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William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Historic Preservation in Europe

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WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS: NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN EUROPE

by

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Dale Porter, Adviser

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Andrea Yount
# Table of Contents

**Acknowledgements** ................................................................. ii

**Chapter**

I. Modern Preservation Techniques With Nineteenth Century Inspiration .......................................................... 1

II. Review of Literature Concerning Preservation, The SPAB, William Morris, and Influences in the 19th Century .......................................................... 23

III. The Architectural and Ideological Environment of the Nineteenth Century .................................................. 53

IV. William Morris, His Attitude Toward the Gothic Revival, and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings .......................................................... 91

V. The SPAB in Britain ..................................................................... 129

VI. The SPAB in France and Germany in the Nineteenth Century ........................................................................ 169

VII. SPAB Activities and Influences in the Twentieth Century ............................................................................. 195

**Bibliography** .................................................................................. 225
CHAPTER ONE:

MODERN PRESERVATION TECHNIQUES WITH NINETEENTH CENTURY INSPIRATION

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, founded by the artist and craftsman William Morris in 1877, sought to preserve the integrity of historic buildings by preventing unnecessary changes and additions. William Morris's intention and that of the SPAB, as outlined by the original manifesto, was that buildings of any period had a life that was best protected through the conservative repair of what was falling into ruin and the prevention of injury to buildings by safeguarding them as much as possible and practical. Throughout its history the SPAB maintained these ideals. One simply has to view the SPAB website, read the current SPAB newsletter, attend a meeting, or observe the nature of current SPAB work to see not only the credit which has been given to Morris and his original ideals but also to see how these ideals continue to guide the SPAB in its current work.¹ Morris's organization of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, his passion for the Society and what it stood for, and his Manifesto express his principles towards restoration and preservation and explain his intense desire to effect change in the restoration practices of his time. Vital to the integrity of the SPAB, both in 1877 and today, this Manifesto provides the backbone to the organization.

¹ The SPAB Website (http://www.spab.org.uk/) begins with a reprinting of the original Morris SPAB Manifesto. The SPAB News is a quarterly publication that outlines current SPAB projects and advertises educational programs ranging from appreciation of architectural heritage to the practical use of preservation techniques. The SPAB Board has monthly meetings to discuss financing of specific sites, to develop educational programs, and to determine future goals.
The extremes of the nineteenth century Gothic Revival motivated the founding of the SPAB: in the mid-nineteenth century, many historic buildings were restored to appear Gothic in style. Although some restoration had occurred in past centuries, it was in Morris's age that this practice became so excessive. Early SPAB work involved speaking against restoration and providing alternate ideas to promote preservation. The SPAB so influenced late nineteenth century perspectives of historic preservation that it motivated the foundation of similar societies in Britain, Europe, and around the world. Due to the continued monitoring of preservation practices concerning historic buildings, along with the evolution of techniques and adaptations throughout the years, the SPAB is now the oldest and largest conservation society in Britain.

The nature of preservation has evolved throughout the past century so that the words "preservation" and "restoration" hold a different meaning to people today than in Morris's day. Further, the word "conservation" is also currently used to denote a practice devoted to preservation techniques with only mild repair when necessary. Its use in reference to historic architecture is a primarily modern development. The word "preservation" could, and often is, used in place of "conservation." The word "preservation" held a similar meaning in the nineteenth century as it does today, that a building is protected from harmful elements and only necessary repairs are made to keep the integrity of the structure. That buildings be preserved was Morris's goal when he fought against restoration and organized the SPAB since, put simply, he thought that "restoration" was the same as destruction.

Ironically, the word "restoration" is sometimes mistakenly used to refer to the current practices of preservation and conservation. "Restoration" does and has, since the
nineteenth century, meant something much different. In Morris's day, “restoration” referred to the practice of destroying parts of a building or a whole building to rebuild it to resemble an architectural style that was frequently not the original style. This meant that many good quality structures were being altered or destroyed because they weren’t originally built in the preferred style of the day, the Gothic Revival style. “Restoration” currently means that a building or an area of a building is changed to resemble its original architectural style. Today’s restoration practices tend to be much more reasonable than in the nineteenth century as buildings are generally only modified when necessary to maintain the integrity of an area or when a building no longer can be preserved.

The remarkable impact that Morris and the SPAB have made against “restoration” and for the preservation of historic buildings and sites throughout Britain and the world has been under-appreciated because of limited historic research and analysis. This dissertation will begin to remedy this by adding to present Morris scholarship, by putting into historical context the goals and accomplishments of the SPAB, by illustrating the range of SPAB influence, and by showing specifically how preservation issues competed, and still compete, with restoration and development.

While the original ideas of Morris’s Manifesto still drive the SPAB, this dissertation also shows the methods of adaptation that the SPAB has used to keep up with contemporary issues and to revise its goals to accommodate its own success in changing architectural perceptions and practices. Fortunately today, the problems associated with the Gothic Revival are minimal. Still, many twentieth and twenty-first century forces have been worth SPAB involvement: the World Wars; destruction through pollution; ineffective legislative strategies; and the interests of economies over historic integrity.
For this reason, I will argue that the SPAB’s role has changed from a reactionary organization fighting the excesses of the Gothic Revival to an organization emphasizing education and advising expertise to correspond with its success in changing the public perception of historic sites and legislative reform.

The work of the SPAB can be introduced by examining the late twentieth century conservation of a small Welsh building in the town of Caernarfon. It was saved from destruction and preserved in its present state for future generations through the efforts of the SPAB. A short account of the SPAB’s campaign to save 6 Palace Street illustrates both their contemporary approach and the legacy of their founder. It will, I hope, explain why I have chosen to research the Society’s history, its spread, and its current program.

In the shadow of a thirteenth century Welsh castle known as Castle Caernarfon, is a small old section of a modern Welsh town named Caernarfon. This old section of town is set up like many “old towns” around the United States and Europe, reminiscent of times past with old buildings, tourist attractions, and the cultural peculiarities of the presiding country, nationality, and culture. This old section of Caernarfon is nearly as old as the castle and contains many notable examples of historic Welsh architecture, specifically a thriving antique shop at 6 Palace Street. This timber-framed town house is one of the older buildings in this section of Caernarfon and part of an UNESCO World Heritage Site.

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3 SPAB File for 6 Palace Street, Caernarfon, Caernarfonshire. The SPAB is an active society founded by William Morris in 1877, located in England at: 37 Spital Square, London E1 6DY. Tel: 071-377-1644. Minutes of the annual meetings and letters concerning specific sites are housed alphabetically in the archive.
This area in Caernarfon is thriving with historic associations due to its long, rich background. Between 48 and 79 A.D., Roman troops were making their mark in what we know today as northern Wales. By the end of the first century A.D., the Romans had formed a quadrilateral fortification of the Welsh border that included the northern and western corner, what we know today as Caernarfon, but named Segontium by the Roman dictatorship. By 170 A.D., there was evidence of a vicus at this location, which is a Roman term for a site where groups of indigenous people settle in order to monetarily benefit from a fortified area. Due to this vicus, Roman goods and ideology intermingled with early developments in Welsh culture and ideology. For several centuries, the two cultures merged and developed a practice of cohabitation and cross-cultural integration. By 300 A.D., the Roman domination of Britain was weakening and by 390 A.D., there was no evidence of Roman troops in Segontium. For centuries, the Welsh people developed uninterrupted by outside forces until the Britons began their quest for domination throughout the modern British Islands. More affected by the developments of cultures on the continent, the British had formulated a social and political dynamism that was a difficult match for the less sophisticated populations to the north and west. British forces dominated the areas of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales for the majority of the following centuries.

By the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), with his substantial castle building program, the Welsh people had learned to adapt to dominating forces while protecting their individuality. Edward invested over £60,000 in the establishment of castles at Caernarfon, Conway, Harlech, Cricieth, and Beaumaris. Caernarfon Castle, with its
octagonal towers and bands of lightly colored stone was a creation of noted architect James of St. George from Savoy.

Early in the fifteenth century, the Welsh uprising of Owain compromised British influence, which then limited British financial investments in the area. By 1420 British domination again prevailed and prosperity returned to Caernarfon along with active Welsh integration with the British. With cohabitation came a growing reconciliation between Welsh natives and the burgesses of the walled towns. The prosperity of homes and businesses around 1450 typify the influence of growing prosperity in the region. For example, the local church was rebuilt in the perpendicular style which emphasizes the Welsh inclusion into British and continental wealth and influence.

Caernarfon was a populous area in proportion to northern Wales and the inhabitants, while not as affluent as many in a larger city such as Cardiff, held their own as a local wealthy industrial class. The industry in Caernarfon was significant enough to provide for a wealthier section of town and its inhabitants. This adds to the evidence that Caernarfon was an economically and socially able community. Upper class housing, such as the townhouse at 6 Palace Street, typically had several rooms, more complex decorative and structural detailing, various examples of stonework and masonry, and multiple stories. These features added to a home’s and the occupant’s reputation.

From 1450 to the beginning of the sixteenth century, buildings like the one at 6 Palace Street were built in the “black and white” style made of local oak and plaster. Wealthier homes and public buildings often incorporated masonry and more sophisticated

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5 Lachlan.clara.co.uk (5/3/03), 2-5.
detailing. The “black and white” style of timber-framed house was the norm for more settled areas of Britain from about the twelfth century to the late sixteenth century. Early timber-framed homes were built of ‘cruck’ construction. Cruck construction incorporated a series of matched tree trunks connecting at a point for the roof and secured by additional beams going the length of the building. This type of construction was particularly popular in Wales and other heavily wooded areas of Britain due to the availability of larger trees.

By the 1550’s, while most Welsh spoke the Welsh language, many were fluent in English as well. Cromwell placed the Welsh administration in the hands of the Welsh gentry and both Wales as a region and the language became more tolerant of the English than the Irish or Scottish regions or language. Therefore, the wealthier areas of Wales were rewarded with more commerce and acceptance from the ruling forces of the British Islands. This accentuated the increase of wealth for many local Welsh merchants, specifically those inhabiting 6 Palace Street.

The timber-framed home at 6 Palace Street was modified throughout its existence. These modifications were considered historically relevant to the SPAB because they were natural, did not destroy the original integrity of the building, and were obviously made in the contemporary style rather than an imitation of an older style. The house was initially erected c.1400 with a third floor, a basement, gables, and masonry walls added in the sixteenth century. The builder of this site was wealthy and was likely a local merchant made affluent from commerce traffic from the Irish Sea through Caernarfon Bay. Construction continued in the beginning of the eighteenth century with the addition of a

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new front and the inclusion of the adjoining burgage plot. Through the following centuries, the late eighteenth century Welsh decay and then rejuvenation of culture, the growth of leftist politics and the economic gains of the nineteenth century, and, finally, the early twentieth century efforts towards modernization and economic diversity, 6 Palace Street continued as a domicile.

In 1960, The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire listed the site at 6 Palace Street, renamed Vaynol Arms, in fair condition. The description reads that 6 Palace Street has “a 16th-17th century gable end to the road with one original window opening” and in addition “contains a late 18th century door and ceiling cornice.” Between 1960 and 1985, the site remained in “fair” condition until the Arfon Borough Council expressed an interest in the location.

In 1985, 6 Palace Street became vacant, as the Arfon Borough Council wanted to purchase the site for business and tourist investments. By 1994, however, the Council had made no attempt to tend to this property. It was now badly in need of repair, so badly in fact, that the house was listed for demolition by the Council. It is amazing to consider that a site so vulnerable to centuries of development, economic, and political turmoil had managed to outlive numerous generations but now was exposed to

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7 A “burgage plot” is a parcel of land set aside to accommodate development through city planning. Plots are generally mapped out in the formulation of a new town or the development of a pre-existing village. In this case, when the adjoining burgage plot was obtained, the city street land ownership was doubled, increasing not only its overall size but adding to the valuable street front area.

8 SPAB File for 6 Palace Street, Caernarfon, Caernarfonshire.


10 Ibid.
inadequate legislation and an uncaring and ignorant managing authority. Unfortunately, the Council opted for demolition over repair as the cost of rebuilding was estimated at £110,000 versus the cost of repair, estimated at £120,000.\textsuperscript{11} This roused the attention of SAVE British Heritage and the organization began to fight for the survival of the site.\textsuperscript{12} SAVE quickly notified the SPAB and together the organizations began searching for donations while attempting to secure a buyer for the site. In late 1994, Matthew Slocombe of the SPAB wrote about the situation:

A significant problem with the planning system of England and Wales is the considerable differences that individual local authorities show in their interest in and consideration for historic buildings. While some councils exercise the greatest care, others seem to see such buildings as a major inconvenience. Sadly, the case of 6 Palace Street, Caernarfon has indicated to the Society that the local authority, Arfon Borough Council, falls into the latter category. In our view, there is every reason for the building to be valued and protected. Apart from being Grade II listed and within the Caernarfon designated World Heritage Site, it is one of the town’s very earliest domestic structures, with the oldest parts of late medieval timber framing.\textsuperscript{13}

On December 22, 1994, John Sell, the Chairman of the SPAB, wrote to The Times. In the letter, he stated that the Society wished to “stay the execution for a

\textsuperscript{11} SPAB File for 6 Palace Street, Caernarfon, Caernarfonshire. This file consists of the Arfon order for demolition, several letters written by SPAB caseworker Matthew Slocombe, a letter to The Times from SPAB Chairman John Sell, several extracts from the minutes of SPAB Committee Meetings between April 1994 to April 1995, correspondence between SAVE and SPAB, maps and diagrams, and a final report of site and description from 1997. I would like to thank Isla Campbell of the SPAB who corresponded with me on the 6 Palace Street Case and who was thoughtful enough to send me information from the SPAB File in London.

\textsuperscript{12} SAVE Britain’s Heritage is one of the most influential conservation groups in Britain beyond SPAB. It was created in 1975 by a group of journalists, historians, architects, and planners to campaign publicly for endangered historic buildings. SAVE places emphasis on the possibilities of alternative uses for historic buildings. The first SAVE report is in The Architect’s Journal 17, December 24, 1975.

medieval house in Caernarfon which faces imminent demolition."¹⁴ Throughout the letter, Sell protests the demolition of 6 Palace Street and he concludes by stating, "Two years ago we joined an international campaign protesting at the proposed demolition of medieval houses in the World Heritage Site of Lubeck in Germany. Little did we think that we would have to face a similar case at home."¹⁵ Besides this letter of opposition, the two organizations commissioned an engineer’s report that proved the site could be repaired, which led to an injunction to stop the demolition at the site. This injunction was acquired only a few days before the scheduled demolition on January 3, 1995.

This successful last minute stay of demolition shows how important it is for the SPAB to work quickly and be mindful of the events concerning historic sites. In March of 1995 Matthew Slocombe and Philip Venning of the SPAB submitted an application to form a Building Preservation Trust for 6 Palace Street from the Architectural Heritage Fund. The submission papers also outlined the purchase of the site from the Arfon Council to the new Trust.¹⁶ Several organizations aided the SPAB and SAVE in securing and conserving the site, including: a £77,000 loan from the AHF, a £3,500 grant from the AHF, a £45,000 grant from the CADW, a £55,000 grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund,¹⁷ and an additional £3,000 in local fundraising.¹⁸ By 1996, the most urgent

¹⁴ SPAB File for 6 Palace Street, Caernarfon, Caernarfonshire. This letter appeared in The Times on 22/12/94.
¹⁵ Ibid.
¹⁶ SPAB File for 6 Palace Street. From the minutes of the Committee Meeting of the SPAB from Tuesday March 7, 1995.
¹⁷ AHF is The Architectural Heritage Fund, a British national charity established to assist building preservation organizations with information and funding; CADW, a Welsh word meaning “to keep,” is part of the National Assembly for Wales and protects and conserves the built heritage of Wales; the Heritage Lottery Fund safeguards the heritage of Great Britain using proceeds from The National Lottery.
structural repairs were completed and in April of 1997, the site was made available for
sale to the public, once the exterior repairs were completed and preservation methods put
into place.19

Due to the efforts of the SPAB and SAVE, the late medieval home at 6 Palace
Street in Caernarfon is now a fully repaired and a functioning antique shop in the shadow
of Caernarfon Castle. It is difficult to comprehend how anyone could find it fitting to extinguish a piece of history without consideration of the involvement of the community, even the nation. Yet 6 Palace Street was saved. History won at the site where Segontium developed and Roman soldiers commingled with the early indigenous Welsh, where the seeds of the northern Welsh economy grew, and where generations of Welsh families saw the peace and turmoil of a burgeoning country and culture. By acting quickly and effectively, the SPAB and SAVE protected 6 Palace Street and preserved this Grade II UNESCO World Heritage Site.20

Future generations were what William Morris considered when he first founded
the SPAB in 1877. He believed that England’s architectural heritage was being threatened by the popularity of restoration trends that included the heavy use of faux medieval images and the seeming void of a dominant contemporary style. In his time, Morris saw numerous historic buildings compromised or even destroyed because the

18 SPAB File for 6 Palace Street. From the final 6 Palace Street SPAB report outlining the outcome of the efforts for the site.
19 Ibid.
20 According to the English Heritage Website (English-heritage.org.uk), British buildings are listed as Grade I (buildings of exceptional interest), Grade II (particularly important buildings of more than special interest), and Grade III (buildings with special interest worthy of preservation effort). By 2003, over 370,000 buildings are currently listed with 92% of them as Grade II. Grade I and II buildings are eligible for English Heritage grants for major repairs.
architects and designers of his time often felt that their interpretation of the past was more valuable than the artifacts of the actual past. That Morris was able to influence the people of his time is admirable. Even more, that the SPAB not only influenced the generations beyond Morris's own but also continues to be an active and formidable organization over a century after its formation testifies to Morris's forethought. The SPAB was the first preservation organization of its kind and spurred the development of similar organizations around the world. The success of the SPAB immortalizes Morris's commitment to the preservation of architectural integrity and to the preservation of a national and cultural heritage.

Morris envisioned a specific kind of preservation, one that allowed for the integrity of the past to merge with the present and future in building structures. Morris would have fought long and hard for the preservation of 6 Palace Street because its history was what Morris wanted to save. He believed that there was integrity, a heritage, almost a life to old buildings and sites, a life that stretched beyond the construction and shell of a building. It was this essence of workmanship and the connection to a peoples' historic and cultural development that could not possibly be duplicated, and what made his contemporaries' preoccupation with restoration such a farce. At an early SPAB meeting, Morris stated:

We of this Society at least know the beauty of the weathered and time-worn surface of ancient building, and have all of us felt the grief of seeing this surface disappear under the hands of a 'restorer;' but though we all feel this deeply enough, some of us perhaps may be puzzled to explain to the outside world the full value of this ancient surface. It is not merely that it is in itself picturesque and beautiful, though that is a great deal; neither is it only that there is a sentiment attaching to the very face which the original builders gave their work, but dimly conscious all the while of the many generations which should gaze on it; it is only a part of its value that the stones are felt to be, as Mr. Ruskin beautifully puts it, speaking of some historic French building, now probably changed into an
academic model of its real self, that they are felt to be “the very stone which the eyes of St. Louis saw lifted into their places.” That sentiment is much, but it is not all; nay, it is but a part of the especial value to which I wish to-day to call your attention, which value briefly is, that the untouched surface of ancient architecture bears witness to the development of man’s ideas, to the continuity of history.21

Morris realized that architecture needed to be adapted at some point: when a wall could no longer be preserved by proper maintenance, then perhaps it would need to be secured. But at that point, he believed that it should be secured by contemporary means in a contemporary style and done so minimally. Restorers of Morris’s time would instead typically knock down the wall and build a new one that they claimed looked ‘more’ like the walls of the original structure’s time than the one they had just destroyed. Then they would often embellish it with gothic styling, possibly not even reminiscent of the actual time of the original structure. Indeed, Morris felt that architecture was a dynamic entity, one that needed to adapt to changing influences, but he strongly objected to the type of restoration that was being practiced in his day. Preservation, according to Morris, is the maintenance of an artifact or building in its present, or natural, state. Preservationists realized they could not restore a building to its original condition. This would be like transferring the present to the past. A building that is hundreds of years old cannot have the same dynamic or the same meaning as when it was being constructed. Preservationists realized that buildings change and they appreciated the fact that buildings evolved over time as they were added to and modified. They wanted to preserve buildings in the state they had naturally arrived at over time by keeping them as untouched as possible but by protecting them from further decay. Restoration, on the

other hand, was a form of destruction falsely packaged as the reconstruction or representation of an original form. It was the practice of claiming to restore the appearance of the original building without regard for its original function or the kind of community and person that built it.22

Late Victorian "restoration" practices were a primarily motivator for Morris and the main reason for the founding of the SPAB. The original SPAB Manifesto, written by Morris in 1877, refers to restoration as "forgery" and criticizes the "civilized world of the nineteenth century" for "having no style of its own amidst its wide knowledge of the styles of other centuries."23 Morris criticizes architects for changing the fabric of historic buildings in the name of "Restoration," complaining that what they are actually doing is to "destroy something [a historic building] and to supply the gap by imagining what the earlier builders should or might have done," resulting in what Morris refers to as a "feeble and lifeless forgery."24 Morris continues his Manifesto by calling upon architects to "put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof," pointing out that historic buildings are "monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying."25 Morris concludes that only if his Manifesto is adhered to "can we protect our ancient buildings, and hand them down instructive and venerable to those who come after us."26

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
Morris saw the abuses of “restoration” as an affront to art. He thought very highly of architecture’s relationship to art, saying “architecture would lead us to all the arts.” 27 To Morris, the restoration of a building was no better than defacing a famous painting. He explained that it was well worth the trouble or inconvenience to take proper care of a historic building because of its artistic and social values.

Surely if it be worth while troubling ourselves about the works of art of today, of which any amount almost can be done, since we are yet alive, it is worth while spending a little care, forethought, and money in preserving the art of bygone ages, of which so little is left, and of which we can never have any more, whatever goodhap the world may attain to. No man who consents to the destruction or the mutilation of an ancient building has any right to pretend that he cares about art; or has any excuse to plead in defense of his crime against civilization and progress, save sheer brutal ignorance. 28

The first incident that incited Morris to action was the set of alterations taking place at the Burford parish church in Oxfordshire, England. In the summer of 1876, Morris first noticed the church restoration project. After seeing further changes to the church that September, Morris wrote a letter urging the formation of an organization that could put a stop to what he considered the destruction of ancient architecture. 29 Although the existence of this letter is only mentioned in the notes of May Morris and the letter itself has not survived, it seems likely given Morris’s interests the following year. 30 The second incident that spurred Morris into action was the planned restoration efforts on the Abbey Church at Tewkesbury. His protest against this restoration came in the form of a

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28 Ibid.
30 Morris had two daughters, May and Jenny Morris, with whom he had regular correspondence.
letter drafted on March 5, 1877, where Morris explained what should be the goals of his proposed society. This letter was printed in *The Athenaeum* on March 10, 1877.

My eye just now caught the word ‘restoration’ in the morning paper, and, on looking closer, I saw that this time it is nothing less than the Minster of Tewkesbury that is to be destroyed by Sir Gilbert Scott. What I wish for, therefore, is that an association should be set on foot to keep a watch on old monuments, to protest against all ‘restoration’ that means more than keeping out wind and weather, and, by all means, literary and other, to awaken a feeling that our ancient monuments are not mere ecclesiastical toys, but sacred monuments of the nation’s growth and hope.\(^{31}\)

Later the same month, Morris himself organized The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, which was formally constituted at a meeting on March 22, 1877. Ten men attended the first meeting, including Philip Webb and George Wardle, two men with whom Morris corresponded regularly. Philip Webb, Morris’s friend from G. B. Street’s architectural firm, was a member of Morris and Co. and George Wardle was the firm manager. The participants at this meeting elected William Morris temporary Secretary and Treasurer.\(^{32}\)

During this same time, when he began to very actively write and lecture in behalf of the SPAB, Morris started a series of lectures with the purpose of bringing his views on art to area workers. In one of these lectures, entitled *The Lesser Arts*, delivered in December of 1877, Morris further explained his views on restoration.

...these old buildings have been altered and added to century after century, often beautifully, always historically; their very value, a great part of it, lay in that... But of late years a great uprising of ecclesiastical zeal, coinciding with a great

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\(^{31}\) William Morris, *The Athenaeum* (London), 10 March 1877, 326. This letter, written by William Morris to the editor of *The Athenaeum*, is the first surviving document concerning the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Written 5 March 1877 at 26, Queen Square.

increase of study, and consequently of knowledge of medieval architecture, has
driven people into spending their money on these buildings, not merely with the
purpose of repairing them, of keeping them safe, clean and wind and weather-
tight but also of ‘restoring’ them to some ideal state of perfection; sweeping away
if possible all signs of what had befallen them.33

One of Morris’s colleagues in the SPAB, W.R. Lethaby, summed up eloquently not only
the Society’s views on restoration but also illustrated the futility of the restorationists’
aims:

It is impossible to give any notion of the violence and stupidities which were done
in the name of ‘restoration.’ The crude idea seems to have been born of the root
absurdity that art was shape and not substance; our ancient buildings were
appearances of what was called ‘style.’ When the architect had learned what his
textbooks taught of the styles he could then provide thirteenth- or fourteenth-
century ‘features’ at pleasure, and even correct the authentic old ones. At
Canterbury a wonderful twelfth-century tower was destroyed to put in its place a
nineteenth-century ‘fifteenth-century’ erection.34

In 1877, William Morris wrote, again on behalf of the SPAB, to The Times about
the proposed restoration of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral. In this letter, Morris states
that “our ancient historical monuments are national property and ought no longer to be
left to the mercy of the many and variable ideas of ecclesiastical propriety that may at any
time be prevalent among us.”35 Over a century later, John Sell wrote to The Times in
1994, on behalf on the SPAB, complaining about the imminent demolition of 6 Palace
Street, saying that “this society and many others objected to the original listed building

33 William Morris, Hopes and Fears for Art (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903),
25. An excerpt from the lecture ‘The Lesser Arts,” delivered on December 4, 1877.
“The Art of the People,” “The Beauty Of Life,” “Making the Best of It,” and “The
Prospects of Architecture in Civilization” are the other lectures collected in this volume.
34 E.P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (New York: Pantheon
application for demolition, but our views have been ignored.”

From 1877 to the present, the SPAB has not only enlisted the help of concerned readers from *The Times* and various other publications but has also visited sites, written to concerned parties, secured funding and advertising for their causes, and attempted to teach suitable methods of preservation.

Education is a main concern of the SPAB today. Not only does the SPAB provide numerous classes and conferences dedicated to appropriate preservation practices, but also continue to promote the acknowledgement of ancient sites as historic memories left in our charge for the future. This does not mean that the SPAB has not had to fight some very difficult battles: certainly, the case of 6 Palace Street provides some proof that much must still be done to influence change in the perspectives of certain regional and local organizations, such as those of the Arfon Borough Council. But, in general, the SPAB has been successful enough in its shifting of attitude from blatant restoration destruction to ambitions directed towards the preservation of historic sites.

A main objective of this dissertation is to add new knowledge to traditional Morris scholarship, specifically to the limited discourse presently available involving the SPAB and its conservation practices. Morris scholarship has centered on his other accomplishments. Morris may be best remembered as a tapestry and furniture designer, a writer, a designer and printer of books, and as a dedicated Socialist. Yet he also dedicated years towards preserving historic buildings. In fact, for the last nineteen years of his life, Morris tirelessly advocated historic site preservation. For the past century, however, Morris’s involvement with historic preservation has been secondary in academic scholarship. Morris was thoroughly competent in interior design, tapestry

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36 SPAB File for 6 Palace Street, Caernarfon, Caernarfonshire. This letter appeared in *The Times* on December 22, 1994.
work, book production and design, and writing. It is not odd that scholarship should
dwell on these more apparent aspects of his career but it is interesting to consider the
merging of Morris’s talents and philosophy that is inherent in the founding and
proliferation of the SPAB.

In the past decade, there has been an increase in the number of scholars that have
acknowledged the importance of Morris’s historic preservation career. Although in the
range of Morris studies historic preservation still does not fall in the forefront of scholarly
issues, it has begun to receive a higher level of academic attention. In the same vein, one
can find references to SPAB history in Morris research more and more frequently.
Considering the impact that historic preservation had on the last twenty years of Morris’s
life, this is definitely a positive development.

An aspect of SPAB history even less studied than others is that of the SPAB’s and
Morris’s interests abroad. Few scholars have really looked into Morris’s interests beyond
Great Britain, and *The William Morris Society Journal* has only addressed a few of
Morris’s international interests. This dissertation will add more information on the
SPAB’s international involvement, particularly by comparing late nineteenth century
British preservation to the contemporaneous preservation and restoration habits of France
and Germany. When one considers Morris’s interests in Icelandic history and literature
and his ability to translate isolated cultural instances from one culture, or one ideology, to
another, it is especially relevant to address the SPAB beyond the British Isles. Even in
Morris’s work with the SPAB, he was determined that his ideas of historic preservation
made an impact outside Great Britain. In November 1879, Morris wrote to *The Times*
about St. Marks in Venice, and the general welfare of ancient Italian architecture:
Our Society is most anxious to deny that there is any foundation for what they [the Italian press] regard as a charge against them of injustice and prejudice; it begs to assure you that its utterances, whether of its members as individuals, or in its collective form do not fairly bear any such constructions. The Society is well aware that the Italians can be charged with no greater errors in this matter than any other nation which is the inheritor of an ancient civilization. Those errors, being errors of principle and not of accident only the Society was founded to combat, in England first, but thence, if possible throughout the world.\(^{37}\)

Morris’s previous letter, sent to several Italian newspapers, was written when Morris learned that the Italian government planned to restore the damaged west basilica of the cathedral, and outlined a campaign to save St. Marks from restoration. Temporarily halted by concerned public inquiries, the restoration eventually continued according to initial plans. In an 1882 letter to the editor of *The Times*, Morris wrote on behalf of the SPAB attacking the restoration efforts of Italy with a vengeance:

> In Pavia the early Lombardic Church of St. Pietro in Ciel d’Oro is being rebuilt and its western façade replaced by a new one of different design. The fine terracotta mosaic pavement in the transepts of the Church of the Certosa, near Pavia, has been destroyed for the sake of putting a new one of marble. The rich and elaborate terra-cotta ornaments of the façade have been painted over with thick red pigment, which has destroyed the sharpness of the delicate relief and a general white washing over the walls of the cloisters and cells of the monastery has obliterated all the remains of the old fresco decoration. These are a few examples of the manner in which the modern Italians are treating their priceless relics of art.\(^{38}\)

Morris was heartbroken to admit to failures when it came to historic sites. For him, it was more than a victory of government or the wealthy over the common people. It was a matter of his present society not fulfilling a basic responsibility to help preserve the past.

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\(^{37}\) Kelvin, *The Collected Letters of William Morris, Volume 1, 1848-1880*, 544. This is a response to criticism that Morris’s reproach of the Italian disregard to ancient architecture was, in some way, biased against Italians rather than restorers in general. This particular letter was penned from 9 Buckingham St. Stand, London on November 27, 1879.

for the future. Still, Morris never submitted to failure, indecision, or ignorance. Although the attempts to save St. Marks proved unsuccessful, the SPAB did manage to save a great many monuments both at home and abroad.

That Morris wanted to save an ancient heritage speaks truly of his character. His goal was hardly a nationalistic or selfish quest. He wanted to preserve the past for everyone. He felt that so little of the past could be found in our everyday existence and that the greatest keepers of our heritage were in the materials of our past existence. These could be found in old books, artifacts, stories, and most concretely, our buildings. Today the SPAB continues to pursue many of the same goals as the SPAB of 1877. This is not only obvious in the manner in which the SPAB dealt with 6 Palace Street but in the general attitude of the Society.

With the goal in mind of adding a new dimension to Morris scholarship, it is important to acknowledge that much has been done to reference Morris in many disciplines and that his work concerning building restoration is only part of his vast impact on modern humanities. The relevance of historic preservation to Morris and the SPAB is the idea that each building has a life and that this life should remain true to the original intent, to the intent of its builders and designers, and to the intent of the civilization which created it, that very moment in history which that building represents. This is the integrity that William Morris sought to save and preserve for the generations of humanity that would come after him.

This dissertation provides a very specific addition to the vast amounts of research and writing available on both Morris and historic preservation while adding much more to the limited works readily available concerning the SPAB. The next chapter outlines
what is available and relevant to these topics in relation to architectural historic preservation. The evaluation of current works should point to the relevance of current Morris, architectural, historical, and conservationist research while highlighting a void connecting Morris to the SPAB and architectural preservation.
CHAPTER TWO:

REVIEW OF LITERATURE CONCERNING PRESERVATION, THE SPAB, WILLIAM MORRIS, AND INFLUENCES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

One of the goals in this dissertation is to add a new dimension to Morris scholarship. Publications concerning Morris and topics involving art and design, literature, socialism, politics, and medievalism are readily available.¹ Morris's work in building restoration is only part of his impact on modern humanities but has often not been acknowledged in scholarship. Therefore, this review of literature will include a variety of texts and materials that are specific to Morris's interests in historic preservation and the SPAB's work and history. This includes texts and materials that emphasize historical preservation and restoration, specific architectural histories and individuals, and relevant scholarship regarding late Victorian England and its intellectual and social environment. Further mention will be made of the methodology concerning Morris studies and historical preservation.

Another important aspect of this dissertation is to consider the SPAB's impact upon historical studies. There are few publications that specifically discuss the SPAB. Some of the best publications concerning the SPAB are Morris resources. Before looking into these resources, I will first consider what is available specifically concerning the SPAB.

At present there is no single published book-length volume dedicated to the SPAB, although there is an edited volume in the works by Chris Miele that may be published in the future.² Miele did publish an edited volume of William Morris’s collected writings concerning architecture in 1996.³ Charles Dellheim’s *The Face of the Past: The Preservation of the Medieval Inheritance in Victorian England* does discuss the SPAB, although it encompasses a small segment of the book.⁴ Other publications are in the form of SPAB booklets and journal articles. Some of these SPAB booklets, such as Thackeray Turner’s *Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings: A Chapter of its Early History⁵* and William Morris’s *Concerning Westminster Abbey,⁶* can be found in some libraries in the United States. These booklets are small, informal publications that are challenging to locate without the use of interlibrary loans. Journal articles, such as Northrop Frye’s “The Meeting of Past and Future in William Morris,”⁷ and Bob Hayes and Sarah Staniforth’s “Keep the Old Piles Standing,”⁸ are scattered in a variety of periodicals and journals in both the United States and the United Kingdom.

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² Chris Miele of Alan Baxter & Associates (a London engineering firm dealing with urban design, civil and structural design, and conservation) has been involved with modern conservation issues in England and actively presents papers, writes, and works for improvements in conservation. Miele initiated an edited volume concerning the SPAB in 1996. No publication date has been determined.
The best information on the SPAB lies in unpublished sources, primarily those available at the SPAB itself. The SPAB building in London contains the archive, a library, a meeting hall, offices, and business services. The archive holds booklets and papers printed by the SPAB and many printed from small local publishing houses. These booklets and pamphlets emphasize the SPAB's activities and history as well as advise about preservation techniques. The archive also holds SPAB files on every campaign worked on from 1877 to the present, including maps, original letters, and documents specific to each case. This entails hundreds of case files that are stored alphabetically on the lower floor of the SPAB building. In addition, the entire collection of SPAB annual reports from 1877 to the present is available in bound form. The SPAB archive is the only source for these reports. Copies were made available to the British Library before World War II but were destroyed along with a large segment of the Library's holdings.

The top floor of the SPAB building serves as a meeting hall and library, where various published books on British regional architectural history are available for reference. This library also holds miscellaneous books, pamphlets, and booklets, many unpublished, on various relevant topics along with copies of business and legal papers. When not in use for activities, the meeting hall serves as a study area, primarily for researching specific cases.

The SPAB archive provides much of the material used in the following chapters. Research involving annual reports, business and legal papers, some booklets and

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9 The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 37 Spital Square, London, UK, E1 6DY. Phone (in the UK): 020 7377 1644. Fax (in the UK): 020 7247 5296. Email: info@spab.org.uk. The SPAB archivist, Cecily Greenhill, the SPAB secretaries, Isla Campbell and Helen Jones, and the technical secretary, Douglas Kent, were helpful in person and through correspondence.
pamphlets, and files on specific cases in this dissertation are primarily from the SPAB archive and library. Information was also found at specific sites and outside sources relevant to these sites. Some of the research involving the SPAB and specific campaigns come from the SPAB website, which keeps current an account of new campaigns, events, and education in England and elsewhere. The website is useful for SPAB activities occurring in recent years or for information concerning future events. For the vast majority of SPAB cases and history, there are very few published works available, making it necessary to approach SPAB studies from Morris scholarship.

Morris scholarship is diverse and often specialized due to the wide variety of his interests and activities. One can find journal articles on Morris-related history, literature, arts and crafts, socialism, design, architecture, business, bookmaking, printmaking, and furniture building. Publications on Morris's political views may emphasize different events, and use a different methodology, than publications on his literary or craft achievements. It is therefore difficult to identify a simple set of trends in Morris research. However, it is noticeable that in the decades after Morris's death, memoirs and collections of letters and documents were more common. Later, biographies and social histories explained Morris's Victorian contexts. In recent years scholars have probed specific themes in Morris's life, such as his literary works or his business acumen.

Biographies provide the most obvious source of information concerning Morris. Morris's first biographer was John William Mackail (1859-1945). His publication, *The Life of William Morris, Volume One and Two* was written originally in 1899 and
reprinted in 1912. This biography is filled with excerpts of Morris’s letters, diary entries, and examples of his literature along with a narrative that ties the events of his life together. The SPAB is mentioned, albeit not very often, and in an interesting light. Mackail speaks of the SPAB as having “a long, a quiet, and not a useless life; and has, directly or indirectly, saved many remnants of the native art of England from destruction.”

Mackail adds:

The destruction of ancient buildings which, throughout the whole of Morris’s life, he had seen going on almost unchecked, whether from mere careless barbarism or under the more specious and ruinous pretext of restoration, had been a thing against which it seemed hopeless for any one to fight. It had hitherto been attacked only in isolated instances, by individuals, without any clear statement of principle or any certainty of continuous action. It could only be combated with any hope of success through some permanent and organized body, to whose representations some attention would have to be paid, and who would have time and money to spend on their work.

Mackail continues with some specific SPAB campaigns, including excerpts from some of Morris’s relevant correspondence, but he quickly moves on to Morris’s many other interests.

Some of Morris’s interests are de-emphasized in Mackail’s work. His attention to Morris’s socialism is minimal, likely because Mackail was not sympathetic to it. A recent Morris biographer, Fiona MacCarthy, mentions what she terms a “conspiracy of memory” in reference to Mackail, pointing out that Mackail was writing to honor Morris

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11 Ibid., 349.
12 Ibid., 350.
in the years shortly after his death and seemed to avoid controversial issues. 14 Much of Morris’s private life was de-emphasized in Mackail’s biography, partially because many of those relevant were still living, making information sensitive. Further, in relation to Jane Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, many letters dealing with their affair were not made available until 1964. Still, Mackail’s biography is an important contribution to Morris studies since he spoke to those who knew Morris and wrote in Morris’s milieu. This made Mackail sensitive to Morris’s environment and gave to future generations a view of Morris that would have been difficult for most biographers to attain.

Although little was written about Morris in the early twentieth century, there was in increase in interest after 1934, the centenary of Morris’s birth. The William Morris Society, founded in 1955, also did much to help elicit Morris scholarship, as did the centenary of Morris’s death in 1996. Biographies that emphasize aspects of Morris’s work and life, combined with the many specific studies available today, make it easier than ever to get a clearer picture of whom Morris was. Many biographies are helpful in understanding Morris, even while they may lack in discussions of the SPAB. Examples include Lloyd Wendall Eshleman’s *Victorian Rebel: The Life of William Morris*, 15 Jack Lindsay’s *William Morris: His Life and Work*, 16 Peter Faulkner’s *Against the Age: An

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There are also works dedicated to Morris’s literature, businesses, and politics. These further aid in understanding Morris’s drive, character, intelligence, and beliefs. Examples of these are Roderick Marshall’s William Morris and his Earthly Paradises, James Buzard’s article “Ethnography as Interruption: News from Nowhere, Narrative, and the Modern Romance of Authority,” Charles Harvey and Jon Press’s Art, Enterprise, and Ethics: The Life and Works of William Morris, and Florence Boos and Carole Silver’s Socialism and the Literary Artistry of William Morris.

Morris’s letters also provide valuable insight into his thoughts and motivations. Of primary importance is Norman Kelvin, who edited the most thorough collection currently available, entitled The Collected Letters of William Morris. This three-volume set of Morris’s personal and public correspondence comprises about 2,400 letters of which about 1,500 had not been previously published. Also relevant is May Morris,

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17 Peter Faulkner, Against the Age: An Introduction to William Morris (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1980).
23 Kelvin, Collected Letters, xi. and xiv.
one of Morris’s daughters, who edited about 685 of his letters and works of literature in *The Collected Works of William Morris*.\(^{25}\)

Making great strides in Morris scholarship is *The William Morris Society*, an organization dedicated to Morris and his work.\(^{26}\) This organization provides information about Morris, organizes worldwide events concerning Morris, and publishes book reviews regarding Morris scholarship. The Society publishes a scholarly journal, *The William Morris Society Journal*, which includes articles dealing with many aspects of Morris’s life and work. This journal generally has the most recent published research about Morris, however the SPAB is not often mentioned.

Another group of Morris studies centered on biographies and social histories that clarified Morris’s Victorian environment. While dealing with the full scope of Morris’s work and life, these scholars also generally include Morris’s work with the SPAB. They tend to acknowledge Morris’s interest in architectural preservation, not by discussing the SPAB merely in passing, but by analyzing the impact the SPAB had on Morris’s life and by relating the organization to Morris’s other interests. One of these biographers is Edward Palmer Thompson, whose biography, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, was originally published in 1955.\(^{27}\) Thompson’s work provides some of the best insight on Morris from the mid-twentieth century, emphasizing his political and

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\(^{26}\) The William Morris Society, Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, Hammersmith, London, UK W6 9TA. Phone (in the UK): 020 8741 3735. Fax (in the UK): 020 8748 5207. Website: http://www.morrissociety.org/ Email: uk@morrissociety.org. In addition, there is a Canadian and a United States chapter of the Society: William Morris Society of Canada (Email: Canada@morrissociety.org) and William Morris Society in the United States (us_news@morrissociety.org).

social involvements while effectively considering the wide variety of Morris's interests. He discusses Morris's interests in historic preservation in a chapter entitled "Anti-Scrape." "Anti-Scrape" was an epithet for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings which stemmed from the nineteenth century restorers' practice of scraping the stucco off old buildings. Thackeray Turner explained the nickname in a report on the Society's history.

...invented theories were frightfully mischievous when applied to realities. One of the most loudly proclaimed was the assertion that plaster and whitewash were unknown before 'church-warden days,' the truth being that ancient buildings from the earliest times have been finished with the stucco of plaster, which was invariably whitened. Regardless of this easily ascertained fact, the restorers hacked off the plaster from rubble walls, and pointed to rude masonry with raised joints.28

In this primarily thematic, partially chronological text, Thompson mentions an early inspiration for Morris's formation of the SPAB. Morris had an obvious interest in architecture in that early in 1856, he had worked for George Edmund Street. Street headed an architectural firm that was noted for its successes with ecclesiastic buildings. According to Thompson, this experience had set Morris against "the excesses of restoration."29 Discussing the formation of the SPAB and some of the society's campaigns, he makes an interesting comment on Morris's involvement and the early success of the SPAB.

Tact was never Morris's strong point, whether in international or parochial affairs. Perhaps that was one of the main reasons for the success the Society achieved. If his thundering letters sometimes only made his opponents stand on their dignity and refuse to alter their plans, they at least had the effect of making the next lot of restorers a great deal more wary for fear that the same outspoken public wrath

29 Thompson, William Morris, 226.
would fall upon them. The guardians of old property began to consult the Anti-Scrape rather than the fashionable architects before forming their plans, especially when it became known that a group of highly skilled architects would give their free advice on behalf of the Society.\textsuperscript{30}

The strength of Thompson's chapter is in his discussions of Morris's theories of medievalism, his concerns for the future, and his views on socialism. According to Thompson, Morris thought that the importance of old buildings was that they embodied the "aspirations of past generations of men" and they were a "living inspiration and warning to the present, a proof of qualities in man which – however suppressed and slumbering – could not be extinguished for ever."\textsuperscript{31} Thompson also quotes Morris from "The History of Pattern-Designing," that ancient architecture:

\begin{quote}
...bears witness to the development of man's ideas, to the continuity of history, and, so doing, affords never-ceasing instruction, nay education, to the passing generations, not only telling us what were the aspirations of men passed away, but also what he may hope for in the time to come.\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

Thompson's biography is the earliest general biography to thoroughly discuss Morris's interests in architecture. He does so primarily by leaning towards the ideological and political Morris and including these characteristics in aspects of Morris's endeavors. His writing is made even more interesting by the sheer number of quotes from Morris's lectures and correspondences, which lends a greater feel to the actuality of the past.

Another exceptional biography, published in 1995, is Fiona MacCarthy's \textit{William

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{30} Thompson, \textit{William Morris}, 229.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 235.
\end{footnotes}
Morris: A Life for our Time. Like Thompson, MacCarthy analyzes Morris from a thorough perspective integrating Morris the man, with Morris the political, social, and artistic figure. While Thompson’s structure is primarily thematic, MacCarthy’s is more chronological. She opens with Morris’s childhood and marks each following chapter by when and where Morris lived or traveled. These chapters include his university years at Oxford, his travels to Iceland, France, and Norway, the years at Red House, where Morris and his new wife Jane Burden first resided, the years at Kelmscott House, where Morris did so much of his design work, and the years at Hammersmith, where Morris was so politically outspoken. Morris’s life was filled with such a variety of interests and activities that a chronologically formulated biography is quite suitable. Throughout his life, Morris’s interest in architecture was exhibited through his other interests and MacCarthy pays tribute to this.

MacCarthy specifically discusses the SPAB in a relatively limited way with fifteen pages out of a 681-page biography dedicated to the organization. However, she does meaningfully integrate these discussions with Morris’s life and interests. In her discussion of the founding of the SPAB, MacCarthy points out how the Society’s manifesto draws from Morris’s architectural interests:

As he draws up the manifesto you can see Morris’s own architectural history come surging through it. The queer half-hidden Essex churches of his childhood; Canterbury Cathedral; Ely; Peterborough, Litchfield; the simple little grey stone village churches around Kelmscott. Morris’s best-loved churches were the buildings which, for the past two decades, had been increasingly at risk from the drastic restoration programmes unleashed by the ecclesiologist reformers. Churches not conforming to their architectural principles were in danger of alteration or even demolition. Morris was all too aware of how the east end of Christ Church Cathedral had been demolished and rebuilt by George Gilbert Scott.

in the Norman style. It was such emanations of architectural highhandedness that the SPAB set itself to combat.\textsuperscript{34}

While Morris was working diligently on SPAB activities he also continued to work hard on his other interests, such as his firm, designing, writing, giving lectures, and involvement in politics. MacCarthy discusses all these aspects and integrates them into a narrative that is saturated with the wide variety of Morris’s activities and writings. Overall, MacCarthy’s observations regarding Morris and his ideals are balanced and well presented.

Another text that blends a variety of themes is Linda Parry’s edited work entitled \textit{William Morris}.\textsuperscript{35} Like much Morris scholarship from the late twentieth century, this collection focuses on specific interests. For example, Chris Miele’s chapter, “The Conservationist,” discusses Morris’s interests in preservation and the SPAB. Other chapters include information on Morris and his interests in design, in business, in politics, in painting, in church and domestic interiors, and in calligraphy and bookmaking. While Miele’s chapter is an excellent contribution to Morris and his work through the SPAB, the book in general hardly delves into the SPAB and preservation issues.

Another way to understand Morris and his interests in architecture and activities with the SPAB is to move away from general biographies and into more specialized texts. This also allows us to see Morris’s views from a different perspective, one of the historian, architect, or conservationist. A particularly notable text is Charles Dellheim’s \textit{The Face of the Past: The Preservation of the Medieval Inheritance in Victorian}

\textsuperscript{34} MacCarthy, \textit{William Morris}, 377.
This text examines nineteenth century English interests that longingly looked back to pre-Industrial England and how this influenced historic preservation and restoration in both architecture and archaeology. Throughout the book, Dellheim discusses “progress” in terms of the nineteenth century and how the English dealt with that progress by not only holding onto an ideal of the past but also by realizing future implications of their nineteenth century actions. One of the main issues for Victorian England was how to allow for the needs of industrialization and still preserve historic integrity. Dellheim illustrates his ideas through specific sites, such as the York city churches and Manchester. Most relevant about Dellheim’s work in respect to this dissertation is his discussion of “restoration” and preservation. He contrasts the differences between restoration and preservation and claims that whereas restoration was more popular in the early part of the century, during the second half of the century, its popularity waned, to give way to a greater interest in preservation.

Dellheim’s third chapter, entitled “The Preservation of the Past,” is dedicated to the transformation from restoration to preservation in Victorian England. William Morris is mentioned over a dozen times and the SPAB is discussed throughout this chapter. While Dellheim doesn’t wholly credit the SPAB for this shift from restoration to preservation, he does acknowledge their importance in bringing the problems of restoration to the public eye.

Dellheim then discusses the excessive nature of Gothic restoration and what was done to temper it. He claims that the “full-scale revolt against restoration did not begin

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37 Ibid., 81-92.
38 Ibid.
until the 1870's. There were some who spoke out against restoration, such as John Ruskin and George Gilbert Scott, but it was William Morris and the founders of the SPAB who actively pursued its elimination. A well-stated explanation of the SPAB opinion of restoration and the mentality that drove it comes from the Liberal politician and historian, James Bryce:

Whatever part of Europe one goes to—because it is true of almost every part of Europe—is the theatre of the process of pulling down the old and erecting the new in its place. The rapid development of the means of communication, the enormous increase of wealth...and the mere ambition of persons to signalize themselves by great works, makes this the greatest building age the world has ever seen, greater perhaps than even the 12th and 13th centuries. The result is to extinguish everywhere the traces of the past. We seem as we drift down the stream of time, to go on with an ever-accelerating movement, and to see the ancient features of the landscape amongst which our ancestors lived receding faster and faster.

According to Dellheim, William Morris founded the SPAB to "save the Victorian inheritance from further harm." He points out what many researchers have observed and what Morris has himself alluded to in his speeches and letters, that the importance of saving the integrity of a historic site was more than saving that single building; it meant saving that bit of history for all the ages that would follow. In this view, ancient buildings were "collective symbols." Morris felt morally bound to fight ceaselessly for these historic sites as he thought that they were more than a single man's dream but a nation's, even a generation's, duty to preserve the integrity of the past for those of the future.

39 Dellheim, The Face of the Past, 84.
40 Ibid. Quoted in Dellheim. Original excerpt from the SPAB report of 1882.
41 Ibid., 85.
42 Ibid., 88.
Finally, Dellheim points out that Morris and the SPAB were especially eager to insure the integrity of historic buildings because these sites “beautified an increasingly ugly, graceless world.” With the rise of industrialization and urbanization, Morris felt that the world would become less and less appealing and satisfying. He felt that craftsmanship could remedy this by enabling people to create and then live amongst attractive items. According to Dellheim, Morris’s appeal to aesthetics in life encouraged him to save historic buildings, which:

...were monuments of a civilization based on craftsmanship and cooperation rather than mass production and competition; as such, they symbolized an alternative style of life. Morris hoped that historic preservation would revivify the aesthetic instinct in ordinary people and provide aesthetic exemplars for artists. For him, ancient buildings were symbols of the ‘triumphs and tribulations;’ as well as of the continuity of art. They were particularly relevant to the artists, architects, and decorators of the Queen Anne movement because their fabrics, which embodied the life and art of succeeding generations, demonstrated the aesthetic possibilities of eclecticism. It was, therefore, imperative to preserve the art of the past in all its richness in order to create the art of the future.43

Other perspectives on Morris and the SPAB are provided by social histories of England. These show that there was a corresponding relationship between Morris’s ideals, the founding of the SPAB, and the atmosphere of thought and events present in late nineteenth century England. One interesting perspective is that of Martin J. Wiener’s *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*, 44 which examines the idea that the Victorians might have been striving to confront a perceived threat of industrialization. While this book moves well out of Morris’s time, it begins at a time when he was actively formulating his interests. Further, it is also interesting to note that

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43 Dellheim, *The Face of the Past*, 89.
Morris’s ideals not only live on in the constitution and the hearts of the twentieth century members of the SPAB but that this mentality is evident in society in general.

Wiener’s main argument is that the English have never been at ease with their success with industrialization. Although England was the first European country to industrialize, Wiener contends that industrialization and, more importantly, how industrialization was changing the country, was an issue with the Victorians. Wiener points out that the Great Exhibition of 1851, even as it heralded English ability in design and technology with many English entries winning medals, was actually indicative of an undercurrent of displeasure in the industrial direction the country was moving:

…the generation of the Great Exhibition was to mark an end and not a beginning. It would see the high-water mark of educated opinion’s enthusiasm for industrial capitalism. Planted within the Great Exhibition itself was a core of cultural opposition, represented by Augustus Pugin’s Medieval Court. A sharper contrast could hardly be imagined than that between Pugin’s Gothic furnishings and their iron-and-glass enclosure; yet they too were an expression of the period. Pugin thought the Crystal Palace a “glass monster,” the product of a soulless age. His fellow Gothicists, more polite, thought much the same: The Ecclesiologist, the journal of the influential Cambridge Camden Society, called it “engineering of the highest merit…but not architecture.”

Wiener mentions the SPAB in a chapter entitled, “Architecture: the Myth made Tangible.” Wiener points out that the Gothic Revival was a manifestation of the conservatism and aesthetic medievalism that permeated the second half of the nineteenth century in England. According to Wiener, “the Gothic Revival laid the groundwork, Pugin and the other fathers of the Gothic Revival were High Tories, and their movement was hostile to an industrial and capitalist society.” Further, they “made an appeal to the

45 Wiener, English Culture, 28-29.
46 Ibid., 31-32.
47 Ibid., 64.
Middle Ages, and rejected the contemporary world of the nineteenth century.\(^{48}\)

However, the Gothic style became so prevalent that it became an industry in itself and flourished quite well in the industrial and capitalist society of the later nineteenth century, much to the chagrin of loyal Gothicists.

Wiener also discusses the preservationist movement in this chapter, stating that preservationism meant "a primary commitment not to beauty but to age."\(^{49}\) He meant that preservation was seen by many, such as Morris, as a way to keep the integrity of any given building alive without trying to make it look like the popular style of the day. This seemed increasingly necessary as more and more buildings were being destroyed, or restored, to put up more and more Gothic Revival structures. Even some early enthusiasts grew concerned with the popularity of the Gothic Revival:

As new Gothic design became commercialized, and at the same time began to become boring, Gothic revivalists became uneasy about contemporary Gothic alterations to older structures. Even Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), the dean of restorers, began to warn against excessive restoration. In 1864 he lamented how 'a barbaric builder, a clerk of works, or an over-zealous clergyman' could get carried away and 'meddle' with everything in an ancient church, ending with 'the whole thing radically re-formed from top to tow...One perfectly longs after an untouched church.'\(^{50}\)

Scott said it was "high time that some public protest be made" and called for local vigilance committees that could guard against over restoration.\(^{51}\) Wiener points out that "ironically, it was to be his own scheme for the restoration of Tewkesbury Abbey thirteen

\(^{48}\) Wiener, *English Culture*, 64.

\(^{49}\) Ibid.

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 67.

\(^{51}\) Ibid. Quoted from Thompson's *Work of William Morris*, 57-58.
years later that provoked, in reaction, the creation of a national ‘vigilance committee’ that went well beyond his own conception.”

Another contribution to understanding the social environment of Morris’s time and the SPAB’s founding is *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth Century Society*, edited by Gordon Marsden. While each contribution to this book is an interesting perspective into nineteenth century England, two articles in particular are useful to the discussion of William Morris and the SPAB. The first article is entitled, “Pugin and the Medieval Dream,” written by Nigel Yates. Yates says that it is easy to “think of Britain in the Victorian era as a country in which the ‘forces of reform’ gradually persuaded the ‘forces of reaction’ to concede ‘moderate progress’ in the areas that mattered most: democracy, education, social conditions and the overall standard of living.” He also points out that “appeals to the past are a common theme in history,” that each century manifested these appeals in varied ways, and that within “Victorian society these appeals were much more serious and mainstream and had a direct impact not merely upon aesthetic values in architecture, art and literature, but on politics, religion, and social reform.”

Another essay in Marsden’s book is noteworthy in discussions of the Victorian climate of thought in a different way. “The Quest for Englishness,” written by Paul Rich, looks at the English search for identity. This essay is chronological from the mid-nineteenth century, historiographical in nature, and discusses imperialism, nationalism,

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52 Wiener, *English Culture*, 64.
54 Ibid., 60.
55 Ibid.
the pastoral ideal, medievalism, industrialization, and urbanization. In the beginning of
the essay, Rich contrasts the cultural history of Wiener and his notion that the English felt
uncomfortable with industrialization with the more traditional imperial histories written
about the second half of the nineteenth century. He states that the, “‘economic
backwardness’ school has sought to explain contemporary problems of British economic
decline by looking to the progressive failure of nineteenth-century capitalism in a society
which was the first to undergo an industrial revolution.” Rich points to English
literature as an example of the environment of criticism towards industrialization,
mentioning authors such as Charles Dickens, Edward Carpenter, and William Morris.
He continues by saying that the “moral reaction to Victorian industrialism was significant
for its identification with an English national ideal rooted in a mythic past.” According
to Rich, although the English problem with industrialization began in the nineteenth
century, the English continue to the present to cling to this idealization of the medieval
past: “the English pastoral ideal has proved to be both an enduring and somewhat
inscrutable quality of modern English culture.”

Karl Beckson’s *London in the 1890’s: A Cultural History* deals with cultural
issues, artists, and debates about women’s roles, urban decay, and problems with
modernization and progress. Although Morris is mentioned, this book is especially
valuable in understanding London itself and how the intellectual environment influenced
everything around it. Women’s roles in Victorian England also provide a glimpse into

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57 Ibid., 215.
58 Ibid., 224.
the social environment of the age as is evident in Rohan Maitzen’s article “‘This Feminine Preserve:’ Historical Biographies by Victorian Women”\textsuperscript{60} and Gertrude Himmelfarb’s \textit{Marriage and Morals Among the Victorians}.\textsuperscript{61} Asa Briggs’s \textit{Victorian Cities}\textsuperscript{62} examines the social history of London, but also Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Middlesbrough, and Melbourne. Like Beckson’s book, \textit{Victorian Cities} is helpful in that it relates Morris’s activities to the English social environment. A difference is that Briggs discusses each city throughout the nineteenth century as opposed to one decade.

Two additional texts that aptly describe the social environment of Morris’s time are Edward Palmer Thompson’s \textit{Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture}\textsuperscript{63} and Eric Hobsbawm’s \textit{The Age of Empire, 1875-1914}.\textsuperscript{64}

It is also beneficial to consider historical methodology in regards to the nineteenth century and the Victorian Era since historical analysis can impact the perspective of the times. Richard Price’s article, “Historiography, Narrative, and the Nineteenth Century,”\textsuperscript{65} reflects on changes in nineteenth century British history scholarship. According to Price, the traditional format was to illustrate the idea of “change” in the nineteenth century and how the “politics, economics, social relations, and culture presaged the world we know from our own times.”\textsuperscript{66} The notion of change has been

\textsuperscript{60} Rohan Maitzen, “‘This Feminine Preserve:’ Historical Biographies by Victorian Women,” \textit{Victorian Studies}, 38 (Spring, 1995), 371-394.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 220.
replaced by the idea of continuity, which is now the "basic organizing principle of the field." 67 Price's main concept is that many of the important themes of past British historical narratives - the Industrial Revolution, class structures, and political democratization - have become less pivotal events and more parts of a long evolution from past centuries to the twentieth century. 68

Christopher Kent's "Victorian Social History: Post-Thompson, Post-Foucault, Postmodern" 69 provides a re-evaluation of E.P. Thompson. In his opening paragraph, Kent states that narrative social history never was "more persuasive than in nineteenth-century British social history, and nobody told it better than E.P. Thompson." 70 Yet, he contends that Thompson's style of history temporarily became unpopular with the advent of Foucault, postmodernism, and the concept of the "end of history." Now, according to Kent, these trends in history have given way to a rebirth of narrative and thematic histories. 71 He contends that a trend such as postmodernism influences historical writing and analysis to a point but its real benefit is to stimulate new ideas. It is most important that, when trying to understand the people and events of the past, to consider many types of historical writing and analysis.

Architectural and preservationist history is often viewed from a public history perspective. In "Reflections on the History of Historic Preservation," Michael Wallace points out that, in American architecture, historical integrity was less important than the

68 Ibid., 220-223.
69 Christopher Kent, "Victorian Social History: Post-Thompson, Post-Foucault, Postmodern," Victorian Studies, 40 (Autumn, 1996), 97-133.
70 Ibid., 97.
71 Ibid., 97-100.
benefits of economic gain until the last decades of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{72} Although he deals with primarily the American view of preservation, Wallace notes the same growing respect for historic structures as in England with Morris's SPAB. James Marston Fitch echoes the SPAB critique in \textit{Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World}:\textsuperscript{73}

Until recently, the terms "preservation" and "restoration" have been used almost interchangeably...In earlier years, there had been the assumption that (funds permitting) each property should be restored to some putatively golden period in its history. This had sometimes led to radical and, as is now all too often apparent, historically inaccurate manipulation of the fabric.\textsuperscript{74}

Like Wallace, Fitch's book deals with architecture in America. Still, he observes similar obstacles in America as in England. Although the American preservationists, like the SPAB, were adamantly against restoration, there have been situations where, in the name of compromise and necessity, certain restoration techniques were used. Fitch acknowledges a case in New York City's Schermerhorn Row where restoration and preservation were combined:

Because it represents a radical and irreversible intervention in the life of an old building, restoration is less desirable than preservation. However, there are circumstances in which it might be advisable to return an old building to some specific stage in its morphological development. One might be that it was the scene of a unique historical event; another, that the building is a rare survivor of a once avant-garde type. Against such museological criteria, Schermerhorn should probably have been restored to its original configuration: instead, an 1869 remodeling into a hotel will be preserved while the remainder of the block will be returned to a status c.1840.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 84.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 86.
Fitch touches upon a different issue, one that is not immediately obvious, but that changes the face of preservation. The increase in tourism and the damaging effects of tourist exhibition is a threat to historic structures in recent decades, both for the SPAB and for historic preservation societies around the globe. The “very act of exhibition, exposure, or display subjects the artifact to wholly new levels of risk.”\textsuperscript{76} While there were sites in Victorian England that were common public viewing sites, the SPAB of Morris’s time did not consider this an immediate problem. Yet, if you were to walk through Westminster Abbey in London or Notre Dame in Paris today, you would see an endless parade of tourists from open to close, day after day. This sort of abuse to a structure is one that Morris did not anticipate. Fitch refers to this newer threat of exhibition or display as the “fourth dimension of preservation.”\textsuperscript{77} It requires different preservationist techniques due to: the increased exposure of a site to pollution, changes in air quality, and simple wear on floors, walls, and furniture. Even exposure to camera flashes can damage art and wall coverings. Fitch’s book and his notion of this “fourth dimension of preservation” are valuable in the study of the SPAB because it describes a problem that the SPAB currently can experience.

New “dimensions” of preservation are also discussed in William J. Murtagh’s \textit{Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America}.\textsuperscript{78} Like Fitch, the majority of cases are based in the United States. But Murtagh says of preservation:

The very word \textit{preservation}, for example, carries a strict meaning radically different from associated terms like \textit{restoration} and \textit{conservation}, yet \textit{preservation} has also acquired a generic meaning, as in “the historic preservation

\textsuperscript{76} Fitch, \textit{Historic Preservation}, 325.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid.
movement. In the second sense it is an umbrella term encompassing a host of meanings, including, but not limited to, it’s primary meaning: to keep from injury or destruction, to save. As the movement gained a broader foundation in architectural history and neighborhood renewal at the expense of purely associative history, shifts of emphasis were imperative. Even during the past ten years, the vocabulary of preservation has changed, altered by changing goals and the assimilation of terminology from allied fields. By today’s preservation standards, some argue, the work *landmark* is misleading and the expression *historic preservation* should be shorn of the adjective *historic*. Others, feeling that the preservation movement has strayed too far from its stewardship of property and its roots in associative history, would insist that it is time we put history back into preservation.  

In this passage Murtagh discusses the language of preservation. In this context, language becomes a tool for redefining the meanings of key terms in traditional historic preservation. Murtagh’s perspective is that the shifting definition of these terms puts preservationist theory at an ideological risk, unless the discourse is dealt with and a consensus is agreed upon.

In *Conservation and Development in Historic Towns and Cities*, edited by Pamela Ward, English historic structures are the main topic. The book is from a symposium from the Historic Towns and Cities Conference held in 1968 at the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies at the University of York. It deals with several themes including economics, traffic, management, historical research, and conservation techniques and training. A section written by Richard Hare is dedicated to preservation in America and Europe. According to Hare, European historic towns appear largely unspoiled but this is because “many of these cities are almost complete reconstructions.” Hare points out that in “Britain, mere copying is regarded as being rather immoral, an admission of the

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81 Ibid., 235.
failure of the architect to integrate modern design into historic settings." This provides a sharp contrast to the common mentality of the Gothic revivalist attitude that Morris and the SPAB had to contend with. Finally, the last section of this book is dedicated to conservation policy, growing issues with tourism and urban growth, and a summary of legal policy surrounding several areas in England.

To put the SPAB campaigns in context I have used Doreen Yarwood’s text, *The Architecture of Europe: The 19th and 20th Centuries.*

Yarwood outlines relevant architectural styles during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries while emphasizing Baron Georges Eugène Haussman and his Parisian city reformation, Eclecticism in the nineteenth century, Gothic Revival architecture such as Westminster Abbey, and the twentieth century architectural styles of modernism, functionalism, and post-modern building and design. This book emphasizes the variety of styles and issues confronting architects and preservationists. Concerning the Gothic Revival, Yarwood says:

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century in Britain a number of architects were in rebellion against the over-ornamentation, polychromy and endless eclecticism of the majority of building of the time. The work of these men was also eclectic but it was a return to a simpler, vernacular form of architecture, based very much on English work of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Yarwood also examines the aversion to the Gothic Revival in relation to Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement. She refers to “a whole school of architects...all

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84 Ibid., 13.
eschewing over-ornamentation and reverting to the simpler vernacular forms, especially in brick with stone dressings.”

She writes:

They demanded a high standard of craftsmanship, good design and, where possible, the use of local materials. A strong influence on such architects was the contemporary Arts and Crafts Movement.

Another architectural text, one that deals more with the design aspect in architecture, is Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*. This book, first published in 1936, is a classic for Morris scholars and architectural historians, especially decades ago when Morris scholarship was at a minimum. Pevsner discusses Morris in the early chapters of his book, saying that the “campaign of William Morris’s lifetime was directed against the complete lack of feeling for the essential unity of architecture.” This may be a controversial statement to many Morris scholars but Pevsner’s work was centered on architecture and design. Pevsner also refers to Morris’s dedication to the craftsman of the Middle Ages, arguing that during this era, “the artist was a craftsman, proud of executing any commission to the best of his ability.” He claims that Morris was the first artist “to realize how precarious and decayed the social foundations of art had become during the centuries since the Renaissance, and especially during the years since the Industrial Revolution.” Pevsner then discusses Morris’s vision of “art for all:”

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86 Ibid.
89 Ibid., 21.
90 Ibid., 20-22.
The fundamental meaning of Morris's firm and Morris's doctrine is clearly expressed in the thirty-five lectures which he delivered between 1877 and 1894 on artistic and social questions. His point of departure is the social condition of art which he saw around him. Art 'has no longer any root.' The artists, out of touch with everyday life, 'wrap themselves up in dreams of Greece and Italy...which only a very few people even pretend to understand or be moved by.' This situation must seem exceedingly dangerous to anyone concerned with art. Morris preaches: 'I don't want art for a few, any more than education for a few, or freedom for a few...'.

In Pevsner's discussion, Morris's connection to twentieth century architecture is obscure, yet relevant. Pevsner points out that Morris's ideals influenced Gropius:

Gropius regards himself as a follower of Ruskin and Morris, of Van de Velde and of the Werkbund. So our circle is complete. The history of artistic theory between 1890 and the First World War proves the assertion on which the present work is based, namely, that the phase between Morris and Gropius is an historical unit. Morris laid the foundation of the modern style; with Gropius its character was ultimately determined.

Pevsner's book weaves an interesting analysis around theory and practice. Topics include Morris and Gropius's theories of design, the Arts and Crafts Movement, painting in the 1890's, the Art Nouveau, nineteenth century engineering and architecture, an examination of England before World War I, and the Modern Movement before the war. What is particularly appealing about Pevsner's book is that, while he emphasizes architecture, his general theme is design and this theme runs through a variety of media and styles.

Eric Hobsbawm elaborates upon Pevsner's perspective, in *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*, with a discussion of the relevance of "political and artistic 'modernity'."

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91 Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design*, 22. The statements by Morris were quoted from Morris's letters referred to in Mackail and May Morris's *Collected Works*.
92 Ibid., 39.
According to Hobsbawm, Morris looked to the past for his ideal working environment yet also to the future for his Utopian Society and the promise of the Enlightenment’s view of progress:

   The British-based revolution in architecture and the applied arts illustrates the connection between both, as well as their eventual incompatibility. The British roots of the ‘modernism’ which led to the Bauhaus were, paradoxically, Gothic. In the smoky workshop of the world, a society of egoism and aesthetic vandals, where the small craftsmen so visible elsewhere in Europe could no longer be seen in the fog generated by the factories, the Middle Ages of peasants and artisans had long seemed a model of a society both socially and artistically more satisfactory. Given the irreversible industrial revolution, it inevitably tended to become a model inspiring a future vision rather than something that could be preserved, let alone restored.  

Hobsbawm states that Morris, through his ideology and actions, illustrates the connection between “late-romantic medievalist to a sort of Marxian social revolutionary.”

Two other books used to contextualize the SPAB are Donald Drew Egbert’s The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture and Daniel J. Sherman’s Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France. While these two books deal with France and French architecture, they are also helpful in general studies of architectural history. Egbert’s book discusses the academic tradition in French architecture and design. Sherman’s book discusses French museum architecture in relation to the idea that these museums are a symbol of France’s bourgeois culture.

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94 Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Empire, 228-229.
95 Ibid., 229.
Finally, I have selected some of the many texts dedicated to notable architects of the Gothic Revival. The contemporary popularity of these architects was obvious due to their techniques of unfettered Gothic revisionism. Viollet-le-Duc is unquestionably the architect of the Gothic Revival in France. He published his theories in his *Dictionnaire Raisonne de L'Architecture* in 1854. An English version was edited and introduced by Barry Bergdoll and translated by Kenneth D. Whitehead.98 Viollet-le-Duc’s *Dictionnaire Raisonne de L’Architecture* outlines his views on architecture and its construction along with a chapter on restoration. Augustus Welby Pugin, the popular English architect of the Gothic Revival, is discussed in Phoebe Stanton’s *Pugin*.99 Pugin also wrote about his theories in design and architecture in *Contrasts, A Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the 14th and 15th Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day* (1836) and *The True Principles of Christian or Pointed Architecture* (1841).100 Also available are Pugin’s letters in *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin*, edited by Margaret Belcher.101

Architects such as Viollet-le-Duc and Pugin inspired Morris to form the SPAB and speak out against the excesses of restoration. Through research on historic preservation and restoration, English social and cultural history, and architecture and architects, we can better understand not only the workings of the SPAB but of the society and atmosphere of thought that surrounded it. David Lowenthal asked, “Why do we

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100 Augustus W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts and True Principles of Christian or Pointed Architecture* (London: Spire Books Limited, 2003). This is a reprint of Pugin’s works from 1836 and 1841.
change the past? What moves us to alter and elaborate our heritage in all these ways?¹⁰²

Gothic Revivalists, William Morris, and the SPAB may answer these questions differently, but the result is a more defined idea of the relevance of historic structures, the society that created them, and the society that tried to change them.

CHAPTER THREE:
THE ARCHITECTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Industrialization was an important influence upon William Morris's ideology and the century's architectural trends. Industrialization rapidly revised traditional business, commerce, economy, and society, which, in turn, led to the strengthening of the developing middle class and the weakening of traditional elites.¹ All of these factors resulted in mixed reactions to the impact of industrialization, some positive and some negative. Three influential reactions against the Industrial Revolution most relevant to Morris and the SPAB were the Gothic Revival, the Arts and Crafts Movement, and Socialism.

The Gothic Revival and the Arts and Crafts Movement stemmed from the Medieval Revival that England experienced in reaction to industrialization. Borrowing from the medieval past allowed the Victorians to create a culture that reminded them of past glories and gave them a sense of their own history in spite of swiftly changing times. By mid-century, the conceptions of medieval life that had been identified with English Romanticism integrated with the wider range of English culture. This was evident in literature, art, and architecture. Further, the Pre-Raphaelite art movement and the Arts and Crafts movement, both of which Morris was heavily involved with, popularized images of the medieval past.

The second half of the nineteenth century provided a dichotomy in which society benefited from and reacted against industrialization. This paradox led to an environment of optimism for the future and nostalgia for the past. These attitudes were shared by Morris, which led to his revulsion for the Gothic Revival and the founding of the SPAB, his utopian novels and historic translations, his promotion of the Arts and Crafts Movement and belief in craftsmanship, and his increased activities with Socialist organizations. Morris idealized the past but he also thought that the future held great promise. One of the reasons why Morris had such great hopes for the future is because he believed in the durability of imagination and in the strength and creativity of the human spirit.

It was Morris's idealization of the past that made him so dislike the Gothic Revival; he felt that it defaced and destroyed the authenticity of historic structures. He did not share the belief, espoused by many architects, that the Gothic Revival heralded the past by recreating historic structures. Morris and the SPAB felt that Gothic buildings were no more beautiful and valid than buildings from any other century and that the attempt to pass a modern structure off as historic was misleading. To imitate a preferred part of the past and destroy a less popular part seemed outrageous to them.

Regardless, the Gothic Revival was very popular among architects, church officials, and the public. A driving force of the Gothic Revival was a combination of an idealistic view of the medieval past and an escapist attitude towards modernization, yet it thrived, in part, because advances in technology allowed architects to believe that they could improve upon the past. To many, Gothic Revival restoration was popular because
it looked to a time when life seemed simpler and more beautiful,\(^2\) making it an example of "Western civilization's confrontation with modernity."\(^3\) Further, it spread beyond architecture:

During its years of greatest influence, it subjected every aspect of art, belief, society and labour to intense intellectual scrutiny, using the Middle Ages as a platform from which to judge the modern world. In the course of the revival the Gothic was attached to social movements of every sort – from political liberalism to patriotic nationalism, from Roman Catholic solidarity to labour reform. Like Marxism, which also drew lessons from medieval society, the Gothic Revival offered a comprehensive response to the dislocations and traumas of the Industrial Revolution.\(^4\)

The medieval ideas and attitudes that helped popularize the Gothic Revival also inspired the Arts and Crafts Movement. This movement supported the production of quality crafts by workers who cared about what they created. For this reason, the Arts and Crafts Movement was not just an aesthetic endeavor but also a social commentary. The movement looked to the medieval period when it was perceived that artisans and craftsmen took pride in their work. Morris and the majority of Arts and Crafts Movement supporters admired craftsmanship and design over the rapid production common with the Industrial Revolution.\(^5\)

An issue for Morris and the Arts and Crafts supporters was the integrity of the common worker, which they felt was disintegrating through industrialization. Morris’s solution to improving the worker’s situation during the industrial age was to return to the

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\(^2\) This theory is discussed further in chapter two of this dissertation. Martin Wiener’s *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) also further discusses the English dissatisfaction with industrialization.


\(^4\) Ibid.

ideals of medieval craftsmanship. However, he had a utopian vision of the worker in the medieval world. Medieval artisans and workers lived in a feudal society and it is likely that many workers did not enjoy the freedoms of craftsmanship that Morris envisioned. What made it preferable to Morris was that materials were produced by hand, there was no factory system driving labor, and that the worker could identify with his or her work. It was also important that these quality goods could be available to anyone, not just the wealthy. This was the biggest problem to the ideals of the movement because the time and effort that went into arts and crafts products could not compete with inexpensive, albeit poor quality, mass-produced items.

The Arts and Crafts Movement was complicated as it generated a variety of ideological possibilities and physical outcomes and it incorporated a wide variety of artists, writers, and craftsmen. Some of its proponents, like Pugin, were conservative and saw connections between the revival of medievalism and the Catholic Church while others, like Ruskin, saw a connection between the Arts and Crafts Movement and Protestantism. Morris defended the Arts and Crafts Movement because he believed in the value of handicraft, the passion of the worker, and the medieval notions of daily life and workmanship. He believed that the industrial age and mass production ignored the good of the worker and quality in design and production.

Turning against capitalism and industrialization while espousing the integrity of historic architecture and medieval craftsmanship led Morris to a socialist perspective. Morris turned towards socialism later in his career, but initially he espoused a notion of

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6 These ideas are further explained in many of Ruskin and Morris's writings and elaborated upon in Harvey and Press's *Art, Enterprise and Ethics: The Life and Works of William Morris.*

“craft socialism.” Morris and many groups in Europe and the United States who encouraged aesthetic craft socialism noted the beauty and simplicity of items produced through craftsmanship and worker’s guilds. Morris’s major influence was Ruskin, who inspired Morris with his views of social criticism, political economy, crafts and design, and work organization and conditions. Ruskin and Morris placed “a high value upon the virtues of the guild system of the late Middle Ages” in particular, the “existence of a direct relationship between producer and consumer, and the local nature of craftsmanship.”

Morris formulated these ideals of craftsmanship for decades before becoming an active socialist early in 1883 when he joined the Democratic Federation, which became the Social Democratic Federation a year later. The SDF divided at the end of 1884 between the Marxists, who supported the formation of a socialist political party, and the antiparliamentarians. Morris sided with the antiparliamentarians, who formed the Socialist League. Morris disagreed with the parliamentarians because he thought that political involvement would force Socialists to compromise too heavily and he believed that it was more important to concentrate on educating the working class about socialism. Towards the end of the decade, the SL began to shift its position as the anarchists began to push the organization to a more radical stance that Morris felt he

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10 Ibid., 208-209.
could not support. In 1890, Morris left the SL to form his own Hammersmith Socialist Society. In the HSS’s Statement of Principles, written by Morris in 1890, he describes his visions of Socialism:

As Socialists, it is a true society which we desire. Of that true society the workers contain the genuine elements, although they are outcasts from the false society of the day, the tyranny of privilege; and it is their business to show the privileged that it is so, by constituting themselves even now, under the present tyranny, into a society of labour definitely opposed to the society of privilege. Such a society would be able to ameliorate the lot of workers by wringing concessions from the masters, while it was sapping the strong-hold of privilege, the individual ownership of the means of production, and developing capacity for administration in its members; so that when the present system is overthrown they might be able to carry on the business of the community without waste or disaster.

Throughout his socialist years, Morris lectured frequently, edited and wrote for various socialist publications, traveled around the country promoting socialism, and was an important force in the executive of the SDF, the SL, and HSS.

Part of Morris’s dream of a socialist society included the notion that all people would have creativity and beauty in their lives and surroundings. He envisioned that the medieval worker put care into their work, certainly more so than the factory worker could accomplish, and that this care resulted in making their surroundings beautiful. Morris envisioned these qualities when he looked upon surviving buildings and artifacts of the Middle Ages. To Morris, workers of the past had the time and desire to be aesthetic in their craft:

He worked, not for the profit of a master, but for his own livelihood, which, I repeat, he did not find it difficult to earn, so that he had a good deal of leisure, and

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being master of his time, his tools, and his material, was not bound to turn out his work shabbily, but could afford to amuse himself by giving it artistic finish. 15

Morris believed that crafts and constructions of workers were more virtuous than the cultural pursuits of the elite due to the honest quality of workmanship. In an 1880 lecture, entitled The Beauty of Life, Morris claimed that the intellectual and aesthetic pursuits of the elite depended on the art of the working class.

I believe that art made by the people and for the people as a joy both to the maker and the user would further progress in other matters rather than hinder it, so also I firmly believe that the higher art produced only be great brains and miraculously gifted hands cannot exist without it. 16

That art will make our streets as beautiful as the woods, as elevating as the mountain-sides: it will be a pleasure and a rest, and not a weight upon the spirits to come from the open country into town; every man's house will be fair and decent, soothing to his mind and helpful to his work: all the works of man that we live amongst and handle will be in harmony with nature, will be reasonable and beautiful; yet all will be simple and inspiring, not childish nor enervating; for as nothing of beauty and splendour that man's mind and hand may compass shall be wanting from our public buildings, so in no private dwelling will there be any signs of waste, pomp, or insolence, and every man will have his share of the best. 17

Morris was inspired by a great many people because he was eager in his learning, undaunted by new ideas and methods, and sympathetic to the people and ideas of the past and his present. Some of the many sources of Morris's inspiration were John Keats,

17 William Morris, Hopes and Fears for Art (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903), 36. From a lecture titled The Lesser Arts, delivered before Trades Guild of Learning, December 4, 1877.
Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin.\textsuperscript{18} Each of these individuals showed an ideological attraction to medievalism as well as faith in an improved future.

This reverence for the past combined with a faith in the future can be traced to Romantic writers such as John Keats. Romanticism was a dominating intellectual and aesthetic movement that reacted against the Enlightenment. Although it evolved differently throughout Europe, its basic precepts remained the same: hostile to rule and order, individualism, respect for personal imagination, a lean towards the dramatic, and an idealistic return to the past.\textsuperscript{19} The Romantic poets, in particular, reveled in the power of imagination and the sublime. In Keats' \textit{Ode on a Grecian Urn}, "unheard" refers to imagination: "Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on."\textsuperscript{20} But while Romantics believed in the human spirit and were generally optimistic about the future of humanity, they also tended to dislike many of the situations of their present, such as the effects of industrialization on people and nature and the restrictions of imagination by institutionalized religion and social and political repression. The true spirit of Romanticism was that the imagination was supreme and that everyone's imagination was individual. Therefore, no two Romantic poets thought exactly alike.

\textsuperscript{18} Edward Palmer Thompson, \textit{William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary} (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), 10-60. Thompson discusses Morris's early life in these chapters, mentioning Keats, Carlyle, and Ruskin as influences. He mentions other influences, such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, but I am primarily discussing Keats, Carlyle, and Ruskin because these individuals most influenced his teen through college years, an important time for Morris's ideological development.


For Keats, it was more important to dwell on humanity's inner spirit and its immediate turmoil rather than on political and religious repression on the greater scale. Keats had utopian dreams for the future of humanity because he believed that people had the spirit to overcome life's adversities. Other Romantics held these beliefs, such as William Wordsworth and Percy Bysshe Shelley, but Keats had the most influence on Morris. Keats' poetry reflected a struggle between the ideals of art, love, and imagination and the harsh reality of industry, personal struggles, disease, and disappointment. A major theme in his poetry was the conflict between the real and ideal. In Keats' poetry:

The tension between the ideal and the actual takes a variety of related forms. Indeed the ambiguities latent in both words cover most of them: the ideal suggests the perfection of art or imaginative vision, but also the imperfection of the remote and inhuman; the actual embraces both warm, substantial human experience and the ills that flesh and spirit are heir to.

Morris and Keats had similar views in many instances, of which the most obvious was that their work reflected a pre-capitalist Gothic sensibility. Other common elements in Keats and Morris are that they often referenced the past in their work. Morris and Keats were different in that Morris frequently questioned the social, cultural, and political environment whereas Keats was much more introspective. Although many nineteenth century intellectuals emphasized the wrongs of society or religion in bringing about this plight upon humanity, Keats did not often exert himself to discussions of political, religious, or social reform. His mode of expression was through his poetry

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22 Ibid., xiii.
and his letters, where he stressed the human situation and emotions, often through
flowery poetic language and symbolism. In a letter to his brother, he speaks of the
turmoil of being human:

This is the world – thus we cannot expect to give way many hours to pleasure –
Circumstances are like Clouds continually gathering and bursting – While we are
laughing the seed of some trouble is put into the wide arable land of events –
while we are laughing it sprouts is [it] grows and suddenly bears a poison fruit
which we must pluck...  

Later, in the same letter, Keats continues more optimistically:

I go amongst the buildings of a city and I see a Man hurrying along – to what?
The Creature has a purpose and his eyes are bright with it. But then as
Wordsworth says, “we have all one human heart” – there is an electric fire in
human nature tending to purify – so that among these human creature[s] there is
continu[a]lly some birth of new heroism...  

Keats showed a great deal of empathy for life and he was very interested in the cultural
and social condition of the common man. While this humanism was an aspect common
between Keats and Morris, it is the conflict of the ideal and reality that seems the stronger
connection.

One of the ways that Morris dealt with his displeasure at his present world was by
writing about past heroics, such as in the translations of Icelandic Sagas, The Aeneid, and
The Odyssey, or by writing about the future, as in News from Nowhere. News from
Nowhere, in particular, emphasizes Morris’s desire to change the world of his time.
Stephen Coote discusses Morris’s perspective in the novel:

By presenting himself as a visitor in this dream of the future, Morris can convey
both his wonder and delight at a world free of pollution and commercial warfare.

25 Bush, John Keats, 284-285. This letter to George and Georgiana Keats was written
from February 14 to May 3, 1819.
26 Ibid., 285.
Friendship and natural relationships, a variety of delightful work and an easy rapport between town and country living, all create an ideal world.27

And according to Clive Wilmer, the editor of a News from Nowhere edition, the novel has “all the pleasures of escapist writing but, since its whole purpose is to criticize the present, it does not turn away from painful realities.” 28 Although “it draws on the medieval world, it looks to the future for answers to the ills of modern times.” 29

Keats also dealt with his dissatisfaction with the world through his writing. Keats knew conflicts well as he came from a lower middle class family afflicted with disease and financial difficulties; he had to overcome many obstacles to write and publish his poetry. Yet the physical and mental impediments to his ability to produce poetry made him value it all the more. The biggest conflict for Keats was his way of dealing with life and death. His life was tragic; his father, his grandfather, his mother, and his younger brother all died by the time he was twenty-one, Keats was ill shortly after, he fell in love and became engaged, then he died before he could get married at the age of twenty-five. 30 Most tragic was probably that, although Keats wanted to be with his fiancé, he was aware that he was dying for the last year of his life. Improbably, he was able to overcome and accept his difficulties, to see beauty in the world and have faith in humanity, and to create

28 William Morris, News from Nowhere and Other Writings (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), xxxvi. This edition was edited and introduced by Clive Wilmer.
29 Morris, News from Nowhere, xxxvi.
30 Bush, John Keats, xix-xxii.
beautiful poetry despite his hardships. Morris admired these aspects of Keats’ life and
work. 31 According to Fiona MacCarthy:

What he [Morris] found and related to so easily in Keats was his supreme visual
quality. Morris drew the distinction between poets of rhetoric, in which category
he put Milton and Swinburne, and poets who were primarily makers of pictures,
visually observant poets such as Chaucer and Keats. Morris too was by instinct a
picture-making poet... 32

Charles Cowden-Clarke, a former teacher of Keats, helped expand Morris’s knowledge
of the poet through public lectures, literary efforts, and criticism. In a letter to Cowden-
Clarke, Morris said that he felt for Keats “such boundless admiration, and whom I
venture to call one of my masters.” 33

Another influence for Morris was Thomas Carlyle. 34 Morris read Carlyle’s Past
and Present while he was at Oxford. Carlyle’s writing is described as “perverse,
ejaculatory, repetitive, and arrogant” as well as filled with “white-hot moral indignation”
but still “among the greatest quarries of ideas in the first half of the nineteenth century,
shot through with occasional gleams of the profoundest revolutionary insight.” 35

Carlyle’s style fired Morris’s imagination and spirit since he himself cared deeply and
emotionally about his own ideas and opinions.

31 May Morris, ed., The Collected Letters of William Morris, vol. XXII (London:
Longmans, 1910-15), xxxi.
32 Fiona MacCarthy, William Morris: A Life for Our Time (New York: Alfred A. Knopf,
1995), 77.
was a Shakespearean scholar and teacher. Morris wrote this letter on September 17,
1868.
34 Thompson, William Morris, 22-39.
35 Ibid., 29.
Past and Present is an examination of life in the twelfth century monastery of St. Edmunds bury that contrasts its morals with those of industrial capitalism. Carlyle criticizes the preoccupation with wealth in society while he emphasizes the value of work, claiming that "work alone is noble" and that in all work "there is something of divineness." Carlyle believed that "a man perfects himself by working." Carlyle’s belief in the importance of work and that “labour is the root of life” was an important influence for Morris.

Carlyle’s political and social viewpoints were also attractive to Morris. Carlyle hated governmental policies favoring capitalistic growth. His essay Chartism professes his disagreement with laissez-faire politics, industrialism, and distrust of governments. He felt that capitalism and industry would weaken people and destroy the integrity of life. Carlyle believed that people were capable of great strength and purpose and he romanticized the power of the individual in biographies of Schiller, Cromwell, and Frederick the Great. He feared destruction of the individual by industrialism and he emphasized the inherent value of workmanship. These, along with his attacks on excessive materialism, intrigued Morris. Carlyle disliked capitalism for its propensity to

37 Ibid., Chapter 12, 202.
38 Ibid.
39 Thompson, William Morris, 32.
40 Chartism and Carlyle’s other works is available in Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle in 31 Volumes, edited by H.D. Trail and published in London by Chapman and Hall from 1896-1899.
41 Thompson, William Morris, 28-32.
confine the human spirit by moving common social goals toward greater levels of materialism. According to Thompson:

It is in Carlyle’s disgust at the reduction by capitalism of all human values to cash values that his greatness lies; it is this which exercised most influence over Morris, and – while it ran underground awhile – found full and constant expression in his later years

Thompson refers specifically to this passage from *Past and Present*:

Cash-payment never was, or could expect for a few years be, the union-bond of man to man. Cash never yet paid one man fully his deserts to another; nor could it, nor can it, now or henceforth to the end of the world. ...We call it a society; and go about professing openly the totallest separation, isolation. Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked under due laws-of-war, named ‘fair competition’ and so forth, it is a mutual hostility. We have profoundly forgotten everywhere that Cash-payment is not the sole relation of human beings...

With Carlyle, Morris found a common ground in their respect for work and their agreement that capitalism compromised people’s integrity and connections. Morris and Carlyle eventually had a common bond with the interests of the SPAB. Later in both their lives, Morris wrote to Carlyle about the SPAB stating, “it seems to me not so much a question of whether we are to have old buildings or not, as whether they are old or sham old.” This statement inspired Carlyle to become a member of the SPAB.

Ruskin, probably Morris’s greatest influence, added to Morris’s intellectual development by writing about aesthetics, art, architecture and their value not only in work but in one’s everyday surroundings. Ruskin connected aesthetics, socialism, and

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43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
the ideals of craftsmanship in his works and Morris held these Ruskinian ideals in high regard.\textsuperscript{46}

Morris first encountered Ruskin's work when he was nineteen and had just started at Oxford. Ruskin's most popular work was on art criticism. In his work, \textit{Modern Painters}, Ruskin espoused the merits of English painter Joseph Mallord William Turner. Morris, along with Edward Burne-Jones, wrote a review of \textit{Modern Painters} in the \textit{Oxford and Cambridge Magazine} stating that Ruskin "rose, seeming to us like a Luther of the arts."\textsuperscript{47} Most of Ruskin's essays discussing art and architecture were published in his \textit{Lectures on Art, The Seven Lamps of Architecture}, and \textit{The Stones of Venice}. Ruskin was convinced that faith, ethics, education, and satisfactory social conditions were necessary for creating art. For this reason, Ruskin's work on art and architecture examined the social and emotional environment behind the work along with the work itself. Many of his works, such as \textit{The Political Economy of Art, Unto This Last}, and \textit{Essays on Political Economy}, reflected his views on social and economic reform as he felt that these were integral to the arts.

Morris was greatly influenced by Ruskin's \textit{The Seven Lamps of Architecture}, which details his impression of the physical, emotional, aesthetic, and practical aspects of architecture. Ruskin's discussions probe the social, political, and emotional characteristics of the architect, the laborers, and the artists who worked on building design and construction. In doing so, he also examines the reasons why buildings were erected, used, and modified. In the second chapter, "The Lamp of Truth," Ruskin

\textsuperscript{47} Tim Hilton, \textit{John Ruskin: The Early Years, 1819-1859} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 232. Luther is a reference to Martin Luther.
emphasizes that people need to maintain integrity in their actions and productions in order to have that same integrity throughout the world. Ruskin said that it was most important to have the “spirit or lamp of Truth clear in the hearts of our artists and handicraftsmen” since they were able to bring that vision to others.  

He felt that to dishonor truth would lead to the ruin of human consciousness.

The violations of truth, which dishonour poetry and painting, are thus for the most part confined to the treatment of their subjects. But in architecture another and a less subtle, more contemptible, violation of truth is possible; a direct falsity of assertion respecting the nature of the material, or the quantity of labour. And this is, in the full sense of the word, wrong; it is as truly deserving of reprobation as any other moral delinquency; it is unworthy alike of architects and of nations; and it has been a sign, wherever it has widely and with toleration existed, of a singular debasement of the arts; that it is not a sign of worse than this, of a general want of severe probity, can be accounted for only by our knowledge of the strange separation which has for some centuries existed between the arts and all other subjects of human intellect, as matters of conscience.

In the sixth chapter, “The Lamp of Memory,” Ruskin points out that architecture keeps the memory of the ages alive, saying that “we may live without her [architecture], and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her.” Ruskin wrote of restoration in this chapter.

Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That which I have above insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, never can be recalled.

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49 Ibid., 31.
50 Ibid., 164.
51 Ibid., 179.
The Stones of Venice, specifically the chapter, "The Nature of Gothic," was another influence for Morris. In this chapter, Ruskin discusses the "gothic character," which is made up of a series of forms, such as arches and gables, and elements, such as naturalism and savageness. According to Ruskin, true Gothic architecture needs to have a combination of these forms and elements to be accurate representations of the Gothic style.

Gothic architecture has external forms and internal elements. Its elements are certain mental tendencies of the builders, legibly expressed in it; as fancifulness, love of variety, love of richness, and such others. Its external forms are pointed arches, vaulted roofs, etc. And unless both the elements and the forms are there, we have no right to call the style Gothic. It is not enough that it has the Form, if it have not also the power and life.

The relevance of this chapter in relation to "restoration" is that many of the elements cannot be reproduced in a different time than when a structure was originally built. To Ruskin, architecture had a variety of qualities, many of which were not material or even obvious but intrinsic to the worker's situation and the idea behind a structure. This is why society and economics were so connected to Ruskin's views on art and architecture. This was also why Morris's views were so similar.

Ruskin's views on the arts and on social and economic reform inspired Morris's writings. He said of Ruskin:

...how deadly dull the world would have been twenty years ago but for Ruskin! It was through him that I learnt to give form to my discontent, which I must say

was not by any means vague. Apart from the desire to produce beautiful things, the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilization. 54

For both Ruskin and Morris, art had many dimensions. To them, art was not a lofty, intellectual pursuit, rather something that was inherent, instinctual, and available to all individuals. Morris complained that artists of his time "were out of touch with everyday life... they wrap themselves up in dreams of Greece and Italy... which only a very few people even pretend to understand or be moved by." 55 Morris is referring to the traditions of Neoclassicism and its emphasis on ancient Greek and Roman art, and how this was the main thrust of academic teaching. While not all examples of Neoclassicism were lofty, as in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites, much of it was out of touch with nineteenth century English life.

Ruskin bridged fine arts and craftsmanship in design, joining the natural and domestic surroundings of the workman and his craft with the artistic creation associated with the fine arts. 56 Ruskin's concept of design limited manufacturing to a cooperative effort toward what is necessary and well made. These ideas connected Morris's concept of socialism to the idea of craft production through a regulated system of cooperative action, allowing the individual worker to achieve a level of art with his craft. An 1889 article from *Cosmopolitan* interviewing Morris explained this "Industrial Art Movement." 57

The terms 'craft' and 'handicraft' have been revived by the leaders in this movement in their desire to reorganize even the phraseology of the modern industrial system, which system, through the great misapplication of machinery, the overkeen competition of trade, and the artificially stimulated markets, has almost wholly destroyed hand labor, the personal element in industrial art and the workman's pride in his work. To measurably restore hand-made for machine-made goods, to accord proper recognition to the designer as distinct from the manufacturer and middleman, to maintain a high standard in all workmanship, to make the laborer happy in his labor and a sharer in the good fortune of his employer—these are, crudely stated, the motives and aims of the busy men, who, [are] gradually grouping themselves about Mr. Morris.58

This article also mentions Morris's membership in Ruskin's Art for Schools Association. Ruskin established the group in 1883 to circulate photographs and copies of works of art among schools in an attempt to make art available to all individuals.59

Morris's artistic and socialist beliefs intersected in a series of lectures, entitled *Hopes and Fears for Art*. Morris formally became a member of the Democratic Federation in 1883 which was renamed the Social-Democratic Federation in 1884. He became a socialist partly because he believed that the contemporary structure of society destroyed art. He claimed that art did not have a chance for survival in the modern capitalist age until the gulf between rich and poor could be filled.60 He also claimed that "under the present state of society there seemed to be a love of dirt and squalor, especially in London and other large towns" and that by these standards art would "fade and die" and then civilization would fade and die also.61 He realized, like Keats before him, that for poor and middle class people increased workloads, dreary surroundings, and cheap mass industry did not allow them time for pride in the work they did at home or in

59 Ibid., 190.
the workplace. They were not able to appreciate the beauty and art that added so much to the quality of life.

Morris showed a tendency towards socialist beliefs long before he actively became a socialist. The strength of these beliefs was evident to Morris through Ruskin’s literary works, as well as personal discussions and joint activities between the two men. In *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin stressed that architecture was the creation of the workman and an expression of an entire society. Ruskin valued the integrity of the laborers who worked on historic architecture as much as he valued the structures. Since this integrity was unique in each individual laborer, he believed that buildings could not be duplicated or revised in the same spirit in which they were erected. For these reasons, he stressed that historic architecture should be cared for with maintenance and preservation, not “restoration.”62 Morris agreed with these interpretations and mentions the impression that Ruskin made on him in a letter to Thomas Wardle in 1877, when he references a passage from Ruskin’s *Seven Lamps of Architecture*:

Take care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them; watch an old building with anxious care; count its stones as you would the jewels of a crown; bind it together with iron where it loosens, stay it with timber where it declines. Do not care about the unsightliness of the aid; better a crutch than a lost limb; and do this tenderly, reverently, continually, and many a generation will still be born to pass away beneath its shadow.63

This is the same passage that Morris requests permission from Ruskin to use in a pamphlet in association with the SPAB:

We all think it might do good to distribute a leaflet with a reprint of your words on restoration in the Seven Lamps: will you allow me to do so? They are so good,


63 Kelvin, *Collected Letters*, 368. In this correspondence from Morris to Wardle, Morris refers to “the passage you quote from Ruskin.”
and so completely settle the whole matter, that I feel ashamed at having to say
anything else about it, as if the idea was an original one of mine, or any body’s
else but yours: but I suppose it is of service, or may be, for different people to say
the same thing. I needn’t say I don’t feel in very high spirits as to the amount of
good our Society [the SPAB] is like to do; especially since little is left to save: yet
it might be of use for the future if we could make people ashamed of the damage
they have done; and at the worst one must say that we are driven to speak at last.64

Morris so respected Ruskin that he asked that he take the chair at the SPAB annual
meeting in 1880:

Our Society For the Protection of Ancient Buildings holds its Annual Meeting on
June 23rd at Society of Arts’ Room, and it would be the making of the said
meeting if you would kindly agree to take the chair at it, and say some words,
which no one can say as well as you, for a cause which you yourself made a
cause: if this would not be too great a burden on you, I think we deserve the
encouragement your voice and presence would give us: we are again going to stir
the St. Marks’ matter, and though I confess I am not very hopeful of success, I
feel somehow as if we ought to try if anything can be done by iteration, however
weary a job it be. But even if we do nothing in this case, & many others, yet I do
think we may save here & there some fragment of art, and to my mind it would be
worth the trouble, & years of our little Society’s life, if we could but save one
little grey building in England. 65

Morris was instinctually drawn into action. He published, he lectured, he urged
the support of the public, and he always fought for what he thought was right. Morris
devoted himself to a wide variety of causes as if he were single-handedly trying to
change all that was disagreeable in the world. When he died, at the age of sixty-two, one
of his doctors said that the reason was “simply being William Morris and having done
more work than most ten men.”66

64 Kelvin, Collected Letters, 383. This letter was posted to John Ruskin from Wm.
Morris on behalf of the SPAB on July 10, 1877. The address listed is as 26 Queen
Square, London.
65 Ibid., 569-570. This letter was dated 26 May, 1880. Ruskin did not serve as chair but
he did continue to support the SPAB in its endeavors.
66 Coote, William Morris, 197.
Upon examining Morris’s intellectual development, it seems apparent that, while Keats, Carlyle, and Ruskin were inspirational, Morris never stopped developing his mind and his opinion. Some of his most adamant causes were towards the last part of his life, including the SPAB and, even more so, his interest in socialism. For Morris, even Ruskin was inspirational primarily “up to the time of his ‘consciousness of revolution’ and his commitment to ‘practical Socialism.’”

Morris was inspired by a great many individuals, their writings and opinions, but, in the end, he pushed forward with his own interpretation of the issues. Morris was drawn to the creativity of humanity and the history and the future that would inspire the present. He had such a wide range of interests, from writing to painting, from design in book binding to design in furniture, from socialism to the SPAB. His inspirations ranged far and wide, from the icy cliffs of Iceland to the green pastures of England and from the nostalgia for the past to the dreams for the future. Still a thread of the respect for the worker and a tendency to espouse socialist ideals even before he became an active socialist seems a characteristic that he stayed true to for his whole life.

Morris’s ideals were relevant to his founding of the SPAB in the notion of preservation over restoration. The first incident that pushed Morris’s ideals to action was in 1887, when he visited Tewkesbury Abbey and was appalled at the restoration work that was taking place. In reaction, he wrote a letter to the Athenaeum denouncing the restoration and calling for the formation of an organization to fight this sort of destruction. Soon after, the SPAB came into existence:

Morris’s call struck a responsive chord; architects and artists, professional men, and a number of aristocrats of a variety of political persuasions rallied to the cause

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of the SPAB. In the first years Morris was secretary, and remained afterwards the leading spirit on the committee, but the society was quite nonpartisan. Its influence grew steadily; within five years over a hundred cases were being handled every year, and by 1889 the committee could note with gratification a changed attitude among the educated public toward restoration.  

The time was right for Morris’s success with the SPAB because restoration was so widely overused and preservationism carried with it two intertwined attitudes that link the movement to broader currents in later-Victorian culture and society. These are, first, a loss of confidence in the creative powers of one’s contemporaries and an elevation of the past over the present; and second, a highly critical view of industrial capitalism and its “materialistic” ethos.”  

It seemed that the “creative powers” of Morris’s contemporary architects often seemed suspect and the Gothic movement had, in its response against capitalism and industrialization, become quite an industry in itself. Ironically, excessive restoration was inspired by popular distaste for the modern, the modern was partially defined by industrialization and capitalism, and industrialization and capitalism elevated Gothic restoration to new heights.  

These inherent characteristics of the Gothic Revival and restoration aggravated Morris on many levels. Morris’s activities with the SPAB were motivated, as usual by deep undercurrents of idealism. Morris’s work with the SPAB forced him “again and again to examine and set into words his deepest preoccupation – the relation of the arts to society.”  

Morris saw much more in a building than the materials needed to put it together or the benefits of its existence for human use: he also saw a spirit from the past

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69 Ibid., 69.
70 Thompson, *William Morris*, 231.
that could not be reproduced. For example, Morris loved the Great Coxwell Barn, according to W.R. Lethaby, because:

Its magnitude, nice precision of building and dainty parts of pure architecture, all done in handsome freestone, made it as beautiful as a cathedral, but with no ostentation of building whatever: a perfectly suitable barn and nothing else. The workmen who set it up did well once and for all time... If I [Lethaby] saw what it all meant in the quiet Berkshire landscape and its clear history of the builders and their craft, how much more must he [Morris] have seen into and round it? This building and all of its like, were infinite delight to him.\textsuperscript{71}

Architecture, to Morris, was much more than the famous buildings and sites situated around the world. Buildings had a history be it grand or humble. Morris saw the effort, the care, and the integrity in any given building. He was struck by anger when he noticed a building being “abused.” Even in the months where his health was declining, he became irate at signs of restoration, yelling “Beasts! Pigs! Damn their souls!”\textsuperscript{72}

Prior to the abuses of restoration in the nineteenth century, architecture evolved from one style to another. These styles were sometimes flamboyant and sometimes understated but they always uniquely reflected their milieu. The problems Morris had with nineteenth century architects were, first, that they seemed content to copy previous styles rather that to invent a style that represented their own culture, and second, that they felt that any style that did not represent the preferred Gothic style was inferior and thereby worthy of destruction. To Morris, the history of architecture was filled with fluctuations of characteristics and these fluctuations were part of what defined humanity’s physical history. He thought that to destroy these characteristics on a building was to eradicate part of the past.

\textsuperscript{72} Coote, \textit{William Morris}, 196.
Understanding architectural history was important for some of the issues that the SPAB had to deal with. Morris and the SPAB officers needed to know the historical progression of styles when discussing restoration and preservation matters with building owners and architects. Architectural developments most relevant to SPAB interests begin with Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque architecture, the preferred style from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, depending on the country, region, and city in Europe. From approximately 1150 to 1600, the predominant architectural style was Gothic. While surviving medieval architecture is primarily ecclesiastical, buildings during the Gothic era included not only churches and cathedrals, but also secular buildings such as town halls, palaces, estate houses, town homes, public bridges, and monuments.

Gothic architecture was different from Romanesque in many ways. One major factor was the incorporation of the pointed arch over the traditional semi-circular style used in Classical and Romanesque structures. In designing the Church of St. Denis in 1137, Abbot Sugar:

...became the initiator of a new spatial order for church building. For the first time, and along with other innovative measures, he and his architect closely united elements of Burgundian architecture (the pointed arch) and Norman architecture (rib vaults). By doing so, he became, in effect, the 'creator of Gothic.'

Other innovations of the Gothic style were higher spires and towers, larger and taller windows and doors, advances in stone vaulting that allowed for more height and the ability to support more weight, developments in buttressing, which eventually led to flying buttresses able to support even more weight and allow for thinner walls, a dramatic

increase in ornamentation, and the increase in decorative windows such as Rose Windows.

The Gothic style varied slightly from country to country. French Gothic architecture, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, was referred to as the "flamboyant," or "rayonnant," style, meaning that it became even more ornamental, more slender, and windows became taller and more ornate. Gothic style also dominated England's architecture from 1170 to 1560, one of Europe's longest runs of the style.74 Because English Gothic lasted longer, it evolved into a distinctive style, called Perpendicular, which lasted approximately from 1375 to 1560.75 Perpendicular style was unique because of its extended vertical and horizontal lines, its increase in decorative surfaces, its increase in stained glass windows, and an evolved fan vault due to the use of flying buttresses. In the Germanic area of Europe, Gothic characteristics evolved slowly from the Romanesque, appearing first in the early thirteenth century.76 Typical German Gothic characteristics are a single frontal tower, an emphasis on finials and ornamentation on towers and spires, and a highly vaulted nave and choir. Castles, houses, and civic buildings from the German Gothic era, along with timber framed houses and halls, are not as numerous in Germany as in England, primarily due to war damage in the twentieth century. Those that survived have often been restored.

The Gothic Age was a vital period of historical development for countries throughout Europe. This is one of the reasons that nineteenth century society was drawn

75 Ibid.
to it. Strangely enough, while the century was advancing in politics, societal and
economic arrangements, industry, and the visual arts, architecture seemed to stay pinned
to the past. This was reflected in the popularity of the Gothic Revival, significant in
certain areas of Europe from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century.

Technological advances also changed the face of Neo-Classical and Gothic
Revival architecture. The quality of iron improved through the experiments of Abraham
Darby, John Wilkinson, and Henry Cort in England towards the end of the eighteenth
century. Iron was incorporated into railings, roofing, balconies, supporting columns,
beams, and staircases. Sir Charles Barry used iron extensively for the roof of the new
Palace of Westminster during the mid-century and Gustave Eiffel designed the Eiffel
Tower for the Paris Exposition of 1889.77 Advances in glass production technology
improved the quality of glass while making it less expensive to manufacture. This made
it easier to incorporate larger sheets of glass into structures. Iron and glass were
combined in the roofing and structures in train stations, galleries, and shopping arcades
throughout Europe. An obvious example of the use of glass and iron in England is Sir
Joseph Paxton’s Crystal Palace of 1850–52. Throughout the nineteenth century,
technology allowed for sturdier and safer structures while also helping architects to see
their plans to more complete fruition. By the end of the nineteenth century,
developments in steel manufacture and in elevator lifts gave architects the chance to
design taller, sturdier structures.

While the early nineteenth century leaned towards some version of Classicism,
the Gothic Revival began to take hold in many European countries by the mid-nineteenth

77 Doreen Yarwood, The Architecture of Europe, vol. 4, The 19th and 20th Centuries
century. The most influential period for the Gothic Revival was approximately from 1850 to 1880. The Gothic Revival was much more than an architectural movement because it was inspired by the literary and theological endeavors of a variety of intellectuals. Gothic Revival architecture was first evident in ecclesiastical and university building but soon influenced design in secular, railway, and domestic building.  

As Gothic Revival architects reflected a past stylistic approach, another group, while also reaching to the past, reproached them. Proponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement of England, like Morris, objected to contemporary industrialization and admired the workmanship of quality manufacture of the past. Morris and the restorationists were actually in agreement about the nineteenth century plague upon society and culture. The differences really arose when the restoration rage began to trample upon the integrity of every other past style to make Gothic the period of choice. To Morris and the Arts and Crafts proponents, the integrity of past craftsman was the important issue. It was irrelevant whether this craftsman was from the tenth, twelfth, or fourteenth century. What mattered was that a group of people built a monument or a building in their own time with their own motives and ideas and that this structure was beneficial to the present because it was a representation of the past.

Ideological influences merged with technological influences to bring subjectivity to the interpretation of architecture. While technological advances changed architectural progress throughout Europe, the impact was varied in each country. Since many of these advances were initiated in England, a great deal of this progress was first evident in

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England. Architectural interpretation in England, although incorporating some Classicism, preferred its Gothic roots. France was influenced more so by Italian Classicism and thereby proved that Classicism and Gothic could coexist in the architectural landscape. The Germanic regions, more inspired by Byzantine architectural tendencies, tended to lean towards a Gothic version of Byzantine Classicism. Therefore, in Europe of the mid-nineteenth century, the dominant architectural force was the Gothic Revival.

England’s nineteenth century architectural development began with an emphasis in Romantic Classicism for the first two to three decades. The combined Byzantine and Classical influence of Sir John Sloane is an example of this style as is his design at the Bank of England in London originating in 1800. Another example of Romantic Classicism is in John Nash’s work at Regent’s Park in 1822 or at the Royal Pavilion at Brighton from 1816 to 1820. Nash’s work tended to be more eclectic than Sloane’s. Nash was often “untroubled by qualms of historical accuracy” and tended to be more experimental with schemes of past styles while still incorporating some degree of Classicism.

Like most of Europe, England exhibited a tendency of eclecticism throughout the nineteenth century. During the first few decades of the century, England’s ecclesiastical and secular architecture was primarily Classical although deviations included Gothic, Romantic Classical, Italian Renaissance, and Greek Revival styles. Because of shifts in

80 Ibid., 4.
81 Ibid., 5.
82 Lewis, The Gothic Revival, 44-45.
population, it became desirable to build new chapels around the country. In the first half of the nineteenth century, 214 chapels were built, most of which were designed in the Gothic style. In addition, popular structures, such as the Romantic Classical British Museum, the Gothic St. Luke at Chelsea, or the Greek Revival St. Pancras New Church, maintained a quality of expression that did not adhere to a specific style but, more so, an expression of the suitability to a specific site and need. Many of these early nineteenth century structures were not accurate to specific standards of historical design.

By the 1840’s, however, the Gothic Revival became more specific and accurate. Sir Charles Barry and Pugin’s Palace of Westminster is a fairly accurate depiction of Gothic architecture in the Perpendicular style. In particular, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52) had a direct influence on the prevalent appeal to the past in Victorian England, that of medievalism. Pugin’s theory of medievalism prompted many societies and disciples. Pugin’s medievalism is different from Romantic medievalism:

The medievalism of Pugin and his disciples was wholly different from this sort of romantic medievalism, of which he strongly disapproved, though his own was equally unreal. It was also a reaction against other trends in contemporary society of which he similarly disapproved: growing industrialization, the increasing power of Protestant dissent, political reform, classicism in art and architecture. It is important to remember that Pugin’s medieval dream was a double reaction against what he regarded as a decadent society on one hand and meaningless romanticism on the other.

Pugin’s medievalism was deeply based in religion and, because of this, his architectural work, his public statements and actions, and his writings were initiated by his ideological viewpoint. He felt that “style and faith were one” and that the “only true expressions of

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84 Yarwood, _The Architecture of Europe_, vol. 4, 6.
85 Lewis, _The Gothic Revival_, 81-85.
86 Ibid., 62.
both were medieval, Roman Catholic and Gothic." Therefore, Pugin did not approve of other styles of architecture. Given this, it is easier to understand why Pugin would want to change buildings built in other styles.

In general, Pugin symbolized the overuse of restoration in the mid-nineteenth century. While he goes down in history as "the finest of all the architects and designers of the Gothic Revival," preservationists, like Morris, did not approve of the excesses of the Gothic Revival that Pugin was responsible for. In 1876, Morris visited a building restored by Pugin, called Alton Towers, and referred to it as "a gim-crack palace." As early as 1846 and despite Pugin's popularity, an author for the Ecclesiologist said of Pugin: "It is now rather time to warn our readers that Mr. Pugin's churches are not literal revivals of medieval churches, but rather conventional and modernized reflections of them." In Pugin's defense, the Gothic style was underway before he practiced architecture, architects of the Gothic style had few rules to go by early on in the Revival, and Pugin set about to define Gothic architecture to make it more historically accurate.

The Gothic Revival was most significant in England from 1850 to 1880. Besides the early work of Pugin, influential architects such as Sir George Gilbert Scott, George Edmund Street, William Butterfield, and Alfred Waterhouse designed and built in a fairly accurate Gothic style. The issue for Morris and the SPAB was not that architects were

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87 Coote, William Morris, 56.
88 Ibid., 55.
89 Kelvin, Collected Letters, 292. Morris discussed this "dull walk" that an SPAB associate, Thackeray Wardle, "insisted" he go upon in a letter to Georgiana Burne-Jones in March of 1876.
92 Ibid., 10.
building in the Gothic style but that they were destroying significant examples of architecture from other centuries to herald the Gothic style.

In France, the Gothic Revival was very influential, particularly with the works of Viollet-le-Duc. A contrast with Britain is the higher number of structures in France that needed repair and slower periods of construction due to the French Revolution, which hindered most construction projects and did damage to many estates and civic buildings, and, due to Napoleon, who was influenced by Classicism as a reflection of his Imperialistic desires. The important architects of this time were Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine. Their work was primarily Romantic Classicism with an emphasis towards the classical aspect. Another architect, Jean Francis Chalgrin, designed a powerful example of Romantic Classicism in the Parisian Arc de Triomphe de L'Etoile. French Romantic Classicism was modest compared to English and Germanic buildings during the early nineteenth century. The leading architectural influence under Napoleon was Jean Nicholas Louis Durand, a professor at the Ecole Polytechnique. His “Durand Thesis,” comprised of two sections written from 1801 to 1805, stressed an eclectic approach to architecture, combining architectural elements from the Italian Renaissance, classical, and medieval eras into a cohesive whole.

The impact of this thesis became evident in France, and also in parts of northern Europe, between approximately 1825 to the 1850’s. Still, while this eclecticism continued for the first half of the nineteenth century, the French tendency was predominantly classical. As in England and the Germanic countries, French architects began to incorporate more ornamentation after the middle of the nineteenth century.

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94 Ibid., 18.
Also, similar to many of the European countries, population increases in urban areas in France, specifically Paris, led to a demand for additional churches. Most of these churches were either in the Romantic Classical style or, later in the century, Classical Romanesque or Classical Byzantine.

French architecture from 1850 to 1880, dominated by the Second Empire under Napoleon III, was a combination of Classical and Gothic revival styles. The Academie des Beaux-Arts and its Grand Prix competitions reflect the official, more classical, style of French architecture. An example of this is in Leonce Reynaud’s design of the Gare Du Nord in Paris, built from 1861-65. Concurrently, the Gothic Revival in France reflected the popular taste in French architectural development. Unique to the French Gothic Revival was the mansard roof and a tendency to project corner and center pavilions from façades. Architectural restoration in Paris, under the advisement of Georges Eugene Haussman, illustrated these characteristics. Haussman widened boulevards in the inner section of Paris causing the destruction of a large number of old, crowded housing blocks and businesses. Although he displaced a large number of people, he provided a more cosmopolitan and aesthetic image for Paris. He built and beautified boulevards, established railway stations, added to the number of parks and green areas, and established civic structures. An example of these civic buildings is Jean Louis Charles Garnier’s The Opera House, built from 1861 to 1874.

95 The Academie des Beaux-Arts is part of the Institut de France and has awarded the Grand Prix de Rome to competing qualified architectural scholars since 1720. No Grand Prix competitions were held after 1968 after student rioting disrupted that year’s competition.
In the nineteenth century, both England and France became dominant influences upon the architectural scene, leaving the once superior Italy behind. The Ecole des Beaux Arts, the French architectural academy, was so renowned that students of architecture traveled from all parts of the world to gain the honor of studying at this school.  

Paralleling this was France’s ability to join England’s dominance in technological advances. This includes the use of iron and glass in architectural design, evident at the Parisian railway station Gare de L’Est, built from 1847 to 1852.

One of the biggest names in Gothic Revivalist architecture throughout Europe was the Frenchman, Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, whose expertise was in restoration and repair. Viollet-le-Duc’s influence reached far beyond his own country. He achieved the same rank in France as Pugin did in England. Viollet-le-Duc was responsible for the restoration projects at some of the most notable sites in France, such as the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the Abbey Church of St. Denis, Mont St. Michel, and the fortified town of Carcassonne.

The Gothic Revival was in full swing by the last half of the nineteenth century, indisputably the preferred method of building and restoration throughout Europe. England, with Pugin and his legacy, and France, with the efforts of Viollet-le-Duc, led the Gothic Revival rampage. This was accomplished to such an extent that their own creations were not enough; rather entire generations wanted to tear old structures down and replace them with what they thought was the very best of the past, Gothic Age constructions.

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99 Ibid.
Nineteenth century architecture in the Germanic states followed a similar developmental pattern as in England and France. The first four decades of the nineteenth century were dominated by building in the Romantic Classicist style. The German states were heavily influenced by the writings of Jean Durand of the French Ecole Polytechnique. However, the Greek Revival form of Romantic Classicism also inspired Germanic architects. Greek Revival architecture was less ornate than the Roman Classical or the Italian Renaissance style. An example of this style can be found at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, erected from 1789 to 1793 and designed by Karl Gotthard Langhans.\textsuperscript{100} Leo von Klenze, a German Romantic Classical architect who studied in Paris under Durand, designed the Art Gallery in Munich and the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia.\textsuperscript{101} The Art Gallery in Munich, built from 1826 to 1833, and the Hermitage, designed in 1839, show a transition from the cleaner lines of Greek influenced Romantic Classicism to the more embellished mixed style of Romantic Classicism.

As the mid-century approached, Germanic architects began to work with what they referred to as the "Rundbogenstil," or round-arched style.\textsuperscript{102} This style was eclectic because it incorporated repetitive classical arches while adapting to any number of the following styles: Italian Renaissance, Romanesque, Byzantine, Early Christian, and, especially, Gothic. This style is especially evident in the town planning design of Munich under Friedrich von Gartner. Gartner's buildings generally incorporated the

\textsuperscript{100} Yarwood, \textit{The Architecture of Europe}, vol. 4, 22.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 22-23.
rounded arches giving the area consistency and symmetry. The Rundbogenstil remained popular to the end of the nineteenth century and was incorporated into glass and iron projects around railway stations and other public buildings.

Probably the most well known Germanic Gothic Revival architect was Karl Friedrich von Schinkel. Schinkel was actually Prussian but worked primarily in Berlin and Potsdam. Schinkel’s designs stylistically ranged from Romantic Classical with a Greek emphasis to the more ornamental Rundbogenstil and, although he built new structures on occasion, his work was often restoration. One of Schinkel’s most important building designs is the Altes Museum in Berlin. This museum is of the Greek Classical influence, obvious immediately because of the massive Ionic colonnade along the long portico. Schinkel’s other designs include the Berlin Cathedral, the Neue Wache in Berlin, the Court Gardener’s House in Potsdam, the Berlin Theatre, the War Memorial in Berlin, and numerous churches in and around Berlin and Potsdam.103

After the mid-nineteenth century, Germanic building frequently exhibited Gothic Revival traits, although it was less dominant than in France or England. Cities in northern Germany in particular, especially those with ties to the old Hanseatic League such as Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, saw an increase in Gothic styled building and restoration. After a fire destroyed the medieval church in Lübeck, England’s Sir Gilbert Scott won a competition to build a new church in a combined English and German Gothic style.104 An important restoration project took place at the Cologne Cathedral. Work on this Cathedral began in the thirteenth century but had never been completed. From 1824 to 1880, work continued here based upon the original design. Cologne

104 Ibid., 27.
Cathedral became a source of nationalistic pride, especially in Germany’s long-standing competition with the great French cathedrals.

During the Gothic Revival years, Romanesque Gothic was the popular style and examples of this can be found at many churches all over the Germanic regions. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the even more decorated Baroque and Rococo styles dominated German architecture. An example is in the design of Schloss Linderhof, a heavily ornate castle with extensive detailing, ornamental windows and balconies, and numerous statues attached to the outside walls and in the surrounding gardens. Also very richly ornamental are some of governmental buildings, such as The Reichstag, erected or restored in Berlin after the 1871 Unification of Germany.105

By the close of the nineteenth century, the dominant force in English, French, and German architecture was Gothic, or Romantic, in its general attitude. These expressive styles could be defined as Baroque or Romanesque or Romantic or Gothic but these styles all represented a mind-set that incorporated imagination, ornamentation, fantasy, and elaboration. Structures in England, France, and the Germanic regions stayed true to this attitude of Gothic from the mid-nineteenth century into the 1890’s. The practice of restoration was a part of the Gothic Revival because the style was so dominant and so popular that other styles were not considered as admirable. The Gothic Revival was favored, not only because of its aesthetic values, but because it was reminiscent of a time where industry and capitalism were not a part of daily life. The Gothic Revival was as much about attitude as aesthetics, which is why the movement was so dominant. It

provided a way for an entire society to rebel against the direction toward which the world seemed destined.
CHAPTER FOUR:

WILLIAM MORRIS, HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE GOTHIC REVIVAL, AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS

Although the SPAB has campaigned to save buildings in many of the styles discussed in the last chapter, it was the threat of Gothic Revival restoration in the mid-Victorian period that initiated its organization and shaped its mission. The purpose of this chapter is to delve more intricately into the connection between Morris, the Gothic Revival, and the SPAB.

By the time he founded the SPAB in 1877, Morris had an illustrious career that included writing romances, novels, poetry, translations, and prose, along with the oversight of his design company, which was popular for its furniture, textiles, and wall-coverings. After 1877, he added to his repertoire by founding the Kelmscott Press and by becoming a heavily involved and influential socialist, which included editing the Commonweal. Müller’s endeavors stemmed from his love of beauty in design and the arts and crafts, his nostalgic look to the medieval past, and his utopian view of the future. Morris was influential in that he was a persuasive and spirited speaker, because he was relentless in his beliefs, and because he knew a wide range of influential and motivated people.

William Morris was born on March 24, 1834 to William and Emma Morris in the village of Walthamstow, England. Walthamstow is now a suburb of London, located

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1 *Commonweal* was the Socialist League journal that Morris edited during his work with the League until philosophical and personal difficulties arose with other members of the League just prior to his leaving the organization.
about ten miles north of the central point of the city. The Morrises had ten children, although the first-born died after four days. William was the third child and the eldest surviving son. His father, a financier, made a very comfortable living but the tone of the household was not particularly aesthetic or radical. The home was an estate located on fifty acres and nearly self-sufficient with gardens and animals. There was a sense of communal living with the large family and servants.\(^2\) Morris seemed destined to intellectual aspirations; he was reading Sir Walter Scott at the age of seven.\(^3\) He was interested in architecture as a child, going off on his own to explore local churches and abandoned buildings. His father took him to see Canterbury Cathedral when he was eight and he described later in life the impact that this had on him.\(^4\) Morris attended the Misses Arundale’s Academy for Young Gentlemen when he was nine and Marlborough College when he was fourteen. Once Morris became more aware of the intellectual currents of his time, Romanticism became an influencing factor, although he was conscious of the ideology earlier than these school years, having already read the works of Scott and Keats.\(^5\)

William Morris Sr. died in 1847, just before Morris’s entrance into Marlborough, leaving his family financially secure. While this affected him, Morris did not agree with his father in many respects. To Morris, his father was unsympathetic to those less fortunate than him and to the social problems of his time. Morris was more interested in people and ideas and spent his school years reading, exploring the countryside, observing

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\(^3\) Ibid., 5.
\(^4\) Ibid., 18.
the people and objects around him, and developing a sense of historical and social consciousness.  

Morris went up to Exeter College, Oxford in 1853. While at Oxford, Morris became friends with Edward Burne-Jones. Neither was very impressed by their Oxford experiences; they took to a habit of wearing similar clothing as a social protest. Throughout his education, Morris preferred history and literature to math and science. At Marlborough and at Oxford, Morris emphasized the study of history and, in particular, medieval history. This was one thing that Morris enjoyed about being at Oxford, the history in the architecture of the city. According to MacCarthy, “he came to look at architecture solemnly as witness to ‘the unfolding of medieval thought.’”

Morris and Burne-Jones became involved with a group of students who referred themselves as “the Set.” This group would get together to read aloud and discuss ideas, literary in particular. Favorite authors included Tennyson and Keats. The Set seemed to think highly of Morris’s intellect. Charles Faulkner and Richard Watson Dixon, members of the Set, observed:

...how decisive Morris was, how accurate, without making an issue of his expertise. They saw what a great reservoir of observation lay behind so many of his most casual comments. Morris surprised them with sophisticated knowledge of subjects about which the literary-oriented Set knew nothing. Unlike them, he read The Builder magazine; and went to look at buildings.

Most of the members of the Set were from the industrial city of Birmingham and, therefore, much closer to the problems of industrialization and the social issues

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7 Ibid., 56.
8 Ibid., 55.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid., 60.
11 Ibid.
associated with it. Their background contrasted with Morris’s sheltered upper class upbringing in the countryside around London. Although Morris had been sympathetic to the social problems of his time, the first-hand acknowledgement of these issues from his friends motivated him to speak out even more fervently against injustice. In addition, Morris was an avid reader and devoured the works of Carlyle and Ruskin. When Morris turned twenty-one, he began to receive a dividend of about £700 annually from his father’s investments. Morris felt that his parent’s wealth should be used for furthering the arts and society and so used it to help fund discussion and aesthetic groups.

Towards the end of his education at Oxford, Morris traveled to France with Burne-Jones and William Fulford. Morris was drawn to the architecture, describing the northern French cathedrals, such as Rouen, as “the ultimate in Gothic.” Morris wrote:

I thought that even if I could say nothing else about these grand churches, I could at least tell men how I loved them. For I will say here that I think these same churches of North France the grandest, the most beautiful, the kindest and most loving of all the buildings that the earth has ever borne.

His favorites were the cathedrals at Amiens, Beauvais, Chartres, Evreux, and especially Rouen, where he was “conscious of the cathedral in its townscape, as part of the fabric of its local social history, full of community resonance and meaning.”

The holiday in France was significant for two reasons. First, it solidified Morris’s love of architecture and, second, he made the decision to give up his mother’s desire to see him serve the Church of England and work instead as an artist, specifically, an

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15 Ibid., 83.
architect. His mother was upset; she “cried and disbelieved him and admonished him, telling him how evil it was to be an idle man without a purpose.” Due to her reaction, Morris decided to fund his decision himself by paying for his own pupilage.

Morris began at George Edmund Street’s Oxford architectural office in 1856, with the intent of working with the firm for five to seven years. Here, Morris met Philip Webb, who would be Morris’s friend throughout his life. Street was a well-known and influential architect. Like other nineteenth century architects, he incorporated medieval ornamentation in his building designs and added Gothic-styled features to already existing buildings.

After a year in Streets office, Morris was convinced that the Gothic Revival, and the restoration carried out under its influence, was pernicious. He decided against working with Street and against architecture as a profession. It seemed a foreseeable turn of events:

Webb, thinking back, decided William Morris could not have been influenced by Street’s work ‘except in a negative way of determining to leave the study of what to him was but a change of one kind of Victorian art to another.’ Morris detested restoration: Street became a prime restorer. Morris became a socialist: ‘Street, though a very able man, could not perceive that only from the life of the people could come a living art.’ Morris later maintained that Street had been a quarreler. This was not wholly fair. It was Morris who had quarreled and who went on hounding Street in the years to come with a curious, ungenerous compulsiveness.

During his year at Street’s office Morris became more aware of the practice and ways of the Gothic Revival architects. He also learned about the details of designing buildings,

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18 MacCarthy, William Morris, 96.
20 Thompson, William Morris, 226.
the technological aspects of architecture, its terminology, and the business workings of an architectural firm.

During the year with Street, Morris and Burne-Jones moved to the Bloomsbury area of London. They also became involved with Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. According to biographer E.P. Thompson:

This 'Brotherhood' was a high-sounding name adopted by a small circle of young artists (and would-be artists) determined to raise the banner of revolt against the academic art of their time, but incoherent in their ideas, and ill-assorted in their talents.22

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood formed in 1848. The original members were William Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Michael Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, and Ford Madox Brown, with John Ruskin as a patron.23 Morris and Burne-Jones became associated with the group first through Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who impressed both of them.24 Burne-Jones wrote of this time in London and the associations with Rossetti, referring to Morris by his nickname, "Topsy:"

Topsy and I live together in the quaintest room in all London, hung with brasses of old knights and drawings of Albert Durer. We know Rossetti now as a daily friend, and we know Browning too, who is the greatest poet alive... Topsy will be a painter, he works hard, is prepared to wait twenty years, loves art more and more every day. He has written several poems, exceedingly dramatic — the Brownings, I hear, have spoken very highly of one that was read to them; Rossetti thinks one called 'Rapunzel' is equal to Tennyson.25

22 Thompson, William Morris, 41.
23 Ibid., 41-42.
24 Ibid., 44.
25 Thompson, William Morris, 45. Quoted from Mackail, Volume One, 107-108. Mackail does not reference this quote.
During the three years in Bloomsbury, Morris met Jane Burden. He met her through Rossetti, who noticed her at the theatre and asked to paint her. Jane, usually called Janey, came from a lower class background than Morris, as did many of the women that became involved with the Brotherhood. The desire to transform a less educated and less well off woman into an ideal mate was common among Morris’s group of friends. This is referred to as the “Pygmalion factor” and, according to MacCarthy; this “cannot be discounted in Morris’s highly idealized and at times tormented relations with Janey.” They were engaged in 1858 and married in 1859 in a very small ceremony that only a few friends and family attended, significantly not including any member of Morris’s family. Janey Morris became one of the more important models for the Pre-Raphaelites and, although she had an affair with Rossetti, remained married to Morris for the rest of his life.

The first home for the Morrises was at Red House, where they lived from 1860 to 1865. Philip Webb designed the house and its plan was:

...for its time unusual: the main living-rooms, the studio and drawing-room, were placed on the first floor, with the bedrooms. The large hall, the dining-room, the library and morning-room were placed more conventionally on the ground floor, with the kitchen. But the kitchen itself was unusually generous, a light and friendly room with its window to the garden. Morris and Webb, embryo Socialists, provided excellent conditions for the servants. The house is plain and functional, beautiful and homely, with the simple solid structure and respect for its materials... But Red House is also playful, willful, an amalgam of surprises, gables, arches, little casements of a size to shoot an arrow through.

The house, located at Bexleyheath about ten miles outside of London, was also:

26 MacCarthy, William Morris, 135.
27 Ibid., 138.
28 Ibid., 151.
29 Thompson, William Morris, 162-163.
30 MacCarthy, William Morris, 155.
...romantic and dogmatic and, at that time, very startling in its colour: a stranger approaching from a distance would be conscious of 'an immense red-tiled, steep, and high roof.' This was Morris’s dream dwelling, the house he described as 'very mediaeval in spirit,' based on the architectural style of the thirteenth century. Red House was the ultimate Pre-Raphaelite building...31

Morris believed that the right atmosphere and the best setting were important to living one's life completely. A great deal of thought went into selecting the site for Red House. It was built outside of London, far enough to be peaceful and close enough to be convenient. The site was also about the valley of the Cray so as to give Morris the feeling of freedom, and near the remains of an Augustinian priory to lend to his sense of history.32 The site was also near the Thames. This gave Morris the rural feeling that he enjoyed, while the proximity of the river fed his need to feel free. History is also involved, as the house was mainly Elizabethan, built around 1570, and was procured from the executors of the Turner family, who had inhabited the home for four centuries. Morris loved the “sense of continuity” at Kelmscott and “saw it as a house that had ‘grown up out of the soil and the lives of them that lived on it.’ It seemed doubly organic, deeply rooted in its landscape and connecting with, embracing, a long local human past.”33

The years at Red House were happy for Morris. His two children, Jane and Mary, referred to as Jenny and May, were born here. The house was a gathering place for many of his friends and Morris enjoyed hosting in his “dream house:”

‘Oh the joy of those Saturdays to Mondays at Red House!’ writes one of the frequent guests of those days, ‘the getting out at Abbey Wood Station and smelling the sweet air, and then the scrambling, swinging drive of three miles or so to the house; and the beautiful roomy place where we seemed to be coming

31 MacCarthy, William Morris, 154.
32 Ibid., 154-155.
33 Ibid., 312.
home just as much as when we returned to our own rooms. No protestations - only certainty of contentment in each other's society. We laughed because we were happy.' 'It was the most beautiful sight in the world,' says another of his old friends of the Red House days, 'to see Morris coming up from the cellar before dinner, beaming with joy, with his hands full of bottles of wine and others tucked under his arms.'

In building and furnishing Red House, Morris determined his next business pursuit. He had found few quality items of his taste for interior decoration and blamed industrialization for mass-producing low quality goods. As a result, in 1861 he formed, along with some of his friends, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Co. in order to produce high quality household items, such as furniture and textiles. The business set up shop at 8 Red Lion Square in London. Rossetti, Brown, Faulkner, Arthur Hughes, Peter Paul Marshall, Burne-Jones, and Webb were also participants in the firm.35 In an 1861 letter to Frederick Barlow Guy, Morris wrote of the foundation of his company:

...I have started as a decorator which I have long meant to do when I could get men of reputation to join me, and to this end mainly I have built my fine house. You see we are, or consider ourselves to be, the only really artistic firm of the kind, the others being only glass painters in point of fact, (like Clayton & Bell) or else that curious nondescript mixture of clerical tailor and decorator that flourishes in Southampton Street, Strand; whereas we shall do – most things.36

The Firm was moderately successful. Morris had to work long and hard to ensure that the company was profitable. Still, it outgrew the space at 8 Red Lion Square and relocated to No. 26 Queen Square. The inconvenience of commuting and the monetary concerns of the Firm led to Morris's decision to sell Red House. While this move seemed necessary to Morris, it was also upsetting, and he never returned to the house

35 Kelvin, Collected Letters, 37. Morris referred to the firm in a letter to Frederick Barlow Guy on April 18, 1861 from 8 Red Lion Square. Members mentioned in the notes.
36 Ibid., 36-37. Letter written on April 19, 1861.
after moving out in 1865.\textsuperscript{37} The family moved to the building that housed the Firm at Queen Square. From the 1860’s on, Morris also became a successful author of poetry, prose, and novels, as well as a capable artist of stained glass and book design. In 1858, he published \textit{The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems}. Other publications included \textit{The Earthly Paradise} (1868-70), \textit{Sigurd the Volsung} (1876), and \textit{News From Nowhere} (1890).

\textit{Sigurd the Volsung} is an example of Morris’s interest in Icelandic history and literature. In 1868, Morris began translating Icelandic Sagas in collaboration with an Icelander living in London, Eiríkr Magnusson. Magnusson and Morris studied Icelandic several times a week during this time.\textsuperscript{38} Morris, with Magnusson and Faulkner, traveled to Iceland in 1871 and again in 1873, from where he wrote to Janey.

I think I told you we were to go to Bernfirth in the East first of all; and we were just at the entrance of it now; it is no use trying to describe it, but it was quite up to my utmost expectations as to strangeness: it is just like nothing else in the world: it was a wild morning too, very black out to sea, and very bright sun under a sort of black canopy over Iceland. We coasted all that day and had fine weather at first, as we passed by the stupendous mass of glaciers they call Vatnajökull where ice-rivers seem to run fairly into the sea...\textsuperscript{39}

Morris was intrigued by the isolated nature of the Icelandic landscape. He was awed by the contrasts between its powerful beauty and its terrible strength. He wrote about “pastures thick with a bright blue gentian” while talking of “the strange threatening change of the blue spiky mountains.”\textsuperscript{40} He saw the ruin of a medieval church as being “a most beautiful and poetical place,” yet a place “more remote and melancholy than I can

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 279.
\textsuperscript{39} Kelvin, \textit{Collected Letters}, 141-142. Letter from Morris posted at Reykjavik, Iceland to Jane Morris on July 16, 1871.
\textsuperscript{40} Mackail, \textit{The Life of William Morris}, 262-268.
say.” He appreciated the people of Iceland, noting the “littleness and helplessness” of their relation to the land yet also the “reward for the old life” and that they seemed content. He said later about this trip that, he “learned one lesson there, thoroughly I hope, that the most grinding poverty is a trifling evil compared with the inequality of the classes.”

The same year that Morris first traveled to Iceland, Rossetti and Morris acquired a lease at Kelmscott Manor. Rossetti would give up his portion of the lease in 1874. Kelmscott is a “gabled, grey stone building” that, for Morris, became “his ideal imagined place of domesticity, gregariousness, happiness, fulfillment.” Kelmscott stayed in the family through Morris’s life and his children’s life, and is now owned by Oxford University and maintained with Morris and Co. décor; the house is open to the public once a month. However much Morris loved Kelmscott, he never lived there permanently, as he was very busy in London and the house could be uncomfortable in the coldest and warmest months of the year. The family’s permanent residences include Queen Street until 1872, Horrington House until 1879, and, finally, 26 Upper Mall, Hammersmith, a “conventional Georgian town house,” which now houses the Morris Society in its lower level. Morris named this town house Kelmscott House in reference to his second residence at Kelmscott Manor.

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41 Mackail, The Life of William Morris, 255.
42 Ibid., 268.
43 Thompson, William Morris, 184.
44 MacCarthy, William Morris, 311.
In 1875, Morris took full control of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Co., renaming it Morris and Company.\textsuperscript{46} Not all of the participants were happy with this turn of events, particularly Rossetti, who wrote \textit{A Drama of the Future in One Unjustifiable Act}. This play mocked Morris and also signified the end of the Brotherhood.\textsuperscript{47} Although Rossetti objected to Morris's buyout of the company, most of the other participants agreed willingly, acknowledging Morris's deep involvement, his years of financing, and his tireless work ethic. The practical necessity of producing for the Firm, and his creative ability for interior design, furnishings, and textiles kept Morris very busy. The Firm popularized the “Morris” chair and Morris's elaborate textile and wall covering designs.

With Morris's increased capacity at Morris and Co., he designed more products to help modern workers experience some of the pride and satisfaction of medieval artisans. This desire to produce according to the precepts of the past made his work beautiful and honorable, but it was more difficult to compete with the mass produced and less expensive products available.\textsuperscript{48} Many of Morris's textile and stained glass designs were similar to the shapes and colors found in medieval illuminated manuscripts. Even with Morris and Co., he did not mass-produce or create with the sole intention of increasing his own wealth. He wanted to bring beauty and quality to more people and went about this by carefully producing his products with his love and respect for craftsmanship.\textsuperscript{49} Morris and Co. stayed at Queen Street until 1881, when the works were moved to Merton Abbey.

\textsuperscript{46} Peter Faulkner, \textit{Against the Age: An Introduction to William Morris} (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1980). 27-33.
\textsuperscript{47} MacCarthy, \textit{William Morris}, 347.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 353-356.
\textsuperscript{49} Mackail, \textit{The Life of William Morris}, 58-61.
Morris’s interest in preserving old buildings was a natural extension of his interest in medieval crafts and architecture. His fight for the preservation of architecture began in 1876, when he noticed the faulty restoration of the Burford parish church. In response, Morris founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877. According to Mackail, in 1899:

The eminent men in many walks of life who at once joined it [the SPAB] were sufficient to protect it from either contempt or ridicule; and if it has not stayed destruction, it has at all events saved much that would otherwise have been lost, and has had an immense though quiet influence in raising the standard of morality on the subject of ancient buildings throughout England. Architects and owners alike now take a wholly new and wholly beneficial sense of their responsibility.\(^{50}\)

Until his death, Morris remained involved with the SPAB and the fight for quality historic preservation.

The inspiration for Morris in founding the SPAB was the overuse of restoration. From 1840 to 1870, a substantial number of historic buildings were restored in England. The vast quantity of architectural restoration projects left the integrity of the specific site up to the architect. In many cases, restorations were not terribly accurate, and in all cases, restorations were a by-product of the perspective of the person or people responsible for the restoration.

A group called the Camden Society likely influenced the excesses of restoration.\(^{51}\) This influential society, organized by Cambridge undergraduates in 1839, emphasized the religious aspect of medieval churches and cathedrals. They believed that “only the restitution of the medieval stress on dignity, ritual, and sacrament could regenerate the

\(^{50}\) Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, 352.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., 81.
Church of England and that this could take place only in authentic medieval settings.\textsuperscript{52} However, if the Camden Society wished to isolate these “authentic medieval settings,” their options were limited. This is partially due to the centuries that passed between medieval society and the nineteenth century. Authentic medieval settings were hard to come by in the nineteenth century since most medieval buildings had required adaptations and repairs as the centuries had progressed. This would make these particular sites unsuitable as an “authentic medieval setting.” Ironically, the Camden Society believed that restoration could assist them in obtaining more “authentic sites.” Restoration allowed them to “transform the visual appearance of medieval churches in order to make them usable sacred symbols.”\textsuperscript{53} This concept worked against Morris’s and the SPAB’s beliefs as they believed that restoration made buildings less authentic.

While the Camden Society promoted restoration, it was not the only group that did so. Restoration was also beneficial to Victorian architects in that it kept costs down, it was more efficient with the increasing demand for building space, and it gave architects the chance to put their “creative mark” on buildings with much less effort than erecting a building from nothing.\textsuperscript{54} This “creative mark” was especially difficult for Victorian architects to determine because they were hindered by concerns of the age that architectural progress was near impossible.\textsuperscript{55} A Building News article from 1858 explained, “our intimate acquaintance at the present day with examples of all styles has

\textsuperscript{52} Mackail, \textit{The Life of William Morris}, 81.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 83.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
no small share in hindering us from working out one that will decidedly be our own.”

The late Victorian age in particular suffered under a paradox of modernization and the desire to hold onto the past. This was especially crippling for Victorian architects since the great architects of the past left such an impressive mark on the built landscape.

Early Gothic Revival architecture was rough and often inaccurate to the original Gothic style. After Pugin and Viollet-le-Duc began writing about the aspects of the true Gothic building, a more accurate Gothic style began to take hold. In addition, their writings helped inspire a Gothic movement that was more than architectural, but also literary and philosophical:

...the Gothic always stood for ideas larger than itself. The eighteenth century admired it for its suggestive quality of decay and melancholy, the early nineteenth century for the religious piety it expressed, the late nineteenth century for its superb engineering. In the course of the revival the Gothic was attached to social movements of every sort – from political liberalism to patriotic nationalism, from Roman Catholic solidarity to labour reform. Like Marxism, which also drew lessons from medieval society, the Gothic Revival offered a comprehensive response to the dislocations and traumas of the Industrial Revolution. In the broadest view, it is the story of Western civilization’s confrontation with modernity.

The Gothic Revival in England was specifically rooted in literature. Poets and novelists were drawn to the tall, dramatic, decorative characteristics of the Gothic structures scattered about the landscape, particularly the ruins. William Wordsworth, after visiting Tintern Abbey in Wales and writing his well-received *Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour*, said of the “very beautiful ruin on the Wye” that no other poem “was composed under circumstances

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56 Dellheim, *The Face of the Past*, 83.
more pleasant for me than this."58 Gothic literature was not necessarily attuned to architecture but it did require some of the following characteristics: a ruined castle, dungeons or crypts, dark corridors, shadows or flickering candle-light, extreme landscapes, supernatural attributes, a hero or villain, a heroine who faints easily or needs to be rescued, and horrifying events leading to a conclusion.59 Samuel Coleridge’s *Christabel* falls into this category:

The moon shines dim in the open air,
And not a moonbeam enters here.
But they without its light can see
The chamber carved so curiously,
Carved with figures strange and sweet,
All made out of the carver’s brain,
For a lady’s chamber meet:
The lamp with twofold silver chain
Is fastened to an angel’s feet.
The silver lamp burns dead and dim;
But Christabel the lamp will trim.
She trimmed the lamp, and made it bright,
And left it swinging to and fro,
While Geraldine, in wretched plight,
Sank down upon the floor below.60

Other literary works considered Gothic in sentiment include Emily Bronte’s *Wuthering Heights*, John Keats’s *The Eve of St. Agnes*, Matthew Lewis’s *The Monk*, Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, and Coleridge’s *Kubla Khan*.

Gothic references in Romantic literature is a likely correlation as “the Gothic revival was the most visible expression of a broader movement of reaction to the

58 David M. Robinson, *William Wordsworth Tintern* (Cardiff: Welsh Historic Monuments, 1994). These quotes are from a pamphlet available at the Abbey Museum or through the CADW, a preservation society for Welsh historical sites.
industrial revolution that traced back to the Romantic poets at the beginning of the nineteenth century.61 Ironically, yearning for a perceivably nobler and more ideal time is a common theme in Romanticism, the Gothic Revival, and even, with William Morris. The difference is in how each expressed their notion of an ideal society.

The major cultural force seemed to be aesthetic medievalism and a yearning for either times past or an idealized version of the present. This was apparent in many forms, such as in architecture with the Gothic Revival, in the inventions of “medieval” traditions, and in literature. In regard to literature, this is not only obvious in William Morris’s many lectures and projects but also in his novel, News from Nowhere,62 a Utopian novel in which “Nowhere” is an ideal pastoral society from England of the future. One can compare four authors of different political and ideological viewpoints: Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, Charles Dickens, and John Stuart Mill:

The politics of these four men ranged across the spectrum; indeed the views of each of them varied widely at different times and on different issues... Yet beneath and despite their personal complexities and their differences lay elements of an outlook they shared and which they helped root in modern British life... Not one of these four was at all simply conservative. Yet all recoiled, with varying degrees of intensity, from the commercial-industrial society that had arisen in their generation. Even those most identified with the course of liberal progress and most critical of the past and of established institutions underwent this reaction, laying the groundwork for the coming English cultural orthodoxy.63

It is interesting that so many ideals could be so different yet can combine to form a common ideology that moves throughout society and, in the end, becomes a facet of popular thought.

63 Wiener, English Culture, 31-32.
The first English Gothic Revival inspiration took architectural form as early as the eighteenth century, as in Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill in Twickenham. Later Gothic Revival structures include those inspired by the Romantic poetry of Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, Keats, and Tennyson. The designer James Wyatt is considered an example of the Gothic Romantics. Wyatt designed Fonthill Abbey, an impressive example of faux Gothic, even though its 278-foot tower collapsed twice. Wyatt also worked on restorations at Salisbury Cathedral. At this site, Wyatt's "controlling idea was to treat the cathedral as an artistic whole, to unify its disparate parts into one overwhelming space" but by doing this "a good deal of historical evidence was moved or lost in the process."65

Pugin shunned Wyatt's work and considered it "sham-Gothic."66 Pugin was one of the architects in England who espoused integrity in Gothic design. He believed in Gothic Revival architecture as a superior style and regarded restoration as suitable. To Pugin, the Gothic Revival signified a return to the epitome of religious architecture. Along with this religious aspect, he stressed the importance of architectural and historical accuracy.67 After 1840, the Gothic Revival in England appeared more accurate to original Gothic architecture and this is, in a large part due to Pugin and the popularity of his writings and designs. Pugin had important commissions, which solidified his success, and he has gone down in history as one of the most influential of the Gothic Revival

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65 Ibid., 41.
66 Ibid., 81.
architects. The Palace of Westminster, designed and rebuilt by Charles Barry and Pugin after an 1834 fire, changed the skyline of London.

Sir George Gilbert Scott, George Edmund Street, William Butterfield, and Alfred Waterhouse comprised the next generation of Gothic Revival architects in England. This group of architects was more likely to restore existing sites, which caused the greatest concern to the SPAB. A Gothic Revival architect who designed and erected a building where no building existed was not offensive except for the humiliation that there was a generation of architects who could not find their own style. It was a far larger offense when a restorer defaced a previously standing building.

The excesses of enthusiasts were obvious early in the nineteenth century: Lord George Gordon Byron sarcastically referred to them in Don Juan in 1824:

There was a modern Goth, I mean a Gothic Bricklayer of Babel, called an architect, Brought to survey these grey walls which, though so thick, Might have from Time acquired some slight defect; Who, after rummaging the Abbey through thick And thin, produced a plan whereby to erect New buildings of correctest conformation, And throw down old – which he called restoration.68

By the 1830’s, restoration had become increasingly popular. Nearly half the cathedrals and churches in England and Wales, totaling 7,144, were restored between 1840 and 1873.69

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Morris lived during this period of rapid change in architecture. The drawn out reconstruction of the Palace of Westminster, one of the most important political and symbolic buildings in London, made an impression on Morris.\textsuperscript{70} Morris's trip to northern France and Paris, further impacted his notions of the false and destructive nature of the Gothic Revival. This was in 1854, when Haussmann's "revitalization" plan was under development in central Paris. Morris's opinion was even more influenced when he returned to Notre Dame a year later to view the restoration work on its west front, "with its sculptures 'lying in careless wreck under the porches.'"\textsuperscript{71} For Morris, who as a child enjoyed the simple and ancient structures of the rural London countryside, this treatment of ancient sites was abominable.

In England, the popular restoration architect, Sir Gilbert Scott, supervised more projects than he could remember. Much of his work included the removal of authentic historic attributes to accentuate buildings in a more Gothic manner. Once he saw a church being built, stopped to ask about the architect, and was surprised to find that he was the architect in charge of the site.\textsuperscript{72} Scott was a leading Gothic restoration architect throughout the middle to late Victorian England. An SPAB committee member, W.R. Lethaby, commented sarcastically of Scott that the "cathedral-restoring business was very thoroughly organized by him."\textsuperscript{73}

Scott, like many restorers, was interested in "upgrading" old buildings so they looked more like his ideals. When Scott rebuilt the east end of Christ Church Cathedral, he did so in the Norman style, not because it was a style which provided integrity to the

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 15.  
\textsuperscript{72} Thompson, \textit{William Morris}, 227.  
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
Cathedral, but because he thought it would look better by his standards. Morris, on the other hand, preferred that buildings be left to “mature” by constructing additions to buildings that represented the current style of the time. To him, it was natural that a Gothic church built in the early fourteenth century should have a spire in the Perpendicular style erected after 1360 because that is when England began to build according to the new style. However, it would make no sense to erect a Norman style tower to this same cathedral because the Norman style was evident during the eleventh century, much earlier in English architectural history. Further, to build an eleventh century Norman style tower on a fourteenth century church in the nineteenth century was even more a travesty in Morris’s eyes and a detestable characteristic of Gothic restoration.

Scott promoted Gothic restoration because he wanted England’s churches and cathedrals to live up to the glory of the Victorian Age. In his *Personal and Professional Recollections*, Scott wrote:

I am no medievalist, I do not advocate the styles of the middle ages as such. If we had a distinctive architecture of our own day worthy of the greatness of our age, I should be content to follow it; but we have not...  

It was Scott’s opinion that the Middle Ages were the last period with a unique and worthwhile style of its own. Although Scott and the SPAB disagreed about restoration, they did agree that the Victorian Age had no real style of architecture. In fairness to Scott, many historic sites were headed for complete destruction until he restored them. He was responsible for restorations or Gothic Revival work at Kelham Hall in

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75 Ibid.
Nottinghamshire, the Albert Memorial, the Midland Grand Hall at St. Pancras, sections of Westminster Abbey, St. Mary's Church at Dover Castle, and as many as twenty other churches and cathedrals.\textsuperscript{76}

Scott and the SPAB did not have many direct confrontations because Scott died the year after the SPAB's founding. However, since Scott's methods were so widespread, the SPAB often encountered architects who emulated his work. Scott was certainly an inspiration to Morris's foundation of the SPAB.

Given the full array of Morris's life achievements, it is hard to believe that he had time for any involvement in restoration. Yet, since his architectural work at Street's office, he had bemoaned the excesses of restoration, which he thought systematically destroyed the beauty of the past. He thought that buildings should be \textit{preserved}, not \textit{restored}. To Morris, restoration was vandalism. He thought it falsified historic buildings according to modern conceptions of historic designs. Further, if as Morris contended, historic architecture embodied the ideals and efforts of past individuals, then how could be appropriate to erase these efforts through restoration? Morris felt that this quote from John Ruskin explained why old architecture should not be restored:

\begin{quote}
We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong, partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. The dead have still their right to them: that which they laboured for...we have to right to obliterate. What we have ourselves built we are at liberty to throw down; but what other men gave their strength, and wealth and life to accomplish, their right over does not pass away with their death; still less is the right to the use of what they have left vested in us only. It belongs to all their successors.\textsuperscript{77}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{76} Watkin, \textit{English Architecture}, 169.
\textsuperscript{77} Thompson, \textit{William Morris}, 234. This quote is from John Ruskin's \textit{Seven Lamps of Architecture}. 
To Morris, protecting architecture from restoration meant that preservation methods be used and that any changes made upon a site should be done so only if necessary to insure the health of the structure. This ideal works opposite to that of the restorer, who was often eager to change aspects of a building to accommodate his or her impression of how a site should ideally appear.

It took the restoration at the Buford parish church to inspire Morris to create a society that could work at preventing this sort of abuse, and it took the proposed restoration at the Abbey Church at Tewkesbury to cause him to write the letter to *The Athenaeum* on March 10, 1877. This letter demeaned Sir Gilbert Scott and his work at Tewkesbury and proposed the organization of a society to protect old buildings from this sort of destruction. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings came into being on March 22, 1877. Ten men attended the first meeting: George Price Boyce, Alfred W. Hunt, Alfred Marks, William Morris, Thomas Wilkinson Norwood, Roddam Spencer Stanhope, F.G. Stephens, Henry Wallis, George Young Wardle, and Philip Webb. Morris was elected temporary Secretary and Treasurer. Within the first months of this initial meeting, the SPAB could boast the membership of such noted individuals as James Bryce, Thomas Carlyle, William Holman Hunt, Edward Burne-Jones, Sir John Lubbock, John Everett Millais, John Ruskin, Leslie Stephen, and William Aldis Wright.

During the first year of the SPAB's existence, the committee worked on the preservation of London city churches, spoke out against restoration in general, researched

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79 Turner, *Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings: A Chapter*, 15. Wardle and Webb were also members of Morris and Co. Hunt, Stanhope, Boyce, Marks, and Wallis were artists.
80 Ibid., 17. These individuals were noted artists, critics, politicians or writers.
the number of churches in England that had not undergone restoration, corresponded and set up alliances with local church groups, and attempted to increase membership.\footnote{First Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1878), 8-23.} Since the typical Victorian architect was heavily involved in restoration, the SPAB ran across a great deal of mischief in this first year:

In its first years alone, the SPAB became involved in controversies - for, as we will see, where the SPAB came in, controversy almost inevitably followed - over the destinies of the London City churches and Lincoln Guildhall, Ashton Hall, Lancashire, and Magdalen Bridge, Oxford, to but a few instances. Their work encompassed Roman, Saxon, Norman, and Elizabethan survivals, pulling up short at recent history. Occasionally they extended their operations abroad, as in the cases of St. Mark’s, Venice, and St. Sophia, Constantinople.\footnote{Dellheim, The Face of the Past, 88.}

The SPAB membership dues were £1 per year. This amount may have been prohibitive to poorer or lesser-inspired individuals, as £1 in 1877 would equal £400 in 2004.\footnote{SPAB (n.d.). http://www.spab.org.uk.} Other than financial limitations, there were no restrictions as to who could join the SPAB: women, the poor, and the most radical of thinkers were permitted. The structure of the organization, for the first year, included a secretary and a treasurer and the committee. William Morris was the first Secretary and Treasurer. In 1877, £172 were received with fourteen memberships and six donations. This same year, £53 was spent on printing and advertisements and £17 spent on office expenses and postage.\footnote{Third Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1880), Auditor’s Report.}

By the first annual meeting of the SPAB in 1878, the committee had grown to over sixty participants. Important new committee members included Eustace Balfour, Charles Faulkner, George Aitchison, the Earl of Bective, the Hon. Lord Carlingford, Lord
Monteagle, and Lord Houghton. Committee members were those who attended regular meetings and had voting privileges. It was also possible to become a regular member and thereby receive notices and attend meetings. The distinguishing factor between being on the committee and being a regular member was the choice as to level of involvement. In its first year, the SPAB “received a great number of letters from various parts of the kingdom relating to demolition and so-called restoration, contemplated or in progress.”

In response the SPAB wrote letters, made contacts, and set up protests for about forty sites in England.

The annual meetings took place at the Hall of the Society of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce on John Street. Only the committee attended although members were permitted. The meetings generally began with the reading of the annual report, which included a listing of casework, any yearly accomplishments and difficulties, and special issues. After the annual report was read, a motion was made and seconded to accept the report. Then, a speaker often addressed the members and the committee. The speakers in 1882 were the Hon. Robert C. Grosvenor and John Thomas Micklethwaite; in 1884, William Morris; in 1885, Rev. T.W. Norwood; in 1887, Frederic Harrison; in 1889, 

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85 First Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1878), i. Faulkner was from Morris and Co. and, later, an active socialist with Morris. Lord Houghton was a poet and a biographer of Keats. Aitchison, the Earl of Bective, the Hon. Lord Carlingford, and Lord Monteagle were influential political figures. While the initial SPAB members were typically artists, architects and writers, it began to attract more wealthy patrons of the arts and influential political figures.

86 Ibid., 11.

87 Ibid.

William Morris; in 1890, Rev. W. Cunningham; in 1891, W.B. Richmond; in 1893, Rev. J. Charles Cox; and in 1894, Heywood Sumner. 89

Regarding SPAB casework, the number of sites increased from a handful of city churches to approximately fifty sites in 1878, including Norwich Cathedral, St. Helen’s Bishopsgate, Wye Church in Kent, St. Albans Cathedral, St. Mary’s at Ely, St. Giles in Edinburgh, and the Stratford-on-Avon Church. 90 In addition, the SPAB added St. Mark’s in Venice to their list of cases with the support of both Gladstone and Disraeli. 91 By this second year, “the general tone of the public is decidedly more favourable to its [the SPAB] principles than when it was first started.” 92

By the third year, the SPAB had registered ninety committee members, including Ruskin, and 372 total members. In addition, local correspondents numbered twenty-six, including correspondents throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland. Three of the correspondents were John Burney in Venice, Russell Forbes in Rome, and Adolph Guillon in Paris. 93 In this same year, Newman Marks was elected Secretary, Alfred Marks was elected Treasurer, and Morris was elected Honorary Secretary. Morris maintained this office until his death in 1896. 94 The position of Honorary Secretary gave Morris the opportunity to continue his many other interests while remaining dedicated to the goals of the SPAB through his most effective activity, public relations. In 1882, the

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89 First through Twenty Annual Reports: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1877-1897). Grosvenor was a conservative MP; Micklethwaite, the Westminster architect; Norwood, Cunningham, and Cox, influential religious officials; Harrison, a philosopher and lawyer; Richmond, a portrait and mythological painter; and Sumner, a theologian.
91 SPAB (London, n.d.) From the SPAB website: info@spab.org.uk.
94 First through Twenty Annual Reports: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1877-1897). Morris is listed on each of these reports.
Secretary became Thomas Wise, and from 1883 to 1899, Thackeray Turner.  
Throughout the nineteenth century, the Secretary was paid £120 annually for his services.

In 1880, the SPAB employed an independent auditor, Fuller & Wise, to report the financial dealings of the Society. In that year’s annual report, they listed the financial status of the SPAB for 1877, 1878, and 1879. The 1878 membership and donation balance was £222 and, in 1879, cash received was £200. The SPAB expenses in 1878 were £250 and, in 1879, £255. Memberships and donations increased from year to year with £320 earned in 1880 and £382 earned in 1881. Expenses in 1878 and 1879 were for printing and advertisements, office expenses and postage, traveling expenses, the Secretary’s salary, and rent. SPAB finances tended to include these main expenses through the nineteenth century. Deviations in expenses were for special situations, such as money dedicated to help in specific cases or the rent of space for events. Specific sites that benefited monetarily from SPAB involvement included St. Marks at £79 in 1880 and St. Albans at £125 in 1881.

Morris was less interested in the finances of the SPAB than how it could effect change for historic sites. He would donate money to see to it that goals were being met, as he did with a £40 donation in 1880. Morris was a passionate, influential, and well-versed speaker and writer and it was in this capacity that Morris was most beneficial to the SPAB. He was especially effective in his letters to The Times. His protest letters were sometimes insolent and abusive to the offender; others were calm and helpful.

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95 *First through Twenty Annual Reports: SPAB.*
96 Ibid.
letter to save Chichester Cathedral, Morris calmly suggested that: "...the architect who may be chosen to direct important repairs be assisted by such an expert as an experienced engineer, who, as well as the architect, should be responsible to the committee or other body authorizing the works." In another letter Morris pointedly wrote: "...how irresponsible a loss is being suffered by the whole civilized world as one link after another in the history of art is cut away to feed the vanity of some modern designer or the greed of some contractor eager for a job."100

Morris also visited historic sites to speak to offenders of the SPAB; but while Morris effectively wrote and spoke, he was not always a good diplomat. He had little patience for the destruction of the buildings he loved and could vent his anger at the alleged perpetrators. While in Glasgow in the late 1880’s, Morris was reportedly outraged at a particularly offensive architectural injustice:

We were within a few yards of the doorway when he stopped abruptly, as if struck by a rifle ball, he eyes fixed furiously on some object in front of him. As he glared he seemed to crouch like a lion for a leap at its prey, his whiskers bristling out, ‘What the hell is that? Who the hell has done that?’ he shouted, to the amazement, alarm, and indignation of the people near by. I looked... and saw at once what was the offending object. There it was... a sculptured memorial or sarcophagus in shining white marble jammed into the old grey stone-work of the aisle... completely cutting off a portion of the window above... ‘What infernal idiot has done that?’ Morris again demanded, and heedless of the consternation around him poured forth a torrent of invective against the unknown perpetrators of the crime.101

Some cases involved delicate public relations maneuvering. In these situations, the SPAB questioned the wisdom of Morris’s presence directly at the site. An example

99 William Morris, "Chichester Cathedral," The Times (London), 14 December 1895, 6. Written on behalf of the SPAB.
100 William Morris, "Vandalism in Italy," The Times (London), 12 April 1882, 10. Written on behalf of the SPAB.
101 Thompson, William Morris, 230. Reported by Morris’s friend and Society member, Bruce Glasier.
was seen in the SPAB's case of the York city churches, several of which were in danger either of being destroyed completely or restored. The archbishop and clergy wanted to reduce the number of churches because many were rarely filled due to the large quantity of churches in a concentrated area, the center of town. The locations of these churches did not correspond to demographic shifts away from town to the countryside.¹⁰² Church officials viewed the churches from a practical and monetary viewpoint while the SPAB and Morris saw the churches for their significant aesthetic and historic worth. Most dated from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

In an effort to save the churches, the SPAB held a public meeting in 1885 to draw supporters. Due to negative publicity from the Society's opposition, the Yorkshire archbishop and clergy, and many of the York city residents, were suspicious of the SPAB. The committee discussed if Morris might further antagonize the York audience.¹⁰³ Despite their concerns, it was decided that he was persuasive enough to include in the program to gain support. At the meeting, Morris appealed to the people's civic pride by stressing the structural uniqueness of the city churches, accenting artistic aspects of the churches' interiors, ornamentation, and stained glass, and by stressing the importance of the churches to the city's artistic and historic integrity. The meeting was successful and drew enough public support to persuade the archbishop to withdraw his plans for the churches.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Dellheim, *The Face of the Past*, 120.
¹⁰³ Ibid., 125.
¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 112-130. The churches in question included St. Michael's, built by William the Conqueror, St. Mary's Bishophill Junior, containing the oldest Saxon architectural work in York, and St. Cuthbert's, also dating back to the conquest and containing Roman antiquities.
The SPAB was often controversial. In some ways, this was because of Morris's unorthodox manner. However, the political nature of the Society's work often precipitated dispute. This is primarily due to the conflicts that the SPAB had with many late nineteenth century architects. Gothic restoration was financially beneficial to these architects and, in some cases, made them famous and respected. It stands to reason that the SPAB might be a thorn in their sides. In addition, the SPAB often offended well-meaning architects who thought that their ideas of restoration glorified old architecture. Many people and architects preferred the polished look, safety, and function of a restored building to a preserved building that might not be as neat or efficient.

Still, the public seemed sympathetic to the SPAB and Morris's perspective. Two cartoons published only months after the SPAB formed humorously exposed the controversy over restoration. The first appeared in the magazine Fun in July 1877. It pokes fun at the architect who intends to restore a ruin of nothing more than a column to its "original" form. The architect replies to a look of doubt: "Bless you, I've restored a whole cathedral from a chip of pavement."¹⁰⁵ Punch also laughs at restorers in a cartoon published in September 1877. The cartoon depicts a grandmother who wants to be "restored" to her earlier years. She says to her children: "Well, my dears, all the fine old buildings are being restored to their original design, why shouldn't old ladies have a chance as well?"¹⁰⁶ Another Punch cartoon pokes fun at the preservationists. It is titled, "The Morris Dance Round St. Mark's," and depicts Morris, Ruskin, and some jesters dancing around St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice trying to protect it.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Fun (London), June 27, 1877, 254.
¹⁰⁶ Punch (London), September 8 1877.
¹⁰⁷ Ibid., January 10 1880.
The SPAB supported the preservation of all historic sites. Their work encompassed a variety of styles and periods. In the address to the SPAB members at the first annual meeting, Morris explained:

We desire to declare emphatically that the Society neither has the will nor the power to enter into any 'battle of the styles;' and we beg to inform the public that it counts amongst its members persons of every shade of artistic opinion, and differing widely in their artistic sympathies, whose common bond is earnest opposition at once to neglect and meddling in matters concerning all buildings that have any claim to be considered works of art. Our enemies are the enemies of the works of all styles alike, ignorant destruction and pedantic reconstruction. 108

For Morris and the SPAB, a historic building had integrity and meaning that could not be truly understood by those who did not build it. Historic buildings were constructed not only for function but also for symbolic reasons. Cathedrals were majestic to symbolize the glory of God; governmental buildings were grand to symbolize justice or strength; and homes were constructed to house the builder’s families or friends. Historic architecture displayed the spirit of the past. According to Morris, the present had no right to tamper with historic buildings because this spirit needed to be preserved for the future:

Alas for those who are to come after us, whom we shall have robbed of works of art which it was our duty to hand down to them uninjured and unimpaired; alas for ourselves, who will be looked upon by foreign nations and our own posterity as the only people who ever lived, who, possessing no architecture of their own, have made themselves remarkable for the destruction of the buildings of our forefathers. 109

The SPAB succeeded in ensuring the preservation and preventing the restoration of hundreds of historic buildings and monuments in just the first years of its existence.

109 William Morris, “Destruction of City Churches,” The Times (London), 17 April 1878, 6. Letter written on behalf of the SPAB.
They succeeded partly because Morris recruited many of the most distinguished men and women of the age. Author and artist Samuel Butler, architects Alfred Waterhouse and George Street, novelist and poet Thomas Hardy, and writer and critic Leslie Stephen all became active members in the late nineteenth century. Carlyle, Ruskin, Burne-Jones, Wardle, and many of Morris's literary friends were committee members. Carlyle wrote in support of Morris and the SPAB in their work with the London city churches:

I can have but little hope that any word of mine can help you in your good work of trying to save the Wren Churches in the City from destruction; but my clear feeling is, that it would be a sordid, nay sinful, piece of barbarism to do other than religiously preserve these churches as precious heirlooms; many of them specimens of noble architecture, the like of which we have no prospect of ever being able to produce in England again.\(^\text{110}\)

The SPAB and Morris believed that it was the trust of modern humanity to preserve the buildings of the past for the future. The Society realized the transience of the times and established this idea in their objectives. The conclusion of the Principles of the Society as written in 1877 reads: "...protect our ancient buildings, and hand them down instructive and venerable to those that come after us."\(^\text{111}\) Morris never tired of fighting for his beliefs, and his beliefs were strong, passionate, and numerous. This is one of the reasons why Morris was such a successful literary figure. His words express the passion of his beliefs, be it in a romance or poem, in a letter or diary entry, or in lectures or prose.

Through all his work with the SPAB, his Firm, and, towards the end of his life, with socialism, Morris worked on his literary efforts and publications. In 1877, Morris gave his first public lecture on the decorative arts, called *The Lesser Arts*. During the


\(^{111}\) *SPAB: Notes on the Repair of Ancient Buildings* (London: SPAB, 1903), 73-75,
next year, he wrote his first political poems. In 1885, Morris edited, financed, and wrote for the Commonweal, the Socialist League newspaper. The next year, he wrote A Dream of John Ball, which was published in the Commonweal. Other writings over the years include Hopes and Fears for Art, Signs of Change, News From Nowhere, a translation of the Odyssey, and The Wood Beyond the World. In 1890, he founded the Kelmscott Press to publish works of art and literature in a manner that would be both aesthetic and functional. Morris wrote of his aims:

I began printing books with the hope of producing some which would have a definite claim to beauty, while at the same time they should be easy to read and should not dazzle the eye, or trouble the intellect of the reader by eccentricity of form in the letters... As to the fifteenth century books, I had noticed that they were always beautiful by mere typography, even without the lavish ornamentation with which many of them are so lavishly supplied.\footnote{William Morris, William Morris and the Kelmscott Press (Providence, RI: Brown University Library, 1960), 5.} Morris founded Kelmscott Press because he felt that this would be the best way to accomplish high quality in book production.\footnote{Frank Colebrook, ed., William Morris: Master- Printer, A Lecture Given on the Evening of November 27, 1896 (Council Bluffs, Iowa: Yellow Barn Press, 1989), 4-5.} Some of the many publications at Kelmscott Press include Ruskin’s The Nature of Gothic and Morris’s The Story of the Glittering Plain. He also continued his work with Magnusson on the 1895 translation of Heimskringla.

During the last twenty years of his life, Morris’s involvement in politics, political writing, and lectures increased. Never subdued in his beliefs and actions, he did not mellow with age. Indeed, many incidents illustrate that his activities became more pronounced. In 1877, Morris declined an offer to become Chair of Poetry at Oxford because he had a “lurking doubt as to whether the Chair of Poetry is more than an
ornamental one, and whether the Professor of a wholly incommunicable art is not rather in a false position."

Nostalgia for the distant past and hopes for an idealistic and utopian future influenced Morris throughout his adult life. Along with his interest in medievalism, the seeds of socialism were in the ideals of medieval craftsmanship and teamwork in production. In a utopian future, he believed, cooperation in production would merge with the technological advances of industrialism. In Morris’s idea of future production, there was no noise, or pollution, or the subjugation of workers. Morris’s personal philosophy developed and affected everything he did. Thompson wrote of this characteristic:

...if we are to acknowledge William Morris as one of the greatest of Englishmen – it is not because he was, by fits and starts, a good poet; nor because of his influence upon typography; nor because of his high craftsmanship in the decorative arts; nor because he was a practical socialist pioneer; nor, indeed, because he was all these; but because of a quality which permeates all these activities and which gives to them a certain unity. I have tried to describe this quality by saying that Morris was a great moralist, a great moral teacher. ...he was a man working for practical revolution. It is this which brings the whole man together.\(^{115}\)

During the last thirteen years of his life, Morris became more involved in socialism. He joined the Democratic Federation in 1883, which was renamed the Social-Democratic Federation (SDF) in 1884. The Federation split into the Socialist League, of which Morris was a founding member, and a revised version of the SDF in 1885. In 1890, Morris formed the Hammersmith Socialist League at his home just outside of London. In a letter to Reverend William Sharman, Unitarian Minister and member of the


Socialist League, Morris illustrated his socialist beliefs in relation to education. The intensity of his socialist thought had moved from an intellectual principle to an imperious doctrine:

...parents are the unfitness persons to educate a child: and I entirely deny their right to do so, because that would interfere with the right of the child, as a member of the community from its birth, to enjoy all the advantages which the community can give it. Mind you, I don’t think this change in the family (or in religion) can be done by force. It is a matter of opinion, and must come of the opinion of people free economically.116

Morris’s formal lectures increased as he spoke of socialism around the country, including speeches at Oxford, Manchester, Leicester, Cambridge, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Newcastle, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.117 The content and expression of his lectures changed, as Morris became intent upon spreading the ideas of socialism. In 1883, Morris wrote to the Editor of The Manchester Examiner:

It was the purpose of my lecture to raise another question than one of mere art. I specially wished to point out that the question of popular art was a social question, involving the happiness or misery of the greater part of the community. The absence of popular art from modern times is more disquieting and grievous to bear for this reason than for any other, that it betokens that fatal division of men into the cultivated and the degraded classes which competitive commerce has bred and fosters; popular art has no chance of a healthy life, or, indeed, of a life at all, till we are on the way to fill up this terrible gulf between riches and poverty.118

In a lecture titled Art and Democracy, Morris claimed that commercialism and the factory system repressed people’s natural instinct for beauty. This repression and the lack of availability of most art to those with little money, he believed that art could only revive under social reform.119 In addition to writing and lecturing about socialism, he wrote a

116 Thompson, Communism of William Morris, 3-4.
117 MacCarthy, William Morris, 475.
118 Kelvin, Collected Letters, 173.
119 Editor, “Mr. W. Morris at Oxford,” The Times (London), 15 November 1883, 7.
diary of his socialist activities in the first half of 1887. Although this was not published until 1982, it provides fascinating insight into Morris’s socialist beliefs. In general, many of Morris’s literary efforts show the influence of his socialist tendencies, particularly in the last decades of his life.

Morris’s activism was not just in the form of lectures and writing. He was involved in socialist meetings and held regular meetings at his home in Hammersmith. Throughout the country, many of his speeches and lectures involved other persistent speakers, hecklers, and very large crowds, which often got the attention of the police. As activities continued, the police found ways to break up or dissuade the watching crowds. In May 1885, several SDF speakers were arrested. The Socialist League joined forces with the SDF against police intervention, which soon earned the support of several London Radical Clubs. In September 1885, at a meeting attended by several radical and socialist groups, a resolution was passed to protest police persecutions. At the end of this meeting, the police arrived and arrested eight protestors. The next day, several spectators, including Morris, rallied at the Thames Police Court to protest the sentencing. As Morris yelled, “Shame!” police arrested him for “assaulting a policeman.” Two hours later, Morris was released.

Unfortunately for the police, arresting Morris, who by now was well respected for his artistic and literary efforts, helped incite a public outcry against the police and their methods of control. An article describing Morris’s arrest appeared in The Daily News the next day:

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121 Thompson, *William Morris*, 394-399. Thompson elaborates upon this Thames Police Court incident. His discussions of Morris and socialism are quite thorough.
At the close of the proceedings Mr. William Morris, who had the indiscretion to cry "Shame!" was arrested in the court, and charged with assaulting a policeman. His arrest and detention for a couple of hours was an undignified conclusion of a trial about which many differences of opinion will arise. Happily Mr. Saunders prudently took Mr. Morris's word rather than that of the policeman, but had Mr. Morris been a less distinguished person, it might have gone hard with him, though the policeman's charge was utterly unsubstantiated.  

Instead of dissuading crowds from gathering, the publicity surrounding Morris's arrest increased the popularity of local socialist groups. *The Daily News* predicted this outcome by stating that police intervention "is already producing its inevitable results in giving the socialist speakers audiences of thousands instead of hundreds, and making them the heroes of a petty and undignified persecution." One week after this incident, between 30,000 and 50,000 attended the socialist lecture.  

The arrest incident at the Thames Police Court indicated that Morris had achieved a certain level of prominence by 1885, primarily due to his more "respectable" activities: literary works and textile designs. The range of his involvement, including the SPAB and socialist politics, increased his popularity. An 1889 article in *Cosmopolitan* referred to Morris and his friends as "artist-socialists" and spoke of their beliefs as an influential national movement, specifying that they were leading "one of the greatest crusades of modern times."  

Morris spent the last few years of his life spreading the word of socialism while he remained faithful to his other pursuits such as his work with the SPAB. Morris's socialist philosophy, strongly linked to his belief in "art for all," was a strong tenet in his

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123 Ibid.
founding of the SPAB. A major goal of the SPAB was to preserve the architectural integrity of historic buildings, ensuring that they would stand intact to honor workers of the past and for the benefit of future generations.

By the founding of the SPAB, Morris's illustrious career culminated in taking his ideologies and transferring them to something of concrete benefit. It was helpful to write and lecture about ideas but it was even more meaningful for Morris to see these passionate ideas affect a historic building that held so much meaning for him and to ensure that this building's integrity would continue for future generations. By founding the Kelmscott Press, he was able to continue his concrete expression of ideas through the printed word. Finally, by becoming a heavily involved and influential socialist, he was able to espouse the ideas he cared about to a different, more political level. All these endeavors illustrated his love of aesthetics, his admiration for the medieval past, and his hopes for the future. Morris's passionate search for a way to realize his ideals has made him more than a writer, a designer, or an intellectual. His passion and integrity, along with the great number of his accomplishments, signify that he was a great historical figure who was determined to do his part to make the world a better place.
CHAPTER FIVE:
THE SPAB IN BRITAIN

The role of the SPAB in the nineteenth century was to challenge existing architectural practices throughout England and on the continent by arguing for a change in attitude towards historic architecture. Morris and the SPAB believed that old buildings should be acknowledged as historical and aesthetic artifacts from past societies, and in addition, that it was the duty of those in the present to care for these buildings and save their integrity for future generations.

In the nineteenth century, this was frequently not the attitude towards historic sites. Quite often, an old building was looked at solely for its practical and monetary benefit. While these were a consideration, the SPAB felt that the main concern should be for a building’s historical authenticity. Therefore, it promoted an awareness of the importance of historic buildings. It also educated the public about the problems with restoration and advised architects, building owners, and builders on how to combine practical and monetary concerns with the benefits of preservation.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the public and architects have been more aware of the importance of caring for the architectural heritage. While there are still cases of questionable restoration, current SPAB efforts center more on education and advisement. In 1903, the SPAB issued its first technical pamphlet, entitled \textit{SPAB: Notes on the Repair of Ancient Buildings}.\textsuperscript{1} This pamphlet described how to care for historic buildings through techniques of preservation. A more detailed book was published in 1929, called \textit{Repair of Ancient Buildings}. The 1929 book was organized into twelve

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{SPAB: Notes on the Repair of Ancient Buildings} (London: SPAB, 1903).
chapters ranging from “General Advice to those in Charge of Ancient Buildings,” to “The Survey of Ancient Buildings,” to “The Repair of Ancient Timber Roofs and Other Works of Fine Carpentry.”\(^2\) Today, the SPAB offers over fifty pamphlets and books advising and educating building owners and architects on a variety of topics, including “Care and Repair of Thatched Roofs,” “VAT and Historic Buildings,” “Historic Building Controls and Grants,” “How to Rescue a Ruin,” and “Living with a Listed Building.”\(^3\)

Since 1930, the SPAB has also sponsored an annual training program called the SPAB Lethaby Scholarship. This program is for professional architects, building surveyors, and structural engineers and it provides hands-on training in architectural methods and preservation. In addition, the Philip Webb Award is available to architectural students and the William Morris Craft Fellowship provides training for building craftsmen.\(^4\) These awards, scholarships, and fellowships have ensured an increased level of professionalism in preservation around England. According to the SPAB, “many of the most famous buildings in Britain are cared for by some of the several thousand people who have received SPAB training.”\(^5\)

In the nineteenth century, the SPAB needed to focus primarily on changing the attitude towards historic architecture and educating the public and professionals about preservation and restoration. The general populace, and even architects, did not wholly understand the difference between restoration and preservation. By the end of the

\(^2\) A.R. Powys, *Repair of Ancient Buildings* (London: SPAB, 1929). This book was reprinted into a third edition in 1995 and is currently available for £12 through the SPAB website or at the SPAB Archive.
\(^3\) A list of books and pamphlets for sale are listed under “publications” on the SPAB website: http://www.spab.org.uk.
\(^4\) SPAB (London, n.d.), info@spab.org.uk.
\(^5\) Ibid., Quote is from “How we Work.”
nineteenth century, the terms “restoration” and “preservation” were much more commonly understood. This was due in part to the vocal manner of Morris and other SPAB members.

From 1877 to 1900 the SPAB made great strides. The SPAB’s first meeting had an attendance of ten. By the end of the century, memberships, including those in England and on the continent, numbered 372.6 In 1877, architects and builders barely listened to what the SPAB had to say. Twenty years later, architects and builders were consulting with the SPAB or they were themselves members of the SPAB. The SPAB was the first preservation society to fight against restoration and for preservation in the name of protecting the architectural and ancient heritage of the country. The next preservation organization to form after the SPAB was the English National Trust in 1896, an organization that applied the SPAB’s “approach to conservative repair.”7 Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, many new preservation societies were founded around the world.

The SPAB has made a significant impact in England and on the continent. Although this is apparent now, it was not as obvious in the first years of the SPAB. The SPAB and Morris were trying to change the national attitude and this took years of hard work, persuasive lectures and intervention, and many disappointments. During the SPAB’s first year, Morris announced that, “it is hard to convince people in general that the art in our ancient buildings is a real solid possession.”8 Morris continued:

6 SPAB (London, n.d.), info@spab.org.uk.
7 Ibid., From the Bulletin that advertises the accomplishments of the SPAB over the century.
What we require is a change of feeling in every locality, in every parish, in every county, for though the Society is strong in its center, in London, it too often meets with such rebuffs as this when it writes to some distant part of England to protest against ill-advised restoration: ‘Mind your own business, we do not ask you for money, what right do you have to interfere with us?’ Now if we could get people in every part of the country when they were asked to subscribe money for restorations to say, ‘Stop, let us see if we cannot preserve the building instead of destroying it,’ a great deal of good would result. 9

By the third year of the SPAB, the initial presentation of the annual report read as:

The work of the past year has differed little from that of the previous one, except in two notable instances, which will be referred to presently. The Committee have, as before, received information, written letters of enquiry, protest, and advice, sometimes with obvious and encouraging results, sometimes with nothing apparent to show for the trouble. The Society is, doubtless, becoming well known, and the Committee believe its principles are taking root, and especially, they think, are influencing the great body of our Architects; a course of events which is both very encouraging and what might have been expected. The Society has by no means lacked the support of the Press during the past year; articles advocating its principles have been not unfrequent, and the columns of all the leading papers have been most generously thrown open to letters and explanations whenever necessary. 10

An important case that the SPAB dealt with in the first years of its existence was at St. Albans Cathedral. St. Albans first was listed in the Third Annual meeting of the SPAB on June 28th, 1880. Although the SPAB interceded financially and educationally, these efforts did little to affect the outcome of St. Albans Cathedral, which eventually was nearly completely restored to some supposed “original.”

St. Albans is a city located just north of London in the Thames valley slightly east of Oxford, in the county of Hertfordshire. The St. Albans Cathedral was originally a church from before 730 and built upon as the centuries progressed. In 793, the already

10 Third Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1880), 10. Morris read this report. He spoke about the philosophy of the SPAB but spent much of the report detailing specific cases that the SPAB was involved in.
existing St. Albans Abbey was consecrated and the town of St. Albans began to form around the Abbey. A Saxon settlement evolved from this earlier establishment around 950 and the town was significant enough, in 1213, to house some of the discussions between the local barons and the clergy in anticipation of the drafting of the Magna Carta.  

Between the 1381 Peasant’s revolt and the 1529 dissolution of the monasteries, the town of St. Albans was wrought with disagreements over rights between the secular population and the rights of the clergy. During this time, the town grew to include a stagecoach route from London and the addition of many inns and taverns to accommodate these travelers. In the twentieth century, some of the more relevant existing structures in St. Albans are these very inns and taverns, which, unlike some of the ecclesiastical structures, escaped restoration. In 1455, the First Battle of St. Albans opened the War of the Roses. By this point, the Abbey and church had undergone some architectural changes, primarily due to the growth of demand at this site. The area continued to grow and prosper although it was a locale of dissension during the English Civil War. In the eighteenth century, St. Albans became a stop on the railways out of London and the town incorporated modern civic and sanitary improvements.

After 1877, when St. Albans received city status and the church received cathedral status, the city continued to grow through its industry and population as a primary stop on the railway lines north out of London. For the interests of the SPAB, the importance of the city was a benefit and a curse. St. Albans was an important historical

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11 St. Albans District Council (St. Albans, n.d.), http://www.stalbans.gov.uk.
12 Ibid.
13 St. Albans History and Archaeology (St. Albans, n.d.), http://www.salbani.co.uk.
14 St. Albans District Council (St. Albans, n.d.), http://www.stalbans.gov.uk.
site, yet the location just north of London also made it prone to construction, to growth, and, for its historical buildings, to restoration. The cathedral, especially, had already undergone significant restoration. When the cathedral first appeared in the caseloads of the SPAB, it seemed inevitable that the exterior would be extensively restored:

Members will bear in mind the opposition which the Society has made, though in vain, to the scheme of the high-pitched roof, and the restoration, at the expense of the Freemasons, of the Western Porches. Sir Edmund Beckett having offered to rebuild the whole West front, the Committee saw no other course open to them but to make one last protest to save what was still left unrestored of the Abbey. They co-operated with Earl Cowper and Mr. John Evans in opposing the faculty which Sir Edmund Beckett was applying for in the Bishop’s Court. The Committee regret to state that their opposition was unsuccessful, and that Sir Edmund Beckett has obtained his faculty.¹⁵

St. Albans Cathedral received further attention from the SPAB seven years later. The cathedral was still being restored at this time and the SPAB pointed out “as it goes on a terrible dulness settles on this once romantic and deeply interesting building.” The SPAB reported that:

Before the restoration was begun there was endless delight in the discoveries and speculations excited by the varying architecture of the nave walls; it is now impossible to say that the whole is not an architectural freak, and no one would waste time in discussing why Sir Edmund Beckett should have done this or that. This is one of the consequences of restoration – you lose your old church and get a bad modern one in its place, for even Sir Edmund might have done better had he been untrammelled by the necessity for working upon given lines, and in the forms of a style which is not perhaps quite natural to him. We are sorry to add that the restoration of the eastern part of the church is being carried a step further by the introduction of modern statues into the vacant niches of the altar screen.¹⁶

St. Albans Cathedral today is an example of falsified history. Its cathedral is an important tourist attraction but it misleads countless numbers as it claims to be authentic

The only other mention of the city of St. Albans is in 1897, when the SPAB unsuccessfully tried to keep the church tower at St. Michael’s church from being restored.\textsuperscript{17} St. Michael’s was erected in the tenth century and was, along with St. Peter’s church and St. Stephen’s church, the oldest structures in St. Albans after the Cathedral.\textsuperscript{18} These attempts to save sites at St. Albans were considered unsuccessful and a disappointment to the SPAB. Many cases in Hertfordshire, the locale of St. Albans, were more successful. The quantity of cases where the SPAB prevented restoration in this area alone is impressive; examples include Leigh Church in 1883, Kingsland Church and Heath Chapel in 1884, Ballingham Church in 1885, the Knighton Church near Tenbury in 1886, the Kingstone Church in 1887, Braughing Church in 1888, Puttenhamn Church in 1889, All Saints’ Church in Hereford in 1891, Dillwyn Church and Goodrich Castle in 1893, the Old Market House in Ledbury in 1895, and Garway Church from 1895 to 1897.\textsuperscript{19}

Another case that motivated the SPAB was the preservation work at Salisbury Cathedral. Salisbury is located on the Salisbury Plain, southwest of London and slightly north of Southampton. Salisbury Cathedral’s foundation was laid in 1220.\textsuperscript{20} The cathedral was dedicated in 1258, by which time nearly the whole cathedral was complete, services were held, and the Dean took residence. A build time of forty-six years is

\textsuperscript{17} Twentieth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1897), 72.
\textsuperscript{18} St. Albans District Council (St. Albans, n.d.), http://www.stalbans.gov.uk.
\textsuperscript{19} Sixth through Twentieth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1883-1897).
remarkable, as most buildings of this magnitude took far longer. This is significant because the cathedral maintained a unity of style and architectural vision. Also important about Salisbury is the height of its spire; at 404 feet, the Salisbury Spire is the tallest in England.\textsuperscript{21} During this century, and many after, the interior of a building and of a spire was built of timber while the masonry was layered around the frame.

Carpenters began to yield to masons and confine themselves to the building of complicated timber roofs, which were destined to be concealed by stone vaults. Many have been destroyed by fire, but some remarkable ones survive in England. The greatest feat was the construction of a spire, which required lengthy calculations and assembly on the ground before it could be set in place; the one for Salisbury Cathedral is one of the most spectacular.\textsuperscript{22}

Another relevant feature of Salisbury Cathedral is its qualities of distinctively English Gothic, which began the evolution to the Perpendicular style. This style incorporated a rectangular ground plan, a lower height than those on the continent, hidden buttressing, thicker walls, and more detailing in the form of bays, arches, and sculptures than their continental counterparts.\textsuperscript{23}

Salisbury Cathedral had undergone some restoration and preservation work before the SPAB became involved. Being situated on a low plain, the grounds of the cathedral tended to gather water. To worsen the condition, the foundation was not as extensive as it should have been. In 1668, Sir Christopher Wren surveyed the spire and found that uneven settling had occurred. Upon inspection of the spire, “Wren found that it was

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\item Toman, \textit{The Art of Gothic}, 118-121.
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leaning nearly 30 inches out of plumb, and had iron tie-rods inserted to brace it."\textsuperscript{24} From 1788 to 1791, James Wyatt restored the cathedral, which included the "demolition of the Bell Tower and [the] leveling of churchyard to grass."\textsuperscript{25} From 1860 to 1878, Sir George Gilbert Scott further restored Salisbury Cathedral.\textsuperscript{26} This restoration was a modest effort with more emphasis on preservation than on restoration. During this work, Wren's braces were removed, steel ties and bands were added to the lantern to strengthen it, and necessary repairs and bonding of the masonry took place over eight of the arches below the spire, four of the angle stair turrets in the lantern, and in the walls supporting those stair turrets.\textsuperscript{27}

The SPAB became involved in 1880 when they discovered that some of the stained glass was in danger of being altered. A letter was written to the Dean of Salisbury objecting to this "new stained slap window [that] has been erected in one of the windows between the two transcripts."\textsuperscript{28} Since the process was already underway, the window end was eventually altered. This was frequently the case in the SPAB's earlier years because projects had often been initiated before the SPAB's founding and, also, construction was less likely to be noticed by the SPAB or reported to the SPAB.

The SPAB again showed interest in Salisbury Cathedral in the years 1895 and 1897. This case was different than typical SPAB cases because the concern was not in potential damage caused by restoration, but rather the potential damage caused by the

\textsuperscript{25} Salisbury Cathedral (Salisbury, n.d.), http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} SPAB File for Salisbury Cathedral (London: SPAB). From the report of Sir Arthur W. Blomfield, architect, in 1895.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., Letter was drafted on July 4, 1880 and is written by George Edmund Street on behalf of the SPAB and signed also by the SPAB secretary, Newman Marks.
lack of preservation. In retrospect, Wren’s work in 1668 kept the spire from further stress and tilting but, in 1895, the Dean and residents of Salisbury were concerned about the possible toppling of the spire. When Salisbury Cathedral was erected in 1220, the foundations were only five to six feet deep in the wet ground yet needed to support the strain of a 6400-ton spire. In 1895, an alarmist letter appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* stating that the “spire of Salisbury Cathedral, which for long has been out of perpendicular, is at last in danger of falling, and that it must be taken down and rebuilt.” Fortunately for the SPAB and the spire, architect Sir Arthur W. Blomfield inspected the spire and the cathedral in general and reported back that the spire was not in imminent danger:

Before bringing to your notice another point in connection with this subject I wish to say a word as to the exaggerated fears which have been expressed of some sudden disaster, which might occur at any moment without warning. Humanly speaking nothing short of an earthquake, or a tornado, could possibly produce anything of the kind.

Blomfield also contended that some work would be advisable to strengthen the foundation:

In a soil such as that of the Close at Salisbury, with water (except in seasons of great drought) always near the surface, and in flood time running freely through it, the foundations unless built with a care and solidity scarcely ever employed by Mediaeval Architects in England, would always be liable to slight movement in widely differing seasons.

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29 English Heritage (London, n.d.), http://www.britainexpress.com. Accordingly, “when Wren’s braces were replaced some two hundred years later, measurements revealed that no further movement had occurred.”
30 Ibid.
31 SPAB File for Salisbury Cathedral. This letter shows no author but was published in the *Chronicle* on 2 November, 1895.
32 Ibid., From the report of Sir Arthur W. Blomfield, architect, in 1895, pages 4-6.
33 Ibid., Blomfield report, 5.
After further examination of the foundation around the spire, Blomfield stated that “some recent yielding has occurred” and that this was likely “due to the recent extremes of alternate dry and wet seasons,” but that the danger was of a more long-term deterioration rather than a sudden threat. 34 Another letter, this time from the Dean of Salisbury, George D. Boyle, was sent to the *Chronicle* to assure the public that, based on Blomfield’s report, the spire was not going to tumble at any moment. 35

The SPAB, concerned with the situation, wrote to Dean Boyle to inquire of the inspections and to ask for a copy of Blomfield’s report. 36 The SPAB noticed this activity much more quickly than at more distant sites around England because of Salisbury Cathedral’s significance, its recent activity in the news, and since the SPAB had a correspondent in Salisbury, the Hon. Percy Wyndham. 37 At this request, Boyle forwarded three copies of the report to the SPAB, and expressed interest in its quick attention to the matter. 38

According to Blomfield’s report, the suggested changes were of a repairing nature and required no falsification in the name of restoration. His suggestions included repairing some loose stones in the lantern and the belfry, some repair to damage done by Scott’s use of iron clamps, the strengthening of the upper parts of the turrets and relating pinnacles, and strengthening in the base of the spire. 39 In addition to these repairs and to further secure the spire at its foundation, Blomfield suggested pouring a “continuous bed

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35 Ibid., Letter was published in the *Chronicle* on 9 December, 1895.
36 Ibid., Letter from Thackeray Turner dated 23 December, 1895.
39 Ibid., Blomfield report, 6.
of cement concrete all round the foundation of the piers."⁴⁰ According to Blomfield, “renewed strength and a fresh lease of life will be given both to the Tower and to the Spire” with these projected repairs.⁴¹ The SPAB was supportive of these repairs, and Blomfield began work on the project with the continued attention both by the SPAB and Dean Boyle.

A year later, Dean Boyle was under some financial strain to meet the full cost of Blomfield’s repairs. After listing the work done to date, such as the strengthening of the foundation and the repair of loose stones, he appealed to the public for support:

During the past twelve months every effort has been made in the locality to raise the sum required, viz., 15,000 pounds, to carry out the restoration in its entirety, and we have Sir Arthur Blomfield’s assurance that he does not anticipate that his original estimate will be exceeded, and that the actual expenditure has come within the calculations made for the work actually dealt with up to the present. The sum of nearly 10,000 pounds has been raised, and we are now confronted with the difficulty that it is practically impossible to hope to raise the further sum required in the diocese, as it is well known how acutely we have suffered from continued agricultural depression in the South-West of England. Considering the national interest evinced in our Cathedral and its spire we feel that the time has come when we may reasonably appeal to the public at large to help us to secure the balance of 5000 pounds, which is required to render the tower and spire safe for future generations, and to preserve in its integrity this beautiful example of Cathedral architecture.⁴²

Unfortunately, the editors to the Daily News inserted a disclaimer at the close of this letter stating, “we think the public would do well, before subscribing, to ask for a good deal more information,” specifically “How much has been spent already? And what has been done? And what precisely is intended to be done in the future?"⁴³ While the suggestion was not completely unfounded, some of these questions were actually

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⁴¹ Ibid.
⁴² Ibid. Letter appeared in the Daily News on 8 January, 1897.
⁴³ Ibid.
answered in the original letter. Of more importance, this disclaimer was seen by the SPAB to be potentially damaging to the Dean’s goal. A letter to the SPAB a few days later pointed this out and suggested a response in the Dean’s favor.\textsuperscript{44} In response, the SPAB sent a letter to the editor of the \textit{Daily Chronicle}:

\begin{quote}
In your note to-day on the appeal to raise funds for the repair of Salisbury spire, you invite independent testimony as to the way in which Sir Arthur Blomfield is ‘conserving everything that is possible to conserve.’ A few weeks ago I obtained permission (not from Sir Arthur Blomfield) to mount the scaffolding and inspect the work in progress. The work, a most necessary and urgent one of repair, is being conducted in the most conservative way possible: the crushed and perished stones are being cut out, and underpinning and angle-bonding is being scientifically and ably applied. I am confident that any one who had been privileged to see the work that is being done to maintain this, the finest spire in England, would not withhold his subscriptions even though he was as ardent an anti-restorer as your obedient servant.\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

Partially due to the SPAB’s involvement, Blomfield’s work on Salisbury was completed at the end of 1898. His work helped to keep the cathedral in good condition for nearly a century. It wasn’t until 1985 that an additional £6,500,000 were raised to add to the repair and conservation of the cathedral. Given the cooperation of most involved, the cathedral has escaped restoration since Wyatt’s work in 1788.\textsuperscript{46} In the year 2000, the work on the repair and conservation of the spire, tower, and west front was complete.

Another important case for the SPAB was the work at Westminster Abbey. The SPAB stayed actively involved in the architectural condition of the Abbey from 1880 through much of the nineteenth century. Due to the Abbey’s historical significance,

\textsuperscript{44} SPAB File for Salisbury Cathedral. This letter was drafted on 13 January, 1897. Unfortunately, the condition of the letter was poor and the writer’s name and the location it was being sent from is blurred.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., This letter is signed “a member of anti-scrape,” and appeared in the \textit{Chronicle} on 13 January, 1897.
\textsuperscript{46} Salisbury Cathedral (Salisbury, n.d.), http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk.
location in the heart of London, architectural worth, and popularity, the SPAB continues
to monitor its condition to the present.

Edward the Confessor founded the present Westminster Abbey, officially
dedicating it as the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster in 1065. Henry III
rebuilt this Norman style church in the thirteenth century in the Gothic style. After
suffering destruction in a fire in 1298, the architect Henry Yevele rebuilt sections of the
abbey in 1388 on the basis of the thirteenth century Gothic plans. Abbot Islip completed
the vaulting of the nave by 1506, and Henry VII rebuilt the chapel. The west front,
including the two towers, was the work of Nicholas Hawksmoor in the eighteenth
century.47

The cases at Westminster Abbey provide a good example of the negative impact
the controlling ecclesiastical body could have on the SPAB’s ability to prevent
restoration, particularly if the Dean was not as tolerant of opinion as Salisbury’s Dean
Boyle. The church officials, the Dean of Westminster Abbey, and the Chapter committee
members, were generally unwilling to listen to the SPAB’s suggestions. A letter from the
Dean to the SPAB in 1892 declined to receive “from individuals, however eminent,
general advice or directions.”48 In short, according to the report, the “care of the Abbey
was the Dean and the Chapter’s business, and nobody else’s.”49

The Church of England tended to be unsympathetic towards the SPAB and its
ideas of preservation, especially in the nineteenth century. This was partially due to the

47 Alexander Gunn and John Timbs, Abbeys, Castles and Ancient Halls of England and
Wales (New York: Frederick Warne & Co., Ltd., 1870), 7-12.
48 SPAB File on Westminster Abbey (London: SPAB). Letter from Dean Bradley of
Westminster to the SPAB, written 5 May, 1892.
Oxford Movement, a nineteenth century religious movement that tried to revitalize the church by reintroducing traditional religious practices, rituals, and doctrines. This put the theological aspect of religion in higher regard than the cultural aspect of religion or the aesthetic aspect of its artifacts and buildings. Church officials thought it necessary that the architecture reflect this theological importance. To the SPAB, Westminster Abbey and other churches and cathedrals were valuable as historic examples of architecture and, therefore, important to all people regardless of the religion or diocese they belonged to. To the Church of England, churches were a place of worship, a way to glorify God, and a way to connect the community with God. In all actuality, both perspectives are valid. However, because nineteenth century restoration was so extreme, the SPAB felt that it needed to be more restrictive in its expectations. This left less room for compromise as the case at Westminster demonstrates.

For the Dean of Westminster, maintaining Westminster Abbey in a Gothic style was a way to glorify God. The religious aspect was an important characteristic of the style so the Dean’s opinion is reasonable. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Abbey had official church architects: Edward Blore from 1809 to 1849, Sir Gilbert Scott from 1849 to 1878, and John Pearson from 1878 to 1897. These men were all noted Gothic Revival architects and, not surprisingly, Morris found fault with all of them.

Morris spoke negatively of Scott and Pearson’s restoration work, calling it “architect’s architecture, the work of the office.”⁵⁰ He asserted that “a long series of blunders of various kinds, all based on a false estimate of the true value of the building, have damaged the exterior of the Abbey so vitally that scarcely any of its original surface

remains." Morris thought that Blore, Scott, and Pearson were absolutely incapable of reconstructing vital parts of the Abbey because they were not part of the intellectual, social, and physical environment of the workers and designers who erected it. Of course, Morris thought this of all restoration architects and insisted that architects needed to build their own structures or repair and preserve old buildings. One especially damaging factor for Westminster Abbey, in Morris's opinion, was that the church was willing to invest a large amount of money into the structure, which allowed for the most drastic and total restorations. Morris claimed that the restorations done to the Abbey were "ill-conceived and disastrous pieces of repair of various degrees of stupidity." Morris referred specifically to the work of Blore and Scott when they resurfaced the north aisle of the Abbey, which destroyed the detailed work of twelfth and thirteenth century artisans.

The first evidence of SPAB attention to Westminster Abbey was in 1880, concerning the proposed restoration of the north transept porches. They were especially against this restoration since the south transept had already been restored in the Gothic style. Newman Marks, the SPAB secretary in 1880, wrote to the Dean and Chapter of the Abbey when the SPAB noticed that the central doorway of the north transept front was undergoing alterations. In this letter, he claimed that the alterations were not only unnecessary but that they do "not seem to be intended to reproduce the design as it appeared during any period of existence." An answer came from the son of Sir Gilbert

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51 Carpenter, A House of Kings, 332.
53 Ibid.
Scott, John Oldrid Scott, who was overseeing the projects begun by his father before his death in 1878. Scott contradicted the explanations concerning the architectural style and necessity of the restorations on the structure of the Abbey. He stated that the changes were necessary because he felt the appearance of the Abbey would improve. Further, he also felt the designs were accurate historical representations because his father had researched the Abbey's history carefully. Assuming that Sir Gilbert Scott's plans were accurate, the Dean and the Chapter of Westminster allowed them to continue. When John Pearson, the next official architect, took charge of the project and continued the execution of Scott's plans, the clergy of the Westminster took no more consideration of the SPAB's opinion than they had in the past. The SPAB's annual report for 1888 regretfully admitted that this section of the Abbey is "too jealously guarded from public view for anything to be said about it now."

The SPAB next took an interest in the rose window located in the restored front of the north transept porches. The painted glass window in question was erected in 1722. According to the SPAB, the window contained an exceptionally fine example of English glass painting that should not be lost. The official architect at the time, John Pearson, wanted to put in a completely new window to match the new north transept front. In 1888, the SPAB reported that a "promise has been given that the curious early

55 SPAB File on Westminster Abbey. Letter is from John Oldrid Scott to the Dean of Westminster. This letter is also printed in: The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings: Transactions (London: SPAB, 1881), 17-20. A copy of this letter was forwarded to the SPAB.
eighteenth-century rose window, with its glass, shall be preserved." Yet, according to the 1890 SPAB report, this claim seems to have been modified by Pearson:

The old glass has been cut up and mangled after a most strange and barbarous fashion. Except a little piece in the middle, none of it occupies the place it did before, and the figures of our Lord and the Apostles have positively been cut off short at the knees to make them fit Mr. Pearson's new tracery lights. 58

Although the SPAB thought that it had made an impression upon the outcome of the tracery window, it was again unsuccessful in this case.

Another attempt that the SPAB made towards Westminster Abbey concerned Ashburnham House. The structure was located past the cloisters next to the Abbey garden and had originally served as the prior's apartments in the eleventh century. In 1542, it became the residence for the Dean of Westminster. From 1712 to 1731, the house served as a library until a fire left it vacant. In the 1830's, the Canon and Sub-Dean Lord John Thynne provided the funding to restore the destroyed section of the house. Thynne lived in the house until his death in 1881. Until this date, the house remained part of Abbey property and under control of the Dean and Chapter. 59

Due to provisions made in the Public Schools Act of 1868, Ashburnham House was to be transferred to Westminster School upon Thynne's death. This would change the classification of the house from being property of a "public historic monument" to the less protected classification of "public property." The Abbey officials did not want to surrender the house, particularly when the school suggested that it be demolished to make room for additional classrooms. At this point, the SPAB formally objected to this transference of ownership to Westminster School while making its wishes public that any

alterations made to either the exterior or the interior of the house were unacceptable in its eyes.\textsuperscript{60} However, little could be done to challenge the Act and to the dismay of the Abbey officials and the SPAB, the house became school property in May of 1881.\textsuperscript{61} Although the school decided not to destroy the house, extensive restoration was underway by 1882. The 1882 annual report of the SPAB read that the "house is in possession of the school, and a good deal of interesting fifteenth and sixteenth century work at the western part of the house has been destroyed."\textsuperscript{62} Again, the SPAB was unsuccessful in influencing any decisions in this case:

The school authorities have gone on with their work of destruction amongst such of the Abbey buildings as are in their hands. This year they have destroyed the indications of the eleventh-century entrances to the dormitory from below, and have 'restored' part of the dormitory itself (now the schoolroom) and of the basement below it into sham Norman. Each holiday time they set to work, and the most important remains of the old Abbey within their power are already destroyed.\textsuperscript{63}

The SPAB next tried to prevent the restoration of the tombs and monuments already existing inside Westminster Abbey, while asking that no additional memorials be constructed. Opponents of the SPAB argued in this case that burials had gone on at the Abbey for so long that the SPAB was interfering with history and tradition. The two viewpoints were difficult to negotiate since the SPAB perspective was rooted in emulating the past while their opponents view was geared towards concrete benefits for the future. The results were mixed and neither side was satisfied: while some memorials were restored, many were left alone and while additional memorials were added, no new construction of memorial space was initiated.

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Fourth Annual Report: SPAB} (London: SPAB, 1881), 13-14.
\textsuperscript{61} Carpenter, \textit{A House of Kings}, 324-326.
\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Eleventh Annual Report: SPAB} (London: SPAB, 1888), 45.
The first discussion of the monuments in the SPAB record appeared in the annual report of 1889. This involved the public concern that the Abbey was running out of designated burial spaces and that new burials might negatively affect the interior of the Abbey. The SPAB recorded that it was against any of the proposed additions or alterations that would allow for more burials.64 This was a difficult stance to take, however, since there was a long tradition of burying honored individuals in the Abbey and, in arguing to stop this tradition, the SPAB and the Abbey officials risked alienating a great number of public proponents.

In April of 1890, the English government nominated a Royal Commission to determine the capability of Westminster Abbey to continue with burials on the site and to consider plans for providing additional space within the Abbey grounds.65 The SPAB attempted to have a member appointed to this commission. SPAB committee member Rt. Hon. G. Cavendish Bentinck, M.P. addressed Parliament, requesting that an architect who was not a member of the Royal Academy of Arts be allowed to serve on the committee.66 The response was that the Government was "not prepared to act on the suggestions of my right Hon. Friend, as they are satisfied that the Royal Commission, as at present constituted, is perfectly competent to advise on the delicate and difficult questions submitted to them."67

In the end, the final report of the Commission worked to the benefit of the SPAB. The report, given in July of 1891, included a history of burials and a listing of possible

66 Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 3rd ser., vol.344 (1890), col. 459. Response was given by W.H. Smith, M.P.
67 Ibid.
suggestions to increase tomb and memorial space. A final decision was not agreed upon because, according to the report of the Royal Commission, it was not necessary since there were between ninety and ninety-four burial spots still available in 1891. Even if burials continued at the same rate as the previous two centuries, there was enough room for at least another century.

This outcome satisfied the SPAB until the church officials and segments of the public continued to discuss options. In response, the SPAB published Morris’s report on Westminster Abbey in 1893. Morris argued that nothing more should be altered for memorials at the Abbey:

The burden of their ugliness must be endured, at any rate until the folly of restoration has died out. For the greater part of them have been built into the fabric, and their removal would leave gaps, not so unsightly indeed as these stupid masses of marble, but tempting to the restorer, who would not be contented with merely patching them decently, but would make them excuses for further introduction of modern work.

Another problem regarding the tombs and monuments in the Abbey involved maintenance and restoration. Plans for restoring some of these memorials began in 1895. The SPAB, while claiming that many memorials were inferior in artistic quality, maintained that they still held historical value. Morris sent a letter to The Times concerning the care of the monuments in 1895:

I fear there are those who wish to change the present appearance of the monuments, who believe that it is possible to bring them back to their original splendour. ...the ‘restorers’ would try their experiments on the very historical records and works of art themselves: which means, in plain words, that before ‘restoring’ them they would have to destroy them. The record of our remembered

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history embodied in them would be gone; almost more serious still, the unremembered history, wrought into them by the hands of the craftsmen of bygone times, would be gone also. And to what purpose? To foist a patch of bright, new work, a futile academic study at best.  

As in the past, the objections of the SPAB had little influence on church officials. These officials had to consider many factors relating to the Abbey’s structure: finances and repair costs, the interests of individuals with controlling political and financial influence, the impression of the public, the word of whichever architect had been named as the “expert” on Abbey repairs, and the aesthetic value. These factors were typically more pressing than the interests, however vocal, of the SPAB.

Ironically, only two years later, in 1897, John Thomas Micklethwaite was named the official Abbey architect. Micklethwaite was a supporter of preservation over restoration and of many SPAB ideals. The Dean and Chapter had a variety of good reasons to name him: he had worked with Scott from 1862 to 1869, his work was recognized for accuracy and quality, his emphasis on maintenance over restoration was actually cost effective, the demand for Gothic restoration had abated somewhat, and the SPAB and other preservation and historical groups supported him.

The SPAB also achieved success with the cloisters, one of the oldest sections of the Abbey. The cloisters were in danger of being structurally altered during the Ashburnham House case but these alterations never materialized. A more serious threat occurred when the Abbey officials wished to secure additional room for monuments and burials. They considered three suggestions; one, that bodies be interred within the

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cloister walls; two, that a large glass roof be installed over the open center of the cloisters to allow for burials in the center; and, three, that a monument chapel be erected at the old Refectory site at the south side of the cloisters.\textsuperscript{73} The 1889 SPAB annual report comments on this:

How can what still remains to us of the Church and its surroundings be saved from the restorer, and any fresh locust plague of monuments? How little this point is held in view may be known by the almost tragic folly of an utterance that the great cloisters (which at present have comparatively escaped the greedy eye of the monument sticker) should, when the church itself is choke-full of dull monumental jests, itself be sacrificed; as if the beauty of the vaulted cloister would equally well lend itself to refined cruelty of treatment.\textsuperscript{74}

In the end, none of the suggestions were carried out and the cloisters remained intact through the nineteenth century. Attempts to preserve the cloisters began in 1905 with a lime wash under Micklethwaite’s surveyorship.\textsuperscript{75}

Micklethwaite helped the SPAB reach some of their goals at the Abbey, and at other sites, such as Kirkstall Abbey. He also helped with more wide-reaching goals by promoting preservation. The quality of his preservation work allowed the Abbey officials, the officials of other sites, other architects, and the public to see the validity of the SPAB’s opinion. Micklethwaite began his architectural work with Scott in 1862 and co-founded an architectural firm with Somers Clarke in 1869. Micklethwaite was responsible for many projects; these include St. Matthias church at Cambridge, St. George at Oxford, and St. Mary Magdalene in London. His historic preservation work with Kirkstall Abbey and Clifford’s Tower in York are excellent examples of the SPAB’s

\textsuperscript{74} Twelfth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1889), 49.
\textsuperscript{75} William R. Lethaby, Westminster Abbey Re-Examined (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972), 297. Lethaby was also a member of the SPAB.
vision. He was also a committee member of the Antiquaries Society, a master of the Art Worker’s Guild, and guest speaker at the 1892 SPAB meeting. He worked at Westminster Abbey from 1897 to his death in 1906.76

Because of Micklethwaite, the techniques of preservation became the preferred standard at Westminster Abbey from 1897 onward. By this time, the exterior of the Abbey had been nearly completely restored but the interior was primarily intact and still able to benefit from preservation techniques. While the SPAB didn’t consider Westminster Abbey a success, the eventual preference for preservation over restoration at the site demonstrated its value throughout England. The work of the SPAB was often like the case at Westminster: while in many ways unsuccessful, its involvement did usually benefit the site in question by effecting some kind of change in restoration outcomes and in the attitude of the community.

Another example of a nineteenth century campaign can be found in the work done in Edinburgh on the city castle. Located on an isolated basalt base 437 feet above sea level, the Castle towers above the city of Edinburgh. Romans, Picts, Angles, and Saxons had used the castle site since the first century A.D. King Malcolm III Canmore, last of the Gaelic kings, constructed a royal residence at the site between 1057 and 1076. Around 1076, he built a chapel for his Saxon queen, St. Margaret, grandniece of Edward the Confessor. A battle over succession for thirty years after Alexander’s death resulted in the naming of Robert the Bruce as King of Scotland in 1323. He destroyed nearly everything of the Castle except St. Margaret’s Chapel. Edward III rebuilt the Castle in 1344 and construction on Parliament Hall and the royal apartments continued in to the

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sixteenth century. Queen Mary made additions to the royal apartments and her son, James IV, built the stone-vaulted Crown Room and the Great Hall. Alterations to the Castle were limited after 1740, primarily because building was accelerated in the city itself with the massive project of the New City section of Edinburgh.77

The SPAB worked on Edinburgh Castle from 1883 to 1891, focusing on Parliament Hall and St. Margaret’s Chapel. The Edinburgh Castle campaign was considered a successful case since no restoration occurred at St. Margaret’s Chapel, only necessary work was completed at Parliament Hall, and practices of preservation were initiated at the Castle with the direct involvement of the SPAB. Further, the architect who initiated the work at the Castle, William Nelson, thoroughly researched architectural and technological decisions while considering the suggestions of the SPAB. Finally, the architect who completed the work, Hippolyte Blanc, became a member and the local SPAB correspondent for Edinburgh.

As is the case with most SPAB projects, there were a number of unique considerations in dealing with Edinburgh Castle. First, the Castle received a great deal of public attention, being centrally located in the center of a large and prosperous city, attention that made it a popular and symbolic site for the people of Edinburgh. Second, although the Castle had been restored over the centuries, these changes were not suitable to the Gothic style, making it less susceptible to nineteenth century Gothic restorers. Third, the Castle was not a church owned property. Properties owned by the church

typically caused more difficulties for the SPAB, since the opinions and needs of church officials and parishioners made it more challenging to keep structures preserved accurately.

The Crown’s supervision of Edinburgh Castle made it easier for the SPAB to influence architectural maintenance. Castle officials, headed by a Crown-appointed Governor, ultimately decided on any changes on castle grounds. A governor, appointed by the Crown of England, headed the Castle officials. The Castle’s primary function, by the late nineteenth century, was to house a militia and Crown officials. These officials were more interested in the structural integrity of the Castle than in its aesthetic nature. Finally, the architects assigned to the Castle work from 1883 to 1891 were not given a free hand to change whatever they wished but, instead, were hired for specific repair jobs because this was more cost effective. After being hired, the architects would then have to petition for funds and have any alterations approved by the Castle officials. This was extremely helpful to the SPAB because some of the worst examples of blatant restoration work could be found where the architect had few restrictions and thought of a building as a personal canvas. Further, the Castle architects after 1883, William Nelson and Hippolyte Blanc, were willing to work with the SPAB.

When the architect petitioned the Castle officials for funding, these officials put a check on the amount and expense of any proposed alterations. This worked in the SPAB’s best interest because it generally was more expensive to fund restoration work than preservation work. It was also more expensive to add Gothic Revival features than

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79 SPAB File for Edinburgh Castle (London: SPAB). This file contains numerous correspondences between the SPAB and both William Nelson and Hippolyte Blanc.
to fund the more practical repair work that the Castle needed. Until work was completed in 1891, the SPAB and both of the castle architects corresponded with the Scottish archaeologist Sir Daniel Wilson and members of the Edinburgh Architectural Association to be sure to be as historically and structurally authentic as possible.

The first written evidence of the SPAB’s involvement with Edinburgh Castle is recorded in the 1883 SPAB annual report, which only noted that the Castle would probably undergo restoration work. In February of 1884, the SPAB inquired about details of the proposed restoration project for Parliament Hall, a building within the Castle walls. Mr. Eustace Balfour, offering preservation advice as well as suggestions to check with the Edinburgh Architectural Association, drafted a letter on February 24, 1884. At this point, the need for archaeological research and the necessity of securing funds delayed any further action towards Parliament Hall.

The next correspondence occurred in the summer and fall of 1885 concerning St. Margaret’s Chapel. William Nelson, the architect assigned to the Castle, wrote to the SPAB, diplomatically describing his intentions for the Chapel:

The great interest which attaches to the ancient chapel of St. Margaret in Edinburgh Castle induces me to offer to undertake the cost of certain restorations which competent archaeological authorities recommend for restoring it externally to the condition which may be assumed to have originally characterized it.

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80 Sixth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1883), 27.
81 SPAB File for Edinburgh Castle. Mr. Eustace Balfour, London, England, to J. Milne, Edinburgh, Scotland, 24 February 1884, SPAB archive in London, England. Cases filed alphabetically in the archive and filed under the site name regardless of the number of times the SPAB may have been involved with that site.
Nelson added that he enlisted the help of the noted archaeologist, Sir Daniel Wilson, to insure that the restoration work was architecturally accurate.\(^8^3\) Nelson tried to work with the SPAB and avoid any future complications by offering to contribute his own funds for the restoration and by consulting outside professional expertise. Concerned about Nelson's suggestions, the SPAB assigned committee member J.J. Stevenson to take up correspondence with Nelson. Stevenson wrote to Nelson explaining that the "restoration" that he referred to "involves the risk of falsifying history by adding to the Chapel features which may not properly belong to it."\(^8^4\) Stevenson suggested that discussion continue on the fate of St. Margaret's Chapel and that Nelson find time to meet with him since he would soon be in Scotland.\(^8^5\) In reply, Nelson explained that, although the restoration plans had already been approved by the Commissioner of Works, he would continue discussion with the SPAB concerning St. Margaret's.\(^8^6\)

Parliament Hall also received attention in 1885 from the SPAB and Nelson. Nelson offered to defray the cost of restoration at Parliament Hall as he did at St. Margaret's Chapel. He felt that the need for restoration at the Hall was greater than that at St. Margaret's Chapel and decided to begin there first.\(^8^7\) When Nelson became ill that same year, architect Hippolyte Blanc offered to assist him with the proposed projects. Blanc took over preparation of the plans at both St. Margaret's Chapel and Parliament Hall. Actually, even an ardent supporter of preservation would have been likely to


\(^{8^5}\) Ibid.


\(^{8^7}\) Ibid.
support some repair work at Parliament Hall. Turned into a hospital barracks in the seventeenth century, its filthy and dangerous condition could not be remedied with regular preservation techniques. The original ceiling and walls were covered with peeling plaster and hospital beds had been installed. Further, seventeenth century drainage pipes for sewage created an unpleasant health hazard.\textsuperscript{88} Due to the deficient state of the Hall, Blanc carried out his alteration plans in a manner supported by the SPAB. \textit{The Times} reported the alteration work of Parliament Hall upon its completion in 1891:

Mr. Blanc has rediscovered its original features, where they survived, and has ornamented the edifice. Restorations, as a rule, are a sorry business. They destroy what was old, and replace it with what is new and garish. Mr. Blanc has destroyed literally nothing of any historical interest or artistic merit; has reopened passages, stairs, and chimneys which had been bricked up, has displayed the fine old roof, which was hidden by a modern ceiling, and, in his paneling and decoration, has shown erudition and a good and quiet taste.\textsuperscript{89}

Next, Blanc dealt with the proposed restoration of St. Margaret’s Chapel. Since the Chapel was the oldest existing building at the Castle site and since there was no regular public use of the Chapel, the SPAB had suggested to Nelson in 1885 that no alterations be carried out. Although it was Nelson’s intent to restore the Chapel, he died in 1887 before any restoration work could be done. Blanc, left in charge of Nelson’s plans, did not chose to do the restoration work but instead, applied preservation and maintenance techniques by keeping the interior and exterior clear of dirt, vines, and mold. \textit{The Times} reported on the condition of St. Margaret’s Chapel positively in 1891:

Perhaps the most interesting thing in Edinburgh Castle, to some visitors, is simply the black crest of basalt which crops up on the highest eminence, beside the

\textsuperscript{88} William Lyon, \textit{The Builder} (London), 30 April 1887, 638.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{The Times} (London), 21 February 1891, 3. Editor’s comment.
defaced and formless chapel of St. Margaret. ... the chapel is really more historical in its present curious and shapeless condition. 90

The SPAB worked on Edinburgh Castle for nine years. During this period, several goals were accomplished. SPAB involvement ensured the integrity of St. Margaret’s Chapel, the oldest structure on the site. This was the Society’s most gratifying success as this type of preservation is considered to be the very best recourse of action. SPAB involvement also helped ensure accurate restoration in the case of Parliament Hall and the proper maintenance of additional Castle buildings to prevent the need to restore any other sections in the future.

The participation of Hippolyte Blanc helped to make the Castle campaign a success. Blanc became a member of the SPAB in 1885 and the same year, became the local correspondent in Edinburgh. He continued as the correspondent and active member to 1897 and enlisted a number of SPAB supporters in Edinburgh. 91 Blanc’s support of historic preservation and architectural knowledge mixed with his and Nelson’s willingness to correspond with the London SPAB members helped to secure the positive outcome of the Edinburgh Castle case. The SPAB continued its work in Scotland and, in 1995 the members of the SPAB living and working in Scotland formed a “semi autonomous group.” 92 Scottish members felt that, since Scotland had different traditions

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90 The Times (London), 21 February 1891, 3-4. Editor’s comment.
91 SPAB archive in London, England. The annual reports list member and correspondent names and Hippolyte Blanc’s name appears from 1885 to 1897.
and property laws and with Scottish self-rule, it made more sense to work as the SPAB in Scotland although the basic tenets of the SPAB remained the same.\footnote{SPAB in Scotland, The Glasite Meeting House, 33 Barony Street, Edinburgh, EH3 6NX. Telephone and Fax: 0131 557 1551. info@spabscotland.freeserve.co.uk.}

Another SPAB campaign in the nineteenth century, the case at Old St. Pancras churchyard, was not successful but it brings up important issues concerning Parliamentary reform, specifically concerning London city churches. The church and churchyard in question, originally St. Pancras Church, was referred to as Old St. Pancras after the 1822 erection of the St. Pancras New Church. The St. Pancras Old Church is “the most ancient building in the borough. Parts of the present building belong to the XI century and contain Roman tiles. When the church was enlarged in 1847-48 the Altar Stone was discovered…. It dates from the early VIIth century and was probably used by St. Augustine.”\footnote{From a historic plaque placed at the entrance of Old St. Pancras, I photographed this during one of four visits to the site.} This churchyard was one of many London churchyards to close for burials. Due to the large population of London, the death rate far exceeded the area available for burial space. London churches were unable to keep up with the number of dying parishioners, thereby instigating a crisis of closed burial spaces. Most churchyards, totaling eighty in greater London, were closed by 1855.\footnote{English Origins (London, n.d.) Boyd’s London Burials, places and counts at http://www.englishorigins.com/help/blb-count.aspx retrieved in June 2004. The first London churchyard to fill was St. Mary Magdalene at Milk Street, deemed filled in 1665. The latest churchyard to fill, specifically churchyards accepting burials of any parishioner, is at St. Benet Fink with a last burial date in 1940. The significance to these statistics is that many burial areas in London became increasingly of historic interest in the middle of the nineteenth century because of the volume of closed churchyards in London.} At the site of Old St. Pancras, as early as 1789, the sexton claimed that there was no more room to bury the dead and by
1853, the government ordered the St. Pancras Vestry not to bury any more bodies in its churchyard.96

Despite the historic significance of the church and churchyard at Old St. Pancras, this site became a source of conflict in 1874 for the St. Pancras Train Station owners and investors. The St. Pancras churchyard was situated in an area deemed important for St. Pancras Train Station rail construction. In 1874, the Midland Railway petitioned for the demolition of Old St. Pancras Church and the churchyard but this action was refused by the government and in 1876, the Fields Burial Ground Act created a statutory trust at St. Pancras churchyard.97 However, the owners of Midland Railway had to bridge over Regent’s Canal, making it necessary, according to the engineer’s design, to level a significant portion of the burial ground at Old St. Pancras churchyard. Because this action was “deemed necessary” by the builders, the Government allowed “limited” destruction of the churchyard.98 While this case provided an example of the limitations of parliamentary reform, it helped urge societies, like the SPAB, to persist for more effective reform concerning historic sites. The Disused Burial Grounds Act, passed in Parliament in 1884 and backed by the SPAB, prevented any further development on cemeteries and churchyards.99

The SPAB was involved in a wide variety of cases throughout the nineteenth century. Many of these cases were considered successful. Often it took nothing more than the SPAB’s correspondence to divert intended restoration. This was particularly the case when the SPAB interceded early enough in the process. Restoration seemed more

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97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
probable when the progression of the project was well underway, especially if an architect had already been working on the specific site. As the SPAB grew in numbers and influence, they were more likely to discover intended restorations early enough and to make an impression upon those who controlled the site. Further, smaller and less financially secure sites tended to prefer preservation methods instead of restoration because they were more cost-effective.

Quite often, building owners contacted the SPAB for advice. At Studland Church in Dorsetshire, the Vicar wrote to the SPAB for advice. The Committee "sent down a member to view the building and report upon it; it turned out to be a most interesting, though small Church, of Norman style, with a groined chancel, and was, in some respects, in a dangerous condition." 100 The SPAB examined this church and wrote a detailed report for the Vicar, suggesting how to proceed with preservation methods and small repairs. These suggestions would save the church from decay while also keeping it from restoration, at a fraction of the cost. According to the SPAB, the church was "saved by the good sense of the Vicar and Churchwarden, aided by the work of the Committee." 101

Another example of SPAB action can be found in reference to the old gateway, referred to as Water-Gate, in Norwich. This gateway was in danger of being destroyed to provide a solution to a railway extension. When the builders filed a request through the House of Commons, the SPAB worked with the Dean and Chapter of Norwich and the Society of Antiquaries to protest "this piece of vandalism." 102 The SPAB wrote to

101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
members of the House of Commons to protest the proposed construction. The proposal did not go through and Water-Gate was saved. The Dean of Norwich wrote to the SPAB to thank them:

In the name of my colleagues and myself, I beg to thank your Society most cordially for the very efficient aid given us by them in resisting the proposed intrusion of a railway into our Cathedral Close, and to assure them that we consider the result (which was, in fact, the elimination of the objectionable clause in the Bill as the condition of its being read a second time) to be entirely satisfactory, not only in regard to our own Close, but also, we rejoice to think, in regard to all spots similarly circumstanced. 103

Successful SPAB intervention can be found at Queenborough Church on the Isle of Sheppey in Kent. This church was built by Edward I and had received minimal repair since. This neglect had left the building in a decrepit condition with the need of some repairs and much preservation. When the SPAB discovered that this church was undergoing bids for its restoration, they sent a Committee member to the Isle to inspect the situation and contacted the Vicar. 104 It seemed that the Vicar was unsatisfied with any of the proposed restorations and was pleased to hear of the SPAB’s alternate suggestions. The SPAB received a letter from the Vicar telling of his plans to carry out the repair of Queenborough Church along the lines proposed by the SPAB and thanking them for their help. 105

Another interesting case was the Church of St. John the Baptist at Inglesham in Wiltshire, which had “often drawn forth the admiration of artists in their travels” and was well appreciated by neighboring districts. 106 The church previously belonged to a group

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103 Third Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1880), 10-11. This letter was written by the E.M. Goulburn, the Dean of Norwich on 23 May, 1882.
105 Ibid., 24.
of monks from Faringdon but had been owned by a variety of groups in the decades leading up to the SPAB’s interest. The lack of leadership in the condition of the church and the apparent need for repair inspired the SPAB to take action. They requested that the architectural firm of J.T. Micklethwaite, Esq. inspect the site and report on its findings. The report estimated £550 for the repair and preservation of the church. The community attending the church was small and not affluent. The Vicar was in need of financial assistance for the repairs and had the support of the Bishop and Archdeacon of Bristol. The Archdeacon wrote to the SPAB in reference to this site:

I rejoice that your Society has its watchful eye on Inglesham Church. Standing secluded from thoroughfares, among the watermeads of the Upper Thames, unknown to Murray’s Handbook...this dear old Church has happily been let alone, and can show Romanesque details of singular interest, untouched by the restorer’s chisel. The chancel walls and nave arcades are nearly 700 years old, and are such as art students can ill afford to lose. But owing to want of proper drainage the foundations of the walls are rotting, and in some cases sinking, and the Church may, some wet winter, on the breaking up of a long frost, be found ruinous, unless a timely effort be made to save it. What is needed is not to restore what is lost, but to preserve what remains. A hundred pounds would go a long way towards laying its foundations dry; and if more could be obtained the roofs might be made good. If desired, I will gladly receive subscriptions, but only on condition that the work is done under very careful supervision. The benefice is only 200 pounds a year, the population only 100.

The SPAB was concerned not just for the church at Inglesham but also the tall poplar trees surrounding it, the canal bridge, and the lock-keeper’s house. After the letter was read at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the SPAB, the church, trees, and house were “saved from destruction by the private remonstrances” of the local correspondent in Wiltshire.

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This church appeared in the SPAB Annual Reports from 1887 to 1894 as the SPAB was monitoring the repairs while obtaining an additional £100 to see to its care.\textsuperscript{110}

Along with seeing to the preservation of old buildings and monuments and preventing restoration at specific sites, the SPAB also did what it could to influence legislation that could aid their cause on a wider scale. Suggestions to protect ancient monuments, buildings, even gardens had been made throughout the nineteenth century. In Parliament, Select Committees and Commissioners on the Promotion of Fine Arts and on National Monuments and Works of Art debated about forming a committee to deal with questions of caring for National Monuments from 1841 to 1842, but never carried through.\textsuperscript{111} Numerous local societies emerged to protect, study, and support local historical sites. In the 1840’s, ten societies were active, including the St. Alban’s Architectural Society and the Suffolk Institute of Architectural and Natural History Society and by the 1890’s, over forty architectural, archaeological, and antiquarian societies were in existence in England.\textsuperscript{112} Noted individuals, such as John Ruskin, John Lubbock, James Bryce, and Charles Dilke, also spoke in favor of legal protection for historic monuments.\textsuperscript{113}


\textsuperscript{111} \textit{British Parliamentary Records, Reports from Select Committees and Commissioners on the Promotion of Fine Arts and on National Monuments and Works of Art, with minutes of evidence, appendices and index, 1841-47} (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971, 1841), 49, 101.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 47-48.

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 101.
In 1871, in order to save the stone circle at Avebury, John Lubbock purchased the property, which brought attention to the need of caring for historical monuments. Sir John Lubbock was an English banker and statesman, one of the founding members of the SPAB, and a Member of Parliament from 1870 to 1913. In 1873, Lubbock introduced a bill to prevent the destruction of ancient monuments but it did not include historic buildings. The Ancient Monuments Protection Act passed in 1882, making it possible for the Government to purchase and care for historic monuments with the owner’s agreement, a power that was extended to County Councils in 1900. In 1890, Sir Thomas Deane, an Irish architect and a leader in Gothic Revival building and preservation in Ireland, wrote to the SPAB with a concern that the Act did not include medieval buildings and ruins. A committee, made up of Governmental officials, architects, and members of the SPAB, drafted a revision of the Act and a Bill was submitted to the House of Commons in 1892. An important section of this Bill is as follows:

Where the Commissioners of Works are of opinion that the preservation of any ancient or mediaeval structure, erection, or monument, or any remains thereof is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, traditional, or artistic interest attaching thereto, they may, at the request of the owner, consent to become the guardians thereof, and thereupon the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882,

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116 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
shall apply to such structure, erection, or monument, or remains, as if the same were an ancient monument to which that Act applies, as defined in that Act.¹¹⁹

John Lubbock introduced the revised Bill.¹²⁰ The SPAB and the Society of Antiquaries supported it and it passed in 1892. The Act discussed the guardianship, acquisition, protection, preservation, and the treatment of pre-historic monuments and earthworks along with the "ancient or mediaeval structure, erection, or monument, or any remains thereof."¹²¹ Still, it was not until the 1913 Act of Compulsion that parliamentary legislation "effectively controlled the treatment of old buildings" because private property rights were no longer given preference.¹²² Revisions to the Ancient Monuments Protection Act occurred in 1910 and 1931, and the current Act adequately protects ancient monuments, buildings, and sites by giving owners financial assistance and advice while keeping these structures and areas safe from development and other sorts of interference.¹²³ The Act was revised once more in 1953 to further protect buildings by including churches in use.¹²⁴

The SPAB also promoted a register to list relevant and particularly interesting buildings in London. The SPAB worked with the London County Council and

¹¹⁹ Fifteenth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1892), 36. As is typical of most national trust activity in England and in the United States, the owner of a historic site surrenders unconditional rights to that site in exchange for the monetary and security benefits of that site being declared protected in such country. Much of these ownership rights remain intact.
representatives of a variety of London societies to propose a listing of historically important buildings in greater London. This idea came about when it was decided at an 1897 conference that, “Londoners are by no means well-informed as to the architectural treasures they possess, and often it is only realized that a building is of value, when that building is in danger of being removed.” In the opinion of many of the conference participants, a list would “remove in a great measure the risk of losing such buildings.”

Through the Committee for the Survey of the Memorials of Greater London, a resolution suggested:

(1.) That it is desirable that a register or list be made of buildings of historic or architectural interest in London; and that the register be in such a form as to admit of amplification both as to buildings and detail of buildings, according as future information comes to hand.

(2.) That it is desirable to form a general committee to include representatives of the different societies interested in the matter, and that the Council be requested to appoint representatives on such committee.

(3.) That the existing Committee for the Survey and Registration of the Old Memorials of Greater London, having already made a register of buildings in the east end of London, be requested to continue its work, and that it is desirable that similar registers be compiled for the rest of London, it being understood that such registers are formed for the use of the London County Council.

(4.) That the General Purposes Committee be requested to consider the desirableness of the register being printed from time to time by the Council with suitable drawings and illustrations.

Speakers in front of the London County Council included Sir Robert Hunter, chairman of the National Trust, Philip Norman, representing the Society of Antiquaries, and Thackeray Turner, representing the SPAB. Support also came from SPAB members C.R. Ashbee and Sir John Lubbock. The London County Council was agreeable to the

125 Twentieth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1897), 45.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid., 45-46.
proposition and voted to commit £100 to support the printing of the initial sections of the register.\textsuperscript{128}

During the first decades of its existence, the SPAB did much to prevent restoration and to promote preservation in buildings around England. They did this by interceding in proposed restoration projects, by providing advice to owners and architects, by promoting preferred methods of repair and preservation, by pointing out sites that required repair and/or preservation, by educating the public and architects through publicity and educational programs, and by suggesting and carrying out necessary legislation to insure their agenda. As its reputation and influence grew, the SPAB attempted to promote the preservation and care of buildings and sites outside of England. It was also involved with a variety of situations and sites on the continent, reaching as far as Egypt and Turkey and as close as France, Germany, and Italy.

\textsuperscript{128} Twentieth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1897), 46.
CHAPTER SIX:

THE SPAB IN FRANCE AND GERMANY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In foreign countries, the SPAB’s influence was frequently unappreciated. Often, its suggestions and objections were labeled as interference. The preferred and most effective method of dealing with sites overseas was to set up a local version of the SPAB that would be run by English expatriates or sympathetic locals. Ongoing SPAB intervention was limited after the end of the nineteenth century because these satellites became autonomous societies dedicated to SPAB goals.\(^1\) Many merged with other interested groups to form specialty societies for specific regions. Therefore, while the SPAB, and the voice of Morris, may be credited with spreading the ideals of preservation and care for historic buildings throughout Europe, the link becomes less obvious after the beginning of the twentieth century.

Morris and the SPAB began to address situations overseas soon after the SPAB founding. The First Annual Report in 1878 discussed the Acropolis at Athens, where a sixteenth century tower, added among buildings surrounding the Acropolis, was in danger of being torn down. While a sixteenth century tower might not fuse aesthetically with the ancient structure of the Acropolis, it still had historical value, according to Morris and the SPAB. Nonetheless, the tower was destroyed in 1875. The report of the SPAB reads as follows:

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\(^1\) The Deutsche Burgenvereinigung (DBV), was Germany’s first preservation society with its founding in 1899. The French version of the SPAB, the Société pour Édifice Ancien, was founded by 1880, which in turn led to the founding of the Paris and Rouen preservation societies, the Société des Amis des Monuments Parisiens and the Société des Amis des Monuments Rouennais.
There existed for a number of centuries on one of the most interesting sites of the world – the Acropolis at Athens – a monument which disfigured it, as it was thought, and which undoubtedly would have disfigured it in the eyes of an ancient Athenian, as it did it in the eyes of the ordinary student of Greek architecture. This was the so-called Venetian Tower on the Acropolis. When it was destroyed, a few years ago, it was destroyed with two objects: first, with the antiquarian object of ransacking the materials for ancient inscriptions, just as the Gothic restoring architect ransacks a sixteenth century building for examples of earlier work; and secondly, the object of the demolition of the Tower was to bring back the old aspect of the surroundings.²

The Second Annual Report, as read by Morris, again took notice of threatened monuments abroad, and announced the formation of a committee to deal with issues on the continent. The Foreign Committee section of the SPAB, wrote Morris, has “been constituted in accordance with a hope expressed in last year’s Report, and has begun its work by putting itself into communication with archaeological Societies in France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, &c.”³ Further, that “enquiries have been set on foot respecting the state of ancient buildings in India, as also in Spain, where restoration is commencing.”⁴ The Manifesto of the SPAB was translated into French, German, Italian, and Dutch and the initiative was taken to set up foreign correspondents in these countries. The SPAB was well aware of the challenges that faced them in influencing situations abroad, yet it was “hoped that the efforts of the Society to prevent the falsification of monuments and the ruin of works of art, may attract attention abroad, and be commented upon in the public prints. And that its principles many be spread thereby.”⁵

The SPAB and Morris were interested in incorporating the principles of preservation onto the continent as soon as they established themselves in England. The

² First Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1878), 25. Professor Sidney Colvin, a founding committee member of the SPAB, read this section of the Report.
⁴ Ibid., 10.
⁵ Ibid., 11.
SPAB's first international case, concerning the restoration of the west front of St. Mark's in Venice, shows not only how Morris stood firmly by his ideals but also how he fought incessantly for them. Morris had visited St. Mark's in 1878 and saw that restoration was already underway and was particularly furious when he saw that the interior medieval mosaics were being destroyed. St. Mark’s was a major SPAB issue in the autumn of 1879:

Morris was the strategist and chief spokesman for this campaign, which brought the society out of the shadows of vaguely well-meaning liberal activity and into the forefront of public consciousness. The society had been aware of dangers threatening innumerable important foreign buildings. Right from the beginning the manifesto was translated into French, German and Dutch, as well as Italian. Foreign honorary secretaries had been appointed, where they could be found, to alert the SPAB to obvious atrocities, and British committee members and their friends brought back their own reports when traveling abroad. But now for the first time these uncoordinated international activities found a proper focus. As Morris would soon become so painfully aware in the context of Socialist politics it was difficult to galvanize public activity without a well-defined and emotionally charged case.6

Morris began this case by insulting the Italians in The Daily News, criticizing them for “rashness,” “cultural vandalism,” and replacing parts of St. Mark’s with “gilding, glitter, and blankness.”7 Morris organized and spoke at protest meetings in England. The SPAB persuaded influential people to speak on its behalf concerning St. Mark’s, including John Ruskin. Further, two very powerful supporters, William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, signed a petition. During these formative years with the SPAB, Morris was especially active:

He was the dominating figure at the annual general meetings, both reporting in detail on the progress of case histories and rousing the troops in a series of long

7 Ibid.
speeches that show Morris at his most powerful and lucid, putting forward the
case for ancient buildings as 'real and living history', which must be guarded
'both from thoughtlessness and sordid destruction, and from rash falsification'. In
the intervals between these formalized orations Morris was writing constantly on
SPAB business: official letters to the press and the SPAB file reports on
individual buildings blister with his purposeful and vitriolic prose. In the
background were long hours of discussion and drudgery. The minutes show how
conscientiously Morris attended the evening SPAB committee meetings, held
weekly, in the early period, at Morris's own premises in Oxford Street. ...He was
also involved in SPAB sub-committees, in particular the Restoration Committee,
and the separate St. Mark's Committee.  

Unfortunately, the efforts to save St. Mark's were largely unsuccessful. However, the
case highlighted the SPAB and its potential influence abroad for both the British and
international community.

By 1880, the SPAB had official correspondents overseas in Italy and France.
John Bunney of Fondamenta San Biagio in Venice and Russell Forbes of Piassa di
Spagna in Rome were the local correspondents for their cities. Charles Fairfax Murray of
Florence served as the Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Italy until 1889, when
Onorato Carlandi of Rome succeeded him. In Paris, Adolphe Guillon worked as the
SPAB local correspondent in France until 1897.  Henri Correvon of Geneva and Major
J.B. Keith of India joined the foreign correspondents in 1889. Correvon in Switzerland,
Carlandi in Italy, and Keith in India, continued as correspondents through the end of the
nineteenth century.

The establishment of correspondents was not the only method for the SPAB to
share its ideology with countries overseas. Countries such as Turkey, Spain, Egypt,

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8 MacCarthy, William Morris, 417-418.
Algeria, Malta, Germany, and Belgium appear regularly in the first twenty years of the SPAB registers. Some of these countries preferred to initiate their own societies rather than to be a stem of the SPAB. For example, in Germany and Belgium, initial attempts by the SPAB inspired the initiation of local preservation societies and initiatives.\textsuperscript{12}

The SPAB also showed interest in Egyptian monuments. Work here was substantial, and although there was no local correspondent in this country, there were members who either had contacts in Egypt or lived in Egypt. In 1882, the SPAB sent letters to the Khedive and to the Coptic Patriarch, the latter penned in Arabic, "appealing to them to protect the remains of mediaeval Arab art and the interesting early Coptic churches."\textsuperscript{13} Favorable responses were received to these letters. In the following year, the SPAB reported:

In Egypt, matters are more hopeful; the interest which once was limited to the monuments of ancient Egypt is being extended to the perhaps equally valuable remains of Moslem art in its greatest perfection, in which Egypt, and especially Cairo, is so rich. The Society has thankfully to acknowledge important aid in this matter from Miss Amelia B. Edwards, M. Arthur Rhone, of Paris, Mr. Reg. Stuart Poole, and Mr. Stanley Lane Poole.\textsuperscript{14}

By 1884, the SPAB had catalogued ancient buildings in Cairo. In this document, the SPAB also offered advice as to the best methods of preservation and repair in specific situations. This information was well received by the Egyptian Khedive and the Egyptian Committee for the Preservation of the Ancient Monuments of Cairo. The SPAB "had reason to hope that its suggestions and warnings were willingly received, and may some

\textsuperscript{13} Fifth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1882), 17. The Khedive was the Turkish viceroy of Egypt from 1867 to 1914. The Coptic Patriarch was the leader of the Coptic Church in Egypt. The Coptic Church was a Christian faction in Egypt after 451.
\textsuperscript{14} Sixth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1883), 25.
day be acted upon, when greater tranquility and prosperity return to this much-harassed
country.” 15 The report continues:

Unhappily, the occupation of Cairo by British troops has not tended to the
preservation of the picturesque beauties of the city. A great deal of damage has
been done to many of the mediaeval buildings, and the roofing of planks over the
Mouski – one of the most characteristic features of Oriental cities – has been
removed: a very serious loss from an artistic point of view. The brilliant sunshine
striking down between the planks into the gloom of the shaded street below, gave
the most striking and varied effects of light and shadow; while the practical use of
this slight shelter from the sun’s rays was very great in a climate like that of
Egypt. 16

By 1889, the SPAB had developed a committee in England to deal with Egypt
and its monuments. A report, initiated by French engineer Grand Bey, discussed the need
for caring for masonry and structural decay, for the draining and clearing of a variety of
areas, and for the insured protection of “groups of ruins from Philoe to Abydos.” 17 The
SPAB’s plan was to raise a sum of £8500 to send to Egypt to protect several sites,
specifically Esneh, Luxor, and Karnak. To ensure that these funds would be appropriated
correctly, they were placed under the supervision of Governors Sir Evelyn Baring and Sir
Colin Scott-Moncrieff. 18 These monuments were monitored from 1882 to 1898, with
satisfactory assurance of preservation over restoration. 19

There were many countries, similar to the situation in Egypt, where the SPAB
invested time and effort without official correspondents. In Spain, for example, it worked

16 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
on Seville Cathedral and the Mosque at Cordova. It also worked on St. Sophia in
Constantinople and for ancient buildings in Belgium, Algeria, and Malta. In Belgium,
the SPAB published an article in the paper Moniteur des Arts entitled “Preservation of
Belgian Buildings.” A circular was also sent to Belgian mayors, architects, church
officials, and charitable societies describing preservation techniques and reasons why,
according to SPAB tenets, restoration was not a good choice. The SPAB sent the
circulars out with the support of the Belgian Government since it was also the “wish of
the Government that no building, either religious or civil, should be destroyed without the
advice of competent persons and the Royal Commission for Buildings.”

In Algeria, the SPAB questioned reports of vandalism and looting at excavation sites and requested that
the French Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings look into them although no
additional mention is made of this situation in SPAB records. In Malta, members of the
SPAB met with Governor Sir Lintorn Simmons to urge the foundation of a national
museum and the protection of the numerous Phoenician ruins on that island. Simmons
pointed out that if these steps had been taken before Malta was ceded to England that
“Malta would have possessed a collection of antiquities second to none in Europe.”

20 Sixth and Eleventh Annual Reports: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1883, 1888). Sixth, 29,
Eleventh, 71.
21 Sixth, Eighth, Eleventh, Sixteenth, and Eighteenth Annual Reports: SPAB (London:
SPAB, 1883, 1885, 1888, 1893, 1895). Sixth, 29, Eighth, 38, Eleventh, 60-61, Sixteenth,
42-43, 51, Eighteenth, 71.
22 Eighth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1885), 38. Published on 12 December,
1884.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., 38-39.
SPAB report announced that the Governor seemed likely to go forward with these suggestions.\textsuperscript{26}

In Germany, another country with no local correspondents, it was apparent that the SPAB influenced rather than intervened, especially between 1880 and 1897.\textsuperscript{27} Although the SPAB was involved with Heidelberg Castle, the Nuremberg churches, and the Cathedral in Cologne, the SPAB files on these structures do not show resistance from the German officials and architects.\textsuperscript{28} According to SPAB reports, many Germans were interested in founding their own societies.\textsuperscript{29} They accepted the distinction that the SPAB made between preservation and restoration and wanted to pursue the former with their historic buildings. The first German preservation society was the Deutsche Burgenvereinigung (DBV). It formed in 1899 to preserve German castles and significant buildings.\textsuperscript{30} Its aims and methods were, like the SPAB’s, geared towards the promotion of preserving Germany’s historical heritage, the attempt to foster public interest concerning historic structures, and the policy of advising building owners regarding preservation methods.\textsuperscript{31}

One of the reasons why preservation techniques were well received in Germany is that the country did not have a strong, exclusive dedication to the Gothic Revival. While

\textsuperscript{26} Eleventh Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1888), 60.
\textsuperscript{28} Sixth through Tenth Annual Reports: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1883-1887), Sixth, 29, Seventh, 27, Eight, 39, 43, Ninth, 62, Tenth, 44-45.
\textsuperscript{29} Tenth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1887), 44. This report claims that the German population was accepting of SPAB ideas and cites several inquiries from citizens in Germany.
\textsuperscript{30} The German Castles Association (Marksburg, n.d.), http://www.marksburg.de. Site has an English and French language option.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
the Gothic Revival was an important cultural phenomenon in Germany in the nineteenth century, there was also a devotion to neo-classicism. Because the Gothic Revival was not the predominant building style, as it was in France and England, the German people were less resistant to its restriction. This was partially because Germany had maintained a strong neo-classic element in its architecture throughout the nineteenth century, making architecture in these regions more diverse and the effects of restoration less dominant. Further, with the 1871 German unification, the new nation’s architects and government were generally more interested in civic architecture, which was typically less ornamental than ecclesiastical architecture.

One significant issue in the development of nineteenth century Germanic architecture was the perception that neo-classicism was symbolic of political and social greatness. This perception grew out of the late eighteenth century and accelerated after the 1814 defeat of Napoleon.\(^{32}\) From 1816 to 1841, Karl Friedrich Schinkel’s primarily neo-classic architectural designs reflected a German nationalist sentiment. Elite classes emphasized the neo-classic style in their domestic and public constructions due to this perception.\(^{33}\) Neo-classicism was reflected as early as the eighteenth century *Sturm und Drang* movement:

Both [Neo-Classicism and Romanticism] incorporated the validity of Greek architecture as the ideal of freedom, truth and humanity; both were based on the discovery of truth through sensitivity. In the Picturesque landscaped garden Goethe saw the approach of a ‘Golden Age,’ in which the humanist ideals of the Greeks would be symbolized in temples and classical structures. While paying tribute to the classical ideal, the *Sturm und Drang* movement as well as the

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ensuing Romantic movement, transformed nationalist sentiment into a political plea.34

After German unification, Bismarck wanted to build Germany's power through industry and the military, but he was also trying to unite the German states into a coherent whole and promoting pride in the country was a good way to do this. The qualities of neo-classicism, with its relation to ancient Greece and Rome and its orderly layouts and clean lines, were, to Bismarck, a better link to the developing image of Germany as an industrializing and military giant. Still, Bismarck encouraged the construction or restoration of certain Gothic works. The Gothic Cologne Cathedral was originally started in 1248 but its well-known spire was part of a restoration that was completed in 1880. This restoration gave Germany the highest spire in all of Europe and was in direct competition with France and England.

Another significant factor influencing the development of nineteenth century Germanic architecture was its educational system. The Academy of Berlin Architectural School, founded in 1696, concentrated on geometry, perspective, and military and civil architecture. Throughout the eighteenth century, methodological scientific research and engineering became the core of the architecture curriculum. In 1799, the Department of Architecture separated from the Academy of Berlin and became the Bau-Akademie. Into the nineteenth century, the neo-classic influence was predominant in most of the universities and schools in the Germanic regions. Concurrently, the aesthetic and expressive German tradition in Byzantine Gothic continued to adapt specifically to

34 Watkin and Mellinghoff, German Architecture, 11.
ecclesiastical architecture. The two styles were therefore, not in competition and were not exclusive.

German architects tended to be either more neo-classical or more Gothic but they frequently blended characteristics. A variety of noted nineteenth century German architects exhibited an eclectic style, including Karl Friedrich Schinkel who leaned towards the neo-classic and August Reichensperger who showed more Gothic Revival characteristics in his work.

Throughout the nineteenth century, elaborate Gothic-styled constructions were erected in sight of regal neo-classical buildings. Nineteenth century religious buildings and many private constructions, such as castles and estates, leaned towards the Gothic style whereas public buildings and government-funded buildings and memorials took on a neo-classical flavor.

German architects, like their English counterparts, debated the validity of the Gothic Revival. Like Morris and Ruskin, Schinkel felt that Gothic Revival architecture was often out of place in the nineteenth century. Schinkel stated that every “major period has established its own architectural style, so why do we not try to establish a style for ours?” Hermann Muthesius, the leading German expert on English architecture, regarded the nineteenth century as an “unartistic century” since its architects needed to

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36 The Gothic Revival was more commonly referred to as the Neugotik, or new gothic, and sometimes even linguistically tied to Romanticism with the term, Neugotik-Romantik. Neo-classicism was referred to as Neuklassizismus.
copy the styles of a previous age.\textsuperscript{38} A differing perspective came from August Reichensperger, who believed that the Gothic Revival was true to German architecture since it was, in his opinion, derived from a glorified German past. He said that the Gothic Revival was "inherently regional" to Germany and that to restore a structure in this manner was completely acceptable.\textsuperscript{39} A goal of his work was to herald the Germanic historic memory through architecture.

Reichensperger was the central figure of the German Gothic Revival from the 1840's to his death in 1895. His dedication to the completion of the Cologne Cathedral helped to make the Rhineland the center of the movement in Germany. He sought, through his political activity and his published manifestoes, to elevate the popularity of Gothic architecture. In this way, he was similar to Viollet-le-Duc in France and Pugin in England. Reichensperger was also a member of the Prussian Parliament and, later, a member of the Reichstag, and used these chambers to promote his interests in architecture and urban planning.\textsuperscript{40} Reichensperger's most important manifesto, entitled \textit{Die Christlich-Germanische Baukunst und ihr Verhältnis zur Gegenwart} (1845), became the central statement of German Gothic Revival theory.\textsuperscript{41} This work on churches, cathedrals, and monasteries delineated ideal Germanic Gothic characteristics in relation to ecclesiastical architecture.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 1-5.
Although the restoration debates did not reach the intensity in Germany that they
did in England, there were situations of concern for the SPAB. Nearly every town and
city had at least one church or cathedral built in the original Gothic, Romanesque, or
Byzantine style. By the nineteenth century, many of them were in need of preservation
and repair, and this is an aspect where the SPAB felt that it could be particularly helpful.

Germany and the state of its historic buildings and sites were referenced in early
SPAB reports. However, it was not until 1882 that the SPAB delved into foreign work in
Germany. Heidelberg Castle was the first German structure to appear in the SPAB
reports. 42

The town of Heidelberg was first recorded as a city in the twelfth century, and the
first building at the castle site was the royal residence of Prince Elector Ruprecht III from
1398 to 1410. 43 Across from this residence is the Fountain Hall, built from 1476 to 1508,
and these two buildings were incorporated into the larger castle and grounds from 1531 to
1612. 44 The castle is "one of the main works of German renaissance architecture, and
particularly so the elements built in the sixteenth and seventeenth century." 45 The castle
was partially destroyed by French troops in the late seventeenth century but the Hall and
the main residence were kept up while the other sections fell into ruin. 46

cases this year included Monastic buildings and Sta. Francesca in Rome, Arab
monuments in Egypt, Lucca Cathedral in Italy, Mercato Vecchio and Ponte Vecchio in
Florence, Seville Cathedral in Spain, and St. Sophia in Constantinople. This illustrates
the accelerated activity in foreign work for the SPAB during this year.
43 Heidelberg Castle (Heidelberg: Germany), http://www.visit-heidelberg.com.
44 Doreen Yarwood, The Architecture of Europe: Classical Architecture, 1420-1800,
45 Historical Old Town as a Cultural Heritage (Heidelberg: Stadt Heidelberg, 1999),
46 Ibid.
misfortune came about at the castle when lightning struck in 1764 and the castle stones were misused as a quarry until this activity was stopped under the rule of Count Charles de Graimberg in 1800.47 The ruins were left alone until discussions in the 1880’s suggested restoration work at the castle. In 1882, the Generalversammlung des Verbandes deutsher Architekten met to discuss a proposed restoration at Heidelberg.48 Their attitude was that it was necessary to restore the castle because part of its ruinous state came from French attacks:

To save and to rebuild this jewel of German architecture as a monument to the regained power and splendour of the fatherland, of our nation’s reborn love of art, is the duty of the entire German race, because at the time of its greatest powerlessness the whole of Germany had suffered the ignominy of this artistically decorated royal residence being destroyed in a criminal fashion.49

A significant portion of the Heidelberg population, the SPAB, and other European countries and organizations spoke against restoration at the castle site. Mayor Wilckens of Heidelberg spoke on his townspeople’s behalf, asking “to what extent the castle might be preserved as a ruin, for that was what most of the inhabitants of Heidelberg wanted, because they loved the ruin with heart and soul and feared that its ‘poetic spell’ would be broken.”50 The government of the Grand Duchy of Baden decided that the ruins would

47 Heidelberg Castle (Heidelberg: Germany), http://www.visit-heidelberg.com.
49 Ibid
be left with only necessary repairs and preservation techniques. The debate arose again in 1902 with the same approximate results, making it clear that “the principle that puts conservation before reconstruction was officially recognized.” The castle escaped any damage during the World Wars and is presently standing as a preserved ruin. The Conference of Education Ministers applied to have Heidelberg Castle and the surrounding old town placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1998, the application passed preliminary review in 2003, and the officials expect a positive response in 2005.

The SPAB also worked on St. Sebald’s Church and the town walls of Nuremberg from 1885 to 1886. Nuremberg is located in Bavaria northwest of Munich. Once the castle was built from 1025 to 1050, the town quickly developed around it. A newer castle, the Kaiserschloss, was erected in 1428, but this structure was completely restored in the years 1854 to 1856. There are several churches in Nuremberg: St. Lorenz, St. Sebald, the Church of St. Lawrence, the Church of Our Lady, St. Jacob, and St. Aegidius. All were restored in the middle of the nineteenth century except St. Sebald, which was restored from 1878 to 1881. Unfortunately, many of the most interesting sites in Nuremberg were restored before the SPAB existed. The SPAB was too late to influence

52 Denslagen, Architectural Restoration in Western Europe, 185-186.
53 Historical Old Town as a Cultural Heritage (Heidelberg: Stadt Heidelberg, 1999), http://www.heidelberg.de/stadtinf/weltkultengl.htm.
the St. Sebald restorations, as its appeals came about when restoration work had already begun.

The SPAB was also active in Nuremberg by attempting to prevent the destruction of the town walls. Restoration was not an issue in this instance, but the walls impeded the growth and development of the area and were in danger of being completely removed. In this case, the SPAB was able to postpone and minimize the damage.\(^{56}\) Despite its efforts, by the early twentieth century, less than a third of the town walls were still standing due primarily to the construction of roads and trains in and out of the city. Still, Nuremberg retained some of its historic character as sections of the town walls, built from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, are still standing, as are many fifteenth and sixteenth century town homes.\(^{57}\)

Despite some problems, the situation in Germany was preferable to the SPAB because the German people were willing to work with the ideals of preservation. Within Germany and as in England, there were groups and individuals who sided with either restoration or preservation but the gradual preference was in favor of the latter. In this fairly positive situation, it was better to encourage the protection of historic sites through local initiatives. According to the SPAB:

> On the whole, though the work of the Society on the Continent has necessarily been limited and imperfect, yet it has not been in vain. Not only has success been gained in many individual instances, but, better still, there are many encouraging proofs that the principles of our Society are beginning to take root in many places abroad; societies, with objects akin to ours, are being founded in different places,

\(^{56}\) *Eighth and Ninth Annual Reports: SPAB* (London: SPAB, 1885, 1886), Eighth, 43, Ninth, 62.  
Originally published as unlisted correspondence in early 1900’s. Nuremberg had several rings of walls around the town, making them more of an obstacle for growth than a single wall.
and will naturally be able to carry on the work of supervision and defense of their ancient monuments much better than we or any foreign society could do.  

The SPAB applauded the German efforts in the following year:

The Germans, for their part, are busying themselves with regard to the preservation of their ancient buildings. In the *Courier de l'Art*, of the 6th February, 1885, appeared the following: “Privy Councillor Von Urisson has been instructed to collect the necessary particulars for the preparation of a Bill for the preservation of works of art. It appears from a memorandum drawn up by this gentleman that there are in Prussia at the present time 123 Societies dealing with this important question. Several provinces, notably Westphalia, Eastern Prussia, and Brandenburg have made important sacrifices with this object. A sum of 300,000 marks (15,000 pounds) has been expended by the State since 1878 for the protection of ancient buildings.” We, in England, must feel after reading such information that we are by no means the most energetic in the preservation of our ancient buildings.

By 1887, the SPAB felt that there was a notable increase of interest on the Continent in the ideas of preservation and careful repair versus restoration. The SPAB also felt that “the institution of various local Societies whose efforts are either wholly or partly directed to their preservation and defence, has relieved the Society from some of the work to which it formally devoted itself.” Finally, the SPAB declared:

The Society has reason to believe that the zeal which is now beginning to be exhibited for the preservation of national antiquities, particularly in France and Germany, has been stimulated by the action of the Society in England, and the Society is glad to leave the protection of foreign buildings in the hands of the local authorities whenever it is made evident that the authorities are alive to the duties of their position as custodians of the national monuments of the country.

The situation in Germany was considered favorable, particularly given the absence of an official SPAB correspondent. Other countries, even those with

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60 *Tenth Annual Report: SPAB* (London: SPAB, 1887), 44.
61 Ibid.
correspondents, did not always have the same outcome. The Italians frequently resented
intervention from England, as in the case at St. Marks. 62 The Indians also exhibited some
resentment, probably due more to the Indian attitude towards British occupation. 63

In France, the outcome was generally fairly successful. In 1885, the SPAB
thanked the French correspondent for his efforts. Adolphe Guillon, the Honorary
Secretary of the Société des Amis des Monuments Parisiens, formed a federation "of the
learned societies in France, for the purpose of more efficiently protecting public buildings
in that country." 64 He received mention the following year:

The second annual report of the Paris Society contains a short notice of the SPAB,
by M. Adolphe Guillon, the correspondent in Paris of our Society, to whom also
the Society is indebted for frequent communications, as also for an invitation to
take part in the Congress of learned societies recently held at the Sorbonne. 65

The SPAB probably would not have had success in France had it not been for Guillon
and the French SPAB. The French public would have been far less responsive to the
SPAB itself. This is particularly true with the emphasis on the Gothic Revival and
restoration in architecture and the popularity of Viollet-le-Duc in France.

Although the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century exhibited some
aspects of neo-classicism in France, the decorative aspects of the Gothic Revival became
more prevalent as the decades progressed. Viollet-le-Duc worked on his Gothic Revival

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62 The SPAB showed activity in Italy from 1878 through the end of the nineteenth
century. According to Annual Reports, they worked with Ravenna, buildings in the city
center of Florence, The Ducal Palace in Venice, the Campo Santo in Pisa, the Milan
Cathedral, buildings in the center of Naples, and several sites in Rome. A good overview
of Morris and the SPAB's activities in Italy was written by Frank Sharp in the William
Morris Society Journal: "A Lesson in International Relations: Morris and the SPAB,"
63 The SPAB worked on the following cases in India: the Old Indian capital of Bijapur,
various monuments throughout India, the Rajah Man's Palace, and Fatehpur Sikri.
building designs and restorations from 1840 until 1872 and his work infiltrated buildings in Paris and around the country. French architecture from 1850 to 1880 was “dominated by the Second Empire mode established under Napoleon III.”66 This style was the “equivalent of the English High Victorian Gothic – in both cases the maturity of the style.”67 Even the last two decades of the nineteenth century were largely influenced by the Gothic style.

At the height of the Gothic Revival, Viollet-le-Duc was not only extremely popular in France but also he was noted throughout Europe.68 In 1840, he was appointed to the leadership of the French Office of Historic Monuments. This was a time when many structures were in need of repair from the effects of the French Revolution, Napoleon, and years of neglect. This meant that Viollet-le-Duc would head up hundreds of restoration projects in France, particularly in and around Paris.69 He was responsible for the restoration of Notre Dame, La Sainte Chapelle, Hotel de Cluny, the Amiens Cathedral, the Cathedral of Saint-Denis, the Chateau de Pierrefonds, the hill town of Mont S. Michel, and the cities of Avignon and Carcassonne, to list only a portion of his work.

Viollet-le-Duc believed that restoration was the best choice in his age. He said that restoration was “not to preserve it, to repair it, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a

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67 Ibid.
condition of completeness that could never have existed at any time.”70 Viollet-le-Duc’s political involvement added to his prestige and influence. During the Second Empire, his friendship with Empress Eugenie enabled his architectural firm to earn restoration projects in the reconstruction of Paris. Even after the collapse of the Second Empire, he continued to influence French architecture with his work on several town halls and churches.71

Despite his popularity, Viollet-le-Duc was suspect in his rampant restorations. To be as historically accurate as possible, he claimed that it was essential to “respect the identity of material and shape” and to “replace ruined parts with new ones containing no modification of form or proportion” even if it meant forsaking “every personal preference.”72 However, it appears that Viollet-le-Duc did not necessarily follow his own advice at Notre Dame de Paris:

He replaced the thirteenth-century windows (which were not harmonious) by rose windows of the twelfth century that were his own invention. He added a central spire, and the western porches he made new statues inspired by those of the cathedral of Bordeaux. ...Inside the cathedral, seized by a mania for the unity of style, he suppressed most of the classical decoration. Every painting placed by the guild of goldsmiths during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries disappeared, and only mediocre altars and poor coloring remain...73

70 Lewis, The Gothic Revival, 140-141.
73 Ibid., 17-19.
After 1880, Viollet-le-Duc’s popularity waned. A “reaction began to appear against Viollet-le-Duc and much criticism was leveled at his restorations.”74 Ruskin and Morris’s ideas opposing Gothic restoration stirred public opinion and late nineteenth century French thought swung towards the ideas of careful maintenance, necessary repair, and the incorporation of preservation techniques.75

Along with Viollet-le-Duc, Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann influenced restoration attitudes with his reorganization of Paris. He widened boulevards, relocated slum areas, designed green areas, hired architects and builders to erect government buildings, added façades to buildings lining the boulevards, and established railway stations. There were many architects, including Viollet-le-Duc, who helped to execute his monumental and controversial plan.76 While Haussmann’s changes made Paris more attractive, they were controversial because they displaced many Parisians.

French architectural influence expanded through much of Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century, due largely to Haussmann and Viollet-le-Duc. Another influencing factor was the increasing reputation of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where students from all over the world received their architectural education.77 These aspects combined with the extent of the Gothic Revival hype in the nineteenth century made it more difficult for the SPAB to influence change in France. However, the eventual criticism of Viollet-le-Duc’s overuse of the Gothic style helped the French public to see the SPAB’s viewpoint. The work of Guillon and the Parisian version of the SPAB, the Société pour Édifice Ancien, was even more beneficial to the SPAB. By 1887, the SPAB

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75 Ibid., 20-21.
77 Ibid., 19-21.
felt that France, along with Germany, had been suitably influenced and was seemingly
dedicated to the formation of its own preservation societies. In this same year La Société
des Amis des Monuments Rouennais was established at Rouen. This Society’s objectives
were listed as the same as both the Société pour Édifice Ancien and the SPAB.\textsuperscript{78}

The establishment of this society at Rouen was a victory for the SPAB and a
personal success for Morris, who was particularly fond of the cathedral. Rouen Cathedral
was actually the third cathedral located in Rouen at the same site. Construction of this
cathedral began c.1000 by Archbishop Robert, the son of Duke Richard I and completed
in 1063.\textsuperscript{79} It was of the Romanesque style but much of this was “restored” two centuries
later. Between 1281 and 1330, the transept façade was rebuilt to reflect the then popular
French Rayonnant, or Flamboyant, style of architecture. The rose window and frontal
sculptures were also added at this time.\textsuperscript{80} The façade was altered for the next few
centuries, thereby incorporating several variations of Gothic architectural
characteristics.\textsuperscript{81}

Rouen Cathedral had made quite an impression on Morris in 1855 and it made
him fight all the more against its proposed restoration nearly forty years later. Morris
called it “the most beautiful monument of art in ‘the two great architectural countries,
France and England.’”\textsuperscript{82} Although a cast iron reconstruction of the cathedral spire was

\textsuperscript{78} Tenth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1887), 44-45.
\textsuperscript{79} Rouen Cathedral (Normandy, 1999), http://sinclair.quarterman.org/
sinclair/bhottiere/Rouen.
\textsuperscript{80} Rolf Toman, ed., The Art of Gothic, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting (Cologne:
\textsuperscript{82} MacCarthy, William Morris, 92-93.
erected from 1827 to 1884, additional work was not undertaken. In 1884, Rouen Cathedral was listed as a success as the SPAB report explains that the cloisters had been "threatened with destruction." Accordingly:

The remonstrances addressed by our Society on this subject, and their action, in conjunction with some eminent French archaeologists, were, at least in part, instrumental in saving these picturesque cloisters from being completely pulled down.

In a letter to the Daily Chronicle, Morris objected to additional proposed restorations at the Cathedral:

As to work to be done, of course it is possible that structural repairs are necessary; nay, on some scale or other they are sure to be, for in these huge buildings unceasing watchfulness and uninterrrupt small repairs are the price which must be paid in order to avoid the two irreparable disasters of ruin or restoration. I fear, however, with you, that this structural repair, which when done would scarcely be visible, is not what is contemplated, but that when the restoration is completed we shall find a great deal, perhaps the greater part of the detail redone into a mere modern imitation of the ancient work. This has been done for some years now in the case of the Palais de Justice in Rouen, which is in consequence, no longer a beautiful late Gothic building, as I first saw it in 1853, but a lifeless modern "study in Gothic" prepared in the architect's office, and carried out slavishly by the workman reduced to a mere machine.

Although that restoration work did not proceed, Rouen Cathedral has undergone significant restoration in the twentieth century. The cathedral suffered significant damage in the Second World War and has been "in a permanent state of restoration for the last sixty years."

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85 Ibid.
The SPAB also became involved with the proposed restoration of the stained glass at Sens Cathedral. Sens was completed in 1135 under the Archbishop Henri Sanglier and is considered the earliest example of a pure gothic-styled cathedral in France.  

William of Sens, the same French architect who rebuilt the choir in England at Canterbury Cathedral, designed it. The cathedral was not finished until the sixteenth century and in the interim had received several modifications. A notable factor is that Jean Cousin, a renowned French painter, designed and painted some of the stained glass in the cathedral windows in the early sixteenth century.

The SPAB protested the intended restoration of one of the stained glass windows behind the choir at Sens Cathedral in 1889. This window had been slightly damaged by a canon shot in 1815 and was repaired with a piece of white glass. This repair is exactly the sort of work that the SPAB would promote. To patch the glass with a piece of white glass makes the repair obvious so as not to mislead. The SPAB and the French correspondent Guillon, in a letter to the Society of Sciences of the Department of Yonne, argued against restoration.

I do not see the use of restoring the missing piece of glass. What is interesting is that the window is the work of Jean Cousin; it is a matter of perfect indifference to us that the window is not exactly intact. A single piece of crude coloured glass added to this beautiful window may entirely destroy its harmony. We have, alas, only too many examples of this fact. At the side of the window in question is another window of the same size and form; let this window be given to the artist entrusted with the restoration, and let him make an entirely new window. Visitors

will then be enabled to judge whether the completed window is more interesting than Jean Cousin's mutilated work.  

The SPAB's report commented that "this kind of restoration is only an application of the principle which would put new arms to the Venus of Milo; no one dare to perform such an operation on a picture." The SPAB and Guillon seemed satisfied that the restoration work would not be carried out immediately and felt that time and research would swing the decision in their favor.  

A variety of French cases appear in the SPAB records in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. They range from renowned sites such as St. Denis outside of Paris, the Sorbonne in Paris, and, also in Paris, the Fountaine des Innocents to more obscure sites such as the St. Lamont Church in Falaise, the St. Julian-le-Pauvre Church in Paris, Fougeres Castle, the Old Parish Church in Lourdes, the Church of St. Pierre in the Montmartre section of Paris, and the Church of St. Wulfran in Abbeville. Many more cases existed but did not involve the SPAB in England. As the years progressed, the French Society became more and more autonomous.  

Another factor in France that worked in preservationists' favor were weakened property rights. As a result of the French Revolution, many historic structures were nationalized throughout the nineteenth century. Property rights were sometimes revoked when an owner could not maintain historic structures, or even when a building was considered of national importance. Often times, owners were "no longer able to assume  

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91 Twelfth Annual Report: SPAB (London: SPAB, 1889), 52. This letter was printed in the Journal des Arts on July 27, 1888.  
92 Ibid.  
93 Ibid.  
the costs of preservation” to such an extent that the government increasingly replaced “the owner of bygone days.”

By the end of the nineteenth century, Germany and France both worked independently of the SPAB. Concerning Europe in general, fewer cases appeared in SPAB reports and many countries, some who had never had SPAB interaction, were developing their own preservation societies. The report of 1897 makes no mention of any concerns in Europe. Based on the wording of many of the new European society objectives and the similarity of their objectives to the SPAB’s, and based on previous positive responses in Europe to SPAB interaction, it seems that the work of the SPAB had a positive effect on the Continent. The SPAB was the first preservation organization in Europe to intercede in the destruction of historic buildings and to educate and spread their ideals. These ideals acknowledged the historical importance of structures while espousing the cost effective and stylistically realistic techniques of preservation. It is apparent in the successes of the SPAB in Europe that these ideals were cautiously accepted in the nineteenth century as it is apparent that they have flourished throughout the twentieth century.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
SPAB ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although Gothic restoration was the initial motivator to Morris's quest, in the longer view, he wanted to prevent the unnecessary revision of any building to an inappropriate style. Morris and the SPAB maintained that buildings of any period had a life that was best protected through the conservative repair of what was falling into ruin and the prevention of injury to buildings by safeguarding them as much as was practical. The continued monitoring of the conservation of historic buildings kept the SPAB alive into this century, making it the oldest conservation society in England. While the SPAB evolved to meet twentieth century challenges, it has managed to keep Morris's original ideas alive. By illustrating the modern adaptations of the SPAB, I will show how the SPAB's work influenced public opinion, governmental integration, and the work of architects.

As much as the SPAB had to adapt in the twentieth century, the guiding force remained the Manifesto that Morris wrote and issued in June 1877. The Manifesto, still printed on SPAB pamphlets and its website, starts with an attack on restoration:

No doubt within the last fifty years a new interest, almost like another sense, has arisen in these ancient monuments of art; and they have become the subject of one of the most interesting of studies, and of an enthusiasm, religious, historical, artistic, which is one of the undoubted gains of our time; yet we think that if the present treatment of them be continued, our descendants will find them useless for study and chilling to enthusiasm. We think that those last fifty years of knowledge and attention have done more for their destruction than all the foregoing centuries of revolution, violence and contempt.¹

¹ William Morris, Manifesto (London: SPAB archive, June 1877).
The rationale that a restorer may be attempting to "improve" a building does not take away from the fact that they are tearing parts of it apart to make it look different. The Manifesto continues:

For architecture, long decaying, died out, as a popular art at least, just as the knowledge of mediaeval art was born. So that the civilized world of the nineteenth century has no style of its own amidst its wide knowledge of the styles of other centuries. From this lack and this gain arose in men's minds the strange idea of the Restoration of ancient buildings; and a strange and most fatal idea, which by its very name implies that it is possible to strip from a building this, that, and the other part of its history - of its life that is - and then to stay the hand at some arbitrary point, and leave it still historical, living, and even as it once was.

In early times this kind of forgery was impossible, because knowledge failed the builders, or perhaps because instinct held them back. If repairs were needed, if ambition or piety pricked on to change, that change was of necessity wrought in the unmistakable fashion of the time; a church of the eleventh century might be added to or altered in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, or even the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries; but every change, whatever history it destroyed, left history in the gap, and was alive with the spirit of the deeds done midst its fashioning. The result of all this was often a building in which the many changes, though harsh and visible enough, were, by their very contrast, interesting and instructive and could by no possibility mislead. But those who make the changes wrought in our day under the name of Restoration, while professing to bring back a building to the best time of its history, have no guide but each his own individual whim to point out to them what is admirable and what contemptible; while the very nature of their task compels them to destroy something and to supply the gap by imagining what the earlier builders should or might have done.²

The Manifesto resumes by pleading with architects, as the "official guardians of buildings," to take into consideration the historical aspect of each building and to remember that, in many cases, the architecture of times past is much of what we have to remind us of the history of that time and place.³ Finally, the Manifesto suggests an alternative to restoration, that is, preservation. Preservation would lead an architect to

² Morris, Manifesto.
³ Ibid.
“prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for
support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all
tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands.”

To this day, the SPAB proclaims the 1877 Manifesto. According to the
organization’s website, “although produced in response to the conservation problems of
the 19th century, the Manifesto extends to “all times and styles” and remains to this day
the philosophical basis for the Society’s work.” The SPAB principles today are similar
to those of the nineteenth century: historic buildings are valuable in themselves; it is
important to promote repair over restoration; the use of responsible methods of repair is
essential; it is important to assure regular maintenance to decrease the need for repair;
and the SPAB should provide information to those seeking advice.

A principle today that differs from the nineteenth century is that the SPAB
supports necessary work on a building if it is done “in a modern language” without
imitating a prior century. For example, if repairs needed to be done on a fifteenth
century house and these repairs were stylistically from this century then this would be
permissible according to SPAB standards. This may have been a preference in the late
nineteenth century, but since Morris contended that his century had no style of its own, it
would have been difficult to adhere to this principle. Further, most nineteenth century

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4 Morris, Manifesto. For example, Cardiff Castle has many repairs on the outer castle
walls. These repairs are obvious to the viewer because the color and texture is somewhat
different. This is an observation I made in 1996. The castle walls were a faded grey
color while the repair work had a slightly yellow tint. Further, the stones of the repair
work were far less worn than those of the surrounding material. This conservation would
be acceptable to Morris and the SPAB.

heading to the manifesto on the SPAB’s website.

architects had little desire to stray from the Gothic Revival. The SPAB website discusses further its dislike for restoration:

In the architectural context “restoration” means work intended to return an old building to a perfect state. It can be the unnecessary renewal of worn features or the hypothetical reconstruction of whole or missing elements; in either case tidy reproduction is achieved at the expense of genuine but imperfect work. William Morris founded the SPAB in 1877 to defend old buildings from this treatment. He saw that the most vulnerable buildings were those of most eloquent craftsmanship, survivors from a time before mass-production took hold. In the manifesto which he wrote for the new Society, and which guides our work to this day, he put the strongest case against their restoration, proposing instead a policy of skillful repair.7

The SPAB of the nineteenth century typically dealt with problems by, first, notifying the person in charge about what the SPAB saw as the problem. Soon after, a representative from the SPAB would contact the person in charge to resolve any issues and, perhaps, educate them about a preferred method of dealing with a specific structure. Quite often, the person in charge was unaware that their methods would be inappropriate and were willing to work with the SPAB. If the person in charge was unable or unwilling to conform their plans, the SPAB would begin a public campaign, meaning that prominent individuals and the public would be informed of the issue through personal visits, meetings, public speeches, and letters to the editors of relevant publications.

While it was true that the SPAB was often over-ambitious and offensive, its members believed that they were being helpful in the long run.8 Often in dire situations, especially if previous governmental decisions were being compromised in any way, the government would be informed of the problem. Occasionally, the SPAB fought for amendments to

8 It was far more necessary for the SPAB to use abrasive methods in the nineteenth century than today. Currently, techniques of preservation are the norm and proprietors of historic sites frequently seek out SPAB advice.
governmental policy. While this was the typical course of action, each case was different.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the SPAB enjoyed increasing public support. Gothic Revival popularity waned and architects took the ideals of preservation more legitimately. In his 1892 speech to the SPAB, Micklethwaite stated that he could testify to the “better position which this Society holds before the public,” that people are “ready to take the teachings of this Society seriously,” and finally that architects “are dreadfully ashamed of the word ‘restoration.’”

Into the first years of the twentieth century, SPAB officers noted the changed climate of public opinion, stating that the Society was no longer controversial. Thackeray Turner, a retired secretary of the SPAB, observed that “we practically now have no opposition.” With the decrease in opposition, other groups began to join the SPAB in the fight for accurate historic preservation in England. The SPAB adapted to this increased interest by pooling resources with these newer organizations to promote the most effective methods for the preservation of historic sites. Many were local groups, such as the City Church and Churchyard Protection Society in London, and some were widespread national groups, such as the National Trust and English Heritage. The Ancient Monuments Society was established in 1924 to promote “the study and conservation of ancient monuments, historic buildings, and fine old craftsmanship.”

The Bath Preservation Trust, founded in 1934, was founded to care for the city’s many fine buildings. The motivating force for the founding was to pressure the government to

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stop plans to build a road through a Georgian section of the city. During the nineteenth century, Bath appeared on the SPAB casework reports several times and members would have been glad to know that the Trust was successful in this instance.\textsuperscript{12} John Betjeman and Nikolaus Pevsner founded the Victorian Society to protect Victorian and Edwardian architecture in 1958. This organization now has eight regional groups, including those in Wales, Birmingham, and the Yorkshires.\textsuperscript{13} Another society, the Churches Conservation Trust, founded in 1969, was set up "to preserve churches no longer needed for worship but which are of historic, architectural or archaeological importance."\textsuperscript{14} Other societies in England include The Landmark Trust (founded in 1965), SAVE (founded in 1975), and the Architectural Heritage Fund (founded in 1976).\textsuperscript{15}

Although there is a wide range of societies in existence today, it is impressive that, for the first half of the twentieth century, the SPAB fought for historic architecture largely without assistance and still made an impact. For example, the Society attempted to save historic bridges in 1925 when they recorded over nine hundred examples in England and Wales. Specific photographs were given to the Ancient Monuments Department of the Office of Works in Parliament with a request that they be scheduled as ancient monuments. From this initiative, over three hundred bridges in England and

\textsuperscript{14} The Churches Conservation Trust: 25th Annual Report and Accounts, 1993-94, (London: CCT, 1994), 1. In England, a church that is no longer needed for religious services is referred to as a "redundant church." Efforts are being made by the CCT and other organizations, such as the Friends of Friendless Churches, to preserve these landmarks.
\textsuperscript{15} Websites for these organizations are: The Landmark Trust, http://landmarktrust.co.uk, SAVE, http://savebritainheritage.org, Architectural Heritage Fund, http://ahfund.org.uk. The societies listed in this chapter are only a fraction of the societies and groups currently active in England and on the Continent.
Wales were listed.\footnote{William Palmer, ed., \textit{Quarterly Report} (London: SPAB, 1937), 8-9. Palmer was the SPAB secretary at the time. Publications are housed in the SPAB archive in London.} In addition, the SPAB had enough interest within its membership to develop a special committee, The Windmill Section of the SPAB. This committee worked for the protection of windmills in England and is still active.

Throughout the twentieth century, the SPAB continued to promote preservation while its ideals became more widespread and accepted. Specific projects, such as the Windmill Section and its work with bridges as viable historic structures, along with the increase in regional SPAB chapters, the development of outside organizations dedicated to SPAB goals, and even its work overseas helped to spread SPAB ideals further. These SPAB involvements show some of the many ways it adapted to the changing attitudes and issues in the twentieth century. Many of the original SPAB goals were increasingly satisfied while new objectives, such as issues related to pollution and urban growth, were established and put into action.

While the SPAB interceded in situations throughout the twentieth century, its main focus was no longer the ignorance or non-caring attitude of the public and architects. Instead, the SPAB has needed to deal with a range of new obstacles: World War I and World War II, the increased effects of tourism, vandalism, and the damage brought about by technological advances in transportation. SPAB efforts became more preventative in the twentieth century: it focused on education, the consideration of technological developments in preservation, and delineating the closing gap between preservation and restoration.

In 1937, the Society printed its first quarterly report. It contained an assortment of material from the SPAB archives, including the letter that Morris wrote to \textit{The}
Athenaeum in 1877 and a short history of the Society’s work.\footnote{Palmer, Quarterly Report, 1-11.} It again noted the changed climate of cooperation towards the SPAB:

> When a fine old church comes to be repaired, the Society has not so often to fight its way into some sort of control of the processes by which this work is to be done; indeed, its advice is frequently and spontaneously sought.\footnote{Ibid., 5.}

A major issue for the SPAB in the twentieth century was how to draw the line between restoration and preservation. There were many controversies in England concerning the possible validity of careful restoration projects. Age and pollution contribute jointly to the deterioration of historic sites to the point where sometimes even careful preservation techniques are not enough to secure their safety. Major disasters and the destruction of wars often necessitate alterations just to keep a building standing. Finally, modern versions of restoration are generally more reasonable than many nineteenth century restoration schemes due to advances in technology and an increased interest in historic accuracy. Still, the line between restoration and preservation has become blurred. For instance, note the current practice of disassembling a structure and recreating it using original parts. The London Bridge was disassembled and recreated in Lake Havasu City, Arizona. Would this be considered an “authentic” historic structure? Morris and the SPAB would not think so but in the eyes of a restorer, especially with the “justification” of using original parts, it could be thought of as appropriate. Considering these factors, what does the SPAB currently support?

The SPAB does not philosophically support any type of restoration. However, it aids in preservation and maintenance and supports structural changes that do not destroy
old materials and are obviously there for support, preservation, or covering. Further, each building is an individual case. Some historic structures can be safely left to ruin while others need to be maintained because of continued use.

Currently, the SPAB’s first goal is to prevent or lessen decay by advocating daily care and maintenance. It supports any new technology in preservation and maintenance that can clean or repair a surface without damaging the historic fabric. It also encourages research for adequate preservation methods while promoting public education regarding preservation techniques.

The SPAB’s second aim is to ensure the historical and aesthetic integrity of historic buildings. This is accomplished by supporting only repairs needed to prevent further decay and erosion. Currently, the SPAB offers various courses and lectures, publishes advice and essays, and provides experts for the evaluation of individual buildings. The SPAB claims that, today, it is:

"a leading authority on the ‘how’ of repairing and maintaining old buildings, and performs a vital advisory, campaigning and educational role. Our technological panel of experts advises on the repair of historic buildings of every kind and age. And the Society’s technical expertise enables campaigning to go hand in hand with constructive proposals about how a building can be saved."

A third goal of the SPAB is to safeguard historic sites from neglect. Included in this responsibility is the need to maintain awareness in the care of historic sites, to correspond with preservation architects and societies, and to support and instigate the passing of legislation, which could legally safeguard historic buildings and monuments. An example of this type of legislation is the revision of the Town and Country Planning

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Act of 1944, which put listing requirements on a national level based on historical significance. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1971 was an improvement since listing requirements included preservation needs along with historic desirability. Under this revised Act, the SPAB has to be notified of "every application to demolish or partly demolish any building listed by the Department of the Environment as being of architectural or historic interest, or in a conservation area." While this includes only a portion of relevant historic architecture, it provides additional support for the SPAB.

The SPAB has had setbacks in the past century but the successes have outnumbered these disappointments. The widespread acceptance of its ideals is probably the greatest SPAB success story. The SPAB continues to work on individual campaigns around the globe, but the bulk of the work is contained in the United Kingdom. This is primarily due to the large number of preservationist societies in other countries and even in areas of the United Kingdom, such Scotland, making it almost unnecessary for the SPAB to work outside England, Ireland, and Wales. As noted with the SPAB in Scotland, it is more efficient for local preservationist groups to effect change in areas with different laws and cultural norms. Even in England, the SPAB supports the establishment of regional groups that concentrate on specific areas, such as Sussex, Devon, and Cumbria.

The SPAB has needed to adapt to deal with a variety of issues in the twentieth century, such as the destruction of sites and the huge influx of repairs needed after World War II. In 1940, over a third of London was demolished including many Christopher Wren City Churches, the Museum of London, and many more historic buildings. The

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21 Ibid.
SPAB’s main concern during World War II was the damage caused by the Baedeker Bombings. These bombings were ordered by Hitler to target England’s historic towns in retaliation for the British bombing of Lübeck’s Old Town. Historic cities bombed included Exeter, Bath, Norwich, York, and Canterbury. Due to the quantity of damaged or destroyed sites, the SPAB could only urge against the “hasty demolition of damaged buildings” because they felt that many cathedrals and other historic buildings could be repaired.\(^\text{22}\) The SPAB advocated that those responsible for civic planning redevelopment “not think in terms of a narrow utilitarianism” but, instead, take the time to care for historic structures that could be saved.\(^\text{23}\) However, post-war reconstruction emphasized efficient regeneration over preservation. The SPAB took a step to remedy this problem by initiating an Annual Repair Course for Professionals in 1951 to train professionals in the many preservation skills in “danger of extinction.”\(^\text{24}\)

The SPAB also continued to monitor the protection of historic sites overseas in the twentieth century. In 1914, the SPAB petitioned the U.S. government to “make representations to the German Government to protect works of Art in the war area.”\(^\text{25}\) The effects of World War II on historic Europe also obviously alarmed the SPAB and they spoke out against hasty demolition.\(^\text{26}\) However, the magnitude of the two world wars’ destruction and the need for swift regeneration obviously proved to be a greater driving force than the SPAB when it came to rebuilding war-torn Europe.

\(^{22}\) SPAB file for World War II. File contains little about specific sites and concentrates on the quantity of damaged sites and the general SPAB stance involving reconstruction. 
\(^{23}\) Ibid. 
\(^{25}\) Ibid. 
\(^{26}\) Ibid.
The most recent example of SPAB attempts to protect historic sites during wartime can be found in its efforts to urge the protection of monuments and building sites in Iraq during the wars between the United States and coalition forces and Saddam Hussein’s government in Iraq. There are an estimated 100,000 sites of cultural or historical importance, of which approximately 10,000 have been specifically located and not yet excavated or studied. Therefore, the potential archaeological and architectural loss in Iraq is staggering. The SPAB joined many world preservation groups in speaking against the destruction of Iraq’s cultural heritage. The largest organization to work for the preservation of Iraqi sites is the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), founded in 1945. UNESCO’s principle advisor, and the World Heritage Committee’s principle advisor, is the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), founded in 1965. These organizations, along with a profusion of smaller groups, such as the German Museums Association, the American Association of Museums, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Museum of Art and History in Paris, have written articles and letters and occasionally worked with the United States and the Coalition to preserve what it can in Iraq.

Two of the biggest U.S. proponents for Iraqi sites are the American Council for Cultural Policy, founded by Ashton Hawkins, and an organization of collectors, curators, and lawyers, coordinated by Arthur Houghton. Both groups have contacted the U.S.

28 More information about these organizations can be found at their websites: http://www.unesco.org/ and http://www.international.icomos.org/.
Government about avoiding any damage to the many archaeological and building sites in Iraq. Their concern originates from U.S. military behavior during the 1991 Gulf War: twelve of the twenty-five most important known sites in Iraq were bombed, including the ancient town of Samarra, the ruins of pre-Islamic Anbar, the Baghdad National Museum of Antiquities, the unexcavated archaeological remains of Baija, and the earliest known city in the world, Ur. The U.S. "observes the Hague Convention of 1954, which prohibits the targeting of cultural and religious sites in war." However, at Ur the U.S. "adherence to that policy was tested when Iraqi forces placed two fighter aircraft near the ziggurat at Ur, thought to be the oldest city in the world." In this particular incident, the U.S. decided not to fire upon the planes since they were not firing upon U.S. forces. Although the site did not sustain damage in this situation, it did so in later activity. During the 2003 U.S.-led war with Iraq, many Iraqi sites were left unharmed but many preservationist groups, along with the SPAB, understandably showed concern over the fate of Iraq’s cultural heritage.

There are a wide variety of organizations, universities, museums, publications, and even individuals who have spoken against the destruction of Iraqi monuments. Typically, they’ve written letters or articles to the general public to make their opinions known. This type of campaign can be influential. For example, during the Gulf War, bombing began in January of 1991. In February, The Art Newspaper and the Washington Post ran articles about Iraqi monuments. In March, the U.S. Defense Department enlisted the help of experts and archaeologists to determine sites that should be avoided.

30 D'Arcy, “Iraq’s History,” 4-5.
31 Ibid., 2.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
in military action.\(^{34}\) The SPAB announced "fears that famous sites such as Babylon, the Tower of Babel, the Assyrian cities of Ninevah, Khorasbad and Nimrud, the Sumerian city of Ur, Samarra and Borsippa could be damaged and these and less well known antiquities could be lost forever."\(^ {35}\)

Sometimes organizations have tried to instigate awareness by writing to specific individuals or groups who are in the position to promote some sort of change in attitude or procedure at a relevant level. This is the route that the SPAB took in 2003. The SPAB secretary, Phillip Venning, wrote to The Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Hoon MP, the British Secretary of State for Defense, on March 19, 2003. He opened by stating that it would be quite a "propaganda coup" for Saddam Hussein should "the Allies cause significant damage to any historic site in Iraq."\(^ {36}\) The letter continues:

We would however like to urge you and your colleagues in the United States, Australia, and any other country that provides armed forces for the coming war to be specially conscious of how rich Iraq is in archaeological sites and historic buildings, many of world importance. Unfortunately as well as the well known ones, which presumably the military planners will have taken into account, there is a strong likelihood that there are plenty of others yet to be discovered. With luck more sophisticated weaponry may minimize the dangers, bearing in mind that some Iraqi defence installations may be worryingly close to ancient remains.\(^ {37}\)

Venning pointed out that, although during World War I and World War II many historic cities, like Rome, were protected, there were losses as well, specifically in Dresden. In

\(^{34}\) D'Arcy, "Iraq's History," 1.


other words, that being on a protected list may not be enough to safeguard a historic site. The SPAB, he said, is "not arguing that military operations should be compromised in any way, or that any lives are put at risk, but rather that where it is possible to avoid damage the armed forces should be encouraged to do so."\(^ {38} \)

This case is obviously not concluded, although the war has been declared over, since the political unrest and partial occupation still exists. The fact of the matter is, although in past wars the SPAB "has written many letters to defence secretaries, asking them to avoid sites of historic importance during military campaigns,"\(^ {39} \) that governments and organizations are limited as to what they can accomplish in the name of culture and history during a war. Further, the post-conflict period can be much worse for the cultural heritage of Iraq than the war itself because "in the absence of a functioning government, looters move in."\(^ {40} \) Apparently, "objects taken out of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad...and sent to museums in Kirkuk, Mosel, and Basra were looted after U.S. troops routed the Iraqi army in 1991" and "on sites in Kurdistan, illegal excavation has been taking place quite openly."\(^ {41} \) By the summer of 2004, political unrest and terrorist militant groups were still bombing areas throughout Iraq, adding to the destructive toll of the war.

A further issue is the compromised ability that Iraqi archaeologists, historians, curators, and scholars have to endure to do their jobs, which adds to the potential overall damage of the war upon Iraqi archaeological, historical, and museum sites. Certainly, once Iraq is secure, organizations like UNESCO and ICOMOS will step in to help with

\(^ {39} \) SPAB (London, n.d.) This is from the SPAB website, http://www.spab.org.uk/noticeboard_bulletin_iraq.html.
\(^ {40} \) D'Arcy, "Iraq's History." 2.
\(^ {41} \) Ibid.
the preservation and repair of Iraqi sites and organizations, like the SPAB, will do what they can to encourage the practice of preservation and limited repair to damaged or compromised sites.

The SPAB that fought for Iraqi sites is a very different SPAB that fought for St. Mark’s Cathedral in the nineteenth century. Although the original Manifesto drives the SPAB of both centuries, twentieth century work is more extensive and complex. SPAB work regarding both Iraq and the World Wars is more comprehensive politically and in scope. This explains, in part, the need for it to work effectively with other organizations under a variety of political situations. Another evolving situation is in the increased likelihood of needing to combat large political or business corporations that are more powerful than was a nineteenth century town mayor or church vicar.

A current SPAB campaign that deals with a huge business, the British Airports Authority (BAA), concerns the issue of airport expansion, specifically at Stansted Airport, although other airports could eventually be affected. This debate has been an important issue with the SPAB since August of 2002 and it is unlikely to be resolved in the immediate future. The concerns and protests of local city councils around Stansted and throughout the United Kingdom, including the voice of the SPAB, are too great to envision a quick resolution to this debate.

Why does Stansted need more runway space? This is the question that fuels much of the debate. There are five airports servicing London: the London City Airport, east of central London but still in London proper; Heathrow, the United Kingdom’s largest airport just west of London; Gatwick, about forty miles south of central London; Luton, about forty miles north of central London; and Stansted, about forty miles northeast of
central London. Those in favor of the Stansted expansion say it will bring jobs into the area, help cope with increased demand for air service, build up new towns in the area, and keep flight costs down. Those against the expansion say another runway will destroy listed historic sites, numerous villages and ancient monuments, compromise the forested area near the airport, increase the amount of urbanization and traffic in a primarily rural area, build up a region’s economy dependent upon a single source, and increase the noise and air pollution in the area.

The land at and around Stansted Airport had been farmland and woodlands for thousands of years. It is home to Hatfield Forest, encompassing over 1000 acres of “ancient grazed wood pasture and coppiced woodland … managed in much the same way for 1,000 years… mentioned in the Domesday Book, it is the only place in the country where you can step into a landscape that has changed little since medieval times.”

Hatfield Forest is a designated Site of Special Scientific Interest and a National Nature Reserve.

The area along side the Forest was established in 1942 as a base for the U.S. Air Force during World War II. The base was handed over to the United Kingdom as a passenger airport in 1947. In 1963, it was proposed that it become London’s third airport but area protestors argued against it. An independent investigation, the Chelmsford Enquiry, stated that it was unnecessary, disruptive, and destructive to enlarge the airport.

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42 The National Trust: Save Hatfield Forest (n.d.), Retrieved in May, 2004 at http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/places/hatfieldforest/save. This website, put out by England’s National Trust, opposes the Stansted expansion because it would add to noise and air pollution which would compromise the integrity of the area and expose rare habitats to damaging situations. Further, the threat of the additional runway carries with it the threat of a new rail line to support the airport, which would likely need to go through or under the Forest.

43 Ibid.
Despite this and the protestors, a published UK government White Paper announced that Stansted would indeed become London's third airport in 1970. The UK government permitted airport construction providing that passenger traffic was restricted to twenty-five million per year and that no new runways be built. In 2002, the drastic increase in passengers and new discussions of airport expansion launched a protest committee, entitled Stop Stansted Expansion (SSE). The SSE's first meeting attendance was over 800. In November of 2002, the Uttlesford elections (Stansted Airport lies in the Uttlesford District) showed that 89% of voters were against additional runways. Despite the results of this election, repeated marches and rallies from SSE, and various examples of public outcry, the UK government published another White Paper announcing plans for airport expansion in December of 2003.

The SSE continued to protest and, by early 2004, there were 4,500 individuals in the membership plus the organization memberships of most local authorities in the upper Southeast portion of England. The SSE has "campaigned unceasingly, and its voice is respected by the Government, civil servants and the media." Despite this and widespread opposition, the potential cultural loss seems to be disregarded:

The White Paper was issued after a period of national consultation in which almost 500,000 responses were submitted to the Department for Transport. The

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44 A white paper is a term that describes an official publication of a national government that typically argues a specific position. A famous example of a white paper is the Winston Churchill White Paper of 1922, which addressed political conflict in Palestine.

45 These facts, corroborated by the BBC News and the SSE, are widely available in the general news, on the Internet, and through the attendance of planned protests. Websites are http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk and http://www.stopstanstedexpansion.com.

46 Stop Stansted Expansion (n.d.), Retrieved in May, 2004 at http://www.stopstanstedexpansion.com. SSE has a detailed website and is cooperative to individuals and corporations wanting additional information about their campaign. SSE has regular meetings, propaganda tents at public events, advertisements through the media, and a large support base.
The great majority of respondents opposed the building of any more runways. The Government appears to have disregarded those views and also the many environmental, economic and social arguments offered by numerous independent bodies, choosing instead to set out a policy that will satisfy all the demands and projections of the aviation industry without constraint. Locally, every Member of Parliament and elected council is opposed to a second runway at Stansted Airport. Uttlesford District Council, in whose district the airport lies, conducted a referendum in which 89% voted against any further runways.\(^{47}\)

The SSE report points out that while the Government sets the policy, it is the BAA, the owner and operator of Stansted Airport, who ultimately plans the integration of the expansion. Accordingly, the BAA has become a major focus for the SSE:

Until the publication of the White Paper, SSE’s focus was on convincing the Government not to carry out its threat to expand Stansted Airport. Sadly, the Government has increased the threat rather than removing it, by giving an amber light to the expansion of Stansted. The Government has now cleverly retreated and pushed BAA into the firing line. Consequently, we must turn our attention to the battle with BAA. ...SSE has both reflected the strength of local opinion and helped to mobilize it. The strength of local opposition was demonstrated by the number of individual responses to the consultation – more than Heathrow and Gatwick together. BAA will be well aware that they have many tough battles ahead against a professional campaign and against a community that is fighting for its very existence. SSE has already raised the profile of BAA’s undeclared parking perks for Members of Parliament, has been instrumental in increasing the level of public debate on the issue of BAA’s monopoly and its cross-subsidisation of Stansted’s losses from Heathrow profits; and has highlighted the high risk that BAA’s shareholders will take if they pour more money into building facilities that nobody wishes to use.\(^{48}\)

The SSE continues to fight for the revision of the Stansted Airport expansion by working to make the public knowledgeable, to fight the BAA and the Government in court, and to solicit the help of organizations, such as the SPAB, in their endeavor. The SPAB is

supporting the SSE by co-organizing protests and informational events, by helping to solicit political support, and by assisting in fund-raising.

The White Paper airport expansion proposal, published in December 2003, lists the suggested changes to take place over the next thirty years in the United Kingdom, including additional airports and runways at existing airports. According to Transport Secretary Alistair Darling, these expansions are necessary because nearly a third of British exports go by air, at least half of the British population fly once a year, and air passengers are estimated to more than double over the next twenty years.49 The opponents of the expansion question these estimates and are not certain that adding more airports and runways is the best solution.

Another organization to campaign against the Stansted Airport expansion is the Uttlesford City Council. Uttlesford, the district in which Stansted is located, is dependent upon this debate. Uttlesford is enlisting the help of citizens, adjacent districts, and organizations such as the SPAB and the SSE. In a speech addressed to the district of Uttlesford depicting the problems of the Stansted expansion, Baroness Shirley Williams, Leader of the Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords, explained that the “UK economy is out of balance...[there are] major economic issues that face residents and businesses,” and that the expansion is not the answer because of the difficulties in recruiting essential workers, such as teachers and nurses due to wages, high housing costs and the threat of expansion at nearby Stansted Airport.”50 Leader of Uttlesford City Council, Cllr. Alan Dean, declared that it was “reassuring that more and more national politicians appreciate

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the global and local environmental problems that will be realised if unfettered expansion continues in the aviation industry.\textsuperscript{51}

Due to the dedication of the SSE and the Uttlesford City Council, the SPAB initially provided assistance through those bodies. However, as it became more obvious that they were facing formidable odds, the SPAB stepped up its efforts by officially protesting the destruction of historic sites and ancient monuments. In June of 2003, the SPAB announced its objection in the \textit{SPAB News}, the quarterly magazine of the SPAB. It argued that the airport expansion is the "biggest single threat to historic buildings and sites, almost all in good order, since the war" and that the "SPAB and the Joint Committee of National Amenity Societies, of which it is a member, argues that this is much too high a price to pay."\textsuperscript{52}

The SPAB increased the magnitude of its involvement in December of 2003. The SPAB released a report, with the cooperation of the SPAB Essex Regional Group, entitled "Stansted Airport and the Implications of a Possible Extra Runway on our Architectural Heritage."\textsuperscript{53} In addition, the SPAB released a bulletin objecting to Stansted expansion:

In choosing Stansted for the first phase of expansion Ministers have selected without compromise, and as a sacrifice for unsustainable cheap holiday flights, the one new runway that would cause the maximum damage to our heritage; no fewer than 29 listed buildings, and two scheduled ancient monuments (Waltham

\textsuperscript{52} SPAB file on Stansted Airport expansion. This bulletin was released by Katherine Hill at SPAB, 0207 377 1644, as an advertisement to the latest issue of the \textit{SPAB News} to its subscribers.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid. This particular document was prepared by Douglas Kent on behalf of the Essex Regional Group of the SPAB. It adamantly argues against the Stansted Airport expansion and lists the numerous reasons why this issue affects the architectural and cultural heritage of Southeast England.
Manor and The Grange) would be demolished. Though the precise setting of the runway will be up to the airport operator, the Government recognises that it will severely damage the historic environment. Simply asking the airport to see if any of the listed buildings affected could be moved is no answer... The Government also admits that the area round Stansted is rich in architectural heritage, including small historic villages. Merely stating that these characteristics should be preserved as much as possible is meaningless in the light of the widespread development that will follow the airport’s expansion. The SPAB is also most alarmed to see that the big airlines have got their way and persuaded the Government to include a new northern runway at Heathrow as part of a second phase of development. Though slightly resited since the original consultation it will nevertheless have drastic effects on the ancient village of Harmondsworth. Even if its Norman church, one of the most important tithe barns in the country, and many other fine buildings, are not demolished outright - and this is unknown - they become unusable, sitting at the west end of the new runway.

According to SPAB secretary Philip Venning, the proposals at Stansted “would involve the destruction of historic buildings and sites on an unprecedented scale” and that “even the Channel Tunnel rail link involved fewer losses.” Mr. Venning also spoke to BBC News, stating that the expansion would “be very bad news for Britain’s built heritage” and that he could not “recall a case of equivalent damage to our built heritage from any private or public scheme.”

Likely the most influential work that the SPAB has done on this case to date is the SPAB report “Stansted Airport and the Implications of a Possible Extra Runway on our Architectural Heritage.” This report is filled with objections to the proposed expansion. John Betjeman, Poet Laureate, compares the proposed expansion with other regions already impacted by airport expansion: “a visit to Bedfont, Feltham, Stanwell or Heston

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54 SPAB file on Stansted Airport expansion. Philip Venning and Katherine Hill released this bulletin on December, 16, 2003.
55 Ibid.
57 SPAB file on Stansted Airport expansion. Report prepared by Douglas Kent on behalf of the Essex Regional Group of the SPAB.
in the once glorious county of Middlesex will show you what these villages of the Essex and Hertfordshire borders could become."  

Jamie Oliver, television celebrity, says "to go to one place and dramatically make it the biggest airport in England...is ridiculous. It's out of scale with the geography and architecture of the area and a lot of people are very, very upset."  

And, according to Professor Sir Colin Buchanan, one of UK's foremost authorities on land use planning:

Can there be another part of England richer in vernacular architecture than this? Here you will find a wealth of country houses of moderate size of great architectural and historic interest, sparkling villages each one looking as though it had just won the best kept village competition, and a marvelous collection of smaller houses and cottages, mostly spick and span, some with great brick Tudor chimneys, some with black-boarded dormers with red tiled roofs and white painted windows, and half-timbered houses in stripy black and white. Here are trim grass verges, ponds and ducks, close-shaved village greens with walnut trees and pubs, cricket fields, moated houses, mottes and baileys. As for churches, where would you find so many in such variety in such a compass, and all tended so lovingly? There are churches of flint, or chequer of chalk and flint, there are churches of brick, and some even of pebbles, there are churches with spires, and churches with squat towers and spiky leaden fleches so typical of Hertfordshire..."

The SPAB report outlines the problems with Stansted Airport expansion by illustrating the potential damage:

The area around Stansted is defined by the remarkable quality of its historic buildings. As evidence of this, there are 35 conservation areas in the Uttlesford district and about 3,500 listed buildings or groups of buildings identified on the statutory list. Though only one of 14 districts in Essex, Uttlesford contains about 30% of its listed buildings. The number of listed buildings in the district per square mile is, in fact, 67% above the average in Essex as a whole, yet the district is amongst the least densely developed. Essex itself is one of the most richly endowed of all English counties...Over 40% of listed buildings in our environs

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58 SPAB file on Stansted Airport expansion. From the December 2003 Report on Airport Expansion prepared by Douglas Kent.
60 Ibid.
date from the 17th century but every period of architecture is represented from Saxon times onwards, spanning 1,000 years of human endeavour...Whilst fine churches and moated farmhouses exemplify Uttlesford’s grade I and II buildings, many of our Grade II buildings have been listed as relatively unaltered examples of more humbler types, such as cottages, modest barns and other agricultural structures that so characterize this part of rural Essex."\(^{61}\)

The SPAB report then points out, “airports are now the greatest single threat to historic buildings since the Second World War and the proposals for further development at Stansted are potentially the most destructive of all.”\(^{62}\) The next section shows that the value of the Essex landscape is not just in isolated buildings and sites but also, in the recognizable whole, the historic atmosphere and the “ancient and intricate web of villages, hamlets, and isolated buildings that characterise the countryside.”\(^{63}\) The report also reveals that the destruction of historic sites is illegal under the present law and that the historic environment is a finite resource yet a resource that the Government apparently values as “England’s greatest asset.”\(^{64}\)

The last section of the report focuses on the British Government’s integrity, stating that the Government should show more foresight in its decisions, that it should stand up for what is right and for what many governmental officials believe in instead of “pandering to the interests of the aviation lobby,” and that it should listen to the wishes of the local and national community.\(^{65}\) In short, the Government “should be thinking more radically about proper long-term solutions that do not depend on destroying our precious

\(^{61}\) SPAB file on Stansted Airport expansion. From the December 2003 Report on Airport Expansion prepared by Douglas Kent.

\(^{62}\) Ibid.

\(^{63}\) Ibid.

\(^{64}\) Ibid.

\(^{65}\) Ibid.
heritage.\textsuperscript{66} In the words of Inspector Graham Eyre, QC, the last planning inspector to consider the expansion of Stansted:

Stansted would become by far the largest airport in the UK and one of the largest airports in the world. There would be a butchery of 1,000 hectares (2,500 acres) of attractive unspoiled, rolling, rural countryside of Essex located in an area of Special Landscape Value with its streams and valleys, woodlands, ancient hedgerows, magnificent farms and listed and other important buildings. The provision of an airport with a capacity of 25mppa would be burden enough, but to double the area to be taken as well as the capacity, would be to impose upon the inhabitants of Stansted an unprecedented visual, environmental and ecological disaster with the most grave consequences for agriculture.\textsuperscript{67}

Finally, printed at the end of the SPAB report are the words of William Morris: “these old buildings do not belong to us only...they have belonged to our forefathers, and they will belong to our descendents unless we play them false. They are not in any sense our property to do as we like with. We are only trustees for those that come after us.”\textsuperscript{68}

On February 13, 2004, the Uttlesford District Council began a legal process against the official Government White Paper. The four councils of Essex, Uttlesford, Hertfordshire, and East Hertfordshire are challenging the principal conclusions of the White Paper:

- The additional runway capacity needed in the south east of the country should be initially provided at Stansted (the White Paper says this could be operational in 2011/2012).
- The proposals for an extension of the runway at Luton will also provide additional capacity.\textsuperscript{69}

Further, the principle points of this challenge are:

\textsuperscript{66} SPAB file on Stansted Airport expansion. From the December 2003 Report on Airport Expansion prepared by Douglas Kent.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{69} Uttlesford City Council (n.d.), “Four Councils in Legal Challenge,” retrieved at http://www. Uttlesford.gov.uk.
The wide spaced runway at Stansted, and the alignment of the extension at London Luton airport set out in the plans in the White Paper are too specific. The White Paper is trying to get around the statutory planning processes. The councils say these are decisions which should properly go to a public inquiry where the local impacts can be studied in full.

• Breach of European Law: before taking any decisions on specific locations for airport development the Secretary of State should have carried out an environmental impact assessment.

• Funding and viability: at present neither the Government nor BAA know how the development and associated infrastructure is to be funded. This is fundamental to the viability of the development and cannot be seen as a later exercise. The development will cause unnecessary blight even if it is subsequently proven to be unfundable.

• At Luton the runway proposal in the White Paper is not one in the previous Consultation Paper and has therefore been put forward without any public consultation.

However challenging this dispute may be against the BAA and the UK government, the four councils claim that they “will not be railroaded by central government in this issue because we have compelling arguments that a second runway at Stansted would be a disaster on so many levels.” The Essex County Council, with the support of other councils and organizations, the London Borough of Wandsworth, and Persimmon Homes of the Southeast with Laing Homes filed an injunction against the Secretary of State for Transport on July 9, 2004 through the Supreme Court of England.

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71 Ibid.
and Wales at the Administrative Court Office. At present, the BAA has yet to respond to this injunction.

There is currently no conclusion to this case as of the spring of 2005, but it is apparent that there are a substantial number of groups and individuals who object to the expansion at Stansted. The uncompromising level of objection is seemingly unprecedented. A huge national outcry, led primarily by the SSE and the SPAB, has halted, at least temporarily, any further processes towards the expansion. The fight is massive, however, because the opponent is the rich and powerful BAA with the support of many UK government officials. Is the voice of the majority enough to sway the legal decision? As in any legal battle, only time will tell.

Regardless of the airport expansion outcome the SPAB realizes that even in cases that have not gone in its favor, it is still influencing general opinion. While it is devastating to see the demise of relevant historic sites, it is important to realize that, without the SPAB’s intervention over the past century, that there would be far more casualties to ignorance, industry, population growth, restoration, and the general attitude of “progress.”

It is easier to analyze the results of a specific case from the nineteenth century than from recent times because we know the results and success ratio of a case that has long been resolved. At Edinburgh Castle, the outcome was successful by SPAB

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72 SPAB file on Stansted Airport expansion. From the court papers listed “In the High Court of Justice Queen’s Bench Division Administrative Court.” These court papers are the official summons to the Secretary of State for Transport to appear in court for a hearing to determine the legitimacy of the White Paper in the case of the Stansted Airport expansion. This court order was determined by the court to be valid thus making the defense in the case of the Secretary of State for Transport accountable for its decisions in the White Paper. This court hearing will be before Mr. George Bartlett QC (sitting as a Deputy High Court Judge).
standards while the work at St. Albans was not. In the case of the Iraq War and airport expansion in England, we know that the SPAB is instigating action with the support of other dynamic organizations, but we don't know the result. It seems likely that the efforts of the SPAB to protect Iraqi monuments are somewhat unsubstantial, because a single organization cannot control the results and outcome of a major war. In the airport expansion issue, it seems apparent that the SPAB, along with the SSE, is making a major dent in the ability of supporters of expansion to persevere. The SPAB provides strong arguments against airport expansion and it has a huge support base. If the BAA wins in this case, then it will be an example of a powerful organization succeeding over the wishes of the majority. Should the SPAB, the SSE, and the four councils lose in this case, then it will likely arouse a greater majority into action to fight for what many citizens of the United Kingdom think is right.

The SPAB has adapted over the years to accommodate progress and it has added programs that might help it succeed in its ideals. The SPAB library, publications, and advice are frequently sought in an effort by historic home and site owners to keep the integrity of these sites alive. In this regard, the SPAB has needed to keep current and adapt to technological advances, knowledge, and situations. Its ability to evolve with contemporary situations throughout the years has made it an influential group, worthy of consultation and prestigious enough to attract the interests of architects, community leaders, and the UK National Government.

While the SPAB has continued to win many cases and battles concerning England's architectural history, there remains continuing confusion about the definition of preservation. A reporter enthusiastically related the restoration project going on at
Barley Hall of the city of York in *The Times*. He claimed that restoration was completely
accurate because the same construction techniques were being used and forty-seven of
the 520 sections of oak were original.⁷³ The 1992 Chairman of the SPAB, James
Boutwood, responded in much the same manner as Morris:

Now that the work has been carried out only 9 per cent of the original frame
survives and virtually none of the later (and listed) alterations. By taking it down
to ground level prior to reconstructing it, the entire history of the building has
been destroyed, leaving what is left as a lifeless museum object and not part of a
living building. It is now virtually worthless as an object of serious study because
of the destruction wrought to recreate yet another contribution to our Disneyland
heritage.⁷⁴

He added that Barley Hall had been listed as an ancient monument and therefore, given
statutory protection.⁷⁵ “Disneyland heritage” refers to England’s trend of turning some
historic sites into tourist attractions. An example of this is a proposed “Cadfael Centre”
on the grounds of Shrewsburry Abbey, named after Brother Cadfael and based on Ellis
Peter’s character in the popular novels set in medieval times.⁷⁶

Tourism is a bigger threat to England’s cultural heritage than it has been in the
past. Many tourists come to England to view places that they have heard about in books
and movies or to visit the homes of literary or historic figures. This “Disneyfication”
only inspires a site owner to make the area more marketable by adding gift shops or
fixtures to make a site seem more authentic. Another problem is when buildings are not
properly cared for in the face of tourism. Building owners need to allow for the wear of
floors and walls, the effects of increased humidity, and the effects of lights from cameras.

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⁷³ Peter Davenport, “Medieval Hall Given New Lease of Life,” *The Times* (London), 8
Letter to the Editor.
⁷⁵ Ibid.
They need to take the necessary measures to protect buildings and artifacts within them. Tourists should also show respect for these historic sites. One of the most famous monuments in England, Stonehenge, was blocked off from tourists because of vandalism. Now, instead of walking through the stones, tourists file by at a distance. The SPAB is doing what it can to insure that historic buildings and monuments are cared for in the face of tourism.

The SPAB evolved from its reactionary tendencies in the nineteenth century to being a more established and influential group in the twentieth century. Architects and politicians consult the SPAB regularly and its membership is currently over 7500. It developed methods to educate the public and students of conservation and architecture. Several times each month, the SPAB hosts lectures and holds classes. Its publications and access to advice has increased. As it has in the past, the SPAB will continue to evolve with the changing needs and issues of England’s and the world’s historic sites. In doing so, it continues to respect the goals of the founders. Through all these changes, Morris’s original Manifesto remains the guiding force for the SPAB.
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