

Sir Gilbert Scott's Recollections

by GAVIN STAMP

Personal and Professional Recollections, by the late Sir George Gilbert Scott, R.A. was published in 1879, the year after its author's death. It is, perhaps, a measure both of Scott's fame and the status of his profession that it was the first autobiography of a British architect to be published, but the book has often been used to undermine the reputation which Scott enjoyed in his lifetime. The passages of self-justification, the accounts of his successes, the regrets for his failures and the descriptions of his cathedral restorations can make Scott appear a naïvely self-confident careerist. The qualities of character admired by the Victorians have been at a lower premium this century, but from a more sympathetic reading of Scott's *Recollections* emerges a more complex individual, often subject, indeed, to those feelings of doubt and guilt which arouse such interest today. Nevertheless, he was sustained in his successes and in times of difficulty by a simple but profound Christian faith.

This impression of Scott is reinforced by further material in his original manuscript of *Recollections*, which was presented to the Royal Institute of British Architects by his great-grandson, Richard Gilbert Scott, in 1974. This is contained in five leather-bound notebooks with lock clasps. The writing is in pencil, often barely legible owing to the fact that 'pretty well all that I write is the product of my travelling hours' (p. 177)¹ and much was probably scribbled in a moving train.

As stated in the published introduction by the editor, his son George Gilbert Scott Jnr (1839-97), Scott began writing for the benefit of his family, but he clearly soon thought in terms of publication. After the passage dealing with the government offices saga, written in 1864 (p. 240), Scott added: 'I must . . . privately warn my sons against publishing what may get them into ill odour with authorities.' Scott made precise instructions in 1873 about publication in case of his death.

Scott began writing in 1864; the last entry was made two months before his death. The manuscript was not written continuously but at intervals, often of several years, and the resumption of the narrative was usually stimulated by important events in his life or by the deaths of those close to him. The published volume follows the order of the original manuscript in general, the principal exceptions being the sections on cathedrals in which the editor integrated two separate accounts of his father's major restorations. As G. G. Scott Jnr stated in his introduction, the material which he excised largely deals with Scott's personal life. In all other respects the work of the editor consisted principally in tactfully rendering anonymous individuals criticized by his father; these can now be named. Deleted passages are given below, as well as sections dealing with Scott's personal tragedies. Although these last are not concerned with architecture, they

may be found to be of considerable interest in their own right and reveal much about Scott's character. To enable easy correlation with the published volume the entries are here printed in the order in which they were written.

STAMP: SIR
GILBERT SCOTT'S
RECOLLECTIONS

Vol. I of the original manuscript consists largely of Scott's recollections of his childhood and early professional life. Much was omitted by the editor, but many of the passages about the curiously remote and backward Buckinghamshire village of Gawcott, where Scott's father was rector, are of great value as folk history.

The first excisions of architectural interest occur where Scott described his time as assistant to Henry Roberts (1802-76), architect of Fishmongers' Hall, in 1832-34 (p. 74):

'I had formed during this period the acquaintance of Mr. Sampson Kempthorne, a very worthy and religious young architect & I used occasionally to follow at Mathematics with him, & I kept up my friendship for Edwin Nash, a very nice excellent young man & a beautiful draughtsman.'

When Scott went with his father to Wappenham church, Northants, a newly presented living (p. 74):

'I went with him to reconnoitre. I could not undertake the survey of dilapidations, being too much engaged. I thereupon recommended Mr. Voysey – Kempthorne's old master – who did this for him most efficiently, & my father having to build a new house there, I supplied him with a very ugly design, founded on one of Mr. Roberts's plans . . .'

Voysey was the grandfather of C. F. A. Voysey;² Kempthorne was architect to the Poor Law Commissioners and introduced Scott to workhouse building; Edwin Nash (1814-84) later worked for Scott before setting up in practice on his own.

Architecturally, by far the most interesting excisions concern William Bonython Moffatt (1812-87). Scott described the precise details of their partnership, commenced about 1835. They had been fellow pupils of James Edmeston, and when Scott applied himself to competing for workhouse commissions following his father's death in 1834 he secured Moffatt's help. Moffatt was also designing workhouses on his own account (p. 79):

'By some strange coincidence of circumstances an influential magistrate in Wiltshire had become acquainted with, and taken a fancy to Moffatt, and had invited him down there, promising to use his influence in getting him appointed architect to the Amesbury Union House. He went accordingly and succeeded, and we made the plans and working drawings at my office! the Guardians of the former meanwhile becoming impatient at Moffatt's absence.

'After these things had gone on for some time I went into a competition for a fifth union house in my neighbourhood but without success a new plan on an original system coming suddenly in to my discomfort. On the other hand Moffatt had competed for one in *his* district with similar ill-success. This led him to come & make a formal proposal to me to this effect. There were numerous unions being formed in the West of England & he felt sure he could carry many of them were it not for his youthful appearance & this might be got over if he had a partner already in practice whose name he could use to back him. He

therefore proposed that I should throw in my lot with him in the West, each keeping what we had got to ourselves & I keeping my private practice and also all union practice in districts in which I could claim any personal interest whatever. I agreed to this proposal & it became the foundation of our future partnership.”

Scott has been accused of cynical self-interest with regard to his behaviour towards his partner by using Moffatt’s skills to assist his early career and then abandoning him when he was of no further use. In *Recollections* as published Scott seems scrupulously fair in praising Moffatt’s talents; the editor was obliged to omit the real reasons for the termination of the partnership. After describing Moffatt’s considerable ability in workhouse competitions (p.83), Scott adds: ‘I think that he thoroughly deserved his success, though it won him a host of enemies and traducers. His weaker points began to show themselves somewhat later when his early success had too much elated him.’ These weaker points manifested themselves when Scott and Moffatt entered the competition for the Infants’ Orphan Asylum at Wanstead in 1841 (p.91):

‘We succeeded & from that moment Moffatt’s head was turned! He used to boast that he could “*afford*” to make a fool of himself. His talent energy & industry remained, but he was an altered man. He cared not who he offended either by dissent annoyance or indirectly by his strange way of conducting himself. Still however he carried out the work, for it was mainly committed to him, with great ability and success only that in doing so he contrived thoroughly to alienate his employers & convert them into enemies where by a little circumspection & self control he could have made them staunch friends.’

In 1846 the partnership was severed (p. 130):

‘About this time a constantly increasing desire had grown up in my mind to terminate my partnership with Moffatt. My wife was most anxious upon the subject and was constantly pressing it upon my attention, but my courage failed me, and I could not muster pluck enough to broach it. Moffatt had, as I have already mentioned, got into a sad way of offending employers. This grew rapidly upon him till it became *most serious* and I was formally and seriously warned of its consequences. He was also extravagant, keeping four horses, & one thing with another all our practice led rather to debt than to laying by money. Besides this, the great Railway speculation mania was just then coming on and Moffatt was severely bitten, so much so as to be absolutely wild, & the line of practice he was actually getting into partook so much of a speculative character as to be decidedly dangerous.

‘At length Mrs. Scott “took the bull by the horns”. She drove to the office while I was out of town, asked to see Mr. Moffatt privately, and told him that I had made up my mind to dissolve our partnership.’

It was probably very fortunate that Mrs Scott was so forceful. 1846 was the year of the ‘Railway Mania’ when, after several years of heavy investment in numerous over-ambitious projects for new railways, the financial market collapsed, many companies failed and George Hudson, ‘The Railway King’, was bankrupted and discredited. Moffatt did not learn his lesson and his subsequent career

was unfortunate. He designed the Earlswood Asylum, Surrey (1849-53) and the Shire Hall at Taunton, Somerset (1855-58), and built housing estates in London (Manor Villa, Norwood) and the West Country. Presumably these last were speculative developments because in 1860 Moffatt was arrested for debt.³ Scott helped with £20 towards legal fees and continued to assist, for, as an obituarist noted, 'a connection of another kind between the two gentlemen has been maintained up to the time of Sir Gilbert Scott's death, which exemplified in the strongest degree his regard for early associations'.⁴ Scott himself wrote (p. 134):

'Moffatt's misfortunes in subsequent years have been a great sorrow to me. They have been the natural consequence of speculative practice & indeed of speculation wholly alien to his profession. He never recovered the moral damage of that year of Speculation Mania 1846, and I can never cease to be thankful that I escaped in time. I was 35 years old in the midst of my year of transition . . .'
Vol. II continues by revealing that the 'well-known incumbent of Westminster' (p. 158) spotted off-duty at Dresden was the 'Revd Cyril Page of Westminster', but unfortunately Scott did not record the name of the young English architect arrested by the Austrians at Verona (p. 161).

In coming to the elaborate history of the building of the government offices, in which Scott's concern to justify himself is evidence of the damage done to his reputation as a moral Gothicism, the manuscript gives the names of those who opposed Scott's providential appointment. With regard to the 1856 competition (p. 180) Scott recorded that 'The first for the Foreign Office was a flash affair by my old pupil Coe. The first for the War Office a not bad one by any means, by Garling. Barry & Banks came second for the F.O. & I third - Barry's far from any good, as I think.'

After a Select Committee, set up by the short-lived Tory government in 1858, had awarded Scott the commission, the 'leading member of our profession' who attempted to reverse the Institute of British Architects' award of the Royal Medal to Scott (p. 183) was, in fact, Professor Donaldson. 'As he had been my introducer to the Institute and to the Graphic Society, and had for many years acted in a very friendly way to me, I have never allowed his conduct in this matter to provoke me to any unfriendly act, but I confess it has greatly lowered him in my estimation, though every man has a fair right to act on his own opinion.' Thomas Leverton Donaldson (1795-1885) had toured Greece and Italy after the Napoleonic Wars, was Professor of Construction and Architecture at University College, London, and a founder of the Institute, so he would seem to have been well qualified to be 'Lord Palmerston's private tutor in matters of architectural lore' (p. 183); as both men were of an earlier, more classically minded generation than Scott they were unlikely to look on Gothic with much favour.

In 1859, with Palmerston back as Prime Minister and Scott's appointment becoming increasingly insecure, the question of the style of the buildings was debated in Parliament (p. 186): 'The matter was left an open question to be decided the next session, when I was to exhibit designs in both styles. I refer, however, to the papers, my memory not carrying it all. In all these discussions Charles Barry was in attendance & in close communication with Tite &c.' This

was Charles Barry Jnr (1823-1900), who had every reason to lobby and to feel aggrieved, having been placed second for the Foreign Office in the original competition while Scott had only been third. From 1847 to 1872 Barry was in partnership with his father's old pupil, R. R. Banks. Sir William Tite (1798-1873), architect and MP for Bath, was the most vocal opponent of Scott's Gothic in Parliament. 'That worthy vain old busybody, Mr. A—' (p. 186) was 'Mr. Ellyce, M.P. for Coventry'; and 'one of my opponents in the original competition' (p. 187) was the younger Barry. 'Mr. B—' (pp. 187-189), who was instrumental in the lobby against Scott's appointment, was again Professor Donaldson.

With regard to the deputation of classical architects to the Prime Minister (p. 189), Scott adds to his moral strictures:

'I would here record that the "Mr. Cockerell" named in the list (see the Builder) was *not* Professor Cockerell, who wrote to me directly stating that he should decline to go, but it was his son. I saw also Penrose's name among those who, though not present, had given their adhesion. I wish to remark on this point that when I was first appointed he had expressly volunteered a letter of congratulation, in which he expressed himself as almost a convert to the style! *See his letter.*'

These were Frederick Pepys Cockerell (1833-78), son of C. R. Cockerell, and Francis Cranmer Penrose (1817-1903), Surveyor to St Paul's cathedral.

Despite Palmerston's refusal to commission a Gothic design (p. 191), Scott decided that 'to resign would be to give up a sort of *property* which Providence had placed in the hands of my family & would be simply rewarding C. Barry for his unprecedented attempt to wrest a work from the hands of a brother architect', although neither Scott nor Barry had been a winner in the original competitions. Henry Bayly Garling (1822-1909) had however won one – that for the War Office – and, although the War Office had been replaced by the India Office in the project, it was not therefore totally unreasonable that Palmerston should favour him as 'a coadjutor, who would in fact make the design' (p. 191). Scott thought otherwise:

'Some time later another friend told me that he had found out that Garling was preparing a design for the Foreign Office! He also asked me if Lord Palmerston had not once proposed to make Garling my coadjutor in the matter & I had refused! I now saw how matters stood. The introduction of Garling by the deputation of architects had by some means ousted Barry & placed Garling in his stead as my rival. Ld P. had hoped to thrust him upon me as a colleague.'

As is well known, after Palmerston had dismissed his 'semi-Byzantine design' Scott swallowed his pride and produced the Italianate design which was eventually built in 1863-74.⁵

Some of the omissions made in the published version of *Recollections* are revealing about the editor himself. Where Scott describes the rigid adherence to 'Middle Pointed' in the later 1840s (p. 204), his son omitted a reference to his friend and relative by marriage, George Frederick Bodley (1827-1907). The original reads: 'In my own office Mr. Street & his then implicit follower Mr. Bodley used to view everyone as a heretic who designed in any but the sacred phase . . .',⁶ whereas on the following page (p. 203) the allusion to Bodley's design for the Crimean memorial

church at Constantinople (1856-57) was inserted by the editor. Occasionally wording was altered; for example (p. 211), 'days of wildness' was changed to 'days of mere eccentricity', referring to extreme polychromatic Gothic.

The remainder of Vol. II of the original manuscript and the first part of Vol. III consist of Scott's accounts of the series of illnesses and deaths among close members of his family which clouded his life between 1865 and 1872. This may possibly account for a certain conservatism and tiredness apparent in Scott's designs of this period. These personal crises occurred at the height of Scott's career and would seem to have induced feelings of guilt that he had neglected his family in favour of a successful career. Certainly, even allowing for the large number of pupils and assistants in the Spring Gardens office (in Thomas Graham Jackson's time there, 1857-61,⁷ there were twenty-seven in all), Scott must have been away from home for much of the time, especially when supervising restoration work at the numerous cathedrals and churches in his care. In 1864 he moved from Hampstead to the Manor House at Ham, in 1869 to 'Parkhurst' at Leith Hill and in the following year to 'Rook's Nest' at Godstone, Surrey. Even though the last village was easily accessible by railway, Scott must have arrived home from central London rather late every day. Perhaps rather naïvely and vainly, Scott tended to treat these bereavements as personal tragedies, possibly inflicted upon him for a purpose by a stern Divinity, but his great piety remained unshaken.

In 1865 Scott's third son, Albert Henry, died at the age of twenty-one. The original manuscript reveals more about his precocious accomplishments (p. 236): 'His intellectual tendencies, though at first tending towards mathematics, took eventually more distinctly the direction of classics, logic &c., to which he added a most ardent love of science. At one time he followed photography with great success, doing all the chemical work himself, but, finding it clashed with his studies, he relinquished it.'⁸

Despite the popularly supposed Victorian enthusiasm for deathbed scenes, the major part of Scott's harrowing description of his son's death was omitted by the editor. It is here printed in full (following p. 238):

'In the evening I found him much worse, and hardly able to walk, and the doctor at once said it was rheumatism. We put him into a hot bath and got him to bed, but in the night he suffered acutely, and the next day was utterly helpless, unable to move hand nor foot (I had to be out that day at Salisbury to attend the first meeting of the restoration committee (alas that it should have so happened!!) At night I found him very bad & the next day the same. We then with great difficulty carried him down to a larger room.

'On Saturday he seemed better the rheumatism having left his limbs in a considerable degree but the Doctor announced that his heart was (as he said) slightly affected and now suggested our calling in a physician – foolishly I doubted and hesitated & lost this day (Alas! Alas! Alas!) – Meanwhile Leeches were applied to the heart – On Sunday morning I went to town for a physician who came in the afternoon & pronounced the heart to be *very much* affected & prescribed a blister & nourishing food. He did not suffer from pain but chiefly from rapidity of respiration. Now commenced the hours of serious alarm, for

hitherto we had not thought very seriously of the attack. He had been somewhat delirious at times but during Sunday night he became more so. I had several times directed his thoughts a little to religious subjects when he always assured [?] me in a quiet and cheerful manner without showing any alarm. On Sunday night he expressed a desire for me to read a service with him which I did, selecting portions of the Litany. The confession from the Communion & portions of the Service for the Visitation of the Sick – He joined in a fervent though not impassioned manner and I afterwards found that he thought he was in a Chapel.

‘All the earlier half of the night he was extremely rambling though not distressed, nor did his wanderings take a religious form. About six in the morning, however, on waking from a short sleep he spontaneously shewed an extraordinary intensity of religious fervour. Praying aloud & with *great earnestness* both for himself & his brothers &c suiting his prayers to what he supposed to be their needs and expressing many religious sentiments and the vanity of earthly pleasures & pursuits &c. I was asleep during most of this, which I deeply regret, but I was awakened at last by his earnest prayers – the first of which I heard was “Oh Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on my body & Soul”, which was followed by several others.

‘After this he went to sleep again for a time & during this the nurse left the room asking me to watch him. Then commenced a scene which I can never forget though its very intensity and its stunning nature has in part driven its details from my memory!

‘He seemed to wake from some fearful dream, and with the fullest conviction that he was in the world of Spirits. He told me he had seen the torments of the lost, and he was filled with the most intense horror. The whole character of his countenance was changed and his diction, his voice & manner had become more solemn and impressive than anything I ever heard. He in the most intensely solemn manner desired to confess to me everything he could think of that he had done wrong – and poured forth the most earnest entreaties for forgiveness – his words being eloquent beyond description, his mode of diction intensely forceable and precise, and his whole manner that of a person under some preternatural influence. I doubt not that God had made up for our neglect in not calling his mind strongly to his religious state by preternaturally revealing to him his danger and exciting his mind to every process of preparation for death – First his asking overnight for short service, next his fervid prayers earlier in the morning and now by the terrors of “the valley of the Shadow of death” exciting him to the most earnest repentance & conviction of Sin – with the most agonizing crys for forgiveness and for “holiness” accompanied by formal and distinct confession. Still, however, no comfort as yet came, and after being with him for some time I asked if he would like to see our excellent clergyman Mr Hough, which he at once most earnestly fell in with though clouded with a delusion as to his being in the world of spirits, which led him to pray that the “Spirit of Mr Hough” might be sent to him. While I was away the same terror kept possession of him his brother John was with him & had even to hold him to prevent his hurting himself as he had some notion of attoning his Sin by causing himself pain.

'When Mr Hough arrived he at once began to apply to him the Consolations of the Gospel but he long resisted them as inapplicable to himself protesting his sinfulness & crying out for "*holiness*". He once said that he would wish to be crushed to atoms if "*one atom* could be made holy as God is holy". He also said that he had often for hours together entreated God for *holiness* – which we have other reasons to think was literally true as his brother Gilbert who slept next to him when at Hampstead tells us he had often heard him praying aloud in the middle of the night. Once when John was with him he chanted part of the *De profundis* in latin. Every expression which was this [?] distressing excitement was devout though he in the most clever manner answered every argument of consolation and threw it off from *himself*.

'At length Mr. Hough kneeled down and prayed over him most beautifully but even then he argued against the applicability of what was prayed for to his own case. Finally, however Mr Hough solemnly invoked the Holy Spirit upon him – When, as if by a Miracle, the whole scene was changed, – his terror and distress were instantly dispelled and he joined with quiet trustful earnestness in Mr Hough's prayers and in taking some refreshment he became placid and comfortable. The only thing he said afterwards bearing upon the scene which he had passed through was after we had left the room when he said to his nurse "Dont you see those spirits there?" & when she said he must have been dreaming about them he said "Oh! thats jolly then it must have been a Vision" after which he went to sleep.

'It seems to me and several persons to whom I have narrated the circumstances seem to think it probable that there was in all this an antagonistic influence. This Divine influence exciting him to what was needful to his salvation & the enemy attempting to counteract this by suggesting feelings of despair – but that this adverse influence was suddenly and semi-miraculously dispelled on the invocation of the Holy Spirit. Certainly the whole scene was the most solemn and the most tremendous I have ever almost heard of and I cannot doubt that it was ordered by the allwise God to perfect his preparation for what was so soon to follow, And therefore I thank God for it, and under God I shall ever feel grateful to Mr Hough for his ministrations at this time of extreme need when flesh & heart were failing.

'After this his remaining hours were a blank. He slept a little – and his mind wandered a good deal but not in a manner to indicate any mental distress at all – And even when a paroxism of violent delirium came on later in the day so that we had to hold him it did not take a distressing form or indeed shew any feelings even of discomfort. After this paroxism he sunk into a state of exhaustion & insensibility which we at first mistook for sleep but which to our indescribable distress and anguish soon shewed itself to be the precursor of dissolution. Even the medical attendant who saw him within half an hour of his death had no idea of his state & was to meet the Physician in an hour or two. He departed without pain & apparently without consciousness at about half past three in the afternoon of Monday Jany 30 1865 [p.239] & was interred in Petersham churchyard on the following Saturday.

'I earnestly pray God never to let his image be dimmed in my memory but to keep it ever fresh in my thoughts I doubt not that our Gracious God will make his dear soul an object ever precious in his sight – and train it to ever higher and more exalted happiness. He was a choice spirit and one among ten thousands for the truest amiability united with very high mental powers –

'I will endeavour to state in another volume a little of what we received as the testimony of those who knew him at college & than which nothing could be more *consoling & cheering*

'*Laus Deo* March 24 1865'

His grave is marked by a fine tombstone designed by Scott.

Vol. III begins with a cutting of Scott's letter to the editor of *The Times* about 'The Designs for the Law Court', dated 1 July 1868, pasted in. The volume continues with further recollections of Albert Henry Scott, dated 21 April 1865 and omitted by the editor, whose reaction to the following passage we can only imagine:

'To have lost *such* a son is a blow most hard to bear yet that a son thus lost to us has shewn such tokens of preparation for an infinitely higher destiny than he could have aimed at in this life is an alleviation for which we have infinite cause for thankfulness! We may well say with a certain nobleman who had lost a son of great promise & excellence, "My dead son is more to me than any living son I know of".'

Scott's sisters, Mary Jane and Euphemia, had also recently died:

'Thus have I recorded three losses during a space of only about 12½ months! Oh My God! I entreat thee long to spare us any repetition of such visitations! Bless those which thou hast seen good to send us to our souls, to drawing us nearer to thee and to making us devote ourselves, heart & soul, to thy service! but visit us not again as thou has lately visited us! spare to us the remnant of our dear family that thou hast left us and bless them with every temporal and spiritual blessing in Christ Jesus. Let them and us feel that the very object of our existence is to serve obey and honour thee, purge out of us every thing that offends thee and breathe into us by thy Holy Spirit every Christian grace and virtue. Thou hast made severe break up in our family both of our own generation and that which is rising. Oh do thou now bless both! Spare the brothers and sisters & others of our own generation to serve thee to a good old age in happiness and comfort & Oh spare the rising generation to live long in thy service and long to enjoy every blessing at thy hands while they devote their lives and the abilities which thou givest them to thy service and the good – spiritual & temporal – of thy creatures.

'& Oh let the memory of them whom thou hast in thy mercy taken from us be ever precious to our souls as all trust that their souls are to thee!! Let thy mercy lighten upon us, oh Our God, and let our trust ever be in thee! But never let us forget our duty towards thee our God! Let us oppose every corrupt influence both from without and within, let us mortify every sinful affection & tendency & wage daily & hourly war against our corrupt nature. Oh that thou wouldst rend the heavens, oh our God & come down and wouldst destroy the corruption of the heart of man! Till then, however, send us thy Holy Spirit to

chase out of us every sin & to enable us to serve thee & to uphold our faith in thy word & in the one and only means thou hast provided for our safety! Hear this oh our God for ourselves our children & all we love for Jesus Christ's sake Amen!

After his account of the death, later in 1865, of his brother Samuel King (who had married G. F. Bodley's sister (Georgina) Scott added: 'Oh Lord, withdraw now thy hand and spare our family from further bereavements – Let it repent Thee concerning Thy servants for Thou has afflicted us *very sore!*'

The next entry was not made until 10 March 1872: 'I have neglected this little chronicle now for nearly seven years. Years of mercy and prosperity in most respects. The Prayer with which I closed it was answered for some years, so far at least as related to our more immediate circle . . . Now, . . . a terrible blow has fallen upon me . . .', the death of his beloved wife Caroline (p.247). In the long sections of the manuscript about his wife rightly omitted for publication, there are several passages which reveal Scott's feelings of guilt about his behaviour:

'How did I, and do I still, blame myself for a thousand little things I might have done but did not think to do! How many things I might have said but did not think to say! Oh! if I could have but one more year more of her dear companionship, how much more affectionate, considerate, kind and studious of her happiness would I be! but oh! It is now too late – Oh! Lord forgive my thoughtlessness, my ignorances & my negligencies! Oh my dearest wife, if thou canst hear me now forgive the faults which thou knowest but too well!

'Oh! Lord God, bless my sons, both those who are now established in their profession and the younger two of whom one, Dear Alwyne, has done little more than select his profession and the other, Dear Dukinfield, has hardly thought of what his calling is to be! Oh Lord Bless this terrible affliction to me and to them and, if it be thy blessed will, spare me to see my sons well established both in the earthly pursuits & also in the pursuit of heavenly things and devoted – heart & soul – to thy blessed service. Amen.'⁹

'Oh! that I had appreciated the danger of these attacks & had taken more precautions. Oh! – that I had taken occasion from then to be more demonstrative in my affection to have been more tender & considerate & to have more carefully avoided my natural fretfulness & irritability & watched every opportunity of shewing my love! How sadly & bitterly I repent having got into the way of behaving to the dear companion of my life in a matter of course manner of not restraining in her presence as I should in that of people I cared nothing for the peevishness & impatience of my temper – not valuing her as I ought & not shewing my value & my admiration of her. I feel as if were I to have her back again – were it only for one week or one month or one year how I would strive to evince my love in every way I could invent, but alas! it is too late. Neglected opportunities are gone not to be recalled & I can only grieve and repent & blush at my neglectfulness & indulge in the fruitless amends of cherishing her memory & her virtues & her noble qualities now I have lost her & in shewing in any ways I can think of my devotion to her memory & her love.'

'We have many fragments of an irregularly kept diary beginning previously

to our marriage & breathing devoted & earnest piety throughout. Her writing rather contrasts with her personal manner of conversation – the latter was full of cheerfulness & hilarity & humour always ready for and looking out for a good joke & keenly alive to wit. The latter was melancholy and subdued – ever dwelling in the gloomy side of what passed. I attribute this to two causes. I think she viewed her diary as a sort of penitential musing in which all the troubles of the soul were to find vent & 2. She was so much alone, owing to my best hours being at business & on journeys that I have no doubt she frequently did feel melancholy & when I returned home jaded with work & often disturbed by severe anxiety and disappointment I fear I did little to enliven her spirits. Still however we did enjoy much happiness & indulged in many innocent enjoyments & amusements. I always wish I had been musical – She was eminently so but my deficiency led this to lie fallow in a way I deeply regret.’

‘It is only by her posthumous papers that I have become fully aware of [her religious life’s] depth and devotion. I cannot read these papers – they are so touching, but, I see in them a wholly different phase of my dearest wife’s character & one which shews me more than ever her merits & my own utter unworthiness of her GGS.

‘Oh My God forgive me for my deep, deep unworthiness! Fill my heart with thankfulness for the inestimable blessing thou hast granted me – fill it with shame for my neglect & want of appreciation of it & my want of due sense of my duties to her – & now that thou hast taken her from me her most unworthy husband enable me to devote the rest of my life thou mayest grant me find to thy fear and to obedience to thy commandments & the rules of thy blessed Gospel & then to the enshrining of her memory in my heart to shewing it honour & to doing just what under thy guidance she would have wished me to do – Grant this Oh Blessed God for Jesus Christ’s Sake AMEN.’

Scott edited a volume of his wife’s religious papers, which was published as *Family Prayers* in 1873.

‘I deeply regret that I never had any portraits beyond photographs of her – we always talked of getting Richmond to do this but her constant absence from London interfered. I now want him to do one from the many photographs we possess. His eyes at present prevent this.’

George Richmond did, however, execute a portrait of Scott, which was reproduced as the frontispiece of *Recollections*.¹⁰

‘I have designed what I trust will be a beautiful monument to my ever dearest Carry – It is to be a low altar tomb parts of white marble and in part of polished granite. The upper stone which is of marble will have a very richly floreated cross the foliage being partly conventionalised & partly natural the latter carrying out her intense love of flowers and of botany. On either side of the cross two of the beatitudes will be incised which especially characterized her two more prominent virtues.

BLESSED-ARE-THE-PURE-IN-HEART-FOR-THEY-SHALL-SEE-GOD-
BLESSED-ARE-THE-MERCIFUL-FOR-THEY-SHALL-OBTAIN-MERCY

‘Purely [sic] of heart and commiseration with the unfortunate were her pre-

eminent characteristics though both exercised in especial connection with the cross or with holy religion.

'Round the dado will be medallions also symbolizing her special virtues by emblematic figures – FAITH – her belief in our holy religion being the one object of her mind HOPE as illustrating her constant dwelling of her thoughts on the unseen world. CHARITY her great practical virtue COUNSEL indicating her great practical wisdom – MERCY and PURITY OF HEART as already explained and lastly THE-FEAR-OF-GOD not only as the very guide of her life but as illustrated by her favourite study the compilation of PRAYERS.

'These moral and Christian virtues – I have not taken at random or as a matter of routine but I can safely aver that they were in a preeminent degree the leading features of her character. I might have added to them FORTITUDE as she was gifted with an amount of moral courage which falls to the lot of few. I have herein preferred to dwell upon her more gentle characteristics and I am sure that in these she was exceeded by but few if by any.'

Scott carried out this design and the elaborate gravestone was erected over his wife's grave in Tandridge churchyard, near Godstone. The 'excellent and deeply injured lady' who was Mrs Scott's 'most intimate friend when at Ham' (p.257) was Lady Huntingtower.

A further passage omitted by the editor emphasizes Scott's great concern with his lineage:

'My dear wife wished us to understand clearly that our family, including her own, were derived from the Kentish Scotts . . . I believe that we are of *Royal* descent – This arises from the Kentish Scott's being in fact *Baliols*. I hope to insert an account of this family. Thus we are related to Baliol who founded the College at Oxford of that name and to John (Scott) of Rotheram, Archbishop of York, who contributed largely to buildings at Cambridge with the University Church and the Schools . . .'

The volume continues with Scott's account of the designing of the Albert memorial. One passage, characteristic of his sensitive self-justification in reaction to criticism, was excised in publication (p.267):

'I shall have, I believe, to bear the brunt of criticism upon this work of a character peculiar, as I fancy, to this country. I mean criticism pre-meditated and pre-determined wholly irrespective of the merits of the case. I have some years since had one great attack made upon me of this kind. I believe that Mr Beresford Hope though nominally friendly is only too glad to promote these attacks & it was I dare say he who set upon me one of the most vindictive & unscrupulous writers of the age.

'I believe I had offended that man a few years before – by perfect accident & that he has always remembered it against me.

'I have last week been the subject of an equally virulent attack in another print & I am told that I have to expect another probably this week in the Saturday Review (it did not appear).

'I must trust in God & take Courage.

'I need not enumerate the criticisms. Most of them are groundless . . .'

This passage probably refers to articles by Francis Turner Palgrave (1824-97) originally published in 1863 and 1865 and reprinted in *Essays on Art* in 1866 under the title of 'The Albert Cross and English Monumental Sculpture'. Scott here displays that combination of naivety and paranoia which often seems to afflict well-established architects. A. J. Beresford-Hope (1820-87), the 'lay' leader of the Gothic Revival, may well have been offended by Scott's defection from the Gothic cause in the face of Palmerston's opposition, but he would not have needed to encourage Palgrave to voice his opinions about his special interest, sculpture. Palgrave, distinguished essayist and writer on art and compiler of the *Golden Treasury*, wrote his articles before Scott's design for the Albert memorial had been published. He expressed reservations about the possibilities of successful public sculpture and about the Gothic shrine idea; he also lacked confidence in the architect: 'Without entering here on the larger question of Mr Gilbert Scott's rank amongst our Gothic architects, beyond expressing the opinion (resting upon examination of his works) that his style wants originality and imagination, it is indisputable that he has but little practice in that species of ornamental designing of which the Cross will be one of the most elaborate examples ever yet attempted.'¹¹ Scott had every reason to dread another attack from this highly intelligent critic.

The other, more recent 'attack' mentioned by Scott is difficult to identify. He may have been referring to 'The State of English Architecture' published anonymously in the *Quarterly Review* in April 1872 (in fact written by J. T. Emmett), which was 'a very slashing article . . . which made havoc of him and the school to which he belonged'.¹² Although he was not mentioned by name, Scott was clearly the 'eminent architect' whose commercial acumen and 'ignorance of [his] own nominal work' was satirized.

Vol. III of the manuscript concludes with short accounts of Scott's restorations of cathedral and abbey churches, which were continued and amplified in Vol. IV. These are Ely, Westminster, Lichfield, Peterborough, Hereford, Salisbury, Chichester, Gloucester, Ripon, Worcester, Exeter, St David's, Chester, Bangor and St Asaph. At St David's (p. 315) the 'leading Canon' whose eccentricities Scott described was 'The Revd Chancellor Sir Erasmus Williams'.

Vol. IV begins 'May God bless what I have to record in this book. G.G.S. Aug. 8. 1872', after which comes the first account of the restoration at St Alban's Abbey (p. 320). With regard to the continuing scandal of the neglect of the Lady chapel (p. 324), Scott adds: 'The committee seem very inert on the subject and to incline to the self seeking policy of repairing the ordinary parts such as the neighbourhood can be obviously called upon for. *This must be abated!*'

Scott's account of his receiving his knighthood at Osborne follows next, and in addition to the published version the hope was expressed that:

'Oh that my dearest Carry was here to share this honour & that on reaching home I could salute her as "*Lady Scott*" but she is in greater honour by infinite degrees - "Thou hast set my feet in a large Room" said David when relieved from some of his troubles. I too can say this, but oh what a Glorious Room does *She* inhabit! Oh that I may share that Glorious place with her and *all* our dear children!'

Scott chose to be styled 'Sir Gilbert' (p.328) because 'my dearest wife would have chosen it as she used to tell me to call myself "Mr. Gilbert Scott".'

Scott was knighted on 9 August 1872. The next entry in the manuscript was not made until 21 February 1877. Scott had moved from Godstone back to Ham in 1873, together with his son John Oldrid and daughter-in-law. In 1877 they moved back to London, to Courtfield House, Collingham Road, Kensington, where Scott died the following year. The editor excised an interesting reference to the relative decline in his father's fortunes from his most successful years around 1860:

'During the autumn I became painfully impressed in the costliness of my mode of living & the falling off of my practice – & as my son & daughter in law did not care for Ham, determined to remove to London, whether wisely or not God knows!

'We did not finally move till a year later. I am now a Londoner & have much lost [?] in position. May God bless the change! I fear it was not quite well considered.'

Nevertheless, Scott still managed to leave £120,000 when he died.

The remainder of the volume contains fuller accounts of cathedral and abbey church restorations at Ely, Westminster, Hereford, Lichfield, Peterborough, Salisbury, Chichester, St David's, St Asaph, Bangor, Chester, Gloucester, Worcester, Exeter, Rochester, Winchester, Durham, Ripon and St Alban's. In the published versions, composed by the editor from Scott's several entries and arranged in an odd order, a few passages were omitted critical of individuals who interfered with his work.

At Hereford (p.291) Scott's relationship with his favourite metalworker, Francis Skidmore of Skidmore's Art Manufactures Company, is clear from his comments on the famous choir screen which was exhibited at the 1862 International Exhibition: 'The Screen was executed in metal by Mr. Skidmore from my design with as usual with him, a few liberties of his own.'

At Peterborough (p.299) it emerges that:

'One eminent canon, Dr. Westcote, was so offended with me, I fancy because I was not favourable to the adding of flying buttresses, that he will hardly deign to speak to me, & when I last saw him & innocently went up to him to shake hands he put his hands behind his back lest he should contaminate them with contact with mine! His meaning I cannot divine, as I had never uttered a word or harboured a thought which was disrespectful to him, but as one lives on one finds a few such enigmas! "Tantane Animis Coelestibus Ira?"', but here the question is doubled. What are these celestial minds angry about!

At Salisbury (p.300) Scott's screen, like the magnificent one at Hereford, has been removed. Scott originally proposed an organ screen, but this scheme was abandoned in favour of an open choir screen, towards which Mrs Sidney Lear paid £1000 and which was erected in about 1874.¹³ Comments excised by the editor explain why the Salisbury screen was rather inferior to those Scott designed for other cathedrals; over these remarks is written 'Don't publish this':

'Lord Beauchamp gave the Reredos as unpleasant a man to do business with as I ever met with – a tyrant of the first water! The choir screen was professedly

given by Mrs. — Lear as a memorial to her husband — *but was very sadly stinted* — while she assumed from her very partial gift a power of tyrannizing only second to that assumed by Lord B. I designed what I view as a magnificent screen but it was treated with no great respect by Mrs. Lear whose gift while it assumed to herself the honour of being donor of the most conspicuous feature in the church but only required considerable outlay from the restoration fund to eke it out but I fear put the person who executed it Mr Skidmore to loss, & infinite trouble in screwing down its expense but was the means of depriving the church of a far nobler screen. I am the more severe in my remarks because I find fault [with] such gifts however munificent in themselves as saddle noble churches with comparatively unworthy objects while they assume to donors an honour they do not allow money enough to give them a full title. Mr. Skidmore has here done his *very utmost*.’

Scott remarked that Redfern, who worked for him at Salisbury and elsewhere, was (p. 307) ‘one of four sculptors whom I have known to have died in poverty within about two years’. In the manuscript the four are named: ‘Philip, Stephens, Phyffers & Redfern’, that is John Birnie Philip (1824-75), who worked for Scott on the government offices and on the Albert memorial friezes; Alfred Stevens (1817-75); Theodore Phyffers and James F. Redfern (1838-76).¹⁴ As the Gothic Revival created a great demand for architectural sculptors, and talented craftsmen were earnestly sought by architects, it seems curious that so many sculptors apparently fell on hard times.

At Gloucester cathedral, a passage omitted by the editor throws light also on the restoration work at Ely. Thomas Gambier Parry (1816-88), landowner, collector, expert on wall-painting and inventor of the ‘spirit-fresco’ technique, was called in to advise (p. 339):

‘This gentleman had decorated a chapel adjoining the south transept, and had reported upon the system to be adopted for the choir vaulting. As it would have been too much to decorate both the ribs, and the intervening spaces, while the walls below remained uncoloured, he had recommended that the spaces should be decorated and the ribs left plain. I thought this wrong, because this vaulting is an intricate system of ribs, an absolute network, in which the figure of the ribs is everything and the forms of the intervening spaces nothing. I therefore recommended to decorate the ribs and leave the spaces, for the most part, plain. This has been done . . . To my eye the effect is most satisfactory, but it has so angered Mr. G.P. that when he undertook the decoration of the lantern at Ely he was so oblivious of what was due to me as architect and to himself as a Gentleman as not only not to consult me in the least but to recommend the Dean & Chapter not to do so — which however they saw [?] the propriety of not acting upon — though he has followed his own devices & neglected all evidence of ancient decoration though not wholly unsuccessful in his result.’

At Ely cathedral Scott recommended that the new nave ceiling, which he had installed in 1858, should be decorated to a design based on that at St Michael’s church, Hildesheim. This painting was begun by Henry Styleman Le Strange, who died in 1862. The remaining six east bays were then completed by Gambier

Parry in 1864. Gambier Parry offered to paint the interior of the restored lantern in 1874 and carried out the work the following year.¹⁵ Scott's remarks may help to account for the inferiority of this work compared with the nave ceiling.

At Exeter cathedral, where controversy arose over the propriety of Scott's new reredos, Scott commented (p.348): 'In all this work I was greatly thwarted by the Dean', and he originally wrote:

'The Dean was so outrageous in his interference that I was driven nearly out of my senses – over & over again all through this work & really could not get any part of my own way without most wretched squabbling – which often made [me] perfectly ill & made me hate the very name of Exeter. Yet after all I believe him to be a good man at heart though delighting in what half kills other people! He seemed as fond of bullying an architect as a hunter of running down a fox & for the mere fun of it!'

Lastly, St Alban's (p.353), where, by the end of his life, Scott was coming into conflict with Sir Edmund Beckett (1816-1905), later Lord Grimthorpe, the vociferous proponent of adapting old buildings to modern needs, that is, 'destructive' restoration, as opposed to 'conservative' restoration, which Scott claimed he practised. This last was further to be distinguished from the approach of the 'anti-restoration party', led by Morris and Ruskin. Scott had already had to suffer the considerable interference of Beckett, then E. B. Denison, during the rebuilding of St George's, Doncaster, in 1854-58.

The editor omitted a final exasperated comment on Beckett from the published *Recollections*. However, it was later published in a recondite ecclesiological quarterly, *The Sacristy*, in 1881,¹⁶ where it was quoted in an anonymous criticism of Beckett's controversial design for the west front of St Alban's Abbey. John Oldrid Scott was also condemned for ignoring the evidence of the original design of the early thirteenth century in his own design. If he did not know it already, the extract from his father's unpublished manuscript would have revealed to J. O. Scott that his brother was the author of the article, and this may help to explain the tension between the two architect heirs of Sir Gilbert Scott which later had unfortunate consequences during G. G. Scott Jnr's mental breakdown in 1883.

'In his *Personal and Professional Recollections* Sir Gilbert Scott has the following critique of the late Mr E. Beckett Denison which may be applied, with almost equal appropriateness, to the present Sir Edmund Beckett:¹⁷

"Beckett Denison! Phoebus, what a conjunction of names! That of the indomitable Archbishop of Canterbury, & of the indomitable Archdeacon of Taunton! Beckett Denison unites the qualities of his archepiscopal & his archidiaconal namesakes with a lot of stuff, good & bad, but always strong of his own. He can curse with either ecclesiastic. He has the determination of both; unflinching, unbending, invariable as either! No conventional rules of propriety influence him, he cares less for friends, if possible, than foes. I have said he was always strong – I mean in manner. He is not always so in fact. He sometimes reverses the 'suaviter in modo, fortiter in re' for never 'suaviter in modo' – always 'fortiter in re' – in a sense. He is nevertheless subject to be made a fool of by his own vanity and by a strange unintelligible favouritism, not always guided by wisdom,

though always be self-confidence. Nevertheless, he has his many good points & kindly dispositions. I once described him as a hypocrite on the reverse side. The hypocrite is bad & tries to make himself seem good. Beckett Denison is not bad, but does everything in his power to make himself seem so!"'

Vol. V of the manuscript contains the text of 'The Anti-Restoration Movement' and 'The "Queen Anne" Style' (pp. 363-376). The last entry is dated January 1878.

In conclusion, a posthumous appreciation of Sir Gilbert Scott by the editor of *Recollections* is published here for the first time. George Gilbert Scott Jnr does not seem to have been as close to his father as his brother John Oldrid, but, having had an academic career (he was a former Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge), he was well qualified to prepare Sir Gilbert's manuscript for publication. A pioneer in the revival of Perpendicular, 'a master and a leader in the "Queen Anne" revival',¹⁸ the younger Scott further differed from his father in his churchmanship. Scott wrote the passage below in his notebook¹⁹ while he was still a High Anglican; in 1880, to the horror of many friends and relations, he was received into the Roman Catholic Church. His comments on his father's religious views are therefore of particular interest. The Ridsdale case was the first consequence of Disraeli's Public Worship Act of 1875, a result of the constant persecution of Anglo-Catholic 'ritualists' by extreme Protestants ever since the Oxford Movement had revitalized the Church of England. The controversy concerned the incumbent of St Peter's church, Folkestone, who was condemned by the Church Association for using eucharistic vestments, wafer bread, the eastward position and having a crucifix on a rood screen.²⁰

'My Father Sir George Gilbert Scott died in the night of March 26-27 at about 4 in the morning . . . Of his many great qualities his strong sense of Justice and his devotion to the best interests of his children whom he loved with a deep warmth which his extreme natural reserve prevented even them from realising fully, deserve to be especially mentioned. Also his beautiful modesty and his perfect breeding and courtesy not so much finish of manner as genuine inbred politeness. In the best sense of the word he was a gentle man. The foundation of these "graces of character" was a sincere practical Xtian faith. He was pious in a quiet somewhat reserved manner which concealed, except at an occasional glimpse, the warmth of his feelings & the firmness of his faith. His faith was certainly not the result of ignorance of modern criticisms. He was exceedingly interested in such questions and his study of them confirmed his conviction of the Divine character of Xtianity.

'He was an *anglican* essentially & in the best sense of the term. Decidedly opposed to Roman practices on many points principally upon the use of Images which he could not but think was *almost* if not quite Idolatrous. But he was never bitter and of late years became perhaps somewhat less unfavourably disposed. He defended the practice of praying for the departed, and practised it himself constantly. Indeed I have reason to believe that he never mentioned my Mother's name in the course of conversation without a silent prayer for her repose & when out of doors he wd always raise his hat as he made this prayer on

mentioning her name. The ardour of his devotion is illustrated by a fact which I have learnt since his death. His man observed one day the underside of Sir Gilbert's fore-arms to be roughened and sore-looking as he described "like leprosy". He asked my Father what was the cause and after a great deal of query & frequent returns to the subject my Father said "When I am praying especially for my sons, I feel as if I could not do enough, I feel kneeling to be too little and I prostrate myself upon the floor, owing to this my arms get a little galled". How *long* his prayers lasted we may form some idea of from this result.

'His sense of Justice was very strongly exemplified in his *indignation* at the Ridsdale judgement condemning the vestments, & virtually the Eastward Position. He was exceedingly well up in the controversy & was convinced that the Judgement was utterly false. He returned to the subject again & again, gave me a pamphlet of Parker's on the point, and expressed his indignation at the injustice of the decision with a warmth unusual to him. At the same time he said "I have never seen a chasuble worn in the English Ch: & have no wish to see one, the eastward position is not used in the churches which I usually attend. I do not sympathise with those who are fighting for these points, & many of their objects as I understand them I distinctly & strongly disapprove of, but to make the ornaments rubric forbid what everyone who studies the subject knows it was intended to order and to pervert the perfectly well known history of the 'position' rubrics is a grossly immoral proceeding."

'He used to add that the north end position was not so bad with the small dressing-table-like altars that used to exist in most of our churches but that with the better proportioned altars now everywhere seen, a priest at the north end "looked" as he said, "like a naughty boy in a corner".'

NOTES

I must record my debt to Mr Richard Gilbert Scott, who, as well as making available manuscript material and drawings, has been of great help to me in my researches into his family.

- 1 Page numbers in parentheses refer to the published volume.
- 2 So I am kindly informed by Mr John Brandon-Jones.
- 3 Information in biography file at RIBA Library, drawn to my attention by Mr Dirk Hansen. This contains an extract from 'Charles Matthew Strange (1838-1925), by his son, Charles Hilbert Strange'. Strange was an assistant to Moffatt in 1859-60. His diary described Moffatt as 'an ugly man with hair all over his head' and alludes to his drinking habits, e.g. 'Mr. M. not been to bed all night, sparring with some fellows at the George and Blue Boar'. When Moffatt was incarcerated in the Queen's Bench prison for debts of about £1000 Strange helped to raise money for legal fees; Scott contributed £20. Moffatt was released on application for habeas corpus after six months.
- 4 *Building News*, xxxiv (1878), p. 309.
- 5 For a detailed account of the complicated sequence of events and designs for the government offices see my note in *The Scott Family*, RIBA Drawings Collection catalogue, to be published in 1977.

6 In G. E. Street's annotated copy of *Recollections*, now at the RIBA, there is pencilled in the margin at this point: 'This is the exact contrary to the facts. I used to swear by 1st Pointed & we used to call Scott's work "ogee" because it was too late in char. My first Ch – Biscovey was of purest 1st Pointed (circa 1848) – & was designed at this time. G. E. Street.'

7 *Recollections of Sir Thomas Graham Jackson* (1950), p. 58.

8 A volume of Albert Henry Scott's photographs survives in the possession of Mr Richard Gilbert Scott.

9 Scott had five sons: his two architect heirs, George Gilbert (1839–97) and John Oldrid (1841–1913); Albert Henry (1844–65); Alwyne Gilbert (1849–78) and Dukinfield Henry (1854–1934). Alwyne also died young, after taking an Oxford degree; Dukinfield lived on to have a most distinguished career as a botanist. Having read classics at Oxford, he trained as an engineer but went on to do pioneering research in the new science of paleobotany as honorary director of the Jodrell Laboratory at Kew.

10 The original drawing by Richmond is in the possession of Mr Richard Gilbert Scott.

11 F. T. Palgrave, *Essays on Art* (1866), p. 289. I am greatly indebted to the Rev. A. Symondson for suggesting Palgrave to me as the author of the criticisms mentioned by Scott. Palgrave was by no means hostile to the Gothic Revival as such. In the same article (p. 285) he wrote: 'Modern Gothic was, in its beginning, . . . essentially an imitative style. In the hands of Woodward, Butterfield, Street, Burges, Waterhouse, and others not yet so well known, it is rapidly passing from this first phase into an architecture as closely adapted to our wants as that of the thirteenth century to mediaeval requirements. But there has hitherto been a tendency, from which few of our architects have been able to free themselves, to treat the *details* in an imitative manner . . .', and, in his journal for 5 June 1875 (in Gwenllian F. Palgrave, *Francis Turner Palgrave, His Journals & Memories of his Life* (1899), p. 139), he remarked that 'in the quad of Keble, . . . Butterfield's new chapel seems to me decisively the most beautiful church built within my knowledge – proportions, details equally lovely and original; the whole with a shrine like air, yet also with a look of size and power most rarely united . . .'

12 *The Recollections of Sir Thomas Graham Jackson* (1950), p. 153. Mrs Mosette Broderick kindly pointed out this reference to me, which indicates that, as Scott suspected that Jackson had written the *Quarterly Review* article, he did not know the identity of the author. Mrs Broderick also observes that the letter to Scott from A. H. Layard, published on p. 269 of *Recollections*, states that 'Those who have had anything to do with the Press know from whence these criticisms generally come, and can trace motives for them. In this case they appear to represent the opinions of one prejudiced and unfriendly man . . .', whose identity was clearly known, and who may have been Sir Henry Cole, Secretary of the South Kensington Museum. Cole had already clashed with Scott over the Architectural Museum (*Recollections*, p. 168), was opposed to the Gothic style, ensured that the Albert Hall was to be designed by a Royal Engineer, and, in *Fifty Years of Public Service*, i, p. 362, mentions that he had written two papers criticizing the design of the Albert

memorial. Mrs Broderick further notes that Cole's diary (at the Victoria & Albert Museum) for 28 March 1863 suggests that he had leaked information to *The Times* about Scott's yet unpublished design, which resulted in a critical article. The fact that the memorial is standing yet, while the identity of its critic is now difficult to establish, suggests that successful architects need not be as sensitive to published criticism as they almost invariably are. 'The State of English Architecture' was in the *Quarterly Review*, cxxxii, No. 264 (1872), p. 295; the attribution to J. T. Emmett is given in the *Wellesley Index of Periodicals*. The Survey of London volume, *The Museums Area of South Kensington and Westminster* (1975), p. 175, examines the critical reaction to the memorial in great depth and cites a severe article in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 5th July 1872, in fact written by Sidney Colvin. This is quite possibly the article Scott referred to.

13 See *Victorian Church Art*, Victoria & Albert Museum catalogue (1971), p. 59.

14 Philip, Stevens and Redfern merited obituary notices in the architectural press; the death of the Belgian sculptor Phylffers, who had worked at the Houses of Parliament and at the India Office, seems not to have been noticed.

15 P. Moore, *The Restorations of Ely Cathedral* (1973).

16 *The Sacristy* was a High Church ecclesiological quarterly which ran from 1871 to 1873. It was briefly revived in 1881 and given a rather more Tridentine flavour, edited by Edward Walford with G. G. Scott Jnr as assistant editor.

17 Sir Gilbert Scott's remarks are here quoted from the original manuscript and not from the slightly altered version printed in *The Sacristy*, iii, No. x (1881), p. 131.

18 Obituary of Sir Gilbert Scott by E. W. Godwin in *British Architect*, ix (1878), p. 156.

19 Notebook No. 13 among G. G. Scott Jnr's papers at the RIBA.

20 M. Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism* (1965), p. 202.