited, 1943.
- Sartori, Claudio. Enciclopedia della musica. Milano: 1964. Vol. 4, Rev-2.
- Scribe, Eugene, & Delestre-Poirson. Il Conte Ory. London: J. Miles & Co., 122 Wardour Street, 1872.
- _____. Le Comte Ory. Baltimore: E. J. Coale, 1831.
- Shawe-Taylor, Desmond. Covent Garden. New York: Chanticleer Press, 1948.
- Sitwell, Sacheverell. British Architects and Craftsmen. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

Southern, Richard. Changeable Scenery. London: Faber & Faber Limited, 24 Russell Square, 1952.

Stanton, Phoebe. Pugin. New York: The Viking Press, 1971.

Stephen, Sir Leslie & Lee, Sir Sidney, ed. The Dictionary of National Biography. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. Vol. viii, Glover-Harriot.

_____. The Dictionary of National Biography. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. Vol. xvi, Pocock-Robins.

Thomson, David. Movie Man. New York: Stein and Day, 1967.

Trappes-Lomax, Michael. Pugin--A Medieval Victorian. London: B. T. Batsford, 1932.

Turner, Reginald. Nineteenth Century Architecture in Britain. London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1950.

Upton, George P., & Borowski, Felix. The Standard Opera Guide. New York: Blue Ribbon Books, Garden City, 1885.

White, Henry Adelbert. Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.

Williams, Oscar, ed. Immortal Poems. New York: Washington Square Press, 1960.

B. Articles, Periodicals, Pamphlets, and Playbills

The Athenaeum, 5 March 1831.

The Athenaeum. 13 April 1833.

The Atlas. London, Sunday, 14 April 1833., pp. 225-226.

Bogusch, George. "Clarkson Stanfield, R. A.: Scene Painter, Artist, Gentleman, and Friend." Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. 1 vi no. 3, October 1970.

Edwards, Hugh. "A Distinguished Collaboration." Antiques, Vol. xlix, no. 3. New York, March, 1946.

The Era Almanack, 1871.

Gazette musicale de Paris, Paris: Au Bureau D'Abonnement, Rue Richelieu, n. 97, 1835.

Gorelik, Mordecai. "Hollywood Art Machinery." Hollywood Quarterly. Berkeley, 1947. January, pp. 153-160.

The Harmonicon, May 1831, p. 129.

Kelly, Charlotte M. "Augustus Pugin." Irish Monthly. v. 61, pp. 380-389. Dublin, 1933.

Koenig, John. "Scenery for Cinema": A Record of the Exhibition "Scenery for Cinema." Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland, from Jan. 23-Mar. 1, 1942. The record is not paginated.

Lewis, Wilmarth S. "40 Years in Walpoleshire." Yale, alumni magazine, November 1973, Vol. xxxvii, no. 2, pp. 22-31.

London Illustrated News. 3 August 1850, pp. 105-106.

Morton, Eustis. "Designing for the Movies." Theatre Arts Monthly, v. 21, New York, 1937, pp. 783-789.

Nagy, Elmer. "New Plastic Effects and the Revival of Perspective." Player's Magazine, Jan. 1942, p. 6.

Polunin, Vladimir. "The Continental Method of Scene-Painting." The Amateur Stage, v. 3, no. 34, p. 271. London, October 1928.

Revue musicale, Paris: Alex. Mesnier, Place De La Bourse, 1829, tome iv.

Sirr, Harry. "Augustus Welby Pugin: A Sketch." The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, v. xxv, no. 10, Third Series, p. 213-226. London, August 1910.

Stanton, Phoebe. "Pugin at Twenty-One." Architectural Review. New York, Sept. 1951, pp. 187-190.

The Theatrical Observer: And Daily Bills of the Play, London: Friday, 4 March, 1831, no. 2876.

Wintle, W. J. "The Making of a Great Play. How the Drury Lane Drama is Prepared." The London Magazine, London: Dec. 1901, no. 40, v. vii, pp. 374-380.