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THE NATURE OF PUBLIC APPRECIATION OF ARCHITECTURE: A THEORETICAL EXPOSITION AND THREE CASE STUDIES

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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I. SUMMARY

This thesis investigates the nature of architectural appreciation in situations where particular buildings have been deliberately visited by the general public apparently with a view to interacting with them in some way. Appreciation is taken here to encompass both experience and evaluation and, as in much philosophical aesthetics, it is held that the value of a building relates to the experience which it allows. Further, it is argued that value and experience are not confined to aesthetic value and experience but rather that they relate to value and experience in the world at large. In general terms this thesis presents visiting as a cultural activity with a defined social structure.

The text of this thesis assumes and illustrates the importance of the hermeneutic process applied to architecture. First it is in itself a hermeneutic experiment; an exercise in the interpretation of texts on architecture produced by visitors to buildings or other commentators. Then the texts which are studied are themselves accounts of hermeneutic processes relating to architecture. Finally, as is consistent with the greater recognition of the importance of the reader assumed by hermeneutic theory, the case studies are deliberately presented in a manner which allows the reader a greater interpretative role than is usual in academic work. The theoretical section of the thesis develops a number of statements

about the nature of architectural appreciation. Together they were used as a conceptual framework within which the three case studies which make up the bulk of the text were described and discussed. The section is not offered as an attempt to break the hermeneutic circle but rather to pin-point where on its circumference, or, perhaps, on which circumference, the author stood.

Each of the case studies represents one organizational element of the social structure of architectural appreciation; the architectural society, individual viewers who together constitute the general public, and the architectural critic. The first case study describes the activities of the Cambridge Camden Society from 1838-1845 and the way in which the Society sought to achieve the aims of the Oxford Movement by changing the public's perception of Gothic church architecture. The second study describes the public's changing apprecation of the prison buildings at Port Arthur in Tasmania from 1877 up to the present time and the use that was made of Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life in this process. Charles Jencks' early critical stances and the sources from which they were derived - Arendt, I.A. Richards and Gombrich, form the subject of the third case study.

The case studies illustrate that in important ways visiting buildings is not primarily an opportunity for aesthetic experience but rather a hermeneutic activity. They illustrate mechanisms by which interpretations are

developed at a personal level and ways in which resulting personal views are in turn disseminated. The pivotal role which buildings play as a focus for hermeneutic activity directed toward the development of personal and communal attitudinal stances is also illustrated.

II. DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university. Further, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

Judith Brine

III. PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The motivation to write this thesis arose from a long involvement in the process of conserving buildings. Few people engaged in classifying, recording, maintaining or presenting buildings seem to ask themselves the question: for what? To me the answer must be for some social use or cultural purpose. The thesis therefore addresses this question about architectural appreciation within a general context of social and cultural affairs.

The direction of the inquiry has led to research being carried out in several areas outside the usual field encompassed by architecture. The pleasure of this experience has been a considerable one; again and again the perceptiveness of general comment and the sophistication of the world view it represents has been a source of interest and delight. The public's appreciation of building has emerged as a rich area to explore. Then, my investigation of the sources on which the case studies rely has also provided a very deep sense of satisfaction: Newman's work must head the list but a thorough and extensive reading of the work of Marcus Clarke, Pugin, Whewell, Arendt and Richards has been a privilege and inspiration. Therefore, it is to the sources I read for this thesis that I express my first obligation.

My second debt is to the libraries which I have used. Where opinion of the general public has been employed it has been necessary to rely heavily on indexing systems to locate it. In this respect The British Library, The Scottish National Library, The Bodleian Library, The Cambridge University Library, The R.I.B.A. Library, The Lambeth Palace Library, The Mitchell Library in Sydney, The Tasmanian Library in Hobart, The Victorian Public Library, The Library of the University of Tasmania, have all been particularly helpful as has the Rare Books Section of the Barr-Smith Library in my own University. In addition, I am particularly grateful to the National Parks and Wildlife Authority of Tasmania which allowed me to use its source material on Port Arthur that had been collected by Ian Brand.

My third obligation is to those who have read and discussed with me the content of this thesis. Especial gratitude for this service is due to Professor David Saunders who acted as my supervisor, to Dr Ivor Indyk of the Department of English at Sydney University, who read an earlier draft of the section on Port Arthur and His Natural Life and whose careful comment I appreciated, to Micha Bandini who spurred me on to write a better version of the Jencks paper than the one I first showed her and to John Brine who has been an assiduous reader and useful critic of the several versions of the various parts of this thesis. In addition, I have enjoyed discussions with many people, among them Charles Jencks who allowed me a

generous amount of his time and who was disarmingly frank, Ian Brand about Port Arthur, Wendy Abbott-Young who is also carrying out post-graduate work on Marcus Clarke, Dr Malcolm Higgs of the University of Edinburgh who bore with me on the early stages of this thesis before my ideas were formulated, my various honours students and other members of staff.

Next, I should like to express my gratitude to the University of Adelaide for several periods of study leave that enabled me to read for this thesis and allowed me uninterrupted time to write it. One of these times was spent attached to the Architectural Association Graduate School. My stay there provided a period of intellectual stimulation without which it is doubtful if this thesis could have been written. I am therefore indebted to the School's and Roy Landau's hospitality.

It is undoubtedly fatuous to wish this thesis is worthy of all this input, but I still do so. Finally, I wish to thank Mercia Fuss for typing it intelligently.

IV. INTRODUCTION: THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

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This thesis is based on the premise that a building is of cultural value inasmuch as it allows an experience to be associated with it when a viewer's attention is focussed upon it. At first sight, this premise might appear to be a re-statement of the relationship between a viewer and an art object described in orthodox aesthetics, and to be one which also assumes that buildings are primarily art objects. Such conclusions would be incorrect, as a wider view of experience and value than is allowed in philosophical aesthetics is intended here and buildings are seen to be more than art objects.

Nevertheless some concepts from this well-established area of investigation are the starting point from which a more general picture of appreciation is extrapolated. Buildings are then slotted into the resulting framework in order to develop a series of hypotheses about the nature of architectural appreciation. In this thesis buildings are seen as cultural artifacts which have a special role in developing culture at large through the process of their appreciation. The possibility of individual contribution to the process and the attendant mechanisms of transfer and translation which allow two-way exchanges to be made between culture at large and the institution of architecture (in which its appreciation is included) receive particular emphasis.

The theoretical exposition of the nature of architectural appreciation is developed in the first chapter of the thesis. It is presented "as an inquiry and a set of working hypotheses, rather than a body of demonstrated and verified conclusions."[1] The three case studies which follow are not intended to validate the hypotheses, rather, the hypotheses are used to analyse the situations described in the case studies. In other words, the test of the hypotheses is not whether or not the case studies conform to them, but rather if the hypotheses enable the case studies to be better analysed and more convincingly explained than they might otherwise have been had the hypotheses not been employed.

The following three sections each present an extended case study, the first being the most comprehensive. The studies are related methodologically but not in subject matter. Each was chosen as being popularly successful and of intrinsic interest, each also represents a branch of the social organization of architectural appreciation: the first study being of a society seeking to influence systems of appreciation, the second of individual viewers and the culture to which they belong and the last of the critic. They were also selected because the cultural sources from which the viewers drew were unusually well-defined, and this quality facilitated analysis.

The author does not believe that undue bias has been introduced by this process of selection. On the contrary, the case studies are held to be typical examples of

architectural appreciation only differing from others in that, because they were successful, more and better texts were available for analysis. Further, even if the systems of appreciation in the case studies were more rigorous and well-defined than is usual that they did not differ in kind from the more general case.

It is a source of considerable regret that a number of other case studies originally selected for analysis had to be discarded when the decision was taken to examine fewer situations in depth rather than examining a wider range of examples. The decision arose from the wealth of material each case study presented and the impossibility in a work of thesis length of doing justice to more than a few cases. Hence, research carried out on the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the Yorkshire Architectural Society, into Horace Walpole's and William Gilpin's forms of appreciation and into the history of public appreciation of Fountains Abbey has not been used here.

The first case study to be presented is of the Cambridge Camden Society which derived its importance from the part it played in the Gothic revival and in the renaissance of the Anglican High Church and its practices. The study describes the operations of the Society from its inception in 1838 until its collapse in 1845. Its theoretical base is analysed in relation to the sources on which it drew - the general intellectual climate, Pugin's ideas and the Oxford Movement. It thus describes a society

engaged in the task of affecting other people's perception and appreciation of Gothic churches, and offers an example of the way in which the basis of such an operation can be developed by a process of transfer and translation from various sources from within and outside the field of architecture. Both its social organization and its cultural processes are of interest and importance.

The second case study describes public visiting to Port Arthur, Tasmania, over the hundred-year period since the closure of the prison in 1878. The site is perceived in Australia to be one of the country's most important historic monuments. Three strands of appreciation are described; appreciation of the building fabric, appreciation of Port Arthur as evidence of history in general and appreciation of Port Arthur for its particular history as a convict settlement. Marcus Clarke's novel For the Term of His Natural Life [2] has been a particularly potent influence in establishing public interest in the site and determining the form of its appreciation. The relationship between Clarke's novel and the appreciation of Port Arthur is examined in some detail. The study is of interest in that it presents varying patterns of the dominance of one strand of appreciation over the others over an historical period.

The last case study describes the earliest critical bases that were established by the critic Charles Jencks. The first in his doctoral thesis and the second in the preface to his Modern Movements in Architecture. [3] The two

are compared and contrasted and a critical assessment is made of the adequacy of each in terms of their internal consistency and their usefulness as a critical tool. Jencks states his sources to be Ernst Gombrich, Hannah Arendt, I.A. Richards and through him Coleridge; the manner in which Jencks transfers from his sources to build his own base is the focus of this study.

The final chapter of the thesis assesses the contribution each case study makes to the understanding of its topic. Only in the case of the Cambridge Camden Society is there a body of previous historical work to take into account in making the assessment. In this case the view which the case study gives of the Cambridge Camden Society is compared with that given by James White in The Cambridge Movement,[4] and with that of some other writers.[5] Then, in the light of the thesis' historical contribution the chapter reviews its conceptual and methodological contributions and these too are compared with other people's formulations in this area. Finally, some brief remarks are made on what the author sees to be the value of the exercise as a whole.

V. A THEORETICAL EXPOSITION OF THE NATURE OF ARCHITECTURAL APPRECIATION

V. A THEORETICAL EXPOSITION OF THE NATURE OF ARCHITECTURAL APPRECIATION

Essentially, this section explores the situation in which an architectural object is subjected to deliberate scrutiny by a viewer. It discusses varying relationships between the object, the viewer and culture at large in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of architectural appreciation than has yet been postulated. To date, the most extended inquiry into the nature of the relationship between objects and their viewers has been made in philosophical aesthetics. More recently sociological studies have explored a variety of relationships between art and society, but both areas of investigation only encompass part of the area under investigation here.

Historically, the field of philosophical aesthetics first became focussed upon an investigation of the response of men to works of art, it later also included in its field of interest the relationship of art and the artist. Although 'works of art' may be broadly interpreted to include works from all the arts it has been most commonly used in aesthetic discussion to refer to visual works, usually to painting and sculpture. The relationship between art and aesthetics became so close that each was often defined in terms of the other. A well-known statement by Clive Bell typifies this tendency to circularity:

> The starting point of all systems of aesthetics must be the personal experience of a peculiar emotion. The objects that provoke this emotion we call works of art. All sensitive people agree that there is a

> peculiar emotion provoked by works of art ... This emotion is called the aesthetic emotion.[1]

By delineating the field in this manner a number of effects emerged or were made apparent: art objects tended to become conceptually differentiated from other objects, similarly the experience of art objects became isolated from experience at large and art production to be seen as different from that in other fields and subject to its own rules. Then, criteria for judging the value of art objects had become particular to them or were divorced from general criteria of value. In short, art and its appreciation had come to be regarded as an hermetically enclosed area of culture.

Marxism presented a fundamental critique of this position since in essence it denied the particularity of art objects and of their production and reception; that is, the area to which aesthetics had become addressed.[2] Attempts to repair the rent by endeavouring to develop a field of Marxist theory still directed towards the encompassed area of aesthetic theory failed to recognize the rigour of the initial critique. The alternative strategy of de-mystifying art objects would appear to be the more radical and rationally consistent approach for Marxists to take. Such an option is, however, not open to those who believe that art objects do have a collective identity and a particular value, and painstaking analyses like that of Janet Wolff[3] to re-define the place of art in a wider social context can be regarded as a promising instance of an alternative strategy. The present position is confused,

but it is probably true to say that in broad terms the notion of particularity of art persists.

What constitutes the particularity of art is a moot question: its social organization and recognition as an institution has been postulated by some. Art as a collection of objects that can be differentiated from other objects has also been put forward as the salient determining feature of art. Art being the result of particular conditions of production or, conversely, being particularized by a clearly defined set of special responses have both also been advanced as delineating art. In fact, none of these dimensions of art is autonomous and hence none can be definitive but each may be indicative of its nature. Since the subject of this thesis is appreciation, it will be the art object and the viewer's experience of it that will be discussed here. The purpose of the discussion is to explore the location of the appreciation of art objects within the appreciation of a wider range of objects and simultaneously to compare the nature of appreciation of art and other objects. The purpose of this exercise is not to delineate art but rather by assuming the validity of at least a degree of autonomy in art to use aesthetic theory pertaining to art objects and their experience to illuminate the wider field.

It is assumed here that there are three possible relationships between an object and a viewer whose attention is directed toward it with the purpose of deriving some experience from the process. They are

labelled reflective, opaque and transparent or translucent. It should be stressed that each category is separated only for the purpose of analysis, in practice the viewer may engage with an object in the several ways simultaneously or serially. In the same way that Kant uses 'beautiful' to describe an object actually referring to a recognizable experience of that object, the subject feeling the object to be beautiful, these terms will also be used in the discussion to describe the objects under discussion actually referring in every case to the relationship between object and viewer. In the discussion which follows each of the relationships will be examined in turn to assess the extent to which a viewer's appreciation of an art object can be included in each category.

A reflective[4] relationship may be defined as one in which the viewer directs her or his interest at the object and from which the ensuing experience derives solely from the identity of the object and from the knowledge, attitudes and feeling the viewer brings to bear upon it. In this case the form of the object is of minimal importance since it plays a passive role in the experience only being required to have those properties which do not appear to deny its identity or to conflict with the interest directed upon it. In this case the object may have no intrinsic value, hence this relationship has been of little interest to philosophical aesthetics which has tended to assume the intrinsic value of art objects and to envisage a more positive role for the art object in the process of appreciation. As a simple example of this mode

of appreciation one can cite Hazlitt's explanation of why distant objects please; "because ... not being obtruded too close upon the eye, we clothe them with the indistinct and airy colours of fancy." [5]

An opaque relationship, on the other hand, is one in which the viewer's interest is concentrated upon the visible form of the object and the response is governed wholly by it. It is a relationship in which neither the viewer nor the object refer specifically to culture at large but the object's appearance is recognized as being dependent upon natural or formal systems which the viewer must understand to gain a full appreciation of the object. Objects were typically seen in this way in the eighteenth century and Burke's study of The Sublime and the Beautiful[6] is an obvious exemplar. It is also typical of the period that both natural and man-made objects were included in aesthetic studies. In either case it was widely assumed that the experience gained by the viewer was dependent upon his imaginative efforts made in response to the object's visual qualities. Much of the study of aesthetics has been directed to objects within the ambit of this category particularly to those objects evoking pleasurable responses - that is to those defined, for instance by Kant, as being beautiful:

> If we wish to discern whether anything is beautiful or not, we do not refer the representation of it to the object by means of understanding with a view to cognition, but by means of the imagination (acting perhaps in conjunction with understanding) we refer the representation to the Subject and its feelings of pleasure or displeasure.[7]

The mechanism by which experience was linked to the object was wholly cerebral according to Kant but Hogarth saw it in more physical terms:

> Intricacy in form, therefore, I shall define to be that peculiarity in the lines, which compose it, that leads the eye a wanton kind of chace, and from the pleasure that gives the mind, entitles it to the name of beautiful.[8]

Whatever the mechanism of appreciation may be art objects clearly can be the subject of much experience of this kind.

Wollheim denies the existence of a transparent art object only allowing the possibility of translucency since he is unable to visualize an art object communicating so explicitly that all the qualities the maker incorporated in the work are transmitted to the viewer.[9] Whichever the case the relationship is one in which the viewer's experience derives from her or his attention being directed through, rather than at the object, to the qualities incorporated in it by its maker. We can see that the experience gained must be limited to what can be communicated by the object. The object can allude to qualities directly expressed by its form; liveliness, vigour or tranquility, or, by a process of metaphors, it may convey more complex emotional states. It was the transmission of the latter kinds of expressive qualities that Croce and Collingwood saw as being characteristic of art works and the feature that distinguished art works from other objects. As a consequence of this concept of an art object interest was also directed at the artist. Tolstoy offered an explanation of the nature of this communication process:

> The activity of art is based on the fact that a man receiving through his sense of hearing or sight another man's expression of feeling, is capable of experiencing the emotion which moved the man who expressed it.[10]

It should be emphasized that in each of these relationships attention to the object and imaginative effort to respond to it is necessary for an experience to be felt by the viewer, but at the same time the experience arises primarily from a different source in each of the relationships. In a reflective relationship it arises almost wholly from the viewer, in an opaque relationship it depends on the plastic form of the object and in a transparent or translucent relationship the experience is controlled by the object's maker. In each case the explanation for the possibility of experience and the mechanism of the experience differs accordingly. Aesthetic theory centred, as it has been, on beautiful or expressive objects, many of which by definition have been works of art, has until quite recently been almost wholly confined to sub-sets of the two latter relationships.

The area of philosophical aesthetics has presented a problem to philosophy in general. The first area of study recognized the inevitability of subjective judgement in relation to aesthetic appreciation but the second has been based upon the assumption of supremacy of logical argument and rational judgement. The two have been hard to reconcile. Kant while admitting that the judgement of taste was "not a cognitive judgement, and so not logical" and "whose determining ground cannot be other than subjective"[11] still

used the concepts of aesthetic judgement made on behalf of others and of educated taste[12] in an attempt to lend additional weight to subjective judgement. It was an attempt to endow it with a quasi-rationality and hence also to account for the conversion of subjective views into generally accepted values. The problem has proved to be insoluble within its own enclosed area and we still see critics like Roger Scruton and E.D. Hirsch wrestling with its difficulties.[13]

It can be seen that within the three relationships between viewer and object that have been described philosophical aesthetics presents its most convincing explanation of value in relation to aesthetic experience of opaque art objects since here standards of taste can be applied. Expressive objects present some problems but experience of them can still be tied to their form which governs and explains the experience and hence the object's value. Since the experience gained from a reflective object[14] may be only marginally dependent upon the form of the object its value cannot be explained in the above terms. Further, if some of the objects of reflective experiences are generally recognized to have value, they, as a group, cast doubt upon the ability of philosophical aesthetics to sufficiently account for the relationship between man and all objects of value. Other explanations need to be sought first for the nature of value and then for the value of reflective experience.

In all the discussion to date it has been assumed as is common in aesthetic theory that it is the abstract form of the art object that effects aesthetic experience and that the field of aesthetics is self-sufficient and objects make no reference outside that field. Further, that aesthetic experience is the sole or paramount determinant of the aesthetic value of the object. Additionally, because of the high value placed upon aesthetic experience it seems often to be assumed that aesthetic value is closely related to absolute value. However, as we know mimesis, narrative and allusion to myth are also commonly the stuff of the arts, and all these qualities make reference to the world at large or to our experience of it, and all add meaning to the object as does its utilitarian purpose. One or other of the three relationships already described can encompass these qualities as well as the formal qualities of aesthetics and indeed it is necessary that they do so for as Northrop Frye among others has recognized criticism "will always have two aspects, one turned toward the structure of literature and one turned toward the other cultural phenomena that form the social environment of literature."[15] Other arts display the same dual characteristic if indeed 'duality' is the right description, for, for many critics, the two aspects are essentially inextricable.

It is the ability of objects to depict or allude to reality as well as to transfer or induce emotional states by virtue of their abstract form that swells the experiences of viewers in the translucent or transparent

situation. This particularly applies to literary works which have complex communicational systems. It should be noted that in such cases knowledge of the nature of the presentation, for instance of genre or style, is necessary for a full understanding of the work, and its context is usually seen as relevant to discussing the value of the work. The development of semiotics and structural analysis attest to the importance of organizational systems in understanding literature and the visual arts.

In reflective situations the viewer may contribute in the same areas, contributing mimesis, narrative or myth to an appreciation of the object. In general the more explicit the communicational system of the object the less the viewer can contribute in this way and _vice versa_. Such contributions can be regarded as being more complex and of greater weight than the imaginative response of the viewer assumed in much aesthetic theory.

Perhaps no more telling instance of the importance of this second group of attributes has been recorded than the experiment described by I.A. Richards in _Practical Criticism_.[16] In view of his other work one suspects that in devising the experiment Richards expected his students to concentrate on the form of the poems that were presented to them and that by withholding any information about the poems he thought he would ensure their response to form. Instead the comments that were elicited tended to be about content and since context was denied, students substitute their personal knowledge of the world in its place, some-

times distorting the content of the poem to relate it to their own concerns, hence giving it social relevance and value. The structure of the poem was largely neglected.

It may be well, at this stage, to pause and to consider the position of architecture with reference to what has been examined to date. In aesthetic discussion architecture occupies a somewhat peripheral position sometimes being counted among art objects and sometimes not.[17] Its candidature as an aesthetic object depends upon what the essence of architecture is seen to be. If its functional nature is suppressed a building may be viewed primarily as an opaque object employing more or less complicated abstract formal systems. Classical architecture conforms most easily to this description, and hence for those firmly committed to the primacy of philosophical aesthetics, like Watkin and Scruton,[18] classicism is considered to be the apogee of architectural achievement. Alternatively, and still within the ambit of the class, aesthetic objects, a building may be seen to be an expressive object. Hence Gothic architecture as described by Wittgenstein[19] falls into the category of transparent art objects.

Conversely, if function is seen to be the paramount quality of architecture, buildings may still be recognized as conveying information in the same way that many art works also do by expressing or encapsulating the function in the formal system of the building. Function in this way may be viewed as equating with literary narrative content or with depiction in painting.[20] Architecture has, in

addition, another quality held in common with nature - that of being place-centred. This quality too has been held to be the essence of architecture, as for instance by Christian Norberg-Schulz,[21] and sometimes buildings have consequently been accorded aesthetic attention in the same way as natural objects.

The persistence with which those associated with architecture have sought to confirm architecture to be, or to be like, an aesthetic object has to be seen as the result of the generally high value placed upon aesthetic objects by the whole community. Intellectual éclat has been conferred on them by the development of the fields of philosophical aesthetics, art history and art theory; social value through their use to distinguish élites, communities and countries, by providing visible evidence of patronage, influence and the power to collect; monetary value by virtue of their scarcity, indeed uniqueness. In toto art objects are widely regarded as the most valuable of man's productions and possessions. It is therefore no wonder that every effort has been made by interested parties to include architecture in the field of art, and by doing so to ensure its value and status. Perhaps at no time was this push more obvious than in the nineteenth century when architects were endeavouring to establish their professional status.

The concerns of this thesis are different and seek to establish that buildings can also be seen to be of value for reasons other than their aesthetic value as art

objects. This is not to deny the importance of aesthetic experience, it is merely to extend a recognition of an architectural object's value to that beyond aesthetic value. The thesis deals with buildings that are deliberately visited and assumes that they are visited for some purpose. It further assumes that the best expression of that purpose is found in unsolicited accounts of visits, in literature pertaining to visiting and in other accounts of the building or the class of buildings to which it belongs. The very bulk of such material points to a phenomenon of social importance and the variety of its subject matter is indicative of the relevance of factors other than the visitor's enjoyment of form, space and decoration in contributing to the experience of such objects or to their evaluation.

It might be argued, as it has been in the past, that these other concerns while being of interest do not constitute the essence of architecture and are therefore of lesser importance than a building's formal attributes, Geoffrey Scott, for instance, wrote:

> Architecture, simply and immediately perceived is a combination, revealed through light and shade, of spaces, of masses, and of lines. These few elements make the core of architectural experience: an experience which the literary fancy, the historical imagination, the artistry of conscience and the calculations of science, cannot constitute or determine, though they may encircle or enrich. [22]

Such is the traditional view that accords with architecture seen as an art object and aesthetic value being the primary means of value but even Scott had admitted:

> A work of utility architecture consciously is; a work of beauty it should be; of religion, after the ideal of Ruskin, it may be; but a symbol it must be.[23]

The statement points towards the nature of an expanded value system; one which places a high value on buildings that have the ability to act as symbols of the culture to which they contributed. They are indicative of the past life enacted in them and for the value of which they stand. New buildings may be valued in the same way, standing as witness to the value of the purpose for which they were built and the aspirations of the community which built them.

It is true that, as Scott says, buildings only indicate their cultural purpose, their narrative is relatively inexplicit and their mimesis incomplete, but this does not detract from their symbolic value. On the contrary, it leaves the way open for two important operations to take place which together reinforce the value of buildings as cultural symbols. First because there is an opportunity for the viewer to make an imaginative contribution, and to add to what is symbolized by the building form itself, the significance of the building is constantly re-assessed. It is not irrelevant to quote here Gombrich's description of the task of the cultural historian, he writes:

> Whether we know it or not, we always approach the past with some preconceived ideas, with a rudimentary theory we wish to test. In this as in many other respects the cultural historian does not differ all that much from his predecessor, the traveller to foreign lands ... who wants to understand the culture of the country in which he finds himself.

He adds:

> The questions we may wish to ask are therefore in no way random; they are related to a whole body of beliefs we wish to reinforce or challenge. But for the cultural historian no less than for the traveller the formulation of the question will usually be precipitated by an individual encounter, a striking instance, be it a work of art or ... a strange craft. [24]

In the same way viewing older buildings may be seen as an individual's attempted appreciation of cultural history. Gombrich's last point should not be lost; it is important to recognize that buildings by virtue of their past functions are objects especially suited to interpretation as cultural history, and they are particularly valuable in this regard compared with many other objects. In terms of the previous analysis, it is plain that here the relationship is primarily reflective and therefore responsibility for the experience rests with the viewer. But, as we have seen, in this case, the viewer also draws on information, inspiration and the judgement of the world at large, both to enhance the experience and to lend it weight. Hence the experience becomes more than a personal one; rather its salient character is broadly cultural.

In view of the difficulty of this term, clarification is appropriate. Williams offers three separate current meanings for the noun 'culture'.

i) as describing "a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development,"

ii) as indicating "a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or humanity in general,"

iii) as describing "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity." [25]

He then remarks that the last meaning now appears the most common usage, but it is in the terms of the other two meanings that the activity described above is to be understood. The viewer draws from his own culture to compare it with the particular culture represented by the building - and hence assesses the cultural significance of the building. The building may, of course, also have simultaneously a cultural content and value in terms of the third meaning. The relationship between all the strains may be a strong one, Williams speaks of:

> An essential hypothesis in the development of the idea of culture is that the art of a period is closely and necessarily related to the generally prevalent 'way of life', and further that, in consequence, aesthetic, moral and social judgements are closely interrelated. Such a hypothesis is now so generally accepted as a matter of intellectual habit, that it is not always easy to remember that it is essentially a product of intellectual history of the nineteenth century ... [26]

The composite cultural importance of the building is also demonstrated by the act of visiting itself; although undertaken by individuals, the sum of the individual visits constitutes _in toto_ an affirmation of its value. In fact, this operation is of such significance that individual experience of the building while visiting may pale in comparison.[27] The process is an expanding one, visiting confirms the importance of the building which in turn engenders further visiting, and so on. Taking part in the process of affirmation transforms the individual visit into a social act with a cultural purpose. Increasing public ownership of buildings that are much visited is another indication of their importance to society as is

community pressure for the building's care, preservation and presentation, and a growing acceptance of the use of public money for this purpose.[28] Public ownership reinforces affirmation by visiting and it too may lead to more frequent visits being made to the site.

We have here then three distinguishable, though interrelated forms of visiting buildings: the act of visiting to re-affirm the building's cultural importance, visiting to appreciate the building's formal plastic and expressive qualities and visiting to understand the wider cultural importance for which the building now stands. It is particularly the third category which is of interest here, and the purpose of the rest of this section is to build a picture of the manner in which appreciation of buildings for their wider cultural content takes place. The relationship between the viewer and the object, the nature of the object, an explanation of appreciation of the object changing over a period of time are all part of this discussion, just as they make up a large part of aesthetic theory. In addition, the social process of cultural appreciation is described and so are the various forms of social organization pertaining to it and through which appreciation can be deliberately manipulated.

As we have seen the power of the viewer in classical aesthetics is limited by his role being confined to that of imaginative response to the form or expression given to the object by the artist, hence Wollheim maintains that:

> in art there is a characteristic ambiguity, or perhaps better plasticity, introduced into the roles

> of activity and passivity: the artist is active, but so also is the spectator, and the spectator's activity consists in interpretation. 'A creator' as Valéry puts it 'is one who makes others create.'[29]

In literary theory the reader has been allowed by many to have access to greater power, and greater weight has been given to the role of interpretation, than has been the case in art.[30] In this way reading comes close to being the same operation as performance, one which makes manifest the work. The reader's interpretation of a work encapsulated in its translation into another language and, hence, recorded, is a strong instance of reading seen in this way. Benjamin noted that "translations do not so much serve" a famous work "as owe their existence to it. The life of the original attains in them its ever-renewed, latest and most abundant flowering."[31] Barthes' S/Z[32] constitutes a record of another kind of translation, and so do many exercises in deconstruction.[33] The widespread attention such exercises have received can be attributed to the intense interest in the act of reading and the mental processes on which it depends expressed in so much current literary theory.

It is because literary works are capable of transmitting a very complex content that a rich field of investigation of interpretations has been opened up. However, as we have seen, in a reflective situation the breadth of subject matter that the viewer may apply to the object is wider still, only being limited by the resourcefulness and imagination of the viewer. The possibility of greater freedom in architectural appreciation has not been

accepted by those committed to the concept of superior interpretation by an élite. Hence, Scott wrote: "There may at the present time, be a lack of taste: there is, unfortunately, no lack of architectural opinion."[34] Yet again, Scott surprises for he also condones a form of appreciation that is still more egalitarian since it involves the viewer in bringing to bear on a building experience common to us all. He writes: "The whole of architecture is, in fact, unconsciously invested by us with human movement and human moods ... We transcribe architecture into terms of ourselves."[35] But perhaps here Scott is offering empathy as an explanation of enjoyment of abstract forms rather than encouraging populist participation in the enjoyment of architecture.

Empathetic appreciation is not very distant from the simplest form of appreciation, kinesthetic enjoyment. The range of physical experiences of buildings is very wide, shading at one end of its spectrum into aesthetic enjoyment and the other end into cultural affirmation. The singular popularity of the Pompidou Centre may well be due to the kinesthetic enjoyment it invites, as also does its rival for attention the Eiffel Tower,[36] it is based not only on the pleasure of moving around unusual spaces but also on the visual variety that arises from that movement. The latter being near to some explanation of aesthetic enjoyment as, for instance, Hogarth described.[37] The former activity may well double as parading which is clearly an act of cultural affirmation.

To return to the situation in which the viewer is more intellectually and imaginatively involved in the appreciation of architecture; the reflective relationship. First, it should be stressed that reflective appreciation is not merely evaluative but may also be experiential, it may develop both feelings and intellectual understanding and appreciation based on the wider cultural content attributed to the object. In the same way that aesthetic experience and aesthetic value are linked so too are cultural value and what might be termed cultural experience. Further, when these two systems operate in concert and aesthetic content reinforces cultural content then experience will be heightened and the value of the object accordingly raised.

Guide-books, which are generally highly stereotyped in format, recognize this phenomenon. Typically the history of the culture associated with the building is first described, the history and significance of the building fabric follows and a walk round the building explaining its various features comes last. Maximum importance is conferred on buildings having both cultural interest and aesthetic quality with which the viewer can interact. The usual format indicates the development of appreciation. Earliest guide-books emphasize the historical event associated with the building,[38] later details of the fabric were included[39] and, finally, the tour, signifying individual enjoyment, was added.

'How to look at architecture' books form another large category of material on which viewers can readily draw. They are particularly good indicators of reigning fashions in visual appreciation but also of what kinds of buildings are currently popular for social reasons. William Gilpin's books on picturesque viewing,[40] nineteenth century books on Gothic styles,[41] earlier twentieth century books on vernacular architecture[42] clearly display both these traits and tend also to reflect the concerns of current architectural styles. One can also place accounts of visits to buildings in this category for they perform a similar function as does critical opinion.

Histories and biographies are the third kind of material which the viewer needs little imagination to find of relevance to an appreciation of buildings. Beyond them there is a wide range of factual and fictional literary matter which may be seen by the viewer to be of relevance in appreciating a building. But the viewer is also free to draw on a yet wider field of her or his understanding of culture at large, and personal experiences and concerns.

The process by which material is selected as relevant to the experience of viewing a particular building is clearly an inductive one. It involves a recognition of the nature of the building and a process of transfer of material from one context to another. For such a process to take place the building must be recognized, must be classed among a group of buildings having cultural value and must be accepted as an authentic member of that class.

The problem is a very similar one to that associated with art objects, of the latter Wollheim writes: "what gives art its utility is that the objects centrally belonging to it have been produced under the concept of art"[43] or approached from another aspect by Gombrich "No sooner is an image presented as art than by this very act, a new frame of reference is created which it cannot escape. It becomes part of an institution."[44] In the same way it may be the primary function of guide-books to identify, classify and authenticate buildings of importance. Notices and plaques perform a similar function, reassuring the viewer that the building is an appropriate one to direct her or his attention and is worth visiting.[45]

Other people's accounts of visits to a building may give the viewer the same kind of assurance but they may also extend the class of objects of interest. The process is not new for Walpole described it in 1790:

> Of the charms of Chirk Castle I never heard before; but how few have eyes!, and until somebody has the rest only look, till they have been taught to see, by hearing that others have seen.[46]

In common with other art objects buildings have problems attached to restoration and reproduction that affect their authenticity and hence their value. With buildings, however, the problem is particularly complex since there can be no agreed fixed text or state. To return a building to its original state may enhance appreciation of its form but it severely reduces appreciation of its on-going cultural role. Conversely, successive accretions bear witness to cultural development but they may

severely restrict formal appreciation. While, for instance, paintings and literary works are not free from these difficulties, establishing policies to ensure authenticity is in their case a less vexed problem.

An authoritative indication of the authenticity of a building is a precursor to attention being directed toward it.[47] In addition, locating it among other objects of interest indicates to the viewer what information is likely to be relevant to its appreciation. The process which then takes place is one of transfer. It may be a rational transfer of information recognized by the viewer as being obviously relevant or it may be an imaginative process in which apparently irrelevant material is converted by a process of metaphor to be applicable to the case in hand. This case can be described as one of translation or as Gombrich labels it (I think less clearly) 'transference'. He writes:

> The possibility of metaphor springs from the infinite elasticity of the human mind; it testifies to the capacity to perceive and accumulate new experiences as modifications of earlier ones, of finding equivalences in the most disparate phenomena and of substituting one for the other.[48]

The importance of this latter operation cannot be overestimated for it endows reflective appreciation with an enjoyment derived from an exercise of the imagination to equate it with that of aesthetic experience. Nor is such an experience necessarily a less structured one than aesthetic experience for the process gives the viewer an opportunity to incorporate an appreciation of a building into her or his world view.

The whole notion of transfer is also important for it offers some explanation of changing appreciation of the cultural content of buildings. We have already seen how available information which is easily recognized to be relevant to transfer into the appreciation of a building tends not only to identify and authenticate the building but also to confirm its total cultural importance. The use of such information constitutes a process which tends to stabilize the value of a building. Then it is likely that many viewers, even when engaged on an imaginative exercise, will respond in a manner which reflects the cultural concerns and values of their time. This process too tends to perpetuate existing cultural values. The third process which may tend to confirm the status quo is the usual tendency of viewers to seek agreement from others so that their experiences are confirmed as appropriate and their assessments of value reinforced, not necessarily in that order.

Set against these processes are others which instigate change. Some people seek agreement to new responses and assessments, to gain credence for a new interpretation a person needs to have confirmed the relevance of the field on which she or he draws or the changed significance of that field. In this way others too may have their basis of appreciation modified. Further, it appears to be true that acceptance of a different assessment of a building may actually alter a person's perception of it, indeed the pleasure of experiencing a building anew may well be the motivation for the exercise of the imaginative effort

needed to achieve it. Williams sums up the process by claiming that we "can learn new rules and new interpretations as a result of which we shall literally see in new ways." Cultures and individuals can instigate change and thus "new ideas of reality can be 'revealed' or 'created', and these need not be limited to any one individual, but can, in certain interesting ways, be communicated, thus adding to a set of rules carried by the particular culture." [49]

Williams' sustained study of the concepts of the city and the country in English literature led him to conclude that societies from time to time endowed places with a metaphorical content reflecting concerns of the times and that this process is in itself a great value. Hence Williams wrote:

> Clearly ideas of the country and the city have specific contents and histories, but just as clearly, at times, they are forms of isolation and identification of more general processes. People have often said 'the city' when they meant capitalism or bureaucracy or centralized power, while 'the country' ... has at times meant everything from independence to deprivation and from the powers of an active imagination to a form of release from consciousness. At every point we need to put these ideas to the historical realities: at times to be confirmed, at times denied. But also, as we see the whole process, we need to put the historical realities to the ideas, for at times these express, not only in disguise and displacement but in effective mediation or in offered and sometimes effective transcendence, human interests and purposes for which there is no other immediately available vocabulary. It is not only an absence or distance of more specific terms and concepts; it is that in country and city, physically present and substantial, the experience finds material which gives body to the thoughts. [50]

Such a conclusion applies equally to individual buildings;

it explains the importance of the mechanisms of transfer and of the value of buildings arising from the process of focussing transfer upon them. It is in this way that the cultural value of buildings is confirmed and developed.

Conversely, when a building, or group of buildings is recognized as metaphorically representing some current issue it is not uncommon for the building or buildings to be used as a focus of discussion for that issue and for the buildings to be co-opted into a process of propaganda. In this way individuals or groups may endeavour to gain wide acceptance of a particular meaning attributed to a building in order to derive political or social advantages. In other words, the mechanisms of the process have been recognized and understood and have from time to time been manipulated.[51]

Historical evidence shows that the mode and extent of appreciation of buildings for their aesthetic qualities has also varied over a period of time in response both to changes within the closed circle of the discipline of architecture and to wider cultural change. It can also be seen that the relationship between the appreciation of formal and cultural content varies, at times one and at times the other being the dominant dimension of appreciation. This process is largely unexplored in architecture, histories of appreciation of buildings have been very much less common than histories of the form of buildings or histories of the producers of buildings and the ideas on which they depend.[52] Yet the phenomenon is of real impor-

tance for if the mechanism of appreciation of buildings is understood and the power of the viewer allowed, particularly when operating reflectively, then there is the possibility that the institution of architecture has open to it another avenue by which its content can be renewed. For this purpose, the processes of transfer and translation are of utmost importance.

Although it has been said that relatively little attention has been directed to the analysis of the appreciation of architecture several major studies have a bearing upon the topic. The preceding discussion is obviously indebted for much of its theory of appreciation to Raymond Williams, and although he directs much of his examination of culture to literature his discussion of cultural processes and cultural utility can be seen to be of relevance to architecture as a cultural object. His study The Country and the City[53] though drawing only from literature rather than from widespread public opinion is an exemplar of what a cultural history attached to objects of culture can be.

For its theoretical content Dean MacCannel's The Tourist[54] is also of interest. He approaches his topic from the discipline of anthropology and within the intellectual framework of structuralism. He concludes that tourism is a modern phenomenon whose purpose is to define the modern world in contradistinction to traditional culture. Leisure, which he finds to be characteristic of the modern world and to which tourism testifies, is set in opposition

to the working environment and activity of the past. A comparison with Gombrich's view of the likeness of investigations undertaken while travelling and in cultural history[55] shows his to be a crude conclusion unsympathetic to an interest in the past for its own sake. Nevertheless his assumption of the value of the use of sites of the past to act as a focus for re-defining modern society is shared with Williams and with the author of this thesis. MacCannel's study also shows that whereas some people may be scarcely aware of this function of buildings, others are acutely aware of it and take steps to operate the system, and thereby attempt to achieve social ends.

To MacCannel tourism as expressing a cultural process is a phenomenon of modern society. Here we must differ, it appears to be far more likely, indeed most probable that this function of visiting has a long history, as long one suspects as the history of visiting itself. The strength of MacCannel's analysis of what constitutes a tourist attraction lies in its connection with larger cultural processes, its weakness is that it fails almost entirely to appreciate the complexity and richness of individual response. It is a text that has now become curiously dated; its obsessive preoccupation with the modern seems very much of its time. So too does its reduction of experiences into over-general models.

On the other hand, Philippe Boudon's analysis[56] of what those who lived at Pessac thought about their housing and what they actually did to it, impresses because indiv-

idual opinion is not subordinated to orthodox theory or process. Moreover, the methodology allows the respondents to retain a power of communication which is consistent with the purpose of the work, which I take to be an attack on architecture for its hermetically sealed discipline. The complex cultural meaning of the housing as understood and modified by the owners is well displayed. Here, the fault of the work is of the opposite kind, the study sits within no discernable theoretical framework.

The text most closely related to the theoretical subject matter of this thesis is Juan Pablo Bonta's Architecture and its Appreciation.[57] It studies changes in appreciation over a period of time and provides an explanation of the process by which such changes occur. However, there are also differences between his study and this one, Bonta's area of interest is almost entirely confined within the discipline of architecture, therefore, for him, the viewer is the architectural critic. He places little importance on the appreciation of architecture by the general public.

Bonta's model for change in reception mirrors a widely accepted model for change in style - tentative postulation, canonic statement, general agreement and employment leading to widespread dissemination. After a period of time circumstances change and consequently the critical mode loses topicality and dies until it is re-defined in another form. It is apparent, to the extent that the model relates to the world at large, it is the critic who

incorporates external cultural change into a canonic interpretation not the general viewer. The general viewer is given a passive role his reaction being determined by the critic. Hence Bonta's mechanism for change in architectural meaning is rather different from the one described in this thesis.

Bonta is inexplicit as to the possible range of architectural experiences or as to the location of information that informs such experiences, that is, in Bonta's terms, its meaning. It is meaning rather than experience which is his concern. Generally, his texts refer to abstract formal properties of architecture and the critics' feelings about the forms. From this one could assume that his critics usually place themselves in opaque and transparent relationships with buildings. From where Bonta, himself, sees experiences derived is not clear. On the one hand, his sub-title "a study of expressive systems in architecture" appears to imply that meaning stems from the object and through it from the designer. On the other hand, he writes that attributing meaning to a work of architecture or art is "an operation solely performed by the critic."[58] He concludes that the "question remains open as to whether the locus of expressive systems lies in the works of art and architecture themselves, or in their interpretation."[59] From this discussion it appears that, on the whole, Bonta is postulating the reflective relationship as the basis of architectural appreciation. Such an impression is reinforced by his view of public appreciation, about which he writes:

> People are ready to read meanings into a form that were not intended by the designer and that are not really manifest in the form itself, if there is an agency authoritative enough to endorse such a reading. [60]

Bonta's analysis seems to encompass the three situations of appreciation postulated in this thesis without recognizing them in any systematic way. Apart from these very general areas of agreement Bonta presents a different view of architectural appreciation from the one presented in this study. His assumption of an enclosed discipline, his élitist bias, his emphasis on meaning rather than experience, all contribute to its different orientation. There is, perhaps, a greater similarity between the two studies in the methodology they employ. Bonta's use of texts to illuminate his theoretical discussion and to demonstrate its utility as a tool for analysis of architecture has been repeated in this thesis, although the textual interpretation that follows is a good deal more complex than Bonta's examples.

Finally, Riegl's historical analysis of the value of monuments is of considerable interest here.[61] He categorizes monuments either as being intentional; that is monuments built to commemorate a subject and to which is attached an inscription to make its purpose clear, and as being unintentional those to which meaning becomes attached in time, although the process by which it does so is not explored by Riegl. Experience is not a part of Riegl's analysis rather he addresses himself solely to the question of value. For him monuments primarily have historical value, which includes an aesthetic value by virtue of

art expressing itself in the manner of its time, but they also have age value, a quality for the appreciation of which no special knowledge is required; all can understand it, from the analogy of their own condition. A recognition of historical value tends to lead toward a policy of preserving the building so that it can be interrogated as an historical document. On the other hand, a recognition of age value allows a monument to gradually decay - for decay denotes age. '

Riegl also postulates other values for monuments which are related more to what are current concerns: use value, relative art value - expressing current aesthetic preferences, and newness value. He sees such values as modifying historical and age values and hence they account for changing values of an object. It is a neat analysis although dated perhaps by its insistence on continuous historical development and by art being seen as reflecting that development. The model lacks Williams' appreciation of cultural purpose for to Riegl use value appears to be confined to the cultural use of the building as an ongoing function, although at one point he hints that visiting might be included in his concept.

This survey of the work of others considered to be of direct relevance to the topic completes the exposition. The concepts which have been developed in this section together constitute the intellectual framework within which the case studies in the following sections are developed. The outstanding characteristics of the frame-

work are the importance of *reflective* appreciation in endowing architectural objects with historical and current meanings, the processes of *transfer* and *translation* as mechanisms for developing that meaning and the postulation of a particular social organization which allows personal meaning to be converted into culture and *vice versa*.

VI. CASE STUDY ONE

THE CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY

VI. CASE STUDY ONE: THE CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY

1. Introduction

This case study examines the nature of architectural appreciation within the Cambridge Camden Society (1839-1845). Church visiting, sketching, measuring and recording are obviously within its compass, but other features of the Society are also described because it is held that these too affected the light in which Gothic churches were viewed. In addition, the sources of the Society's beliefs and modus operandi and the nature of its appreciation of the values on which they were based are examined. The main thrust of the argument is that the Cambridge Camden Society's appreciation of Gothic churches was dependent upon the religious revival of the Oxford Movement and was an expression of it. The relationship between the body of thought of the Movement and that of the Society are examined in detail, as is the role which Pugin played in the development of the Society's body of thought.

The section begins by describing the activities of the Cambridge Camden Society from its inception in 1839 to its collapse in 1845 and the way in which activities were governed by outside factors. At various points in time the typical member's appreciation of Gothic churches and, what must also be considered to be relevant to that experience, his relationship to and experience of the Society is also

described. The following sections deal in some depth with influences on the Society; on its mode of operation and its modes of thought. The intellectual thought processes of the Society are examined and so are its system of values. Thus, what is described is not only individual and collective experiences but that which underlies them and on which they depend.

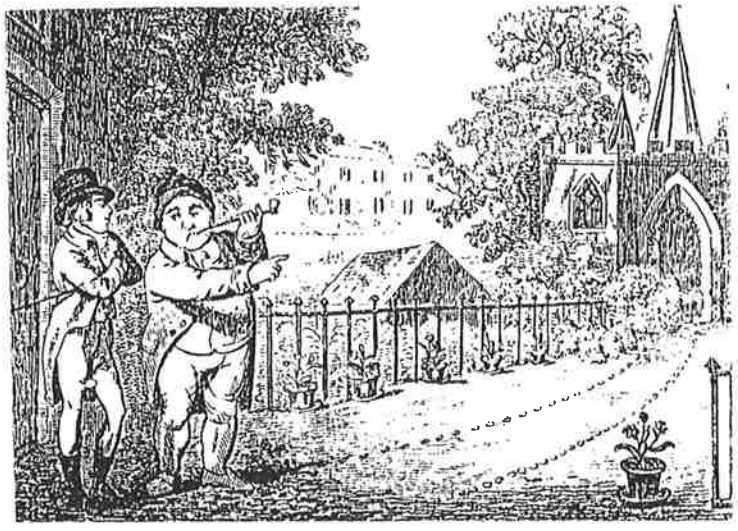
APPRECIATION OF GOTHIC BEFORE
PUGIN AND THE CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY



1. 'Strangers viewing Oxford'.



2. 'Antiquarians viewing Queens Cross'.



3. 'Shewing the Garden'.

2. The activities of the Cambridge Camden Society

Most commentators on the Cambridge Camden Society remark on the youth of its founders. John Mason Neale was in his third year at Cambridge and Benjamin Webb only in his first. Yet neither was inexperienced in the appreciation of church architecture and both were aware of the religious issues currently being argued in the Church of England. Webb had displayed High Church tendencies before coming up to the University. He had read the Oxford Tracts, begun fasting, was attending frequent services at St Paul's and had persuaded his father to institute family prayers.[1] Further, he had made the acquaintance of the antiquarian author E.J. Carlos[2] and had been church visiting with him on several occasions.[3] Webb's interest in church architecture at this stage seems to have been practical and active; he visited churches; rubbed brasses and made models of fonts.[4]

Neale was brought up in a strict Evangelical family but during his early years at Cambridge he moved steadily towards the High Church. Like Webb he first read the Oxford Tracts in 1837. By the end of 1838 he was a High Churchman and his life changed accordingly. For instance, one day, he attended St Mary's to hear his tutor Archdeacon Thorp's sermon on "The Authority of the Church" and drank tea afterwards with a friend Harvey Goodwin; the "conversation was of course on the never failing subject, the Oxford Tracts."[5] On Christmas Day Neale records that

the family tea time topic was "Church History", three weeks later it was "Baptismal Regeneration" - a topic Neale, himself, had suggested.[6]

At the same time Neale was spending a considerable amount of time church visiting. In the summer vacation he and a friend had been to Lincoln, Hull, York, Beverly, Ripon, Richmond, Fountains Abbey, Bernard Castle, Durham, Newcastle, Glasgow and Greenock. Full notes were taken of the various churches seen.[7] He continued to visit churches after returning to Cambridge, assiduously recording his visits. The following accounts are typical:

> Hailston Church at which we soon arrived is a very fine buildings [sic] it has choir, nave, two aisles. The whole is Tudor from door to window, of the richest and most beautiful description. The C[hancel] rather older than the nave. The windows on the south side are super-mullioned Tudor insertions, late but good. The east window is splendid when viewed from the inside. On each side is a niche with canopies and crockets: under it an exquisite perpendicular arcade, and in the middle of this a credence. The piscina is a very good square headed perpendicular, the ch[urch] screen stone with evident remains of the rood loft: the door and turret staircase to which are still perfect, there are some good brackets. All the transoms of the windows, as well as the top of the arcade are battlemented, which looks rich. Tower is plain perpendicular, windows of single lights.[8] The porches must have been excellent.

A fortnight later. He visited and described Landbeach:

> It is a large village and the church has a spire by no means common in Cambridgeshire. It consists of a chancel, nave, two aisles. The chancel is decorated with a geometrical east window, no windows on the north side, and two wretched ones on the south. The nave is entirely perpendicular, with fine, large, super mullioned windows. On the north side is, or rather has been, for the effigy is now gone, a fine decorated sepulchre. It is ogee, with crockets and finials, and cinquefoil: the cusps cinquefoil. The font has the shaft octagonal decorated: the bason [sic] is modern.[9] The tower plain but good early English.

During December Neale was on holiday at Brighton where his mother was living. He visited several churches, among them the fine church at Shorham which he describes as:

> ... a magnificent and large specimen of Transition with the exception of one or two perpendicular insertions, it is all of the same character. The capitals tho' not equal to those of York Minster, which they much resemble, are fine ... the whole is kept in beautiful order. [10]

and a new church:

> Mr Vaughan's church is the most hideous building in every point of view, except the tower and spire, and the east window, which it is possible to conceive. [11]

Back at Cambridge Neale records that on the 25th of February he visited Hardwick Church, Caldecot, Toft, Kingstone, Great Wersden and Little Eversham. He got back "about half past four, having walked about twenty-three miles." [12] Neale's interests were in the collection of examples of Gothic church architecture and its parts, in classifying them and relating them to their historical context in some meaningful manner. With regard to the latter he writes:

> It has struck me that in different styles of architecture, we may perhaps find an analogy with the different stages of popular feeling in England. The Norman, heavy dark and gloomy, corresponds well enough to the absence of liberty which characterizes the reigns of our kings till John. Then the early English has certainly a resemblance to the far more cheerful and free views introduced by Magna Charta, still tho' there is great beauty in the parts there is a want of amalgamation and unity in the whole, which however we find in the decorated, the most perfect style which answers to what was perhaps the happiest age of England - Edward the thirds. Gradually the Commons asserted their own rights and broke through the symmetry of the government:- and behold at the same time the perpendicular mullions cut the beautiful tracery, before unbroken, to pieces.

he adds

> I am disposed to think there is more than fancy in that. [13]

Neale and Webb both became members of a small High Church club - the Ecclesialogist[14] which met first in March 1839 and thereafter regularly once a week. Compared with Newman's weekly tea parties or Pusey's theological evenings where many of the Tracts were first given as papers, the Ecclesialogist was a modest affair, lacking the impetus provided by a leader or a specific cause. The titles of the papers given indicate its second-hand tractarian flavour they included: "Walter Laud on the Trinity", "Apostolic Fathers", "The Merit of Works", "The Necessity of Creeds", "The Similitudes of Hermas", "An epitome of Prideaux's Validity", "Newman's 'Suffregan Bishops'", "St Clement", "The History of the Prayer Book" and "Keble on Tradition".[15] The society was not sufficiently vigorous to survive the long vacation and it was formally dissolved before the end of the year.[16] By then all except one of its members had transferred their enthusiams to the Cambridge Camden Society which had already been instigated by Neale and Webb. Rules for the new society were prepared on the 7th of May, the first 'Church Scheme' form (see Appendix 1) on the 9th and rules of Church Practice (governing the conduct of church visiting) on the 15th of May. Archdeacon Thorp of Trinity College, tutor to Neale and Webb, agreed to become President of the Society the next day. [17]

The rules were fairly rapidly succeeded by more formal laws. The first law was the only one of substance, it stated:

> The object of the society shall be to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains.[18]

The rest were procedural. At first glance it appears that the Cambridge Camden Society was to be a cross between an antiquarian and a utilitarian society - both types being common in the earlier nineteenth century[19] though not in combination. There is however, much left unsaid, which today may need to be underlined but which was then too obvious to be mentioned. In this connection the fifth law is revealing:

> The Chancellor of the University, the High Steward, and such of their Lordships the Bishops, and of the Heads of Houses, as shall signify their pleasure to become Members of the Society, shall be admitted as Patrons without ballot.[20]

It was, of course, set up to be a Church society. Its members and patrons were, in effect, exclusively members of the Church of England and its patrons (if they held any of the offices described) could only have been ordained clergymen. In this, however, there was nothing different from other University clubs. The University was still then run and staffed solely by clerical members of the Church of England and all undergraduates had to subscribe to the 39 Articles before graduation. In fact the structure of societies was so well known that it required little effort to start up another one by promulgating its laws.

The same is not true of the Church Schemes.[21] How did a few undergraduates sit down and produce in a day a form for recording church architecture, which was to remain in use for the next fifty years? Some input came from the experience of its founding members. It can be noted from the descriptions quoted earlier that Neale tended to describe churches systematically: first a general arrangement of the interior and its parts, then a description of the chancel then of other internal parts, then the interior fittings, then the exterior of the building and then the monuments. Webb was less experienced but had read Rickman a month before, subsequently he had visited Cherry Hinton "and first critically examined the architecture."[22] The nomenclature Neale used was also Rickman's, but in any case by this date Rickman's terminology was widely accepted.

Rickman described English architecture by dividing it into four periods: Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular, Decorated was 'considered as the perfection of the mode'. The characteristic features of each period were detailed in the same repeating order: doorways, windows, arches, piers, buttresses, tablets, niches, screens, ornaments, steeples, battlements, roofs, fronts, porches, fonts and general appearance.[23] The whole could be said to describe the decorative elements of the style in each period. Corroborating historical evidence of dating appeared at the end of each major section. It was Rickman's contribution to the history of the development of an understanding of Gothic architecture to firmly establish

the features and forms which were typical of each of the successive styles. What had been up till then an obsessive interest in this matter faded once it was definitively described.

The Cambridge Camden Society accepted Rickman's stylistic analysis but did not see it as defining the salient characteristics of Gothic architecture. His categories were not the ones on which the Society drew to develop the Church Schemes. Nor were they drawn from the other most probable source, a popular writer of the time, Matthew Bloxam[24] who followed a similar scheme, and listed more or less the same decorative elements in his description of Gothic architecture although not quite in the same order as Rickman; his influence on the Cambridge Camden Society was no more decisive.

The next likely source for the Church Schemes was William Whewell, then Vice-Master of Trinity and who had been at one time Thorp's tutor. He was also a High Churchman and not unsympathetic to reform of the Church in this direction.[25] In 1830 he had published Architectural notes on German Churches with remarks on the origin of Gothic Architecture. In it he writes:

> Most persons who attend to ecclesiastical architecture are in the habit, more or less, of making a memoranda of noticeable churches which they see. It seems likely that this task might be executed more completely and expeditiously, by following a fixed plan in the selection and arrangement of the parts described. I should even conceive that when a person has to make notes upon several churches, it might be adventitious to prepare a regular skeleton form or tabular schedule, in which the blanks should be filled up according to the peculiarities in each

> instance; and the register thus formed of the members of our churches, would probably be more secure from omission and more easy of comparison, than accounts drawn up at random, at any rate this mode of proceeding, though it might be thought needlessly formal, would make the persons who agreed together to use it, more intelligible to one another.[26]

The advantages of a common language need not be laboured, Rickman who was a friend and a travelling companion of Whewell's had already demonstrated its value in relation to style. The consequent leap forward was described by Whewell.

> By comparing actual buildings with descriptions conveyed in precise and determinate phraseology, such as that of Mr Rickman, the architectural observer will become aware how completely words alone may avail to preserve and transmit distinct and adequate conceptions of an edifice. And when he has thus begun to feel the impact and value of a technical language a little practice and contrivance will enable him thus to register for himself, or for others, the principal features of any building which may attract his notice ... he may by recording their peculiarities contribute to throw light upon the history of architecture, for in this study, as in all others, any sound speculation must be founded on the accurate knowledge of an extensive collection of particular instances.[27]

We should note here that it is an inductive process that is advocated, based on what is seen to be the proper method of procedure in the physical sciences; it tends toward the postulation of rules derived from an extensive collection of factual data. Whewell offered detailed advice as to how such information should be collected, although as he said:

> I have not ventured to conduct a skeleton church [his equivalent terminology for the Cambridge Camden Society's Church Scheme]; but I have recommended what appears to me to be the best order to follow in disecting any proposed example.[28]

His instructions follow:

> In describing a church, mention first what is the GENERAL STYLE of the work ... for this both conveys a general notion of its appearance and modifies the interpretation of the terms afterwards used.
>
> Describe next the GROUND-PLAN, and then the VAULTING; for these being given, the number and position of almost all the members is determined, and the rest of the description will have a reference to a known arrangement of parts ...
>
> Describe next one COMPARTMENT of the inside, ... piers, ... capitals ... pier arches ... triforium ... clerestory ...
>
> In describing the EXTERIOR, the order of description does not appear to be of much consequence ... towers ... apses, apsidal gallery buttresses, flying buttresses, west front, porches, windows, tracery.[29]

As well as advocating a method of recording based "on words alone", Whewell also recommended the use of diagrams and sketches. He provided a neat graphical notation for describing vaulting (see below):

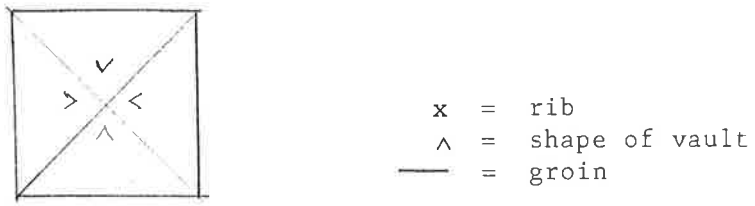


Figure 1: Whewell's notation for recording vaulting.

In addition, one needed to "Draw a single interior compartment in geometrical elevation or oblique view."[30] Then a plan of a pier and its capital and a profile of arches and mouldings should be made. Externally a general perspective view to give the grouping of the towers and their parts was required.

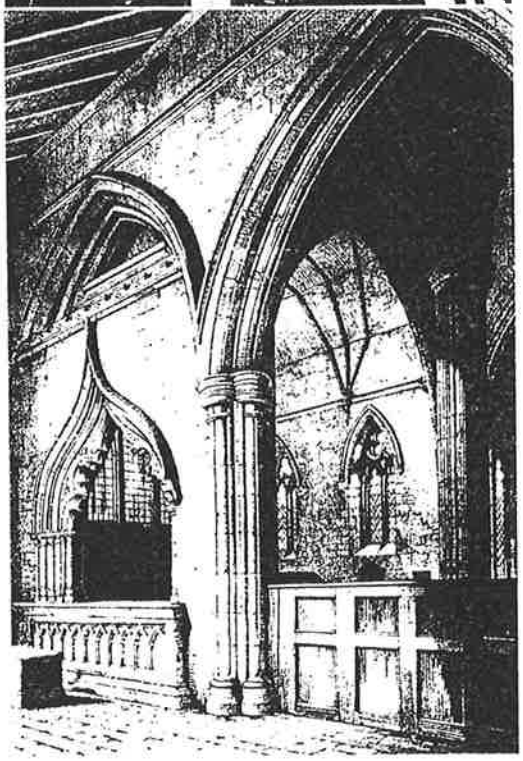
Whewell, then, is offering an architectural description which gives a decided emphasis to the building's structure. He approaches detail through a general consideration of the building as a whole. Architectural parts are described by name but their function is not stressed; it is those parts which contribute to the architectural effect of the whole which are described; the essence of Whewell's survey is architectural. His aim appears to be to describe, through detailed observation of features of church buildings, characteristic building systems of each period. To determine typicality regional variants need to be taken into account, and this is another contribution to classification made by Whewell; in his list of German churches they are grouped together by region as well as by period. One should also note, in passing, that Whewell calls Decorated Gothic "Complete Gothic" and appears to view it as the apogee of the style as a whole.

In Whewell's "skeleton church" one can see the conceptual precursor of the Church Schemes. Their potential use is described and the corporate advantages accruing from their use clearly recognized. It amounts to an ideal prospect for an architectural society; individual activity within a framework of collective purpose: by employing these means Whewell's success in classifying German churches might easily be duplicated on a more ambitious scale in England. What is unexplained is the contrast between Whewell's concept of the characteristics of a Gothic church as being a form composed of structural elements and the Society's view of it primarily as a place

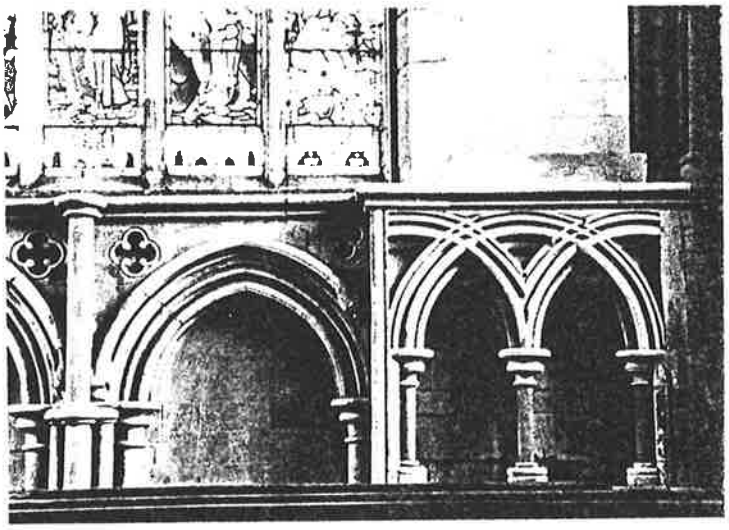
SOME FAVOURITE DETAILS OF THE CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY IN LOCAL CHURCHES



4. The arcades at Cherry Hinton.



5. The tomb at Trumpington.



6. Arcading in the north transept, Histon.

of worship in which each element expressed a particular function. The Society's list is a list of parts which contributed to and expressed the ritual once enacted in the church. Whewell's inductive process contributed in the field of architecture, the Cambridge Camden Society's Schemes and surveys were designed to contribute to 'Ecclesiology'.

Thorp in effect defined the term at the Society's first anniversary meeting in March 1840, as a discipline which required the Society as a matter of first importance "To examine ecclesiastical edifices, to distinguish their several parts by rules of art, [and] to illustrate the uses of those parts by an acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquities."[31] Further, Thorp noted that "Ecclesiastical architecture, indeed, is only just beginning to be treated as an Ecclesiastical thing."[32] Finally, he stated "An accurate acquaintance with the parts of a church is a necessary step to the restoration of it to its original purpose."[33] Here the drive of the Society towards the re-establishment of church ritual is openly and boldly acknowledged. Church visiting and the Church Schemes were a means to this end. Neale was fully aware of their potential, he wrote "I consider that idea [the printing of the Church Schemes] a very brilliant one."[34] And he was right, the power of the Cambridge Camden Society was founded on the knowledge derived from church visiting and from analysis of the Church Schemes which the Society was able to distribute in large numbers, get filled in and returned to it.

To ensure that the terms in the Church Schemes were understood, and that people were able to annotate them in a standard manner the Society prepared detailed instructions and directions in the form of a pamphlet A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities.[35] It was largely written by Neale and was designed to apply a "knowledge of Ecclesiastical Antiquities ... to the examination and description of real buildings"[36] and for use "as a directory to the learner, until he shall have made some advancement in the study, and familiarized his eye to those more minute details, which should be seen to be understood."[37]

The pamphlet included a brief stylistic history of Norman and Gothic architecture. Decorated Gothic for "its tasteful arrangements, symmetrical proportions, and chaste arrangement" was considered the "most perfect" style.[38] Post-Gothic buildings got short shrift. The practical advice included a list of suitable churches to visit and suitable books to read; including Bloxam (who was brother of Newman's friend and one-time curate at Littlemore), Rickman, Britton, Pugin, Whewell and Willis. The student was advised to pay particular attention to mouldings and told how to copy them accurately. Strict instructions were given for the notation that should be used to fill in the Schemes. That the Society wished for a copy of the Schemes and the purpose for which they were required was also made clear; the pamphlet stated:

> It is plain, that the only safe way to arrive at any general principles of Ecclesiology, is to observe and describe the minutest details, and the various

> arrangements, of unmutilated Churches: and from a large collection of such observations, if carefully recorded, much advantage may accrue to the science.[39]

The next section contained a detailed list of the items in the Church Schemes and explained what used to be the functions of each of them. The list begins with altar-stone, reredos, piscinae, sedilia aumbraye and Easter sepulchre. It ends with a mass of detail on brasses. Finally, the proper experience to be gained from visiting churches is described as entering "into the feeling of the great Church Architects of other days, now with God."[40] And as an aid to such an experience a "general plan of the symbolism of a church" followed:

> We enter the Church militant by Holy Baptism: therefore the font is placed by the entrance at the west end: a church built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, just as the earthly building is supported by the many piers of the nave: we pass along this, keeping our eyes fixed on the passion of Christ, depicted in the great Eastern window; and, trusting to the merits of his sacrifice, as represented by the altar, till we arrive at the close of our life, imaged by the chancel arch. Thus we pass through faith, some typical representation of which is usually, especially in Norman churches, to be traced in this arch: as the blessed saints and martyrs have gone before us, whose forms are depicted in the rood-screen: and thus enter the Church triumphant, represented by the Chancel.

The pamphlet ends with a reminder that a "Church is the house of God" and it is therefore appropriate for people to acknowledge it by "doing reverence and obeisance both at their coming in and going out", as stipulated by a Canon of the Church.[41]

It is not difficult to see why the Church Schemes were a resounding success, and why edition after edition

was printed in the early years of the Society. They gave the church visitor an activity to engage his interest in his surroundings and a purpose for that activity, once the purpose of the parts was understood a new form of appreciation was offered; past functions of the parts could be visualized. It is likely that churches were literally seen differently as a result of viewing them with the aid of a Church Scheme. Finally, the experience was deepened by linking it to the past by evoking the concerns of "the great Church Architects of other days." Thus the viewer was engaged in a process which encouraged him to use a better understanding of the church of the past to redefine his view of the Church of England (to which he inevitably belonged) by reassessing its role and forms of worship.

The Schemes were put into use as soon as they were produced. Scheme number one, the church at Teversham was surveyed by Neale, Webb and another committee member, Colson, on the 11th May 1839.[42] At first the Church Schemes were used only by Cambridge Camden Society members, then their use spread. The Oxford Architectural Society, for instance, ordered a thousand of them in 1841.[43] In the same year they were also sent out to a large number of clergymen. First in the President's archdeaconry (with, of course, the permission of his Bishop) and then in the archdeaconry of Chichester.[44] By May 1841, that is when the Society had been operating for two years, 431 Church Schemes had been received.[45] Of these the committee members contributed a large proportion. For instance, records of the Church Schemes filled in by Neale show he visited and

No. 104

Date. July 8th 1846

Name of Visitor. Wm. Webb
J. H. Neale.
M. Thomas.

Patron Saint, St. Andrew
Parish, Bebbington
County, Cheshire
Diocese, Chester
Archdeaconry, Chester

I. Ground Plan. C ω N.A. N. 2 As. Tower at W end.

1. Length } of Chancel. { .. } Nave { . } Aisles { }
2. Breadth }

3. Length } of Transepts. { }
4. Breadth }

II. Interior.

I. Chancel.

1. East Window. P. 5a. 5ft under tran. no fs attac.
2. Altar Screen.
3. Piscinæ. 1 sq. hd. orifice. bl. late.
4. Sedilia.
5. Easter Sepulchre.
6. Windows, { N. / S.
7. Chancel Arch. P. corbelled imposts. recess below corbel displayed 5ft in spandrils 1. 5f. 2. 3f. splits.

II. N. ~~Transept~~. A & C

1. Windows, { N. / E. / W. } S. P. 4a. 5f. in trans: 5f in hd. sub. sf. Sr. embatt: bottom embatt: under that P lancelets as in chr of C.
2. Transept Arches. 3. Tudor. deep soffit. Plain sides of soffit.

III. S. Transept.

1. Windows, { S. / E. / W. } 3 as N. / as N.
2. Transept Arch. as N.

7. An example of an early Church Scheme.

recorded 191 churches in 1840 and 260 churches in 1841.[46] His diary not infrequently records visiting and taking as many as eight or nine churches in a day.[47] In September 1841 Neale and Webb "had five glorious days ... and took forty two churches."[48] Others were also active, after the long vacation in 1841 another 300 churches were added to the list of those described.[49]

Successive editions of the Church Schemes followed the same general pattern of the first edition, but more and more items were added to the list (see Appendix 2 for an analysis). The first edition had 58 items, by June the current Scheme contained 84 items, by October the list had 113 items and a year later the seventh edition contained 260 items.[50] A Few Hints was also augmented in successive editions. Perhaps it was their daunting length, or perhaps it was the speed with which many churches were surveyed, but most of the surviving forms are filled in cursorily. Comments when offered are very brief "Font disgusting, potlike", "Font, none!", "Pews high and comfortable: regular. At W. side a double gallery!", "Remarkably ugly corbelled supports throughout", "Good groining", "Gurgoyles very bold", "Pretty object from the river", "Very offensive smell" and so on.[51]

Brass-rubbing was also a particularly popular pastime. In the same way that architecture and church furniture provided, by inference, information on church ritual and made past practices more real so brasses provided information on church vestments. The underlying

Ecclesiastical purpose was closely related in both activities. Neale went brass-rubbing with as much attack as he filled in Church Schemes. For instance, in October 1839 he went to "Fulbourne to take William" and also "took two small priests, a monk two ladies and some children."[52] Next day he mounted another brass on canvas and hung him up in his brass room, "To the delight of every beholder."[53] The following February he was taking a brass of two figures kneeling at a cross in the church at Hildersham, over which the altar rails ran. Having gained permission from the local clergyman he had the rails sawn through![54]

Brass-rubbing could also be romantic:

> There is something very striking in the appearance which taking a brass by candlelight presents. The flashing and quivering of the light on pier arch and roof, the misty exhalation which floats about, the dull fixed glaze of the brass of the effigy, as contrasted with the lively interest displayed by the spectators, and the heated and anxious looks of the performer, the shifting of light and shade as the lantern is shifted, add to which the melancholy howling of the wind around the casements and the thought -
>
> The vaulted arches are over the head
> And under the feet are the bones of the dead, -
>
> and the effect is not soon to be forgotten.[55]

The best of the Society's brasses were collected together and published in a series begun in 1840.[56] They display several skills, brass-rubbing, a familiarity with medieval Latin, historical research and in one case fraud. Neale composed a supposedly contemporary letter to go with one of the brasses for which no information was available - it was convincing enough to fool Pugin into thinking it original.[57]

The Society's other two early publications A Few Words to Churchwardens, in a country and a town version[58] were the natural outcome of feelings of indignation aroused in the church visitors by the pitiful state of many of the churches they saw. The main thrust of the works was to exhort those in charge to maintain their church in good order. Detailed advice was given as to how to do it. Damp was to be alleviated by clearing away earth, rubbish and tombs from around the church and by keeping the church well ventilated, stains should be washed off and whitewash removed. Inappropriate (that is, post-Gothic) features; galleries, pews and false ceilings should go. Advice was given on how to repair windows and floors, and how to achieve a more catholic arrangement of the church including the disposition of the font and the pulpit. Like the Church Schemes, both The Few Words to Churchwardens were immensely popular. The country edition was reprinted ten times in 1841 and the town edition, which followed it, twice. It has been estimated that probably there was a copy of one or the other in every parish in the country.[59]

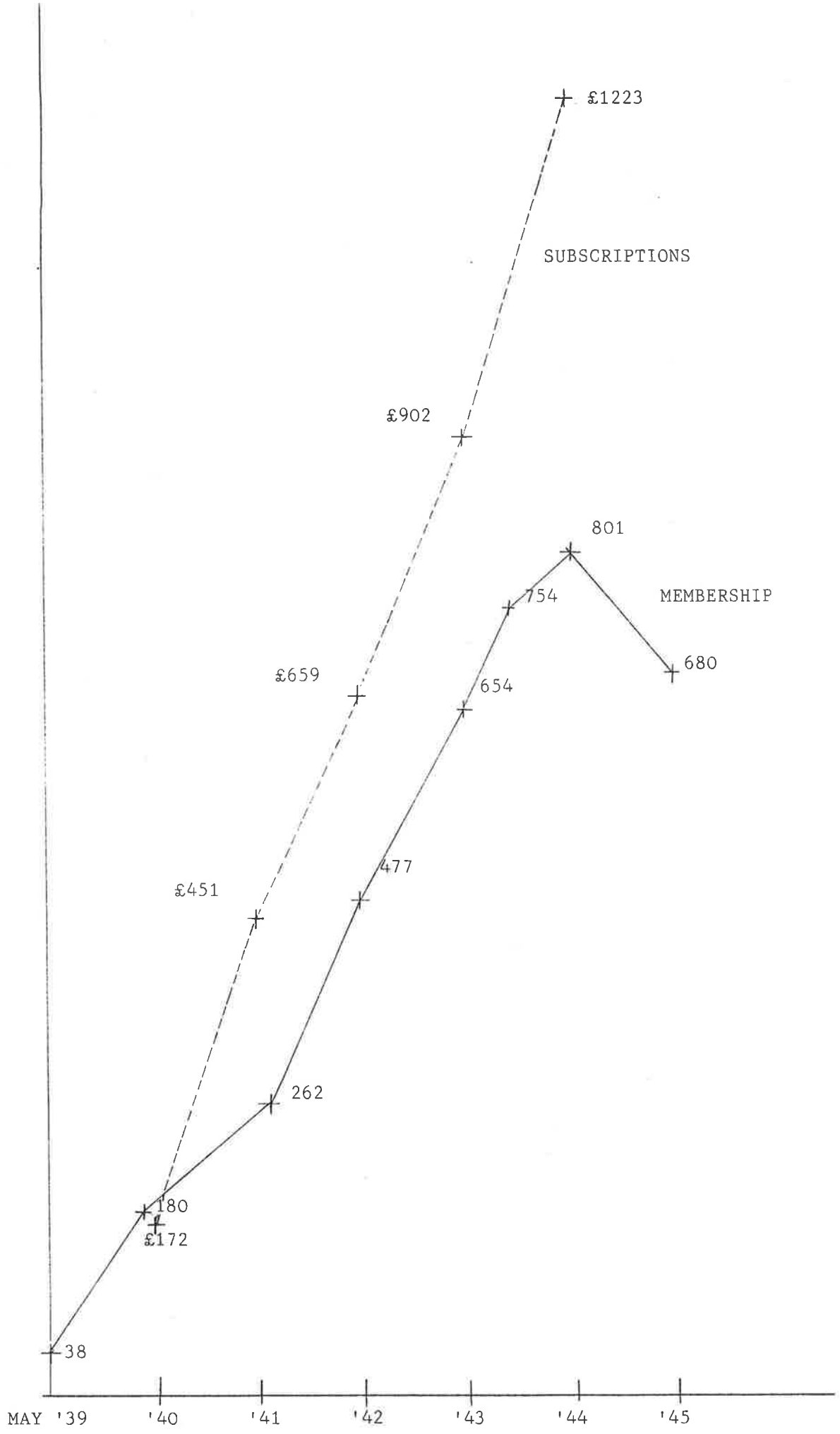
Direct action was also not uncommon. Fonts were a favourite target since many had fallen into disuse or were being abused. They were found, cleaned up and repositioned. Pews were bodily dismantled, whitewash was scraped from walls and odd bits of stained glass collected and re-assembled in windows.[60] Two special projects were carried out in Cambridge; with the support of Professor Willis, the Society successfully negotiated to remove the

external render from the Saxon Tower of St Benedict's Church and they paid for the work to be carried out.[61] Then, Professor Whewell and some members of the Society knocked the balls off Great St Mary's tower; a long-standing ambition of Whewell's.[62]

At this stage members of the Society could congratulate themselves on doing useful and practical work that was appreciated by a great many people, and which seemed likely to lead to an improvement in the state of churches everywhere. Its activity and popular success meant that the Society grew at a steady rate. By May 1841 it had a membership of about 260[63] many of whom were doing useful work. Particularly in vacations the undergraduates 'took' churches, rubbed brasses and made sketches. In term time church visiting could be a corporate activity and many excursions were made around Cambridge.[64] Meetings were held regularly and were also convivial occasions. They filled several functions at once: a member could be gratified by having a church he had surveyed acknowledged, his brass-rubbings or sketches might be displayed and he could give or listen to a lecture on some aspect of church architecture.

In addition, the average undergraduate member had the comfort of knowing he was attached to a successful organization and that he was welcome in the Society, although even at this time there was a growing number of members who were graduates. The President, however, was reassuring:

> In the other University it is a matter of complaint that so small a proportion of the junior members of



8. Cambridge Camden Society Membership.

> the body are enrolled in the sister Society. On the contrary to me and my brother labourers of like standing with myself it will be a ground of pride and rejoicing enough, and more than enough hereafter to have our names, in active combination with youthful [undergraduates] ... [65]

Nevertheless, most ordinary members had little say in how the Society was run. Its standing committee was a powerful one and it directed the Society's activities with a firm hand; some found this irksome, one or two resented it bitterly but most acquiesced. The committee at this stage had things much their own way and the Society could with some truth be described as an unqualified success. The Chairman of the Committees, J.M. Neale already had some basis for feeling that his early prophecy was on the way to being fulfilled. He had written in November 1839 "if I am not very much mistaken, that society [the Cambridge Camden Society] will tend to produce effects of which at present we have a very faint idea." [66]

Because the Cambridge Camden Society superseded the Ecclesialogical Society it must not be supposed that the Cambridge Camden Society matters wholly engrossed its members to the extent that they no longer took an active interest in more general High Church matters. In fact the Oxford Movement continued to be the dominant intellectual force behind all Cambridge Camden Society activities. Neale, for instance, writes:

> Melville preached a glorious sermon from the Gloria in Excelsis. It made tears come into my eyes to hear the grand doctrines of the Catholic and Apostolic Church so boldly and uncompromisingly: yet withal so gently stated ... it was delightful to hear him dilate on the glorious truth, that establish and exalt what sect you will not a whit the nearer

> w[ould] it be to being the Church, strip, rob, despoil, debase it as you will, not a whit the more sh[oul]d we be a sect. [67]

The publication of Tract 90 (which attempted to give a more Catholic reading to the 39 Articles) and the bitter controversy which ensued touched the Cambridge Camden Society as it touched everyone. Webb bought the Tract on the 13th March (it was published on the 27th of February) and read it "with approbation." [68] Goodwin who had been president of the Ecclesialogical Club and was a fairly active member of the Cambridge Camden Society declared against it - to the obvious disapproval of Webb.[69] J.S. Forbes, an early committee member, wrote to Neale "On the whole I liked the Tract very much and think that something of the sort was wanted for Catholics but as Webb says people would get hold of it who are 'not prepared' and some 'Reserve' was required". [70]

The battle began in Oxford but extended everywhere, it was fought on party lines; the Oxford Movement against the Low Church. Argument could be sly or shrill, academic or populist but it was almost invariably polemical. Charlotte-Elizabeth exhibited the depth of feeling caused by the dispute when she wrote of "that foul conspiracy against our Church, our Bible and our souls. Which has, by God's overruling providence, been unblushingly laid open in the recent publication" of Tract 90. She continued:

> The question we have to settle, is simply this: WHAT is the real character of the doctrines put forth by the party called Tractarians, or Puseyites; and WHAT their obvious tendency? To this I answer, their character is distinctly Popery: and their tendency, their direct, obvious design, is to lead us again

> into subjection to the Romish see: in other words, to turn us back from light to darkness, and from the Kingdom of God, to the power of Satan. [71]

What the Oxford Movement saw itself as standing for at this period was summed up by Pusey:

(1) High thoughts of the two Sacraments.
(2) High estimate of Episcopacy as God's ordinance.
(3) High estimate of the visible Church as the Body wherein we are made and continue to be members of Christ.
(4) Regard for ordinances, as directing our devotions and disciplining us, such as daily public prayers, fasts and feasts, etc.
(5) Regard for the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the house of God, which acts insensibly on the mind.
(6) Reverence for and deference to the ancient Church, of which our own Church is looked upon as the representative to us, and by whose views and doctrines we interpret our own Church when her meaning is questioned or doubtful; in a word, reference to the ancient Church, instead of the Reformers, as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our Church. [72]

Like the Oxford Movement the Cambridge Camden Society drive was toward the revival of High Church principles and their practice. The Oxford Movement began with a religious revival which it sought to impart to its followers and moved towards a consequential interest in ritual. The Cambridge Camden Society absorbed the Oxford Movement religious views and sought to put them into practice by reviving traditional church arrangement and expression.[73] Hence it saw itself as being more practical and having an aesthetic dimension that it believed the Oxford Movement lacked.

Gothic architecture was the last example of church architecture in England serving High Church ritual so it

was to Gothic arrangement and style it was felt appropriate to return. Further, it was held that the best traditional architecture produced would be the most likely to be effective in encouraging traditional ritual. Following Rickman, Whewell and Bloxam the Cambridge Camden Society regarded Decorated Gothic as superior to its other forms. The policy advocated was to restore old churches as faithfully as possible to the form and detail of the past and to build new churches in imitation of the old forms and style - Decorated being recommended.

These policies became apparent during the next few years. Not that they were openly admitted, the Cambridge Camden Society shunned making open religious statements and confined its remarks to the purely architectural whenever possible. However, by this time ritual was becoming synonymous with the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society involvement in this area inevitably connected the two movements together in the public's eyes. No doubt wishing to avoid the kind of treament meted out to Tract 90 the President's Second Anniversary speech was a good deal more wary than his first - emphasizing the antiquarian and aesthetic nature of the Society, and its undergraduate membership, only the merest hint of the essentially militant nature of its ecclesiastical commitment remains:

> A growing acquaintance with the facts and principles of Church Architecture, fostered among a large body of persons of ripening intelligence, by subjects brought frequently under their notice with oral descriptions, models and other sources of illustration, cannot fail to extend a correct taste,

> subordinate to those ecclesiastical principles which had been generally lost sight of in the recent improvement of this branch of art. [74]

But while the President (who was personally acquainted with some of those in the Oxford Movement) expressed caution the committee was confident and had a growing sense of its particular purpose, the Society was about to expand its scope.

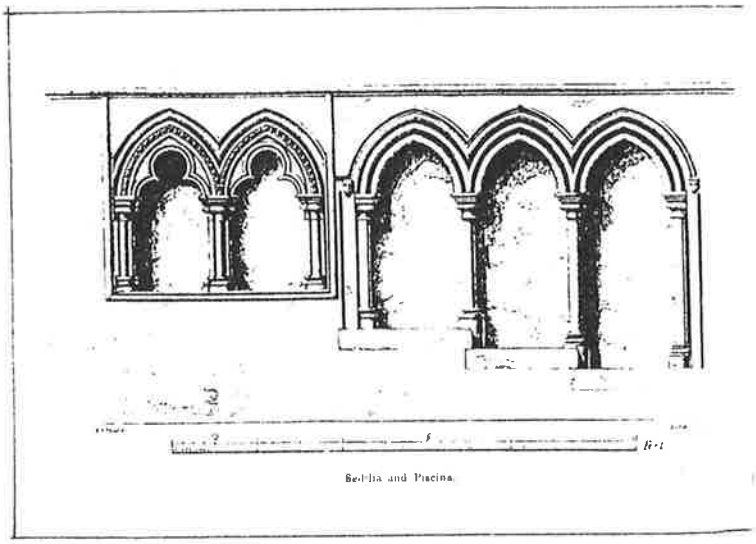
Up until then, the Society's main activities had been church visiting, gathering information about Gothic churches and exhorting those in charge to take better care of them. Its next pamphlet A Few Words to Church Builders[75] is of a different type and presages the approach the Cambridge Camden Society would in future take in its activities. The Cambridge Camden Society now emerges as an authority on the restoration of Gothic churches and on Gothic architecture as a pattern for new church building. The power the Society was able to wield rested on the superior knowledge base it had gained from church visiting and from its analysis of the annoted Church Schemes. The Society knew more about the medieval church architecture than all but a few experts like Willis (Rickman having died), and more than almost all practising architects, Pugin being a notable exception. The Society also knew more about medieval ritual and the attendant role of its furniture and fittings than nearly all clergymen.

A Few Words to Church Builders, then, is the first of the Society's polemical statements. The pamphlet stresses "the writer is not an architect; it is rather his inten-

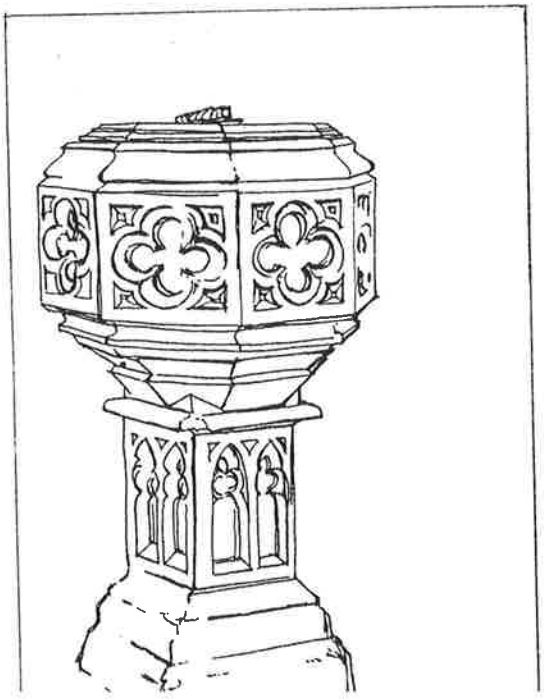
CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY MODELS
FOR CHURCH FURNISHINGS



9. The new mode of seating advocated by the Cambridge Camden Society.



10. Models for High Church ritual, e.g., sedilia and piscina at Cherry Hinton.



11. Octagonal font of kind favoured by Cambridge Camden Society at Harlton Church, 1845.

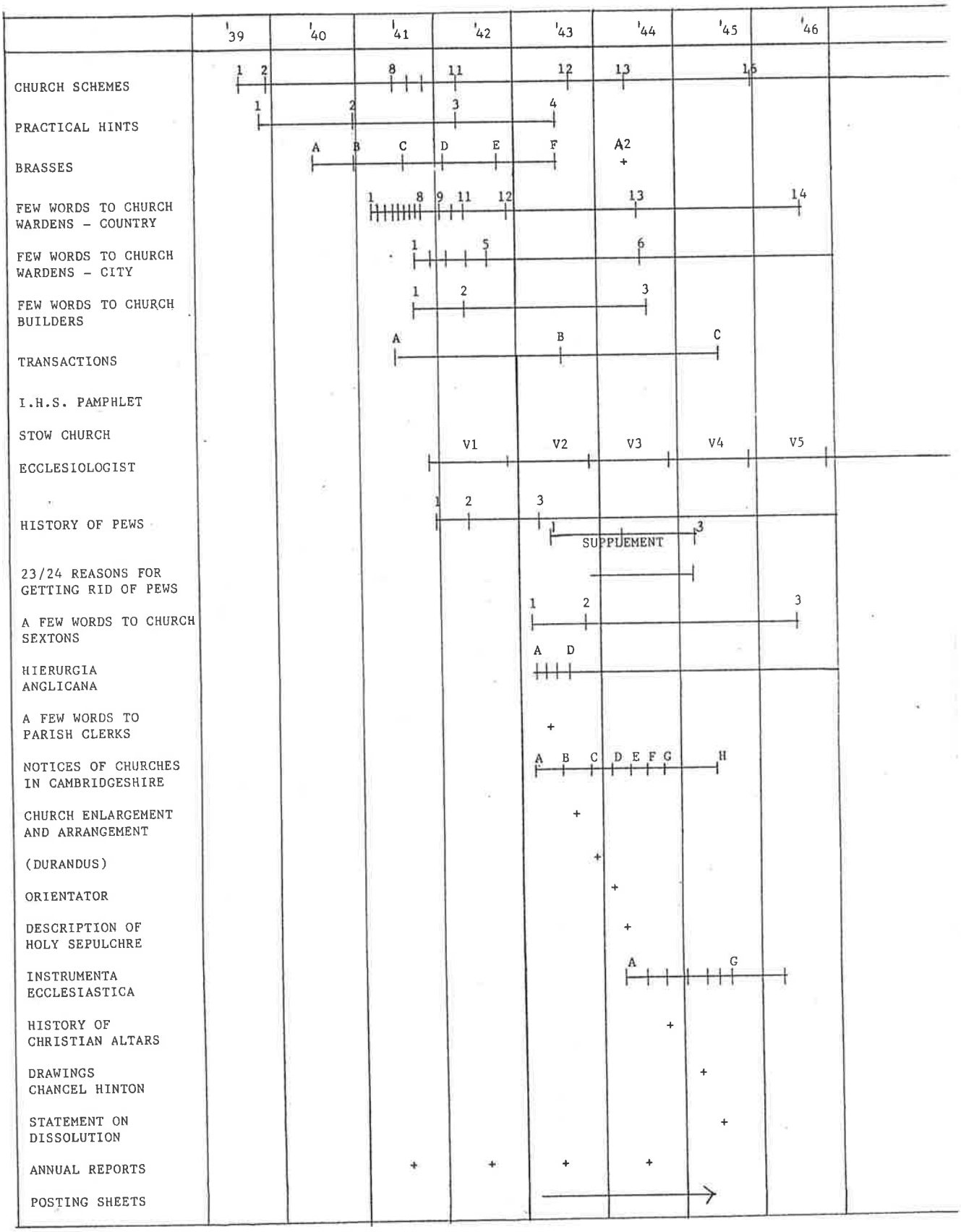
tion to dwell on the Catholick, than on the architectural principles."[76] The range of books recommended for reference included: Bloxam's Catechism, Paget's S Antholius, Poole's Lectures on Churches and Church Ornament, Pugin's True Principles, two articles on architecture in the British Critic and the Society's own two versions of On a Few Words to Churchwardens. All, apart from Pugin, were authors connected with the Oxford Movement. Advice is given on the general disposition of parts, and to a lesser extent on appropriate ornament and style. The pamphlet ends "If everything else is forgotten, and two points only remembered", they should be "THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF A DISTINCT AND SPACIOUS CHANCEL, and THE ABSOLUTE INADMISSABILITY OF PUES AND GALLERIES in any shape whatsoever."[77] A list of various parts of the church was appended presumably to act as models for architects to copy.

As yet the tone in which the Cambridge Camden Society expressed itself was relatively mild. However, the Bishop of London, who was a patron of the Society, disliked the pamphlet and the direction it had taken and consequently resigned. In response the second edition placed less emphasis on the word 'Catholick'; a term strongly associated with the Oxford Movement.[78] Not very long after the bishop resigned Whewell and Willis also withdrew in objection this time to an article which had appeared in November 1841 when the Society began to publish a periodical, The Ecclesiologist.

The article was a critique of a Cambridge church written by Paley which even Neale described as "injudicious to a degree";[79] it created a furore, to such an extent it was withdrawn and reissued in a rather milder, though far from mild, form. The Society was undeterred and continued its course, and soon the Ecclesiologist became a successful periodical, largely one suspects because of its controversial character. It sold well, was much read, and was commented on and quoted by other journals and papers, in short, it became influential.

Probably, not unrelatedly, the membership of the Society soared. By May 1842 it had 477 members and a year later 754[80] (see also Fig. 3). At the time at which The Ecclesiologist began to be published it retained a fair number of undergraduate members, but it also included a much higher number of those members who had been to the University but had now graduated, many of whom were on the way to becoming members of the clergy, there were a few architects and a solid group of interested clergymen[81] (see also Fig. 4). All members were kept in touch with the Society through The Ecclesiologist.

Increasingly, the magazine acted as a forum for architectural opinions to be expressed, for questions to be asked or reports given with a view to forcing action. The letters to the editor became a substantial section. Then The Ecclesiologist was used to report on the Society's meetings and other Society activities. It also reported, although to a lesser extent, the meetings and activities



12. Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society.

of the Oxford Society and several of the other architectural societies around the country. The Ecclesiologist not only became the focus for the Cambridge Camden Society but also for other like-minded societies, it thus reinforced the position of the Cambridge Camden Society by confirming its status as the premier architectural society in the country.

The widening membership of the Society in terms both of members and variety of occupation made it appropriate to redefine its aims. Again in its first number, The Ecclesiologist stated that the objects of the Society were:

> To render it subservient to the good of the Church to which the Society deems it no small privilege to be the humblest handmaid; to convey practical suggestions upon points of church architecture at present too much forgotten or neglected; to supply, from their already large and constantly increasing store of drawings, engravings, and surveys of English and foreign churches, examples and precedents upon doubtful points or disputed usages, and to assist by advice to clergy or church wardens in carrying to effect, with propriety and correct taste, proposed alterations and improvements. [82]

Much of The Ecclesiologist was devoted to articles which its producers (the committee of the Cambridge Camden Society) saw to be of importance and general interest. Webb, Neale and Paley were its major contributors.[83] The articles are generally of a practical nature designed to be useful to one or another set of readers. Thus undergraduates could have read "Suggestions for co-operating with the objects of the society", "The practical study of ancient monuments" or "A few words to sketchers." Graduates wishing to re-live their undergraduate days might read articles like "A Camdenian field day". Clergy-

men who had not previously been members of the Society might study "How to attain some knowledge of church architecture" or "A hint on modern church architecture." Those concerned with High Church practice could read articles "On the Arrangement of Cathedrals" or "Sedilia and Altar Chairs." Clergymen who were involved in building or altering churches, and their architects could read articles on Westerns triplets or open seats; the first more theoretical the second very practical even giving optimum dimensions of seating. Finally, architects might receive gratuitous advice on "simplicity of composition", or "Church restoration".[84]

Extended reviews were also offered, the most well-known perhaps being the slating of the Rev. J.L. Petit's book Remarks on Church Architecture.[85] It was over this review that The Ecclesiologist became locked in battle with the Christian Remembrancer, no doubt thus improving the circulation of both periodicals. In general reviews are predictable, approval and disapproval being given according to the work's conformity with or departure from known Cambridge Camden Society views. The same kind of treatment was given to reviews of new churches, to church repairs or restoration work and to churches requiring attention. Each review is treated as a salutary example displaying the aims and policies of the Society. An instance of each kind of work should indicate the method and its effect. First, a review of a new building which takes pains to display the proper internal arrangement for churches, it remarks also on proper architectural proportions:

We gave in our last number a brief account of the church which it is proposed to erect at BROOKFIELD, Kentish Town. Some alterations have since been made (partly, we believe, in consequence of our suggestions) in the plan: and the feeling displayed in the design is so thoroughly Catholick, that we return with great pleasure to the same topic.

The Chancel is now to be about twenty feet in length; and this, though in an ancient building it would still be small, is unspeakably better proportioned than nine-tenths of modern churches. There is a robing-room on the north side; thus occupying the correct position for a sacristy. The Altar is raised on two steps, and the Chancel on two flights of three each. Might we suggest that it would be more in accordance with ancient usage if the case were reversed?

The position of the pulpit, and the entrance to it by a winding staircase in the north pier of the Chancel arch, are excellent. The position which the kneeling-desk and lectern are to occupy is not marked. At the east end of the Nave are stalls for the choir; and this seems a perfectly unobjectionable arrangement, though they might, without any deviation from Church rules, have been placed on each side the Chancel.

The Aisles bear a much fairer proportion to the Nave than they did in the first plan; it would be better, however, were the seats placed next to the wall, not to the piers; and the passage thus made interior, and not exterior.

The position of the Font is at the south-west of the Nave, under the Belfry arch. We should rather have seen it on the south side of the western entrance. We recommend, for the reasons given ... [in] our 'Few Words to Churchbuilders,' that it should be octagonal, instead of hexagonal as marked in the plan.

The triple lancet at the west end has, for a small church, no authority. Two lancets would have been more appropriate; tall, narrow, and far apart. The western facade would be improved, had the Aisles been carried out even with it; and there is a superabundance of pedimented buttresses in the whole exterior. The pinnacle cross at the west end is excellent. Might not a single row of toothed moulding be introduced with good effect into the door?

The part on which we can bestow least praise (except for its position, which is admirable) is the Tower. In the lowest stage, the small lights might well be spared. The second stage wants height; and the arcading above the Belfry windows, and the style of the pinnacles have, we fear, no authority whatever. Were the windows on each side the Belfry copied from

> that of Cotterstock, engraved at p.34 of the Companion to the Glossary, the effect would, we think, be singularly beautiful. We could have wished that a Clerestory had been extended over the Aisles, even had it beem small, and consisting only of a row of quatrefoiled circles. [86]

The criticism in the next example relates to church repairs: a belief in the Puginesque philosophy of honesty in expression of materials underlies the bitterness of the criticism:

> The church of STAPLEGROVE near TAUNTON was repaired and beautified about four years ago. Its present state is briefly this: The Chancel, even to the jambs and arch of the east window, is covered with a pale salmon-coloured marble paper. The Font, which was originally octagonal, has been cut in half, and one part built into the wall at the south end of the Altar-rail. It is now called 'the christening box.' The part seen is painted in imitation of oak. The basin used in the administration of Holy Baptism - a marble antique ornamented on the exterior with pieces of red alabaster - finds a difficult passage through a conical hole cut in the wall. The Vestry is decked with a blueish-green paper of pseudo-gothick pattern, and comfortably furnished with the usual modern appurtenances. The piers of the Chancel-arch have been cut away to make room for pues. Over that appropriated to the Priest's use, the capital of the north pier still remains. [87]

In the last example the improper use and desecration of God's House is deplored, pews condemned, the condition of the font derided and the depletion of the Church's treasures bitterly resented.

> The fine Cross church of S. George, DUNSTER, Somerset, has been treated in the most wicked manner. The NAVE is screened off for weekly service. The Chancel has no pavement whatever: it is used only as a burial-ground for the family at the neighbouring castle. Within a few years lime used to be burned in the Transepts. But, as the garrulous person who keeps the keys of the church informs visitors with infinite satisfaction, a very great deal of good has been done lately: the flooring of the Nave has been raised, and the area filled throughout with uniform deal pues, the open oak seats, said to be finely carved, having been sent up

HINTS

ON THE

Well-Keeping & Ordering of Churches,

And their Repairs, Furniture, and Ornaments;

With a view to the security and comeliness of the Fabrick, the health and comfort of the Parishioners, and the more reverent worship of Almighty GOD.

(*Compiled from "A Few Words to Churchwardens," published by the Cambridge Camden Society.*)

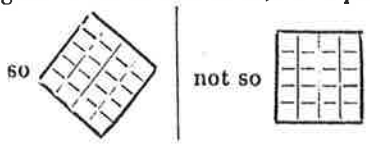
I. DAMP.—The earth to be cleared away round the building down to the blocking-course in the masonry: then a gutter of drain-tiles sunk, and carried off at a slope from the church-yard. Graves, if close to the wall, to be moved back. Doors and windows to be kept constantly open; the windows being wired and the doors latticed. Green stains to be scraped off; and the walls washed with a mixture of one ounce of corrosive sublimate (deadly poison) in a quart of water.

II. PEWS or PUES and GALLERIES.—To be entirely got rid of, if by any means possible: open oak seats to be employed instead; the seats not to be less than 2ft. 10in. apart, nor more than 2ft. 10in. in height; a kneeling-board (that is, a board on which to rest the arms when kneeling down), to be fixed at about 2 feet from the ground. The floor being matted, no hassocks or trusses to be used. A passage to be left down the middle, not less than 5 feet broad: and down the aisles, next to the pillars, not less than 3ft. 6in.

III. WHITEWASH never to be used on the outside; and never over stone or wood in the inside. To get rid of whitewash, scrape off as much as you can, and then brush it over hard with a mixture of one part of oil of vitriol (poison) to three of water. To remove paint, take a quarter of a pound of soda; boil it with a little soap in three pints of water, till it comes to a paste; lay it on what you want to clean, pretty thick; two days after lay it on again, without washing the old off; do this four times.

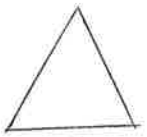
IV. LET every thing you use in repairing a church be seen to be what it really is. Never have anything to do with brick, or with any wood except oak or chesnut: but if you must have brick and deal, let every one see that they are brick and deal; do not plaister and paint them to imitate stone or oak. Stucco and artificial stone are intolerable.

V. THE WINDOWS, when repaired, to be copied exactly (if they are old) in the new ones: if modern insertions, it will be best to imitate one of the other old windows. STAINED GLASS to be most carefully preserved: if there are only a few fragments, they may be put together in the east window. If there is not enough to fill a window, leave a rim of plain glass round: never make a rim of stained glass round a white window. The glass to be in diamonds, not squares:



the panes very small. Green glass to be used, not ground glass, in a plain window.

VI. THE ROOF ought never to be cieled, but open inside to the very top, shewing all the rafters. In repairing a roof, the pitch should, if possible, be not less than this; that is, two-thirds of a right angle. The best covering, next to lead, is grey slate.



VII. THE PAVEMENT. Painted tiles are the best: but if you cannot get these, and there be any good paving stone in the neighbourhood, use that; if not, then you may pave with small square pantiles, black and red. If there are some old painted tiles, lay them down at the Altar or round the Font.

VIII. THE FONT to have plug, drain, and cover; to be ~~kept~~ filled with water, and to stand towards the west-end and near a door.

IX. THE BELFRY ARCH to be thrown open, if blocked up.

X. IF there be a modern screen behind the Altar, it is better to remove it.

XI. No persons, where it can possibly be avoided, to sit in the Chancel, except at the Holy Communion.

XII. THE PULPIT to stand at the south-east or north-east corner of the Nave: and the reading-pue to face east as well as west.

XIII. ALL old screens, seats, brasses, and monuments, to be carefully preserved: birds not to be allowed in the Tower.

XIV. THE CHURCHYARD to be kept in good order: needless paths stopped: as few head-stones as possible put up: young trees planted, especially yews: sheep and cattle kept out: no hen-coops nor washing-buts allowed: and the whole enclosed with a wall or wood fence, but not an iron railing.

XV. LET everything done for the church betoken that it is given to HIM who gave you all you have: and let no one talk of *necessary* and *unnecessary* repairs. All the comeliness we can give to GOD'S House is *necessary*, if we would have His blessing.

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METCALFE AND PALMER, PRINTERS, CAMBRIDGE.

> to the castle: a new Nave arch has been introduced, apparently for the purpose of being blocked up. A painting, said to be good, which stood in the former arch, was sent up to the castle. Lime is no longer burned in the Lantern, and the Font, before painted, has been covered with a fine sort of rough-cast, and now looks something like sandstone; except on the side next the wall, where the red and white colouring still remains. There are still in this church two particularly rich Roodscreens, and it would appear from the one which forms a division in the Nave, that for a very long time this part only has been used for publick service.[88]

The Ecclesiologist made definite statements of its policies in its articles; in relation to the design of new buildings it wrote:

> We would suggest that instead of new designs, or "original conceptions" as they are very properly called, formed by the adaptation of a buttress from this church to a window or parapet from their real ancient designs of acknowledged symmetry of proportions and beauty of detail be selected for exact imitation in all their parts, arrangements, and decorations.
>
> Any architect who would set the example of building new churches after the exact models of good ancient ones, would, we think, have the glory of commencing a new and happy era in the history of modern church-building ... Since church architecture in the present day is strictly imitative, why may we not copy whole and perfect edifices as well as detached and unconnected parts? ... We should thus replace by new and perfect buildings the worn-out and mutilated edifices of our pious ancestors; and England might once again become the country, if not of glorious Cathedrals, at least of refined and chastened Christian art. Nor let it be thought that servile imitation implies a poverty of invention reproachful to our times. It is no sign of weakness to be content to copy acknowledged perfection; it is rather a sign of presumption to expect to rival it in any other way.[89]

And in relation to restoration work:

> It is obvious that in the case of any church which was built at different periods, or has been, subsequently to its original erection, enlarged or altered gradually in the successive styles of architecture, two principles offer themselves as guides to such as may wish to effect a restoration.

> We must, either from existing evidences or from supposition, recover the original scheme of the edifice as conceived by the first builder, or as begun by him and developed by his immediate successors; or, on the other hand, must retain the additions or alterations of subsequent ages, repairing them when needing it, or even carrying out perhaps more fully the idea which dictated them. Now, though no one might wish to adopt either of these opposite theories exclusively, yet with certain modifications it will be found that every church-restorer follows one or the other as his rule. For our own part we decidedly choose the former; always however remembering that it is of great importance to take into account the age and purity of the later work, the occasion for its addition, its adaptation to its uses, and its intrinsic advantages or convenience. To illustrate this by our own church of the Holy Sepulchre. There were some who at first regretted the removal of the superadded belfry stage, with its large windows and embattled parapet; probably because they perceived that the familiar appearance of the building would be destroyed by the change. But even if it had not been absolutely necessary for the safety of the fabric to remove this story, yet, when an opportunity for a general restoration was offered, who can doubt that it was right to recover the original appearance of the church, and to restore to it its own peculiar and interesting character, when this might be done at the sacrifice of no feature of architectural or even picturesque interest? Every one surely will agree that it would have been in the worst taste to keep the disproportionate Tudor work (which had nothing good but the gurgoyles), instead of regaining the beautiful contour which the church with its conical roof now presents.[90]

The advice to copy whole churches was designed to circumvent the necessity for detailed design advice. However, while being less explicit in this area The Ecclesiologist appears to have relied on three concepts: Unity, Variety - "the very soul of Ecclesiastical beauty", and an honest expression of materials.

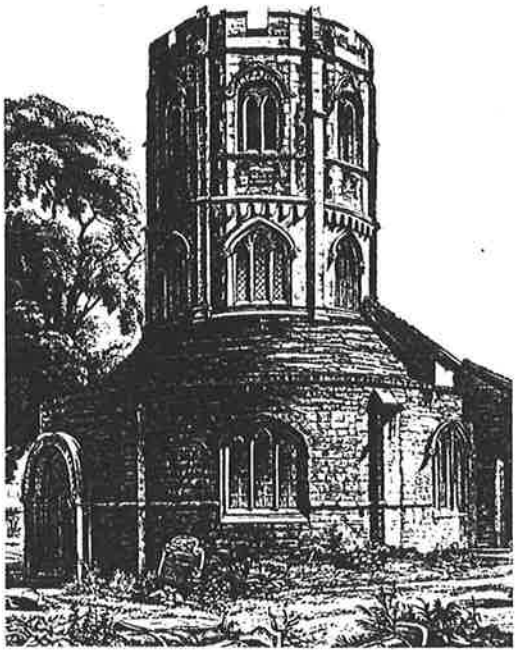
In short, the contents of The Ecclesiologist were well judged, being both pertinent to the interests of the members and to many others, and in offering useful advice. The tone was one that stimulated some to anger but more

generally confirmed the importance of the cause for which the Cambridge Camden Society fought - the restoration of Gothic architecture and medieval church arrangement. Another project of this period, the restoration of the round church of S. Sepulchres, was equally successful, in the sense that it was a popular project which received financial support from a wide range of sources. The extent of public approval can be gauged from the fact that when completed it was graced by the presence of the Queen and Prince Albert and inspected by Wordsworth.[91] It also appeared on the cover of the University Almanac.[92] As we have seen the Society regarded it as a pattern for the way in which restoration work should be carried out; it presented an example for others to follow.

The project came into the Society's hands when part of the vaulting of the round western section of the church collapsed, the incumbent had not been in residence for many years and the vestry had no means of repairing it. The offer of the Cambridge Camden Society to take charge of the restoration and to pay the greater part of its costs seems to have been gratefully accepted. An organizing committee headed by the President of the Society, Archdeacon Thorp, appointed Anthony Salvin architect for the project - an unexceptional choice.

Work began on the round section, the Perpendicular upper work was removed as were the Perpendicular windows to the aisle. The vaults were rebuilt, the upper structure strengthened, and the superimposed structure and two new

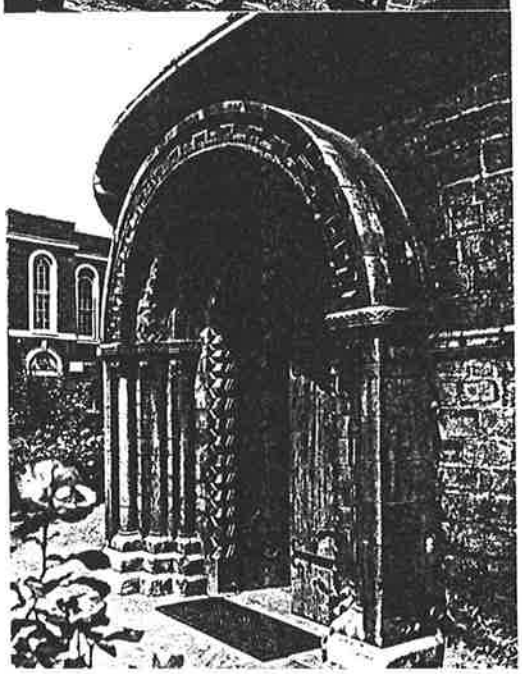
HOLY SEPULCHRE CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE, A CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY PROJECT



14. The church as it appeared in 1814.



15. The church as 'restored' by the Cambridge Camden Society 1842, architect Anthony Salvin.



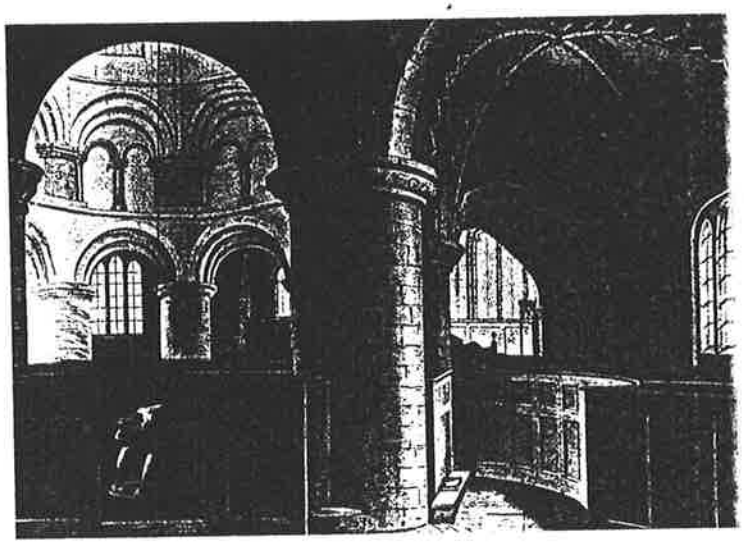
16. Norman west door.

windows built in Norman work to form a stylistic whole. The Society then embarked on the restoration of the eastern portion of the church. Again, the same policy of seeking stylistic unity was applied, this time all the new work was to be Perpendicular to match that existing. Neither, of course, was the favoured style of the Society but in this case the desire to achieve a unified effect overcame stylistic preference.

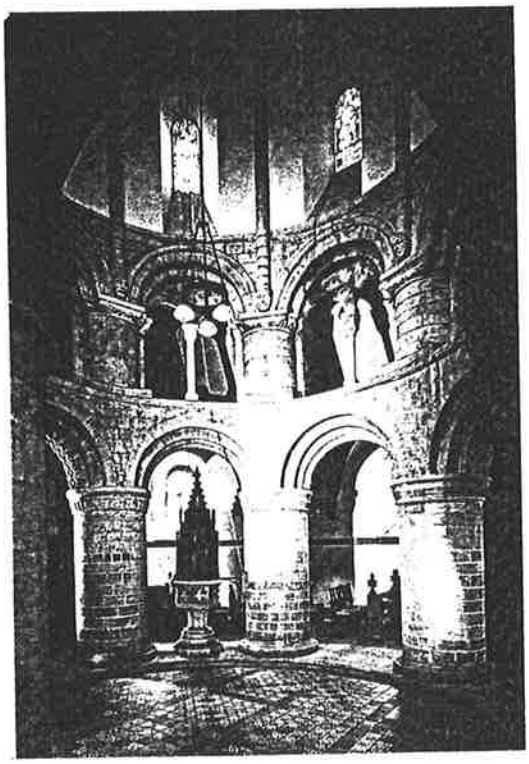
The whole task proved to be very much larger than the one on which the Society had originally embarked. In spite of donations from the Chancellor of the University and from the Queen as well as from the Society itself the whole project proved to be a financial burden. At the end of the work the Society was short of £1,600. Nevertheless, the opening must have gratified the Society, even the incumbent appeared for the ceremony. In a glow of optimism the Society planned a second restoration, that of S. Mary the Less, also in Cambridge.[93]

The third and perhaps most widely acknowledged activity of the Society at this time was its crusade against box pews in churches. It was not a cause which had been initiated by them, for already several of those associated with the Oxford Movement had taken it up.[94] Indeed, the Rev. Mozleys' father had been the first Churchwarden to have his redistribution of seating generally confirmed by an Episcopal Commission. Its judgement, sanctioned by the Bishop on the ninth of May, 1831 made it clear that pews could not be bought and sold and were not attached as of

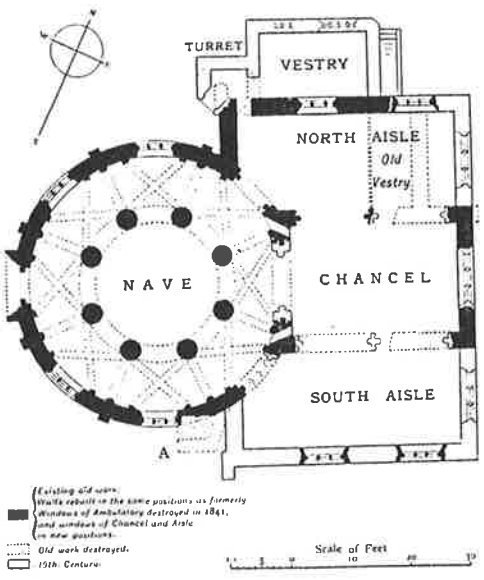
HOLY SEPULCHRE CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE,
A CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY
PROJECT



17. Interior of the church in 1814 before 'restoration'.



18. The interior of the church after 'restoration'.



19. Plan showing original and nineteenth-century work.

by right to properties. Finally, it was stated that:

> ... the Commissioners earnestly hope, that although some of the inhabitants of St. Werburgh may have incurred a present loss by the new appropriation, and their ancient prepossessions may have been somewhat assailed, they will nevertheless, ere long, rejoice that their friends and neighbours are now possessing suitable accommodation in their parish Church, and will feel that those nicer shades of distinction which must ever characterise the worldly stations of mankind should not be too closely scrutinised in the House of God.[95]

They were over-sanguine, the battle continued for many years. The Cambridge Camden Society through The Ecclesiologist kept up a barrage of criticism against churches filled with pews, churches inserting pews and against particularly blatant examples of the abuse of the pew system.[96] Galleries were condemned in the same manner.

Pews were condemned on many grounds. The High Church clergy tended to see them as secular intrusions into the House of God. The pew system presented unnecessarily difference of fortune, the rich had large pews, the poor were squeezed out into whatever space was unallocated. This system had several disadvantages; the poor left the Church of England for the more accommodating chapels of the dissenting churches, those who remained could not see the service and hence could not be open to its effects. The situation was exacerbated in industrial towns where there was a shortage of church accommodation, open seating took up less room than pews and hence was desirable for this reason alone. Then again open seating was more suitable for the kind of worship advocated by the High Church. Properly designed it enabled the congregation to kneel and to turn to the east at appropriate times.

All these points were neatly encapsulated in a Cambridge Camden Society pamphlet, 23 Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews or Pues.[97] In addition, the Society made two other useful contributions to the debate. The non-traditional nature of pews was demonstrated in The History of Pues[98] which sprang from a paper Neale had read at a Society meeting in November 1841. The pamphlet begins in typical style "For what is the HISTORY OF PUES, but a history of the intrusion of human pride, and selfishness, and indolence, into the worship of GOD?"[99] The history had appended to it The Statisticks of Pues: a report presented by a sub-committee of the Society appointed to consider the comparative accommodation and expense of pews and open seats. Together they were reprinted twice, the 23 or later 24 Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pues reportedly sold 9,000 copies.[100] The whole campaign was a very successful one and much of the credit for open seats becoming the standard rested with the Society.[101]

It now remains to describe the minor activities of the Cambridge Camden Society during the same period; that is from about May 1841 to toward the end of the year in 1843. Membership activities such as church visiting and attending regular meetings were continued by the undergraduate group, but one can note that over the period there was a diminished enthusiasm for church visiting.[102] It was no longer as necessary an activity from the Society's point of view; once sufficient knowledge had been accumulated by the Society for it to advise authoritatively on church architecture there was little point in accumulating

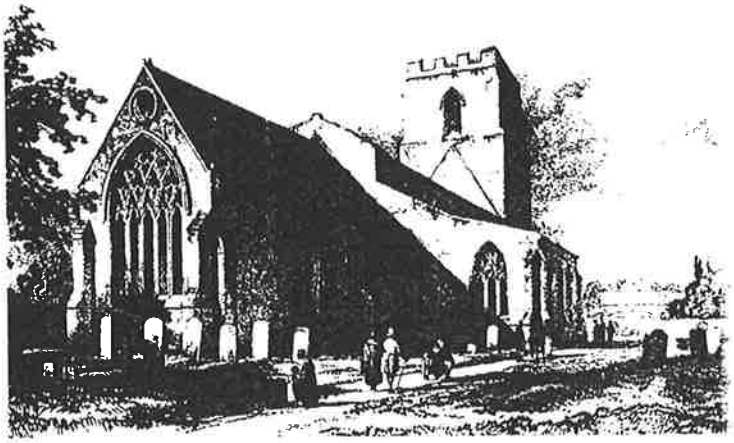
further data. Hence the motivation for filling in Church Schemes was undermined; the activity ceased to have a corporate purpose and became only a matter of keeping a personal record. Similarly, the edge must have been knocked off the enjoyment of field days since their early exploratory function had now ceased - indeed, they may well have ceased altogether, there is no record of them continuing.

Another of the Society's publications Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely[103] must have made it very obvious to new and inexperienced members that they could not contribute to the Society's store of knowledge for the book contains full and finished accounts of the best Gothic churches around Cambridge[104] and the text is amply illustrated. The polemical intrusions into the book tend to add spice and interest rather than detracting from it. The Society's remarks were at any rate effective. What is surprising on visiting the churches is to see how many of those features that were commented on unfavourably have now been remedied.[105]

Meetings continued on a regular basis and seem to have been lively enough, not least for the controversies that arose from the Society's publications and activities. Presumably, in response to some push from the undergraduate group, at the annual meeting in 1843 the President:

> ... proceeded to show the obligation any Committee must feel itself under to reflect the sentiments, not of the resident members only, a fluctuating and to a great extent partially informed body, but of

AFFECT OF CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY CRITICISM



20. Trumpington Church before restoration.



21. Trumpington Church after restoration of roof to original steep pitch.



22. Harlston Church after recent removal of rendering.

> those who had been resident or who joined the Society on the faith of its management continuing in harmony with its original objects and principles.[106]

But whether all the mature members had faith in the managing Committee and whether the Society was pursuing its original charter were moot points. Again the President tackled the issue:

> One would suppose indeed judging by the tone of popular discourse that the Society as at present constituted was an institution formed originally for, or since perverted so as to become, an instrument for the diffusion of questionable opinion ... such a representation of our Society and its operations is founded wholly in mistake.[107]

But his opinion did not prevent an amendment being put in the meeting:

> That in adopting the Report of the Committee the Society cannot but express their regret, that the introduction of extravagant and untenable theories into several of the publications of the Society should have deprived the Society of the countenance and support of some of the most distinguished Prelates of our Church, and also that the critical department of those publications should have been marked by a light and irreverent tone unworthy of the character of the Society, and highly unbecoming the objects for promotion of which the Society was constituted.[108]

On this occasion the opposition was withdrawn "amidst the cheers of the meeting."[109]

From all this it can be seen that by this stage there was less definite work for members of the Society to carry out. Although as a large proportion of members were now deacons, curates or incumbents they were in a position to take direct action with regard to the church to which they were attached. Rebuilding, refurnishing and re-arrangement or building anew could be their concern and their

pleasure. The Ecclesiologist reinforced these activities and by offering inspiration, information and advice to those engaged in them reinforced their corporate nature. It was thus that the Society remained the focus of church restoration and church building.

Much information was also sought directly from the Society, indeed the President had gone so far as to say that "the labours of the Committee consisted" not in its publications but "in matters not equally open to publick observation, such as answering applications for advice" and "suggesting or promoting improvements in church building."[110] The work was onerous to the extent that the Committee considered that,

> Increased experience in this department of their office tends to point to the want of some publickly authenticated body, qualified and empowered to give sanction to new designs before their execution, with a view to the attainment of some uniformity and correctness in ecclesiastical architecture. [111]

Though had such a body been instituted the Cambridge Camden Society would have lost its raison d'être. At this stage it provided a service, the requirement for which was partly created by its own polemic in The Ecclesiologist, but for which many seem to have felt a genuine need. While the Cambridge Camden Society called the tune as to the nature of church architecture it was also in the best position to offer advice on it.

Evidence that the Society was powerful in this manner comes from the growing number of gifts received by them.[112] Publications in the areas of the Society's interests,

illustrations of churches and their various parts still including a number of brass rubbings, working-drawings of churches, details of measured work and scale full sized models made up the bulk of them. Many were donated by architects, some drawings could in turn be lent to enquirers for them to copy.

The Society's minor publications also seem to have been written in response to the most usual kinds of queries. Thus in 1843 the Society published A Few Words to Parish Clerks,[113] A Few Words to Church Sextons[114] and Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement.[115] All three of which extended the scope of their earlier publications. Of the three Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement excited the most comment and proved to be the most contentious.[116] It is the publication in which the Society was most explicit about its advocacy of High Church rituals and the necessary arrangements that were required for their performance.

The Society also exerted a considerable influence on church building through the Incorporated Society for Promoting the Enlargement; Building and Repairing of Churches and Chapels. This was a body that distributed church finance for church building. The Society addressed a submission to it and, in response, the Incorporated Society amended the instructions for churches to be built under its aegis, in part they stated:

> No style seems more generally suitable for an English Church than the Gothic of our own country, ... The Society earnestly recommends that, in the proportions and great features as well as in the

> details, good ancient examples should be closely followed ...
>
> For Gothic Churches, the best form is either the cross, consisting of a nave, transepts and chancel, or the double rectangle, comprised of a nave with or without side aisles, and of a chancel ...
>
> Flat ceilings are inconsistent with Gothic architecture. Next to a stone vaulted roof none has so good an effect internally as an open roof, exhibiting the timbers. It is desirable that this should be of a high pitch, ...
>
> In Gothic Churches, where stained glass is not used, the glass should be in small panes, those of diamond shape being generally preferable.
>
> The usual place of the Tower, in a Church without transepts, is at the west end; ... If funds are scanty, it is better to leave this part of the church to a future period, ...
>
> The Lord's Table, - should be raised two or more steps above the floor of the chancel, which itself should be raised a step or two above the floor of the nave.
>
> Font. - To be fixed at the west end of the building, or as near as convenient to the principle entrance, ... both reading-pew and pulpit should be placed as to intercept the view of the east end as little as possible from the body of the Church, ...
>
> Much accommodation is gained by the adoption, instead of pews, of open seats with backs. [Detailed instructions follow to allow room to kneel.] The Society will not sanction any plan involving the erection of a gallery, unless in cases where it is distinctly shown that no room is unnecessarily sacrificed by inconvenient arrangements on the floor.[117]

The rest of the instructions were of a technical, architectural nature. Allowing for a more moderate use of language it can be seen that the Incorporated Society's requirements for buildings were now much like the Cambridge Camden Society's. In practical terms the Cambridge Camden Society's tenets had gained a high degree of acceptance in several quarters. Their 'code' for church arrangement had become understood and was being applied. The extent to which the code was that of the Cambridge Camden Society alone and the extent to which it relied on others will be

discussed in detail later, but it seems appropriate to note here that what the Cambridge Camden Society advocated had much in common with Pugin's published work, and it was during this period that Pugin was most closely connected with the Society.

During 1842 and most of 1843 Pugin periodically visited Cambridge, corresponded with the Cambridge Camden Society fairly frequently, met Webb pretty often when he was in London and occasionally went on an architectural excursion with him.[118] The contact dropped off after Neale and Webb criticized Pugin in their preface to a translation of William Durandus Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.[119] Perhaps because Pugin was offended by it[120] or perhaps the Cambridge Camden Society withdrew realizing that in the face of growing public criticism their alliance with a prominent Roman Catholic was a tactical error. The sort of criticism that made the Cambridge Camden Society wary did not only stem from the ultra-Protestant wing of the Church of England, even its sometime allies could be damaging if another matter of principle was at stake. Hence the Christian Remembrancer with whom The Ecclesiologist was running a dispute about style could carry an article stating:

> It is well known that the Ecclesiologist is the literary organ of the Camden Society, and that the writers of that journal are avowed disciples of Mr Pugin. Accordingly they lay down with him the first principle, that the Gothic styles are the only Christian ones.[121]

In the face of this sort of animosity the Society had to pursue its route toward establishing Catholick ritual

more cautiously than Pugin. The line between Roman Catholicism and the Church of England Catholick Church could appear to be a thin one. Sometimes the Society chose, as the Tractarians had done before them, to approach their aim obliquely. Its publication of a set of documents by Church of England divines showing evidence for the continuation of Catholic ritual after the Reformation - Hierurgia Anglicanum[122] was of this type.

The translation of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum can also be seen to spring from the same motives and be directed towards the same end; although from this point of view the choice of source was a less telling one since Durandus was not English, was a Roman Catholic, and lived before Gothic had reached its supposed peak of perfection. Although the translation was carried out by several members of the Society, the book was not issued by it and, since it is not directly a part of Cambridge Camden Society activities, it will be examined in detail separately in a later section.

Between the time that Newman retired to a quasi-monastic house at Littlemore following the controversy over Tract 90 and the time he became a member of the Roman Catholic Church nearly four-and-a-half years elapsed. It was a time of great unease for those of the High Church and a period during which the anti-High Church forces gathered strength, particularly in the University of Oxford. When Keble relinquished the Chair of Poetry Isaac Williams, an Oxford Movement man who was supported by

Pusey for the post failed to achieve sufficient support and withdrew. It was an indication of the waning power of the High Church movement in Oxford.

In 1843 Newman retracted all his former anti-Catholic statements. Again, tension heightened to the extent that Pusey, who had become head of the Oxford Movement when Newman retired, was suspended from preaching at the University for two years; the Vice-Chancellor having found a sermon of his suspect. Needless to say, sales of the sermon soared to reach 30,000 soon after its publication.[123] Then, towards the end of the year, Newman resigned from St Mary's in Oxford and preached his last sermon in the church at Littlemore. It was then assumed by everyone that it was only a matter of time before he entered the Roman Church. The question was; how many would follow him? People feared a mass exodus that would weaken the Church of England, consequently, public feeling was such that it became increasingly difficult for those within the Church of England to openly display a High Church point of view without being accused of Popery.

In these two years, 1844 and 1845, events relating to the Cambridge Camden Society were governed by this external situation. The Society was seen increasingly as being part of the same movement and therefore came under increasing attack. The rate of acquisition of new members sharply decreased between May 1843 and May 1844 and numbers actually fell during the following year from a peak of about 800 to about 680[124] (and see also Fig. 3).

Although the Society never had a large proportion of architects as members, a few more joined during this period,[125] reflecting the Society's greater involvement with new buildings and their furnishings.

A trickle of Church Schemes was still received by the Society indicating that church visiting continued, if only as a private activity. It is probably indicative of the diminished interest in this activity that Harvey Goodwin's Orientator[126] was apparently not much used and received luke-warm support from the Society's Committee.[127] It was a neat compass-like gadget designed to measure the extent to which the axis of the chancel deviated from the axis of the nave. Also, to ascertain if that deviation was consistent with the orientation of the sunrise on the church's Saint's Day when it was consecrated.[128] Neither did a tool devised by Willis for recording the exact shape of mouldings - a cymograph, ever achieve much popularity. It could be argued that both might have been more popular if they had been developed earlier.[129]

The Society's Committee continued to be very busy with practical matters; answering enquiries for advice or aid necessitated the appointment of a third secretary.[130] Enquiries were also coming from the colonies, they presented a tricky problem to the Society since it was not at all clear in spite of what Pugin maintained[131] that Gothic was the proper style to use and if it would produce buildings suitable for the climate or for the building technologies of the various colonies. It was a much

discussed question, but in the end the Committee inclined towards the use of Gothic. Consequently, they sought suitable models, informing the Society:

> It is the desire of the Committee to carry out the wishes expressed to them by the Lord Bishop of New Zealand, that the designs for parish churches and a cathedral to be furnished for that colony should be copied or adopted from ancient models. They have already collected the names of numerous churches, which either whole or in part would seem proper for this purpose. It is requested that members will forward to the Secretaries any information or drawings which would assist the Committee in making their choice of existing churches to be copied and reproduced, whether exactly or with certain adaptations.[132]

The Society then embarked on the publication of a series of details (all Gothic) thought suitable for use in the colonies - Instrumenta Ecclesiastica.[133] The drawings were prepared by Butterfield. In addition, R.G. Carpenter prepared a series of plans of complete churches which were sent out to the Bishops of Tasmania and to New South Wales.[134] As well as issuing details of church parts and furnishings in Instrumenta Ecclesiastica the Society offered its services in this field in a practical manner. So that it could be reported that:

> Very many churches have been provided with communion plate and ornaments of the correct form and workmanship.

and

> The Society's Wood-carver in this town has manufactured, under their direction, many pieces of church furniture of various kinds; besides several oak lecterns, copied from ancient examples.[135]

The Ecclesiologist, too, continued to offer much the same sort of service as it had before but with rather a

different emphasis. Reflecting the Society's practical projects, there was perhaps a greater proportion of articles on church fittings - "Altars and Altar screens" and "organs" [136] were articles of this type. Of more interest, since it represents an undercurrent evident both within the Society and outside it, was the greater emphasis placed on Gothic as form rather than Gothic as symbol. Some evidence of this trend can be found in earlier issues of The Ecclesiologist but it is also apparent that it gained in strength in the last years of the Society. It began as we have seen with the Cambridge Camden Society placing value on unity and variety in design, and being unable to advise on how unity might be achieved other than by architects copying whole churches. The Christian Remembrancer was unimpressed by this policy and wrote:

> We see no reason to think that the designers and builders of our country churches would have been otherwise than much astonished, had it been foretold to them that a time should come when their works were to be quoted as an authority ... as precedents, as perfect in their kind, as cathedrals and minsters ... [137]

The Ecclesiologist replied:

> ... the country church is often, as a whole, a more perfect work of art than the cathedral. And for this reason: wonderfully as the various stages of Christian art harmonize with each other, there is no denying the fact that a church built consistently in one of them, is, as a work of art, superior to a church composed of more than one. [138]

Stylistic unity is defended here on aesthetic grounds as being desirable for its own sake. Other articles explored the aesthetic properties of Gothic architecture, old and

new. In new architecture:

> Nothing, ... is left to itself; nothing is plain, unpretending, simple, irregular, accidental. Every detail is overdone; we must have nothing but triplets, and arcades, and wheel-windows, and trefoiled ornaments; and we must always improve our towers and east and west elevations by pinnacles and flying buttresses. Thus much is affected, but nothing attained; parts are strained and exaggerated, but general effect is rather injured than improved. For what constitutes effect as applied to ecclesiastical architecture? Appropriateness, solidity, grandeur, honesty, chasteness, boldness; not unnecessary and meretricious ornament, but the position of a feature just where it is wanted and as it is wanted, without disguise, without hesitation. It is not the insertion of a north window merely because there is a south one exactly opposite; not the making one side exactly of the same size and shape as the other; not having buttresses, windows, and doors of precisely the same height and breadth and design in every part of the fabrick. Such were certainly not the principles which guided our forefathers in the erection of their churches, and we must endeavour to enter fully into their principles of composition and distribution before we can hope to produce the same effect merely by the use of the same kind of details; a truth which has indeed often been urged, but still has not met with due attention. [139]

Here we see the writer urging architects to understand the system with which they are working in order to achieve an aesthetic success. The fact is that the Society had become trapped by finding two of its policies which if not unworkable, were, at least, producing undesirable effects. The Cambridge Camden Society plainly did not like the look of many churches built as an amalgam of borrowed detail.[140] Hence they advocated copying wholesale, but here they became locked in conflict with the architects. First as the Cambridge Camden Society moved from giving advice on ecclesiastical matters, to giving advice on detailed aspects of church fabric, to giving advice on how to design the fabric, architects became increasingly irritated with what they saw as a growing intrusion into their

area of expertise. But the Cambridge Camden Society's alternative policy of achieving a new church by the reproduction of an old one was anathema to them since it dispensed with their services entirely. Paley had foreseen the difficulty and had forewarned Neale against preparing complete sets of plans:

> I say, WAIT AWHILE. I feel confident that a publication of the kind will bring all the "architects" (ie the Mister Compos) of the day in fierce array against the society where it should emanate, as they will consider it an encroachment upon their prerogatives, an infringement, as it were, of the cheap church monopoly, ... [141]

He was absolutely right, in fact it was the Oxford Society which first produced a folio of a complete decorated church and provoked the response:

> It appears to us very like an attempt to publish a sort of "Every Man his own Architectural Physician", a commonplace form whereby churches may be prescribed, and compounded, and forced down patients' throats without the aid of an architect. [142]

Opposition of this kind did not deter the Cambridge Camden Society from preparing their own complete church sets of drawings, for as can be seen from Paley's letter and from critiques in The Ecclesiologist the Cambridge Camden Society had a low opinion of the skills and taste of all but a few architects.[143] Neale wrote:

> Most hateful characters, to me, are liberal architects and antiquarians - men, who of all people, have cause to venerate the wisdom of past ages, and yet talk of the bigotry and superstition of our ancestors, of the dark ages, of modern wisdom, and of our immeasurable superiority to every/ one who went before. [144]

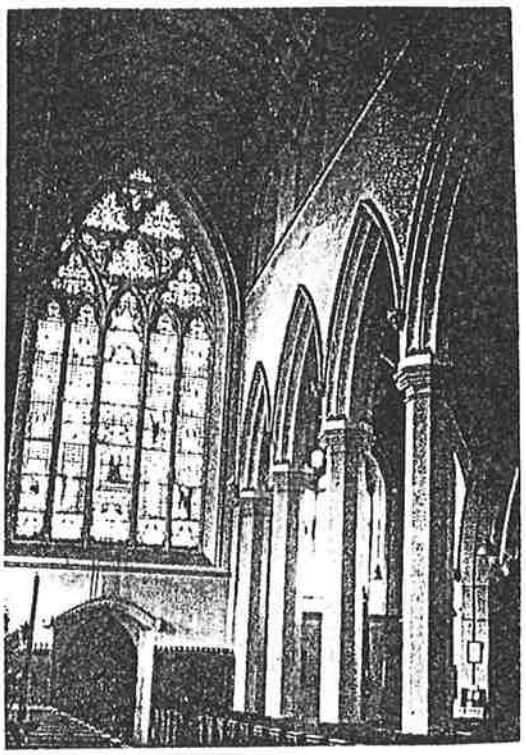
In this way architects became another group working in opposition to the Cambridge Camden Society, especially

those, and there seem to have been many, who were Protestant rather than High Church. Butterfield and Carpenter were notable exceptions, both playing an active role in the Society. The very numerous reviews of churches[145] some of which were still distinctly astringent could only have exacerbated the situation.

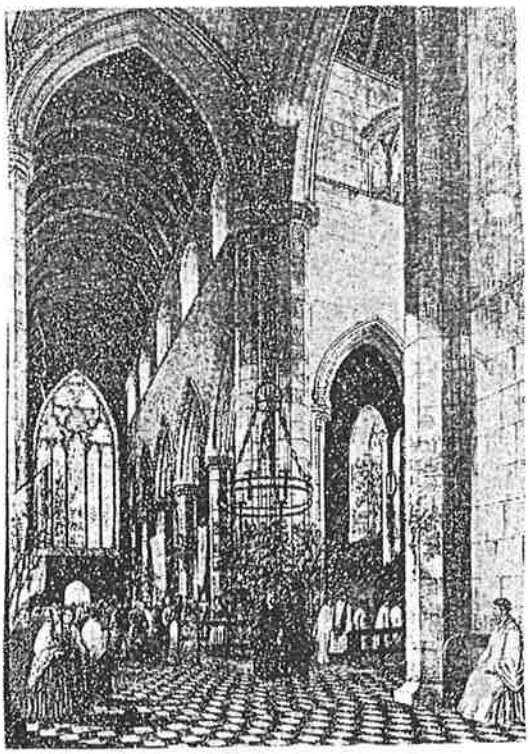
In the meantime Webb was engaged on a project which he must have hoped would be as much an example to others (including architects) of a new church which had been properly furnished as S. Sepulchres had been used as an example of restoration work. The church of S. Saviors was being built in Leeds designed by an architect Derick and funded by Pusey, who had contacted Webb in January 1884 when the work was already well advanced. Although it was being funded anonymously and little publicity could be gained directly from the project, Webb took infinite pains with it.[146] No doubt partly because he valued direct contact with a leader of the Oxford Movement but even more it was an opportunity to demonstrate to the Oxford Movement what the Cambridge Camden Society had to offer. Under Webb's influence Pugin was selected to design the windows for the church and Butterfield the plate. Webb also had discussions with Derick on general design matters.[147]

The result was surprising in view of Pusey's expressed opinions about the trappings of ritual.[148] While the outside of the church was minimally finished, internally it was equipped with all possible features denoting it was a Catholick church, indeed one needs to look twice at illustrations of it to perceive it is not Roman. To some

ST SAVIOR'S CHURCH, LEEDS, BUILT
BY PUSEY WITH ADVICE FROM WEBB



23. Pugin's west window glass.



24. The crossing.

extent the church must be regarded as a vindication of the Cambridge Camden Society's approach to church reform - first more provision for proper worship and the rest will follow, for S. Savior's later became well known as a centre for High Church ritual, but whether this led in turn to greater piety in the population of Leeds must remain an open question.[149]

During the period Pugin was working with Webb on the windows, and again seeing him frequently, he prepared a design for a seal for the Society, it proved to be particularly controversial. A fashionable Evangelical preacher, the Reverend Francis Close, attacked both the seal and the Orientator in the second of two sermons he gave on church architecture. His first sermon had contained some telling criticism of the philosophies of the Cambridge Camden Society but it did not catch public attention.[150] The second one, preached on the fifth of November 1844 and then published, created a sensation.

Of the Orientator Close wrote:

> Now all this might ... at other times be considered as an antiquarian pastime of a harmless description. But when viewed as part of a system ... and connected with extravagant notions of the holiness of chancels, the sacredness of a particular point in the compass ... and dedicated images of saints ... it can only be regarded as a link in the chain of superstition which is forged for the neck of the Anglican Church. [151]

The Sigillum was also condemned, Close thundered:

> ... the most offensive part of this device is not only the evident prominence given to "Our Lady" ... but the unscriptual juxtaposition and intermixture of apochryphal and mythological saints and legends

> with the holy Evangelists! ... The device is worthy of its Roman Catholic author - Mr Pugin. [152]

Popish, superstitious, idolatrous and un-Evangelical it could hardly have been worse!

It is not easy to extract the argument of the paper from the rhetoric which surrounds it but it appears to present one or both of two syllogisms:

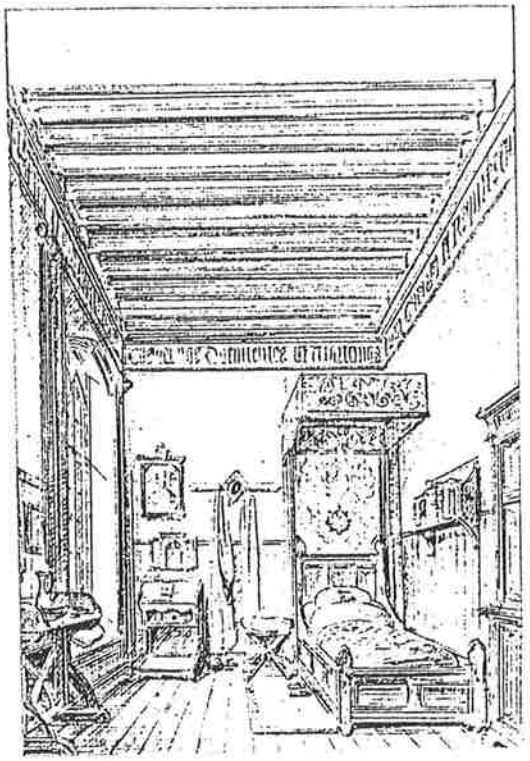
First : that idolatory is the hallmark of Romanism,
that Gothic churches are idolatrous,
therefore Gothic churches are essentially Roman in character.

And/or : that Romanism breeds idolatory,
that Gothic churches are Roman,
therefore Gothic churches breed idolatory.

It mattered little at the time, opprobrium being attached to both conclusions, and in either case Popery appeared to be the inevitable outcome. Close put the case "that as Romanism is taught Analytically at Oxford, it is taught Artistically at Cambridge"[153] or, as his title said The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery.

The sermon and the pamphlet war which followed it[154] appear to have focussed widespread attention on the Cambridge Camden Society making its policies, in the public mind, synonymous with those of the Oxford Movement. It was probably this attack and the controversy which followed it which induced a number of patrons to resign from the Society including several bishops and the Vice-Chancellor of the University. It also caused the Committee to take fright and in an attempt to deflect the criticism from the Society itself The Ecclesiologist was separated

A.N.W. PUGIN



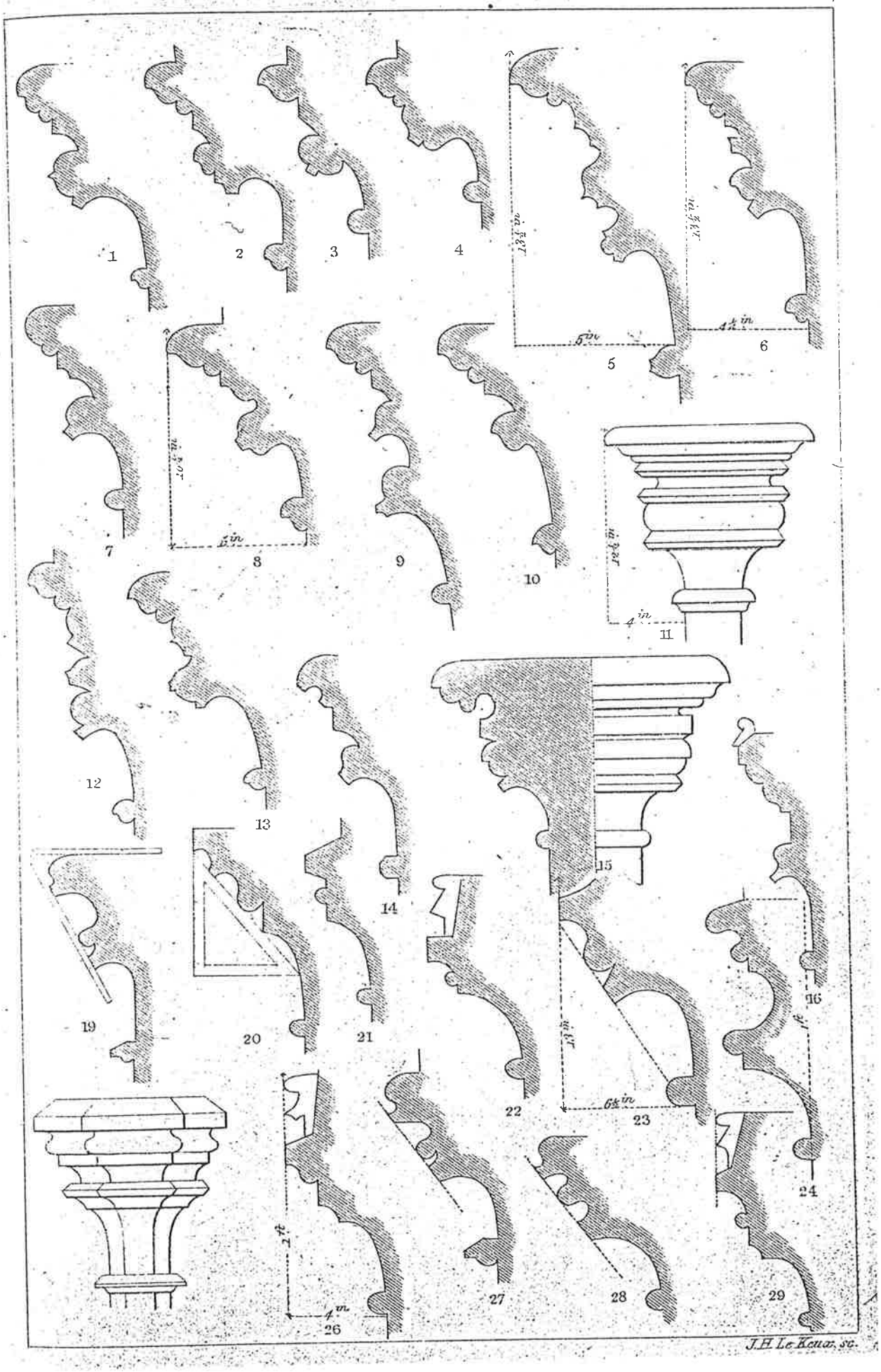
25. Scheme for student bedroom at Balliol College at Oxford, 1843.



26. Sigillum designed for Cambridge Camden Society, 1844.



27. Frontispiece to 'The True Principles of Pointed Architecture' (self portrait) 1841.



28. Illustration from Paley's Mouldings.

from the Society. It was still to be run by the same people, but it could no longer be said to reflect the Society's views.

During all this time the Cambridge Camden Society had also been troubled by litigation arising from the Society's restoration of St Sepulchres. A few weeks after the opening the incumbent began proceedings to have the altar and the credence table removed from the church. The altar was made of a stone slab set on timber supports placed against the east wall of the chancel, the vestry, presumably egged on by members of the Cambridge Camden Society, refused to remove it. The incumbent lost his first ecclesiastic appeal, then backed by several well-known Protestant clergy including Close he appealed to the Court of Arches and won. As usual the judicial process took some time and it was not until the 31st of January 1845 that the judgement was handed down,[155] the altar in effect was deemed to be unsuitable for use in an Anglican church. Webb wrote, "there was never heard anything so Protestant and one sided"[156] and in this he was probably right, for by this time what might be termed the Protestant backlash had become extreme. The accumulated pressure became too great for the Committee to withstand. At the first opportunity, at the Society's next ordinary meeting they recommended that it be dissolved. It was on the same day that Newman's protégé W.G. Ward was stripped of his degrees at Oxford, and Newman narrowly avoided being censured by the Convocation.[157]

Dissolution of the Society turned out to be a difficult exercise. The University would not allow it to be executed simply; a poll of all members was required. The Committee continued to recommend dissolution of the Society but in the event the members voted narrowly for its continuation, the issue then became who should control it? At the Fifth Anniversary Meeting in May 1845 the matter was hotly debated, but the existing Committee including Webb, Paley and Stokes retained office, supported largely by undergraduates who were perhaps voting not so much for the Committee as against the University hierarchy which was seen to be attacking it. Subsequently, many of the Society's more senior University members resigned.[158]

The Committee was shattered. Thorp was forced to prepare a long explanation for his bishop on his role as chairman of the vestry committee responsible for work on St Sepulchres. The rest of the Committee were engaged on preparing a new set of rules for the Society. All the other of the Society's plans for action lapsed. The restoration work planned or hoped for at St Mary's did not eventuate. The book planned by Neale and Webb to follow and expand on their preface to Durandus' Rationale Divinorum Officiorum "Theoria Symbolica" though accepted by a publisher was never written. The Society held no more meetings in Cambridge. Only The Ecclesiologist continued though on a discernably subdued note.

Sadly, the hysteria split the Committee and the writers of The Ecclesiologist. Neale remained firmly committed to the Church of England. Webb teetered on the brink of apostasy for many months but kept himself going by visiting 721 churches in an extended summer vacation.[159] Stokes was virtually drummed out of the University as the author of a Kalender of Saints, to which, incidentally he was not the only contributor, several members of the Society had worked on it but it was he who answered the charges of Popery. It was also alleged that it was Stokes who donated the stone altar for St Sepulchres.[160] He became a Roman Catholic soon after Newman at the end of the year. Paley too 'turned'. He consequently lost his Fellowship and was forced to retire from Cambridge. He subsequently acted as tutor in several Catholic families, wrote architectural books and translated classical works. Poor Stokes his testimonials being refused by the University became an inspector of schools.

Pugin, too, became a casualty of the situation, both of the recent projects which he carried out for the Society came to a sticky end. The seal had been rejected by the Society under pressure and the windows he designed for Pusey's church did not emerge unscathed. The consecration of St Savior's closely followed Newman's defection. The Bishop was extraordinarily touchy and demanded among other alterations the removal of the Lord's face from the glass in the west window. It was duly removed.[161] The final blow came in January 1846. The Ecclesiologist carried what Professor Stanton calls a "truly damaging critique" of

Pugin's churches,[162] she consequently held the Society "responsible for the misery of Pugin's last years."[163] It is doubtful if the allegation can be sustained, others also criticized Pugin strongly. The article was written by A. Beresford Hope, the new Chairman of the Society, it began:

> A few years ago, when the revival of Christian art was still more novel than it is at present, when those engaged in it had more of the freshness, the indiscriminate confiding admiration of children, more of the joyous enthusiasm of a new pursuit, a proud position was that which, in their eyes, Mr Pugin filled; and justly too were they grateful to him, for they were much indebted to him; and it would be gross ingratitude in us to deny or to detract from the obligation. They saw an artist full of talent, full of energy, devoting that talent and those energies to the cause of the true, the beautiful, the pure, the religious in art; by pen, by pencil, and by enduring structures:- they saw a genius, quick, versatile, aspiring, now planning the lofty cathedral, with its heaven-pointing spires, now embroidering the vestment and binding the book; but with the same zeal, the same earnestness, the same intellect, the same unworldly desire of glorifying the LORD'S HOUSE. They looked on him as one that was training himself to carry Christian architecture to regions yet unknown, and heights of perfection as yet undreamed of. Such was the bright ideal that a few months ago our young Ecclesiologists had pictured to themselves of Mr. Pugin and his future career. Does he still maintain this unquestioned leadership? Has he advanced with equal or more accelerated pace than those who were once his followers? Are his present achievements as far superior to his of a few years back, as those of other men are to theirs? Does he hold out bright hopes of greater and greater approaches to perfection? To all these questions we must in all truthfulness, we are sorry to say, answer, No. [164]

If the article is not a kind one, its tone is hardly surprising considering the circumstances under which it was written. Nor is it surprising that contact between Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society ceased. Both must be attributed to the extraordinarily difficult situation in which the Society found itself rather than to personal

animosity. The nervousness which Newman's defection engendered made contact with Roman Catholics almost impossible. Take, for instance, Neale's advice to Webb about Stokes when the issue in question was being prepared, Neale wrote:

> I do not see how if Stokes leaves us, either he could work with us or we with him. Not he with us, because he must feel that our views are the only thing which can prevent the R.C. Church from obtaining England; and he could hardly wish to help its (in that sense) worst enemies; nor we with him: because I really think that we must separate from those who leave us. It is almost an insult to our Church to co-operate with those who, having been brought up within her, anathematize her.[165]

Because of his prominence Pugin was a far more dangerous ally, he became as far as the Cambridge Camden Society was concerned a casualty of the hounds baying 'Anti-Popery'.

In the following May the Cambridge Camden Society was transformed into the Ecclesiological Society. The Ecclesiologist became attached to it and continued in publication for many years, Webb remained associated with it until its last issue in December 1868 and only commented as it finished "Ehieu!"[166] The reinstatement of the Society was marked by Neale and Webb being invested with Ad eudundem degrees at Oxford, where they were fêted by the Cambridge Camden Society's old rival The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture.

Before leaving this section it seems appropriate to summarize the character of the Cambridge Camden Society in each of its three phases which have been described. At first it was engaged in surveying churches, collecting information about them and endeavouring to get others in

charge of them to put them into better order, as well as cleaning up some of them themselves. Their publications reflect these activities. Although only lightly touched on in their pamphlets it is evident that the Society's policies for action were also being developed during this period. At this stage members were active in the Society's activities.

The next phase is characterized by the spectacular growth of the Society and by its vigorous activity on several fronts. The number of publications it had in print soared and the direction of them had changed; they were now about church restoration, church building and church arrangement. The Society carried out its several successful projects. Its restoration of St Sepulchres, its crusade against pews and the publication of The Ecclesiologist. The Society had established itself as an authority on church architecture and gave much advice on it, often directly as a result of the numerous enquiries that came to it. During the latter part of the period the Society was closely connected with Pugin. Most members of the Society were now from outside Cambridge and many were also engaged in church restoration or building. They were kept in touch with the Society through The Ecclesiologist. During its last phase the Society steadily moved towards incorporating symbolic meaning into an aesthetic or architectural code. This policy led them into conflict with architects who felt they were poaching on their ground. Opposition to the Society also came from those opposing the Oxford Movement with which the Cambridge

Camden Society was becoming firmly identified and with which it was actually coming into closer association. This growing pressure caused the collapse of the Society. Members at this stage were involved in the polemical battles about the meaning of the Society's activities and the direction the Society should take. Later they could look back with some satisfaction at what the Society had achieved by promoting Gothic architecture.

In the last stage of the Society's existence experience for a member must have been stimulating rather than pleasant. On the one hand, no doubt, there was camaraderie developed under the pressure of adverse circumstances and satisaction derived from the involvement in important much argued affairs but, on the other hand, the fight was a bitter one in which it must have taken courage to participate and in which some were badly hurt. In the longer term members had the satisfaction of looking back on what the Society had fought for and recognizing that subsequently, in their lifetimes, churches became what the Cambridge Camden Society had wanted them to be; the Society's view of the merits of Gothic architecture and Catholic arrangement were substantiated.

PARTICIPANTS



29. J.M. Neale and his family in later life.



30. Newman at Oxford.



31. The Bishop of London who withdrew from the Cambridge Camden Society after publication of the first issue of the Ecclesiologist.

3. The theoretical basis of the Cambridge Camden Society's operations

An analysis of the theory presented in the Introduction by J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb to their Translation of William Durandus Rationale Divinorum Officiorum and a consideration of the general intellectual climate in which it was written

There is little alternative to accepting that the theoretical basis of the Cambridge Camden Society's operations is best expressed in the Introduction written by J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb for their Translation of William Durandus Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.[1] The Introduction is, in fact, the only extended exposition produced by any member during the life of the Society, nor did the Society itself produce any document of this kind.

That the statement did not appear until after the mass of survey work carried out by the Society was largely complete, was consistent with the Society's modus operandi and with its high estimation of the value of the inductive process.[2] Nor, when the essay was published, did it act as a positive guide to the Society's activities. In this respect it contrasts sharply with the theoretical expositions of the Oxford Movement or with Pugin's treatises which were widely read, discussed, assimilated and put into practice.

Meaning as expressed in the Introduction is adopted from the Oxford Movement's view of meaning; it is a religious concept linked to understanding the world of

God. Meaning is derived from God's creative acts - the Creation and the Incarnation. It is characteristic of such meaning that it is imperfectly understood by man and is only gradually revealed to each according to his own capacity, the extent of his practical commitment and his faith founded on his belief in God, his father. The Church has a particular role to play in this process. Since it was established by God revealing himself and since it was organized by Him it collectively contains, and gradually attains, a greater understanding of God's system than the individual, his understanding is embodied in Church Tradition. Further, the Church's function of performing God's rites give it a mediatory role between man and God. Such rites are more efficacious than individual prayer because they stem from God. Hence the world, the Church and particularly its rites manifest God's system to man and, hence, all are imbued with a religious metaphorical meaning.

Rites manifest God's order and ritual manifests rites. The writers of 'Durandus' also define this meaning:

> In short the whole church system is figurative from first to last: not indeed any less real, actual, visible and practical; but rather more real and practical because its teaching and discipline are not merely material and temporary but anticipative of the heavenly and eternal.

They then proceed to what is their primary thesis:

> This quality then of symbolism cannot be denied to one, and a most important, expression of the teaching of the Church, namely its architecture.[3]

Further:

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> If Catholick worship is expressed and represented by Catholick ritual, and if Church architecture is part of this ritual, then is Church architecture being an expression and exponent of Catholick worship. [And] ... a building turns emblem the purpose for which it was planned. [4]

This metaphorical meaning, dubbed Sacramentality, was also defined by the authors:

> By this idea we mean to convey the idea that, by the outward and visible form, is signified something inward and spiritual: that the material fabric symbolizes, embodies, figures, represents, expresses, answers to, some abstract meaning. [5]

Since meaning was only gradually revealed to those who sought it in the Christian way, good conduct in life was another tenet of the Oxford Movement. The good Christian should endeavour to impart to his own life the same kind of meaning so as to make it a metaphorical reflection of the life of Jesus. Each man's conduct should be directed by his conscience, developed by the continuing relationship between himself and God and which requires on his part faith, humility, effort and participation in the rites of the Catholic Church. As the Cambridge Camden Society extrapolated the Oxford Movement's Church view into the dimension of architecture so, too, did they extrapolate from the idea of Christian practice in relation to the Church to architects and those that viewed churches in relation to church architecture.

To develop the idea in more detail, for the devout Christian to have access to religious understanding he must make a commitment to God through faith. He must be prepared to subordinate his own understanding to that of

the Church both because the Church has an accumulated wisdom that is greater than his own can be and because it embodies God's system which its rites exemplify. Similarly, he will use the rites in preference to prayers devised by himself which are comparatively vain (the word is used here deliberately ambiguously). By having faith, observing rites and experiencing ritual man develops his conscience - his personal relationship with God; the most valuable relationship he can develop in life.

Now to extrapolate: if one accepts that architecture is part of this sacramental system it must follow that to gain full meaning from the system one must enter into it, be committed to it, have faith. Understanding of architecture as a part of the sacramental system cannot be achieved by non-believers. Where does this place the designer or the viewer? It follows that the designer must be a worshipper, an active member of the Church. Participation in Church rites develops an understanding of the system of the Church, and similarly struggling to understand and derive meaning from the concrete expression of ritual and, hence, rites - that is from the Church fabric and the appurtenances of the Church will develop an understanding of the architectural system of the Church. Studying church architecture at the peak of its perfection (with the minimum of corruptions) will best aid understanding, and learning to use the best system so far developed will bring a maximum understanding of its system and form the proper basis of future development. To eschew past experience, to eschew Tradition, to create one's own

system is arrogant and unlikely to be productive in the face of collective wisdom embodied in the Church's fabric. Committed as they were to the English High Church system as a whole it is hardly surprising that the authors placed a relatively low value on the individual creativity of the architect since it signified Novelty but placed a high value on conformity since it signified Tradition.

Because the English Church was essentially built on Tradition so, too, should church architecture rely on Tradition. Although the Church of England was not infallible, was working towards understanding, was accumulating wisdom, its Tradition was an asset only subordinate to God's explicitly revealed truths on which it was founded. Hence Tradition did not bar contribution or gradual change. The architect too was seen to be able to make a contribution in a like manner. If by being a practising member of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England he was able to imbue his work with the quality of Sacramentality so that it in turn could be part of the Church system, and if he was well versed in the Tradition of church architecture then he might in all humility contribute to that system by developing his own architecture from it. By doing so a greater architecture than that of fourteenth century Gothic might yet be developed. What form it would take was uncertain but the means to attain that goal were clearly stated. Finally, it should be noted that in this system the creative architect would have much to learn from the Church itself, not just from the Church fabric. Hence the clergy play their part in developing in

the architect the qualities to enable him to express Sacramentality.

To turn to the place of the viewer in this system[6]: to gain a full understanding of church architecture he too must be a practising devout churchman. Only then will he understand the significance of a work of architecture; its quality of Sacramentality, incorporated into the fabric by means of a devout and diligent designer. For the viewer to understand the nature of church architecture extensive study of it is required, and again study will be particularly revealing when it is directed at work which best incorporates and expresses Sacramentality. Like the architect, the viewer must be humble and by slow perseverance try to understand the system before him, in doing so he may be blessed with insight and perhaps achieve a measure of metaphorical grace by being granted an aesthetic experience. Since the system is fundamentally a religious one it would not be surprising if the viewer should first direct his interest at those parts of the church most closely associated with rites and attendant ritual; at the chancel, the altar and the font. But the church as a whole could also be seen as significant. It could stand for the Church, or for one's life in the Church or as expressing in microcosm God's system. Such metaphorical meanings were not alternative ones, but all might be present, and all available to the informed and believing viewer. First one and then another being presented to him as he sees the whole in "a particular light." [7]

As Novelty was to be discouraged in relation to Church doctrine, and in the same way frowned upon in the production of architecture so too must it be seen to be undesirable in the viewer's understanding of church architecture. In this system meaning does not stem from the viewer, it stems from God's meaning incorporated into the fabric through His architect. The result is a curious one. Here, like a person who appreciates Classical architecture as a formal system, understanding for the viewer only comes through knowledge and some understanding of the possibilities of such a system. Further, the viewer's reactions are largely governed by the building and the qualities incorporated into the building by the architect. Appreciation of the detailed form of the fabric and an understanding of the proper relationship of detail to the whole is indispensable. Appreciation here is dependent upon corporate agreed standards rather than being a matter of individual whim.

In these terms what better vehicle could there be for developing corporate standards than an architectural society? Within it knowledge of past practice could be amassed more efficiently and consequent understanding of church architecture could be disseminated freely. Moreover, one might expect a better understanding of the system would stem from a group, especially from a group of clergymen with knowledge of Church doctrine and rites, just as a better understanding of God's larger system stemmed from the Tradition of the Church rather than through individual unaided effort. Through his membership

of a group an individual would best be able to develop his own appreciation and taste. Individual free association of ideas from the world at large with the building fabric has no place here. The whole is a closed self-sufficient system, to which the observer seeks to relate rather than contribute his own creative appreciation. On the other hand, unlike wholly formal architecture which is by definition self-referential and for which appreciation is appropriately a search for beauty, in this case beauty is subordinated to meaning, and the closed system encompassing both form and its meaning is intimately connected to the religious system of which it is an indicative part.

Such is my reading of the theoretical content of the Introduction and its implications for those associated with its system of church architecture. Contained in all this are some underlying dimensions assumed but undiscussed: utilitarianism, 'corporationism', scientism and historicism, and added to the two latter an attendent love of detail. Together with an overriding concern with religion all have been described as being typical of the intellectual mode of the nineteenth century.[8] They are all perhaps too obvious qualities to need much discussion but I should like to touch briefly on each in relation to the architectural system discussed in the Introduction.

Early, successful, nineteenth century societies had tended to be based on a premise of utilitarianism; their activities were directed towards the acquisition of knowledge that could be applied in a direct way to economic

production. Geological societies, which were also successful groups, combined utilitarianism with religion. They recognized they were investigating God's world, and as their understanding of it increased so did their appreciation of God's will and His purpose in forming the world. Utilitarianism and religion were somewhat arrogantly conflated by Buckland, and formed the basis of a series of successful lectures on geology, it is said that Buckland "demonstrated that the Divine Will alone could have brought beds of iron-ore, coal, and limestone into such convenient commercial juxtaposition around Birmingham, and that this fact 'expressed the most clear design of Providence to make the inhabitants of the British Isles, by means of this gift, the most powerful and the richest nation on the earth'."[9]

Utilitarianism in relation to the Church was less stridently expressed. It was, however, widely understood at the time that the Established Church had a function to help maintain law and order in the State and that to this end it was important for the Church to exert an influence over the mass of the population. It was the Tractarian position that this influence was best achieved through the population's access to the rites of the Established Church. The Cambridge Camden Society extended the concept into the architectural realm and saw church architecture directly contributing an atmosphere that inspired devotion in the masses. Hence there was a need to search for church architecture that exemplified the relationship between the building and the rites of the Church. Further, in the same

way that geological societies were seen to be investigating God's natural world, the Cambridge Camden Society could be seen to be investigating God's revealed world: geology and ecclesiology were directly comparable with one other. The purpose of the Introduction to 'Durandus' was to integrate architecture into this process. Hence the authors wrote:

> To dwell on the symbolism of Nature would lead us too far from our point. But we must constantly bear in mind that Nature and the Church answer to each other as implicit and explicit revelations of God. Therefore, whatever system is seen to run through the one, in all probability runs through the other. [10]

The importance of 'corporationism' by which I mean "the social tendency towards groups" [11] can be seen here to be expressed in two ways. The Tractarian view of the role of the Church exemplifies it and so too does the formation and operation of the Cambridge Camden Society. [12] In both cases an individual's purpose is seen as being attained more effectively through a group than on his own. In addition, groups are seen as being able to contribute more than the unorganized efforts of each individual. They accumulate a store of knowledge, wisdom or experience on which the individual can draw and to which he, in turn, can contribute. The role of the architect described in 'Durandus' incorporated into the Church and to its tradition of church architecture can be viewed within this conceptual framework.

Scientism, the tendency to regard the acquisition of knowledge within the conceptual framework of the physical sciences which deal with material phenomena and are based

mainly on observation, experiment and induction[13] is the basis of the methodology of the Introduction and it also determined the form of many of the activities and aims of the Cambridge Camden Society. The importance of the inductive process, particularly, is basic to each, together with the curious use of induction springing from Butler's Analogy. Again, like Butler science relating to the natural world was, as we have seen, assumed to be an investigation of God's world. Science was seen as an exploration tending towards greater religious understanding, not in opposition to religion. Religion could at this time still encompass a scientific investigation which was largely inductive. It is also not too far-fetched to see churches in the light of scientism as a series of experiments, each example an essay in the expression of God's revealed world.

Both early nineteenth century natural science and religion appear to have subscribed to the belief that the world was a perfect system, all apparent imperfections being the result of as yet imperfect understanding rather than any possible flaw in the Divinely derived system itself. Further, it was assumed that man on earth was also part of the system and could be understood to be ordered in a like manner. Hence the tendency to see order and progress in history - which I have labelled historicism. In this view both science and history tend to rely on inductive processes to achieve understanding. Hence there was a perceived need in both fields to collect detailed information from which a superior understanding was

assumed to derive. The Introduction to 'Durandus' clearly exhibits these nineteenth century processes. It deals in minutia, it ascribes meaning to detail and it seeks an overall ordering system. The history of Gothic style exemplifies several of these traits:

> As assimilation of facts precedes that of doctrine in Christianity so we may by analogy conclude that the things set forth in the earlier developments of church art would be facts rather than doctrines.
>
> Now if we look to Norman buildings, we shall find this to be the case! ... In fact its whole character ... was graphicalness, and that obtained sometimes at the expense of grace, sometimes almost at that of decorum, but probably well adapted to the particular development which the minds of the people had then reached.
>
> In advancing to Early-English, we still find traces of the historicalism of ornaments ... and in the capitals, though the latter begin now to assume a more allegorical form. Indeed the observation seems worth making, that this style is the only one which appears to have dealt much in allegory ... That is, it employs fictitious representations, to set forth real truths ... On the whole however, we conclude that in this style, while churches taken as a whole became more symbolical, their details <u>as</u> details, became less so.
>
> In proceeding to the next development of Catholick art, we are almost afraid of expressing a belief, that Decorated, in its early dawn, gave promise of a brighter day than it ever reached. It had not shewn its wonderful resources and capabilities in windows and flying buttresses, before the boldness of its capitals and bases began to decline. Christian architecture might, about the year 1300, have taken a different direction, and attained to a glory, inconceivable to us, - perhaps attainable only when the whole Catholick Church shall be at unity. As it is we cannot but consider, that about that period ... it took a wrong turn, and being hurried in a short space through the hectick of a rare flush of beauty, declined thereforward slowly but surely. Now, if we ask, why was this? it will lead us to look at Church history as connected with the development of Church architecture, Contemporary with the change from Saxon to Norman, ... was finally the victory of the Anglican church over Paganism ... Contemporary with the appearance of Early-English, was the great victory of the church over Erastianism, by the Martyrdom of S Thomas of Canterbury, and the Abrogation of the Constitutions of Clarendon.

> But hardly had Early-English finished its course of splendour, when while traces of rare glory were developing daily, the Statute of Mortmain began to tell upon the Church: and though the impulse was already given yet continued for some time to act, the end was near. No magnificent Cathedral was built after the full effects, - not so much of that act, as of the Erastianism which contrived it and allowed it, - were felt ... Thereforward, the state interfered more and more with the Church; and not allowed to carry out Her own designs, it is no wonder if the latter quietly began to forget Her own symbolical language. After, for the first few years of the fourteenth century, using it with precision and elegance before unattainable, she thereforward began to disuse it.
>
> ... In England, from the time that Edward IV directed the execution of Archbishop Scrope, when the State interfered, it was with a strong arm cramping and confining, obliging the Church to confine herself to ritual observances, and forbidding Her to expatiate in the grand objects for which She was ordained. Now could there be a more fitting expression of this than the Perpendicular style? Does not its stiffness, its failure in harmony, its want of power and adaptation, its continual introduction of heraldry, its monotony, its breaking up by hard continued lines, its shallowness its meretriciousness, its display, - set forth what we know to have been the character of the contemporary Church? Above all, do not the reintroduction of horizontals, the Tudor Arch, the depressed Pier, speak of Her want of Spirituality? Everything teaches us that there was no want of power in Her architects; considered merely as specimens of art, King's College, and Henry the Seventh's Chapels, are matchless ... Perpendicular, unable to express any idea by its ornaments, soon began to imitate those of earlier styles: ... Even after the Dissolution, there were some good churches built: the symbolism which lingered longest was that of the Chancel and Nave. Nor was it destroyed summarily. [14]

Hence in the Introduction to Rationale Divinorum Officiorum we have at one and the same time a well-rounded enclosed system of concept, production and appreciation in which church architecture and its meaning are neatly encapsulated, apparently timelessly and perfectly, yet one in which the characteristics of that system display the dominant intellectual trends of the day. The Oxford Move-

ment's view of religion was a timely one and it is through the use of Tractarian theory that the authors here also achieve topicality and how the Introduction also displays these characteristics.

What is most impressive about the Introduction is the thoroughness with which the Oxford Movement's views have been assimilated and the skill with which architecture has been inserted into the larger intellectual set to produce a coherent and consistent whole. On the other hand, the Introduction is weak and unconvincing when it cites examples of symbolism which tend to be shallow and are sometimes misleading. One may excuse such weaknesses on two counts: firstly, that to put theory into practice is a difficult process that often requires time to effect it;[15] secondly, that since nearly all the examples are given to explain metaphorical meanings, the explanation is doomed to failure; it being characteristic of metaphor that it is an aesthetic device that evades a rational process of transfer.

As to the criticism of the work by others, one must remain disappointed. The British Critic unsurprisingly since it was the organ of the Oxford Movement gave the Introduction a generally favourable reception, but it was unenthusiastic about the texts that had been translated. Keble, according to Webb, expressed himself as delighted with it,[16] The English Churchman to which Neale regularly contributed wrote of:

> ... the extremely able and learned essay on 'Sacramentality, a principle of Ecclesiastical Design' ...

> [the Introduction, which] leaves little to desire: of course some particular details may be questioned in certain quarters; but it goes very far to supply the object which Mr Pugin professed to aim at, but has never fulfilled in the way of announcing an available theory of the'Principles of Christian Architecture.' [17]

From entirely another viewpoint Professor Lee produced a lengthy critique. It is a Protestant tirade, written not when the work first appeared but two years later at the peak of public rejection of the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society. It must therefore be seen as part of this rejection rather than as a reasoned critique. Some quotations will indicate its flavour. Lee questions the motivation for presenting a translation of Durandus, whom he describes as "a Roman bishop of the darkest times," he continues:

> Nor is it my intention to bring forward this work as one deserving of general attention. On the contrary, it is scarcely possible to conceive of a production so puerile in its conceptions; so miserably inconclusive in its reasonings; in many instances so carelessly or inaccurately written; and in none evincing anything like a deep acquaintance with either architecture, theology, or Holy Scripture. It is not for any merit the script work possesses, therefore, that I have undertaken to notice it, for certainly it possesses none; [18]

and

> All I profess to do is to inquire whether the reasoning put forth ... for the purpose, as it should seem, of superinducing certain notions not very obviously connected with ecclesiastical architecture, can or cannot be relied upon. [19]

and, lastly, Lee asks:

> Am I to take palpable perversions of Holy Scripture, seconded by pretensions to reasoning of which the merest tyke would be ashamed, and this for the sole purpose of superinducing the ignorance, the ecclesiastical assumptions and tyranny of bygone days,

> because a few fanatics, terming themselves Camdenians, think I ought to do so? [20]

Predictably the answer is "I think not."

Couched in these terms it is hard to see Lee, or any of the other authors so far quoted, as other than religiously biased to the extent their judgement is overly affected. Yet Lee did attack the Introduction on its weakest side; that of the presentation of its argument. The quasi-philosophical mode in which it is written does nothing to recommend it, indeed it detracts from the content and is pretentious and hence irritating.

Kenneth Clark was clearly irritated by it and gave it short shrift.[21] If Lee's critique was marred by over-insistent Protestantism so, too, is Clark's by his prejudices. On the one hand, he relies too heavily on Scott's analysis of architecture in the Architecture of Humanism, (noted by Clark, himself, as a fault in later editions) and, on the other hand, by the modernist tenet of functionalism. The first enables him to dismiss much of the essay as being in Scott's terms fallacious, the second to misunderstand the nature of meaning described in it. His preconceptions make him unsympathetic to the work to the point of unfairness and impede the relevance of his critique.

White's notice tends to be descriptive rather than critical, what critical comment is contained in it follows Clark closely.[22] As far as I am aware there are no other sustained critiques. Nor is there any critique, previous

to the one described here, which examines the work on its own terms and places it within its own intellectual context. By so doing, the work's fundamental qualities and its consistency can be positively assessed despite its off-putting presentation and the weakness of the examples it cites.

4. The influence of Pugin on the development of the Cambridge Camden Society's theoretical base

It remains to look at the basis of the Cambridge Camden Society's appreciation of architecture in relation to its most influential sources - Pugin, the Oxford Society for promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture; and most fundamentally, the Oxford Movement. This section examines Pugin's influence on the Cambridge Camden Society's theoretical development.

Pugin had published his most controversial work Contrasts [1] in 1836 well before the establishment of the Cambridge Camden Society. An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts" [2] followed. These were the two works on which the Society could have drawn when it was first established. That Pugin was held in high regard by the Cambridge Camden Society is indubitable for he was proposed as an Honorary Member of the Society at the same time as Rickman, but while Rickman was accepted he, as a Roman Catholic, was not. Neale thought "perhaps prudently: we are already too much accused of Popery to render so violent a man a desirable Honorary Memb[er]." [3]

It must have been Contrasts which caused Neale to describe Pugin as "violent." Pevsner describes it as being the first polemical work of the Gothic revival.[4] The Apology which followed it is, perhaps, even more outspoken. Whatever their nature the Cambridge Camden Society

owes a great deal to them, not the least debt being their example of the polemical mode upon which the Society increasingly came to rely.

As well, it is most likely that it was Pugin's Contrasts which determined the nature of the parts listed in the Church Schemes. In the book cathedrals are seen as collections of parts, each part having a discrete religious function. Two conditions were necessary for an item in a religious building to express its function: firstly, that its function - that is its religious function - was apparent to the designer and, secondly, that the designer had an appropriately pious attitude to his work to enable him to transmit the expression of that function into the part. Pugin claims that in those "Stupendous Ecclesiastical Edifices of the Middle Ages" the system is widespread and characteristic:

> Here every portion of the sacred fabric bespeaks its origin; the very plan of the edifice is the emblem of human redemption ... each portion is destined for the performance of some solemn rite of the Christian church ... [All parts] conspire to fill the mind with veneration for the place, and to make it feel the sublimity of Christian worship ...
>
> Such effects as these can only be produced on the mind by buildings, the composition of which has emanated from men who were thoroughly imbued with devotion for, and faith in, the religion for whose worship they were erected.
>
> Their whole energies were directed towards attaining excellence; they were activated by far nobler motives than the hopes of pecuniary reward, or even the applause and admiration of mankind. [5]

In contrast, Pugin saw modern architecture as being at a low ebb, and commented "in which state it will remain, unless the same feelings which influenced the old

designers in the composition of their work can be restored." [6] In particular, the Church Commissioner's Churches were "a disgrace to the age." [7]

In all this we have a precursor to the symbolism expressed at the end of A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities and its necessary adjunct the piety of the creator. While both are only touched on in the Cambridge Camden Society's A Few Hints they are developed at greater length in Durandus, which adopts unchanged Pugin's mechanism for instilling symbolic meaning into parts. We can see here too the motivation for writing A Few Words to Church Builders. It was to inform architects and others connected with church building of the meaning of the parts of the building so that if they then approached their work with due piety better church building work would result.

Pugin also made a spirited attack in Contrasts on those who visited cathedrals. For him they all failed to respond appropriately to the buildings because they did not approach the experience in an appropriate manner. The message conveyed by the fabric was lost upon them because of their ignorance and insensitivity. Pugin classified the regular users of cathedrals into three groups; those who attended regularly, those who went to hear the music and those who went to see the building. Of the last group he wrote:

> They are tourists; they go to see every thing that is to be seen, therefore they see the church - id est, they walk around, read the epitaphs, think it very pretty, very romantic, very old, suppose it was

> built in superstitious times, pace the length of the nave, write their names on a pillar, and whisk out, as they have a great deal more to see and very little time. [8]

and there were even worse visitors:

> ... who, during assize and fair times, go to see the big church built by the old Romans, after they have been to see all the other sights and shows. They are generally a good many together, to make it worth the verger's while to send a satellite round with them to shew the wonderful things, and tell them wonderful stories about the monks and nuns; and after they have gaped round they go out and the sight serves for talk till they see some fun they like a good deal better. [9]

Pugin commented:

> Such are most of the classes of visitors to these wondrous fabrics, not one of whom feel in the slightest degree the sanctity of the place or the majesty of the design, and small indeed is the number of those on whom these mutilated but still admirable designs produce their whole and great effect. Few are there who, amid the general change and destruction they have undergone, can conjure up in their minds the glories of their departed greatness, and who, while they bitterly despise the heartless throng that gaze about the sacred aisles, mourn for the remembrance of those ages of faith now passed and gone, which produced minds as these that feel acutely the barren, meagre and inappropriate use to which these edifices have been put; and to them does the neat and modern churchman appear truly despicable ... What part has he, I say, what connexion of the soul with the ecclesiastic of ancient days? [10]

Consequently, and in response to this challenge, the reformation of the practice of church visiting became a first priority of the Cambridge Camden Society. The Church Schemes were designed to educate visitors to achieve an appropriate response to ancient church fabric. What educative purpose could not be achieved through them was supplemented by A Few Hints. If the Cambridge Camden Society was working towards building up an educated and appreciative group of church visitors within the Church of

England, Pugin's whole work was directed elsewhere. For him the cathedrals were Roman Catholic structures, their meaning was a Roman Catholic meaning and the piety of their designers was based on Roman Catholic beliefs. They were Roman Catholic in origin and purpose and hence, for Pugin, to Roman Catholics they rightly belonged for it was only to their religion they were appropriate structures. His An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts" put his case even more strongly; firstly, the right of Roman Catholics to make a case:

> Controversy with Protestants has, for the last 300 years consisted, almost entirely, of malignant falsehoods advanced by them against the Catholic Church, and satisfactory answers and refutations of such attacks. ... It is now time, therefore, that the system should be changed. Catholics, in their turn, must now become the assailants, expose the disgraceful origin of Protestantism, the debasing and destructive influence of its system, of which this country in its present state exhibits a lively picture, and boldly assert, that a return to the ancient faith is the only means by which a restoration for the long lost feelings for art of every description can be achieved. [11]

And then the case itself, in the form of three propositions:

> THAT EVERYTHING GRAND, EDIFYING, AND NOBLE IN ART IS THE RESULT OF FEELING PRODUCED BY THE CATHOLIC RELIGION ON THE HUMAN MIND.
>
> THAT DESTRUCTION OF ART, IRREVERENCE TOWARDS RELIGION, CONTEMPT OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSON AND AUTHORITY, AND A COMPLETE LOSS OF ALL THE NOBLER PERCEPTIONS OF MANKIND, HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF PROTESTANTISM, WHEREVER IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.
>
> THAT THE DEGRADED STATE OF THE ARTS, IN THIS COUNTRY IS PURELY OWING TO THE ABSENCE OF CATHOLIC FEELING AMONG ITS PROFESSORS, THE LOSS OF ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE, AND THE APATHY WITH WHICH A PROTESTANT NATION MUST NECESSARILY TREAT THE HIGHER BRANCHES OF THE ART. [12]

Pugin concluded, in characteristic fashion, "the Church of England has no more connection with art, than a lawyer

with his conscience."![13] His solution to what he saw as a wholly unsatisfactory situation was for the Church of England to return to the Roman Catholic fold, he wrote:

> One ray of hope alone darts through the dismal prospect; it is that ere the fatal hour arrives, so many may have returned to the bosom of the Catholic church that hearts and hands may be found willing and able to protect these glorious piles from further profanation, and in the real spirit of former years, restore them to their original glory and worship. [14]

It was not a solution that was acceptable either to the Oxford Movement or to its offshoot the Cambridge Camden Society. At this period both were firmly committed to the view that the Church of England was the Apostolic Church and Rome was effectually in schism. Moreover, that the cathedrals and churches of England rightly belonged to the Church of England so the Cambridge Camden Society sprung to their defence. It is only against a background of recent Catholic Emancipation and a new need for Roman Catholic churches that the defence of the churches of England by members of the Church of England can be understood. Church visiting beat the bounds of the territory of the Established Church, the Church Schemes compiled an inventory of Church property and brass-rubbing encapsulated the English Church's history. Both versions of A Few Words to Churchwardens were designed to exhort those in charge of Church property to present it as better cared for and to actually care for it more effectively.

We should note here an anomaly: in Contrasts Pugin laid a claim for the cathedrals of England to be recognized as belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, whereas the

Cambridge Camden Society directed their interest and activities towards the country's Parish churches - probably under the influence of Whewell and Willis. Pugin in a counter-move later widened his claim to also include Parish churches. Thus in 1841 he wrote:

> The revival of our ancient parochial church architecture is a subject which occupies much attention at the present time; after three centuries of demolition and neglect, the solemn structures raised by our Catholic ancestors are being gradually restored to somewhat of their original appearance.[15]

It is an admission that the Church of England is taking some action on the state of churches but Pugin gives no other ground. He reiterates his view that church rites and church building to house those rites are inseparable, and since "Anglican rites were in use in the Church of England only so long as she retained her canonical obedience to the holy see and ceased with her schism."[16] Parish churches were no longer appropriate for use by the English Church. To drive home the point he listed the accoutrements of a Roman Catholic church, often to be found in Gothic churches but seldom in current use:

> A stoup, a font [at the] western end and cover, an aumbry in the wall nearby. Chancel separated by a screen. Wooden seats with low backs, and placed wide enough to admit kneeling easily, alleys for processions. Stone or wooden pulpit. Raised chancel at least one step. Altar 3 steps above the chancel. Altar of one slab of stone ... raised on solid masonry or stone pillars. Sacrarium and basin and waste pipe. 3 niches and arched tomb to serve as a sepulchre for holy week. Image of a saint.[17]

Pugin has extended his claim from a general one for churches as a whole, to every part of them. It was a claim to which the Cambridge Camden Society would respond at a

later stage in its development but in the meantime Pugin was already moving on to develop new concepts. The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture[18] is not only a treatise on church architecture but is more importantly, as Professor Stanton has pointed out, a treatise on architecture in general.[19] In it Pugin stated that what was to be aimed for in architecture was a quality of Reality, achieved through design:

> The two great rules for design are these: 1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience construction or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of the essential construction of the building ... In pure architecture the smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose ... [and] construction should vary with the material employed. [20]
>
> Strange as it may appear at first sight, it is in pointed architecture alone that these great principles have been carried out. [21]

We can see here a double shift; firstly, that already referred to, of principles of church architecture being equated with those of architecture in general and, secondly, a change of view as to the nature of meaning of a building's parts. Formerly, Pugin held that the meaning of each part was a purely religious meaning, here it appears that the meaning is self-referential; referring to the part's structural or aesthetic function and not to some external meaning. In addition, Pugin postulated a principle of Propriety; that the external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is destined.[22] He stated that architectural propriety "as regards ecclesiastical buildings requires that they should be as good, as

spacious, as rich and beautiful, as the means and numbers of those who are erecting them will permit."[23] Hence, it is encumbent on all men to render the buildings they raise for religious purposes more vast and beautiful than those in which they dwell.[24]

The change in approach exhibited in The True Principles cannot have been welcomed by the Cambridge Camden Society. Their system of appreciation only applied to religious buildings and it had only encompassed religious meanings. All other areas were outside their area of expertise and influence since their power derived from ecclesiastical rather than architectural knowledge. Pugin cast doubt on the validity of their encompassed view and had moved on into areas where they were as yet unprepared to follow. His concerns had become those of a designer and the problems faced in design, hence The True Principles deals with aesthetic rules rather than with systems of religious meaning. In earlier works Pugin had stated he was content to copy, this view of design accorded with that of the Cambridge Camden Society as being appropriate to churches. Indeed, if creativity were to be admitted as a principle the Society's function would be diminished. Here Pugin is obviously envisaging a more innovative and hence a more powerful role for the designer.

The Cambridge Camden Society's response was made in a characteristic manner. Pugin had referred in The True Principles to William Durandus' Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, the Cambridge Camden Society almost at once

embarked on a much larger translation of the work[25] to demonstrate that this standard Roman Catholic source[26] saw symbolism wholly in a religious light and not as being structural, architectural or aesthetic. Several remarks in the preface directed against Pugin serve the same function. In it the authors endeavoured to substitute a principle of Sacramentality (having strictly religious connotations) for that of Pugin's architectural principles which entailed a general fitness of a part for its purpose. It was a neat riposte, and one which Pugin seemed to have felt.[27] In the longer term, however, much of the aesthetic theory of True Principles was absorbed by the Cambridge Camden Society in the course of its growing interest in the aesthetics of Gothic architecture.

The other book published by Pugin in 1841, the second and substantially re-written edition of Contrasts[28] markedly increased the area of common ground shared by Pugin, the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society. Pugin's change in attitude, expressed in the new edition, had probably been engendered by his personal contact with some of those in the Oxford Movement. He had, for instance, visited J.R. Bloxham in Oxford and had dined with both Newman and J.B. Mozley. The latter found his conversation "infinitely amusing, in his particular way, architecture of course, church ceremonies, liturgies, antiquities of all kinds being the subjects."[29] Whatever the cause, the second edition of Contrasts was less offensive to the Church of England. H.R. Hitchcock sums up the change:

> Pugin admitted he was wrong in treating Protestantism as a primary cause instead of being the effect of some more powerful agency, and in ascribing the highest state of academic excellence to the ecclesiastical buildings erected immediately previous to the change in religion. ... It was now not Protestantism but the Renaissance of the fifteenth century which he blamed for the decline. [30]

Further, Pugin extended his condemnation of modern architecture to include the architecture of the last three centuries again bringing him into line with the Cambridge Camden Society's views. Most of the changes of substance occur in the substitution of a new second chapter. In the first edition the second chapter extolled the virtues of perpendicular architecture as applied to churches, religious houses, colleges and palaces. The new chapter was entitled "On the revived pagan principle", it deals with the debasement of architecture subsequent to decay setting-in in the sixteenth century. Thus he wrote:

> The triumph of these new and degenerate ideas over the ancient and Catholic feelings, is melancholy evidence of the decay of faith and morals at the period of their introduction, and to which indeed they owe their origin. Protestantism and revived Paganism both date from the same epoch, both spring from the same causes, and neither could possibly have been introduced, had not Catholic feelings fallen to a very low ebb. [31]

Given that Pugin as much as the Cambridge Camden Society held that there was a very close relationship between the tenor of the times and its architectural expression, this amounted not only to a partial vindication of the Protestant Church, but also to an admission that Perpendicular architecture was inferior to that which went before it. Here Pugin falls into line with the more general preference for Decorated architecture expressed by architectural authorities of the time.

In addition, Pugin saw the imposition of Protestantism as having had some advantages in that it preserved to some extent the fabric of English Churches from Pagan intrusions, so that "England alone abounds in hidden and unknown antiquities of surpassing interest."[32] He wrote further:

> Our English monasteries were cut off in their glory, in the midst of boundless hospitality and regular observance. We can trace no sign of pagan novelties about their venerable ruins - All these breathe of faith, of charity, of contemplation, of austerity and prayer; and we can visit these solemn remains of ancient piety with unalloyed reverence and regret, ... [33]

He concludes, handsomely, almost:

> So taking the prevailing rage for paganism during the last three centuries on the continent, I do not think the architecture of our English churches would have fared much better under a Catholic hierarchy. [34]

To Protestant architecture Pugin remained adamantly opposed. It had a quality of meanness about it "ten times worse" than Continental "extravagances, since it embodied the same wretched pagan ideas, without either the scale or richness of foreign architecture of the same period."[35] In addition, he held that:

> It is most fortunate for English architecture, that during the greatest rage for classic art, the desire for church building was nearly extinct, in consequence of Protestant ascendency. Here many of our finest monuments remain comparatively safe in their neglect, while all the furore for the new style was diverted into mansions, palaces, and erections for luxury and temporal splendour. [36]

If the Church of England as a whole looked askance on Pugin's view it was not unacceptable to members of the High Church. The expression of the specialness of English

Gothic, and its importance vis-à-vis the architecture that followed it was the kind of view particularly acceptable to the Cambridge Camden Society. It in fact stated their own views in stronger terms. Again the two found common ground in Pugin's poor opinion of architects' execution of modern Gothic. Pugin wrote:

> I cannot discuss this subject without a few remarks on those who seem to think, that, by restoring the details and accessories of pointed architecture, they are reviving Catholic art. Not at all. Unless the ancient arrangement be restored, and the true principles carried out, all mouldings, pinnacles, tracery, and details, be they ever so well executed, are a mere disguise. It is a great profanation to deck out Protestant monstrosities in the garb of Catholic antiquity; pew and gallery fronts with tracery panels; reading-desks with canopied tops, and carved common Tables; for however correct the details may be in the abstract, unless the church be built on the ancient traditional form, it must appear a miserable failure.[37]

and

> To apply these venerable forms to any but their real intention is a perfect prostitution of this glorious style; a Catholic church not only requires pillars, arches, windows, screens and niches, but it requires them to be disposed according to a certain traditional form; ... and unless a building destined for a church possess all these requisites, however correctly its details may be copied from ancient authorities, it is a mere modern conventicle, and cannot by any means be accounted a revival of Catholic art.[38]

It was, of course, Pugin's intention here to imply that unless all such features were applied to a Roman Catholic church they were a worthless sham. The Cambridge Camden Society took a different position. They were working to establish the re-introduction of those old rites which might still be allowable in the Church of England, and it was their belief that there were many cases where

sufficient continuity could be proved to make their re-introduction feasible. Such rites were termed by them "Catholic" and the church using them the Catholic Church. Applying this nomenclature to Pugin's revised Contrasts his criticism glances off them and only applies to those of a more Protestant persuasion. As the Cambridge Camden Society claimed more ground in this direction Pugin was, as it were, forced to a more extreme description of the Roman Catholic church than he had attempted earlier; he wrote:

> What a burst of glory meets the eye, on entering a long majestic line of pillars rising into lofty and fretted vaulting! The eye is lost in the intricacies of the aisles and lateral chapels; each window beams with sacred instructions, and sparkles with glowing and sacred tints; the pavement is a rich enamel, interspersed with brass memorials of departed souls. Every capital and base are fashioned to represent some holy mystery; the great rood loft, with its lights and images, through the centre arch of which in distant perspective, may be seen the high altar blazing with gold and jewels, surmounted by a golden dove, the earthly tabernacle of the Highest; before which burn three inextinguished lamps. It is indeed a sacred place.[39]

The altar became the focus of the outward expression of difference between the two faiths. Pugin emphasized the difference; an illustration of the "effect of the destructive or Protestant principles" on altars is captioned:

> The original imagery and tabernacle work of the altar screens have been mutilated and defaced: the altar itself, - which had served for ages in the most holy mysteries, and was covered with costly ornaments, - has been plundered and demolished, and a cheap ugly table set in its place, on which book and bason indicate that it occasionally serves for the purpose of baptism, in lieu of the ancient font, which probably has been removed to serve for some menial purpose.[40]

He concluded "Men must learn that the period hitherto

called dark and ignorant far excelled our age in wisdom"[41] and added "As it is everything glorious about the English Churches is Catholic, everything debased and hideous Protestant."[42] Again, we can see that it is only by side-stepping the issue of Protestant versus Roman Catholic (which Pugin undoubtedly intended) and by reading Protestant versus Catholick that such statements could be acceptable to the Cambridge Camden Society and be substantially reproduced by them. Finally, in an appendix to the work Pugin slipped in a direct compliment to the Cambridge Camden Society, we wrote:

> I cannot refrain from paying a just tribute of respect and gratitude to the labours of the Cambridge Camden Society, who have already done much, and are still going on admirably in the good cause.[43]

On the publication of A Few Words to Church Builders Pugin expressed himself "delighted" with it[44] and a correspondence between himself and the Society ensued. Pugin's second article in the Dublin Review[45] (published in February, 1842) again praised the Society:

> The Cambridge Camden Society have already done, and are actually doing immense service in the good cause by the admirable publications they are issuing ... They do not treat the ecclesiastical antiquities of this country as mere architectural curiosities; or pointed architecture as matter of mere arbitrary taste ... [but] as matters of Catholic tradition and proposed ancient Catholic structures as the only models for imitation ... they have already achieved more practical good by their unpretending publications than has been accomplished by the united exertions of the antiquaries of the last half century. ... Although these works are of course addressed to the members of the Anglican Church, yet they cannot be too strongly recommended to the study and attention of English Catholics.[46]

Pugin then quoted the section on symbolism from A Few Hints "to show the high Catholic view in which those writers regard the material structures of the ancient churches."[47] He then asked "What can be more consoling than to find the edifying symbolism of our ancient churches thus beautifully recognized and set forth by those who, but a few years since, were foremost in their destruction?"[48] In all this Pugin is a militant Roman Catholic writing for a Roman Catholic audience. It would be naive to assume that his praises of the Cambridge Camden Society are unalloyed.[49] For instance, he praises A Few Words to Churchwardens but adds what is little short of a jibe:

> It is most gratifying to perceive that the members of the Establishment are at length awakened to the glaring inconsistency of permitting images of pagan activities to be erected within their churches, while those of saints, and of our blessed Redeemer himself, are rigidly excluded.[50]

This must be regarded as a twisting of the Cambridge Camden Society's position. The Society opposed such monuments on the grounds that they were secular in nature and hence unfitted to occupy a church, they also opposed them on the same ground they opposed pews - that of social inequality manifested within a church where in God's sight all were equal. The Cambridge Camden Society certainly stopped short of opposing monuments as inappropriate icons. Pugin's attack is an unfair one, but he makes a neat point. Similarly, he praised the writer of an article in The Ecclesiologist on churchyard crosses[51] but added:

> His conclusion is so Catholic, that it would seem to have been written ere England's unhappy schism; indeed such sentiments, and feelings only can belong, consistently, to the old time.[52]

He praised A Few Words to Church Builders calling it "the first distinct publication which has issued from the present Establishment in which ecclesiastical architecture is viewed in its true light"[53] and then cheekily illustrates it with three engravings of his own designs for the Roman Catholic Cathedral Church of St Barnabas in Nottingham. Finally, he quotes at length from Paley's critique of the church at Newtown, Cambridge which appeared in the first issue of The Ecclesiologist[54] and which the Cambridge Camden Society were forced to withdraw under pressure from senior members of the Society including Willis.[55] Its reprinting can only have been an embarrassment to the Society. Nor was Pugin above taking a side-swipe at those more directly associated with the Oxford Movement. Hence he wrote of Paget's St Antholins,[56] a charming book about the vicissitudes of a series of ill-conceived repairs to an old church leading to its collapse and its replacement by a church of which the Cambridge Camden Society would have been proud:

> We can only observe, that the writer has accomplished his task in a manner quite worthy of the principles he here expresses, with the exception of some painful expressions; but where we find so much that is admirable and praiseworthy we would fain, in charity, attribute them rather to the inconsistency of his present position, than to any graver cause.[57]

Nevertheless, Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society had much in common, particularly in less public situations where each did not have a polemical position to maintain. The previous section has described the considerable fraternization and co-operation between the two during 1842 and 1843 to which Pugin's Apology published during 1843

appears to have caused no rift.[58] It is after all largely a more extended statement of principles that Pugin had already enunciated. He reiterated his former claim that Gothic churches were Catholic churches suited to Catholic worship and therefore "Catholics should build in the old way for their needs are the same"[59] but wrote that "with respect to the Anglican Church the case is, of course, by no means so clear and positive."[60] He continued to see the use of Gothic architecture not just as a source for copying but as exemplifying architectural principles, but the Cambridge Camden Society had already tackled this issue in the preface to Durandus, it posed no new threat.

It should be apparent from this account that assumptions underlying action and policies of the Cambridge Camden Society were derived from Pugin, sometimes directly by employing his ideas, sometimes in opposition to him. Pugin in turn was responding to the anti-Catholic manoeuvres of the Oxford Movement translated into his own special sphere of Gothic architecture. While to some extent all three stimulated each other, it is also true to say that the Cambridge Camden Society derived far more from Pugin than vice versa.

5. The influence of the Oxford Movement in the development of the Cambridge Camden Society's practical and theoretical base

This last section examines the debt the Cambridge Camden Society owed to the Oxford Movement in the development of its conceptual base. It will not be possible to present here a systematic exposition of the Oxford Movement's modus operandi, its religious beliefs or its underlying conceptual assumptions of value. These are best analysed, respectively, by Church in The Oxford Movement (1891), Brilioth in The Anglican Revival: studies in the Oxford Movement (1925) and Chadwick in The Mind of the Oxford Movement (1960). While their and others' analyses have illuminated the discussion which follows, most of it relies on a direct comparison of statements made by the leaders of the Oxford Movement, Newman, Keble and Pusey, with statements made by the Cambridge Camden Society. And, as Chadwick has stated, "until 1839 or 1840 Newman represented all its qualities",[1] it is largely on the writings of Newman that this section will rely.

The structure of the section is dependent upon the isolation of the salient characteristics of the Oxford Movement to compare them with those of the Cambridge Camden Society. Church saw the Movement as having a dual nature "on the one hand theological; on the other resolutely practical."[2] Brilioth admits to the politically expedient and polemical nature of the early tracts but

nevertheless avers "it is only as a movement first and foremost religious and deeply religious that the Oxford Movement can be understood."[3] Chadwick concurs with this view and goes on to list the qualities that define the nature of its religious outlook: "sacramentalism and a sense of mystery, its controversial confidence, its doctrine of authority, its theory of religious knowledge and its pastoral impetus."[4] It is proposed to amalgamate these views by postulating four qualities that define the Oxford Movement: its practical nature, its reliance on utilizing deep feelings presenting a reaction to eighteenth century rationalism, the relevance and importance of symbolism in its body of thought and, lastly, the dimension underlying the rest - its essentially religious nature.

Piggott, as has already been remarked, holds that collective action is typical of nineteenth century society. The banding together of a group of undergraduates to form the Cambridge Camden Society was a typical phenomenon of its time, both within and outside the university. One might think, therefore, that no further investigation of the origins of this organizational device was necessary. But considering the drift of the argument presented in this section it seems of some interest to also examine the organization of the Oxford Movement in relation to this syndrome and to compare it with that of the Cambridge Camden Society.

Very early, at the start of the Oxford Movement, Newman rejected a society as the proper mode for achieving

its ends. His rejection was based upon the premise that societies hindered individual expression and through a process of reaching consensus tended toward the mediocre.[5] In the face of others attempting to band together he began to publish the Tracts the earliest of which, at least, presented his own point of view. Yet Newman lived and worked in a series of closed communities; his college, Oxford University, the Church, the quasi-monastic community to which he retired at Littlemore and, finally, as a Roman Catholic, with the Oratorians. Within the Church Newman expended considerable effort in clarifying the relationship between the individual and the Church.

Like many other of the problems Newman tackled, it defined the Church of England's position in relation to the practice of the Roman Church and of the Dissenters. The Roman Church required submission of individual judgement to the Dogma of the Church, the Dissenting Church placed emphasis on the individual's right to judge for himself; Newman sought the middle way - primacy of individual conscience but conscience developed through involvement in the rites of the Church. The Roman Catholic Church relied on Infallibility as the basis for its authority; the English Church relied on Tradition. Both Churches, according to Newman, must be regarded as Apostolic - that is, directly descended from the Apostles, and in consequence both reflected the relationship between Christ and the Apostles in its organization and in the relationship between Bishop and Clergy, but for Newman, at this time, the Roman Church had to be regarded as corrupt.

It followed that because the Church of England was Apostolic, that is, divine in origin, and because it relied on the collective wisdom of Tradition, the Church had much to offer the individual and the individual should in all humility submit to its practices. Newman's position vis-a-vis the Church illuminates his other relationships. First and foremost an individualist, he regarded it as a duty to submit to authority backed by Tradition, but he was averse to binding himself to others and diminishing his own freedom of will by forming new organizations. So the Oxford Movement remained a free association of individuals of like minds.

In contrast, the Cambridge Camden Society was formally constituted and it might well be said that many of the difficulties it struck were related to its form of organization. The faults of associations as Newman saw them were perhaps minimized by the autonomy of the standing committee. The committee, while by no means always of one mind,[6] was small enough not to overly inhibit individual action nor to water-down proposed policies. Activity and quality of decision-making were maintained at the expense of many ordinary members being excluded from active participation.

However, the Society shared with the Oxford Movement its relationship to the Church in honouring its office bearers. It was, for instance, extraordinarily proud of the number of bishops who were its patrons.[7] The expressed displeasure of the Bishop of London caused an early crisis

in the Society and it was an attack by the Bishop of Lincoln and the withdrawal of several others that signalled its imminent collapse. The Society regarded itself as "the handmaid of the Church"[8] and hence felt bound by its expressed authority, however much it privately disagreed with the religious views of members of the Church hierarchy.

The Cambridge Camden Society had more in common with the Oxford Movement in relation to the modus operandi of each than in their respective forms of organization. The Cambridge Camden Society's early reliance on inductive methodology drawn directly from Whewell[9] has been described in relation to the development and use of the Church Schemes. It was also the dominant procedure of other early nineteenth century societies and in the physical sciences. So, while not suggesting that the Cambridge Camden Society in this case drew directly and solely from the Oxford Movement it is still worth pointing to their common methodology.

Newman relied on Butler in this respect. Butler had postulated a less rigorous form of induction - analogy, as being the proper basis for human action; both in the real world and in relation to the world of God, "to Us" he wrote, "probability is the very guide of life,"[10] Newman, as Church noted:

> ... had learned as a first principle to recognize the limitations of human knowledge, and the unphilosophical folly of trying to round off into finished and pretentious schemes our fragmentary yet certain notices of our own condition and God's dealings with it. He followed his Teacher in insisting on the

> reality and importance of moral evidence as opposed to demonstrative proof.[11]

MacKinnon comments that:

> Clearly Newman was fascinated by induction ... he believed that very important lessons concerning the human situation, and not least the situation of man before God, would be learnt from reflection on the characteristic style of inductive argument.[12]

Newman's rejection of the relevance of rationalistic argument to develop faith was once stated, or perhaps overstated, in his comparison of "two characters of mind, one credulous (as it would commonly be called), the other candid, well judging and sagacious"; that it was "clear that the former of the two is the religious type rather than the latter."[13] Faith and commitment ranked very high with Newman. However, they did not obscure the need for people to employ analogy or induction with care or their remarks would become theoretical and unreal:

> This unsubstantial way of speaking is instanced in the case of persons who fall into any new company, among strange faces and amid novel occurrences. They sometimes form amiable judgements of men and things, sometimes the reverse - but whatever their judgements be, they are to those who know the men and the things strangely unreal and distorted. They feel reverence where they should not; they discern slights where none were intended; they discover meaning in events which have none; they fancy motives; they interpret manner; they mistake character; and they form generalizations and combinations which only exist in their own minds.[14]

Here the moral is clear: in unfamiliar situations a particularly thorough inductive process should be undertaken before inferences are drawn and action taken. Whether or not the Cambridge Camden Society was aware of the potential drawbacks of induction they, as we have

seen, carried out a very extensive survey before embarking on any action. Stock-taking was seen to be an important activity as Newman had already noted in relation to the Church:

> We have a vast inheritance, but no inventory of our treasures. All is given us in profusion; it remains for us to catalogue, sort, distribute, select, harmonize and complete. We have more than we know how to use; stores of learning but little that is precise and serviceable ... What we need at present for our Church's well-being, is not invention, not originality, not sagacity nor even learning in our divines ... we need ... - in a word, Divine Wisdom.[15]

If the Cambridge Camden Society could not supply the last; the rest could very easily be taken for a description of their own approach to their survey of Gothic churches. It is the first instance of the particularly close parallel between Oxford Movement theory related to the Church and the Cambridge Camden Society's theory related to churches.

The next quality the two have in common is an emphasis on action. Indeed a primary justification for induction was that it was the mode in which man actually thought in relation to action. It is characteristic of Oxford Movement thought that faith, action and induction are linked together:

> Faith is a principle of action, and action does not allow time for minute and finished investigations. We may (if we will) think that such investigations are of high value: though in truth, they have a tendency to blunt the practical energy of the mind, ... they are impractical in action.[16]

Newman's life in the Church of England as well as the tenor of the Tracts were directed toward practical action, in themselves they provided an exemplar of the practical

mode. In addition his sermons reflected the same trend toward the importance of conduct, and many are ethical in content. The Cambridge Camden Society prided itself on being a practical society, and this quality was recognized and appreciated by several commentators.[17] Its attitude can be summed up that in the face of "objections urged on the score of difficulty, dislike, unwillingness, inconvenience, impossibility, it will be sufficient to answer with the Cambridge Camden Society's favourite monosyllable - TRY![18]

Newman was, until his crash in 1841, fearless in pursuit of his aims. The tone of the early Tracts speak not only of an insistent call to action but of his personal courage. The qualities are also expressed in his poetry:

> Brothers! spare reasoning; - men have settled long
> That ye are out of date, and they are wise;
> Use their own weapons; let your words be strong
> Your cry be loud, till each scared boaster flies;
> Thus the Apostles Tamed the pagan breast,
> They argued not, but preached; and conscience did the rest.[19]

Church describes the ring of the "early Tracts as something very different from anything of the kind yet known in England" and continues:

> They were clear, brief, stern appeals to conscience and to reason, sparing of words, utterly without rhetoric, intent in purpose. They were like the short, sharp, rapid utterances of men in pain and danger and pressing emergency.[20]

Newman himself spoke of them as "earnest appeals and abrupt sketches of doctrine" and commented:

> They were written with the hope of rousing members of our Church to comprehend her alarming position, of helping them to realize the fact of ... unsound principles in the management of her internal concerns; and having this object they spontaneously used language of alarm and complaint. They were written, as a man might give notice of a fire or innundation, to startle all who heard him.[21]

The Cambridge Camden Society pamphlets were written in the same tone, as were Pugin's Contrasts and the Apology for them. It seems highly unlikely that they were not influenced by the example of the Tracts both in concept and in expression.

It was characteristic of both the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society that their message was disseminated in a variety of ways. First directly by Tracts and then also by other means. It must be said that, with a very few exceptions, those connected with the Oxford Movement produced a wider range of literary forms of undeniably better literary quality than that produced by those associated with the Cambridge Camden Society. Nevertheless, since it is modes of operation that are being considered here one should note the similarity of method rather than the difference in quality.

That poetry was being used as a polemical tool of the Oxford Movement, as the verse quoted above shows, was also clearly recognized at the time. The Christian Observer in reviewing Lyra Apostolica wrote "There is scarcely one of those theological errors of which we have lately been contending, which may not be found more or less developed in these pages."[22]

Poetry could be a particularly successful tool, in that sometimes it sold extremely well. The Christian Year[23] was undoubtedly the most popular collection of verse produced by a member of the Oxford Movement but Keble's poetic translations of the Psalms also sold well.[24] Isaac Williams' verse[25] was notable enough for him to offer himself as a candidate for the Oxford Chair of Poetry and for many to think he should have got it. Neale was an indefatigable writer of verse, it is consistent with the Cambridge Camden Society's emphasis on ritual that his most successful work was writing hymns.

Sermons, too, were at the time a most effective vehicle for disseminating thought. Keble is reported to have advised Williams "If you want to propagate your opinions you should lend your sermons; the clergy would then preach them, and adopt your opinions."[26] Pusey and Keble both published sermons but it was Newman who excelled in this field. Church, a measured critic, estimated that no one of the time except perhaps Arnold could match him.[27] This was an avenue which the Cambridge Camden Society did not have open to them. Time and again they asserted in their own defence that they were not a religious society and that their aims were purely architectural. The assertions bore little relation to reality, but since it was the position to which the society overtly adhered they could not openly express religious opinion.

The Oxford Movement began with Rose, the editor of the British Magazine as a key figure, he died a relatively

short time afterwards. Newman took on the editorship, then when Newman retired it went to Thomas Mozley. Under his editorship and due to the contributions of Ward and Oakley it became so extreme in its views that it collapsed as the public turned against the Oxford Movement in general and Ward in particular. Up until then it was a remarkably effective journal, enjoying a very solid circulation. The poems that made up the Lyra Apostolica were first published here as were Newman's articles examining the early Church and its connection to the Church of England. Compared with the Cambridge Camden Society's The Ecclesiologist it is an infinitely superior publication but it fulfilled the same purpose for the Oxford Movement as The Ecclesiologist did for the Cambridge Camden Society. In the same way the Christian Remembrancer, one of whose editors in the 1840s was J.B. Mozley, ran several articles reflecting the opinion of the "Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture." Partly through inter-university and inter-society rivalry and partly through difference of opinion the Christian Remembrancer and The Ecclesiologist not infrequently crossed swords, thus, as has been remarked before, increasing the effectiveness of their polemic.

It is indicative of the intellectual quality of the Oxford Movement that it produced a number of theological works of considerable depth, such as Newman's The Prophetical Office of the Church or Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification. Members of the Cambridge Camden Society also produced some works of interest in the architectural

field. Durandus is the only work produced in the lifetime of the Society that could be seen to belong to this category. Paley's A Manual of Gothic Mouldings (1845) can be regarded of considerable architectural interest, it was not, of course, published until after the collapse of the Society, but it arose from his work within it. Pevsner also rates quite highly the Ecclesiological Society's A Handbook of English Ecclesiology (1847) for its contribution to the understanding of regional variations in Gothic architecture. It also is based on work carried out by the Cambridge Camden Society. In both cases the character of the work is practical and knowledgeable rather than conceptual. Here again we can see the same processes at work in both cases, serious works being used to strengthen the message conveyed by lighter weight communications and to incidentally add prestige to the Movement or the Society.

As to other literary forms; both the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society used translations for polemical purposes. Here again it seems fairly obvious that the Cambridge Camden Society built on the experience of the Oxford Movement. Translations were a useful way of saying what one was not able to say on one's own account for fear of criticism from powerful quarters. Novels were a secondary development in the Oxford Movement, not, at least at the time, employed by the leaders of the Movement, but used to good effect by others associated with the Movement. The novels by Paget and Gresley[28] are actually entertaining to the degree that some contemporar-

ies were shocked by amusement being linked with religious purpose.[29] They are almost matched in quality by Paley's The Church Restorers[30] but Neale's historical tales are of weaker stuff. His Hierologus is a curious piece of work in the form of a dialogue between two church visitors as they wended their way round the country; it is full of over-obvious polemic.[31]

Newman dismissed the novel as a polemical force. In his view "mere literary men are able to say strong things against the opinion of their age, whether religious or political, without offence: because no one thinks they mean anything by them. They are not expected to go forward to act upon them, and mere words have hurt no one."[32] On the other hand, he saw the novel having another role, one which had impinged on the formation of the Oxford Movement. Here we move on from practical considerations to more theoretical ones, from considering the Oxford Movement in its practical aspect to considering its theoretical base.

Hence when Newman was considering the origin of the Oxford Movement he attributed it to a general change in the intellectual climate of the time:

> ... a reaction from the dry and superficial character of the religious teaching and the literature of the last generation, or century, and as a result of the need which was felt both by the hearts and the intellects of the nation for a deeper philosophy, and as the evidence and as the partial fulfilment of that need, to which even the chief authors of the then generation had borne witness.

He first "mentioned the literary influence of Walter Scott

who had turned men's minds in the direction of the Middle Ages." Further:

> The general need ... of something deeper and more attractive, than what had offered itself elsewhere, may be considered to have led to his popularity; and by means of his popularity he re-acted on his readers, stimulating their mental thirst, feeding their hopes, setting before them visions, which once seen, are not easily forgotten, and silently indoctrinating them with nobler ideas, which might afterwards be appealed to as first principles.

Coleridge was also seen as an influence, so:

> While history in prose and verse was thus made the instrument of Church feelings and opinions, a philosophical basis for the same was laid in England by a very original thinker, who, ... installed a higher philosophy into inquiring minds,[33] than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept.

Often, commentators on the Oxford Movement have pointed to its need for an alternative to the "dry and superficial character of the last generation" and for the "nobler ideas" and a "higher philosophy" articulated by Newman, as an expression of Romanticism. Others, including Chadwick, have had difficulty in reconciling Romanticism and religious doctrine and have seen Romanticism and the deeper feelings expressed in the theology of the Oxford Movement rather as springing from the same root causes or from the "temper of the times"; the latter view is nearest to Newman's.

Newman's analysis illustrates the tendency for imaginative literature to assume a greater importance in determining intellectual climate, it relates to precursors of the Oxford Movment but it is equally true of the Movement itself. Newman, surely, is using literary effect

to achieve religious feeling in this extract:

> All that we see is destined one day to burst forth into a heavenly bloom, and to be transfigured into immortal glory. Heaven at present is out of sight but in due time, as snow melts and discovers what it lay upon, so will this visible creation fade away before those greater splendours which are behind it, and on which at present it depends. On that day shadows will retire and the substance show itself. [34]

Keble displays this characteristic even more markedly, recognizing an affinity between poetry and religion which he expressed in his Christian Year.[35] The widespread acceptability of such a view can be gauged from the popularity of the work. Its other most notable characteristic is the number of poems which literally or figuratively employ images of the natural world:

> Where is Thy favour'd haunt, eternal Voice,
> The region of Thy choice,
> Where undisturb'd by sun and earth, the soul
> Owns Thy entire control? -
> 'Tis on the mountain's summit dark and high,
> When storms are hurrying by:
> 'Tis 'mid the strong foundations of the earth,
> Where torrents have their birth. [36]

Or, in a gentler vein, speaking of flowers:

> Sweet nurslings of the vernal skies,
> Bath'd in soft airs, and fed with dew,
> Where more than magic in you lies,
> To fill the heart's fond view?
> In childhood's sports, companions gay,
> In sorrow, on Life's downward way,
> How soothing! in our last decay
> Memorials prompt and true. [37]

Newman too expressed a love of flowers and made use of them in his church at Littlemore.[38]

The return to Nature in its primitive form as expressed in the first verse is paralleled by a return to the roots of things to express their essence as in Newman's

interest in the early Church. The poem's other characteristic is that it invites the reader to draw on deep feelings about Nature to add to those described. The Oxford Movement's emphasis on the conduct of the individual, the development of his conscience and his personal close relationship with God - all very much part of Newman's religious philosophy can be seen to mirror the new emphasis on individual response exemplified in Keble's poetry. If all this is not an expression of Romanticism applied to a religious context it is something very much akin to it.

The same kind of picture applies to the Cambridge Camden Society but its grain is coarser. Its practical task more material, its role of the individual more circumscribed and romantic concepts interpreted on a lower plane, utilizing that more widely accepted phenomenon of Romanticism, also attributable to Scott - medievalism. We should not forget to reiterate here Piggott's view that Romanticism incorporated the local and particular and that this was an aspect of Romanticism thoroughly absorbed by the Cambridge Camden Society. Scott's portrayal of the poor, developed by Dickens can also be seen to be expressed in turn in the Cambridge Camden Society's concern for the poor. Pugin's Contrasts also expresses this theme and links it to a romantic notion that the poor were cared for better by the Medieval Church.[39]

The highly literary and hence verbal nature of the Romantic movement is also characteristic of the Gothic

revival. For the Cambridge Camden Society it is not, primarily, the revival of form per se but the revival of forms as symbols and the ideas behind the forms are necessarily verbal ones. Initially at least Gothic was not an aesthetic preference, it did not depend on a preference for Gothic form but on the meaning of that form, and the importance of the message derived from it by the spectator. Indeed Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society had such a strong belief in the strength of people's response to Gothic architecture that they saw its revival as capable of inducing in turn a religious revival.

Over this belief the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Movement clashed. The British Critic dismissed the methodology of Contrasts as betraying "an utter want of either soundness or fairness in its pretence at argument" the author mistaking "a pretty sketch for an historical fact, harmony of parts for the consistency of truth, a suitable background for an admitted premiss, and a rich perspective for a train of conclusions."[40] Poetic images and metaphors apparently were one thing, visual metaphor quite another. Neale was still pursuing the argument in 1843, he wrote:

> There are some who would rather discourage the present growing Taste for Catholick beauty, lest, instead of being loved only so far as it sets forth Catholick truth, it should be worshipped for itself. They say, and most justly, that self-denial, mortification, obedience, humility and other virtues which this age more especially lacks are of infinitely greater importance than outward comeliness and beauty; ... but they add, and in my opinion very unjustly, Let us regain the former, before we reassume the latter. We, on the other hand, however much we respect and venerate those, who are only in this thing our opponents, would rather say, Let us

> reassume the latter, if by any means we may regain the former. [41]

A point which was sharply refuted by the British Critic in its review of the book.[42]

Newman had a deep distrust of the Ecclesiologists' methodology. His portrait of Bateman in Loss and Gain is a cruel one and although written later and from a then Roman point of view, it is not inconsistent with his earlier opinion. Bateman was an ecclesiologist "one of those composite characters; he had much good and much cleverness in him; but he was absurd" and he was "a bore at least of the second magnitude." Newman describes one of his projects:

> It was as pretty a building as Bateman had led them to expect, and very prettily done up. There was a stone altar in the best style, a credence table, a piscina, what looked like a tabernacle, and a couple of brass candlesticks. Charles asked the use of the piscina, - he did not know its name, - and was told that there was always a piscina in the old churches of England, and that there could be no proper restoration without it ... [43]

On the other hand, when Newman's influence waned the Oxford Movement changed and more recognition was given to church architecture and church ritual as being part and parcel of the Movement itself. Then, the views of Pusey and the Cambridge Camden Society became very much closer to each other. Close enough as we have seen for Webb, Pusey and Pugin to co-operate in the building of S. Saviors.

What was being argued here was a methodological principle. For Newman the building of a viable myth

preceded implementation and practice. Kenny sees this as an important intellectual concept that was well ahead of its time. Newman recognized that men "lived and died for dogmas but he had never heard of a martyr for a syllogism. It is now better realized that an appreciation of the idea of myths is necessary to penetrate various social realities, but as the time Newman wrote his true originality was obscured."[44] His theory was dilated in his book on The Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine (1845), in it he wrote:

> When an idea, whether real or not, is of a nature to arrest and possess the mind, it may be said to have life, that is, to live in the mind which is its recipient ... when some great enunciation whether true or false, about human nature, or present good, or government, or duty, or religion is carried forward into the public throng of men and draws attention, then it is not merely received passively in this or that form into many minds, but it becomes an active principle within them, leading them to an ever-new contemplation of itself, to an application of it in various directions, and a propagation of it on every side.[45]

Here, admittedly, after the event as far as Newman was concerned, was described the mechanism that should have disseminated the myth that the Oxford Movement had worked to create. The mechanism of the Cambridge Camden Society is crude in comparison, so it is, perhaps, no wonder that Newman despised it.

Even in comparing the Cambridge Camden Society with the early Oxford Movement, that is, with the Movement before it had accepted outward expression of rites as an important part of its programme, it would be a mistake to characterize the Oxford Movement's concerns as wholly

religious and the Cambridge Camden Society's as only architectural. Such a dichotomy would over-simplify actuality on either front; firstly, because the Oxford Movement engaged in a number of architectural projects and, secondly, because the Cambridge Camden Society while refusing to admit they were a polemical party of the Church were indirectly advancing particular Church views through their architectural activities.

If Pusey's church of S. Saviors can be regarded as an exemplar of the later Oxford Movement attitude to architecture Newman's church at Littlemore built ten years before it in 1833 was equally influential. It created widespread interest partly because the church was Newman's and partly because it presaged, though in a reticent manner, much of what was to come. It, therefore, deserves to be described firstly, as a direct architectural influence on the Cambridge Camden Society and, secondly, for its probable effect in changing the emphasis from appreciation primarily of cathedrals and grand churches toward the more unpretentious country church.

As erected the church was a small and modest one, it was built in the Early English style, of local stone and with a high-pitched open roof. It had no separate chancel, its windows were simple single lancets and without coloured glass except for a very small badge in the centre window of the triplet above the altar. Open seats filled the nave. The east end of the church was raised and the stone altar placed against the east wall in front of the



32. Church at Littlemore as built for Newman.



33. Original interior of church at Littlemore.



34. Contemporary comment.

church's only decorative feature a seven-panelled arcade.[46] The furnishings were also plain and simple but Newman, himself, had placed a stone cross over the altar.[47] An architect had been employed for the project but Thomas Mozley also claimed credit for suggesting its design.[48]

Isaac Williams was Newman's first curate and J.R. Bloxam (whose brother Matthew wrote the Principles of Gothic Architecture already referred to on several occasions) his second. Bloxam considerably enriched the interior over the next few years, presumably with the concurrence of Newman. Stained glass windows, altar fittings, including an altar cloth and two candlesticks were added by Bloxam. All of which "made the little sanctuary in advance of any other village churches of the time."[49] The novelty of the coloured windows can be gauged from an old cartoon (Fig. 34) which shows the pattern for one of the windows (which had been taken by Bloxam from a church in Bedfordshire and the figure changed) with 'THE NEWMANIA' emblazoned across it.[50] Bloxam came to be known as a ritualist and appears to have been advanced in this regard at the time he was at Littlemore both in the vestments he wore and in his practice. All in all the church at Littlemore was a suitable structure, suitably furnished and suitably run for the leader of the new High Church movement. It was where he chose to preach his last sermon in the Church of England.

Keble, as well as Pusey and Newman, engaged in architectural work, he altered the windows in his own church

from Georgian to Gothic and built another Gothic chapel in his parish. Thomas Mozley too built a Gothic church.[51] Hence it can be seen that the leaders of the Oxford Movement patronized church building and it is notable that all built in the Gothic style. By the 1840s architecture had become accepted as a key part of the Oxford Movement. The articles on architecture, written by Thomas Mozley for the Oxford Movement organ the British Critic, indicate its acceptance. Those in the Oxford Movement interested in architecture also tended to be members of the Oxford Architectural Society.

While by no means as dogmatic as the Cambridge Camden Society the Oxford Society's views in general concurred with those of the Cambridge Camden Society. It tended to have High Church members, its preference for Gothic architecture, for High Church arrangement are similarly expressed. On the other hand, the society was less pressing about Decorated architecture being the epitome of the Gothic style and was non-committal on symbolism. Its activities tended to be less public than those of the Cambridge Camden Society, its opinions less offensive to the general public and its publications tended to be more antiquarian than polemical. The Oxford Society had most influence on the Cambridge Camden Society as a rival organization. Neale, particularly, was competitive and tried to match or outclass the other society in every way.[52] However, when contact did occur it appeared to be cordial.[53]

Newman also made a contribution to the theory of modern Gothic architecture. He is credited with describing the symbolism of his church at Littlemore; "comparing the windows, to the twelve apostles; the seven arches [with eight columns] to the pillars of the Church; the window of three divisions, to the mystery of the Trinity",[54] and so on. Isaac Williams made the most sustained effort of anyone in the Oxford Movement to link a symbolic system to church fabric and fittings. Williams' works are collections of poetry. The Cathedral or the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England (1838)[55] contains a series of poems each linking a part of the building to the part of the liturgy with which the building is connected. The west doors with Repentance, obedience and faith, the nave with the Holy Scripture the aisles with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, the transepts with the Psalms and the Epistle and Gospel, the choir with the sacramental hymn and the sepulchral recesses and the chancel with the song of the Blessed Virgin. The cloisters are joined with ecclesiastical sonnets and the chapter house with the episcopacy. There are also poems for the steps to the choir, the pillars and the windows. The whole emphasizes the connection between the fabric, the way in which it enables ritual to be performed and of the prayers associated with the ritual. The first two lines of the dedication are revealing:

> Thou who thy tabernacle mad'st of old
> To be type of things invisible.[56]

as pointing to the essentially symbolic nature of

Williams' task. He pleads "The principle of sacred association of this nature comes to us with the very highest authority by the constant use of it throughout the whole of Scripture." [57]

Williams' other two works relate more to ritual and its symbolic character rather than to the symbolic character of the building. The Altar[58] presents a series of charming if naive drawings by the author showing how each part of the Eucharist is symbolic, it also depicts as if accidentally High Church vestments, plate and ritual (Fig. 35). The Baptism[59] continues similar themes. By this time however we can no longer count the Oxford Movement as being a direct influence on the Cambridge Camden Society, indeed the reverse may have been the case, although it is more probable that they were parallel developments arising simultaneously from previous events in the Oxford Movement.

It is the third facet of the Cambridge Camden Society's theoretical base, symbolism, that should now be examined. The early Oxford Movement Tracts can be seen as politically expedient, reacting to existing circumstances and positing necessary change in the Church. In contrast the sermons treat somewhat similar topics as a serious matter of religion. In the same way the Cambridge Camden Society's concern with the religious symbolism of churches can be seen to operate on two levels - polemical and theological. Or, expressed differently, in both cases the outward concern with matters that needed to have immediate practical outcomes was underpinned by a value system which was deeply religious.

ISAAC WILLIAMS' ILLUSTRATIONS
ON RITUAL AND ITS SYMBOLISM

35. The priest takes the cup into his hand = 'Blood dropping from the cross'.



The Priest takes the Cup into his hand.

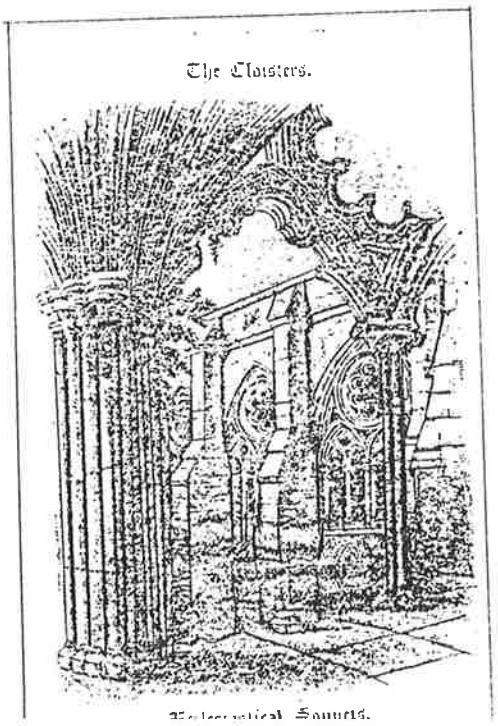
Christ stripped of His clothing.

36. The elements uncovered = Christ stripped of His clothing.



The Elements uncovered.

37. The cloisters = Ecclesiastical Sonnets.



Both facets of symbolism need to be examined; what follows will first treat the nature of symbolism as associated with policies for action and then treat symbolism as having a deeper religious content, describing the values on which the Society's activities were based. Public debate almost invariably focussed only on the former and ignored the latter, a point picked up in a letter contributing to the debate surrounding the collapse of the Cambridge Camden Society. The correspondent wrote:

> I cannot conceive how it is possible to have to do with religious buildings without some questions of religious form being involved - to have to do with churches, either in the way of building new ones or restoring old ones, without a distinct recognition that they are churches and not secular buildings - to have to do with places intended for the performance of a ritual, without sometimes touching upon the consideration of ritual questions. Nay, may it not be said that the opposite of this is the very experiment which has been tried, and which has resulted in such structures as still continued to be erected, not many years ago, under the name of churches? Was it not from the effects of this attempt, and the debasement of art inevitably attending it, that the Camden Society was especially needed to recover us, and from which professional men, acting solely on "architectural" principles, would never have fully recovered us? Is it not admitted that if in Germany, during one century, any improvement has taken place in taste, anything superior to the works of the last century been achieved in any branch of art, it is owing to a revival of religious feeling instead of the scepticism and diletantism [sic] which preceded it; to a more religious and not merely antiquarian study of the works belonging to a time when art was essentially the handmaiden of religion? [60]

The most interesting debate of this kind concerned the atmosphere that was proper in a Church of England including the amount of light admitted to it and the direction from which the light should come. In part this debate was functional rather than symbolic, the argument

being between High and Low Church over the nature of the service that should be conducted in Anglican churches and the religious purpose of the service. Those of the Low Church required a space for preaching, with a good acoustic environment and plenty of light. To them religion was a matter of the intellect. Those of new High Church views had quite a different idea of the function of a church; that it should primarily be a place of worship where the congregation was led in prayer by the clergy. Belief, for them, was best developed through the rites of the Church, which needed to be re-emphasized in the Anglican service. Further faith was a matter of conviction not a matter of rational understanding and proof. For this kind of a service, the clergy who had the power to perform rites needed to be differentiated and distanced from the congregation, and the power of prayer was most likely to be felt in a dim atmosphere.[61] Hence the felt need for separate chancels, increased space in which to perform rites and for all the appurtenances associated with them and for a general reduction in the level of light.[62]

In this way light came to denote Protestantism and its assumption of eighteenth century rationalism (from a period later, but not then, designated the Enlightenment); dark to symbolize, depending on one's point of view, English High Church or Popery and its dependence on a faith based on deeper feelings.

Light was the most commonly used metaphor for God or God's invisible world and it was particularly emphasized

in Oxford Movement writing:

> Lead Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom
> Lead Thou me on!
> The night is dark and I am far from home -
> Lead Thou me on!
> Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
> The distant scene - one step enough for me.[63]

Equally dark was seen as an appropriate metaphor for man's struggle through the world. Newman again:

> I do not shrink from uttering my firm conviction that it would be a gain to the country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy more fierce in its religion than at present it shows itself to be. (writer's emphasis) [64]

Then darkness could cloak an appropriate modesty:

> ... true religion is a hidden life in the heart, and though it cannot exist without deeds, yet these are for the most part secret deeds, secret charities, secret prayer, secret self-denials, secret struggles, secret victories.[65]

Darkness denoted man or the state of man and his imperfect understanding of the world. Light; God and God's world which might be revealed shining through the darkness, but was ever there "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehend it not." [66]

To carry such principles into church arrangement: For the Cambridge Camden Society the Church symbolized a man's passage through religious life from Baptism at the west end, through life itself in the nave, to death at the chancel arch or rood screen and life everlasting with God at the east end. Accepting this system and linking it to the previous metaphors it follows that the nave should be comparatively dim and the east end a blaze of light. It is here that we can see the origin of the ill-defined but

most insistent belief of the Cambridge Camden Society that windows at the west end should be smaller and less imposing than those to the east.[67] Under these circumstances morning service with the sun in the east was likely to be a more effective demonstration of the symbolic system than services late in the day. No wonder the Anglican High Church yearned for candles on the altar and for them to be lit. But candlelight denoted Popery and this option was not at the time open to them. Paley's description of the Catholic altar in history displays all that was sought after:

> The high altar was raised on many steps; it was of stone, supported on gilt pillars, and had a rich cloth of golden tissue hanging partly over the front, where it was met by a frontal of crimson embroidery ... On the altar stood a large golden cross, sparkling with rubies and emeralds inlaid, a tabernacle of gold and crystal for the reception of the Host, and two mighty candlesticks of solid silver, with waxen tapers upon the prickets.

If "emitting a blaze of light" is prudently omitted it is certainly implied. Neale's descriptions of taking brasses by candlelight, and its effect on the appearance of the church probably had some of the same overtones.

Hence we can see that when the Cambridge Camden Society advocated dimness in churches they were also by implication advocating the Oxford Movement's view of religion as "mysterious and awful."[68] An atmosphere of darkness was metaphorically connected with man's necessarily imperfect knowledge of God, and took note of God's reserve in revealing himself to man. Indeed darkness almost becomes synonymous with a pre-condition for revelat-

ion, and to live one's life through darkness, a test of faith until death when "we are no longer then in the region of shadows" and when He calls us in turn to "walk in the light as He is in the light."[69] If light is the symbol of God's presence, lights on the altar become a contentious matter because they symbolize the Real Presence at the Eucharist - a hallmark of Roman Catholicism. Here the Cambridge Camden Society had to tread very carefully hence their compromise in advocating unlit candles on altars.

It is clear that Gothic churches suited what were seen to be the needs of the new High Church movement and it was not long before Gothic particularly in its less well-lit form - Decorated rather than Perpendicular also became symbolic of the Oxford Movement. In fact, Gothic symbolized much. To the Cambridge Camden Society it was "the only Christian architecture."[70] To Dissenters and Protestant members of the Church of England it signified 'Popery' and in this they were oddly aligned with Pugin, for both, Gothic churches were properly Roman Catholic churches. To the Cambridge Camden Society they were Catholick churches expressive of traditional Anglican ritual.

Gothic as a style also denoted Englishness, the Decorated form especially being regarded as a peculiar English development of the style, and hence it was seen to connote the English Church.[71] Pugin in endeavouring to claim Gothic architecture as Roman Catholic[72] was out of step with the English High Church's code of meaning but in

sympathy with French Catholics like Montalambert.[73] Gothic was also recognized as a northern European style in opposition to the classicism of Rome,[74] and hence Italian Gothic tended to be rated poorly as being not sufficiently northern, that is, anti-Roman.[75] These two meanings were not compatible and caused some difficulties within the Cambridge Camden Society. Neale was a staunch believer in Decorated Gothic as a national style, Webb more inclined to view it as part of a northern European style. It was only after Neale left The Ecclesiologist that it began to consistently run articles on Continental churches.

It is of considerable interest here that those of the Oxford Movement who became Roman Catholics rejected the Gothic style. They also ignored the plainer English version of classicism and built in the more full-blown classical style considered to represent Rome; the Bromton Oratory epitomizes the latter form. For many architects classicism connoted professionalism and expertise; Gothic architecture was for amateurs because, as was said, classic "architecture is beyond them, the due appreciation of its beauties requires an elevated mind and cultivated taste."[76]

For the Cambridge Camden Society, as we have seen, Decorated Gothic was indicative of the Catholick Church at the peak of its development and power. It was an architecture showing the Church in full bloom unsullied by interference from the state.[77] Clarke notes that new churches built in the Decorated style could also be seen

to be differentiating themselves from the earlier, plainer Early English and Perpendicular churches built by the Evangelicals.[78] In fact plainness denoted Low Church and decorated, or Decorated (and the aural identity of the two terms should not be ignored) High Church.

For Protestants plainness in a church meant that there was no distraction from rational effort, richness was to be distrusted since it led to superstition and doctrinal error.[79] In addition plainness and modesty was seen to be an appropriate image of man standing before God.[80] For the Cambridge Camden Society a church was God's house, not man's, and every effort should be made to build it as well and as richly as means allowed.[81] Further, richness and decoration added to dimness produced an appropriate atmosphere for the worship of God. There is no doubt, as Pevsner notes[82] that Decorated Gothic was also an aesthetic preference of the Cambridge Camden Society, being more elaborate, more substantial and more modelled - all characteristic features of Victorian architecture - but such a description could apply equally to Romanesque architecture, which others advocated but of which the Cambridge Camden Society thoroughly disapproved.[83] Hence aesthetic preference must be seen as of secondary importance compared with symbolic value.

However, even during the lifetime of the Cambridge Camden Society there was a tendency to justify the use of Gothic on aesthetic grounds and this trend was accentuated after the collapse of the Society. Then, Gothic came to be

treated as an aesthetic system rather than a symbolic one. Geometry, structural systems and building methods superseded symbolism and its primary principle 'Sacramentality'.[84]

The Cambridge Camden Society's four major crusades can all be seen to be related to religious issues current at that time. It was a primary characteristic of the Oxford Movement that it placed a higher value on the efficacy of the sacraments than had been usual in the Church. Baptism was re-defined as a rite involving Baptismal Regeneration: "a means of grace an instrument, by which, when rightly received, the soul is admitted to the benefits of Christ's Atonement."[85] The Cambridge Camden Society responded with a strong campaign to restore fonts and to get them used and cared for. If the Church signified man's passage through his religious life the font must logically be placed at the west end of the nave at the start of the journey. This was the position advocated for it by the Cambridge Camden Society and was, incidentally, the place indicated for it in the rubrics.

The Eucharist being the only other rite of the Church of England was accorded equal importance. Newman appears to have regarded it as the chief instrument of faith. Hence he wrote:

> When'er I seek the Holy Altars rail,
> And kneel to take the grace there offered me,
> It is no time to task my reason frail
> To try Christ's words, and search how they may be,
> Enough, I eat His Flesh and drink His Blood
> More is not told - to ask it is not good
>
> I will not say with these, that bread and wine
> Have vanished at the consecration prayer;
> Far less with those deny that aught divine

> And of immortal seed is hidden there
> Hence disputants! The din, which ye admire,
> Keeps but ill measure with the Church's choir.[86]

The battle about the altar to S. Sepulchres was to be the Cambridge Camden Society's last. Two prominent Evangelical clergymen Rev. F. Close and the Rev. W. Goode were among those who supported its removal. Indeed at the time Goode wrote a pamphlet, Altars prohibited by the Church of England (1844). It, in turn, was reviewed by the Christian Remembrancer:

> Few things seem to us more important than rightly to develop, make conspicuous and solemnize, the Eucharistic furniture, of our churches; than to build so as to make them central objects and in all things suggest the thought of the Eucharist being the principal purpose to which the structures are devoted; and often few things are less worthy of being, we do not say discussed, but quarrelled about, than how far, or on what occasions, or with what limitations, persons who agree with those sentiments, should call the Lord's Table an Altar.[87]

The point was that an altar symbolized the Eucharist as a rite and was appropriate to its ritual, and it was for this point that the Cambridge Camden Society fought.

The battle for choirs and chancels to be used only for ritual associated with prayer and only by the clergy was consistent with the importance placed on the altar and the Cambridge Camden Society's insistence that the proper place for the altar was within the chancel (the rubrics were ambiguous on this point). The battle for larger chancels in new churches had the same root. In addition chancels were seen as the domain of the clergy, additional room for them would appear to confirm their special status. This preoccupation of the Cambridge Camden Society

was derived from the Tractarian view of Apostolic Succession and the especial role of the clergy, whose power to perform rites was conferred by this process. That larger chancels were adopted was, perhaps, as much due to a change in ritualistic practice, and an introduction of quasi-clergy - the choir, into chancels as to any other influence. In this matter the Cambridge Camden Society was working very much in parallel with the Oxford Movement ritualists.

The Cambridge Camden Society's crusade against pews has already been described. The argument here again reflected a new emphasis on the legitimate self-contained power of the Church and in this case presupposed an equivalent diminishment of secular authority. The demolition of pews therefore tended to be a symbolic gesture. In common eyes open seats denoted High Church or Roman Catholic arrangements since it was recognized that they more readily allowed the congregation to kneel. Pews were seen as Protestant, so again it was Goode who attacked the Cambridge Camden Society in a pamphlet on The Wooden Walls of England in Danger[88] - to him pews were also English and their walls a bulwark for fending off Catholicism. Finally, one wonders if the Cambridge Camden Society's crusade against pews was commonly seen as Puseyism?

It is indicative of the extent to which the Cambridge Camden Society relied on Oxford Movement theory and its outcome in ritual that when such backing was missing the Cambridge Camden Society seemed lost. For instance, what

the function and expression of church towers should be was a vexed question and one to which the Cambridge Camden Society seemed unable to find a satisfactory answer, other than for bells, but that left space below which the Cambridge Camden Society recommended be left open apparently on the grounds that there was no pre-envisaged use for it.[89] The only symbolism the Cambridge Camden Society could attach to towers was worldliness. Hence:

> On a modern church to which though conspicuous by its spire, was attached to a very inadequate chancel
>
> A shallow chancel, scarce six feet by ten,
> Which rail'd and painted forms a decent pen;
> A lofty spire that beams its glittering vane
> One hundred feet exalted from the plain -
> Say, was this would-be Christian elevation
> Built for devotion or for ostentation?
> By the tall spire we gauge the pride of man,
> The world's devotion by the chancel span.[90]

New pieces of equipment also presented difficulties of the same kind. The Society was unable to incorporate stoves for warming churches into their symbolic system so they were rejected out of hand, braziers seemed more historic and were allowable if pierced with ecclesiastical motifs. The Cambridge Camden Society concluded "the simplest, the best, the most Christian-like method of warming a church is to open it for Daily Prayers. Here they were on firmer, Oxford Movement ground once more.[91]

The Cambridge Camden Society, as has been said, was a practical body, which was a very successful instigator of action. What emerges here is the single-mindedness of their direction. It was dependent upon Oxford Movement theology and more particularly, in the cases we have

examined, the outcome of that theology as High Church practice. The meaning the Cambridge Camden Society conferred on architecture and fittings in its principles or pronouncements on correct form or arrangement was a meaning already defined in theoretical terms by the Oxford Movement; the Cambridge Camden Society gave it expression.

The last section of this case study examines four dimensions of the value system of the Cambridge Camden Society. It seeks to establish on what basis Gothic churches and their furnishings were seen to be worth the effort that was expended on their survey, appreciation, conservation and replication. The four dimensions chosen as being of the greatest importance are the value of churches as an expression of the presence of God, the value of churches as an expression of the revealed world of God, the value of churches as an expression of Tradition in the Church and the value of churches as an expression of man's relationship with God.

Each of these dimensions sees churches as valuable for the extent to which they are able to incorporate and express religious qualities - for, in fact, their symbolic value. That churches were symbolic was the basis of Contrasts (1837) and the work was influential even if the symbolic system expressed was at this stage a crude one. Isaac Williams' The Cathedral (1838) is another sustained attempt to imbue churches with, in this case, wholly religious meaning. The Introduction to Durandus (1843) can be seen to be attempting the same task.

Traditionally, the use of symbolism had been a characteristic of the High Church in the Church of England. Butler, for instance, had been described by Walpole as being "wafted to that See [of Durham] in a cloud of metaphysics and remained absorbed in it."[92] Newman as we have seen admired Butler and used his key work the Analogy in developing his intellectual framework. Newman's own writing is full of symbolic references but it also contains, like Butler, a deeper use of symbolism, first as an integral part of inductive thought, then as a basis of religious investigation and, finally, in his Christian theology.

It is hardly possible to quote Newman without displaying the use of symbolism as a literary device or as a method of illuminating a point, and several instances have already been given of the literary and poetic character of his and Keble's writing. The way in which symbolism becomes part of everyday, and therefore for Newman, inductive thought is explained by him:

> It is the characteristic of our minds to be ever engaged in passing judgement on the things which come before us. No sooner do we apprehend than we judge; we allow nothing to stand by itself: we compare, contrast, abstract, generalize, connect, adjust, classify: and we view all our knowledge in the associations with which these processes have invested it. [93]

Further:

> All things that we see are but shadows to us and delusions, unless we enter into what they really mean. [94]

Here we see the connection between everyday and religious

thought, for meaning for Newman must be in essence religious.

Brilioth summarizes the connection between the Oxford Movement mode of religious thought and its theology, he refers to their description of the "mysterious character of spiritual reality." About which "All our thoughts and concepts are only symbols, approximate expressions of a truth and a reality which go beyond possibilities of thought and speech. Before this reality, the mightiness of which is beyond all imagination, man must tremble."[95] In short, the Oxford Movement and Newman held that "material phenomena are both types and instruments of real things unseen."[96] It was Newman's salient contribution to religious thought to make this symbolic system seem pertinent and convincing and through it to make palpable the presence of God's unseen, unknowable world.

It follows that in a symbolic system of this kind that the two material manifestations of God's world, the natural world and the Church, are of considerable importance. It is the latter which needs to be considered here - the Church as witness of God's presence. In this regard Newman is an incredibly rich source on which to draw, many facets of the Church as witness are expressed by him. He describes it as an "Encouragement to Faith"[97] as "a pledge and proof of God's never-dying love and power from age to age"[98] and as "the great company of the elect," explained as "the invisible Church which is truly Christ's mystical Body, and the temple wherein He dwells,"[99] and:

> He dwells in the hearts of His Saints, in that temple of living stones, on earth and in heaven, which is ever showing the glory of His Kingdom, and talking of His power; but since faith and love and joy and peace cannot be seen, since the company of His people are His secret ones, He has given us something outward as a guide to what is spiritual.[100]

It is the Church as the Christian ministry to which he refers here, and in the next to its origin:

> ... the Church is called 'His Body': what His material Body was when He was visible on earth: such is the Church now. It is that which we must approach, to gain good from Him; it is that which by insulting we awaken His anger.[101]

Here we have two chains of symbols: firstly, the visible Church indicating the presence of the invisible company - His mystical body which is Him and, secondly, the visible Church derived from His Body on earth which is again indicative of His mystical body and of Him.

None of these quotations of course refers to churches, and only some of them to the visible Church. Newman works on a very abstract plane, but curiously it is the most abstract of the conceptions which by using the metaphor of "that temple of living stones" to express "His company" offers the best opportunity to extend the chain of symbols into the material and actual; from the Visible Church to churches, not, perhaps, for Newman but certainly for the Cambridge Camden Society. That is, churches may join the chain if they are capable of incorporating a symbolic system in their architecture; for the Cambridge Camden Society and for Pugin it was only Gothic churches that possessed this attribute and therefore it was only Gothic churches that were valued by them as witnesses of God's presence.

Consequently, Gothic churches were seen as arks signifying the company of the Church[102] or as symbolic of the body of Christ. The latter metaphorical relationship was an elaborate one; the chancel was seen as His head, the chancel deviation from the axis, as the droop of His head on the cross, the shape of the church as His cross, the nave his body and so on. In a post-Freudian age one can note the difficulty the Cambridge Camden Society had incorporating the church tower into this symbolic system, the insistence that entry to the church should be at the side rather than the west end and that, perhaps, the Society's opposition to triple lancets at the west end was indicative of two nether appendages being more acceptable than three.

The next quality for which Gothic churches were valued by the Cambridge Camden Society has already been thoroughly described. 'Sacramentality' was the form of symbolism Neale and Webb chose to emphasize in the Introduction to their translation of William Durandus' Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.[103] In it church architecture is seen as both an extension of the Church's sacramental system and as an expression of its sacramental activities, its ritual. Ritual, in turn, was the outward expression of the rites of the Church and was symbolic of them. Rites symbolized the revealed nature of God's world because they stemmed from His appearance on earth and His example. Again, one should note the long chain of symbols each one less concrete than the last.

The importance of the rites of the Church was a traditional High Church tenet. Butler, for instance, "insisted strongly on the usefulness of the outward forms and institutions in fixing and preserving a sense of devotion in the minds of men."[104] To Newman, too, rites were of great importance, he saw them as one of "two languages, or two separate approximations towards the awful unknown truth" the first being "the figure given to us in the Scripture" and the other "a Truth Sacramental; that is a high invisible grace lodged in an outward form,"[105]- the rites of the Church, which "are in their nature capable of impressing our memories and imagination with the great revealed verities."[106] And approaching closer to the more visible by moving from rites to ritual - but still emphasizing symbolic quality, Newman writes:

> The whole system of the Church, its discipline and ritual, are all in their origin the spontaneous and exuberant fruit, of the real principle of spiritual religion in the hearts of its members ...

But meaning is only maintained as long as the symbolic relationship holds, rites lacking symbolism are valueless, thus:

> The invisible Church has developed itself into the Church visible, and its outward rites and forms are nourished and animated by the living power which dwells within it. Thus every part of it is real down to the minutest details. But when the seductions of the world and the lusts of the flesh have eaten out this divine inward eye, what is the outward Church but a hollowness and mockery, like the whited sepulchres of which our Lord speaks, a memorial of what was and is not? [107]

And, finally, Newman commented on the actual: "O may He in His mercy grant, that whatever gift rare or beautiful, we

introduce here, may be but a figure of inward beauty and unseen sanctity.[108] Oakeley in spite of a tendency to ritualism also saw its dangers and wrote:

> ... we desire nothing less than that matters like these should be taken up without constant reference to "weightier" things; that were indeed to begin at the wrong end; nay, we would go farther and say that there is something quite revolting in the idea of dealing with the subject of External Religion as a matter of mere taste. [109]

The Cambridge Camden Society vigorously repudiated any such suggestion. It has already been argued that for the Society aesthetic appreciation of Gothic was in fact secondary to an appreciation of its symbolism. Gothic churches were built at a time when there was a greater emphasis on rites and ritual. For the Cambridge Camden Society, they were, therefore, an expression of such ritual. Similarly since they were built at a time when it was thought that a strong symbolic system was in operation, it was maintained that the fabric itself became part of that system. The sacramental system of rites and their symbolic meaning was important to the Oxford Movement. To the Cambridge Camden Society Gothic churches epitomized the sacramental system of the Church, which in turn embodied God's revealed truth of the unseen world, they were valued by them accordingly.

As well as embodying revealed truth the Church also accumulated Wisdom, which was embodied in its Tradition. The Tractarian position was that the Church of England was not infallible, hence from time to time dogma might need to be re-defined to some degree, additions made to Church

doctrines or steps retraced to the deeper roots of the Church. Tradition however was too valuable a quality to change lightly, alterations needed to be made with great caution and additions were safer than deletions, careful conservation was essential.[110]

To the Oxford Movement the Church was "a messenger from Christ rich in treasures old and new, with the accumulated wealth of ages."[111] To the Cambridge Camden Society since Gothic churches were symbolic and therefore contained meaning they too were part of the accumulated treasure of the Church, part of its Tradition.[112] And as Tradition needed husbanding so too did churches because they embodied Tradition. Hence Gothic churches were valuable in themselves, but they also must have seemed of special moment to the Cambridge Camden Society for the care of them was their privilege and concern; it gave the Society a religious role.

Finally, the last quality to be considered is that of the value of churches signifying the relationship between men and God. For the Oxford Movement a church was God's house, it therefore needed to be built with due reverence incorporating the best materials that were available. Additionally for the Cambridge Camden Society, since the materials were the visible manifestation of the symbolic system incorporated in the fabric it was particularly important that they should convey the message of the structure directly and they should not, especially in God's house, lie. They must therefore, be <u>real</u>.

Pugin had used this concept as a key principle in design but it is likely that it was not originally his, but was transposed from Newman. Indeed, several of his quotations already used in this section have used the term, here is another instance:

> Our professions, our creeds, our prayers, our dealing, our conversation, our arguments, our teaching must henceforth be sincere; or to use an expressive word, must be <u>real</u>.[113]

Transposing this principle into the architectural realm the Cambridge Camden Society opposed falsity in the structure of a church, condemned ceilings inserted under open roofs, render on church towers and false 'ageing' of stained glass.[114] For the Cambridge Camden Society and for Pugin Gothic churches were the only ones consistently expressing the quality of reality and were to be valued on that account. It also followed that it was appropriate for more money and effort to be expended on God's house than on worldly structures. Newman was quite explicit on this point:

> It is maintained that is not right to expend money in embellishment when the poor are unprovided with room.
>
> This is in some measure true; but then let us be consistent in the application of this rule; let us not apply it merely to the things of God, lest we deprive Him of His due, but to ourselves also.
>
> Enter into our houses; may it not likewise be said, Why is all this cost and unnecessary embellishment, when there are so many of the poor unprovided with necessary food and clothing?
>
> Do we then apply this rule merely to the things of God?
>
> Do we think that nothing is too good for ourselves which we are able to procure; nothing too valuable or handsome which art or skill can supply, and that any thing will do for the service of God, while the poor are unprovided?

> Are we to keep the best for ourselves, and to restore to the Giver of all good merely the refuse of His bounty?
>
> The differences of earthly splendour can indeed be nothing to Him whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain; and He is there most graciously present where He is most honoured; but the fact is, that a desire that God should be worshipped in the most worthy manner is the very proof of the right state of the heart. ... [115]

It was a sentiment which the Cambridge Camden Society often endorsed, being "convinced ... that as there is no object to which the choicest materials and best abilities of the architect can be so fitly dedicated as the house of God" and that:

> There are few things more painfully humiliating to the feelings of a serious and right-minded Churchman than a visit to one of those too common objects, which are at once the glory and the disgrace of the present age, a noble and ancient but dilapidated and neglected church. Reared by the munificence of our ancestors, they seem to have survived to our own times but to reproach us for our meanness and ingratitude in failing to preserve these costly gifts which the founders piously hoped to bequeath in all their original beauty and splendour of decoration to their remotest posterity. But we have shamefully frustrated their benevolent intentions. We have betrayed the trust reposed in us to leave them unimpaired to our own descendants: and now the neglect of ages has laid desolate thousands of the finest churches in the land. We have indeed now and then spent a few pounds in propping with brick a falling wall, in patching with unsightly deal a carved oaken roof, or in stopping up a broken east window with boards and plaster; but we never dream of attempting to atone for our own and our forefathers' sins in this respect, by a thorough and substantial repair of the churches in which we and they have so long met together for public worship, and which ought therefore to be the objects of our highest veneration and our most devoted love. We have learnt to consider this as perfectly impracticable; and there are many who regard the mere suggestion of it as almost an outrage upon common sense: forgetting that if such churches could be built in an age of comparative poverty, we are surely able and bound to devote part of our enormous national wealth towards keeping them in good repair. [116]

Newman's dictum "there are but two beings in the whole universe, our own soul, and the God who made it" [117] epitomized the Oxford Movement's emphasis on personal conduct and demeanour. The following quotations list the qualities of conduct that were valued:

> Meekness, love, patience, faith's serene repose;
> And the soul's tutored mirth,
> Bidding the slow heart dance, to prove her power
> O'er self in its proud hour. [118]

and

> This is what it is to be one of Christ's little ones - to have that within us through which we can do all things; to be possessed by His Presence as our life, our strength, our merit, our hope, our crown: to become in a wonderful way His members, the instruments, or visible form, or sacramental sign, of the one Invisible Ever-Present Son of God, mystically reiterating in each of us all the acts of His earthly life, His Birth, consecration, fasting, temptation, conflicts, victories, sufferings, agony, passion, death, resurrection and ascension. [119]

If churches embodied the Presence of God it followed that one's conduct toward them should reflect that toward God, Himself. It is for this reason the Cambridge Camden Society exhorted all those connected with churches to treat them well and to conduct themselves with reverence and propriety, to "dismiss every mercenary or selfish thought," and "be content to labour as in God's service, without care for your personal fame, without thought of your personal sacrifices." [120] It is a metaphor applied organizationally: Newman stressed the importance of conduct in man's relationship with God, the Cambridge Camden Society urged its members to exercise the same qualities in relation to churches.

All the Cambridge Camden Society's qualities of value for Gothic churches have been shown to have a counterpart in the Oxford Movement's theology. There is little doubt that the Society also felt that by conserving, restoring and replicating Gothic churches, and by approaching their task with due humility, they were also encouraging or instigating change in the Church. Their covert aim was to put into practice the Oxford Movement's sacramental system of religious practice, worship, by making provision for it. Such a conviction could only enhance the value of Gothic churches old and new, they now had a practical use in redirecting the form of Church of England worship.

In 1840 Pusey had defined the Oxford Movement's values in the Church.[121] Equating Pusey's definition of the values of the Oxford Movement with the values of the Cambridge Camden Society we can see how closely they coincide. "High thoughts of the two sacraments" was a principle consistent with the Cambridge Camden Society's high value placed on Gothic churches as sacramental systems and as expressing the rites of the Church. "High Estimate of Episcopacy and God's ordinance" was implicit in the Society's high valuation of Gothic churches for their expression of the organization of the Church which in turn referred to the revealed truth of God. "High estimate of the visible Church as the Body wherein we are made and continue to be members of Christ" can be readily equated with the Society's value for churches as witnesses of God's Presence. "Regard for the visible part of devotion" has much to do with man's proper relationship

with God, and it also defined the Cambridge Camden Society's practical task and gave it value. The last Oxford Movement value, that of venerating the ancient church, reinforced the underlying religiousness both of the Society's appreciation of Gothic churches, and of their activities directed toward enhancing Gothic churches' value.

It can be seen that the Cambridge Camden Society's values are those of the Oxford Movement redirected towards the built form of Gothic churches. So one can infer from the material presented in this section that the Oxford Movement was influential in forming the Cambridge Camden Society's practices, theories and values. Finally, it should be noted that it was Pugin who so often acted as a catalyst in the process of translation of ideas from the theological to the architectural realm. No doubt, although it would have been impossible for either of them to have admitted it, the value systems of the Cambridge Camden Society and Pugin would also have been alike, indeed their close working relationship suggests it.

It is not irrelevant to note here that Neale was a tedious original poet but an imaginative and resourceful translator of others' poetry.[122] Neale was the key figure in the Cambridge Camden Society, so what applied to Neale might also have applied to the Society in a more general way. Of them too one can say, they translated well.

VII. CASE STUDY TWO

THE PENAL SETTLEMENT OF PORT ARTHUR: DIMENSIONS OF ITS PUBLIC APPRECIATION AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO MARCUS CLARKE'S HIS NATURAL LIFE

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1. Introduction

The case study presents a description and analysis of the nature of public experience and opinion of what is widely recognized in Australia as one of the most important monuments associated with European settlement - Port Arthur. It contains a description of the prison during its working life, of the manner in which visits have been made to the site during the years since its closure in 1877, and of the appearance it presented to successive viewers. It is argued that to a considerable extent the popularity of the site has been due to its dramatization in Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life and that the novel did much to crystallize attitudes to what the site represented; therefore, its influence is also described. Finally, three strands or dimensions of the public's appreciation of the site and their relationship to the factors which affected them are outlined and analysed. For comparative purposes a description of His Natural Life and its reception has been included in Appendices 3-7.

2. Port Arthur as a prison

The site of Port Arthur is located at the southern end of the Tasman Peninsula which in turn is barely connected to the south-eastern tip of Tasmania. The land surrounding the site is generally rugged, the scenery is spectacular and the vegetation is often beautiful. The site was chosen to replace the over-remote prison which had been established on the west coast and which is also described in Clarke's novel.

Port Arthur was first surveyed in 1828 and the settlement was founded in 1830. Initially a small number of prisoners were shipped into the site to build bark huts to accommodate themselves and other prisoners and to build a rather more substantial timber building to act as a commissariat store. Prisoners were also engaged in logging, they cooked their own meals and tended their own private gardens. On the completion of the store the first military party arrived and they too had to set to work to build their own accommodation. At this stage Port Arthur must have been much like other small settlements in the process of being established in a remote environment, and its character was perhaps more like that of a logging camp than a penal settlement. In 1832 following a visit from the Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Arthur stricter discipline was enforced. All prisoners were to be dressed in yellow and private gardens were to be abolished in favour of a communal garden plot. By the end of 1832 the settlement housed 286 convicts. [1]

Little public interest has been shown in the drama of establishing the settlement, partly because apart from Backhouse's moralistic accounts[2] little information about it was published and perhaps also because its activities might have been seen to be more characteristic of colonization generally than of the penal system. The period that followed was the one that has been most widely portrayed and the one to which most stereotyped views of Port Arthur as a prison relate. It was the era that captured public imagination.

From 1833 to 1844 when Captain Charles O'Hara Booth was serving as Commandant the settlement experienced its most vigorous period of growth. The number of convicts grew rapidly from 391 at the end of 1833 to 836 a year later and then increased at a slower rate to over a thousand prisoners some time in 1837 and to about 1200 by the time Booth relinquished his post. All the convicts were housed in timber-framed buildings which had replaced the bark huts during 1834 and 1835.[3] Convicts were expected to work hard at a wide variety of activities - gardening, logging, sawing, carpentry, wheel-making, blacksmithing, nail-making, charcoal-burning, quarrying, masons' work, shoemaking and tailoring. In addition, the chain gangs were used to transport all heavy loads including logs. Food was monotonous since rations consisted largely of flour and meat. There was an epidemic of scurvy in 1834 but by 1839 a surplus of vegetables had been produced for the first time and the diet improved. A chaplain had been

appointed in 1833 and regular services were held. In the evenings prisoners could attend school.

The church which was the first masonry public building was commenced in 1835 and the round tower to the soldiers' barracks in 1836, the flour mill which at the time was reputed to be the largest building in the colony was built between 1842 and 1845, more or less contemporaneously two more buildings, the soldiers' barracks and the hospital, were erected. All these buildings were fine stone or brick structures, displaying a high standard of workmanship in the best military tradition. In addition, some substantial engineering works were undertaken in and around the settlement. A brick kiln, semaphore towers, a dockyard and a railway line were all built during this time.[4]

The two most well known accounts of the period were written by Lemprière, who worked at the prison for several years and recorded his experiences in his "Penal Settlements of Van Diemen's Land",[5] and an account written by David Burn who visited the settlement in 1840 and which he published in 1842. The latter was republished by Beattie in 1892[6] and was probably the one most widely distributed. In addition, Ellison's Hobart Town Almanack and [Ross's] VDL Annual[7] contained a full description of the settlement in its "Journey to Port Arthur". All three accounts were used by Clarke in writing His Natural Life.[8]

Lemprière's description of the prison compound is perhaps the most graphic:

A long range of high and strong triangular log fence, containing the prisoners' barracks, or as generally called in the Colonies, the penitentiary; and the range of solitary cells now claims the attention of the visitor. A large gateway over which hangs the muster bell, forms the entrance to the first yard, into which three rooms open, the first the schoolroom, 76ft by 20ft; which is capable of holding 150 scholars, well supplied with desks, forms, lamps, etc. The other two are the quarters of the Sub-Constable, and of certain ticket-of-leave and other overseers. On the right of the first yard is another yard containing five rooms, in all 118 sleeping berths, for the boat's crews, watchmen, singers of the choir and men on probation. In the left two rooms, one 30, the other 42 sleeping berths, are occupied exclusively by the boys, who are not permitted to hold the least intercourse with the adults, a wholesome regulation, but which it is impossible entirely to enforce.

A strong gate leads to the penal yards, a large square formed by the different rooms, 16 in number, for the convicts. There is a well in the centre of this yard, but it is not used at present. The rooms vary in size and contain from 16 to 30 men; each room has two long tables, for their meals and benches; these are washed and scrubbed after every meal, every man has a tin plate, a pannican, or porringer, a spoon and a knife and fork. These, like the tables, are cleaned every meal by men appointed for the purpose and ranged on shelves. At one end of the room are the berths of the overseers, who are responsible for regularity of the men under their charge. The sleeping berths are two long ranges of guard beds, the one above the other, occupying the whole length of the room, in the side opposite the door and windows, the berths are divided from each other by a board 14 inches high and are one foot four inches wide, and six feet two inches long.

The men thus sleep singly and, as a lamp is kept burning all night, the least movements can be observed by the overseers at the end of the room. The doors are bolted on the outside and, as the barracks are constantly visited every night at unfixed hours by the Commandant, Sergeant of the Guard, or Chief Constable, it is almost impossible that any irregularity can take place. Each man's bedding is neatly folded up every morning and placed at the head of his berth.

The rooms have a door and two windows each, the latter are not glazed, but have shutters.

In the boys' rooms the overseers always say grace before meals and after meals; an excellent practice which might be adopted by the adults for, although perhaps the most part would be apt to ridicule the idea, some might be differently inclined.

> As in addition to the scrubbing already alluded to, the rooms are frequently white-washed with lime, they have a clean and wholesome appearance which in general strikes the visitor. [9]

The period was one of summary though not unregulated punishment for offences. Punishment took the form of flogging, solitary confinement on a diet of bread and water or working in the chain gangs. The extent of punishment inflicted on the prisoners and its severity is tabulated below.[10]

TABLE 1:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
YEAR	TOTAL NO. PRISONERS AT P.A.	TOTAL NO. TRIED	NO. SOLITARY CONFINE-MENT	NO. CHAIN GANG	NO. FLOGGED	TOTAL NO. OF LASHES	AV. LASHES PER FLOGGING	% OF ALL PRISONERS FLOGGED E ÷ A x 100	% OF TRIED PRISONERS FLOGGED E ÷ B x 100
1833	391				165	6197	38	42	
1833	475				110	5500	50	23	
1836	884	932	443	246	116	3617	31	13	12.5
1838	1008	936			136	4352	32	13.5	14.5
1840	964	1111			210	8547	41	22	19

It can be seen that during this period although the punishment inflicted at a flogging was indeed severe relatively few prisoners were subjected to this form of punishment, and flogging was by no means the most usual consequence of being found guilty of an offence. Some time before the end of 1843 the practice of flogging was terminated.[11]

Flogging ceased as a consequence of a changed attitude toward punishment and of a reassessment of the nature of the convict. It had been used to cow prisoners into submitting to their sentence, hence the heaviest penalties were given for escaping or endeavouring to escape. At this stage it was not expected that the punishment would reform the prisoner. In contrast, a strict regime of solitary confinement together with a certain amount of sensory deprivation was intended to improve the prisoner and to cause him to repent and thus to reform. The Model Prison was built between 1847 and 1849 for this purpose. It was consistent with the principle of the necessity for repentance that a chapel was incorporated into the prison. Also there was seen to be a need to re-house the prisoners and several schemes were developed for a new pentitentiary, but they came to nothing.

A contemporary description details convict activities in 1848.

> Thirty-nine men were employed digging and at agricultural labour, 25 in four boats, under charge of two free and two convict overseers; sixteen are in solitary cells; 159 at various mechanic trades, 49 are servants to the officers, and 223 in the service of the station.
>
> Seventeen men were at work in the blacksmith's shop, which is about 80 feet long by 30 broad, and furnished with all necessary implements. The furnace is capable of casting five tons weight of iron in one piece, and brass frames of one cwt. The peal of bells for the church were cast here. Six forges were in full operation. The overseer reported that the men work satisfactorily. Iron work for all the government buildings and probation stations is wrought here.
>
> Forty-nine men were employed at shoemaking in a shop 80 feet long by 30 feet broad. Shoes are made for the officers, military, and men at Port Arthur and other stations.

> Twenty-six carpenters were at work in a large shop, making various articles, and house-work for the station. When there are men to spare work is done for other stations.
>
> Nineteen gangs of from six to thirty men in each are at various works about the station; twelve gangs are under free overseers; seven gangs are under prisoner-overseers, chosen from among the other men, the overseers take them to and from their work, and superintend them while at it. The acts of insubordination and resistance to the convict-overseers are frequent, and sometimes lead to the commission of violence and murder.
>
> The cook and the bake-houses are large, and well supplied with ovens and boilers; eight convicts are employed as cooks, four as bakers. The bread and provisions appeared very good; five men wash for the whole station in a large wash-house 40 feet by 30 feet.[12]

James Boyd, Port Arthur's longest serving Commandant, was appointed in 1853 and remained in charge of the prison until 1871. The character of this period can be contrasted with the prison regime of Booth's time. While Booth had been an army captain Boyd was a professional prison officer who had served as principal warden at Pentonville Prison, the prototype for other separate prisons. The change might be characterized as a change from a military to a civil regime.

Using the Model Prison a strict regime had been instituted for new prisoners. It consisted of four graduated stages:

> The worst class of criminals on arriving at the settlement are placed under strict treatment in the separate prison for periods varying from four to twelve months according to the nature of their crimes, and the disposition they evince during their confinement. Under this form of discipline the most violent and refractory are effectually subdued, and their minds brought into a more healthy condition.
>
> The second stage is the quarry gang in which the convicts wear heavy irons and are employed in the

> severest description of labour. Whilst in the quarry gang the convicts are confined in cells at night, and during the day are carefully watched to prevent any attempt at escape, the whole of the men in the gang being under very heavy sentences, and the greater proportion desparate characters, having been for many years inmates of gaols in Britain and for their continued incorrigible conduct are now undergoing penal servitude here. The usual period to be passed in the gang is six months, but ill-conducted ones are detained until they give sufficient evidence of their improvement.
>
> The third stage is light chains in the wharf gang, in which the labour is somewhat less severe than in the quarry gang and the men are allowed to sleep in the dormitories; the usual period passed in this stage is also six months with good conduct.
>
> The fourth stage is ordinary labour and association, from which the convicts emerge to the depots, eligible for private service on wages.
>
> The two first stages are much dreaded by the prisoners, and are therefore reserved for the worst characters. [13]

Firm organization and hard work, starting at 5.30 in the morning and ending at 5.30 in the evening with two breaks for breakfast and lunch, was the lot of able-bodied prisoners. Their activities were much the same as in earlier periods but the difficulty was that transportation to Van Diemen's Land had ceased in 1855 and hence the prison population began to age and was less fit for heavy work. In 1858 the average number of prisoners was 593 but in addition 274 ex-convict invalid or paupers and 74 convict lunatics were housed on the site. By 1861 less than half of the total were able-bodied men. By 1866 there were 496 convicts of whom only 261 were fit for hard labour and of whom 292 were over forty, 284 paupers and invalids and 93 lunatics. Now less than a third of the men were fit for heavy work. It was indicative of the change in the convict labour-force that the first draught animals were introduced in 1864. [14]

TABLE 2:[15]

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER MEN AT P.A.	NO. OF CONVICTS	ABLE-BODIED CONVICTS	% OF ABLE-BODIED MEN	INVALIDS & PAUPERS	LUNATICS
1858	950	593	(not given)		274	83
1861	876	517	401	46%	275	84
1866	873	496	261	30%	284	93

In spite of the settlement's falling productivity it continued to be well run. In 1865 as a result of an extensive survey that had been carried out by the British Government, Port Arthur was named as first in an order of merit of colonial prisons.[16]

The buildings that were built during the period reflect the emphasis on order and better conditions for the prisoners and the change in the prison population. A large shed was erected so that the men normally employed on outside activities could continue to work in wet weather on stone-breaking. The mill was converted into a substantial and well fitted up penitentiary and the land in front of it was reclaimed for a mustering and exercise yard. Timber-framed pauper dormitories were built in 1863 and a brick asylum was completed in 1868.

This era and its activities has excited little public interest compared with the period associated with Booth. A number of reasons might be advanced for its neglect. Firstly, because it has lacked interpretation; contemporary descriptions tend to be matter of fact and unquestionably descriptive, and no subsequent imaginative treatment has brought it to life in the way that Booth's regime was dramatized in His Natural Life. Secondly, because it seems likely that the regime at this later stage has been too like modern practice for it to be seen as of particular interest. Thirdly, because it could be seen to be according to modern standards well-organized, humane and praiseworthy - all less generally interesting qualities than cruelty and roughness, and also less interesting than the drama of escapes, murders and an incident of cannibalism.

The last period can be seen as one of decline. Control of the settlement passed from the British Government to the Tasmanian Government in 1871. Without British funding the settlement could not be sustained and it was gradually wound down until it was officially closed as a prison in 1877. The condition of the buildings mirrored the decline of the prison, the settlement was frequently described as being in less than good order. The church spire blew down in 1875, and the brick walls of the military barracks were demolished in the same year so that the bricks could be shipped to Hobart. It is during this period that both Trollope and Clarke visited the settlement and subsequently described it. Both saw it as dying

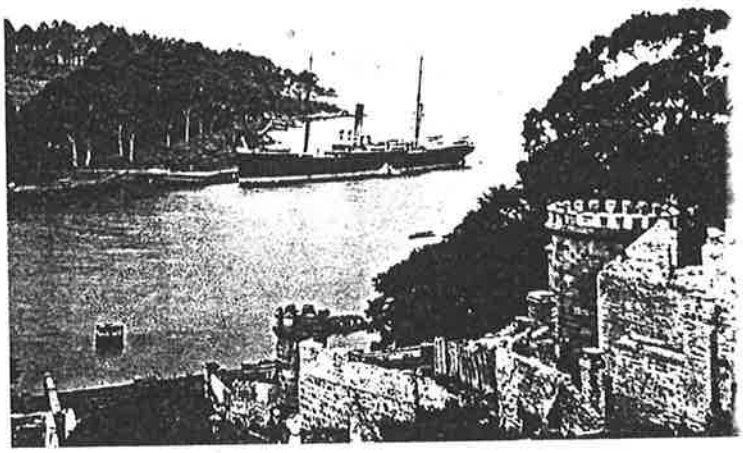
and both treated its death with some irony, although Clarke's irony was harsh and Trollope's applied with a lighter touch. This period like the previous one has excited little public comment in the years since the prison closed.

In short, we have an institution that underwent several changes during its 47-year history. Public opinion has failed to reflect the varying picture and has tended to concentrate its interest upon the prison as it was in the Booth era. Nor has professional opinion been wider spread. Even as late as 1974 the Management Plan prepared for Port Arthur stated that:

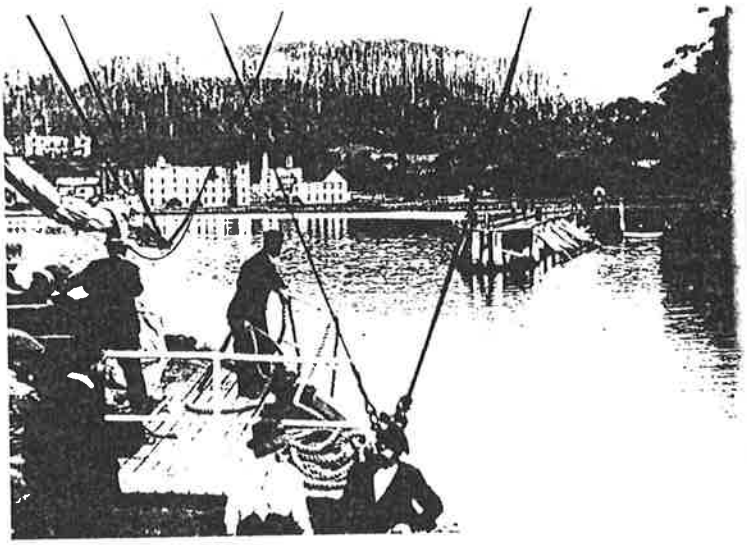
> Although there is general agreement on the historical importance of Port Arthur, there appeared to be an astonishing lack of factual data and professionally written and researched papers on this well known Australian convict settlement. There are a number of publications, some even written by academics, on various small but romantic aspects of life in Port Arthur but no authoritative study has ever been produced on Port Arthur or the Tasman Peninsula.[17]

Since then Ian Brand has amassed much information about Port Arthur and now a different picture might be presented to the public, but to date no article or book, so far as I know, has been headed "Port Arthur - the best colonial prison"![18]

TRANSPORT TO PORT ARTHUR



38. The dock at Port Arthur.



39. Approaching Port Arthur by sea.



40. The road to Port Arthur.

3. Port Arthur as an historic monument: the site and its visitors

After the closure of the prison, the largest buildings stood vacant and began, through lack of maintenance, to look steadily more dilapidated. Much of the land seems to have become overgrown and the cultivated areas gone wild. On the other hand, cottages which had been sold to private owners were re-establishing their gardens, one cottage was used as a police station, another as a school, the Commandant's house was in use as a hotel. The lunatic asylum was used for community functions. The appearance of the site at this stage must have been of a small neat village surrounded, rather disconcertingly, by large empty buildings.

Subsequently, the appearance of the site was drastically altered. After the first sale (1879) much that was easily removable was taken away, including several timber buildings. Although the church was gutted in 1885, the village itself must have looked quite attractive for the next few years. Then in 1895 fire destroyed several of the buildings on the south side of the site. The Model Prison, the hospital, the lunatic asylum were all gutted. The government cottage and several others were also burnt to the ground. Subsequently the hospital and the old lunatic asylum were repaired. In 1898 fire again swept the site. The hospital was gutted again, together with the penitentiary and several of the smaller buildings. The site now

consisted of the cottages that were still intact, the Commandant's residence, the rebuilt town hall and the public buildings, now all ruined. The church, the penitentiary, the hospital and to a lesser extent the Model Prison were roofless, gutted buildings. The surrounding bushland had also been burnt. All-in-all at the turn of the century the site must have looked grim and desolate.

The changing appearance of the site has to be kept in mind in considering people's reaction to it during this period. Tourists began to visit the Port Arthur site soon after its closure. It was reported that by 1889 the hotel at Port Arthur had 300 visitors in a season.[1] Access to the site was by a steamer which ran regularly from Hobart to Taranna twice a week. Then the visitor had a seven mile trip overland to Port Arthur on foot or by hired transport.[2] It was, apparently, a very beautiful trip.

> After a short run of some five hours in the snug little Koonya we had stepped on to the small jetty at Little Norfolk Bay to be informed by a venerable looking man, who had known no other country than Tasmania, and had only visited Hobart once, that Port Arthur was seven miles distant; "but," he added, "a coach leaves here at half-past four every steamer day." The coach in question was a spring cart said to hold six; however, we preferred Shanks' pony, and forthwith set out. It was still early in the afternoon and if the roads were not very smooth the scenery made up for it. Just as we rounded the road into a natural avenue of eucalypti and bracken a wooden tramway met us. Here and there in contrast to their charred neighbours were fallen trees now brown and gold in luxurious moss. A little further over the log bridge wild flowers of the richest colours spotted the carpet of ferns and tuft; above and around birds chirped gaily flying to and fro in the woodland happiness. Sometimes we climbed small hills, and in the sudden curve of road descended again to the fairy-like glens of the valley -
>
> "What a soft and purple mist
> Like a vaporous amethyst."

> Suffused the place with a happy glow. It was in one of these descents we had found an arcadia. "The skies were in a net," the soft dark green tops of towering trees just waving in the evening wind, huge coloured flies were buzzing past us or resting prettily on our hanging strings of bark that were white in their bleached age, above the cutting on our left, and deep down on the right were huge fern trees spreading out from the brown fungus tuft and shadowing the more beautiful clinging vines the gentle maidenhair fern, and the rod epacris, that lit with its brilliant colour the whole of the green plant life. In the labyrinth of this verdant place, and in harmony with the place came the sound of cow-bells and the whistle of the cowboy as he whistled snatches of some well-known song to lighten his journey homeward; we, too, were reaching our journey's end, someone had told us in Long Bay, and now, just in the foreground, we could see the old church ruin standing with its ivy-covered tower.[3]

In addition, one day excursions by steamer directly to Port Arthur were made several times in the summer season.[4] Boxing Day being especially popular. On Boxing Day 1897, 700 people took an excursion to Port Arthur:

> ... the promoters of the annual trip to Port Arthur, in aid of St. Joseph's Orphanage, did not depend upon the timid and weakly. They had a large number of usual customers, clients, or benefactors, as the title may be preferred who never go any where out of Hobart except Port Arthur. Some humorist told a few, who at the last moment stood the pier, irresolute, that two Hobart clergymen were to accompany the steamer, that an eminent medical man from Melbourne was on board, and that an equally eminent solicitor from the Victorian capital was in attendance. This was, of course, cheerful news ... The Manapouri started from the pier at 9 o'clock ... to the strains of the City Band.[5]

Some hours later the steamer reached its destination:

> Landed at the port, people carried out their pre-arranged programme for the three hours ashore which remained to them. Those who had not dined on board the steamer, found pleasant nooks where they disposed of the supplies which they had brought with them from town. Those who had already partaken of the excellent dinner provided in the saloon of the Manapouri, went around to see the "sights." The Model Prison had a great number of visitors, many of whom descended to the dark cell, closed the door,

and admitted it was possible to "see" darkness, and that this was palpable. Others walked up and down the "exercise yard" at the regulation pace, to "see what it was like," and more dropped into the ordinary cells and tried to imagine what "doing time" was like in the Model 40 years ago. The "old" hospital had many visitors, but it is now like a brand new one, and it is a pity it cannot be turned to some good account. The Penitentiary was not forgotten by the visitors, and all the other places of interest - mostly sad - were seen. The old church is one of the least painful objects, but even its pavements, where weeds and wild flowers find room to spring, and its roofless walls, could tell some tales of the misery, crime, and inhumanity.

Some chopping matches took place during the afternoon, and a few footraces were run, and these attracted some attention. The weather kept beautifully fine up to 3 o'clock, when the Manapouri started on the return trip to Hobart. When she had got into the open of Storm Bay there was a bit of rough weather, but it lasted a brief time and presently everything was smooth and pleasant again. The comic men once more "favoured" with choice numbers, such as "A thing he had never done before," the band played lively selections, and good female voices gave "Ben Bolt" and "Killarney," till the steamer was again in view of St. George's tower and Government House stood in clear outline to the view. Town was reached at half-past 6, and the Manapouri landed her numerous passengers in good health and spirits, well pleased with their trip to the historic port in old Tasman's Peninsula. [6]

On the other hand, a private trip was a far more leisurely affair confined to those who were in a position to take holidays.[7] A visit to Port Arthur was likely to include visits to other places of interest on the Tasman Peninsula; Eaglehawk Neck, the Blow Hole and Tasman's Arch. At Port Arthur visitors stayed at the hotel which was once the Commandant's house, they could hire a guide to take them around the prison buildings. In 1887 the guide was described as "an old man who always spoke in the personal pronoun, and who from the manner of his walking had worn chains." He is reported as saying:

> when a man does 'is bit quiet he allus lives in the Penitentiary, ony yer 'ave to keep straight, else up yer goes to the orfice on a Monday morning afore the commandant, an' never a chance to speak so many weeks or months in the Model, an' if yer tries it on there, well, into the dumb-cell yer goes, that'll cure. Why, I tell yer, only just about 15 year ago when I was in No. 10A corridor, things was real bad.

The description of the way in which he conducted a visit to the Model Prison followed:

> He opened the outer door and pointed to the office, now a damp mildewed place, smelling horribly. We followed him into a seemingly circular building, that had its corridors and exercise yards arranged like a spider's net from a centre to angles, narrow damp cells with little or no light and small spring traps to each door. No one had been allowed to speak to even his fellow-prisoner, each man had exercised alone for a given time in a small triangular yard. One of these yards had been caged at the top, since, we were told, "Quigley had got out." This, then, was the musty place where human beings were eventually tortured to death, for the latter resulted in nine out of every ten cases: we pass in to the padded cell, where men who were supposed to be insane were kept for a certain time, visited by the doctor, and if suspected of "playing up" were thrust sans ceremonie into the dumb cell opposite; this last chamber is quite dark with very little air, and is concealed from view by two or three very heavy doors that completely shut out sound; thus, we venture to think, if a man is not insane such treatment would soon make him so. [8]

Others also seemed to have been willing to explain the sights, Mr Gurney who ran the juvenile school was said by the same visitor to be "most attentive, explaining many things of great interest to us." [9] Ten years later tourists were advised that "an officer of the police who is stationed there will, on producing the necessary authority from the Minister of Lands and Works be able to show everything worthy of inspection." [10]

Guide-books were available from about 1882 onwards, but they covered the tourist attractions of the whole of

Tasmania so that Port Arthur is only described briefly.[11] Beattie's book Port Arthur Past and Present (1892) was the first to be issued that dealt solely with the settlement. It contained eighteen photographs, most of which were taken when Port Arthur was a working prison. Each photograph was accompanied by a brief description of the function of the building shown. A similar publication by Beattie was accompanied by a reprint of Burn's account of a visit he made to Port Arthur in 1842.[12] In this form the visitor could build from the information provided in the guide-book a picture of the prison when it was in operation. Except, of course, there was a mis-match between the description of the prison in its earlier years and the historical photographs which were taken a generation later.

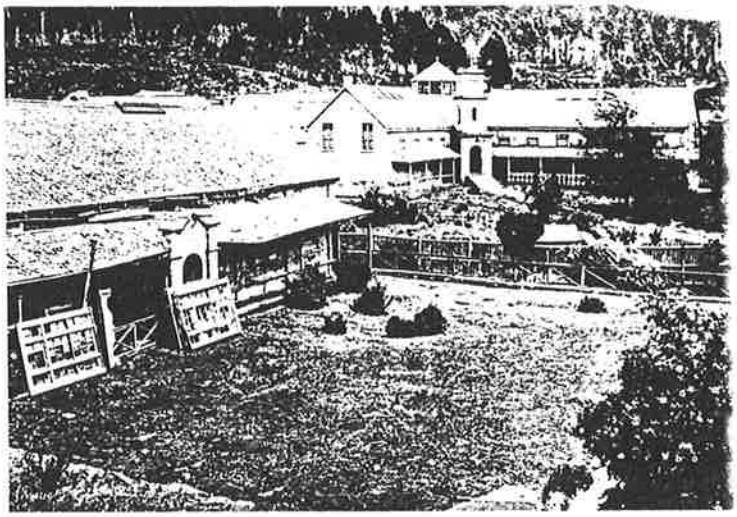
What did the early visitors go to Port Arthur for? Firstly, presumably to satisfy their curiosity:

> To find one's-self looking forward to visiting some notable place of interest is perhaps almost as pleasant as the actual pleasure of reaching there; at all events, when so much has been said, so very many descriptions given, views looked at, and histories read, one does look forward to the realisation of the mind's picture, which has been but improperly formed, and is in consequence thirsting for a completeness.[13]

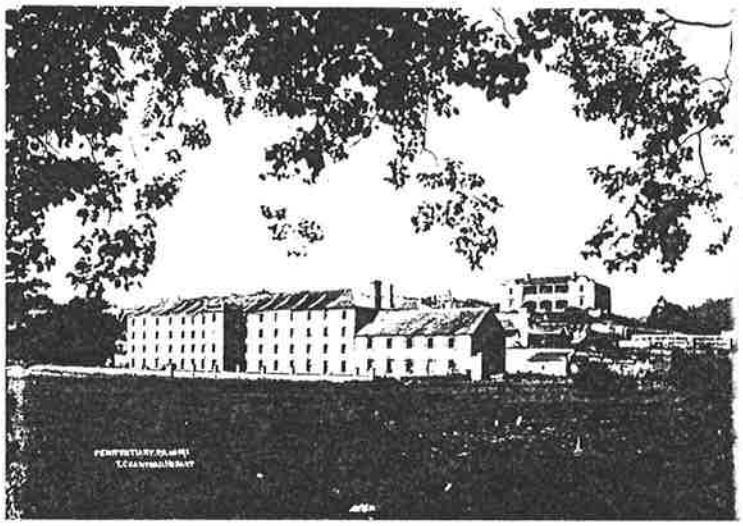
The main features of interest were the Model Prison and the penitentiary.[14] It was a 'prison' the visitors came to see and feel. Some varied approaches, but all within this ambit, were described in 1889:

> Port Arthur tourists invariably content themselves with having viewed the [usual] buildings ... finding in them quite as much "food for reflection" as they care to have. What a curious field of "reading"

BUILDINGS OF PORT ARTHUR



41. The lunatic asylum built 1868.



42. The penitentiary and hospital behind.



43. The interior of penitentiary.

> would be opened up were each one to commit his or her impressions to paper. One section - the dubious set - takes everything cum grano; another, giving heed to all the blood-curdling incidents which have passed into tradition, hunts round for "indications" of untold horrors. Then there are the relic hunters who, standing in the shadow of the building where the manacles and leg irons were wont to be kept, grow eloquent upon the subject of prison doors, bolts, bars, and chains. Others, having read with mingled feelings the two books which specially treat of the convict days of Van Diemen's Land, and recognising that the sufferings of the, in one case, heroine, and, in the other, hero, would have been averted had they chosen to defend themselves when placed upon trial in England, endeavour, pondering cold facts and poetic licence, to "strike a balance." Probably, a heaped-up measure of what has passed into history concerning Port Arthur is true. When a nation literally dumps her scum upon an isolated spot, it naturally follows, since crime breeds crime, that the spot so favoured or cursed - the latter is the better word - would in time develop into a hot bed of villainy, a hell upon earth. [15]

Even the church could conjure up a vision of the convict past:

> What shadows of the past flit across his vision as standing within the ivy-clad walls of the dismantled, yet strangely picturesque, old prison chapel, he meditates upon the scenes it has sheltered, sees in imagination the building once more filled with the bond and the free ... [16]

By 1914 it was possible to visit Port Arthur overland.

> That involves the crossing of the ferry, a railway trip from Bellerive to Sorell, and then on by coach to Dunalley. It should be carefully noted that the coach runs only on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday to Dunalley, returning to Sorell on the alternate days. From Dunalley to Eaglehawk Neck (12 miles), and from the Neck to Port Arthur (another 12 miles), the journey is made by vehicle. This means at least a three-day's outing. Parties of four or five can arrange for a visit to Port Arthur by motor-car; time, two days. [17]

Although the regular steamer still continued to run to Taranna and "on certain long summer days the steamers make

return trips, leaving Hobart early and returning comparatively late in the evening." [18]

By this time too evidence of the bush fires is sufficiently disguised for the town to be called "the prettiest in Tasmania ... the fine avenues of oaks and of elms, the ruins of the old church (the roof and fittings of which were destroyed by fire some years ago), appeal to all lovers of the picturesque." The fires uncovered the quarry from which the building stone for Port Arthur had been taken. It was much admired at this period combining, as it did, the natural scenery with the man-made settlement to form "a natural fernery." [19]

Once the road became open the day trip to Port Arthur became a common form of visit. In 1926 when scenes from His Natural Life were being filmed at Port Arthur, the Mercury reported:

> Keen public interest is being shown in the operations of the company producing the film, "For the Term of His Natural Life." Port Arthur is becoming a favourite motor trip for those interested in the unusual work being carried on there, and at the week-end a large number of visitors from the city watched the "shooting" of scenes in the historic setting. [20]

The same interest was expressed the following weekend:

> A motor ride of three or four miles along a "road" that is boggy in parts and sandy in others, and at times loses itself amongst the wattle and the gums altogether, brings the company to a point as close as location at Safety Cove as it is possible to get without walking. Here 50 or 60 convicts are waiting, with several warders and soldiers, and across the dried-up bed of a creek is a bullock-dray waiting to take the cameras and the rest of the equipment out to the spot chosen for the day's work. Although it is Sunday morning, and only a little after 9 o'clock, three strange motor-cars and at least 50

> visitors are waiting to see where the company goes and to follow them up.
>
> It is a long and weary walk across the hills. Two youths, who have cycled 60 miles from Hobart the previous day, find it tiring. They are not alone in the discovery. At last, when one has given up all hope of ever finding it, the location comes to view. The first impression is that Mr. Dawn's tramping around amongst the hills for this location has not been in vain. The location is ideal. Actually an old quarry of the dreadful transportation days, stones that were broken from the wild shores by the convicts, still lie around. Not 50 yards away, the long swells, coming in a great unchecked sweep from the cold Antarctic, break sullenly at the wet cliff base, and the white spray, with a roar like thunder, flies a hundred feet into the air.

Shooting begins and:

> By this time a crowd of something like 500 people has gathered around, although many of the people have had to walk from Port Arthur. Many others who have come from Hobart for the day are unable to find the location, and return disappointed. [21]

By this time the site was under the control of the Tasman Council who occupied what was the old lunatic asylum. It made available a guide, who in himself became a legend associated with Port Arthur - Alf. Mawle "Better known as 'Alf. the guide'." His "grandfather was overseer of the wood gang and his father chief clerk."[22] As guide, he superintended the experience the visitor gained from the Model Prison and the 'silent cell' as a visitor records:

> Before this heavy forbidding building we now stood, and I was invited to enter by the door ... the first of a series of no less than four doors on the way to the final black hole reserved for the hopelessly refractory. I passed through the door and along a passage to the left, which, after a few feet, turned back on itself round the end of a wall, and through yet another doorway I groped my way into the dark and silent cell. The darkness and silence were absolute. I lit a match; it only seemed to illumine a small area round the flame. I could but dimly see the wall. As instructed by the guide, I shouted; my

> voice sounded horrible; it seemed to go nowhere and recoil back upon itself; I seemed to be entombed in fold upon fold of masonry and was glad to hurry back along the passage to human companionship and the light of day.
>
> "What was the maximum sentence for that dreadful place?" I asked.
>
> "No man could stand it for more than thirty hours," replied the guide; "enough bread and water to keep him alive was passed under the door," and he told me the tale of one incorrigible prisoner who, after a hopeless resistance, had been hurled into the chamber. At the end of thirty hours they came to fetch him, but his obduracy had hardened to rock. "I came in at your pleasure and I come out at mine," he said. To avoid another struggle they left him there and returned at the end of another thirty hours to release him; but the Ne plus ultra had justified its reputation, the unfortunate man was dead. [23]

And he probably also affected people's general experience of the site:

> The afternoon we spent inspecting the ruins under the capable guidance of Alf. the official guide. Much could be written of these old relics of Tasmania's early history, but, perhaps, it is better that a veil be drawn over a past which is far from creditable to our race. Sufficient to say that interesting as the ruins undoubtedly are, on most of us at least, they had a rather depressing effect. [24]

Beattie's guide-book continued to be available and it was joined by another produced by W. Radcliffe who also ran 'The Old Curiosity Shop' at Port Arthur. This guide again used the Beattie photographs with rather cursory descriptions of the buildings. It was accompanied by "notes of an officer of the Convict Department of Port Arthur and extracts from the records" detailing punishments inflicted.[25] The Old Curiosity Shop was advertised as containing "thousands of names of convicts and their records; over 500 prison exhibits. 700 pieces of old English China and Delft Ware ranging back over 200 years;

also a collection of old books, curios, shells, old clocks, etc., making one of the bext exhibitions of Antiques in Australasia." [26]

In spite of the road being opened, people still continued to spend a holiday at Port Arthur. The Hotel Arthur advertised itself as "the only licenced house on the Peninsula" with:

> First-Class Accommodation for Tourists and Visitors. Good Fishing and Bathing. Hot and Cold Showers. Up-to-date Septic Tank System. Daily Motor Services from Bellerive. Kodak Supply. Cars for Hire. All Boats Met. Motor Accessories. Bowser Petrol Tank. Tours Arranged and Conducted - Reliable Drivers. Boating and Fishing Excursions. Boats for Hire. [27]

A description which gives a fair idea of the extent to which motor transport was beginning to affect the trip to Port Arthur. The Commandant's Residential House was more conservative:

> TOURISTS!
>
> Spend your next holiday in beautiful and historic surroundings situated right on the beach and in an elevated position.
>
> Sewerage. Hot and Cold Baths, and Garage. Beautiful Walks in Fern Ravines. Surfing and Fishing. Tennis Court alongside Residence. Excellent Cuisine.
>
> The Commandant's House was built about 1834, and was the dwelling of each Commandant who had control of the settlement of Port Arthur. It overlooks the Bay and surrounding country, and is only one minute from the water's edge, the tennis courts and bathing beach. It is now the leading boarding establishment at this favourite resort. [28]

While the 'Roseview' Boarding House was photographed for its advertisement with six cars in front of it, it apparently wished to cater for those enjoying the outdoor life:

> Come to this House and enjoy a glorious holiday in beautiful surroundings. Well equipped with all modern conveniences. Well situated, and close to

> tennis courts and all beauty spots. House Overlooks Harbour. Boating and Fishing Excursions. Tours Arranged. Guide on Premises. Garage Accommodation. [29]

It is consistent with enjoyment of the use of the motor car that Port Arthur is now not seen as an isolated settlement but as one of a number of attractions that can be driven to in turn:

> For the visitor to Tasmania, Tasman Peninsula is one of the most interesting places in the State. It has glorious scenery of mountain, woodland and water, and the whole peninsula is full of historic associations. [30]

The Motorists Handbook and Road Map of Tasmania (1936/7) sees Port Arthur as "the headquarters of the penal establishment on the Peninsula." [31] By the summer of 1937 two-thousand visitors a month paid to enter the prison buildings. [32]

Coultman's Smith's guide-book first published in 1941 sold well and largely superseded the others. It presented a rather clearer picture of the settlement, one which emphasized the part it had played in the development of Tasmania. A new guide had superseded Alf, who had died:

> His successor was waiting to show me over the ruins. This was disappointing, for Alf was a delightful old fellow, with a repertoire of quaint sayings and a quaint way of imparting his knowledge to visitors. He seldom took care of his aitches; but he 'knew his ekker,' as a shoolboy remarked after going the rounds of Port Arthur with Alf. Nothing could stop him, once he had started off with his amusing patter, standing heels together and feet placed in the correct quarter-to-four o'clock position. Alf was word perfect with each of his pocket histories: one for the prison building, one for the penitentiary, one for the church - one for every relic on his list.
>
> The new guide proved to be a different kind of man. He spoke good English and knew what he was talking about. [33]

But Alf's legend lived on, as late as 1942 P.D. Coles wrote that:

> At the hotel, over a mug of ale, we discussed our experiences. One man, who had lived in Tasmania for a number of years, told of a guide who always used to conclude the tour of the model prison by singing four stanzas of The Captive's Song, with tears streaming down his cheeks. [34]

The one-day visit must have been coming more and more usual, so that an author who has stayed longer may now boast of an unusual experience:

> The story of Port Arthur has been too often told to need retelling by me. The days I spent there were good days. I made excursions farther afield, to spots unvisited by the one-day tourist who usually hurries around among the ruins, spends an hour over lunch, and soon afterwards prepares to leave. It would never do to be late for dinner at one's hotel in Hobart! [35]

But things had begun to change, the Scenery Preservation Board took control of the site after World War II; the ground was gradually cleared and the ruins too were tidied up and Smith O'Brien's cottage was used as a youth hostel. So although day visits must by now have been the norm some visitors stayed longer. The following description of a visit must be typical of the period.

> But this Port Arthur I am looking at from the mountain side will bear close inspection. Take a walk around. Here are the quarries where toiling convicts hewed the stone for their own prisons, now hidden by encroaching ferns and blackberries. In this church, with its ivied walls and spires, once "worshipped" hopeless felons guarded by soldiers with muskets. The service over, they marched down this leafy avenue back to jail. You walk across the "common", pay your fee at the turnstile, and are inside the walls where once a thousand captives fretted and fumed and plotted. Passing the circular towers of the powder magazine, you pause at the gate of the Commandant's residence, later a guest-house. Behind the magazine, on the hill, stood the

> soldiers' barracks, and in a line with them was that derelict building the hospital. Next, the guide allows you to tread the pavement of the Model Prison courtyard, and you are photographed in a solitary confinement cell. A century ago the man who stood where you do would have risked life and limb to obtain possession of the half cigarette you carelessly cast away.
>
> A leafy lane leads to the building that contains a town clock which chimes sweetly, and has so chimed for near a century. This is the Town Hall and offices, and once also housed the school on weekdays and the church on Sundays. Under the same roof is an octagonal room with a well-nigh perfect dance floor and in this building where now the youth and beauty of Port Arthur trip it to the lilt of the fiddle and piano, once paced stare-eyed felons, driven to madness by the horrors of their lot. Not many years ago this was the Lunatic Asylum! [36]

By 1966 the Mercury reported 35,000 visitors paid to enter the prison buildings while many others visited the site without going on the guided tour.[37] During the last twenty years there has been a sharp increase in the number of people who have visited Port Arthur. In 1970 it has been estimated there were 66,750 visitors in a year by 1974 getting on for twice that number (123,900)[38] and in 1982 300,000.

Port Arthur has been visited now for over a hundred-year period and has consolidated its position as one of Australia's premier historic sites associated with European settlement and Tasmania's biggest tourist attraction.

4. Connecting Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life with the site of Port Arthur

The effect of His Natural Life in Australia can best be understood by regarding the book as equivalent to a modern 'best-seller'. Much points to this conclusion. Like a 'best-seller' the book was widely distributed, especially in its cheapest versions, and widely read, and this process occurred relatively independently of literary critical opinion. It is not until the book was sold in a cheaper form that sales soared and this was several years after it had run the gauntlet of the reviewing process. Then, like many best-sellers, it was transposed into other forms, there appear to have been five or six versions for the theatre,[1] two of which were often performed in Australia. There were three film versions of the book, it was re-run as a serial several times. It became, in fact, an Australian 'whole cultural event'.[2] As well as organized public forms of re-dissemination it was, no doubt, also widely discussed and debated.[3]

To the extent that His Natural Life engendered visiting to Port Arthur, and there is considerable evidence that it did so, visiting, too, may be seen as part of the phenomenon of re-ification. In these circumstances it becomes important to the visitor that not only is one undertaking a personal visit, and re-playing events or transferring attitudes from the novel to its depicted scene, but also that one is aware that others, too, of the same mind, are carrying through the same ritual. In other

words, visiting too becomes not only a private experience but also a public event.

It is because "best sellers" are widely discussed, woven into the cultural fabric and played out in public that they gain a particular relationship with reality. This relationship reinforces the felt relevance of the work which was initially responsible for its public acceptance. Because the work is felt to be of private and public importance, and because it is shown to be so by its public acceptance, it is felt to be a part of the real world. It is characteristic of fictive best-sellers that the conviction of reality does not arise from the structure of the work, but from its subject matter. It is its action, characters and scene that carry conviction. This process is so strong that it operates even when the structure can plainly be seen to be contrived and artificial; as was the case with His Natural Life.

If one accepts that it is illuminating to regard His Natural Life in the light of a 'best-seller' and that it is this which largely accounts for the book's effect, then one can also appreciate that the form of the book particularly lent itself to such a process. The settings in the novel are patently real, Clarke was at some pains to establish the novel's historical basis, and particular incidents are verified by stating the sources from which they are drawn.

There are several ways in which direct links were established between His Natural Life and Port Arthur.

Firstly, the insistence that Clarke visited the place and that his novel was improved because he did so, Byrne wrote:

> Printed records of the convict days there were in abundance at Melbourne, and from these alone such a writer could have made a sufficiently striking story. But he concluded that he could make his picture at once truer and more vivid when the surroundings of the old settlements had become a full reality to his mind. [4]

This sort of opinion assumes that there was an experience to be gained from the site that could be incorporated in the novel. The way was then open for the novel to induce others to visit the site; hence:

> Lord Rosebery, writing to the novelist's widow in 1884 ... confessed that the book had a fascination for him. Not once or twice, but many times, had he read it, and during his visit to Australia he spent some time in viewing the scene of the old settlements and examining the reports upon which the novel is so largely based. [5]

Rosebery's visit might be passed off as a judicious examination before committing himself to sponsoring His Natural Life, but others had no such commitments, and still linked in a similar manner the novel, the scene and their visit to the place.

> Terribly depressing, nay, almost revolting as is the burden of this most powerful romance, it masters the reader by its enthralling interest; and the care with which all its incidents are worked out seems to make him a spectator of the action. Moncuré Conway, when on a visit to Australia, informed the writer that he first met with the book on board an Atlantic mail-steamer, and it so fascinated him that he could think of little else during the voyage. He declared that he could not think of returning to Europe without visiting Port Arthur and the surrounding districts so graphically described, and when he did so, he took the novel with him as a sort of guide-book. [6]

If this was the way in which the book was used by visitors from overseas, it has also been widely used subsequently by Australians in capacities other than as a novel - especially as myth and as popular history. The vividness of Clarke's writing, especially his ability to describe action and scene, facilitate the reader's linking of action in the novel, its described scene and actual scene.

William Senior visited the settlement just before it closed. His quite detailed account of the visit appeared in "Travel and Trout" published in 1880. He wrote of it:

> There are historical associations at Hobart Town, but they are gloomy, and connected with the island when it was called Van Diemen's Land, rather than with Tasmania. Periodical excursions are made to Port Arthur, which figures largely in these associations. And a most interesting excursion it is. The execrable doings described with such painfully vivid power by Marcus Clarke in "His Natural Life" are founded upon facts which any man may verify for himself.

Here His Natural Life can be seen to be connected with visiting Port Arthur in several ways. Firstly, the book appeared to be fulfilling an historical function and in doing so to be conveying information efficiently and convincingly. Then because the picture Clarke conveyed was powerful and "painfully vivid" it was able to act as an imaginative trigger. Senior recorded his resulting experience:

> When one thinks of the dreadful scenes that have been witnessed here, one wonders that the very stones do not cry out. There is a town in England which it was the custom to say, during the anti-slavery agitation, had been cemented with the blood of slaves. So it might be said that the walls of

> Port Arthur were raised with the blood of convicts; for, though no such horrors have been known at Port Arthur as at the former settlement, the evil heritage of the iron hand descended from Macquarie Harbour ...

Action provided by His Natural Life and place can be seen to have been closely linked by the writer. Hence, the place elicited a sympathetic response and through the application of this sympathy the writer was able to compare the events occurring at Port Arthur and Port Arthur itself with other events and other places. In placing Port Arthur in a context of like historical events, its own historical past (to which His Natural Life contributes) is confirmed as one of a type. The experience, the comparison and the concept it gives of an accepted kind of historical event led Senior to the conclusion "The history of the convict settlement in Van Diemen's Land is a dreadful one, but it is a history that can never be repeated." The buildings were seen to echo his conclusion that "Port Arthur is doomed," in linking sentiment and place his perception of the place was affected. Consequently he wrote that Port Arthur:

> ... is doomed still more by the genius of decay, which has laid its insidious grip upon turret and foundation-stone alike. The stronghold, maintained by guard-house and soldiery, will crumble to pieces. It is crumbling to pieces. You shall see nothing which embodies the spirit of desolation so much as Port Arthur. [7]

Other evidence confirms that His Natural Life was responsible for mainland visitors wanting to visit Port Arthur. The "Guide to Tasmania" for instance noted:

> No one who has read Marcus Clarke's powerful romance, "His Natural Life" - but what Australian worthy of the name has not? - but would like to see for himself the actual localities - the scenic effects, so to speak, of that drama of real life.

it continued:

> And, once in Tasmania, he can easily satisfy his wish, partly if not wholly. He may not have sufficient time at his disposal to visit Macquarie Harbour - although even that, as we have shown in the preceding pages, is not difficult of access - but Port Arthur is a much simpler matter. The little steamer "Taranna" runs ... to Tasman's Peninsula, and, as every schoolboy knows, Port Arthur is the southernmost harbour in that much-indented, all-but island, "hanging" as Clarke puts it, "like a huge double-dropped earring from the mainland." "Port Arthur," however, is not to be found, as a township, in the local itineraries. It is a name, with all its disagreeable associations, better relegated to the limbo of the past, and so in its place we have "Carnarvon." [8]

Here too it is clear that His Natural Life is still being used as a history although the events it described are rejected. The change in place name also indicates identity of place and action of the kind envisaged in His Natural Life and a wish to sever the two. The Tasmanian Government Railway Department's guide reinforced the impression that visitors went to Port Arthur as a result of having read the book.

> Those who have read Marcus Clarke's "For the Term of His Natural Life" will have no difficulty in finding the places mentioned therein. [9]

Here the emphasis has changed, it is the places described in the book which are linked to the real places, rather than action and place being directly connected. By 1914, His Natural Life can be seen to be playing a different role in relation to the site - the book has changed from a history to a 'romance' and although His Natural Life is

still considered to be paramount in its own field other influences are also admitted. The "Handbook of Tasmania" illustrates these points in the following paragraph:

> ... Port Arthur is in ruins; many of its buildings have been destroyed by settlers anxious to secure the materials of the old-time prison for their homes, others by fire; and of the rest, some have been softened by the clinging ivy. So has it fared with those grim memories to which reference has been made. Some have been allowed to perish; some have been toned down by time; others have been made the material of romances , such as Marcus Clarke's "For the Term of His Natural Life." But stay, that phrase is misleading, for there is no volume save Clarke's dealing with the old penal settlement which has, or which deserves to have, any vogue; ... [10]

By 1926 when a film of His Natural Life was made in Tasmania the Tasmanian attitude toward the book had hardened and opposition to it was freely expressed. In a similar vein the 1926 Report of the Field Naturalists' Club stated:

> To begin with, Port Arthur has been lifted far above its correct position in the initial scheme of colonisation of Australasia owing to the publication of such books as "The Term of His Natural Life." The average visitor looks upon Port Arthur as the Alpha and Omega of the era when the British Government utilised its unwanted subjects as the means of opening up new regions for settlement. There were large stations in many other parts of Australia, and even beyond our shores, but these have long been crowded out by the rapid expansion of population. These conditions do not apply in the same degree to Port Arthur, and the natural consequence is that it becomes more and more the Mecca of those who desire to study the methods of the past, some owing to a true historical desire, but many from a merely superficial curiosity.
>
> The true history of Port Arthur yet remains to be written, and much information yet remains to be gathered before this can be accomplished. An illuminating document has recently been drawn attention to by Mr. R. W. Giblin, of London. It is no less than the private journal of Captain Charles O'Hara Booth, who was Commandant on the Peninsula during the period at which the settlement was expanding under the influence of his exceptional powers of organisation.

> An outstanding feature of the journal is the inner light thrown upon the Commandant's feelings towards his charges. In spite of much that has been written and more that has been said, it is clear that Charles O'Hara Booth, as well as many other officials, who were associated with him, treated his charges in a just manner. It must always be remembered, however, that his personal inclinations as regards leniency or otherwise were always made subservient to "the system," that code of rules and regulations laid down by the Home authorities. [11]

Its attempt to discredit the image given to Port Arthur by Clarke and to replace it with another is obvious. While notions of the value of the site are retained what it appeared to represent was attacked. On the other hand, The Mercury editorial appeared to accept the popular view that site and book were inextricably bound together, which led the writer to conclude that the place should be annihilated in order that the picture conveyed by the book could also be suppressed.

> The story of "His Natural Life" is one of those collections of exaggerated "facts" that because of their being focussed upon one spot have the effects of the worst of lies upon the reader's imagination. "Pictures" may do still worse work upon ignorant minds. For our part had we the power, we would sweep away every relic of those bad old times, whether in stone, in paper, in film, or anything else capable of perpetuating memories far better forgotten, and of creating nothing but hatred where all should desire goodwill. [12]

The film was not successful but even so it must have tended to reinforce the connection between His Natural Life and Port Arthur, not only for those who saw it but for the considerable numbers of people who went to Port Arthur each weekend while it was being filmed.[13] It is also pertinent to this discussion to note that in spite of opposition to the scheme that the film company made

vigorous efforts which were eventually successful to film on location at the site itself. The ruins were used by filming them through painted glass screens which 'restored' them to their complete state. In its turn the film as well as the book must have been linked with the site, it is indicative of this relationship that photographs of the making of the film were displayed in the local pub for many years. They were still exciting comment as late as 1949!

> While awaiting lunch, most visitors take keen interest in the publican's collection of relics and photographs connected with Port Arthur and the surrounding country. Some of the pictures were taken during the filming of the famous novel, "For the Term of His Natural Life." This was a film of world-class back in the silent days. [14]

We have here a series of inputs in different media; writing, film and photography all derived from Clarke's book which added to visitors' experience of Port Arthur and which apart from this direct effect also in time became part of the history of the site and the events associated with it.

Subsequently, when the reputation of His Natural Life was relatively low it is less often mentioned in connection with Port Arthur. Occasionally against the general trend an author reverts to a former use of the novel. For instance, Chas. Weetman wrote in 1935:

> ... it is to the pages of Marcus Clarke's classic story, For the Term of His Natural Life, that the general reader must turn for pen-pictures of the convict days. [15]

And Brogden in 1949:

> There are many books on Port Arthur - though none better that Marcus Clarke's novel, "For the Term of His Natural Life" - and all contribute to give a good picture of the township's early history.[16]

Conversely, even as late as 1941 Coultman Smith could write: "The work that has done probably more damage to the reputation of the convict days than any other is "For the Term of His Natural Life"[17] and many others must have agreed with him, for, as we shall see, a much milder picture of convictism is presented in his guide-book and it has sold particularly well.

After this time Clarke's work is not mentioned in descriptions of Port Arthur. As the printings (Appendix 4) show the book was still being sold and read, but it appears to have changed its status or its social purpose. It has already been argued that the book's initial public reception is best seen in terms to its being a 'best-seller'. Later comment may be seen as a reaction to the book's earlier reception and as a reflection of a general loss of popularity and of status. Now, perhaps Wendy Abbott-Young is closest to the truth in assuming that the work has been so widely accepted that it has become merged into Australian culture, and hence that Clarke's vision of Port Arthur no longer needs to be attributed to its source. Hence, now: "... it may be that all we require of Clarke is the powerful national myth enshrined in his uncannily persistent work; ..."[18]

I have found no instances of His Natural Life's underlying myth of the sort described by Hergenhan (link-

ing Dawes' fate to the Christian myth) disseminated into popular appreciation. But it is possible to argue that this kind of quality that the novel possesses makes reception of its historical content more meaningful. Poole talks of the novel's "depths suggestive of myth and its mysterious power"[19] and Burrows of its "representation, in a dramatic symbol adequate to its purposes, not only of "what man has made of man" but also of what man can still make of man."[20] On the whole, it seems that what the novel generally imparted was the narrower story of "what man has done to man", what the convict system was like and how it operated. The novel was used as a history, one which because of the mode in which it was told made it easily assimilable, easily believable and easy for the reader to build on imaginatively and so to envisage its action. The novel's popularity may be seen to have risen, waned and risen again, in response to factors affecting the reception of the historical truth of the picture offered.

It would be naïve not to recognize that Clarke's novel offered too, an experience akin to that offered by, for instance, 'the Chamber of Horrors', to those experiences that play on the depiction of cruelty and invite the participators to play with it, while remaining, in fact, safely outside it. Clarke's novel here only provides a more sophisticated, and more horrifying, picture than the guides, pandering to the same needs provided on the site for many years.

In Tasmania it appears that the public's attitude toward its convict past has prevented the work from being

given its due; generally it has not been found to be credible as a novel, it has been regarded as untrue as history, to be sadistic, morbid, mournful and as better ignored or as doing harm. Its success elsewhere has been deeply resented by Tasmanians. Hence, Robson recognized that Clarke's novel "is responsible for some popular opinions concerning the transportation of prisoners to Australia", and, therefore, he felt it "just that his references be traced and appraised."[21] Although he was unable to fault Clarke's sources, he still found that the general picture presented was an unbalanced one and, therefore, was not historically true. Similarly, Horner questioned the sincerity of Clarke's statement of his aim expressed in his preface, and commented:

> Damning as is the gruelling portrayal of the operation of the system, the fullness of its description could well be the result of fascination as well as repulsion - the same mixture of emotions which makes Port Arthur a tourist attraction today. Clarke's consciousness of the fact that he had derived some satisfaction from the creation or re-creation of his barbarous scenes could well explain a great deal about the nature of the novel as well as the author's attempt in his preface to ascribe to it a nobler motive.

he continues:

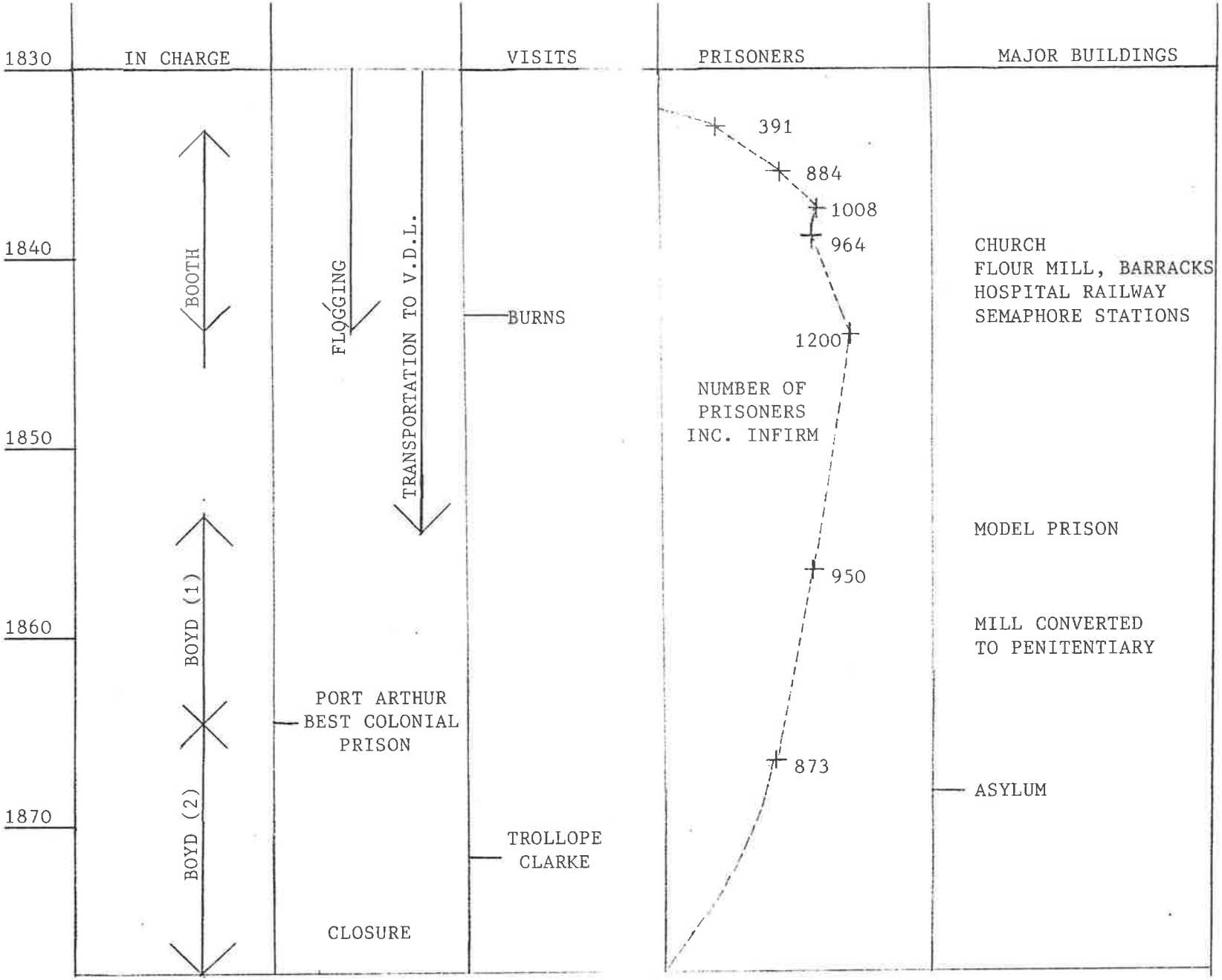
> The obvious theme of <u>For the Term of His Natural Life</u> is the portrayal of the horror of the convict system as it operated in Tasmania and at Norfolk Island. It is unfortunate that in the absence of other material the novel should have resulted in a distorted view of the working of the whole system ...[22]

Goodenough, who lived in Tasmania for several years and seems to have been affected by the same prejudices, endeavoured both to undermine Clarke's credibility and to present an alternative legendary view; one not uncommonly

disseminated in Tasmania. He wrote:

> Book Three deals with Port Arthur, and it is this prison above all that is associated with the convict legend. It is the only prison that is easily accessible. With Clarke's help it has caught the imagination of the world. His Natural Life, or at least the most striking parts of it, have been re-told and taken to be historic truth. An understanding of the main places where misconstruction is obvious helps to explain the extraordinary position which this book holds in the popular history of convictism ...
>
> That Port Arthur was a great success as a prison is borne out by the fact that when the authorities decided that they would take the remaining prisoners, who were very old, to the Hobart Gaol, they went on strike; they refused to go to Hobart. They much preferred to live at Pt. Arthur and some of them were allowed to do so: some were taken to Hobart. As soon as they had been released, at quite a grand old age, from Hobart Goal, they hot-footed it back to Port Arthur. This was where they wanted to live and they spent much of their time and made quite good sums of money manufacturing various sorts of horrible articles to sell to tourists, and manufacturing yarns to go with them. Articles sold to tourists included heavy leg-irons and lashes manufactured at the old smithy by the old hands.[23]

Goodenough attacks on all fronts in an attempt to minimize the effect of Clarke's novel, he denies its view of convictism, and casts doubt on the authenticity of the tourist's experience of Port Arthur. The conflict between the Tasmanian view of Port Arthur and that of the visitor from the mainland was a continuing one. Clarke, of course, was brought up in Britain and lived in Victoria, his was a view of Port Arthur presented from the outside.



44. History of Port Arthur as a Prison.

5. Public appreciation of Port Arthur: dimension one - attitudes to convictism

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it seems to have been widely accepted that convicts at Port Arthur were grossly maltreated; being bullied by inhuman warders, perpetually flogged and subjected to constant hard labour in irons. It was not, in fact, a very different picture from the one disseminated by Marcus Clarke in His Natural Life. Those visitors to Tasmania who accepted this picture and who went to Port Arthur for a thrill of horror were bitterly resented by a substantial body of Tasmanians. It was not that these Tasmanians held a different view of the past for they either believed or feared it to be true, but their nearer involvement with convictism prevented them from deriving pleasure of any kind from Port Arthur and they were not prepared to condone others doing so. Instead they tended to wish that the image might be suppressed or that it might be supplanted by another which presented convictism in a more acceptable form. Such counter-strategies took time to develop, and it was even longer before a coherent, widely accepted alternative myth emerged.

The following is a relatively early attempt to exonerate those responsible for the conduct of the settlement by deflecting blame from the commandant to those more directly in charge. It hence was unsatisfactory as a myth to relieve the anxieties of Tasmanians many of whom must have been directly descended from prison guards.

> Place a man of average ability in practically a position of supreme authority over a couple of thousand human beings and against whose pleasure there is no law and the chances are ten to one that he will develop into a species of autocrat. So also with those possessed of authority in a lesser degree. Many of the warders were of a harsh overbearing stamp, not a few had risen from the convict ranks some even were unable to read or write; and these men were placed in almost unrestricted charge of groups of convicts numbering from 50 to 100. Now, it has been proved over and over again that nobody is so anxious to display authority, so eager to be cringed to, as the man of mean intellect.

Sympathy is expressed for the convicts in the hands of the warders:

> Think, then, what must have been the life of the poor devils guarded by such an one. They knew the power held by their master; they knew that a word from him to the Commandant would ensure a visit to the dreaded triangles and so, while one meditated murder or escape, another sought, by acting the spy upon his fellow-unfortunates, to procure the favour of the overseer, and such privileges as he had it in his power to bestow. It were idle to level all charges of injustice or brutality against the head of the settlement for often indeed the warders and overseers were primarily responsible.

At the same time the author endeavoured to divert the centre of interest from Port Arthur and to dissipate it elsewhere, thus trying to make close ties to Port Arthur less important and hence less embarrassing:

> Now, it must not be thought that severity of treatment was peculiar, to the convict settlement at Port Arthur, nor must it be forgotten that the system in vogue there in the earlier days was one which formerly held good in England. English authorities, like those in the colonies, clung at one time to the theory that severe treatment was the only way by which criminals might be reclaimed, a theory which naturally, in the days when we had no telegraph, and when public opinion was but in its infancy, lived longer here than in the Old Country. People are apt to forget this. They grow indignant at the memory of the public executions in Van Diemen's Land, forgetful of the fact that not so many years before the barbarous custom of hanging criminals in chains was practised in England; they boil with anger when

> reading of the suffering of some poor wretch at the triangles, and are sublimely indifferent to the fact that at the same time, in the army and navy, as many as 300 and even 500 lashes were administered.[1]

The writer concluded that "the theory was an excellent one, but it failed somewhat in practical application." We have here a continuation of the kind of attitude expressed in Clarke's preface to His Natural Life (Appendix 3).

At about the same time, J.W. Beattie records the existence of the strategy of determinedly burying the past:

> To the majority the past of Port Arthur is as a closed book, and, indeed, no complete history of the place has been, or ever can be written. Fragmentary sketches there have been scattered here and there, which, if collected, would undoubtedly form interesting reading, but a reliable history, founded on official records, can never be compiled, because the records have all been destroyed, and no one now lives who is in a position to fill the gaps which these missing records have left.

He, himself, was not among those who wished to see Port Arthur, the symbol of convictism, disappear, indeed by writing the first guide-book to Port Arthur he did much to rehabilitate its image. His approach is of interest and it will be discussed again in the next section, here we can note that he places Port Arthur so firmly in the past that he severs the links between convictism and the present. He writes:

> Port Arthur was "born" in September, 1830, and during the long period of 47 years it passed through all the phases of a human existence - had its childhood, its manhood, and its old age, and it died and was buried in 1877. The wrecks of its great prisons are, to-day, just like the ruinous tombstones of a neglected old graveyard, giving evidence of the magnitude of its past, and creating a longing desire in the minds of the curious to know something of its wonderful history. [2]

The last two words represent a considerable change in attitude. In keeping with it he re-printed in his guide-book an original acount of Port Arthur from 1842 that is both less horrific and more domestic than the earlier pictures epitomized by Clarke's description of Port Arthur in His Natural Life. Beattie presented to the public a revised image of convictism that gradually began to replace the former image which was then felt to be overdrawn. More sophisticated mechanisms to repudiate responsibility for convictism and to mitigate its stigma were developed in time. The Tasmanian Field Naturalists Club visited Port Arthur for their Easter camp-out every few years. Here is a description of their visit in 1920:

> On Saturday the chief excursion was to Port Arthur. It was here that the historians of the party were able to tell the history of the many old buildings, relics of the convict days, that are to be found there. Port Arthur was named after Colonel George Arthur, who did so much work elaborating "the system" during his administration of Tasmania from May 14, 1824, to October 30, 1836. It must be remembered that Tasmania, or as it was then known, Van Diemen's Land, was, together with the other Australian colonies, a dumping ground for the surplus and undesirable population of the Mother Country. Many notable criminals were transported to these shores, but, on the other hand, many were sent out for purely trivial offences. The policy of transportation was to a large extent one of forced emigration and colonisation of new possessions. As is well known, the occupation of Van Diemen's Land was forced on the British authorities owing to fear of the French making a prior claim. Further, the idea of colonisation with the aid of forced convict labour had been brought under the notice of the French Government many years before. Charles de Brosse in 1756 drew up such a scheme, and the eventual occupation of the Australian zone by the English was carried out on very similar lines to those proposed half a century before by the learned Frenchman.

We can note here the considerable shift in concern from guilt in one's own country's involvement in convictism to resentment at it being inflicted by another: the British and indirectly the French are to blame for convictism. At the same time, the status of the convict is reassessed, and the 'miserable felon' is superseded by the 'enforced emigrant'. The description ends:

> It is here that one sees the ruins of the past. The church, the prisons, the residences of the officers and men, together with many attendant structures, which were all in use eighty years ago, are now mostly in ruins, and serve to waken in many minds a desire to know more or less of their history.[3]

In spite of various attempts to reorientate attitudes and images of Port Arthur and convictism it was difficult for people to throw off older conceptual frameworks, hence the ambivalence expressed in the last quotation. Opposing attitudes were even more clearly articulated in response to the proposal to make a film of His Natural Life. On the one hand, there were those who were concerned that "the good name of Tasmania" should not be besmirched with the convict connections of Van Diemen's Land. That the film "should not lower us in the eyes of the world" for them the general sentiment was "Let the past be buried fast." They did not want their convict stock, the behaviour of the warders or Britain's inhumanity to be exposed to the world at large. Alternatively, but less vociferously, it was advanced that Clarke's history was not a true one and the film might well present an even more misleading view of the prison at Port Arthur.

Others were concerned not to lose any business the film might bring and, perhaps, consequently believed that "Historical truth should not be objected to, and that the present could be distinguished from the past, that not all convicts were evil, and that the prison system was a generally good one that had only gone bad in practice." Further, they recognized that "all over the world people went to see 'sights' and the grimmer the site the more likely people were to visit it." [4]

To gauge the importance of the opinions expressed we should take into account that at this time Tasmania was hard hit by the growing depression, it was not a time of general confidence and perhaps, therefore, the widespread expression of anxiety was for this reason over-stressed. On the whole, one can conclude that attitudinal changes are taking place, that it is a period of transition between governing myths; the varied opinion indicates it. Evidently, a substantial group of Tasmanians were still bitterly ashamed of their past history and were most reluctant to have it displayed to others. Obvious anxiety was expressed by them about their convict origins, similarly almost desperate attempts were made to differentiate between Van Diemen's Land and Tasmania and to ensure that others also did so, even though the images of modern Tasmania were pitifully frail. Others were able to master their fears to the extent that they were able to adopt an alternative strategy and to reject the picture Clarke offered of convictism as unreal, but were not sufficiently confident to be able to class it as fictional and, there-

fore, not able to constitute a threat. However, here and there more robust views were emerging that could encompass Clarke's view of convictism. The recognition that Tasmania had become different from Van Diemen's Land and was, however, slowly continuing to change contained the germ of a new attitude. Clive Lord's article, which appeared in the Courier Annual at the same time as this controversy was raging, was a very effective attempt to see Port Arthur from a new historical perspective; he wrote:

> To appreciate either the old buildings or, on a larger scale, the period of progress which they represent, it is necessary to place the ideas and ideals of a century's age in their correct perspective. To attempt to judge them according to present-day standards of thought will surely lead to a wrong interpretation of their place in the progressive history of not only our island home, but of the Commonwealth as a whole.

From this standpoint Lord is able to reject past presentations of the prison and from a position of strength to recognize their mythical quality.

> It is an unfortunate fact that the popular historical books which have been written concerning the penal establishments of last century deal with the darkest possible aspect of the subject. Reams of records have been read by writers in search of tragedy in order that they might enhance their reconstructions of the past by tales founded on fact. The result is that a wrong impression has been created, and it is doubtful if this will ever entirely disappear.

Instead, he develops a new image which was to persevere for a long time, gaining in strength as economic circumstances improved; it was the result of the adoption of a myth of purposeful industrial and social progress:

> Scanning the records of a century and more ago, one can realise the great problems which faced the

> statesmen of the Motherland. The loss of the American colonies, the cessation of slavery, and the dawn of a new era of thought as regards man's inhumanity to man were but a few of the greater movements which were serving to provide problems for those whose concern it was to guide the destinies of a great Empire.
>
> The colonisation of the Australian colonies was but one of the many matters to which attention had to be given, and gradually from small beginnings the great penal system was evolved, served its purpose, and gave place to a more enlightened period.
>
> The half century of "the system" served to develop the young colonies in a wonderful manner, and with the great influx of free settlers it was but a short space of time ere these far-flung outposts of the Empire were entrusted with practically self-governing powers.

A sense of optimistic confidence enables Lord to acknowledge that some mistaken policies or poor administration occurred in the administration of Port Arthur but these have to be offset against developing the country and giving many men a new start in life. He saw that the convict system had also provided scope for action and achievement. Hence Lord describes Captain C. O'Hara Booth, who was reviled by Clarke, as an outstanding personality whose "organizing ability caused Port Arthur to progress in such a remarkable manner in so short a time." The way is now open for him to see Port Arthur in a fresh light; he notes:

> Its architectural relics represent, ... a rather wonderful lesson as to what was accomplished in quite a short space of time.
>
> Today, as one looks at the relics of this past page of our history and notes how they are giving place to more modern structures, one cannot help but realise how rapidly the old order is changing and giving place to the new. Yet, quickly as the structures of a past era are being removed, the process has been quicker in other places, and consequently Port Arthur has become a locality to which many people throng who desire to see the old ruins.

Lord concludes:

> Social progress advanced rapidly, and with the knowledge we have to-day it is most difficult to realise the tenor of thought which existed but a century ago. Such a realisation is essential, however, if we are to see the old architectural remains of Port Arthur in their correct perspective. They represent a forceful page of the island's early history; but a more enlightened public opinion prevails to-day. The yellow jackets and clanking chains have departed from Port Arthur, but the locality still remains a wonderful interest, and visitors come from far and near to see what remains. [5]

An acceptance of this kind of view meant that The Mercury could now allow the 'last surviving guard', a Mr Smith, to retail his reminiscences of the closing years of Port Arthur when it was still a prison:

> In those five years I never saw a flogging ... As far as my actual experience of the place goes - and I know of no better guide - the atrocities of which we hear so much are a myth, and the tales about the floggings are lies. The only atrocities that I knew were perpetrated by the prisoners themselves, and the most of them looked upon the place as a home.

Although the paper's reporter seemed reluctant to abandon the old myth, and commented: "Mr Smith does not, of course, know the Port Arthur of the real old days, the days of transportation, ..." [6] Here was, at least, a recognition that a single image would not suffice, and that the prison was a different kind of place at different times.

George Porter who described his visit to Port Arthur about 1928 is also obviously engaged in the process of rejecting the old myth:

> A Tasmanian visitor strolled up, greeting me with the words, "I have no doubt that this institution was a great improvement on anything of the sort of

> that age. Teaching the men and boys trades and 'all that,'" he added, leaving me to fill in the details. And so one is led by such a remark to speculate as to whether or not the horrors of the place have been overdrawn. A perusal of the scant literature that is available, and a sifting of what tradition one hears, leads to the conclusion that the average man could get through his sentence successfully with more or less suffering, and for a man who would control his temper and "keep a still tongue in his head" there was the cheerful hope of ending, or perhaps shortening, his sentence and benefiting by the stern training which he had undergone. Port Arthur was designed not with the purpose of torturing men but of reforming them. [7]

J. Coultman Smith's guide-book to Port Arthur "Shadow over Tasmania" was first published in 1941. It is in this work that the myth of onward progress is most strongly expressed. The belief in the myth expressed by the author enabled him to eschew guilt and shame, hence there was no longer any point in being evasive about the details of convictism. Convictism was now a concept about which fear had faded until it could be portrayed as positively a benign influence, thus Smith wrote:

> ... the impression that is firmly fixed in the minds of the public is a picture of innocent men, women and youths torn from their cosy English firesides, herded like cattle into filthy transports, spewed upon the shores of Tasmania, insufficiently fed, weighed down with half a hundredweight of chains, flogged and kicked into inhuman labour, confined in small and unsanitary cells until they collapsed and died or became loathsome, savage criminals.
>
> But that is far from the truth. Britain's transportation of felons to the Australian territories was a farsighted and on the whole, successful colonisation system. The present prosperous position of Australia in general, and Tasmania in particular, is evidence enough of that. [8]

The preface to his book written by Robert Cosgrove the, then, Premier of Tasmania, exhibits the same kind of approach:

> It is a welcome departure that this book treats the convict days in a bright common-sense manner with none of the morbidity and horror which have too often stamped such work. Students, the general public, and tourists alike will find here interest and entertainment, adventure, and revelation to absorb the most blasé and prejudiced reader. [9]

The press notices, no doubt, in part taking a lead from the preface echoed the same theme; "refreshingly new", "an excellent corrective", "surprising facts and figures", "refreshingly bright, sensible and enlightened", and "a commonsense manner" were the kind of key phrases used.[10]

Coultman Smith's guide-book has been extraordinarily popular and is still in print. One can reasonably conclude that his approach to the subject found widespread public acceptance. Brogden, for instance, followed him closely:

> Bev. C. Smith's book makes it clear that the actual horrors of life at Port Arthur have been greatly exaggerated by unscrupulous thriller writers. It was bad enough, by modern standards, but for those days it was very fair. One should remember that the working classes in England lived so poorly that many committed crimes for the express purpose of being transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Norfolk Island was the real "hell" of the South Pacific, a place that might be known as Britain's Devil's Island. The Port Arthur prisoners were well fed by the standards of the period, and in later years they could not be flogged, although the troops who guarded them could be lashed for minor crimes. [11]

A more or less similar picture was still being offered in 1953 when Frank Hurley wrote of Port Arthur:

> The sightseer will not be depressed, for the natural surroundings are very beautiful and there is comfort in the knowledge that we live in a more humane age and that such a large proportion of the unfortunates who worked out their sentences ultimately made good and left descendants who have risen to very high positions in this "new world of the antipodes." [12]

And, at the same time, the Mercury carried an article which stated:

> ... out of Port Arthur and from the several "probation" stations established in different parts of the island came the artisans and the labour, which, though suffering the stigma of penal association, nevertheless made, as the years have shown, a vital contribution to the development and beautification of Tasmania in many works that stand today.
>
> Later, as free men, they assisted to settle the island, proving themselves to be good farmers and tradesmen and keen business men, most having in the first place been transported for trivial misdeeds. Today there is certainly no opprobrium attaching to a "convict" ancestry; rather this wonderful era of development and settlement and building has come to be studded with some lustre. [13]

This attitude to convictism led to a picture of Port Arthur as an economic unit, which took its place in the development of Tasmania. It was seen to have a purpose in the general scheme of things, hence the conservation of Port Arthur could now be accepted and encouraged. We should note that the period at which this new myth was current was one of economic growth and relative prosperity, one in which it was easy to believe in a concept of progress and hence to find positive benefit from the settlement at Port Arthur. Once it had been accepted that progress was possible in an economic field, it seemed to have also been possible to believe in progress at the individual level, and anxiety about the stock from which so many Tasmanians sprung seems to have been alleviated.

There has been since this time another change of mood which owing to its nearness in time to the present is difficult to categorize, perhaps the lack of a clear cut image or myth points towards another period of transition

between widespread acceptance of a particular view. On the one hand, we have a continuation of a strand which pays tribute to the contribution made by convicts to the development of Tasmania, of which the following quotation will serve as an example:

> Now that plans are being made for marking the centenary of the closing of Port Arthur as a penal station, questions are being asked regarding its chequered history. The event to some persons could be described as unnecessary, but Port Arthur has survived as one of the best known tourist attractions, - from the convicts came some of Australia's greatest architects and artists. Ths is the side of Port Arthur that has not been publicised to advantage.[14]

And on the other hand, there is what might be described as a sensationalist approach, marked by a total disregard for fact and an emphasis on the dramatic.

> Today's visitors to the ruins of Port Arthur shudder at its reminders of barbaric times. There remains evidence of such punishments as the flogging of prisoners of both sexes with the cat-of-nine-tails, hard labour in the chain gangs, prisoners wearing leg-irons weighing up to 72 pounds and solitary confinement in cells so constructed that neither light nor sound reached the prisoner. The most infamous of the prisoners' commandants was Captain Charles O'Hara Booth. [15]

If it is hard to take this approach as being serious, that may well be accepting it in the spirit in which it is offered, that of public entertainment, the adjunct of mass tourism. It will be argued that these two attitudes towards convictism underlie the two current, conflicting approaches to preserving and presenting Port Arthur as an historic monument. They will be discussed at the conclusion of the case study.

EARLY VISITORS TO PORT ARTHUR



45. Visiting the model prison.



46. Visiting the penitentiary.



47. Making a film of His Natural Life in 1926.

6. Public appreciation of Port Arthur: dimension two - developing concepts of the past in relation to Port Arthur

One of the most widely quoted descriptions of Port Arthur was written by David Burn who visited the settlement in 1842 relatively early in its development. He described it as a town of:

> Substantial stone buildings, tasteful cottages, extensive factories, luxuriant gardens; all the means and appliances of civilised and social life. And yet this enchanting spot, this beautiful creation, like "a goodly apple rotten at the core," is but the guarded receptacle of Britain's refuse, and of the civil and military establishments requisite for the working of their purgation.[1]

The themes displayed here - "enchanting spot", "beautiful creation" and "awful purpose" - were to be repeated many times, simply or in several combinations.

The earliest image of Tasmania that was disseminated with the purpose of encouraging tourism and immigration was that of a place with a healthy climate. Hobart had been used as a summer retreat well before Port Arthur had been closed. Anthony Trollope who visited Tasmania in 1870 had noted that Hobart was economically dependent upon its influx of summer visitors.[2] Therefore, as one would expect for other reasons, tourist publicity ignored the colony's penal activities and concentrated first upon the benefits of the climate and then upon its scenery. For instance, the Guide to Excursionists (1882) is subtitled "Tasmania the Sanitorium of the Australian Colonies,"[3] and in 1895 the newly formed Tasmanian Tourist Association adopted as

one of its aims "to circulate information regarding the natural attractions of Tasmania as a pleasure ground and health resort."[4] Even as late as 1918 V. Brady wrote:

> For a long summer holiday go to Tasmania, at least once in a lifetime, and spend a week of it in Hobart. Having sampled all the climates of the Commonwealth, I can commend that of Hobart in mid-summer. The eastern coast of Tasmania and Eastern Gippsland, in Victoria, I pronounce to be, as far as climatic conditions are concerned, the two perfect dwelling-places of the world.[5]

When the Tasman Peninsula was opened up to the public its natural features were considered its greatest charms, and commonly descriptions of the peninsula gave no more than a bare mention of the penal settlement. In the one-hundred-and-forty-four page Guide to Excursionists all that was written of Port Arthur, and that only in passing, was:

> Besides the connection which this portion of the island has with the history of the early days of the colony through the presence of the great gaols and model prison at Port Arthur, the peninsula affords much enjoyment to the tourist. The abandoned penitentiary is to be seen at Port Arthur, and the view ...[6]

- and then it returned to describing the scenery. A very similar description appeared in Everybody's Tasmanian Almanac of 1893:

> Besides the connection which this portion of the island has with the history of the early days of the colony, through the presence of the great gaols and modern prison at Port Arthur, the peninsula affords much enjoyment to the tourist.[7]

- and it too returned to describing the peninsula's features. Thomas Cook & Son's guide contained substantially the same material but extended the list of attractions associated with the natural area into areas of active

enjoyment "charming walks and drives, shell strewn beaches and opportunites for fishing and shooting." [8]

The recognition that the penal system had been terminated; that its era was confined to the past came very slowly. Writers who took up this theme commonly used descriptive devices that contrasted the past with the present thus distancing one from the other and sharply differentiating between them. Several kinds of devices were used, three of which are displayed in the following extract, in which the vigour of the past settlement is contrasted with the quietness of the present environment (the visit was made just before the settlement closed), the dilapidation of the buildings is dwelt upon and, finally, the brightness of the present is comfortably contrasted with the gloom of the past:

> In its palmy days Port Arthur must have been - apart from its associations - a lovely spot. There was no lack of labour to take full advantage of the wonderful natural fertility of the land. Skilled mechanics were amongst the convicts, men with criminal instincts and artistic tastes. Time never pressed. Sentences in those days rarely erred on the side of brevity. Towers, wharves, terraces, pleasure grounds, were formed; fountains played, statuary graced the scene. Dilapidation now reigns over all; weeds and black snakes overrun the place. In a state of culture, the gardens must have been beautiful; and the peninsula itself is not without its charms of natural scenery.
>
> Some of the buildings at present in use are well kept, and the old military forms are strictly kept up. The convicts sentenced to penal labour for life are clad in yellow; the prisoners sentenced to over eight years are distinguised by a yellow and black dress; the next grade wear a costume particoloured from head to foot, half yellow and half grey; short-sentence men are known by their sober grey dress.
>
> It oppresses you into silence to inspect the ruins of workshops, sawmill, tannery, and foundry, and to know that the walls and windows of the houses and

> the fences of the gardens are tumbling to pieces. I cannot enter into many questions discussed during my visit; but if one-half of what was said in my hearing be true, Port Arthur will not crumble to hopeless decay a moment too soon ...
>
> The day may be bright, the flowers may blow, and the birds sing, but you will take leave of Port Arthur in decay with the remark that it is a gloomy place, gloomy in its present desolation, gloomy by the memories of bygone days.[9]

It should be noted that in this case "lovely spot" refers to the township of the past not to the township's setting. It is the same contrast that has been made by Burn and was perhaps one that was easily associated with the settlement while it was still relatively intact.

Once the prison had been closed the different function of the new township could be accentuated. The change was marked by a change of name; officially Port Arthur was superseded by Carnarvon just as Tasmania had relegated Van Diemen's Land to the past. In both cases the intention was to indicate a new beginning with a new purpose and a firm line was drawn between past and present. The use of a demarcation device presented an opportunity to develop critical assessments of the past, to admit to the less pleasant aspects of the penal system or even to enjoy its horrors; all these activities could be carried out once people felt that their position was a safe one firmly anchored in the present. The possibilities of employing a concept of demarcation were only gradually recognized. The device was initially used to blot out the past and to work towards the establishment of a new image that would succeed it, for instance, Howard Haywood wrote:

> Port Arthur, the once dreaded and most vile spot of the tight little island, has now undergone a considerable change; instead of being the exile home of prisoners hundreds of honest colonialists live there now, clearing the bush, ploughing the lands, building up neat little cottages with a hope that before long they will reap the rewards of their labour. Port Arthur proper - the prison settlement that was - is called Carnarvon. [10]

Similarly, rather than seeking to totally suppress the past an alternative tactic could be used which sunk the past under details relating to convictism into a general concept of 'the past' which was evoked through literary sentiment and by quotation:

> ... We were told that to stand in the old church ruin on a moonlight night and look seaward was worth a special visit; indeed, as we wandered by the water's edge, the view ... always looking gold through the pellucid mist of the gloaming; you might have said, as Lovelave [sic] did, on looking round,
>
> "Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage,
> Mind innocent and quiet take,
> Such as an hermitage."
>
> Alas, how many were able to say it, we turn away in the thought, tis too sad,
>
> "'Tis cruel to remember,
> 'Tis wiser to forget." [11]

The establishment of a credible image of the present was a prerequisite for a re-examination of the past. The image which presented itself most insistently at the time was that of the beauty of the scenery. That "here and then" is essentially the same mechanism as "now and then" is attested to by several, "The interest in that place lies in the sadness of the past and the beauty of the present" [12] is typical. Here we can note that beauty is used ambiguously for it has both an aesthetic and a moral dimension. Others wrote in a similar manner, the two following

extracts are both taken from guide-books, the first in 1886 and the second about 1900:

> Amongst the places of interest easily accessible from Hobart, we should not have omitted to mention Port Arthur, a spot as lovely in its position as it is ugly in its memories ... The objects of interest to visitors are the old prison, admittedly well arranged for its purpose - now happily empty; the model prison an exquisitely contrived instrument of mental torture; the pretty houses once occupied by the officials ... [and so on] [13]

and

> For nearly half a century (1833 to 1876) Port Arthur was occupied by prisoners, as many as 3000 having been detained here, and most of the old buildings are still standing, though several begin to show signs of decay. Some of those which were the officers' quarters are now private residences - for numerous settlers have taken up land here of late years - and there is even a "proprietary school" in the heart of this scene of old-time horrors. The weed-grown prison yards, the open cells - "sunshine and hope" everywhere where once reigned darkness and despair - the crumbling, flower-kissed walls, the sound of children's laughter - all these are fitter accompaniments for bright sky, blue sea, and wooing breezes than the clank of the chains, the curses of brutalised, lash-driven, hopeless men, the dismal tolling of the prison bell. Enough. "Let the dead past bury its dead," and turn we to the contemplation of the "living present." [14]

In 1892 Beattie reprinted Burn's 1842 description of Port Arthur. It was an important recognition that its history was of relevance. Beattie's preface clarifies his attitude; the past is seen as a continuum but one which stops short of the present, indeed the living present is contrasted with the dead past. Clearly demarcation is still being employed but by killing and burying the past Beattie is also able to resurrect it.

> Port Arthur was "born" in September, 1830 and during the long period of 47 years it passed through all the phases of a human existence - had its childhood,

> its manhood, and its old age, and it died and was buried in 1877. The wrecks of its great prisons are, to-day, just like the ruinous tombstones of a neglected old graveyard, giving evidence of the magnitude of its past, and creating a longing desire in the minds of the curious to know something of its wonderful history. [15]

By 1914 the reality of Port Arthur's history is sufficiently far removed in time for at least one commentator to be able to accept a concept of historical continuity when he wrote:

> Nature lavished many charms on Tasman Peninsula, but probably the majority of those who visit it are attracted rather by grim memories of a past which forms an unpleasant chapter in the history of Tasmania, than by the fame of the Tesselated Pavement, Blowhole, or Arch. [16]

Again we can see that it is the beauty of nature that plays an important part in establishing a present from which the past can be recognized and experienced. The same themes, are evident in the next quotation, even though the tone is quite different:

> Visitors with gruesome imaginations are welcome to gloat over the ruins of Port Arthur and soak themselves in the comparatively brief but lamentable history of convict settlement, just as other people are at liberty to spend their bank holidays at the cemetery; but for those who love sunlight and scenic beauty, the eternal glory of mountain path and riverside, the delight of motion and the call of the Day that is Ours, there will be less of interest in the Days which were Theirs and Done With. [17]

Outsiders' interest in Tasmania's convict past continued to rile Tasmanians who had greater difficulty in accepting a past with which they were more intimately connected. Port Arthur was recognized as a focus of such interest and Tasmanian attitudes towards the place were far from neutral. Visitors might be able to feed on the

horrors of the past as part of a morbid enjoyment of an unsavoury episode in history but Tasmanians were unable to respond in this manner and resented others' doing so at their expense, except, of course, that Tasmania needed tourism for the money it brought with it. The dilemma was a real one, and engendered extreme attitudes to Port Arthur that were exacerbated by the proposal to make a film of His Natural Life. One correspondent wrote to The Mercury:

> ... I would like to ask are Tasmanians sincere in their desire to obliterate that portion of the history of this island? If sincere, why are the ruins allowed to remain to become a source of revenue or profit for the body who placed the "toll gates"? Again, why did we allow our Government Tourist Department to parade this place (Port Arthur) as one of the chief attractions of this beautiful island for tourists? It would be hard to estimate the number of visitors to Tasmania who have visited this "Port Arthur" (by the way, is it not now Carnarvon?) who go away and tell their friends of the bad old days, not forgetting to stigmatise the Old Country just as we maybe a hundred years hence will be stigmatised. These ruins serve no useful purpose; on the contrary, and surely in this island so full of beauty, so health-giving, and with its quiet old world atmosphere wherever one goes, it is hardly necessary to boost historical relics of a "penal settlement" to attract tourists. If we are sincere in our protests, and I for one am, our protest will be such that folk outside of this island will understand what we mean, and I think that in matter of this kind which we take as an affront to our national honour, we can safely count on the Motherland to stand by. My protest is, tell these film people to shut down as far as Tasmania is concerned; secondly, raze the buildings. I will give one week's work free. Let those of our citizens who are direct sufferers financially be compensated justly. Hurry up, or the mischief will be done:- [18]

And another wrote in the same vein:

> ... what will Tasmania get out of it? Nothing but contumely and disgrace, through no fault of her own, and only because she has kept the record of this infamously cruel era of her history. I am sure the

> time has come to demolish all those dreadful buildings. The stones could be used to restore the really beautiful ruins of the church and let the rest sink into the oblivion it best deserves. Too long it has been a place of morbid interest to tourists. Though it is a monument of the wickedness and cruelty of the past, modern thought should see fit to get rid of such an eyesore to the beauty of this lovely island.[19]

Although both correspondents saw little value in the Port Arthur prison remains and were advocating their removal both also recognized that they stood as evidence of Tasmania's history and by their use of the word 'history' each reinforced the relationship he wished to sever. One can contrast these two letters with the description which follows, the familiar device of "now and then" is employed, and again visitors' "morbid curiosity" is deplored but in the last few lines there is an acceptance of an historical dimension and a consequent positive imaginative engagement with the buildings:

> Such days are past, however, and as our party reached the township on a glorious autumn morning the beauty of the bay, with its setting of English trees and Tasmanian eucalypts, far outweighed the thoughts of the past. As a page of history the settlement of Port Arthur and the methods adopted are worthy of the deepest study, but as a means of satisfying a merely morbid curiosity as regards the dark cells and the other Early Victorian methods of prison discipline, such subjects are best left alone. Rather let one's mind dwell upon the natural beauty of the bay, with the reflections of the fringing trees mirrored in its placid surface and along the shore the signs of the present era as they displace those of the past. Time aided by fire, has done much to destroy the buildings of the old settlement. Many have been converted to other uses, whilst in place of the dull tread of the "human centipedes" the old cobblestones of Champ-street echo to the honk of motor cars. Below the tall walls of the old penitentiary tennis parties are engaged in friendly rivalry, whilst out in the reclaimed area near the old slipyards the cricket ground calls its adherents.
>
> As one looks at the scene which this picturesque bay

presents on this present Easter morn one recalls those lines of Browning,

> "the past is in its grave,
> Though its ghost still haunts us."

The days of the old regime are over, although the mysterious influence of the old settlement grips one whilst within its precincts. [20]

Similarly, in a book which indicates the new mood in its title, The Romance of Tasmania M. Hookey writes:

> At Port Arthur the ruined prison buildings still blot the landscape, bearing sombre testimony of the inhumanity of man to man.
>
> Existing records make gloomy reading, but here and there romance, undaunted by its grim surroundings slips through the prison bars. [21]

And in yet another example, George Porter expresses similar feelings:

> The place has a dismal abandoned aspect; the bushes are forlorn and unkempt; the dark stones of the high wall look repellent, and I thought of Admiral Somerville's gloomy meditations on the ruins of Port Arthur. "Around every stone," he writes, "must cling the ghost of a human agony, the bitter undying memory of floggings and an echo of the last defiant curse of the hanged." [22]

Then he too expands on the "now and then" theme:

> The pronounced contrast between the sad and gloomy historical associations of Port Arthur and its present delightful and charming surroundings continually impresses itself upon the mind of the visitor.
>
> In order to note down my day's doings after touring the ruins I sat down on a wooden bridge over a pretty stream overhung with willows. The stream made a break in an avenue of oaks and, farther along, of silver poplars. There were ducks enjoying themselves in a pool and a group of happy urchins playing cricket on the turf near-by. On the site of a former muster-yard adjoining the Penitentiary a game of tennis was in full swing. Farther up again were orchards and bungalows. All was sunshine and innocence, - an ideal English village picture in a place once the scene of crime and punishment, misery and hopelessness. [23]

Another, rather later (1935), quotation displays the same vaguely romantic, vaguely historic feelings:

> The architecture of the church, of the prison itself, and of the other buildings is essentially English; and arched doorways frame vistas of turreted walls and bold towers reminiscent of castles of Merrie England as pictured in the history books of our schooldays. [24]

Almost invariably such feelings are linked with thoughts of England. In the following example an attitude is displayed of considerable acceptance of Port Arthur as part of Tasmania's history. It is, perhaps, a history more dependent upon historical legend than upon historical fact which in itself insulates the viewer from too pointed a picture of reality. 'Romance', 'ghosts' or 'bad old days' are ideas which hold little real terror as the ironical quotation in the last extract shows. Even flogging receded into a past contiguous with that of 'Merrie England' and its medieval tortures. Once the sting has been removed from convict legend little harm was seen in Port Arthur remaining. Rather it was felt that it should be retained for the feelings it engendered were far from unpleasant, they might even be described as faintly reassuring.

> Coupled with the natural scenic attractions of Tasmania is the historic aspect of the Island. Discovered in 1642, and settled in 1803, the Island is old enough to have an historic atmosphere and this is definitely an attraction to many visitors. In Hobart are many old buildings erected by the earliest settlers, especially round the water front. Many of the villages, from their appearance, might have been lifted bodily from Old England. There are grassy lanes, village greens and buildings, some still in use and some derelict, that bear evidence of the solid work put into them in the days when labour was cheap. Port Arthur is the most celebrated of Tasmania's historic towns. When it was abandoned as a penal settlement in 1877 some of the buildings

> were pulled down so that the material could be used elsewhere, but after a lapse of a few years it was found that visitors were curious to see this relic of the "bad old days" now happily long past ... as a visiting journalist truly said, is "Australia's only bona-fide ruin." [25]

This kind of a shift in attitude changed people's perception of "now and then", the tennis courts next to the penitentiary were no longer a reminder of a healthful present but were seen to be an intrusion, detracting from an historical atmosphere. For the same reason the guide's out-of-date patter also jarred:

> ... With the indifference of the modern to our storied past the local authorities have erected a public tennis court in immediate proximity to the best of the ruins. This absurdity we enjoyed more than the tirade of the unsolicited local "guide" ... [26]

It seems possible that films displaying history such as those produced by Alexander Korda may have contributed to a different mode of perception since the romantic mood echoes that of some of the films of the time. Coultman Smith, on the other hand, appears to be describing Port Arthur in terms of a full-blown costume drama:

> The streets of the settlement were flanked by staunch and handsome buildings, its gardens a mass of profuse blossoms and squat, flowering shrubs. English trees adorned the roads, extensive harbour works thrust out into the port. At the north-eastern entrance to the town stood the finest church in the colony, with beautiful stained windows; prolific farmlands stretched out behind the sun-kissed sweep of Safety Cove. An artistically-designed hospital overlooked the town, soldiers in bright uniforms and lasses and ladies in crinolines and poke bonnets walked the cobblestones, semaphores flashed news and orders back and forth to Hobart, 80 miles away, full-rigged ships sailed into the harbour with convicts and merchandise, and out again with timber, produce, manufactures, and skilled tradesmen.
>
> It was a corner of Old England transplanted to the farthest outpost, a home beyond the Southern Seas, a

> workshop turning out the Colonies' finest craftsmen, a gateway to a new life and new hope. [27]

Considering the time at which these attitudes were prevalent, it is hard not so see in them a degree of escapism. The knowledge of the horrors of the prison camps of World War II presented a difficult problem in the appreciation of Port Arthur. Firstly, because it became more difficult to sustain a belief in the progress of the human race, and hence sentiments of the kind "it can never happen again" which had been used not only to assuage guilt but also as distancing devices to differentiate between past and present were no longer effective. Then the alternative approach to the past, which recognized the continuity of history and had relied on a belief in progress which in turn was dependent upon the same sentiments, was also undermined. Nor was it possible to seek refuge in a generalized past since details of the atrocities of the concentration camps necessarily brought to the fore the particular past of Port Arthur.

Various efforts were made to come to terms with the new situation. P.D. Coles met it head on, maintaining a belief in the continuity of past and present and transferring present concerns to a view of the past he saw Port Arthur in terms of a concentration camp and transferred the growing myths associated with prisoner of war camps to Port Arthur. He was able to take a direct approach because he saw Tasmania itself as progressing. He wrote:

> The past broods over the settlement at Port Arthur like a cloud, haunting the awed visitors who disturb

> the silence of its deserted streets and ruined buildings. No escape from the past is possible, for even in the comfort of the hotel one is reminded by the barred windows that the surgeon who used to live there needed protection against convicts who might be at large.
>
> Governor Arthur, in the light of his times, was a humane man. He did not create the transportation system: on the contrary, he modified many of its worst features. His interest naturally focused on the Tasman Peninsula, which hangs like a giant pendant from the east coast of the island. He conceived of Tasmania as a penal colony - as in fact it was - and the peninsula as a huge concentration camp, separated from the rest of the island by the narrow isthmus known as Eaglehawk Neck, across which fierce bloodhounds were chained. The rocky coastline, the sharks, and an efficient semaphore system loaded the dice against any poor wretch who decided to make a break for the bush, but such were the brutalities of even this reformed settlement that many tried - and their bones, sometimes manacled, are still being found occasionally as the bush retreats before the advance of civilization. [28]

In the next extract the author also sought to maintain the myth of progress, but convoluted his argument in the effort:

> It may, as a concluding thought, seem a contradiction in terms still to regard Governor Arthur as humane, in view of the undoubted cruelties perpetrated in the settlement that bears his name, but he could only take things as he found them and organize some order out of the chaos, for he was dealing with desperate men. If defects sometimes allowed brutal overseers to goad the men into revolt, and even murder to be hanged as the only means of escape, we must remember that English-speaking nations have also been in the vanguard of the Humanitarian Movement and that the conditions existing in Van Diemen's Land a hundred years ago still prevail in Germany and the occupied countries to-day. [29]

Progress is also the theme of the last extract in this group:

> One hundred years! What a change! The development of machinery; the discovery of oil; the conquest of navigating the air! So much has been achieved! 1847 - The plough pulled by men or oxen; the human drawn tramway; the bullock waggon making its slow way

> along the rough roads. 1947 - Tractors harnessed to the ploughs. Machines pulling down the trees; petrol driven lorries and cars speeding along well-made highways at anything over 20 miles an hour; argosies in the air! And, yet, there are folk who say civilisation is going backward. True, we still have our gaols and our felons to keep them inhabited. But mankind in his treatment of mankind has learnt there are other aspects than those of the physical. There is the psychological one. Because of the mental anguish it produced, the confinement in the "dumb cell" was a far greater and more lasting punishment than that occasioned by the stripes of the "cat-o'-nine-tails." Patient research is needed to discover the faults of our social systems which induce the development of criminals. Possibly in the years to come mankind will have marched ahead in this direction as valiantly as he has done in the realms of science during this century, and thus, by his efforts for the betterment of his fellow man, raise the spiritual standing of the world he lives in. [30]

At the same time there is a resurgence of interest in the Model Prison and in the forms of punishment practised in it. For example, P.D. Coles wrote in 1942:

> The model prison is, for the most part, in an excellent state of preservation, and was designed to inspire dread into the heart of the most hardened criminal. Containing about 60 cells, it was completely self-contained and surrounded by a circular stone wall. Once a prisoner came here, he was cut off from his fellows, even exercise being performed alone in a narrow pen. Silence was the rule, and severe punishment was meted out even for conversing with the warders.
>
> The most hideous feature was the "dumb" cell, where prisoners served their sentences in utter darkness, behind four doors each at right-angles to the other. Continuous sentences of 24 or 48 hours were common, but anything longer allowed a short exercise period once a day. Rations were bread and water, I spent a few moments in the dark - it was sufficient. The guide said men frequently became insane as a result of this confinement, and I noted that the asylum had been significantly built next door. [31]

C.L. Barrett explored a number of approaches to appreciating the site, first by using a stock distancing device:

> This is a charm of Port Arthur: relics of a gloomy past have beautiful surroundings. When the mind

> becomes overcast by sad reflections on the convict era, the present may shine through. You have your choice, of accepting the charm of Port Arthur to-day, or dwelling upon dreadful things in its past that never can happen again. It is wise to choose both, and contrast the present with the past. [32]

Then by taking refuge in the surrounding scenery:

> It was good to be out in the open country, away from the ruins, to have the cobwebs of reflection on convict times brushed from the mind. [33]

Then by redirecting his interest to buildings that had less disturbing associations:

> Smith O'Brien's cottage has no gloomy associations such as give the prison buildings at Port Arthur a melancholy interest. A picturesque little dwelling on a rise, it was built especially for the Irish exile, who had been removed to Tasman Peninsula from Maria Island. He was subjected to constant surveillance, but otherwise did not fare badly. It must have consoled him a little when he was appointed tutor to the doctor's children at Fingal. At least while teaching he was not brooding on his own wrongs and those of his countrymen. William Smith O'Brien seemed to come alive and welcome a sympathetic visitor, when I entered the cottage which has been empty for so many years. [34]

Yet he too still returned to the Model Prison:

> Designed on the Pentonville Prison system, the Model Prison at Port Arthur, with its sixty cells, was a dreadful place. The most hardened convicts feared incarceration, where 'silent and separate' treatment was the rule. A barbarous system that almost makes one shudder in the mention.
>
> Whatever apologists may write, or say, the record of Port Arthur penal settlement is a black record; and of those responsible for it humanists can only think hardly. For myself, I have made a black list, but will not divulge the names. [35]

A list of punishments inflicted on the boys at Point Puer followed and he asked:

> ... Do you wonder that ordinary people, like myself, blacklist men who authorized, or carried out, such sentences? Men - or devils? [36]

Finally, he attempted to personally experience imprisonment:

> Booth's reputation lives after him. We have records of the punishments inflicted by this man on prisoners at Port Arthur. Doubtless he was no worse than some others who had power to order merciless floggings for trifling offences, and have men driven almost insane by solitary confinement in a small cell dark as the pit when the door closed on the wretched prisoner. I have remained for a few minutes in that cell, alone in the blackness; trying to imagine what so many convicts suffered, during Governor Arthur's regime, and later. [37]

Brogden's description of the prison is a similar one and exhibits the same fear of psychological torture:

> The Model Prison, today an almost complete ruin, was the terror of all convicts sent to Port Arthur. Yet in its time it was intended to be an idealist method of handling recalcitrant criminals who would not bend before ordinary disciplinary measures. It was copied from the well-known Pentonville Prison in England, which was then regarded as the ultimate in the science of reforming criminals.
>
> The building was shaped like a cross, with a central hall, from which ran four blocks, each of 15 cells. Segments of the surrounding circle formed workshops, stores, cookhouses and administrative buildings, and all were surrounded by a high wall. Inside the prison there was complete silence. No prisoner could communicate with another by any method. He was alone in his cell and could call a warder only by pulling a handle which connected with a signal system. Stone floors were covered with matting to deaden the sound of boots. The "dumb cells," in which men were isolated for days, weeks or months, according to sentence, in complete darkness, were guaranteed to break the toughest spirit. When the guide closes us inside one of these cells for a moment behind the multiple doors, a sense of sheer horror comes over us. And yet this was the system installed by "kindly" prison chiefs to replace the old system of flogging. The Model Prison was really intended as a humane punishment after the lash had been abolished! [38]

Gradually the obsessive interest in the Model Prison waned and description of it became less intense. Two later descriptions illustrate the difference. The first is from

Bill Beatty's Isle of Splendour (1963) and the second from Jackman's Islands; Tasmania (1974):

> One of the oldest buildings in the settlement is the Model Prison, which was erected for the reception of the first batch of prisoners sent to Port Arthur before the big Penitentiary was built. It is in the form of a pentagon, with radiating corridors containing cells branching from the central hub. Speech in this dreaded prison was absolutely forbidden, strict silence being enforced under iron discipline. Not only were the convicts forbidden to hear the sound of a human voice, but they were not allowed to see even a human face. They were taken out of their cells for only one hour out of twenty-four to exercise in the prison courtyard, and during that period they had to wear masks so that they could not see anyone's face. The warders in this 'model' prison wore felt slippers and walked noiselessly along the corridors, while numbered signals were attached to each cell for the purpose of whispered communications with the prisoner within. If the system drove some of the unfortunates out of their minds, and perhaps to self-destruction, little concern was shown. Only one less to feed and look after. [39]

and

> Of the model prison more remains; this was one of the last structures to be completed. It was designed to replace the lash as punishment for the obdurate. With its 'silent system', prisoners were confined in solitary cells, the passageways were carpeted and the wardens wore slippers, not a sound of the human voice was heard - except on Sundays when each prisoner was confined in a small box which required full attention to be focused on the chaplain and from which it was impossible to see any other malefactor. Even when a prisoner was allowed out for exercise he was covered with a face-mask which had apertures only for the eyes. This circular prison, perfectly Benthamite in conception and modelled on his panopticon, was the ultimate in penology in its day. It is still in fairly good order and can be viewed with a special guide. [40]

Otherwise there appears to have been a return to an historical appreciation of Port Arthur. The next extract is of some interest in that it shows that already tourism is viewed as part of the history of Port Arthur, and it is

notable that Aboriginal history has at last been recognized:

> ... For interest and beauty combined I give Tasman Peninsula the palm. It has already passed through three eras and has entered on a fourth. First, it was the happy hunting ground of the blacks, next the man-made hell of convict days, then came the period of abandonment and neglect; finally it has become a Mecca for tourists.
>
> Transportation of convicts ceased in 1853, but Port Arthur prison was not abandoned until 1877, and when the buildings began to decay they were either carted away piecemeal for the use of the bricks, or else left to tumble down. Then, when Henry Dobson drew attention to the fact that attracting tourists was a profitable proceeding it was discovered that holiday visitors would gladly pay to see the despised ruins, which became more valuable in decay than when in the heyday of their existence. Some of the prisons were even partly restored and official guides given jobs. You now pay a coin and go voluntarily through a turnstile where the convicts were driven with whips.
>
> It was a sacrilege to use this corner of heaven for a prison ... [41]

From this kind of viewpoint it is only a short step to one which sees Port Arthur in utilitarian terms as a venue for tourism:

> Tasmania is richer in historical relics than any other Australian State, and much of this wealth of the past is concentrated on Tasman Peninsula, a bay area of land in the South-East that each year welcomes tourists from all over the world.
>
> But historic interest is not all the Peninsula has to offer the visitor, for it is equally rich in scenic beauty ... [a description follows] ...
>
> Port Arthur, the best known name on the Peninsula and the location of the most infamous of Australia's penal colonies, is situated on a picturesque bay, where the stone reminders of the grim past stand solidly amid slopes of brilliant green lawns and avenues of English trees. [42]

Perhaps because tourism is emphasized there is also some evidence that now once again physical horrors' of the kind depicted by Clarke are given greater credence and

have more imaginative power than the psychological controls of the Model Prison regime.

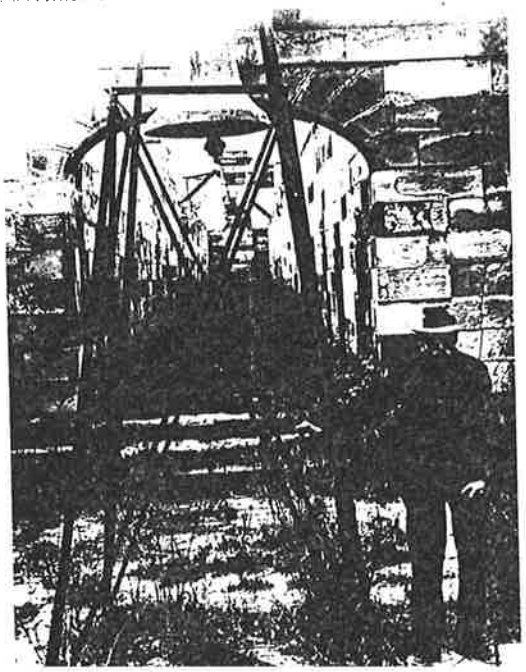
GUIDES AT PORT ARTHUR



48. Bill Thompson.



49. Septimus Nichols at Port Arthur.



50. Bill at the model prison.

7. Public appreciation of Port Arthur: dimension three - appreciation of the building fabric

In 1889 when the Tasmanian Government put Port Arthur up for sale a deputation waited on the Minister for Lands to protest at the Government's action; their spokesman, the local member of the House of Assembly, M.R. Featherstone:

> ... introduced the deputation, and in doing so stated that the gentlemen present, and he believed the whole of the residents of Tasmania's Peninsula were of opinion that the Government were making a great mistake in allowing the old buildings to be swept away. A great many people felt that these buildings should be allowed to remain, as they formed one of the principal attractions of the place, and he trusted the Minister would be able to accede to the wishes of the deputation. [1]

Others of the party pleaded that the tourist trade which had already been established would be damaged if the buildings were razed, that they could be financially self-supporting,[2] that the buildings would not be worth much if they were pulled down, that they should be "looked at from something more than the pecuniary point of view as they took us back to a time when things were very much different from the present time"[3] and, finally, that if they were sold at a later date when the road had gone through they would be worth more:

> The Minister said he was aware of that, but several residents of Carnarvon and other places on the Peninsula had asked him to sell the buildings, as they were rapidly falling into decay. Only a few days ago they were in danger of being burned, and from all he could hear of them they were fast becoming ruins. He believed that the majority of the

> people there were anxious to have them removed. If the Government decided to keep them as a show place they would have to spend a large sum of money upon them in order to put them in repair. The reports he had upon the present state of the penitentiary was that the roof was very bad, and in wet weather it leaked very much, and the report on the Model Prison was even worse, for it states that all that was left of it were the walls, as the roof was bad, and nearly every plank in the building was rotten. The idea of keeping them as a record of the old days of the colony was repugnant to his feelings as he considered them monuments of disgrace to the British Government. If there was anything good about them then there might be some reason for preserving them, but when he thought of the cruelty and misery that had been practised and experienced there, he had not the slightest sympathy with those who wished them to remain. His original intention was to impose a condition that the purchaser should remove the buildings; but he had decided not to make that condition, so that anyone purchasing could use them for factory or for show purposes if he desired to do so. In his opinion Tasmania was not in want of a show place, as there was a sufficient attraction in the beautiful scenery available on all sides, and the health-giving climate. The petition which had been forwarded to His Excellency the Governor contained a paragraph which he decidedly objected to. "That the said Model Prison and Old Penitentiary are the main features of interest in Tasmania," etc. He thought it wrong to point to these places as the main features of interest in the colony, especially as he thought they should be done away with. [4]

In other words, the Government did not think there was widespread support for the buildings' retention and it was not prepared to spend money on their upkeep. In the absence of an economic use for the buildings the Government did not place a high value upon them and did not envisage them as being of much value in the future.

Currently, the Tasmanian Government, with the support of a large proportion of Federal Government funding, is engaged on a $9.2 million dollar programme of research, restoration, maintenance, enhancement and presentation of the Port Arthur site and its buildings. Obviously there

has been a radical change in official policy and in the attitudes on which the policy is based. If in 1878 and 1889 the Government wished to sell off Port Arthur, by 1916 the penitentiary was declared a reserve and progressively the buildings that had been sold were bought back until, in 1947, virtually the whole site was once more under Government control.[5] The first building stabilization project was carried out in 1936 when one of the church walls was rebuilt. Other similar projects were carried out from time to time. In addition, the site was tidied up, for instance in 1950 the Mercury reported:

> Members of the [Scenery Preservation] Board made a two-day inspection of Port Arthur at the end of last week, and saw much progress towards the beautification of the town.
>
> Dilapidated fences have been removed, pathways gravelled, a car park made, and a new recreation ground laid down. Blackberries and weeds have been removed from the ruins, and the whole area is quickly assuming the appearance of parkland.[6]

Generally, rampant weeds were replaced by grass which if it did not emulate the manicured swards around British Ancient Monuments at least presented a fairly well-cared for appearance, and was a sign of regular minimal maintenance. Substantial Government interest and action associated with Port Arthur has followed a phenomenal increase in the site's tourist value, and has culminated in the current extensive plan of work.

There have been equally dramatic changes in public assessment of Port Arthur during this period. In general public attitudes have tended to change in advance of those of the Government. The two can also be assumed to be

interactive in that Government action depends to some extent on public support and because Government action affects the appearance of the site it thus affects the mode of visits made to Port Arthur and hence visitors' experience of it.

Attitudes Expressed 1877 - 1898

After the prison had been closed Port Arthur presented an increasingly unkempt appearance; the larger buildings became more dilapidated and the ground surrounding them increasingly overgrown, it was only the smaller buildings, those that had been sold and occupied, which appeared neat and trim. During this period there was little evidence that the prison buildings themselves, apart from the church, were appreciated or valued as architectural structures and even the church was not always held in esteem. For instance, the following paragraph appeared in the Tasmanian Mail in 1884.

> The church, an edifice wont to be considered the ornament of the place, unfortunately caught fire some time last year, through sparks flying from burning scrub igniting its shingle roof. The whole of the woodwork was consumed, leaving bare walls. This is to be deplored, not that Carnarvon will need so large a church for a century or two; but the elaborate and really appropriately tasteful fittings might have been removed. Anyone wanting the shell of a church big enough to seat 1,000 may have it for a trifle. It is plain Gothic in style, with a massive square tower and spires at the angles, and if the ivy is not too much injured to recover, will in a few years be a real old ruin.[7]

We can note here that regret is expressed for the fittings lost, but there is no appreciation of the historic nature of the site; the building is seen as being

of little use as a relic of convict days and undervalued in itself. No objection occurs to the writer in parting the fittings from the fabric, indeed regret is expressed that no one was able to do so. The only inkling of an appreciation of the fabric is the hint that the church might be developing into "a real old ruin". In fact it did not take long to do so or to engender the appropriate stereotyped response. The Picturesque Atlas of Australia appeared in 1886, it contained the following description:

> Port Arthur or Carnarvon as it is now called contains what is probably the only ecclesiastical ruin in Australia - the roofless walls and pinnacled tower of a free-stone church, never consecrated on account of a murder committed within its precincts, and gutted by an accidental fire which left its solid shell of masonry intact. This is almost concealed by a luxuriant growth of ivy. The structure is approached by a grassy avenue of umbrageous oaks; at the entrance of which are two massive stone pillars, the adjuncts of which exactly resemble those described by Hood in his "Haunted House":
>
> "Unhinged the iron gates half-open hung
> Jarred by the gusty gales of many winters
> That from its crumbled pedestal had flung
> One marble globe in splinters."
>
> Inside the church some of the charred rafters are seen protruding from the naked walls, and the stone pavement trodden by the feet of so many miserable criminals is littered with fragments of iron contorted by the action of the fire. The place looks uncanny when the light of a young moon faintly illuminates its gaping void, and the rustling ivy seems to be whispering ghostly secrets to the shadowy trees in the dark avenue that slopes downward from the hollow towers. [8]

If the church was appreciated as a ruin, little support was likely to be given to its restoration. On the contrary, one can discern in the next quotation an expression of anti-restoration as a matter of principle, which determined the writer's reaction to the building:

> ... we could see the old church ruin standing with its ivy covered buttresses "in orders grey," in shape like a cross, and purely Gothic in style. It reminded us of a certain minister [sic] in England, who once boasted a history unrivalled, and as a ruin was one of the finest. Restoration has unfortunately killed the interest now. We pray restoration may never interfere with this old Prison Church, holding as it undoubtedly does, one of the finest positions in the colony, and, alas, one of the saddest histories. Indeed, what other place south of the line can point to such a ruin in such a pretty spot. [9]

On the other hand, local opinion appears to have been that the value of the building lay in its possible utility as a church. It was reported that:

> The residents of Carnarvon look to England for funds for the restoration of the church - it cannot be done for less than £1,000 - arguing that since England has been the cause of so much suffering and misery on the Peninsula, it is only right that the law of compensation be now recognised. [10]

One can only note that local enthusiasm and resources did not extend to personal monetary support of the restoration scheme. The offical Tasmanian view, if the Handbook of Tasmania issued by the Government of Tasmania is a reliable indicator, appeared not to favour restoration:

> ... the fine avenues of oaks and of elms, the ruins of the old church (the roof and fittings of which were destroyed by fire some years ago), appeal to all lovers of the picturesque. [11]

Up until the time that the rest of the buildings of Port Arthur were also devastated by fire, the church must have appeared as very diffeerent from them, the difference is noted in the Tasmanian Mail:

> The church presents a striking contrast to its near neighbour - the Penitentiary. One is a ruin, the other a well preserved building; the one, with ivy clinging closely and thickly to stone towers and minarets, is a picture of varied beauty, the other

> big, dull, monotonous; the one suggests noble aims and aspirations, the other heavily chained and manacled crime. [12]

Because the church was seen as a building type 'church' or more exactly 'ruined church' and because responses to church buildings were often recorded and hence had become standardized it was easy for visitors to respond to the church appropriately and to record the response in all the safety of the usual manner. We can note that stylistic description is often considered to be appropriate; 'plain Gothic in style', 'Gothic in style' and 'a mixture of early Norman and Gothic architecture' are the kind of descriptions used. Some extracts also display an architectural vocabulary when describing the building's various parts, for instance, 'pinnacled tower', 'free-stone', 'chancel light' or somewhat eclectically 'minarets'. It was indeed fortunate that the ivy grew again after the fire, otherwise the building would hardly have qualified to be a 'ruined church', 'ivy' or 'ivy covered' walls appears as a salient feature in every description bar one; it is not irrelevant that the exception was the one detailing moves for the church's restoration. [13]

Given that the other building types were less usual and less usually visited we might expect that stereotyped architectural descriptions would be less developed and that consequently reactions and descriptions might be more varied. Then because the prison buildings were at this period relatively intact their purpose was still readily appreciated, inevitably they were viewed as prison buildings since they could not shelter behind the more general

alternative category of 'ruins'. Accordingly, the fabric and external form of the buildings are hardly mentioned in descriptions but the function of each building is explicated in some detail. Where details of the fabric are mentioned it is only to reinforce the picture of the function. In this, early post-occupancy descriptions are following the precedent set by descriptions of the settlement before it was closed, as Trollope wrote "The interest of such an establishment as this lies very much in the personal demeanour, in the words, and appearance of the prisoners." [14] In other words, interest was commonly directed towards action within the buildings rather than to the buildings themselves, although fittings and accommodation were described because they added to the picture of the convicts' lot. The following extract from the Tasmanian Mail published during 1884 describes the penitentiary, it is informative about the function of the building and explains what was the purpose of each part in some detail. It is notable for the way in which the writer slips back and forth between description in the present tense and action in the past. Thus leaving the reader to decide if the writer's imagination has taken flight, if an old description is being used or if an earlier stereotype has taken over. In any case the form is very much like that of earlier descriptions where the minutae of detail given implied that few of the readers would have visited the site - a sensible assumption when access was strictly limited during the prison's occupation:

The penitentiary is in front of the dock, a large structure on level ground, excavated in rear from a bank overlooking the exercise yards. It is four-storey, the lower three having barred windows, and has a square staircase tower projecting from the centre, where the prisoners entered. The length is a little over 300ft., and with some offices, guard room, etc., on the right, about 400ft. within a half wall, half palisaded, enclosure, which was the mustering yard. In the middle of the front wall, corresponding with the tower of the building, is a stone erection like a pulpit, but which is a cistern where iron ladles on chains were available for the men to drink from.

The official entrance is at the right hand end (facing the harbour), opposite the guard rooms and sundry offices. From the hall, the interior, to an eye unused to such institutions, is strange looking. To within 30ft. or so of the end it is a building within a building, with galleries round tiers of cells supported on iron brackets, and railed with iron guards, which in old times were kept polished bright. The ceiling of the hall is lofty, being the underside of the fourth storey floor, handsomely corniced and panelled. Massive staircases lead to the galleries and corridors, giving admission to the cells on the tiers, which open on the sides of the building only. Every wall whether inner, outer, or division, is fully 3ft. thick. On the ground and upper tiers there are 28 cells each side, or 168 altogether in this lot, and another lot in a wing off the hall. A pane of fluted glass in each cell wall, securely protected on the inside, gave light day or night, and in each heavy door is a peep glass, through which the warder on duty could survey each charge. Should the occupant require attention the turning of a handle such as secures a deadlight aboard ship, rang a bell and sprung a bracket with the cell number upon it indicating who rang. Frivolous calls for attention were seldom repeated. All prisoners in this part were what are technically known as 'separate treatment men,' those on the ground floor, No. 1 gang, being heavily ironed; No. 2, the second tier, lightly ironed men; and No. 3, do. Within each cell the most uniform uniformity of bareness obtains, a shelf and pallet the only furniture. The messroom is on the third floor, and occupies nearly the whole of it, and is probably the largest room in the colony. The next floor is supported by a double row of pillars. At the further end a dais of one step high commands the room from which the clergyman inaugurated the prison day with prayers, and at meal times a chosen vessel, in the universal broad-arrow costume, standing bareheaded, pronounced grace in advance of the epicurean meal, which had to be eaten in 20 minutes. At the other end of this refectory is the library, whose shelves contain only Bibles and Testaments. The dormitory is

> on the fourth floor under the bare rafters. About a chain of this is partitioned off as a fever ward. The short sentence and good conduct men were permitted to read, attend school, etc., in the mess room after the work day, and to sleep in the barrack-like dormitory, where conversation was permitted till 9 p.m. Off the second gallery is a room over the wing cells, fitted as a Roman Catholic chapel. The window panes are stained and etched with scroll designs, the work of a felon lunatic during his lucid periods. [15]

This traditional description contrasts with the next one which seems both more carefully observed and more personal, its form is less stereotyped and emphasis is placed upon describing the building's fabric rather than its one time use.

> The Penitentiary was erected by prison labour in 1834, and is of brick, with stone facings. Looking at it from the Bay, it presents, with its 200 feet of length, and 50 feet of height, and four tiers of stone dressed, iron-barred windows, and smooth, grassy muster ground, the appearance of a huge factory rather than a dungeon. The roof, a shingle one, is in bad order, and the guttering down in places - sure precursors of absolute decay. This decay has a strong hold upon the land side of the Penitentiary. Here were situate a mass of weather-board erections, used as recreation sheds, etc., and the brass and iron foundries, engine house, and so forth. These have completely collapsed, and are over-grown with dank weeds, the damp thus induced rising some half dozen feet in the Penitentiary walls. Were these ruins cleared away, the drains attended to, and the roof repaired, the Penitentiary proper would be in as sound a condition as in the first year of its occupation. [16]

Surprisingly, this is from the author previously quoted who found the building 'dull', 'monotonous' and redolent of 'chained and manacled crime'. Perhaps the lack of reliance on a stereotype has led to unresolved conflicting experiences and hence to a less consistent picture being offered of them. [17]

The two following descriptions of the lunatic asylum differ in a similar manner, the one being an impersonal description of the building in operation and the other being more clearly an actual description, with rather more architectural detail described and an emphasis upon the way the fine building is to be used in the future. Although the first description does begin and end with a touch of the present:

> Near this model prison is what a local youth dubbed the cranky asylum, and its contiguity is suggestive. If the brain of a criminal under the ordeal of the model became deranged the asylum became his home, and whether the criminal propensity is, prima facie, a sign of mental derangement or no, simulation was in many cases practised which passed for reality. The asylum within cannot be termed other than a grand building. There are here also cells for separate treatment men or beasts, and a padded cell for the form of lunacy which takes the notion of injury to self. By the appearance of the duck covering of the padding, the latter was not in much request, for it has hardly a stain. These criminal lunatics seem to have never lost the instinct of respect for their own skins, a peculiarity in inverse ratio of percentage among the non-criminal. It is needless to detail the place otherwise than to say it is a spacious structure, on one floor, whose lofty rooms for the whole 300ft., by pushing open sliding doors, can be thrown into one vast hall. An octagonal central hall is covered and lit from above, lighthouse fashion, columns supporting the inner cornice. On one side, a pair of doors being slid back, reveal a stage and accessories, and through another is the room now used for holding Divine service when ministers visit the settlement.[18]

The second, while transmitting essentially the same information, expresses different concerns:

> The Lunatic Asylum adjoins the Model Prison. It was erected in 1866 - the natural outcome, so many say, of the existence of the Model. Like its neighbour the Asylum is a cruciform building, but, unlike its neighbour, is of brick and in excellent order. The residents hope ultimately, to become the possessors, for Government has considerately reserved it. The delay in handing it over arises out of the fact that

> there is no official body in existence at Carnarvon. Were the residents to form themselves into, say, a Town Board, the transfer would speedily be made, and they would then possess as fine a public building as any country district in Tasmania, perhaps even in Australia. On entering the building, the visitor stands in an octagonal hall, 36ft. by 36ft., lighted by a lantern roof supported on eight pillars, whence four sliding doors lead into as many fine rooms. At present one of them is used as a State school, and on Sundays as a church, and another is fitted up and used as a theatre and concert room. By throwing wide open the doors of these rooms, a lofty hall, about 150 feet long and 100 feet wide is available. When the Carnarvonites boast a population sufficiently large to fill that hall they will indeed have increased and multiplied a hundredfold, if not a thousandfold. [19]

Their descriptions of the Model Prison are closest to each other in content but again it is the second description that expresses concern about the fate of the structure, it ends:

> The prison has passed into private hands, and will soon be levelled, the mass of material in it re-appearing in the shape of domestic homes. Whether its bad repute will die with it is a question that has little bearing upon its existence or demolition, for decay has laid so strong a hold upon the place that the owner, in pulling it down, merely anticipates the work of nature. [20]

In describing the Model Prison chapel the first description is factual and incorporates only brief and tenative personal comments:

> The chapel at the Model displays, as Sir Geo. Strahan aptly remarked, a degree of horrible ingenuity. The pulpit occupies the centre of the further end, or rather position, and between it and the congregation, one each side, are two minor pulpits, not for a clerk and curate, oh! no; but for two officers to pose in with every prisoner in view, and to bring out the armed guard sitting in a lower seat, screened by a projecting shelf from the prisoners, if needed. The audience were masked, and occupied closet pews in tiers, one above the other, a shelf overhead barring the one above from seeing the masked man below and vice versa, and high doors each side hiding the men right and left. The chapel

> is the shape of a sextant, the galleries of pews being segments within each other, rising toward the rear, and the floor of each is down a step, permitting the masked face only of the worshipper (?) to show above the back of the next segment, which is again shelved as described. A barrier in the centre prohibited the outer men seeing across. A-15, cell occupant filled A-15, pew, and in similar manner other divisions and numbers their own. Each prisoner was marched to his pew and back to his cell solus, and securely locked in either before the next man was moved. [21]

The second one begins similarly but then switches to another mode clearly inviting the reader to share the experience of the space.

> On each side of three of the corridors are placed the cells, some 60 in number - the fourth corridor is fitted up as a chapel. The arrangement of this "place of worship" is unique. Picture a dingy-looking room, about 30 feet by 40 feet, lighted by iron-barred windows well out of reach, a pulpit near one wall, on either side and a little in front a couple of open sentry boxes, and against the opposite wall five tiers of wooden boxes so placed that nobody could be seen from any one of them but the occupants of the pulpit and sentry boxes. [22]

Having set the scene the writer then animates it and finally launches into an histrionic outburst, only a small part of which is quoted.

> "Oh come, let us sing unto the Lord," comes from the chaplain.
>
> "Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving," respond the masked figures in the boxes, with evident sincerity, for they are glad, thankful even, that the powers of hearing and speech, for months and years so rarely exercised, have not left them.
>
> "Holy, Holy, Holy," reads the chaplain.
>
> "Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory," respond a score of hoarse voices.
>
> Dios! What a mockery! what trace of His divine glory was to be found at Port Arthur or in the lives of those outcasts who join so harshly in the cry of the Cherubim and Seraphin. [23]

Finally, to compare the attention each description gives to the building fabric; the earlier description is not well observed:

> Several of the principal buildings are intact - the penitentiary, hospital, asylum for the insane, and model prison, as well as houses where the chief officers, soldiery, and police were quartered. Except the military prison, a castellated ruin of sombre freestone, with battlements and wing turrets, all are of brick, with stone quoins, lintels, and sills, the brickwork coloured a creamy buff. [24]

It can be contrasted with one from the other writer:

> ... after settling with our old guide we entered the Carnarvon Hotel, or what used to be the Commandant's house ... The house per se was a peculiar old brick and wooden construction, with many French casement windows, windy passages, and doors.

it ends comfortingly:

> However, under the present management, the visitor can be made comfortable, and say truly, with Shenstone -
>
> "Who e'er has travell'd life's dull round,
> What e'er his stages may have been,
> Will sigh to think he oft has found
> The warmest welcome at an inn." [25]

In short, these two descriptions present contrasting approaches. The later description appropriately written by someone calling himself 'The Sketcher' corresponds to a record of a "reading" experience, recording in serial form what the writer has seen and what he has thought as a result of his visual experience. The description is recorded in order to transmit the experience and its consequences to others; it assumes that the experience of visiting is important and that the buildings and their purpose are understood and appreciated through experience

of them. Descriptions of this kind are likely to encourage the reader to visit the site.

In contrast, it is assumed in the other (1884) description that the interest of the buildings lies in their history. It follows that here personal experience is less important, and so too is visiting the site. Using such an approach makes it proper to build on other's knowledge and hence makes the use of standard or stereotyped description not inappropriate. Given the same assumption it is not inconsistent to employ the earlier mode of description, developed when visiting was regulated and the reader was unlikely to be able to visit the site. Although by 1884 the site had been opened up it is still assumed that the reader is unlikely to, or unlikely to wish to, visit the site. Here knowledge about the buildings is separated from them, hence the buildings themselves become of less interest and a more cursory treatment is given to a description of their fabric.

Descriptions of the period were more likely to follow the 1884 pattern, even if they were designed as an adjunct to visiting the site. The following description that appeared in the New Tasmanian Guide Book of 1889 is a typical example, only giving sufficient information about the fabric for the visitor to identify the building:

> The first place to be visited will be the Penitentiary, a very large building standing at the head and on the edge of the bay. Here will be seen on entering the receiving hall, where all prisoners were subjected to the searching scrutiny of the officials. Passing along on each side and on tiers above are the cells where the prisoners were

> confined. On the third flat is the large dining hall, a magnificent room where the majority had meals, ten sitting at each table. At one end of this hall was a well-appointed library for the use of the prisoners. The food was conveyed from the cook house on the ground floor by means of a lift. At the top of the building were large dormitories, all filled every night with prisoners, and at one end was a chapel where the Roman Catholic service was conducted daily by the clergyman, while the Church of England was represented in the dining hall. At the end of this huge pile will be seen the work-shops, viz., carpenter's, blacksmith's, and other trades. A large sawmill driven by steam was also beside it, and a tannery, etc., was opposite. Nearly every industry was more or less represented at this large establishment, the convict element being so large, and possessing tradesmen of nearly every class. The large square in front was commonly called the muster-ground, where all the prisoners were inspected and marched off to their respective gangs on week days, and on Sundays were escorted to the church by a band of armed guards. The church is a stone structure built by prisoners, and is situated a short distance from the Penitentiary, and in close proximity to a neat villa called Government Cottage, where his Excellency the Governor on his annual visit, or members of Parliament, had their quarters. The church is now in a semi-ruined condition, having had the roof and all the interior fittings damaged by fire some years ago. I may here state that the place was finally abandoned as a convict station in 1877. Besides prisoners, lunatics and paupers were confined there. The Lunatic Asylum still remains nearly intact, and adjoining it is the noted model prison, where all the worst criminals were confined. The exterior of the building still remains, although the interior is very much gutted. A large building at the top of the hill, which used to be a hospital, will also be a source of interest; also the guard room, magazines, stores, and many other buildings that were in use during the full sway of convictism. [26]

The most remarkable statement of the period about the value of the prison buildings also comes from 'The Sketcher'. It was written in response to the Government's notice of sale of which an extract was given at the head of the article:

> On Tuesday, the 12th day of March, the Crown Buildings at Port Arthur, to wit, the Model Prison, containing 100,000 bricks, and 27,000 cubic feet of

stone, the Penitentiary, four stories high, containing 850,000 bricks and 11,000 cubic feet of stone and 281 doors and windows, the material contained in eight old buildings, and sundry lots of Crown land, will be sold by public auction.

It continues:

Were it possible to analyse the varied feelings called into play by the foregoing announcement, feelings induced by thoughts which do no seem to have the remotest connection one with the other, what a vista of fallow ground, what a delightful prospect of congenial employment, of soul-absorbing enquiry, would be opened up to the votary of analytical science. We in the colonies, unlike our more fortunate brethren in the nations of history, have but little in the realm of man's handiwork to which we can point as historical; all our buildings, stately though many be, are still possessed of that suggestion of new brick and fresh mortar, which ever-rolling time alone can remove. Had we anything the contemplation of which would carry us back in thought to the dim past, and bury for a while the present, had we any of those venerable relics with which England, with which Europe, abounds, what a craving it would allay, what a void it would fill, in the lives of many ... It is this craving after memories of the past which induces so many to brave no inconsiderable amount of discomfort for the purpose of spending even but an hour or two on a spot inseparably bound up with the earlier and darker history of Australasia; it is this latent desire to preserve one of our oldest land-marks, even though there be not a single bright or noble feature in its history, that has caused so many to resent the action of the "powers that be" in offering for sale the Crown property at Port Arthur. Its days are numbered. Probably ere long the sound of pick and shovel, of falling walls, of crashing timbers will have betokened the levelling to the ground of those gruesome old prisons, which henceforth, like Carthage of old - the doughty foe of Rome suffers immeasurably by the comparison - will live but in memory. And man regrets it ... That sentiment - and surely it is not an unwholesome sentiment - which leads a not inconsiderable section of humanity to look upon the destruction of a venerable pile with indignation, to prize, as pearls of price, an ancient coin, a rare manuscript, is not unknown in these colonies, even though, owing to obvious causes, it has but a minimum to feed on. It matters little whether the object preserved - provided it does not suggest national or individual disgrace - causes sweet or bitter reflections; whether it leads to expressions of approval or detestation, it is sufficient that it is hoary with

> age, that it has played a part in history, that it is replete with thoughts of the past. [27]

The sale of March 1889 crystallized many people's attitude towards the structures at Port Arthur and caused them to take a stand as to their value both as buildings and as symbols.[28] It was common for people to depreciate the buildings as reminders of a past that was best forgotten and those that did so had a tendency to see the buildings as dilapidated, decaying or dying a natural death. The following quotation is a typical example:

> Most of the buildings and dungeons are falling to decay, so that in the course of time all signs of the past will be gone. [29]

We have already seen that in supporting their sale the Minister for Lands had emphasized the poor state of repair of the buildings; an assessment that was clearly influenced by his lack of regard for them.[30] A piece in The Mercury makes the same connections:

> The old prison buildings at Port Arthur are to be sold tomorrow, and by this time most persons have, we think, reached the conclusion that the sooner they are cleared away the better. It is true, no doubt, that to a certain extent, they are objects of curiosity, visitors being attracted by their bad fame, and by a desire of being able to say that they have seen such things, just as they would go to any other place where the memories of a terrible past could be found. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the buildings themselves are fast going to decay, and in a few years will attract nobody, for they will be ruins without anything to make them worthy of respect, or even of remembrance. Apart from this, however, it is quite time that the colony was freed from the last vestiges of a system which was got rid of with some trouble, but with the hearty assent of all right-thinking persons. Port Arthur, and what happened there, will live long enough in the pages of history, too long, indeed, to be pleasant to ourselves, although the present generation can hardly be held responsible for the

> deeds of a past one. The Minister of Lands seems to us to have done well in refusing to listen to the protests of more than one deputation, which kept local interests, as they regarded them, more clearly in view than the best interests of the whole of the colony. We have received several letters on this subject, the preponderance of opinion being now decidedly in favour of the removal of the buildings, and the obliteration of a foul spot, which can only be remembered with regret, and which will be remembered quite long enough, without keeping up the buildings to recall it to our minds, and to the minds of our visitors, who, surely, can find many more things worthy of their attention, and more calculated to improve their understandings. [31]

The sale went ahead but the pentitentiary was withdrawn from the sale. The hospital was sold to the Roman Catholic archbishop and the local prison to a Rev. Woolnough. No comment seems to have been offered when radical alterations to the prison were begun, indeed they seem to have been accepted:

> The Model Prison, where the worst prisoners were confined, is surrounded by a circular stone wall twenty feet high. It is now private property, and a portion is being converted into a private residence ... The chapel is dismantled, and is intended to be the ballroom. Visitors are admitted to a portion of the building twice a week. [32]

So, in addition to destruction through neglect and decay, deliberate destruction was also condoned, and by some advocated:

> It would be a great thing for the prosperity of the island if these buildings, that have made such a sad pitiful record in human history, could be levelled to the ground, and the last stone cast into the depths of the sea. [33]

When the major prison buildings were destroyed by fire, satisfaction rather than loss was expressed in The Mercury. The fires appeared to have been viewed as a fitting culmination of the long campaign the newspaper had

conducted first against the establishment of a prison at Port Arthur and against Colonel Arthur who was responsible for establishing it, then against transportation and the prison system and then for the closure of the prison system and opening up the peninsula for settlement.[34] The report of the fire stated:

> ... the destruction which visited Port Arthur was of a more intelligently, merciful kind than that which visited another part of the colony, for the buildings destroyed, were, in most cases not homes, but places associated in the long ago with crime and human suffering. The fire and tempest had a method in its work, and it was of a merciful kind ... There are many who will make no concealment of their satisfaction at the destruction of the Penitentiary. On holiday visits to Port Arthur ... you always meet the man who "would like to put a limited quantity of dynamite or gunpowder" under the Model or the Penitentiary, and so remove the last trace of the "system" that flourished there 50 years ago. Had the fire and tempest of Friday last been under the immediate direction of one of those patriots a more effectual attempt could not have been made to get rid of the old Government buildings with a minimum loss of private property than was made on last Friday afternoon. Fire would seem to be the destiny of Port Arthur. The third great fire has now occurred in the town, and to rebuild the piles destroyed - one of them for the second time within a few years - would seem very much like inviting loss and disaster ... How some of the poor wretches who suffered and sorrowed in the port half a century ago would have rejoiced had they witnessed the place in flames on Friday night! Years of suffering would, no doubt, to their minds, have been at least partially avenged. [35]

and

> Thus Fate seems determined that Port Arthur should be "wiped out." The name of Carnarvon appears to be an inadequate effacement. People now shake their heads and say the place is "gone." [36]

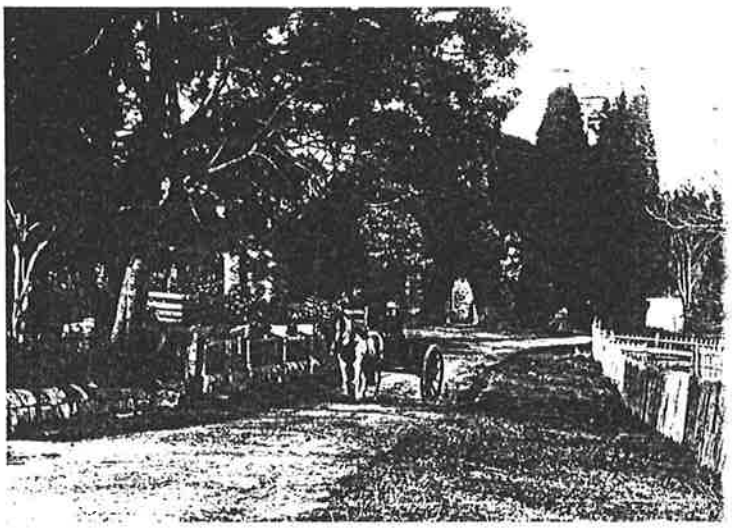
Speculation has arisen from time to time as to the keenness with which the fires were fought. It seems to have been true that more effort was put into saving the smaller buildings, and less into the large prison

buildings but after all the fire-fighters were the owners of the smaller buildings. Here, for instance, is part of the description of the 1895 fire:

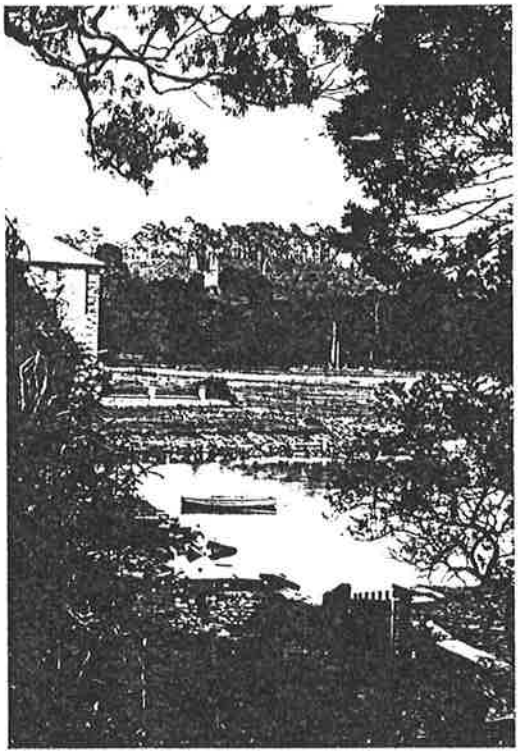
> Government-house, owned by Mr. L. Reynolds, was next to suffer. The place was cleared of its contents by many willing and helping hands, but it soon became apparent the fire was master of the building, and another valuable relic of the past was burned to the ground. The gale at this time raged furiously, and no doubt, owing to the fires, seemed to roar all round the compass. Messrs. Mason and Blackwood had great difficulty in preserving their own houses, that caught fire in several places.
>
> The news now immediately spread that the beautiful public buildings were alight, and everyone felt powerless to save so large a building without an adequate supply of water. Nevertheless, a rush was made, and a lot of public property was rescued, including the piano, reading desk, etc. The gymnasium was the part first ablaze, and the properties of the Carnarvon Athletic Club are all lost. Such a firm hold had the fire on this building, that it was evident the Model Prison, belonging to the member for Sorell [the Rev. Woolnough], also the house occupied by Sub-inspector Ballanie, were doomed. No human efforts could have saved these buildings, and their destruction was complete in about an hour.[37]

In this case even The Mercury shows some regret at the loss of Government House and goes so far as to describe the public buildings (the former lunatic asylum) as 'beautiful'. Perhaps it was felt that neither of these buildings had represented the prison system. Undoubtedly a lack of maintenance of the penitentiary and the land surrounding it had materially contributed towards its vulnerability to fire, but in any case the fires had been so severe that it is not unreasonable to argue that the prison buildings could not have been saved.

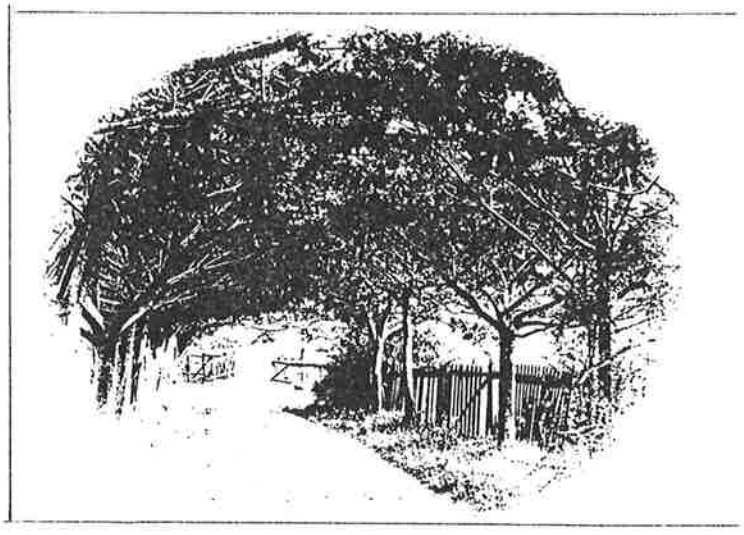
PORT ARTHUR AS A
PICTURESQUE VILLAGE



51. The church.



52. View from the hotel - the Commandant's house.



53. 'A walk at Port Arthur'.

Attitudes Expressed 1900 - 1960

In a surprisingly short time the phoenix arose from the ashes; transmogrified from the prison settlement of Port Arthur to the village of Carnarvon - at least in official publications. The Tasmanian Government Railway Department's Complete Guide to Tasmania issued in 1906 avers:

> PORT ARTHUR, now called CARNARVON, is famous as the site of the old convict settlement, and is today as much noted for its beauty as for its old-time horrors. Many of the buildings of prison days are still standing, in various states of preservation, and there are lovely avenues of fine old oak and elm trees, altogether making the township beyond doubt the most beautiful in Tasmania. [38]

While the Handbook of Tasmania, issued in 1908 by the Government of Tasmania, states:

> Port Arthur is now known as Carnarvon ... Enthusiasts have declared that Carnarvon is the prettiest town in Tasmania. That is a matter on which it is unnecessary to dogmatise, but the fine avenues of oaks and of elms, the ruins of the old church (the roof and fittings of which were destroyed by fire some years ago), appeal to all lovers of the picturesque. The model prison was wrecked by a bush fire. The great freestone quarries from which the material for the official buildings was taken now form a natural fernery. [39]

By designating Carnarvon a village with its own local council ensconced in the rebuilt public buildings and who were to be responsible for the site the Government sloughed off its special responsibilities. It was not until after World War II that the Government resumed a more positive administrative role when it handed over control of Port Arthur to its own instrumentality, the Scenery Preservation Board. Although in the intervening period the

sites that had been sold were gradually re-acquired. The following newspaper extract confirms that at the time (about 1919) there was public acceptance of current Government policy indeed a belief in the efficacy of private enterprise prevails.

> When one visited Tasman's Peninsula at Easter time, one had a conversation with one or two tourists from Victoria, who thought that the Government had made a big mistake in sweeping away the old prison buildings at Port Arthur, which they thought would have been a big asset to the tourist movement in this State. One explained to this gentleman that thirty years ago, about eleven years after the settlement was broken up, an effort was made by a few leading citizens of Hobart to induce the Government to allow the buildings to stand. One of the gentlemen who waited upon the Minister of the day, and entered his objection against the sale of the buildings, was the late Mr. J.B. Walker, a Tasmanian historian of some note. Mr. Walker gave as one of his reasons for his advocacy that the removal of the buildings would be a great loss to the district of Carnarvon, as these relics of the past attracted a large stream of visitors which would increase as years rolled on. He considered the buildings were of historical interest, and he thought the small sum realised by their sale would not compensate for the loss sustained by their removal. "If", said one of the visitors, "the buildings were offered for sale, why did not some of you enterprising citizens purchase them. They would have made thousands out of their speculation. Was any opportunity given anyone to do so?" "Yes," one replied. "Plenty of people had the opportunity you mention afforded them, but they neglected to avail themselves of it." "I am told to the contrary," said the visitor. "Then," one said, "you were misinformed."
>
> No one availed themselves of the offer at the time, but some time afterwards the buildings, with the exception of the penitentiary, were submitted for sale. A resident of Port Arthur purchased the model prison, and pulled it down, probably for the value of the materials it contained. A few years afterwards the penitentiary was gutted by bush fires, and so was the historic church." "Then these places were destroyed owing to the nearsightedness of the Carnarvon people," remarked the tourist, and one replied "Just so." [40]

One can feel considerable sympathy for the villagers of Carnarvon; they really did not have the resources to carry out such an enterprise. Nor was the Tasman Council in a position to provide for the positive upkeep of the site. Although they did make guides available to serve a steady stream of visitors and provided some recreational facilities. The Scenery Preservation Board as we have seen tidied up the site and gave the ground around the ruins a better cared-for appearance, although some of its village atmosphere must have been lost in the process, just as the village atmosphere had succeeded the somewhat neglected, left-over appearance of the defunct prison, and the site devastated by fire. This particular change is recorded by George Porter about 1928:

> My mental picture of Port Arthur had hitherto been that of a bleak, deserted, industrial area on an uninviting coast, where would be found the ruins of some ugly buildings, the beauty ascribed to it would be of the wilder, sterner kind, I had thought, remembering its associations as a scene of punishment, labour in chains, despair and remorse. Imagine my astonishment when we drove down into a charming English-looking hamlet, with church pinnacles showing among the trees, pretty bungalows and orchards, avenues of English trees, and little brooks running down to the beautiful expanse of peaceful land-locked sea. [41]

It is characteristic of this period that the site was appreciated as a whole, first it was seen as a pretty town, an 'English looking hamlet'. A view which essentially dwells on its present charms and its rural aspect, its historical importance is neglected. This phase is succeeded by a second in which the historical value of the site is recognized and the ruins are seen as symbols of that value and as valuable in themselves. Undoubtedly the

example of countries overseas in setting up historic sites, and caring for ruined buildings affected the Australian perception of Port Arthur. Indeed, as early as 1898 the buildings had been compared with Fountain's Abbey in this respect.[42] It is of some interest that there was no widespread recognition of the site as being of value for its ruins until the 1940s. Then a visiting journalist whom I have been unable to identify called Port Arthur "Australia's only bona-fide ruin." The phrase was repeated often[43] and other similar sentiments were expressed, of which three are quoted:

> Port Arthur, although a grim reminder of a terrible past, is one of Australia's few authentic historical ruins, and as such must be preserved for posterity. (1935) [44]

> No other place in the Commonwealth may be compared with this town on Tasman Peninsula. Port Arthur is unique; though not, as some writer often quoted has declared, 'Australia's only bona fide ruin.' There are still some colonial Georgian buildings in New South Wales, but no town where ruins are [not?] neighbours of middle-aged or modern buildings. (1944) [45]

> ... Australia's only substantial historic ruin, a Mecca for tourists from all over the world. (1946) [46]

The use of 'Australia' in this context is significant, it arouses a suspicion that because other countries have historic sites it was felt that Australia needed one too, and that was what Port Arthur provided, hence its importance was re-evaluated.

But the site was also used by visitors to conjure up a picture of the township of Port Arthur as it was in its heyday. And here the emphasis is on Port Arthur as a town rather than as a prison. Perhaps one of the best recorded

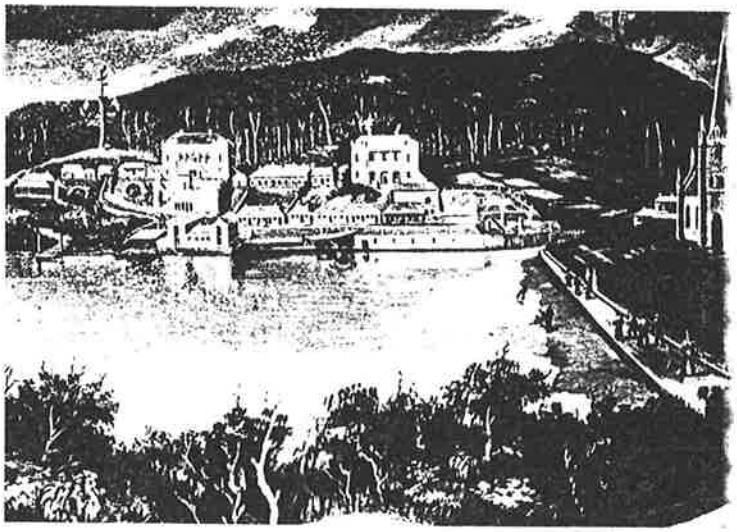
re-creations is William Hayes' 1919 description which appeared in his novel The Notorious Escape of Sir William Heans:

> Sir William Heans has left a brief record of his arrival at the Settlement; ... of his agreeable surprise as they rounded Dead Island at its pretty red stones; and of his amazement as they sailed into the bay at the "haven-like village out of Goldsmith, backed by a tall English spire."
>
> The place had been laid out for a Naval Arsenal, and had not a few beautiful buildings in the Renaissance Roman, strictly pure, and formed from freestone cut in blocks from a quarry behind the village. The church, an Abbey in size, was a sort of pinnacled Gothic, crowned with a towering Gothic spire. Following a general gentleness of colouring, even the Penitentiary, if of plainer pattern, was built of a beautiful pink brick, and placed low on the lawn of the cove, the jetties along its front lapped by the still arm of a ramparted and foliaged sea much resembling the landscape of Loch Lomond. Perhaps the mountains were a trace too weird and goblin in shape, too close and darkly massed with trees. Perhaps there were three blow-flies for every common house-fly found elsewhere. Perhaps the beautiful harbour was too full of a strangling seaweed. Standing by the church, you saw the Roman town, reared and staircased five houses up on the south hillock, terminating in the Commandant's French villa poised in its hanging garden over the sea (into which sprang a staircase of stone like that we read of in The Mermaid), with below in front, the pink Penitentiary, just seen down by the little water and the isles, through thirteen years' growth of English and Australian trees. [47]

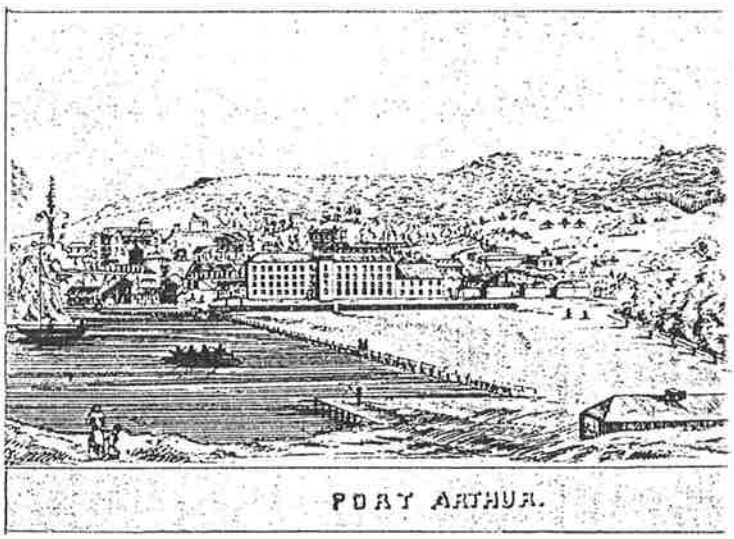
Clive Lord carried out a similar imaginative exercise:

> Coming back to the view of the settlement as seen from Scorpion Rock, and looking further towards the west, one can visualise what an imposing pile of buildings there must have been on the hill above the Penitentiary. Where now exist little but scattered ruins and the picturesque old tower, in former days there were the military barracks and other buildings. The barracks were constructed of hewn stone, and were capable of containing nearly 100 men. The front entrance was through a handsome battlemented round tower which commanded the township. Beyond this was a spacious parade ground leading to an elevated terrace, upon which opened the large barracks. In line with the barracks, and of somewhat similar design, was the hospital. Beyond

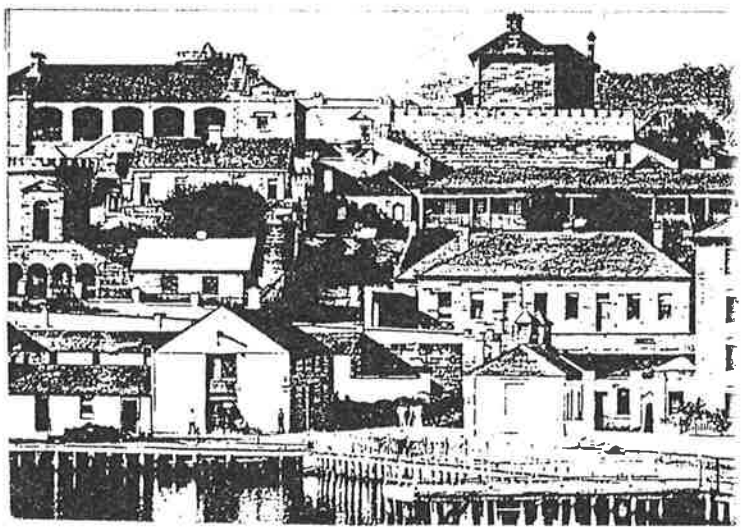
PORT ARTHUR AS A TOWN



54. Port Arthur in 1839.



55. Port Arthur in 1859.



56. Port Arthur in the 1860s.

> these again was the ruins of the model prison, a building which expresses the trend of thought of "the system" of penal management as it was at the height of the early Victorian era. [48]

And so did Coultman Smith:

> Port Arthur claimed in its prime to be the third largest town in Tasmania ... Its streets were flanked by handsome and staunch buildings, its gardens a mass of profuse blossoms and squat, flowering shrubs. English trees adorn the roads, extensive harbour works thrust out into the port. At the north-eastern entrance to the town stood the finest church in the colony, with beautiful stained glass windows; prolific farmlands stretched out behind Safety Cove. An artistically-designed hospital overlooked the town, soldiers in bright uniforms tramped the cobblestones, semaphores flashed news and orders back and forth to Hobart ... [49]

The actual process is described by P.D. Coles:

> A knoll behind the church gives a commanding view of the settlement. Here one can sit and meditate, trying to visualize its bustling life in the 'forties, trying to reconstruct the ruins standing gauntly in the green swards against a background of mountain and blue water. [50]

Because there was also a tendency at this time to view the township as an economic unit the description of the town was widened to include features other than buildings. The following description is of this type:

> The Anglican Minister lived in a cottage close to the church. The Priest, in what is now the Doctor's residence.
>
> Also nearby, stood the cottage in which the Governor lived when he visited Port Arthur. After the reclamation of the foreshore, an oak avenue was laid out with a fountain and pretty gardens.
>
> The shipbuilding yards lay round the point which juts out to the east. It was here, in 1838, that the famous convict ship "Lady Franklin" was launched.
>
> Not far away from these yards stood the limekilns.
>
> The felled timber was carried by tramline to the woodyard. The sawpits stood on the edge of the reclaimed land. Later on, when a steam sawmill was installed, the unwanted sawing pits were used for tanning hides.

> On the level land at Safety Cove a large area was cleared for a farm which was run by convict labour. Convicts pulled the ploughs, but bullocks were also used. This farm supplied the settlement with all produce except dairy. This came from a model farm called "The Piggery," situated near where the Model Prison was built. [51]

The extract is also of interest because it shows evidence of an appreciation of the way in which the town grew and uses and buildings succeeded each other. Some saw drama in this process.

> Assistant-Surgeon Russel was succeeded by Captain John Mahon and Lt. John Gibbons, but neither of these commanders did much to advance the settlement. A change took place when, in 1833, the dynamic Captain O'Hara Booth took charge. Stone and brick buildings were erected for the soldiers. A line of brick buildings replaced the wooden huts in which the prisoners were housed until 1848, when the 4-storied Penitentiary was built. The stone for these buildings was taken from several quarries, situated within easy distance of the settlement.
>
> The year 1835 saw the erection of the tower-like powder magazine on a commanding position. In the following year, a site for the building of a church was selected on a rise, at the base of which the shallowing waters of the bay lapped until in 1841 the reclamation of the useless portions of the tide-covered area was commenced. [52]

and

> Most outstanding of the Commandants was Captain O'Hara Booth, who, incidentally, once nearly lost his life when he was bushed near Eaglehawk Neck. During his eleven years of administration, Port Arthur became a town of first-class buildings. Land was reclaimed on the Bay and excellent harbour works constructed. The flat land in front of the township, fronting the Bay, was reclaimed during the Booth period.

Neither was the drama of the town's situation neglected

> At times there have been outcries against preserving the ruins of the penal days. Yet there is much beauty of design and execution in these relics of an early and isolated settlement, and such, historically, is well worth preserving. [53]

and

> Port Arthur was abandoned in 1878. To-day it is a remnant of the past, not dead, but living in its memories of a way of life that is no more, of a grace and charm which triumphed over the squalor and crime from which they sprang, of a plan which rooted the British tradition in Tasman's mountainous isle. [54]

and linking the two Coultman Smith wrote:

> Man created Port Arthur with toil-worn hands amid the anguish of isolation. Nature has mellowed it into a place of beauty through a century of wind and rain and sun, fashioned it with care and artistry unmatched in the world we know outside those nestling green hills ... [55]

There is a tendency for those writing in the 1940s to describe the township at the peak of its developmental phase; the 1840s. This in itself partly accounts for the particular image Port Arthur is given. But there is also room for speculation that the interest in towns was a result of a widespread recrudence of interest in town planning and town construction; the English New Towns as being both evidence of such interest and in their turn stimulating it.

If we turn to the buildings themselves, we see here too a new form of appreciation; interest is expressed in them not just as symbols or remnants of an important or infamous period but as being of interest in their own right. Such a change may be attributed partly to the fact that now all the prison buildings were ruins.

This uniform state not only unified the site but also diminished the likelihood of differing reactions to different types of buildings. In one way the function of the building was suppressed by its being a ruin but at the

same time because the function is less obvious it opened the way for an imaginative reaction to the ruined building which consisted of recreating the function from the evidence presented to the viewer.

Clive Lord's article of 1926 is of considerable interest since it presents the new mode of appreciation in a well developed form. It begins with a quotation:

> "Simple en etait la noble architecture;
> Chaque ornement, a sa place arrete,
> Y semblait mis par la necessite."

and continues:

> In his description of "Le Temple du Gout" Voltaire wrote the above lines, and just as the form of the great architectural temple which he described was noble, and each part seemed placed there by necessity, so may we apply the feeling which lies behind these lines to the remnants of the old buildings which are now falling into ruin at Port Arthur and other places in Australia. The reason is not far to seek. These old buildings were designed in many cases by engineers of the Imperial Service, whose training and travels had made them masters in the art of building, and the structures erected were built with a strength which has defied the ravages of both time and other agencies of decay. Built as part of "the system" - that great code which, despite its defects, advanced the initial and early colonisation of Australia in such a marked manner - the structures were meant to last. Moreover, each was a necessary item in the grouping of the settlement, and a little time spent in studying the planning and structures of such a settlement as Port Arthur opens up a most interesting page of early history. [56]

The piece displays a different relationship between the fabric of the building and information as to its function. Earlier descriptions had described the function of a building or part in order to give meaning to the fabric. Here appreciation begins from the fabric and the information it offers about the past, it springs from the

expressed conviction that the function of a building is incorporated in its fabric.

In relation to the church Lord exclaims "What tales the ruins ... could tell if the walls could but speak of all that took place within them!" We might expect from earlier descriptions that tales of convict horrors will follow, but with one exception the description is of quite another kind and presents a different view of convict life and of the role of the convict:

> The foundation stone was laid by Colonel George Arthur on the 25th April, 1836, and the first service held on 24th July, 1837. When one considers that the church was capable of seating upwards of 1500 people its construction must have been carried out in an expeditious manner. Nevertheless, it was soundly built, for in spite of fire and neglect its walls still stand, and the ivy creeps upwards over tower and pinnacles. If any building of the old regime is worthy of reconstruction it is surely this edifice whose architectural qualities and picturesque setting render it well worthy of preservation. It was designed by an exile known as "Mason," although this was probably not his real name. He afterwards secured his freedom and later practised his profession in Sydney.
>
> Lacking spire, roof, and fittings, yet the gaunt stone walls stand out, and the Gothic arches and pinnacles compel many a lingering glance. The old church well repays such examination, for it is built, as Keble writes, "in a style of architecture which to me at least is, in comparison with all others, the most beautiful of all, and by far the most in harmony with the mysteries of religion."
>
> Attractive as its ruins are, yet how much more so must the edifice have been when in use. Every care was taken of it, and the surroundings kept in perfect order. For almost forty years it remained intact, but in 1875 the long tapering spire was destroyed by a gale, and a few years later fire destroyed practically all but the walls - not only of this, but of many of the other structures within the settlement. The peal of bells which used to send their clarion calls across the waters of the bay are now heard in another part of the island.
>
> Tales are told of certain tragedies which took place during the erection of the church, and it is even

> said that one of the men whilst engaged at work fixing the flashings and spoutings was detected making spurious coin from the lead. [57]

The description can be described as self-referential. To Lord what was relevant to appreciation of the building was the way it was built, the way in which it was designed and its subsequent fate as a building. Even the convict fable is tied into the building process. The fabric of the building is valued and its style appreciated. In short the description concentrates upon the building's architectural qualities - its form and the drama associated with the building process and the building's life. Several other pieces on the church are also worth quoting although none is quite as pointed as Lord's. George Porter expresses a similar interest in the fabric and a concomitant concern that it should be preserved.

> The church is a beautiful ruin and the freestone of which it is built a most attractive warm red. It was designed by a convict, known professionally as Mr. "Mason," who after obtaining his freedom did well as an architect in Sydney. It was never consecrated. Anthony Trollope visited this church about 1870 when a graceful spire stood above the tower:
>
> > "I went into it, and found it to be fitted with high, dark-coloured, old-fashioned pews. There was a lofty, fortress-like pulpit, and round some great man's pew, - either the commandant's or the governor's, probably round both, - there was the old-fashioned English curtain, so that the mighty ones within might pray or sleep without intrusion. It was very English; but remarkable chiefly for this, that it was there in the forest, on a shore uninhabited except by convicts, altogether undesirable for other inhabitants, - and that the convicts would soon be away. What then will become of the very respectable church with its high pews?"
>
> My guide remembered as a boy seeing convicts on their way to church, but this would be during the last few years of Port Arthur, when it partook more of the nature of a sort of workhouse infirmary. Again I noticed large cracks and masonry in danger of falling. I found only eleven of the graceful

> pinnacles standing, whereas the photograph shows twelve. This beautiful ruin at any rate should be preserved. [58]

It is of interest that others shared his concern and action was subsequently taken to stabilize the ruin. The Mercury reported:

> Nearly a century old, and of rare architectural design, combined with fine workmanship, the ancient church building at Port Arthur is badly in need of restoration. Large cracks have developed, especially in the north-eastern side, which has recently been reinforced by a wooden beam and steel tie-rods. Notwithstanding these precautionary methods, a casual inspection is sufficient to enable one to come to the conclusion that this historic structure is doomed to speedy destruction unless strongly buttressed. About two years ago the ivy was removed from the building as a step towards its longer preservation, but in view of the more pronounced appearance of cracks in it since then, one wonders whether such action had the desired effect or otherwise.
>
> The erection of the old Port Arthur church began in 1835, the foundation stone being laid in February, 1836, by Lieutenant-governor Arthur. It was not completed until 1841, when Captain C. O'Hara Booth was Commandant there. [59]

The writer is corrected 'in the interests of historical accuracy' in a subsequent letter to the paper:

> The foundation stone was ready to be laid in January, 1836, but Lieut.-Governor Arthur was unable to leave Hobart at the time. He left for the purpose on April 23, and returned on the 26th, being at Port Arthur on the 24th and 25th. The official record does not state on which of these days he laid the stone, but Captain Booth's diary shows it was the 25th. As "M.C." states, the first service was held on July 26, 1837, and the building was completed early in the following year.
>
> The church was never consecrated. Bishop Nixon, who was an able, but peculiarly intolerant man, and implacably opposed to the convict system, refused to perform the office, it is said, on the untenable ground that a murder had been committed while the building was in progress. His successors evidently considered that the time was past for usefully performing the office. Bishop Nixon retired in 1864, only a few years before Port Arthur ceased its existence as a penal station. [60]

Another writer also expresses concern about the fate of the building and the need for historical accuracy about it, even the convict fable is attributed to its source:

> There is some talk of restoring completely the lovely old Port Arthur church, which certainly would not lose its appeal if provided with a roof departing neither in detail nor material from that which it lost long ago. A steeple also might be built to give the church its appearance before a gale in 1875 destroyed the long, tapering structure rising from the tower.
>
> A convict named James Blackburn - some writers give his name as Mason - designed the church, and it was built by convict labour. Governor Arthur laid the foundation stone in April, 1836, and the building was completed before the end of 1840. One doubts, after careful inspection of the ruins, whether there was 'seating accommodation for two thousand persons.' Crimes whose punishment was death, were perpetrated during the building of the church. Beattie, in his 'Port Arthur: an Historical Survey,' writes:
>
> "There was a murder committed in one of the trenches, another while the roof was being completed, and one of the men, while engaged in arranging the spouting, was caught manufacturing spurious coin from the lead." [61]

The interest in style evinced in nineteenth century extracts can be seen to have faded. In 1942 P.D. Coles described the church as a "minor English ruin",[62] 'English' obviously standing for a vaguely historical quality. While in 1949 Brogan offered:

> There is no more picturesque relic in Australia today than this ruined church, which might belong to Wiltshire or Carmarthen and the 16th or 17th centuries. [63]

A description which can hardly be said to be based on historical stylistic knowledge. Otherwise his description displayed similar trends in appreciation as those previously discussed, it continued:

> The handsome gate at the top of the oak avenue has gone and the steeple was blown down in a storm in 1875. Yet the clean lines of the building are a testimonial to the man who designed it. He is said to have been a convict - architect named Mason, who was, according to the story, pardoned because of his work on this church, and became a well-known figure in Sydney and New Zealand. Then again it is stated that a Public Works Department clerk, Blackburn, designed it. This man was later Town Surveyor of Melbourne.
>
> Legend also relates that a ghost haunts the church ruin at odd times of the night. This is based on the historical fact that a man enaged in the construction murdered one of his mates. During the building, too, another convict was caught making coins from the lead used on the roof - a most Australian example of initiative!
>
> Standing inside, we can see that the church must have been a magnificent building, but the superb stained glass windows and wall decorations that were the work of convict-artists have now disappeared. The building could seat 2000 worshippers. And there was once a clock, with a peal of bells, some of which are now at New Norfolk. Until seventy years ago the church was in its original condition, but first the steeple was blown down and later two bushfires swept through the entire settlement and burned away the roof and woodwork of the church. The same fires wreaked havoc in all the other convict buildings, but none was so missed by lovers of fine buildings as this. [64]

Descriptions of other buildings tended to have the same character and concerns. George Porter was as anxious about the state of the penitentiary as he was of that of the church:

> The English visitor is struck with the rapidity with which these solid buildings are falling into decay. I was told in explanation that the builders put too much sand into their mortar. In the case of the Penitentiary large cracks are developing, the lintels of several of the upper windows are broken and huge masses of masonry seem likely to fall at any time. [65]

While others enjoyed the architectural character of the building as a ruin:

> The huge penitentiary is built of crumbling yellow bricks, gleaming golden in the bright sunlight. The guide pulled a couple from a pile of rubbish, showing a distinct thumb-print on each, where the convict had pushed it, still plastic, from the mould. Heavy iron bars still guard the windows of the building, now open to the birds and the sky. [66]

J. Coultman Smith saw it as:

> ... the most imposing ruin at Port Arthur to-day. Of locally-produced bricks and sandstone, the large building had four floors and accommodated 657 men. The wisps of weed and flowers which fringe its walls and crevices and carpet the heaps of fallen masonry soften the grim squareness of a building constructed with typical thoroughness for efficiency alone, and the site, on the water's edge upon an area of reclaimed land, is picturesque. Within the almost empty shell, the soaring walls and deep recesses conjure a sense of immensity, and the remains of cells, corridors, and hallways, are an intense spur to the imagination.

and

> The main gateway to the Penitentiary provides a study in crumbling brick and ancient stone, and lends a sense of might to the towering walls. Simple and essentially functional in construction, the style is yet effective and not without its aesthetic appeal. There is a sense of drama about this entrance to the main building of the convict settlement which can capture the imagination and play tricks on the senses ... [67]

Coultman Smith has a consistent viewpoint and it is worth quoting his descriptions of other buildings. He wrote of the powder magazine and the administrative offices:

> These two buildings are of sandstone shading from brown through the yellows to touches of cream, and the workmanship is finely executed and imaginative ... but what Nature has taken a century to mellow and beautify, Man cannot hope to enhance.

and

> There is a dramatic quality about the Powder Magazine, which gives it pride of place with the Church as the most outstanding relic of the port. An echo of the Tower of London, in freestone exquisite-

> ly marked from browns through yellow to cream, it was erected in 1835 overlooking the harbour by Capt. O'Hara Booth, Port Arthur's greatest Commandant. Although one of the earliest substantial buildings of the settlement, it has withstood best of all the work of Nature and the ravages of Man. Its romantic appeal is heightened by age, and its solidarity enhanced by the twin stone watch-towers which flank it. A lookout post and store for the arms and ammunition of the troops, the Magazine formed the front of a military centre with the stone barracks, which stood on the crest of the hill behind, and their battlemented gateway and watch-towers. The stonework of the tower is outstanding in craftsmanship, and the architectural design of great interest.

All in all he concluded:

> The ruined town is full of architectural delights like the archway on the flagged verandah of the Courthouse and Administrative Offices, which might have been transported from among the relics of ancient Greece or the Roman occupation of Western Europe. Its beauty is enhanced by some indefinable quality coaxed from the stone in brown, golden, and cream tones to defy repetition by the architect and builder of to-day. To the craftsmanship of the convict masons have been added the tools of Nature in the hands of a hundred years of storm and sunshine, salt sea air, mosses, and tiny plants. Along the ancient streets and byways, among the foundations of the buildings long since levelled, across the hillsides and in the valleys are fragments of brilliant workmanship incapable of inspiration by the lash or noose. Brutality can drive man to work, but not to work as these men did - soundly, artistically, beautifully. Steps, pillars, walls, even gutters and drains, are carved and fashioned with the same worthiness and care. At the barracks site atop the hill, in the reservoir behind, around the point at the lime kilns, across the bay at Point Puer, and at a dozen other places, fragments of the same standard remain - the forgotten standard of the craftsman whose work was his life. [68]

Perhaps because it was in a less ruined state, or perhaps because its function was only too easily understood the Model Prison tended to be discussed differently. It was clearly the building where the function was most insistent and where its architectural qualities were considered as subordinate.

The descriptions of buildings during this phase of appreciation presents some interesting material for speculation. It is readily apparent that generally appreciation of the ruins of Port Arthur bore some relation to architectural theory prevalent at the time. Of what the relationship consisted is a difficult question; a number of possibilities present themselves. Firstly, that architectural theory was widely disseminated and although it was directed at the production of new buildings it was transferred to the appreciation of older ones. We could, in this case, regard Lord's 1926 description of Port Arthur on the basis of functionalism as astonishingly early. Secondly, the phenomenon can be viewed in terms of a prevailing taste that affected the reception of old and new buildings; this theory assumes either that new architectural form is produced by architects to suit the taste of their clients or the community at large, or that the architect, client and the wider community share a common taste. Here a prevailing taste governs the design of new buildings and the appreciation of new and old buildings, in which case architectural theory can be regarded as an articulation of an underlying public taste. Thirdly, that other structural forces govern the appreciation of buildings, the production of architectural theory and the design of new buildings.

These are too large questions to be determined here. It is sufficient to note that appreciation of the ruins was focussed upon the materials of which they were built and their natural textures and colours, upon the building

process including the manufacture of the materials and upon the buildings' design and fabrication. Historical style excited little interest, instead interest was directed towards the fabric and through it to the function. The basis of this appreciation was that form expressed function. The relationship to Modern Movement theory is surely an obvious one. Further, the long dispute over the designer of the church and the interest in the process of design generally may echo the rise in the professional status of the architect. Finally, it should be emphasized that the appreciation of buildings during this period is essentially visual. On the one hand, the abstract qualities of the architectural are enjoyed in what is an aesthetic appreciation; and on the other, the buildings are used as visual stimuli in order to 'picture' the settlement as it once was.

Attitudes 1960 Onwards

The same kind of appreciation continued into the 1960s and 1970s. Two examples are quoted to illustrate the point, the first is from Bill Beatty's Tasmania Isle of Splendour (1963):

> A number of convict-erected buildings still remain in various stages of ruin; the Port Arthur area has been acquired by the State as an historic reserve and the ruins are being partly restored. The first to come into view on entering the area is the church, said to be a miniature of Glastonbury Abbey, with tower and pinnacles still standing, harmonious even in its ruins. Built of red sandstone of varied shades, its ivy-decorated building is exquisitely proportioned and from every angle one finds it lovely to the eye.

His description continued with the usual convict stories and a discussion as to who was the designer. As for the other buildings:

> The home of the former Commandant of Port Arthur is a substantial building of stone, approached by a flight of steps, set in the midst of what was once a handsome garden. The terraces in front and the many shady trees and flowering shrubs give evidence that despite the stern and rigid discipline enforced by the former owner of the old building, he, or his successors, still had found time to beautify the surroundings. The interior of the residence with its massive doors, lofty ceilings and extensive use of cedar, well repays careful examination.
>
> Only the bare walls of the ruined Penitentiary now stand, but these still hold long rows of iron-barred windows and stone ornamentations. The old Powder Magazine, a castellated building of excellent design and workmanship faces the back of the Prison, and on the rise beyond are the ruins of the Hospital, which was also gutted by fire. [69]

The other description is taken from Jackman's Islands, Tasmania (1974).

> By the time Booth departed in the early 1840s, Port Arthur was in its heyday. At this time there were well over forty separate buildings ranging in size from the penitentiary, which housed 647 convicts, to a number of cottages for the various officials. Many of the buildings were made of stone, others of brick and a few of wood. As James Burke is quoted as saying in Early Buildings in Southern Tasmania, 'In the new country, hospitals, barracks, and gaols have no rivals for size and occupy uncrowded and often beautiful sites. The ruins of Port Arthur provide a spectacle which is unparalleled in Europe." [70]
>
> What remains today is sufficient to give one a very real and poignant picture of the whole establishment. The church, built in 1836, is roofless and its steeple is gone as are all of the interior fittings. The building was never consecrated - not, as the romantically minded would have us believe, because a man was supposedly murdered on the site during its construction, or that another committed suicide about the same time by jumping from a tower - but rather because it was a thoroughly ecumenical church and services of a number of denominations were conducted there. The penitentiary, four storeys high, built of 850,000 bricks and 11,000 cubic feet of stone, is also open to the sky and without

> windows, but its handsome proportions can be seen from the shell alone.
>
> Port Arthur is fascinating at any season. The place is so beautiful, situated as it is beside the water and with expansive green sward and agreeable avenues of old trees. The ruins have a thoroughly romantic appearance that really rivals any Norman castle or Gothic cathedral. Seen in the late afternoon in the pale sunlight of a midwinter day one cannot fail to be almost overwhelmed by its sombre loveliness; the sandstone and the rosy brick reflected in the water, the eerie silence and the grandeur of the conception make Port Arthur unique. [71]

However, some change in attitude has begun to be apparent, and for this reason the following quotation is worth analysing in more detail:

> A saw-milling establishment in 1830, Port Arthur was established as a penal settlement ... in 1831 to replace the infamous Macquarie Harbour penal establishment, which was abandoned in 1833. The ruins of the institution affect visitors according to their varied temperaments ... The violence of the period and the evidence of man's inhumanity to man may still be conjured up, but there is much to be wondered at in the perfection of the architecture in what was then a very remote part of the world. However, this has its logical explanation in the role played by the military and its important quota of engineers, and the free labour provided by the convicts.
>
> The shame of the penal past was felt so heavily by succeeding generations that only the remoteness of the settlement and its economic uselessness explains the escape of what remains. Neglect took its toll and few cared. Fortunately as time passed into a more enlightened era the Scenery Preservation Board of the Tasmanian Government took care of the area, so that this most wonderful of Australian relics is being preserved.
>
> Some of the remaining buildings have weathered well, and in the process have assumed a benign appearance. The well-kept lawns and parklands with fine trees complement the beauty of the natural surroundings. Time seems to have brought all into a surprising unity. However, we must not forget the past. There is no more telling sociological document, nor more revealing contrasts between the aesthetic capabilities of the past and the human degradation which accompanied it, than these ruins, nor any more cogent reminder of the improvement in humanity which a process of slow evolution has produced. [72]

On the one hand, the quality of the building and the interest arising from this kind of architecture relative to its situation are commented upon, and the way in which it was produced is not ignored. The value of the settlement as a whole is recognized and provisions for its care noted. The aesthetic effect of the whole is described, and the connection between the buildings and their purpose is acknowledged. All this follows the previously established pattern of appreciation and evaluation. The difference lies in the picture that is evoked by the buildings. Here they are connected not to the building process itself, nor to a picture of Port Arthur as Tasmania's third largest town, a domestic scene or an economic unit. Instead the beauty of the buildings is contrasted with a much harsher picture of convict life. The convict is no longer seen as a craftsman, here he merely provides 'free labour'. The tone in this respect is essentially ironic.

The text represents a significant transition from one mode of appreciation to another. While it exhibits continuity with earlier texts it also contains within it the fundamental dichotomy of viewpoint, characteristic of the ironic mode, which is bound to arise when buildings are seen not to represent the life of the settlement but to be in opposition to it. Functionalism in relation to appreciation is no longer operative. It might be thought that this mode represents a return to that of the nineteenth century appreciation pattern of 'lovely place, awful purpose', but here the 'lovely' is applied to the buildings themselves and not their setting, hence the

irony is much sharper.

Setting the significance of the buildings in opposition to their appearance can be regarded as characteristic of their modern appreciation. It is a mode in which meaning has tended to become detached from the fabric and in which the buildings have become recognized as being of value in themselves. Government policies and administrative practices have tended to confirm and reinforce the split between the meaning of the site and the appeared and separate value of the buildings.

Both the Australian and the Tasmanian Governments have accepted that Port Arthur is a keystone of the National Estate.[73] Therefore, both have accepted that they have an obligation to retain and maintain it. Indeed, it was a Tasmanian Premier who coined what has been the most popular definition of the National Estate as "Things we want to keep"[74] and one should note here the emphasis on the material term 'things'. It is also relevant to the development of its policies that Port Arthur is recognized by the Tasmanian Government as the state's most important tourist asset, it being both a very effective producer of revenue and a place whose popular appeal has been amply demonstrated.[75] These considerations together with an imminent threat of the buildings' disappearance due to an apparent accelerated rate of decay have caused the Tasmanian Government to adopt a caring attitude towards the site and to actively work towards preservation of its buildings.

As we have seen the Scenery Preservation Board began by tidying the site up and executing necessary minor stabilization projects. In 1971 control of the site passed to the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Since this time large sums of money have been channelled into the maintenance and development of Port Arthur by both the Tasmanian and the Federal Governments.[76] Its expenditure has been regularly reported in the local press, together with details of its disbursement on urgently necessary stabilization work, historical research, scientific investigation, engineering testing, archaeological digs and architectural restoration. It is at this stage that it becomes apparent that the conservation process has become an end in itself. That the drama of a wealth of professional activity concentrated upon the buildings and fighting their decay has its own interest and satisfaction, not only for the professionals directly engaged in the drama, but also for the public at large who can view the work in progress and participate vicariously in what is seen as the vital public enterprise of preserving Port Arthur.

This drama is clearly anchored in the present, and has little to do with either aesthetic appreciation of the buildings or with using the buildings as triggers to an imaginative experience associated with their history. The sharp division between materialism[77] and historical appreciation is also made evident by the current management of the site. Guides, formerly used to connect historical fact or legend with their settings have been dispensed with and the dissemination of history is confined within the

visitor centre.

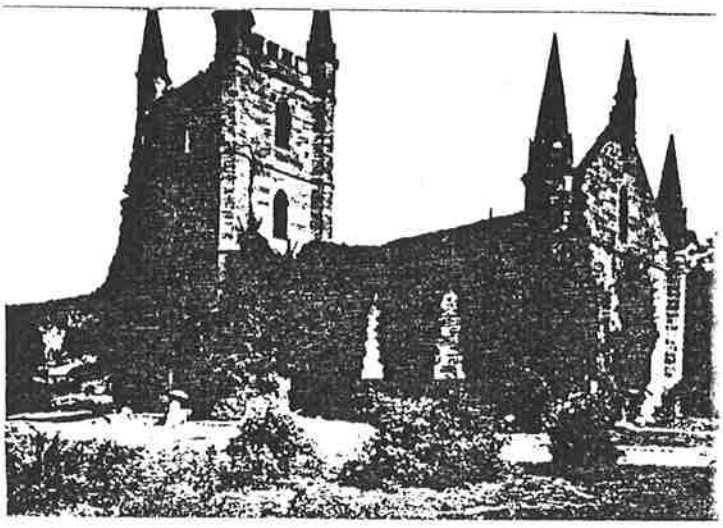
The process of recognizing the value and importance of the buildings at Port Arthur and the consequent need to preserve them began slowly, as did the recognition that preservation was possible. It is consistent with the conviction of the time that the buildings' primary value was architectural that conservation work should first have been carried out on the church. Shortly afterwards (1940) Hudspeth wrote:

> Anthony Trollope, the well-known English novelist, who visited the station in its closing years, prophesied that the buildings would fall into dust and that men would make excursion there to see the strange ruins. His forecast has proved only too true. Today as you wander among the fallen bricks and masonry, where Nature and man seem to have conspired together to obliterate all traces of the hated penal system, you feel as if you were moving in a cemetery, oppressed by armies of ghosts, by hosts of memories, and seem to hear faint echoes of clanking chains and cracking whips. Brambles and briars, bush fires and neglect, have done their deadly work, and the tourists who flock there in thousands find little left of what was once described as a "neat, well-kept, English-looking village." Only recently have the authorities been awakened to the importance of preserving what remains; and steps are now being taken to maintain if not restore, such of the buildings as have escaped destruction. But it is too late. The Port Arthur of Denison's time was doomed when the opponents of transportation triumphed. Like Cato of old, they raised the cry "Delendra est Carthago", and, like Carthage, Port Arthur has perished in the flames of their bitter hostility. [78]

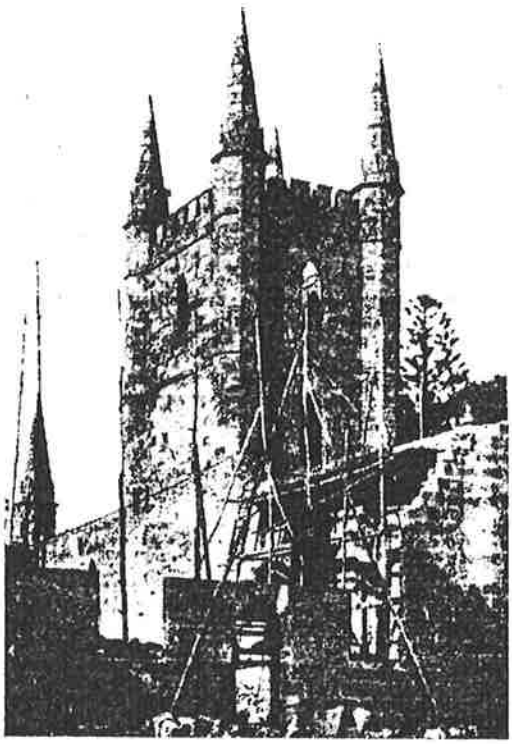
Nevertheless, the Board persevered. Further work, again reported by the Mercury, was carried out on the church in 1955:

> Weakened by decay and traffic vibration on the road which it faces, the 50ft. high west wall of the old Port Arthur convict church has been taken down for complete restoration. A new foundation 3ft. deep has been laid for a distance of 84ft. to support the

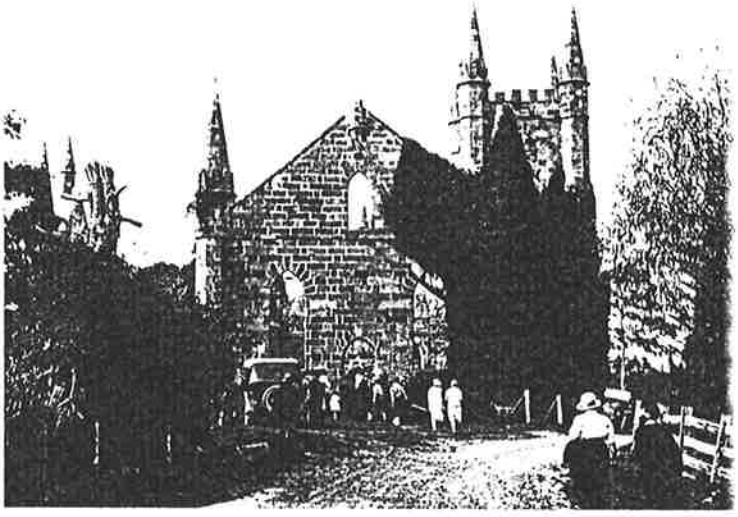
APPRECIATION OF BUILDING FORM AND FABRIC - THE CHURCH AT PORT ARTHUR



57. The ivy covered church.



58. Restoration in 1940.



59. Visiting the church in 1926.

> wall and a tower at each corner. Each facing stone was numbered and laid out in the courtyard for correct restoration. Owing to bad weathering some new stones may be necessary. The south wall and part of the front of the church were restored in a similar manner some years ago.[79]

Their work and policy for the conservation of Port Arthur had by this time been recognized. Frank Hurley wrote:

> The place is unique in that it is the only town in the Commonwealth that is entirely Government owned, with the idea of preserving it as a permanent "show-piece."[80]

The Board then tackled the building commonly regarded as the next in architectural merit, again the work was reported in the Mercury in a column headed "Port Arthur landmark being re-built":

> The building, dating from 1835 and built within the barrack area, was used for the storing of arms and ammunition for the Port Arthur establishment.
>
> In the first years of settlement prisoners awaiting transfer to Hobart for trial for further offences were confined within the magazine in cells lined with 3/5in. iron.
>
> The work being done now is to strengthen the building ... It has involved the demolition of five arches and the front portion of the wall, and these already have been reconstructed halfway to the previous level ...
>
> There is a lack of adequate foundations in the front part of the magazine and the reconstruction has required that each stone should be taken out, treated, and replaced in the original position.
>
> Bricks unearthed in the work have shown the thumb marks of convicts, which was a practice of the thirties.[81]

In 1968 work was carried out on the penitentiary. In an article headed "Government to Restore Port Arthur" the Mercury noted: "It must be appreciated that such restoration work is an extremely slow and expensive art, and must be undertaken with care and foresight to ensure that the

authenticity of the area is maintained."[82] Nevertheless, the manner of the repair work carried out produced at least one furious response contained in a letter to the Mercury headed "Vandalism at Port Arthur":

> All buildings [are] defaced by morons.
>
> Council has ruined its buildings by slapping white paint over the brickwork!
>
> The sills and lintels of the pentitentiary were repaired with CONCRETE! Why not charge a small fee to visit these areas and use the funds for its proper restoration. [83]

What constituted 'proper restoration' or indeed 'restoration' was a matter for debate; to which the next paragraph is another contribution:

> Mrs Chrisp, a member of a party of 34 Mainland travel agents who, as guests of the Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureau, are touring the State, said Port Arthur's ruins had made a lasting impression on her. However, she thought the somewhat harsh atmosphere of the locality could be softened by some restoration work. [84]

The debate as to what kind of work should be carried out at Port Arthur, continued over a number of years. That work should be carried out was no longer in doubt. Jackman wrote:

> While the Scenery Preservation Board has done an excellent job with limited funds in keeping the fabric together, it will be necessary to do more in the next few years. Brick open to the weather will ultimately disappear and some of the un-roofed buildings, such as the penitentiary, would then vanish. It would be expensive to re-roof them but it should be done. Tasmania alone cannot bear the entire expense; the Commonwealth government ought to assist. Port Arthur is part of Australia's national heritage and must be preserved regardless of cost. [85]

Then Jan Haswell who visited Port Arthur for the Sunday Examiner Express reported:

> There are people here who say that to spend $2 million on preservation and minor restoration is unimaginative ...

The article also contained an interview with the proprietor of the motel at Port Arthur, who said:

> There's no reason why Port Arthur can't be a living monument to the past, instead of a dead one.
>
> The idea of building even an exact replica of the original township will horrify many purists.
>
> They would prefer to see the present building skeletons retained and untouched like Rome's Colosseum and Athen's Acropolis.
>
> But there is a legitimate argument against this.
>
> The Colosseum and the Acropolis are thousands of years old and have been destroyed by time and the elements.
>
> On the other hand most of Port Arthur's buildings have been pulled down fairly recently by man.
>
> What's wrong with man now correcting his own mistakes and putting the place in order?
>
> Its time to offer the tourists something more than half an hour's walk through the model prison. [86]

and the Director of the National Parks and Wildlife Service, by now in charge of the site is quoted as saying: "One of the problems of restoring old buildings is that its so easy to destroy character by rebuilding." [87]

In 1975 the Service issued its draft Management Plan for Port Arthur, it is not easy to gauge the extent to which this document reflected the actual opinion of the Service and to what extent it was designed to elicit funding. Its emphasis on the site's importance as a tourist attraction, the employment generated by it and the income derived from tourism both directly and indirectly, indicate the latter, but it also contained some important policy statements about the future treatment of the build-

ings at Port Arthur. One suspects that it was written to modify what it saw as the Government's policy to work towards restoration of all the buildings on the site since it emphasised "... the desirability of preserving the site for present and future generations of Australians as an outstanding reminder of this nations early history." [88]

The report recommended that the main buildings be preserved as ruins but that a number of the smaller buildings be restored or wholly or partly reconstructed to their form of before 1877. It stated that:

> In general, the basic approach to the restoration and site design of Port Arthur will be to give the site a mood of tranquillity and quiet relaxation, matching the more serious aspects of its historical background.
>
> The site design will aim to give the visitor a succession of visual experiences emphasising a variety of aspects of Port Arthur: history, architecture, pioneering, craftsmanship and above all the human aspects of the tribulations and achievements of both the convicts and their warders. [89]

What many professionals would regard as the clear trend of this report to gross over-restoration should, as the report says, be seen in the light of the imminent decay of the building fabric, it continues:

> As a result, nearly all presently remaining structures can be expected to collapse from accelerating deterioration well before the end of this century. Although thus we of today are still able to see and touch the actual and genuine remnants of the Port Arthur settlement, it also places on the present generation the responsibility to preserve for future generations the architectural details of this important part of the nation's history. [90]

The report was generally accepted by the Government. Subsequently work began on two fronts; the rebuilding of

some of the smaller cottages, and on research work aimed at finding means of achieving the long-term stabilization of the building fabric. The greater proportion of funds has been expended on research. An apparent lack of physical outcome, together with the researchers' emphasis on the factual and 'authentic' and the obvious thrust of their work towards conservation rather than restoration has not always been popularly approved and tensions have developed. On the one hand some have sought action and development:

> Private enterprise should be given the chance to develop Port Arthur, Liberal MHA Mr Bingham told Parliament yesterday.
>
> And the right person for job, Mr Roger Smith, of Launceston, had the flair that a lot of the State's tourist attractions lacked, he said.
>
> He said that Mr Smith had done "an exquisite job on the Penny Royal complex at Launceston, but his welcome was wearing a bit thin in the area."
>
> Responding to Mr Bingham's idea ...
>
> Mr Barnard admitted that "there is some scope for flair" within the State's tourist industry. But he was not sure if Port Arthur was the right place for "another carnival site."
>
> "It's one of the most important historical sites in the whole of Australia," he said. [91]

On the other hand, others have found factual investigation an appropriate way of expressing interest in Port Arthur:

> Some exciting archaeological discoveries have been made at Port Arthur, in an area not open to tourists.
>
> Archaeologist, Mrs Angela Lister, of Hobart has found the foundation stones of an unrecorded building under one of the oldest existing buildings in Port Arthur, "Lithend", the shipwright's cottage.
>
> The existing brick cottage was standing in 1848 but could have been built as early as 1841.

According to Mrs Lister the first building was erected sometime during the 1830s to 1840s, but it would be almost impossible to pinpoint a date.

The shipwright's cottage, situated in a continuation of Tarleton St, is under extensive restoration.

And as the floor boards of the cottage were pulled up during the restoration, the National Parks and Wildlife Service decided it would be valuable to look at the archaeology of the spot.

The foundation stones were found one metre below the existing floor.

"We have found a fireplace, as well as a lot of burnt debris, which indicates that the earlier structure burned down," Mrs Lister said.

"There is so much charcoal that the first building must have been made of weatherboard palings ...."

It is known that at one time a blacksmith's house and saw pits were built in the area.

"The fireplace could have been the blacksmith's forge.

"But below the clay floor there is a deeper layer of very woody clay which could indicate a saw pit."

Mrs Lister is not holding a definite hope that she can identify the building.

"It would be wonderful, but there is such a lot that was not recorded at Port Arthur.

"So now it is very important to have archaeological research done in a historical site.

"Any public organisation, given the trust of a site like Port Arthur, should make sure this work is carried out."

Mrs Lister has been working at the shipwright's cottage for three weeks and plans to spend another month on the site.

"My findings will be covered in the restoration process but at least they will have been recorded, catalogued and researched. [92]

What is the meaning of the debate?

TWO conflicting forces are pulling at the Port Arthur convict ruins, according to a member of the Australian Heritage Commission, Mr Bruce MacKenzie.

Mr MacKenzie said one group wanted the preservation of Port Arthur and to keep people away, while the other group has the political and economic ideal of wanting as many people as possible to visit the ruins.

His talk was aimed at helping architects to identify

> with the important aspects of Port Arthur, so as to give as much access as possible while still preserving the site.
>
> "Such a compromise can be achieved," he said ... "I would like to see the National Parks and Wildlife Service given appropriate moral support from all of its fellow organisations.
>
> "Secondly, it needs adequate funding to implement in stages, the practical steps necessary to secure a stable situation for the ruins and ideal visitor facilities," he said. [93]

As expressed here this is a crude analysis and does justice to neither viewpoint. On the one hand, one can assume that relatively few people wish to exclude visitors from Port Arthur in order to achieve its preservation. After all it cannot be argued that visitors directly affect the deterioration of the fabric, nor is it fair to attribute the wish of encouraging access to Port Arthur to political and economic ideals - if this is intended to mean only an emphasis on the monetary effects of tourism. The compromise apparently suggested is also a crude one, but did perhaps fairly describe the Service's policy. On the one hand, the ruins should be preserved and on the other, history should be disseminated separately. The point at issue here is the conflict between two policies that represent opposing views of the function of the buildings at Port Arthur in relation to the visitors' experience of them. One emphasizes the authentic nature of the ruins, they are an historical document which, if subjected to sufficiently expert research, can yield information about the past, it follows that they should be interfered with as little as possible, that their form should be preserved for the benefit of future research.

They are also seen as a testament to the past and, therefore, radical change to them would be seen to be presumptuous or distasteful. Here the approach to the past shows some continuity with the attitude developed in the 1940s and carried forward. The interest of the buildings is in what they can tell us about themselves, if they are sufficiently expertly interrogated or interpreted.

The other approach is less obviously elitist, one could designate it the popular approach, but it is rather the outcome of what some see as being the probable popular view. If the Penny Royal or Sovereign Hill or for that matter Woburn Abbey or Williamsburg have proved successful in that they have been much visited and produced considerable revenue then it is assumed to follow that the public wishes to interact with history in this way, that, in fact, a visit to an historic site is best experienced as entertainment. This approach assumes the public has evinced a strong desire to use the buildings to illustrate the past without the intervention of specialist interpretation. In other words, that the public wishes to positively interact with the past and by viewing the buildings to know their history and it wishes buildings present the past in an explicit rather than an indirect manner. Television is admirably suited to visually displaying a scene and the action, this approach to the presentation of historic buildings endeavours to operate in a like manner. The danger is that the artifact may be consumed in the process. Restoration to the stage where a building appears much as a set for a TV drama (with which it competes)

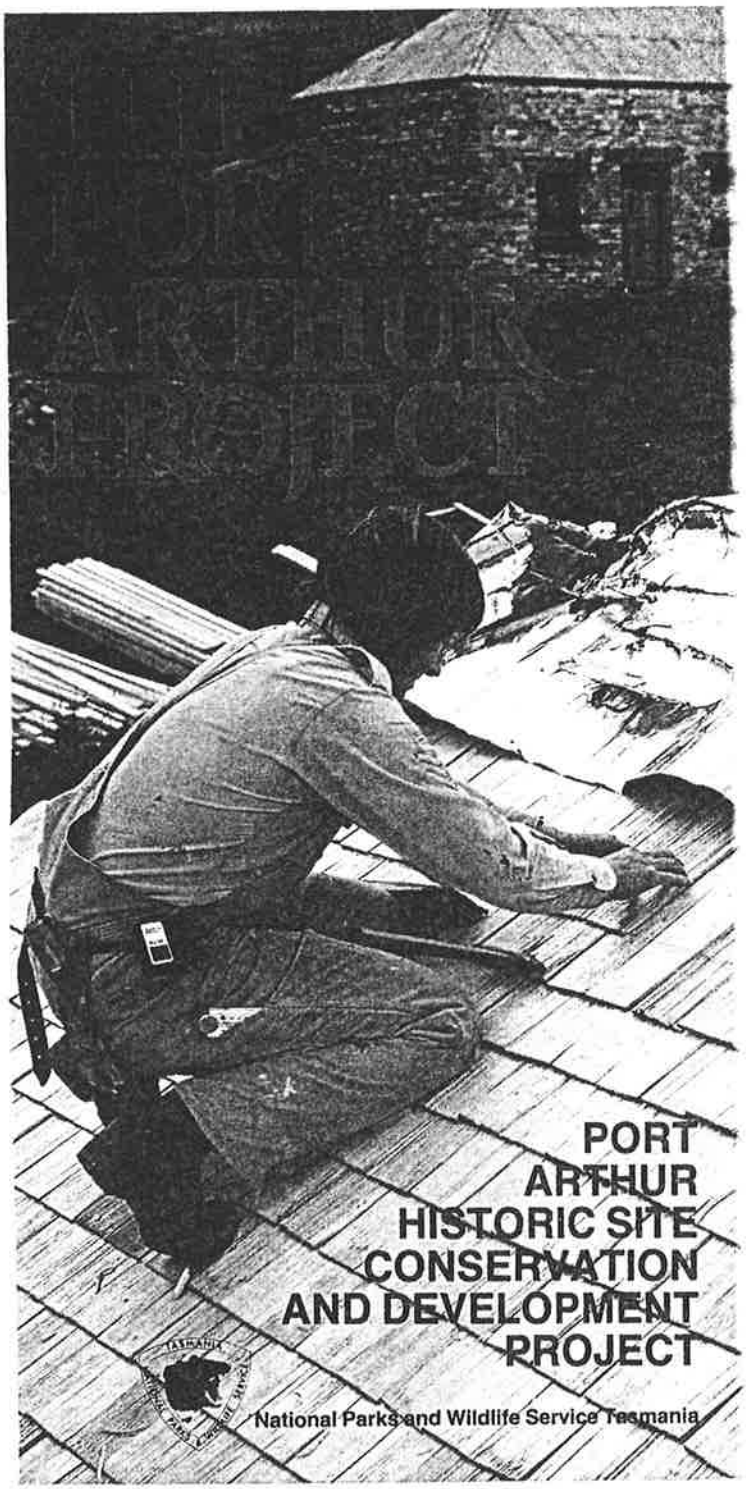
destroys its aesthetic value as a ruin, as an historical document and as an historical monument.

We can designate these two policies 'materialism' and 'consumerism'. Materialism arises from a tendency to value the buildings for themselves as aesthetic objects and historical documents. Hence preservation becomes the correct policy. Consumerism on the other hand places little value on the buildings themselves but sees them as merely a vehicle to the experience of the moment. Both policies tend to warp the relationship between experience and value.

The policy of 'materialism' can be seen to be supported by professionals, partly because it gives them a prominent role in the process of conservation and partly because it emphasises the aesthetic quality of buildings, which receives a high recognition within the discipline of architecture. International style architecture and its criticism have concentrated upon form to the exclusion of extrinsic meanings. We saw the beginning of this trend in 1926 with Clive Lord's appreciation of the building fabric and the message it could give about itself and its function, and postulated a parallel to Modern Movement architecture, and its mode of appreciation. In the same way that functionalism was squeezed out of architecture in international architecture so too we can see here the meaning of forms becoming more and more attenuated and fabric becoming largely self-referential.

MATERIALISM

The dramatization of restoration



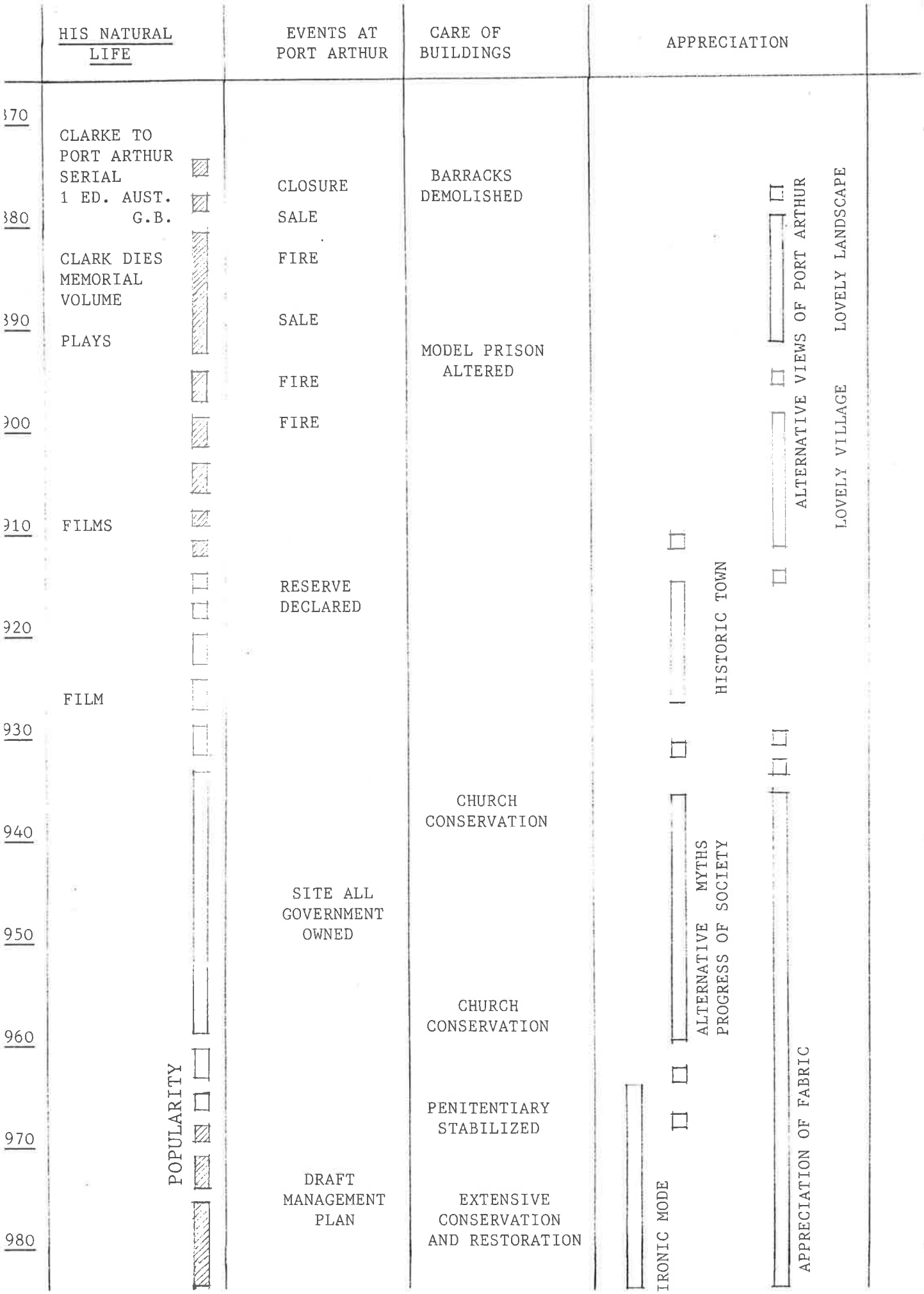
60. A pamphlet issued by the National Parks and Wildlife Service, c. 1980



61. Restoration reported in the local paper, 1972.

Seen in this light we have to ask if the alternative policy of 'consumerism' does not in some way parallel 'Post Modernism' or some of its aspects? The greater emphasis on experience, enjoyment, explicit display of meaning, and the use of history as entertainment might well be held to be common to both. It is at least interesting food for thought.

In a thesis which is predominantly populist in tone, one might note that the 'materialist' policy supported by professionals, probably against popular feeling, does allow further patterns of appreciation to develop in time. The 'consumerist' policy does not. it literally consumes the historical artifact on which such appreciation of architecture depends.



2. Appreciation of Port Arthur.

8. Conclusions about public appreciation of Port Arthur

Had His Natural Life not been published would Port Arthur have become established as an important historical site? or, would the ways in which it has been appreciated been materially altered? These questions can clearly only be rhetorical. Nevertheless, I believe that the evidence presented allows one to draw the conclusion that Clarke's influence through His Natural Life has been so strong and so widespread that it is highly likely that the book caused many people to visit Port Arthur and that it at least, to some extent, governed their expectations and experience of it. This is particularly true of visiting in the nineteenth-century. It is not too much of an exaggeration to claim that the cumulative effect of the visiting resulting from His Natural Life played a significant role in establishing Port Arthur as an historic site. It is true that there had been a number of publications describing Port Arthur preceding Clarke's work but none achieved the popularity of His Natural Life and none presented a picture vivid enough to excite a widespread public response. It is argued that it is not coincidental that His Natural Life achieved the status of a best-seller and by any standards sold remarkably well over a very long period of time, and that Port Arthur has been an exceptionally popular site to visit.

On the other hand, the site has many attributes that lend enjoyment and meaning to visits. In spite of Clarke

appearing to be unimpressed by the settlement when he visited it, he incorporated many of its features into his book where they act as landmarks. The scenery of the Tasman Peninsula makes a positive contribution to the book's atmosphere and to its action. Then the site is remote enough to make a story of isolation palpable and yet it is sufficiently accessible not to hinder visiting. It cannot be argued that the site is popular because of the ruined state of the buildings, for it became popular while they were still intact. Although subsequently the ruins undoubtedly contributed to making the site feel an historical one - in that they looked old. But historical is not historic and for the factors exerting this influence we must look elsewhere.

If it can be demonstrated that His Natural Life did affect people's perception of Port Arthur, it can be demonstrated that it did not act alone. The general public's attitude to convictism has also been of great importance. It has been argued that because His Natural Life was powerfully written and because it sold exceptionally well it was accepted as being true. It hence achieved a status and function over and above that of most fictional work, and, having achieved that status, it was able to convey a particular concept of convictism that was widely accepted. It is likely that it was able to do so not only because Clarke's picture of convictism was compelling but also because it crystallized contemporary attitudes and feelings towards convictism. It being a timely book would explain its widespread acceptance. Together that accept-

ance and the book's own power ensured its subsequent widespread conceptual influence.

Over a period of time a changing attitude towards convictism caused changes to the public's attitude towards Port Arthur and its buildings and changes to the public's reception of His Natural Life. To a considerable extent it may also have affected changes in critical opinion of His Natural Life. It is the latter effect that is the most difficult to demonstrate.

The salient factor affecting changes in literary criticism of His Natural Life is changing literary theory, especially theory determining what constitutes a good fictional work. At first there was a natural coincidence between literary theory and the nature of the book. The way in which His Natural Life fitted neatly into the niches labelled 'Victorian realist fiction and Victorian romance' is described in Appendix 3. Later as literary theory underwent change His Natural Life was progressively less well received in literary circles. It is only comparatively recently that many qualities in the book have been re-assessed and appreciated. Often these are different qualities from the ones for which the book was originally admired, but it is not surprising that they are also those currently held in esteem and which define the quality of fictional work; symbolism is an obvious example. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that the book has been critically esteemed when the view it presents of convictism was that acceptable to the general public. Nor that

it has been critically neglected or reviled when Clarke's picture of convictism was no longer generally acceptable. Nor that, more recently, the book has experienced a critical revival when Clarke's view of convictism, or views compatible with his, once again have imaginative power.

In addition, it can be seen that critical opinion has varied in a similar way in response to larger cultural attitudes in Australia to the past. The recent critical revival of Clarke's work can be linked with a coincidental development of a widespread interest in Australian history that has been most striking. In wider terms it can also be seen to be connected with a resurgence of interest in, and a reassessment of, the value of all things Victorian. Such compatibilities can be explained by a tendency in criticism for one critical dimension to reinforce another in order to produce a consistent assessment. Which factors are the ones governing the assessment cannot be determined here. It is obvious that very widespread cultural influences affecting both critical theory and a sense of the past (which, in Australia, includes attitudes towards convictism) are at work.

If it can be accepted that critical assessment of Clarke's romance has varied in a manner that is compatible with the view he presents of convictism, and with current public attitudes to those views and to the past in general, then we need to examine if critical acclaim, in its turn, reinforced Clarke's view. In other words, was Clarke's view of convictism, at least in part, acceptable

because his book was highly regarded critically? On the whole, it appears as though critical opinion had a limited effect on public opinion of the book. Like many best-sellers its popularity appears to have been independent of the opinion of the professional critic. Critical opinion of His Natural Life is, in this context, best studied as being a more articulate view of public opinion, varying in much the same way as public opinion has varied in spite of the fact that its standards are commonly primarily literary. It is only because literary standards appear to have been compatible with general cultural trends that critical opinion can be regarded as illustrative of public opinion.

It is easier to demonstrate that appreciation of Port Arthur is directly dependent upon attitudes to convictism and to the past and I believe that I have done so. Although it has been argued that, as literary fashion affected the reception of His Natural Life, so aesthetic fashion affected appreciation of the buildings at Port Arthur, it still seems that the strongest factor affecting appreciation was the way in which the buildings have been seen primarily as part of a penal settlement. Thus the attitude that governs a person's perception of the buildings is her or his attitude towards convictism. In the nineteenth-century the buildings were enjoyed by those whose direct contact with the penal system had been slight and rejected by those whose involvement had been much closer. The latter placed a low value upon the buildings at Port Arthur and expressed the wish that they should be

summarily obliterated or allowed to decay. It is indicative of the strength of such feelings that for many people in Tasmania they continued well into the twentieth-century. Time passing, the creation of new attitudes and the success of tourism eventually allowed even those of convict descent to appreciate Port Arthur and to value its remains. A greater lapse of time has allowed the Tasmanian view to be merged with that of mainland visitors.

Finally, I wish to reiterate that the view of convictism displayed in His Natural Life has had a significant effect on the appreciation of the buildings at Port Arthur. A number of factors have enabled it to do so. There is no doubt that in itself Port Arthur was seen to be of considerable interest. The extent of transportation to Van Diemen's Land is staggering. The part which Port Arthur and the other penal settlements on the Tasman Peninsula played in this drama was of paramount importance. In addition, the peninsula was as Arthur once remarked an entirely suitable place for a prison; a 'natural penitentiary'. The ruggedness of the place and its relative isolation have heightened the drama of its erstwhile function. Very soon after its establishment Backhouse visited Port Arthur and became the first of a long line of visitors to find the place interesting and important enough to record his visit and to publish his account. Such publications have found a ready market not only because the settlement was of interest but because nearly all members of the general public were debarred from visiting it and hence desired information about it.

However interesting these accounts, or accounts by ex-prisoners or other fictional transpositions were felt to be, none achieved the distribution, status or reception of His Natural Life. They did, of course, together with the atmosphere generated by the site itself, enable Clarke to build up a convincing picture of the penal settlement as it was thirty years before he visited it. They also added weight, by being cited as references, to Clarke's claim that his book represented a substantially true account of the settlement and no doubt affected reception of the book in the same way. It is not overstating the case to claim that His Natural Life rapidly achieved the status of a myth and that for many years after it was published it was the ruling myth relating to Port Arthur. Coultman Smith's later rejection of the myth and his endeavour to substitute an alternative was one of several attempts to supersede Clarke's myth. For many, judging by the book's popularity he may have succeeded, but its effect has faded in time.

That His Natural Life continues to exert an imaginative impact can be gauged from its continuing popularity as a book, but whether it is still a force in the current appreciation of Port Arthur is uncertain. All that can be safely claimed is that the current public view of Port Arthur is still focussed on the period of its history which Clarke originally dramatized. The coincidence invites one to conclude that as well as recognizing that His Natural Life is now deeply entrenched in society's concept of convictism and hence in Australian culture; one

can also recognize that the book has been instrumental in conferring a similar status of cultural importance on Port Arthur. A status that is reflected by the number of people who visit the site and the effort which has been put into its maintenance.

In broad terms public appreciation of Port Arthur can be divided into several historical periods. The earliest one in which the function of the settlement as a prison remained the paramount dimension of appreciation. For many Tasmanians the rejection of this function, or an inability to incorporate it into an acceptable world view made them reject Port Arthur and to wish for its annihilation. For those from elsewhere its message of convictism constituted the basis of their experience of the site and its consequent value. Gradually as personal connections with the convict era faded the site came to be accepted as being of value, not least because the constant stream of visitors confirmed its importance in historical and monetary terms.

Later the general historical importance of the site became accepted by all and gradually the buildings and the site became appreciated for their aesthetic qualities and for their ability to act as triggers for imaginative experiences. In this phase aesthetic appreciation reinforced by historical value becomes the ruling dimension. Convictism, apparently in sympathy with this assessment, is then seen to be a more benign influence. It is portrayed as a means of establishing the colony and of setting it

along the right path of sustained growth. Consequently, Port Arthur tends to be seen as a colonial town rather than as a prison settlement. Coultman Smith's works epitomized this viewpoint and Clarke's view of convictism is submerged.

World War II must be seen as a decisive influence in establishing a range of new attitudes which were reflected in the public's appreciation of Port Arthur. On the one hand there was a new recognition that cruelty is characteristic of men dealing with men, hence a much grimmer picture of Port Arthur became accepted as the historical truth. On the other hand a search for stability in the face of a situation of rapid social change progressively emphasized the need for preservation of the built environment particularly of buildings which denoted historical continuity. At the same time not all have been able to believe in the possibility of continuity. For them, hedonism and vicarious enjoyment, even of the unpleasant, have been characteristic of their approach to life. Such too can be seen to be the meanings of materialism and consumerism in appreciation: meanings very closely linked to concerns in the world at large.

VIII. CASE STUDY THREE

THE EARLY CRITICAL BASES OF THE CRITIC CHARLES JENCKS

VIII. CASE STUDY THREE: THE EARLY CRITICAL BASES OF THE CRITIC CHARLES JENCKS

1. Introduction

The topics of the two previous case studies have been examinations of an example of the appreciation of architecture by the general public and by an organized unit of it - an architectural society. This case study examines the anatomy of the architectural appreciation of an individual who is also a critic; Charles Jencks. He was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, because his influence has been widespread, extending beyond the discipline of architecture into the public arena. Secondly, because early in his career as a critic he appears to have operated in a similar manner to what might be called an amateur in appreciation; that is, much like a member of the general public. Hence his work can be seen to be more relevant to the area studied in this thesis than would be the critical base of a typical professional architectural critic. This is also the reason why it is only Jencks' early critical stances which are examined here for later he moved to a more conventional position serving the more confined professional world of architecture.

Charles Jencks' doctoral thesis [1] and its published version Modern Movements in Architecture [2] are both histories of modern architecture and both contain sustained accounts of his appreciation of several buildings which makes his work of relevance to the area of study of this

thesis. But even more pertinently, in each case the early chapters are devoted to the development of a critical stance designed to enable the author to select buildings for his history and to form a coherent basis for his comments upon them. In the preface to the book Jencks writes:

> Perhaps the most important debt is to those whose ideas have shaped the book: Hannah Arendt's ideas on politics and revolution, I.A. Richard's and Coleridge's ideas on the imagination, and E.H. Gombrich's ideas on the way art, or here architecture, can communicate meaning. [3]

This case study examines the nature of that debt both in relation to the book and to the thesis which preceded it and from which it drew the bulk of its historical sections. In fact, Jencks seems to have drawn on three main texts. First, Richards' Principles of Literary Criticism and through it Coleridge's Biographia Literaria, then, Arendt's On Revolution and, finally, Gombrich's collection of essays Meditations on a Hobby Horse.[4] The way in which these texts were used by Jencks to develop his two critical frameworks, the processes of transfer into his own systems and the nature of each of the resulting stances are discussed in turn, first in relation to the thesis and then to the book. For those unfamiliar with the two main texts a résumé and exploration of them pertaining to this study is contained in Appendices 8 (Arendt) and 9 (Richards).

2. The critical stance of his thesis

Traditionally, a thesis defines a topic, outlines a methodology and then applies one to the development of the other. Acknowledging tradition, Jencks appears to have approached his task in a straightforward manner. His first chapter seeks to establish that all previous historical accounts of modern architecture have been unsatisfactory and consequently there is a need for a definitive text on this subject - his task for the thesis. The second chapter attempts to develop a methodology for writing it. Then, the narrative, analytical and descriptive sections of the history itself follow.

The contents of the first chapter will be familiar to many, since most of it was subsequently republished in Meaning in Architecture.[5] Its purpose in the thesis is to establish the need for an 'objective' history of the Modern Movement. Jencks argues that previous works had presented only particular pictures of the history and to do so they had had to omit much. The import of this line of argument is best understood in terms of the theory of I.A. Richards and of the tradition of literary criticism he did so much to found and in which Jencks was trained. The particular sense in which Jencks uses the term 'objective' relies on Richards' argument in his Principles of Literary Criticism.

The book's title points to where its centre of interest lies, but contained within it is a more general

theory of the place of the arts in relation to human life. A number of assumptions underlay the theoretical discussion; the fundamental importance of the individual, his need for personal development and a conviction that development takes place as a result of his responses to experience. Richards went so far as to say:

> An improvement of response is the only benefit which anyone can receive, and the degradation, the lowering of a response, is the only calamity. [6]

Richards saw the arts as making a vital contribution to this process. The argument contained in the book may be summarized, although a summary cannot do justice to the richness of the argument and presentation, since a vital element of its appeal, its aesthetic quality, is lost.

For Richards, artists are important people, distinguished from others by their superior ability to experience life which is dependent upon their superior power to organize their experiences. This power, together with skill in communication, enables artists to convert their superior insight into a form through which others may have access to the insight provided that they, in turn, bring to their appreciation sufficient imagination. Of course, since the recipient's powers of experience are, effectively, inferior to the artist's, he will fail to gain the whole of the experience offered. On the other hand, he will have access to a wider experience and a superior response than he would have been able to attain alone. The comparative inadequacy of each recipient's response explains the differences between responses to the

same work of art; the work offers more than each person takes from it. The value of the work consists of the sum of the experiences that it may engender, their quality and their effects. The artist is seen by Richards as tending towards an objective viewpoint by virtue of his inclusivity, that is in the wideness and delicacy of his response to experience; particularly as he is able, by exercising his powers of organization, to hold in balance many contrasting qualities. The last being a concept which Richards derived and developed from Coleridge.

Within this framework, one can discern the origin of Jencks' view of 'objectivity'. He apparently saw the concept as relevant to history, by relating objectivity vis-à-vis a work of art with objectivity in history. Viewed in these terms, previous histories of modern architecture could be dismissed by Jencks because their lack of inclusivity rendered them lacking in objectivity. He also appears to deduce that consequently they are lacking in truth, and therefore they are not histories but myths.[7] Thus his dismissal of the concomitant employment by the historians of sub-myths to supplement the main myth is surely inconsistent in Richards' terms, for they should add to, rather than subtract from, each history's objectivity. But this qualification aside, it is clear that at this stage Jencks assumed that he had defined a purpose for his thesis; to write an 'objective' history of modern architecture.

We can now proceed to examine the second chapter of the thesis which seeks to establish a methodology for the task in hand. One needs, in Jencks' view, to establish "supra-ideological" standards[8] which enable one to select buildings for their importance and to establish a basis for discussing them. Jencks saw the answer to both problems as being contained within a theory of value; the value of a building would determine its selection for inclusion in the history and the qualities constituting value would be an appropriate basis for description and analysis. He derives his theory of value directly from that of I.A. Richards, which has already been summarized. Jencks tests the theory by asking how it is that there is commonly a measure of agreement about the value of a particular building, while people's reaction to it clearly covers a wide spectrum. For Richards, the inevitably partial nature of each person's response accounted for the variety, but taken together they would tend towards defining the value of the object. Thus the sum of the responses would mirror the catholicity of responses of the artist and, therefore, tend towards objectivity. Effective communication ensured that the same objective view was, or tended to be, common to both.

Jencks, on the other hand, plumps for another explanation of variety of responses. He founds variety of interpretation not on individual inadequacies, but as being due to the differing ideologies brought by each person to the experience. He argues:

> It is apparent that since meaning depends on human perception, a wholistic theory of value must be irreducibly dualistic in nature; both concerned with relations intrinsic to the object and the extrinsic knowledge and beliefs within the observer. [9]

In other words, Jencks assigns to the recipient a more positive creative role than does Richards, in whose work it is confined to imaginative understanding. Consequently Jencks writes: "nothing could be more destructive of our intercourse with objects than to insist that there is only one right interpretation of them." [10] While admitting individual interpretations may be mistaken, Jencks, nevertheless, attempts to derive a fixed value from subjective opinions. The mechanism he postulates is of "an open set of plausible interpretations which can only be actualized in time." [11] It is not a convincing explanation and another is obviously required.

Reverting to a consideration of the object, Jencks then attempts to centre value here. For him, classic works of art:

> Remain potent because they are open to reinterpretation. They have within their structure enough different meanings in a highly inter-related state which invite new interpretation and withstand hostile ideology. They are simply multivalued in a particularly organized way, a condition for which I will ... use the term multivalence. [12]

The quality of "multivalence" is put forward as the property which distinguishes objects of value from the rest. It can therefore be used as a tool to select buildings for a history of architecture and for their analysis. Multivalence is complemented by unity, again a concept which is dependent upon Richards and through him

to Coleridge's theory of imagination. Jencks quoted Richards, who quotes Coleridge:

> The poet described in ideal perfection, brings the whole soul of man into activity, with the subordination of its faculties to each other, according to their relative worth and dignity. He diffuses a tone and a spirit of unity, by that synthetic and magical power, to which we have exclusively appropriated the name of imagination. This power, first put in action by the will and understanding, and retained under their irremissive, though gentle and unnoticed control ... reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities: of sameness with difference; the individual, with the representatives; the sense of novelty and freshness, with old and familiar objects; a more than usual state of emotion, with more than usual order; judgment ever awake and steady self possession ... [13]

For Coleridge, unity is imparted by the poet and is imposed on a set of qualities which amalgamate those of his experience and his organizing ability. We have already seen how Richards re-postulates this relationship to split experience and communication, but still assigning unity to both. Gombrich, on the other hand, stresses unity as a facet of communication.[14] Jencks wavers but veers towards Gombrich. Consequently, he re-interprets Coleridge's statement, and Richards' theory:

> The imagination is an active power which fuses opposites into a new whole where they are no longer just opposites, but have something new in common (a new creation of links and tone). This synthetic power mediates between the conscious will (or choice) and the unconscious (or emotions and memory); it diffuses a tone or spirit of unity (the tone is something the poet actually creates, the unity is something he finds through new linkage). [15]

The concept of linkage was also developed by Richards; he saw it as the purposeful relationship between the qualities embodied in the object. Jencks connects his

theory with that of Koestler's theory of creativity and hence develops a definition of multivalence:

> As used here it will have three properties:
> 1) it will refer to the imaginative bisociation or really multisociation of new creations;
> 2) it will refer to the amount of material, or the set of elements (M) in a matrix;
> 3) and it will emphasize the linkage (L) between the elements - a condition which has previously been called "organic unity." [16]

As applied in the text, multivalence may be seen as relating to experiential, communicational or merely formal properties. The resulting unity may be derived from a linkage between and a resulting balance of means of expression, or of communication units or just of visual elements.

In addition, as part of his critical apparatus, Jencks takes on board another pair of Richards' concepts, both closely linked to his theory of value. Richards placed a high value on work which displays the quality of irony, that is, work in which opposing qualities are incorporated in a work and held in tension by its particular organizational process to achieve a unity composed of disparate rather than like qualities. Hence, irony can be seen to be linked to objectivity. Richards also favoured controlled duality in communication, approving of works which display 'double-coding'; those which simultaneously communicate a simple message to those who are less informed or less intelligent and a more complex message to the élite. Irony and double-coding are both tools of analysis frequently used by Jencks in his thesis as part

of a system of value, they also persist in his later work.

To summarize, Jencks' aim and critical stance in his thesis are largely derived from I.A. Richards, but two alien concepts are introduced into Richards' theoretical framework. They are 'extrinsic' interpretation of art objects by the individual and a value system that in practice is located in the properties of art objects without always linking the properties to the experience engendered by them. Although in theoretical discussion, Jencks does attempt to tie his introduced concepts to each other by postulating that the criterion of quality, multivalence, is instrumental in allowing individual interpretation, in fact he writes:

> It is this power of the multivalent work to engage our own powers of creation and growth which really provides the final justification for this theory of value. [17]

The problem of subjective experience combined with an aim to achieve objective value is not solved.

If there remains internal conflict within the theory of value postulated by Jencks in his thesis there are greater difficulties in its application, as Jencks, himself, was aware. His theory of value proved to be a methodological tool which could only be used to develop part of his work. It could not be used to develop narrative history. Jencks appears to be thrown verbally off-balance by this realization, he writes:

> The theory of multivalence, far from being historiographically omnivalent is really rather quasivalent. It is not particularly suited for showing links in a significant historical chain. [18]

On the other hand, he maintains that:

> In this study of architectural history, the theory of value just outlined will be assumed throughout as a criticism for both selecting and omitting certain architects.[19]

In addition, Jencks found that, on the one hand, multivalence was a suitable tool for internal analysis of buildings; but he also wrote that "except for extreme cases of multivalence or univalence, the theory will not be explicit and will slip into the background while specific issues and ideologies of the period are discussed."[20] Here we see the source of the major disparity between theory and text. Much of the analysis is approached by assuming a particular importance of politics to architecture, the theoretical discussion does not in any way account for this approach.

It was perhaps an acknowledgement of the defects of the thesis, the inconsistency between its aim and its methodology, the incompleteness of the methodology for writing narrative history and the unexplained nature of the text's approach to architecture through politics, that caused Jencks to re-write the theoretical sections of his work for publication.[21]

SOURCES OF CHARLES
JENCKS' EARLY WORK

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63. I.A. Richards.

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64. Hannah Arendt.

3. The critical stance displayed in Modern Movements in Architecture

The structure of Modern Movements in Architecture is closely related to the thesis. Both have an introductory section establishing the rationale for the work and its methodology, a narrative section examining various facets of the general development of modern architecture and a series of critical assessments of selected architects. To these the book adds a chapter on the nature and purpose of architecture.

The argument in the first chapter differs in important respects from the first chapter of the thesis. It is true that the broad aim of justifying the need for the work remains, but the grounds on which other works are found inadequate alters and so too does Jencks' concept of the work that needs to be produced. Now histories of modern architecture are condemned, not for their lack of objectivity and, hence, truthfulness but for presenting a particular kind of false picture. Jencks maintains that they have presented the history of recent architecture as a continuous monolithic development, whereas in fact it was composed of many discrete movements - hence his title. Former histories are condemned, not for presenting a partial picture, but for collectively presenting an over-unified one which was "Conservative, élitist and prophetic,"[22] terms clearly given a negative connotation. Whereas in the thesis inclusivity ensured objectivity and histories were condemned for their lack of it, here they

are condemned for systematically supressing a matter of fact in architecture - its plurality. Jencks sees the maintenance of plurality as of particular importance and develops a corresponding conviction about the importance of plurality in architectural history. Individual accounts of history are no longer condemned and the search for an objective, definitive history is abandoned. Jencks' new history is to be a subjective one. His task is to approach the history of modern architecture from his own chosen viewpoint; architecture in relation to politics.

The ways in which Jencks sees architecture as being related to politics are developed in the book. First a relationship occurs because of the inevitable political concerns of an architect's patrons. Then because "in a very loose way architecture influences the lives of those who inhabit or use it" (although he is quick to disclaim that he adheres to a concept of the 'now discredited idea' of architectural determinism). Lastly because:

> Architecture is a political art because it crystallizes the public realm, shared social values and long term cultural goals ... architecture is utterly implicated in the public realm. This entails it taking on a responsibility toward communication even rhetoric. It must by its nature help explain and dramatize certain social meanings. This means in turn, that today, when the whole public realm and politics are in doubt, architecture must also lack credibility. [23]

In spite of the more lengthy development of this theme and its claim for politics as an important consideration in relation to architecture, it is not claimed as the only influence or even as the most important influence, only as a legitimate tool for analysis and of equal

value to other approaches. Jencks writes: "a political bias is adopted here because other major facets of recent architecture have been treated at length and are well known." [24]

Naturally, to write a subjective history, Jencks is no longer bound to search for 'supra-ideological' principles, nor is an absolute theory of value appropriate. Instead he proposes a new strategy for analysis, the arbitrary application of varied concepts. Pluralism in architecture and in architectural history is to be complemented by plurality of analytical techniques, for Jencks writes "the crucial questions are whether the concepts illuminate their objects, have great explanatory power, are relevant in themselves and as plural as the developments." [25]

To summarize the critical basis of the book as it has been discussed so far: it is written from a subjective viewpoint and its standards and techniques are not absolute ones but pertain to the author's own task, which is to write a history of recent architecture in relation to politics. Jencks now claims that modern architecture is made up of many discrete movements and that these may be approached by the historian in diverse ways, the resulting differing interpretations are legitimized by the multivalency of objects of lasting value.

If Richards was the source on which the thesis' critical stance depended, it is clear that the book no longer relies on his scheme as a whole, although some of

his individual concepts persist. By the time Jencks came to re-write the theoretical sections, his approach to history had undergone a radical change. It can be shown that his new theoretical stance is equally dependent on Hannah Arendt's, On Revolution.

In her work Arendt presented a view of the world which focussed on the individual in relation to politics. Like Richards, Arendt felt the great importance of the individual and the necessity for him to be able to develop his potential. For Arendt, such a view was justified because each person by virtue of being different from the next had a particular contribution to make to society. She termed this difference "plurality". Like Richards, Arendt saw development taking place as the result of experience, though for her the process was rather a different one. She saw individuals developing as a result of self-knowledge which was only attained in a situation of freedom, which for Arendt was the opportunity to undertake political action in public. It was seen as an opportunity which only occurs infrequently, being limited in modern times to revolution. Revolution was confined in meaning to situations in which individuals could act together in a small group to achieve something new; an event which was only possible, on the one hand, when the existing political system was weak and, on the other, when groups had developed power (the ability to act in concert as the result of agreement between individuals). Arendt saw the modern world as largely comprised of totalitarian states which inhibited action and hence individual freedom. In it both

were subordinated to conformity and uniformity. Arendt saw a particular mode of thought as being suitable for the Vita Activa in which, for her, politics played the most important part. It was directed towards the formation of attitudes rather than towards the accumulation of knowledge. Here too we can note a sympathy with Richards; both authors advocate the importance of non-rational thought as the means of developing personal attitudes.

Jencks draws on the work of Arendt in several ways. First he uses it as a source of political theory. The importance of the growth of the individual through political action, of political action itself, of revolution as instigating change, and of the public way of life, are all concepts accepted by Jencks from Arendt. In addition, he accepts and relays her analysis of the malaise of the modern world, adding a final chapter to the book in order to do so.

Then, Jencks sees some of Arendt's political concepts as directly relevant to architecture. Indeed Arendt's work lends itself to this kind of transfer, partly because its high aesthetic content appeals to those with aesthetic interests and partly because, to explain political concepts she frequently made use of spatial metaphors. Opportunities for experiencing freedom are termed "spaces of freedom" or "spaces of appearance", their rare incidence "islands in the sea" or "oases in the desert." The opportunity for action to occur is termed by her "public space." For those concerned with built form such terms may

constitute an invitation to give them a more concrete meaning than Arendt intended, and hence to see built form, particularly public space as an adjunct to political action. Jencks certainly does so. In addition, he appears to feel that generally Arendt's work reinforces the connection between architecture and politics, and that architecture is important because it "crystallizes the public realm"[26] - whether actually or metaphorically is unclear.

It is the third way in which Jencks draws on Arendt that is the most influential in re-developing his critical stance. He translates Arendt's system of concepts and mechanisms in politics into his own concepts and mechanisms in architecture, and transfers Arendt's technique for dealing with the history of modern revolution to his own technique for dealing with the history of modern architecture. His rationale for doing so is not explained. He must have seen politics either as influencing architecture so deeply that it controlled its form of organization and mechanisms of change, or acted merely on the principle of what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander, and arbitrarily transferred the methodology from one context to another.

Whichever process of transfer accounts for the manoeuvre, it is obvious he made it, since so many of his concepts attest to it. Arendt condemns modern totalitarian societies and Jencks condemns Modern Movement histories as over-unified histories with totalitarian qualities. Arendt

advocates the value of action in small groups and Jencks advocates the virtues of small discrete architectural movements. Arendt places great importance on revolution as the mechanism for injecting new directions into politics and Jencks sees sudden stylistic change as the mechanism which accounts for development in architectural tradition. Arendt sees in revolution the opportunity for personal development and Jencks sees in stylistic change the opportunity to develop personal creativity. Arendt sees the necessity for power to grow in small groups as a precursor to revolution and Jencks sees the necessity for individual stylistic development to be fostered in small groups so that they may be influential when conditions are right for change. Arendt appears to see her own book as a contribution to the development of attitudes effecting change. Jencks writes: "it is the historian's obligation to search for the plurality of creative movements and individuals where he can find them, and elucidate their creativity." [27]

The consequences of employing such a mechanism may be somewhat unexpected. Instead of reinforcing the political content of architecture it tends to eliminate it. By using the metaphor [Architecture = Politics] architecture may easily become a self-referential system devoid of political content and hence to be seen only in formal and stylistic terms. There is evidence to show that in spite of the importance of architecture's political content being emphasized in his theory a process of de-politicization does take place in much of Jencks' analysis and

hence his architecture becomes devoid of external references. When, in addition, Jencks emphasizes the importance of change for its own sake and the critic's role in fostering conditions for change, he is coming very close to advocating a position in which architecture is pushed into a situation of consumerism as defined by Arendt and hence to debasing the moral underpinning of the framework derived from her.

Moreover, by using this mechanism of transfer the role that Jencks appears to develop for the architect is one of a person who through creative activity is exercising his freedom of expression and hence may initiate change in architectural form to produce a new style of architecture. If architecture is akin to art, and Jencks appears to class it in this way, then an anomaly arises between Jencks and Arendt's view of the function and mode of production of a work of art. In Arendt's framework revolution is the result of political action, the function of art is to record it and hence change in art must be instigated by political action. For her the artist needs skills in analysis and insight to interpret and convey political meaning, his own private views are not appropriate, indeed Arendt specifically attacks such "expressionism". Thus by translating Arendt metaphorically the view Jencks develops of an artist's function and Arendt's own view can be seen to be incompatible.

In spite of these internal tensions Jencks' second critical stance is more credible than his first and it

accounts for the text more effectively. His new stance enables him to re-write the narrative chapter and it too is an improvement on the earlier effort. The major problems of the first stance have been rectified in the second. There is no longer a conflict between subjective experience and an objective standard of value, and now the political slant of the text is well integrated with the theoretical discussion.

If Arendt provides a new direction for the book many of its tools of analysis are still derived from Richards. For instance, Richards' concept of multivalence persists and so do its former functions as a means of selection, as a property of objects of importance and as a justification or explanation of varied responses to the object, but there is a change in emphasis. Multivalence ceases to be the criterion of an absolute value but is instead a measure of value for the author. Now Jencks writes:

> Since we are all the time making qualitative judgements about buildings and in particular since a selective history is based on judgement above all, I think it is necessary to devote some space to explaining the criterion for selection adopted here. Certain buildings have a richness and density of meaning which makes them more enjoyable to inhabit, view and visit than others. These are the buildings which are reinterpreted anew by every generation. We return to them again and again, not necessarily because of any particular meaning which they may convey, but more because of the exciting and deep way in which meanings are inter-related or fused together in a powerful pattern.

He goes on to re-define the term:

> Multivalence consists of four distinct qualities: imaginative <u>creation</u>, or the putting together of parts in a new way, the <u>amount</u> of parts so transformed, the <u>linkage</u> between the parts which is the

> cause of this creation and which allows the parts to modify each other. [28]

The application of the concept to form instead of to moral or communicational qualities is now readily apparent, although in other ways the theory developed in the thesis persists. Now multivalence has lost its primary importance and has become "only one criterion for selecting buildings to discuss in the book." [29] "Political ideas which form the background to each movement ... are of the utmost importance to architecture" and are also used for selecting buildings, and as a basis of discussion and narrative. [30]

To turn now to a consideration of the third author to whom Jencks stated he owed a debt. Jencks draws on Gombrich's essay "Expression and Communication" to extend parts of Richards' methodology into a more technical realm. Jencks appears to equate Richards' analytical device of separating appreciation of poetry into two parts (its statement and its expression) with Gombrich's distinction between conventional communication (to which information theory applies) and expressive modes of communication. It was Gombrich's view that works of art communicate both conventionally and expressively. Jencks appears to have applied this division to architecture. However, he then proceeds to equate Richards' qualities of expressive writing with Gombrich's exposition of the mechanisms of information theory. Hence Richards' concept of inclusivity which in turn is related to plurality of response is apparently equated by him with a multivalency

comprised of several codes used together. Further, Richards' concept of irony is equated with a combination of on/off signals and linkage is redefined as a modification of signals by the use of more than one code. The result is, in my view, a distortion of both texts.

The ways in which Jencks uses these concepts to build his critical methodology and their application are best demonstrated in his critiques of the Unité d'Habitation and of the work of Alvar Aalto.

Jencks begins his first critique by noting that Le Corbusier's paramount creative device is one of inversion; an overturning of both planning conventions and building element typologies.[31] This is an explanation of creativity which appears to owe more to information theory than to concepts developed by Richards since it exploits the phenomenon that most information is conveyed when the message is most unexpected while remaining within the bounds of intelligibility.

Next he quotes the opinions of several critics and claims that their criticism of a feature can be seen to be opposed to the aim of the architect. Hence he writes that "One finds in the Unité, a balance of positive goals with negative consequences which is not uncommon in any multivalent architecture. If a work has multiple determinants it will allow different plausible interpretations."[32] This is an extraordinary slip in translation, in which plurality of interpretation is dependent not on multivalency of expression but upon the complexities of function. Further

he writes:

> ... if one investigates the pre-cast system on the exterior, or the repetitive wall units on the interior, one finds that a small number of similar elements have been used in a variety of different positions. This has the affect of making what appears to be a purely gratuitous formal gesture into an economic and technical rationale. Since both interpretations are equally valid, one can enjoy seeing the objects become modified as they slip from one level of interpretation to another. Since this modification is another criterion of multivalence ... [33]

We have here in embrionic form Jencks' notion that form, function and technic constitute three codes capable of reinforcing each other and hence modifying the meaning of each. Here again information theory is inextricably mixed-up with Richards' views of creativity. Finally, towards the end of the critique, Jencks examines an L-shaped concrete section on the balcony of each unit and finds it has eight separate functions. He concludes:

> ... there are eight immediate contexts for this single form to work in, or, put another way, there are at least eight links to different contexts. If each one of these links modifies the way the form is seen and used, it also modifies the surrounding area making it richer in meaning. [34]

Richards' concept of the quality of links constituting the mechanism of metaphor has been debased; here "links" have a less poetic, more mundane function. Yet he is not wholly impervious to Richards' meaning for he writes shortly afterwards:

> One of the simplest ways of finding out if a work is weak in internal linkage is to probe it from an ironic and unsympathetic position with different metaphors to see if it can withstand this attack by offering counter-meanings. [35]

and his conclusion on the quality of the Unite draws

heavily on Richards' concepts of irony, unity, multivalence, links and the value of experience. The conclusion states:

> This fusion of opposites within an ironic unity produces a larger order which can delineate opposite points of view: the crudity can be seen as sophisticated refinement, or vice versa, and instead of this ambiguity working to congeal the experience, it seems to make it of greater intensity.
>
> The more one analyses this work, the more one finds link after link between the different levels of experience and the more the experience becomes self-validating as one discovers not only Le Corbusier's intentions, but more possible meanings which are latent within the architecture. It is this power of the multivalent work to engage the perceiver's powers of creation which is significant here. Not only does this allow the architecture to become alive in different ways to each generation and thus result in a lasting architecture, but it also stimulates each generation to reach beyond its familiar abstractions. Multivalent architecture acts as a catalyst on the mind, provoking wholly new interpretations which, in however small a way, affect the individual. The range, delicacy and complexity of meanings which exist in a multivalent work have an analogous effect on the mind that interacts with them. Ultimately, we are transformed by what we experience,[9] and the quality of a work is transferred, even if indirectly, into organizational states of the mind. [36]

Jencks' critique of Aalto's work is strongly dependent upon information theory and is less bound by Richards' notion of creativity and its attendant concepts, although they still persist. The two conceptual systems are not amalgamated by Jencks to achieve a theory of his own, but remain suspended in a colloidal solution. A number of examples will illustrate the point. First Jencks describes Aalto's work in Richards' terms:

> It is a commonplace that artists make us see the world differently by giving us a new conventional language of vision, and Aalto has been particularly appreciated because the architectural language he

> has evolved has been rich and made use of the full gamut of expressive means, whereas much recent architecture has been simplistic and based on just a single mode of communication.
>
> In one sense, Aalto's rich subtlety is the result of a multivalence of meanings where one part of the architecture interrelates with another and thus modifies it. [37]

Then he shifts ground, when he writes:

> In effect, while I have so far been overtly describing the way one part of the building modifies another through opposition, I have been covertly describing a reaction to a series of visual cues. One dimension of architectural communication - which Aalto is adept in - consists in nothing else than a series of alternating signals; rough versus smooth, dark versus light and so on. [38]

and pursuing information theory methodology he writes:

> In every case, the tyranny of probability sets up an expectancy which is made democratic by being partially fulfilled - and falsified. Thus Aalto has consciously set up a series of probabilities only to resist and distort them and, as information theory postulates, the greater the probabilities which are resisted, the more exciting the experience. [39]

Finally, he endeavours to wed the virtues of a multiplicity of unexpected messages to artistic unity:

> The cluster of meanings is coherent and confirms the main expectation. But this is only possible because, in fact, information and expression are working together. Either one alone would leave the interpretation seriously one-sided and vague. The critic who described Imatra without mentioning the social and acoustic functions which determined the roof would be as imprecise as the critic who could not read the direct expression of the forms.
>
> In effect, the combination of information and expression allows the architect to play a richer symphony in which most meanings are working in a cluster while other ones are working negatively. [40]

One must conclude in examining the critique on any rational basis that Jencks' exercise fails, on the other hand it does have a certain aesthetic appeal dependent upon its

own richness of concepts - undigested though they may be.

Both these examples demonstrate Jencks' tendency to employ concepts from a limited number of sources to a critique. The other critical essays in the book use the same technique and the same sources. Meis van der Rohe's work is criticized for non-inclusivity and hence its univalency leading to farce; all are concepts derived from Richards. Gropius' and Wright's work is described as degenerating from multivalency into univalent formalism; Richards is the source again. Le Corbusier's work in general is seen in terms of tragic duality, again a concept derived from Richards and a theme which Jencks was later to develop in a monograph.[41] Venturi's work is seen as expressing Arendt's differentiation of public and private realms, similarly Kahn's work is described as an exploration of public architecture. Jencks also describes the work of a number of architects, particularly of Philip Johnson, in relation to a concept of Camp, largely derived from Susan Sontag's essay "Notes on Camp".[42] Those essays which are most successful rely on the extensive employment of another's developed methodology and critical position.

Having examined the nature of Jencks' critical base, and the critiques which result from it, it remains to dissect the role he assigns to the critic in relation to architecture which, by implication, is also to himself. It is instructive to begin by analysing the role he rejects, that of the modern movement historian. He writes:

> The historian of recent architecture has, for the most part, followed the same line of argument by

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65. Charles Jencks, 1972.

> implicitly becoming either an apologist for a single tradition, say the International Style, or the prophet of inevitable development, say technology and structural determinism. Practising architects and the public are naturally persuaded by these convincing arguments and so the amount of live traditions or alternatives to the future is radically limited. [43]

The statement can only be understood in the light of Arendt's view of totalitarianism which as we have seen is equated by Jencks with the ubiquity of the modern movement. For Arendt, people repressed by a totalitarian regime have only the opportunity to behave "naturally" - higher opportunities are denied them because they have ceased to think for themselves. This connotation may explain Jencks' use of the phrase "practising architects and the public are naturally persuaded" by the critic. Clearly Jencks rejects the role of the critic in supporting the reigning myth and indeed he specifically criticizes Pevsner for doing so.[44] If this is the role Jencks rejects what determines the role that he accepts? The first determinant is his own character. Jencks expresses a marked preference for those who tilt at the world; Arendt, Richards, Le Corbusier, Van Eyck are all his heroes and all are of this persuasion. But over and above this predisposition his own role like his task is founded in the ideas of his sources.

Since the subject matter of Richards' investigation was criticism, his might be thought to be the most likely source from which to develop the critic's role. But Richards is most concerned with the direct relationship between the work and its audience, the critic figures as

an aid to this process, relaying his own experience to the audience to enhance their's. This is a relatively modest role, therefore I suspect that Jencks draws more on Arendt than on Richards even though there is less direct reason for doing so. Arendt is not directly concerned with the critic's role indeed her strong emphasis on the importance of each man thinking for himself would place the critic in much the same role as Richards put him, in showing others how to think. Alternatively one could infer from Arendt's work that the critic is one whose opinion is on par with that of others. It is perhaps in the last role that Jencks casts himself; as a man of action who sets forth his opinion persuasively in order to influence others and carry them along with him. If this is so then the same criticism can be levelled at Jencks as Habermas levelled at Arendt:[45] That her view of the way in which action occurs fails to take into account the structure of the institution which houses it. Nevertheless it is an optimistic position from which to begin a career in criticism, and without some conviction of this kind it would be hard for any critic to take a line other than that of reinforcing the status quo or reinforcing current powerful trends of employment of technology, and design for behaviourism both of which are specifically rejected by Jencks. Jencks at this stage is clearly taking a radical position and is advocating and attempting to instigate change.

It is consistent with Arendt's view of the nature of change in revolution that the goal cannot be defined since the process of change is too dynamic to envisage its

effects. To Arendt too, change can only take place when the present system is played out. If Jencks is viewing criticism in like terms his task becomes to attack the status quo, to advocate change and to reinforce activities that might be regarded as desirable agents of change. As Arendt saw small political cadres as the agents of change so Jencks assumes that small discrete architectural movements will do the same, his work is aimed at reinforcing their strengths and diversity. He does not at this stage prescribe directions in which they should move.

Jencks' critical technique is compatible with this view of the critic's role; it is one that applies different critical concepts to different groups of architects. Hence he writes:

> The crucial questions are whether the concepts illuminate their objects, have great explanatory power, are relevant in themselves and as plural as the developments. [46]

One might gather that Jencks is strongly in favour of intrinsic criticism. His method throughout the book of quoting from the architect would seem to reinforce the view that criticism should assess the work in its own terms. We should note in passing that such a technique is noted by Jencks as being characteristic of Rayner Banham, who was his supervisor for his doctoral thesis. But in practice, Jencks does not rely on the opinion of the architect for determining the basis of his own criticism, nor does he draw it from other contexts surrounding the work. Rather he chooses a particular viewpoint selected by himself and tests the viewpoint against the work, or works

to which he applies it. The standards by which his performance is to be judged are clearly stated above.

The disadvantages of such a method are that the concepts applied are open to an attack of arbitrariness. They may be judged as appropriate according to the standards stated, but are other standards just as or more appropriate? That, for Jencks, is for others to display. Again we are clearly placed within Arendt's exposition of the mode of thought and operation appropriate to Vita Activa. If each opinion is to be weighted equally then each is entitled to his own, providing of course that it is a responsible opinion - remembering that Arendt used Kant's concept of Aesthetic Judgement (judgement in place of others) as being the basis of responsibility in this situation. I think it true to say that Jencks places a stronger emphasis on the importance of individual opinion and its persuasiveness than upon the employment of the regulatory break of judgement. In this he is to a degree reinforced by Richards whose "Practical Criticism" clearly places emphasis on the importance and almost inevitable diversity of each individual's opinion in criticism. Richards' concepts of individual responsibility are neglected.

Jencks draws on the same two sources for the historical methodology in Modern Movements in Architecture. His method is based on the supposition that:

> There are basically two kinds of historically relevant material: the influential (or that which is interesting because of its importance as a link in a significant chain) and the projected (or that which

> has value in itself, as a small, internally relevant world). The first kind of event is part of a movement: literally a development within a tradition or problem situation. ... The relevance of this kind of developing tradition is best brought out by historical narrative, whereas the second kind of event or building is best analysed critically for its internal relations. [47]

It seems that Jencks sees Arendt's methodology as being applicable to 'influential material' and Richards' critical technique as appropriate for 'perfect material'. For the first, 'narrative' and 'myth' are appropriate together with a rigorous ordering of the material in order to make the myth or narrative credible. In Jencks' case the 'myth' he wishes to convey is one of 'plurality' hence his eagerness for his own narrative to be inclusive even at the expense of some lack of clarity. Jencks is aware of the way in which the two conflict.

> Thus this history is a series of discontinuous narratives and extended probes. It looks two ways at once and it focuses at different depths, but I hope for all this that the reader still doesn't become confused. The live architectural traditions are rich and complex in their profusion and any attempt to reduce them to some simplistic notion of 'modern' or 'the true style' would be myopic and destructive. It is the historian's obligation to search for the plurality of creative movements and individuals where he can find them, and elucidate their creativity. To attempt this, I have quoted architects at a length which is unusual in a book of this nature and I have given, where possible, a series of views - often a photo-strip - rather than a single, conventional view. But, having emphasized an inclusive approach, I am rather conscious of all the architects I have finally left out of the discussion. [48]

Jencks is also not unperceptive in recognizing that there is a special relationship for a critic of the visual arts between word and image. It is one of the attractions of Jencks' work that he consistently captions his

illustrations carefully. He thus maintains a greater control, by double-coding, using both media, over the message offered by his illustrations. He had been impressed by Philip Johnson publishing a set of notes to accompany an appreciation of his Glass House. He noted: "These historical programme notes ... were helpful for a full architectural experience, but the real significance of the house was as a social gesture. All of a sudden architectural journalism had become part of the object. Marshall McLuhan, Tom Wolfe and Robert Rauschenburg were pre-empted here. The social celebration of architecture through photographs was suddenly as significant as the building. ... Johnson was the first to realize the implications of a sophisticated audience and new means of communication for the architectural tradition."[49] One can assume from Jencks' tone that his interest also lies with the élite, as in their own way Arendt and Richards (but only in his earlier work) had lain before him.

Jencks' work presents a comparatively easy task for analysis in that he draws from relatively few sources; and the manner in which he draws from them is not difficult to trace. As we have demonstrated he draws on Arendt and Richards extensively both for their concepts and for their methodology. Gombrich's work is used more selectively but his "Expression and Communication" is important in Jencks' criticism if not to his critical framework. Sontag's "Notes on Camp"[50] is used in a similar manner. One can only assume that Jencks is shy of acknowledging his debt here (for Sontag's work is not listed in the Acknowledgments)

because of his ambivalence to the phenomenon itself.

A R E N D T
R I C H A R D S
G O M B R I C H S O N T A G

What relationship do these sources have to each other? Gombrich and Richards have a solid area of overlap in subject matter, Richards and Arendt are intertwined in feeling and Sontag is tacked on to the end. Otherwise their relationship appears to be accidental and arbitrary, drawn together because of the author's particular reading experiences. But this is not quite true, for all have some similarity of character, perhaps one might say there is something in common to both major sources of an emotive nature and that is what appealed to the author over and above their diverse subject matter. There are too some important correlations of content between Richards and Arendt, for instance, the similar utilitarian role that they assign to works of art. Gombrich's "Expression and Communication" is used to re-integrate Richards' two analyses of meaning contained in Meaning of Meaning and The Principles of Literary Criticism that Richards associated with his theory of two uses of language. Establishing a wide spectrum of communication and experience might be thought of particular importance to architecture where the extent to which any building, or any part of a building can be deemed to be a work of art is by no means clear. The work of Susan Sontag remains detached. Jencks is, it seems to me, in spite of his persevering with an expressed ambivalence to Camp to be actually attracted to

it. Accepting the value of the culture of mass society and consumerism places him awkwardly with regard to the expressed views of Arendt and Richards. Further, he is unable to reject their views since they are closely intertwined with the body of their work which he does accept. Here the relationship remains an uneasy one.

The charge of arbitrariness can also be levelled at Jencks, with regard to the concepts he uses in his critiques. Jencks is persuasive when he writes:

> ... the crucial question is whether the concepts illuminate their objects, have general explanatory power, are relevant in themselves and as plural as the developments. [51]

But it is doubtful if this approach is as convincing as criticism made from a fully-developed personal theoretical framework whether it is the author's or the architects' own. Jencks does not achieve such a theoretical framework. He draws too obviously from other sources, and while he transfers others' concepts into the body of his own work he fails to transmute them into a synthesis of his own.

Yet there was, apart from the difficulty of amalgamating a positive view of the value of Camp art with the rest, opportunity to do so. Richards and Arendt treat such different areas there is little real difficulty in drawing from each without conflict. Richards and Gombrich might also have been amalgamated more positively. Had Jencks been able to achieve such a synthesis of his subject matter his history would have been a better work.

His approach to writing the history also remains schizophrenic, employing Arendt's technique of story-telling in one part and Richards' more analytical technique elsewhere. This split in technique and of the consequent split in the book's structure emphasizes the lack of integration of the source material. One is tempted to characterize Jencks' work in his own terms as univalent. It is true that Jencks uses a wide range of concepts, but he employs them in isolation from each other. To employ different critical ideas to different buildings is less consistent with his own concept of multivalency than being able to criticize each from several points of view. For Richards, plurality led to disinterestedness and overcame excessive individuality. Jencks by remaining individual fails to be, in Richards' terms, responsible.

Both Arendt and Richards are rich authors. It would not have been possible for Jencks to use their work in its entirety and he has not done so. He has tended to draw on the concepts of each in a relatively simple manner. Indeed if one surveys his last, really rather dreadful chapter "Architecture and Revolution" one is forced to the view that he has drawn on Arendt simplistically. It must also be a matter of regret Jencks failed to draw on Arendt's sensitive analysis of functionalism, or on her division of the human condition into work, labour and action. [52]

Of Gombrich's and Richards' work it is doubtful if Jencks grasped the subtleties of Gombrich's analysis or of

some of Richards' concepts. How else could he write in a mish-mash of information and expressive theories "as information theory postulates, the greater the probabilities which are resisted, the more exciting the experience"?[53] or, to fail to demonstrate an understanding of Richards' concept of links, which he uses in a much weaker way.[54]

Jencks is, at least at this stage, not a writer or a thinker of the calibre of Arendt, Richards or Gombrich. Nevertheless, the critiques he mounts are of considerable interest, mostly because each clearly displays the particular viewpoint from which it is studied. As such they are clearly structured "exercises in criticism". The exercises are in one sense more personal than Arendt's "exercises in political thought"[55] in that they remain, because of their univalency, highly individual pieces of work. In another sense they are less personal for the concepts they employ are all borrowed.

It remains to make some comment upon non-rational procedures. Arendt and Richards place emphasis upon personal contribution and personal criticism. Both acknowledge the difficulties of achieving some degree of objectivity with such an approach, consequently both suggest mechanisms for alleviating personal subjectivity. Jencks also treads an individualistic path but he does not achieve a mechanism (like Arendt's persuasiveness or Richards' plurality) to achieve objectivity and hence it could be argued that his work remains personal.

We can assume that because Jencks was attracted to Arendt's and Richards' work he was also attracted to the non-rationality of its method and content. It is more difficult for an author to exert control over non-rational discourse than over the stronger framework of rational argument. Arendt described her writing as "tentative", Richards' work has been labelled "sketchy". Such qualities are compatible with a personal presentation: they preserve a degree of modesty without which the tone of non-rational discourse may so easily become dogmatic or opinionated.

Both Richards and Arendt are aware of the different truth conditions applying to opinion. Jencks is less sensitive too in this regard, consequently the effect of his work is over-strident in comparison with that of his sources. Therefore, one can say that generally Jencks coarsens the concepts and methodology of both his sources. But to look at his work from another viewpoint: when one draws from a field in which one is not expert and attempts to apply the work to another area, some coarsening is almost always inevitable. Using Richards' terms Jencks manages at least to transfer from each his "residual affective volitional"[56] attitudes and to use them in his interpretation of architecture.

Before making some concluding remarks on Jencks' early critical stances his work will be compared with that of Kenneth Frampton who has in common with him the use of one of his sources - Hannah Arendt.

Robert W. Major calls Kenneth Frampton's work "An exceptional instance of reading Arendt's unusual distinction between labour and work."[57] Frampton has drawn on Arendt directly in at least three theoretical essays. "Labour, Work and Architecture",[58] "Industrialization and the Crises in Architecture"[59] and "The Status of Man and the Status of his objects: A reading of The Human Condition".[60] The subject matter in each of these essays is closely linked; the first and last examine Arendt's distinction between labour and work and her understanding of works of art set in relation to architecture. The second essay examines her theory of tools in relation to technological production in architecture, the phenomena of Kitsch and the Russian Revolution of 1918 in relation to Constructivism. The diverse topics are linked together by the essay's conclusion "what transpired in Russia in 1918 determined both the predicament and cultural threshold of all that we have subsequently experienced as men set within the raceway of the 20th century" when "men acknowledged for the first time that there was no escape from the processes of history, that the unity of antiquity was lost forever and that production without end, without any limiting theory of material and spiritual need presupposed a limitless consumption - the never ending fantasmagoria of Kitsch." Frampton concludes that under present conditions "architecture can only be predicated ultimately on the political arena" and that "the only way in which our self consuming ideology of waste will be overcome and architecture redeemed is through the participatory demo-

cratic determination of the nature of our environment." [61]

The same conviction is the mainspring of Frampton's Modern Architecture: A Critical History.[62] It is a history of architecture set within a history of more general historic events, particularly of political events; the latter being seen as relevant to, if not determining, the course taken by architecture. Frampton divides his work into three parts. First, a description of cultural developments in the community at large and predisposing techniques both of which influence architecture. Second, a series of twenty-seven essays, each is devoted to a description and critical assessment of the work of an architect or of a group of architects and the movement or circumstances in which the subject was placed. The third section surveys the current situation ending with a chapter entitled "Place Production and Architecture: towards a critical theory of building".

Many of the essays drew directly from Arendt's The Human Condition and the whole book is set within a general context which emphasizes the importance of politics which can be assumed to be derived, at least in part, also from Arendt. What distinguishes Frampton's reading of Arendt from Jencks' is that Frampton's readings are authorially controlled in that he uses Arendt's concepts of work, labour, works of art, public and private realms, worldliness and power in much the same way as they were originally used by Arendt. He also accepts her analysis of the ills of the modern world including its political

failures, lack of worldliness and the prevalence of Kitsch. In Frampton's work there is no attempt to extend Arendt's meanings metaphorically into other realms. Her concepts are used to discuss the predicament of modern architecture as part of the predicament of the world at large and they are used 'straight',[63] perhaps even too 'straight'. Thus Major writes "for Frampton, the discrimination between public and private, work and labour, cannot be made abstractly, but must be made concretely in every particular case."[64]

Frampton's theoretical examination of architecture and his use of Arendt gains additional strength by his concomitant use of Habermas and others of the Frankfurt school who share or extend her viewpoint. Hence Frampton acknowledges that his view was coloured by his "affinity for the critical theory of the Frankfurt school" and hence he concludes that "the dark side of the Enlightenment ... has brought man to a situation where he begins to be as alienated from his own production as from the natural world."[65] One may conclude that the greater breadth of theory on which Frampton's critical base stands tends to make it sounder than that of Jencks.

Frampton, like Jencks, also draws on Arendt's critical methodology, particularly upon the technique much used by her of etymological discussion. In this way he is able to develop a useful distinction between architecture and building.[66] Less obviously but still recognizable Arendt's technique of historical narrative persists in Frampton's

Modern Architecture as it does also in Jencks' work.

If Jencks' Modern Movements in Architecture is compared with Frampton's Modern Architecture it can be readily seen they are similar in content and that both are directed at the same topic although Frampton surveys architecture over a longer period of time. What is equally striking, however, is the similarity of their arrangement, both dividing their work into a broad narrative section, a series of critical pieces, a survey of the current situation and ending with a final chapter that reiterates the book's political context.

Moreover, there is some similarity in the methodologies employed by each author. Frampton, like Jencks, makes frequent use of quotations, he writes "I have tried wherever possible to let the protagonists speak for themselves."[67] Then Frampton, again like Jencks, uses a critical approach which varies from critique to critique, although, unlike Jencks, Frampton has, he says, tried "to maintain some kind of consistency in the interpretation of the facts"[68] and has succeeded in doing so. Frampton's range of critical approaches remains firmly anchored to architectural concerns; to ideas about architectural form and to the form itself. The concepts employed in his interpretive stances are less arbitrary and less idiosyncratic than those of Jencks. Further the greater consistency of the work as a whole makes apparent the author's consolidated critical viewpoint in his own. Hence Frampton stands in direct contrast to Jencks whose multi-

farious critical stances are so obviously derivative and undigested.

Robert Major asks "What permits Frampton to "read" Arendt's text? The answer is given in his architectural concerns and commitment."[69] But Major is less than fair when he describes what he supposes to be Frampton's encounter with Arendt:

> Compelled to comprehend this modern crisis of architecture, [its unworldliness] Frampton surveys the archive of architectural theory for "readings" with which to understand it and finds no adequate theory. He continues his search elsewhere and "hits upon" the work of Hannah Arendt.[70]

In fact, this is much more like a description of Jencks' encounter with Arendt, for Frampton at least built upon (and continues to build on) what might well have been at first a chance encounter by reading others in the same field.

Major is more effective in describing the process of transfer from Arendt's concepts into Frampton's work and in assessing its success, he concludes:

> Her analysis, in conjunction with his assimilation of her model, allows Frampton to situate the predicaments of modern architecture within the larger modern phenomenon in industrialization and the ideology of waste. Frampton's encounter with Arendt's text is thus an encounter of reading because it is inscribed by a pre-understanding of the worldly "objectivities" of work, i.e., by his architectural concern for and commitment to the world of built object.[71]

In other words, Frampton succeeds in drawing on Arendt because he already has a framework of expertise into which he may fit, and absorb, the borrowed material. In contra-

diction to Jencks who used it at a more basic level. It must also be said that Frampton's use of Arendt is a good deal more sophisticated than Jencks'; he employs a wider range of borrowed concepts and interacts with them at a higher intellectual level. One can compare Frampton's transference of Arendt's concepts into his work with Jencks' translation and beside Frampton Jencks appears naive.

4. Conclusion

To summarize, Jencks' early efforts to establish a basis from which to operate as a critic-historian have been examined in detail. One can conclude that in both his thesis and in Modern Movements in Architecture his theoretical material is drawn from a very narrow range and is, in fact, heavily dependent on only two books by two authors. On the other hand, Richards and Arendt as well as Gombrich have much to offer for transfer into architectural critical theory, considerably more in fact than has been utilized by Jencks. Among the virtues which are apparent in the two main sources and which in turn conferred quality on Jencks' critical stances, one can mention the high moral tone of each, and the emphasis placed on understanding the world at large through aesthetic experience, thus giving cultural objects an important function in human life. Both authors offer well-rounded systems whose chief appeal is aesthetic and persuasive - in line with the philosophy of each and compatible with much contemporary thought. In each case, although Jencks has applied the source with enthusiasm to his own work, it has been argued that his adaptation has detracted from the high purpose of the original, and from the wholeness of its schema. Tensions thus induced have been recognized by Jencks and have led to the subsequent abandonment of the schema of his source, although separate concepts from it persist.

Jencks should not be criticized for later abandoning his sources. In both the thesis and the book they were perhaps used too obviously and were inadequately translated into their new context; consequently in neither case did Jencks develop a wholly credible critical base of his own. Jencks' own preferences must be seen as the cause of his alterations to each system, and here we can cite his interest in individuality for its own sake, in stylistic development and in architectural form as a self-referential system with its own mechanism of change. His preferences leading to qualification of the two systems he adopted have proved to be more lasting than the systems themselves and were more indicative of the future directions of his work.

It is my view that in spite of their faults Jencks' early critical stances were responsible ones in which architecture was seen as properly fulfilling an important role in the world at large. In them Jencks' tendency towards consumerism and formalism remained subordinated to the high moral purpose of his sources. To me it is a matter of regret, not that the early stances were abandoned, but that they have not been replaced by another critical system of equal moral value. Or, put another way, Jencks became torn between a critical stance centred on the discipline of architecture and a critical stance with a wider base. While continuing to pay lip service to the importance of a wide range of individual responses his own critical concerns have become reduced increasingly to the visual analysis of stylistic change. This change has taken

place in spite of the considerable attention he has paid from time to time to semiotic analysis which, it might have been thought, would attribute more general meaning to architecture. But as it has already been argued, meanings conveyed by architectural objects are far more limited in scope than those which are attributed to objects and hence the scope of meaning allowed by Jencks has been reduced.

Jencks has moved from a position where he attributed variations in interpretation to differing ideologies held by individuals and thus from those which must allow individuals to attribute meaning to objects, to a position where the meaning is confined to that conveyed by the object. Hence, he has abandoned his position as a critic operating in the same manner and the same field as the general public. Instead he has adopted the role of a critic operating within the closed discipline of architecture, and, consequently, one whose importance must largely be confined to the more circumscribed field.

IX. ASSESSMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THIS THESIS

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1. Introduction

The theoretical section of this thesis presented a series of hypotheses on the nature of architectural appreciation: it postulated a conceptual framework within which the three case studies were described and analysed. It was argued that the success of the case studies should determine the utility of the hypotheses, therefore this final section of the thesis assesses their contributions. In view of their importance to this thesis the terms 'success' and 'contribution' may need amplification. Here it is taken that if a study contributes new knowledge or insight in one of a number of areas it could be regarded as being successful in that respect, and if the case study makes a contribution in several areas which seem to be of some importance then the case study itself should be regarded as a successful piece of research.

All three case studies have employed the same methodology based upon the same theoretical assumptions and analytical techniques. Firstly, it has been assumed that unsolicited texts, or what might be described as texts un-mediated by the researcher, make up a proper basis for research of this kind. Bonta has argued at length for their relevance to analysis of architectural appreciation[1] and his argument is sufficiently convincing to make

further argument here superfluous. We should note that for Williams such an assumption does not require comment for it constitutes a norm embedded in literary practice. On the other hand, for Boudon the problem of independence of sources is more difficult since most of his texts are derived from interviews. Recognizing the possibility of attendant bias he makes the point that the interviews were unstructured and hence that the interviewee maintained the initiative in selection of topics for discussion and in their treatment.[2]

Next, it was assumed that action can be regarded as being generally indicative of intention and hence that its study can also be used to divulge attitudinal stances. The same assumption is made implicitly by Bonta[3] and has been explicitly approved by Wayne Attoe.[4] The relevance of a study of action to research of this kind has also been demonstrated by Boudon and MacCannel: Boudon regarded the alterations the occupants made to their houses as a critical act and MacCannel saw meaning attached to the act of visiting tourist locations.

Three operations have been carried out on the material gathered from descriptions of action and from the accumulation of texts. Fistly, the usual analytical processes associated with ordering the text into a coherent whole have been applied to them. Then, to a greater degree than is common, the sources of these texts have been explored, especially when they have been explicitly acknowledged. Lastly, the processes by which

ideas have been transferred from the sources into action or text have been charted. Together the operations performed are consistent with a search for narrative and metaphorical meaning in the texts and actions which are derived from the sources and the mode of their transfer. This methodology was developed to suit the conceptual framework of appreciation outlined in the theoretical first section.

The criteria which have been selected to assess the contribution each case study makes follow:

a) that it adds to an existing body of knowledge about its topic.

b) that it re-interprets the significance of the phenomenon which it describes.

c) that it demonstrates analytical techniques which enable contributions to be made in the first two areas.

d) that it demonstrates a conceptual framework which enables it to contribute in the same way.

e) that it adds to the broader areas of understanding the institution and discipline of architecture.

In the rest of this chapter the contribution of each case study is assessed in relation to these stated criteria and, finally, some remarks are offered on the significance of the project as a whole.

2. Case Study One : The Cambridge Camden Society

Of the three topics explored in the case studies, only about one, the Cambridge Camden Society, has a substantial body of writing been produced. Therefore, only in this case must the historical contribution of the study be assessed against the work of others. The Oxford Movement has been thoroughly treated from every angle, the present study does not aim to contribute in this field but only to draw from it. Pugin, being a well-known architectural figure also has had much written about him, Phoebe Stanton's Pugin (1971) being the most sustained analysis. It is a book which concentrates upon Pugin's built work rather than his ideas and hence this study in so far as it pertains to Pugin has other concerns.

James White's book The Cambridge Movement (1962 and 1982) is the only monograph dealing with the Cambridge Camden Society but many others have written substantial essays on the Society's contribution to the Gothic Revival. Charles Eastlake (1872) presents an historical narrative, Kenneth Clark (1928) a critical examination, Basil Clarke (1938) a perceptive description of the Society's influence on church building and Nikolaus Pevsner (1972) a somewhat derivative but well-assembled essay on the Society's publications.[5] In addition, A.J. Lough has written two biographical accounts of J.M. Neale's work in the Church which include short sections on the Cambridge Camden Society. Eleanor Towle's Memoir of

J.M. Neale and E. Boyce's account of the Cambridge Camden Society contribute little. Boyce is inaccurate and Towle unperceptive. Martin Briggs' account of the Cambridge Camden Society in his book Goths and Vandals is also neglected for, on the one hand, it is highly derivative and, on the other, inaccurate and misleading.[6]

While by no means ignoring already published work, a deliberate attempt has been made in this analysis to rework the original source material rather than building on the work of others. This strategy was particularly appropriate because James White's major study of the Cambridge Camden Society did not use the diaries of Neale and Webb which have been used extensively here. As a result, the first contribution that this study makes to the history of the Cambridge Camden Society is a more accurate and more detailed knowledge of the activities of the Society, particularly of the authorship and dates of the Society's various publications. Lough is the only author cited who has used the diaries, although he has used only those of Neale and his interest in the Cambridge Camden Society is limited to Neale's involvement in it. The use of the diaries has also cast a new light on the relationship between Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society which Phoebe Stanton treats one-sidedly[7] and which has been reformulated in the case study.

Facts of this nature make a useful addition to the known history of the Society but they in no way rely on the methodology which has been outlined; other contrib-

utions of the case study do arise from its use. Close textual analysis of Cambridge Camden Society publications and a comparison of the texts under scrutiny with that of their sources has yielded valuable information. First, it has demonstrated the debt of the Cambridge Camden Society to Whewell. The source of the Church Schemes has not, so far as I am aware, been explained elsewhere. The same treatment of the Preface to Durandus Rationale Divinorum Officiorum in relation to Pugin's theory has also been productive. It is argued in the body of this work that Clark underrated the Preface, and this conclusion is reiterated here. Clark's opinion has been accepted by many including White whose analysis closely follows that of Clark and hence also by Pevsner. The narrow view of architecture taken by Clark at the time (mistakenly, as he later admitted) makes his interpretation of the Preface suspect and a more positive assessment of this key document has been presented in the case study. Further, the exact nature of the Preface's debt to Pugin has also been demonstrated.

The employment of the same methodology enables the extent to which the Cambridge Camden Society was dependent upon the Oxford Movement to be charted. This is the major contribution of the case study. Several commentators have noted this relationship and Basil Clarke has made some perceptive comments upon it but it has not before been systematically explored. Lord Clark was too antipathetic to the Cambridge Camden Society's religious viewpoint to do it justice and White in spite of his ecclesiastical

training writes little on this matter. The study shows that the understanding the Cambridge Camden Society had of Gothic churches and the action they took to care for them, renew them and replicate them were dependent upon a direct and metaphorical transfer and application of Oxford Movement theology. Such an interpretation of the philosophy and practice of the Cambridge Camden Society presents the Society as having a coherent and consistent body of thought and action. Further its philosophy is shown to be essentially religious, and even if it is not quite on the elevated intellectual plane of the Oxford Movement it cannot be dismissed as whimsical or idiosyncratic unless one is also prepared to dismiss the Oxford Movement in the same way.

To assess the contribution of this case study, especially with regard to the positive view it presents of the Cambridge Camden Society one needs to compare it with the critical opinion of others. All who have written of the Cambridge Camden Society have allowed it to have had a powerful effect on the Gothic Revival and the restoration of medieval churches, few have condoned the nature of that effect. Clark's account has been the most influential, partly due to its being the first critical assessment of the Society and partly due to the wit and style with which its case is put.

Clark found the Cambridge Camden Society's principles "distant enough from architecture to be harmless" [8] although he averred that "Had the Camden Society aimed

solely at correct symbolism and satisfactory morals, I do not think it would have done much harm ... But no good can come from limitations of style. By imposing those the Camden Society did its worst service to Gothic architecture."[9] He conceded that those in the Society "loved old buildings, or at least buildings of the right age, and they loved, though accidentally, some beautiful buildings" and that "On the whole they saved such things from destruction more often than they destroyed them." Finally, he concluded that "the Camdenians were unreasonable, overbearing and sometimes deceitful, but even at their worst they were on the right side, but the anti-philistine side."[10]

Basil Clarke perpetuated Kenneth Clark's stance, admitting the effect of the Cambridge Camden Society without allowing the legitimacy of the basis on which its influence depended. He wrote "it seems strange that such pious dreaming could have convinced anyone but they did ..."[11] Clarke is more severe than Kenneth Clark he concludes: "An incalculable amount of harm was done to old churches in the attempt to make them correct in architecture and truly symbolical."[12] Pevsner allows the contribution the Cambridge Camden Society made in charting regional differences of Gothic church architecture in England but is otherwise largely dismissive. In any case his account relies very substantially on White's and relays his former pupil Phoebe Stanton's prejudices against the Cambridge Camden Society. However, since the purpose of White's book is rather to delineate the Cambridge Camden Society's contribution to church arrange-

ment rather than to church architecture, he finds that "the Society retired victorious" and that "the extent of its victory can be found in almost every parish of the Anglican Communion."[13] White, writing at a time when the Anglican Church was embarking on a period of liturgical change, almost appears to be celebrating the end of the Society's influence.

The study of the Cambridge Camden Society undertaken here has a different orientation. It therefore makes a different, and more positive assessment of its stature and contribution emphasising the importance of its ideas rather than their material outcome. The most favourable possible assessment of the Cambridge Camden Society is one that accepts their world view in the same terms as one accepts a fiction or myth. That is an assessment in which the whole is accepted for its internal consistency and persuasiveness and from which social action ensues. Here the Cambridge Camden Society, because of its intelligent transposition of Oxford Movement theology into a system of architectural appreciation, rates highly and their world view, like the world view of the Oxford Movement has a deep aesthetic appeal.

If the Cambridge Camden Society has had, in general, a poorer image than the one which has been presented in the case study, one suspects that in part this is due to its history being presented by architects who have found it hard to accept that a rival body of experts exerted so great an influence on architecture. Here the Cambridge

Camden Society is shown firstly to be of considerable social significance as the archetype of activist conservation societies. Piggot[14] has recognized the Society as a formative influence on nineteenth century societies, but it can be seen equally well as the model for twentieth century societies seeking to impose on society at large a re-evaluation of some group of natural or man-made objects.

The Society's success in achieving its aims can be attributed to its thorough understanding of systems of appreciation and to the skill with which it employed them. It displays the application of all the mechanisms of appreciation described in the theoretical section. Conversely, by using the theoretical framework postulated for analysis the Cambridge Camden Society's body of thought has been shown to be of greater interest and depth than has been generally recognized. Hence the contribution made by this study is not confined to the Cambridge Camden Society but because of the Society's success and influence it adds another dimension of meaning to the Gothic Revival which has not been described by others.

Therefore, one can conclude that this case study makes a number of significant contributions to the history of the Cambridge Camden Society and its place in the Gothic Revival. They arise directly from the methodology and theoretical framework employed and attest that both the latter are appropriate and productive tools for an historical analysis of this kind.

3. Case Study Two : Port Arthur

The importance of the case study of Port Arthur rests in the insight it offers into the nature of public appreciation of architecture. Far from public appreciation being the debased product of the criticism of professional critics (the view advanced by Bonta[15]), the study portrays a vigorous system of involvement that is structured and meaningful. In Williams' words, visiting Port Arthur is a process expressing "in effective mediation ... and in offered and sometimes effective transcendence, human interests and purposes."[16] In this case the very real problem of wedding an historical background with which Tasmanians sought to give themselves identity to the embarrassing actual nature of that history has been focussed on Port Arthur. It has been shown to be a valuable and necessary cultural process, one primarily for Tasmanians but also for other Australians.

The study also illustrates how, in the process of its cultural use, the site has become appreciated for its own qualities; for the aesthetic value of its buildings, for the feeling of age the ruined buildings impart and as a monument to the site's specific history. The way in which these dimensions of appreciation interact with one another is demonstrated in the study. In this case we can see that MacCannel's thesis that tourists visit sites to define their modern world is inadequate, although it partly outlines the processes described here.

Then, the study displays the relationship between individual interpretations of the site and the views of the community at large. Imaginative interpretations by individuals can be very effectively transmitted to others as the influence of His Natural Life shows. But Clarke's was not the only influence and others have also contributed to current modes of appreciation. Further, the study demonstrates that individual example was not the only mechanism at work that led to change in modes of appreciation. Larger events and intellectual climates affecting the whole community also affected architectural appreciation. In this respect it is Bonta's postulated mechanism for change in critical stance that is seen to be limited in scope.

On the other hand, the study provides an excellent illustration of Riegl's constituents of value.[17] Historical value and age-value are indirectly illustrated by the descriptions of historical appreciation and appreciation of age in Port Arthur. As long as one admits that value is dependent upon, or is a significant part of, appreciation (and Riegl is not wholly explicit on this matter) then the connection can be made, indeed the case study indicates that it should be. At the same time the case study illustrates Riegl's contemporary values; use-value, relative art-value and newness value and these do much to explain the current opposing attitudes to managing the site, called in the case study 'materialism' and 'consumerism'. Riegl points out that recognition of historical value of a monument points to its preservation, while

recognition of its age-value demands its gradual deterioration. The current aesthetic emphasis on the re-recognition of message, together with a return to Victorian values of newness, and the use of the site for tourism conflate into a policy of 'consumerism' while 'materialism' can be seen to be the result of primary importance being accorded to historical value.

We can conclude that Riegl's analysis of the value of monuments imparts additional depth to the analysis of this case study and that the case study well illustrates his model of value. Riegl's definition of value is perhaps most deficient in his understanding of the wider cultural use of monuments and it is clear that Williams' and Gombrich's wider vision more nearly conforms to the ultimate value of the site of Port Arthur which is demonstrated to be an object of wide-ranging cultural importance. Such analysis also has a practical outcome. It is contended here that studies like this one can present a better basis for planning the presentation of historic sites or monuments and a sounder rationale for tourism than has been developed to date.[18] Further, that this particular study could perform the same function for Port Arthur with a beneficial effect.

Of less moment, though still of considerable academic interest is the way the case study demonstrates that systems of public appreciation can be charted and understood. In common with the studies of Boudon and Bonta textual analysis is shown to be a productive technique that can be instrumental in demonstrating changes within

the institution of architecture which otherwise have been too little explored. This study, like that of Boudon and Bonta, contributes to this area of interest and demonstrates the contribution it can make to understanding architecture as a whole.

The anatomy of appreciation and its social organization outlined in the first chapter have been used to analyse the actions and texts relating to Port Arthur. It is claimed that this framework of analysis enables a complex and diffuse discourse to be understood and its significance assessed. In short, it is claimed that in the terms set out in this chapter the case study is a success.

4. Case Study Three : Charles Jencks

This study is less complex than the other two and consequently its analysis is more clear cut and its demonstration of the mechanisms of appreciation sharper. It is used in this thesis with a twofold purpose. First as a demonstration of an individual's basis for appreciation and then as an exploration of the critic's role within the overall framework of appreciation that has been postulated. The study presents a good picture of the way in which the inductive processes of transfer are used. It contrasts the manner in which Jencks drew on Richards and Gombrich and transferred some of their theory into his own system and the way in which he translated Arendt's work into his own. In each case the manner of the transfer and its consequences for the resulting critical stance have been explored in detail and the process of transfer has been exhibited.

The study also explains the way in which Jencks' first critical base was discarded for his second and how, in turn, it too was superseded. In both cases Jencks placed considerable emphasis on imaginative appreciation of architecture by individuals. In the earlier model differing individual responses are explained in terms of differing ideologies and the critic is seen as having a more inclusive and therefore less biased view than the individual. However, as Jencks came to see, this view of individual freedom of interpretation was incompatible with

the rest of his framework, and it was the framework, based on objectivity, that was consequently discarded.

In his second stance Jencks frankly admits that the critic's viewpoint is like that of others in that all are equally subjective. This is a schema in which the critic has little authority for the role which he plays other than the interest of the opinion he expresses and its persuasiveness. It is here that Jencks defines a role for the critic which is compatible with the whole schema of appreciation postulated in the theoretical section of this thesis.

A scrutiny of his book makes it apparent why Jencks was not able to sustain this role, he had, in fact, no strong ideological base of his own from which to make his criticism, and his use of Arendt failed to furnish it. It was a role from which Jencks retreated precipitously to the safety of a position of more clearly cut critical authority which was concerned with the formal appreciation of architecture. That is, he rejected a position of personal political or social commitment for a position of formalism and its traditional pose of disinterestedness.

Hence, this study is of value in being the first to seriously examine Charles Jencks' work. To date, Jencks has been ignored by other critics but at the same time his work, particularly his book The Language of Post Modern Architecture has been more widely distributed than that of almost all other critics.[19] His vocabulary has been widely accepted and it has influenced much architectural comment.

Therefore, to regard Jencks as trivial or lightweight, as many do, is to underrate his widespread influence or its importance.

This study then is of value in exploring Jencks' early critical bases, thus adding to the understanding of Jencks as a critic. In view of the closeness of the nature of his critical bases to those of the general public, this case study may also provide some explanation of Jencks' popular acceptance and his rejection by the architectural critical elite, a position which in spite of his later change in stance he has been unable to recoup.

In making a study of a critic's work, the process of taking sources seriously and making a detailed textual analysis to define the exact nature of their use cannot be regarded as innovative. Although, the thoroughness with which this exercise is undertaken here is perhaps less usual, a few studies of this nature have explored the mechanisms by which such transfers take place.[20] The study can be regarded as a demonstration of a promising avenue of analysis and one that could be more widely applied, it is, for instance, used here in the comparison between Jencks and Frampton both of whom took Arendt as a major source of their critical armoury.

So here again it is claimed that the topic is of some importance, that its methodology is of interest and that the consequent analysis contributes to the topic which it explores.

5. Conclusion: some general remarks

In short, it is claimed that in each of the case studies the research that has been undertaken and its presentation have particular value and that the approach adopted has led to a re-assessment and a deeper understanding of all three topics; of the reasons for the Cambridge Camden Society being a power in the Victorian Gothic Revival, of the role of Port Arthur in developing Australian historical consciousness and of Charles Jencks as a critic.

It has been argued that the intellectual and social aspects of the framework of architectural appreciation postulated in the first chapter was to be used as the basis of analysis of the case studies and that their success would test its value. So far the argument presented in this chapter has been directed to this end, and it is claimed that the chapter has demonstrated that the aim of the thesis has been achieved; that it has demonstrated not only the particular historical value of the case studies but also by implication conceptual and methodological values. The case studies have demonstrated the usefulness of the methodology employed, and the importance of the theoretical framework as a tool of analysis.

However, it is also suggested that the case studies are sufficiently convincing to indicate that the framework postulated has more importance than a methodological conceptual tool. The few case studies presented here

cannot, of course, constitute a ratification of the theoretical framework, but they do point towards the framework being accepted as a realistic and comprehensive description of the nature of architectural appreciation. Hence the value of the thesis might be accepted in wider terms than those originally postulated, and be seen to have made the following contributions:

(a) As having described a mode of architectural appreciation that has been little described previously.

(b) As having demonstrated ways in which the phenomenon of architectural appreciation and its attendant mechanisms can be described, analysed and understood.

(c) As having illustrated that cases of appreciation present an interesting and revealing aspect of architecture.

(d) As having demonstrated that architectural appreciation is a process of importance for the development of cultural attitudes in communities.

Considered in this way the thesis affirms that some buildings are of importance for the value of the part they play in this process, and that the conservation of buildings that might be used in this process or which enable it to take place is of importance to society. Further, it might be claimed that the role of a building acting in this way constitutes a large part of its value. To understand the basis of value of buildings visited by the public was, as has been stated, the motivation for the research work and analysis carried out in this thesis and the goal to which it has been directed, it is here the author chooses to rest.

X. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: EARLY EDITIONS OF 'CHURCH SCHEMES'

The information included in this section was drawn from a study of the annotated Church Schemes held by the R.I.B.A. Library and the Lambeth Palace Library. It was not possible to identify all editions from the collections held. It is of interest to note how closely the amendments follow the Society's changing concerns.

The earliest edition of the Church Schemes

I. GROUND PLAN

II. INTERIOR

i. Chancel

1. High Altar
2. Altar Screen
3. Sancte Bell
4. Piscinae
5. Sedilia
6. Easter Sepulchre
7. East Window
8. Windows (N.
(S.
9. Chancel Arch
10. Roof

ii. Transept N.

1. Windows N.
E.
W.
2. Roof

iii. Transept S.

1. Windows N.
E.
W.

iv. Nave

1. Nave Arch
2. Rood Loft and Staircase
3. Piers
4. Clerestory
5. Triforia
6. Belfry Arch
7. West Window
8. Windows (N.
(S.
9. Roof

v. Aisles (N.
(S.
1. Sedilia and Piscinae
2. Chantry
3. Roof

vi. 'Ornaments', etc.

1. Font
2. Altar Stone
3. Brasses
4. Heraldry
5. Benaturas
6. Pulpit
7. Eagledesks and Lecterns
8. Misereres and Poppy Heads
9. Niches
10. Aumbraÿes
11. Corbels
12. Stone Coffins
13. Stained Glass
14. Brackets
15. Banners and Armour
16. Crypt
17. Mouldings
18. Fald Stool
19. Arcades
20. Confessional

III. EXTERIOR

1. Tower
2. Bells
3. Beacon Towers
4. Porches
5. Buttresses
6. Gurgoyles
7. Pinnacles
8. Parapets
9. Mouldings
10. Pinnacle Crosses
11. Figures
12. Parvises

IV.

1. Crosses
2. Lynch Gate
3. Coped Coffins
4. Sundials

Observanda

Position of Font
Position of Commandments
Evangelistical Symbols
Comparative date of N. and S. aisles
Epitaphs

1st EDITION no date, no Cambridge Camden Society heading, ½/quarto size pamphlet, printed on 3 pages
(filled in December 1839 and January 1840)

2nd EDITION no date, no Cambridge Camden Society heading, no additional items
(filled in June, July, August 1840)

3rd EDITION ditto, but with Cambridge Camden Society heading
(filled in June, September 1840)
'Roofs' taken out of each section and put under 'ornaments'

Added 'Font, position and description' in separate section
'Tower' more details and 'bells'

Miscellaneous items
- Ancient painting
- Comparative height of Chancel and Nave
- Connection of Church with Manse
- Time of Wake or Feast
- Conventual Remains
- Antiquity of Registers
- Position of Commandments and Royal Arms

Heraldry
Monuments
Epitaphs
Brasses
Stained glass
Chapels

4th EDITION (?)

5th EDITION (filled in February 1841)

Added
- altar fittings
- aumbraye) formerly in ornaments
- niches) formerly in ornaments
- altar candlesticks
- altar rails
- table with carved legs
- steps number and arrangement
- N. and S. Chancel Aisles
- Chancel arch
- Stalls and misereres
- Chancel seats
- Elevation of chancel
- Lantern

Altered Roof and groining under each section - removed from 'ornaments'

Expanded details of tower, thickness of walls
'general character of tower as peculiar to the district or adapted to scenery or situation'

Added to 'exterior' - 'masonry'

Altered 'crypt' now as separate section

Expanded conventual remains

Added
- Remains of embroidered work
- Images of Saints
- Stone sepulchres
- Merchants' marks

Labelled '5th edition'

6th EDITION

Added 'Prospect of restoration - by whom to be conducted - and with what funds'

Labelled '6th edition'

7th EDITION Substantially like 5th and 6th editions with the heading 'The Society trusts that its Members, while pursuing their Antiquarian researches, will never forget the respect due to the sacred character of the edifices which they visit'

Added cross

Labelled 7th edition

8th EDITION (?)

9th EDITION

Deleted heading of 7th edition

Added
- General State of Repair
- Late alterations - when - by whom - and in what taste

Annotations of early Church Schemes
in RIBA Library

	1839	1840	1841	TOTAL
Webb	12	57	54	123
Neale	6	48	40	94
Total number in collection	12	65	60	137

Note: Numbers do not total because Neale and Webb often visited together, as well as in the company of others.

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APPENDIX 2:

Extracts from The Mercury: Reaction to a proposal to make a new film of His Natural Life at Port Arthur in 1926

In 1926 a series of editorials and letters appeared in The Mercury, the first one began:

> Good name is for people themselves to defend - a delicate matter for others to interfere in. But he who loses his good name, said a Roman of old, "with what can he support himself in future?" Iago said to Othello, "He that filches from me my good name robs me of that which not enriches him, and makes me poor indeed!" It is not always so! The good name of a whole community may be filched from them in these days for the sake of gain and nothing but gain. We have waited - perhaps too long, though it is a matter of two or three days only - to see how born Tasmanians themselves took the proposal to film the story "For the Term of His Natural Life"; and now not only have we appeals and protests from all classes, which cannot be disregarded, but the "Argus" has set an example, particularly chivalrous as coming from Victoria, by declaring that nothing can be more offensive to Australian feeling, or a more provocative affront, than the carrying out of this hateful project. It is fair to say that there are persons, Tasmanian born, whose anxiety to assist anything whatever that may enable the State to keep its good name, in a financial and political sense, has led them to take a different view. Feeling that their own good name cannot be besmirched, they have been misled by that specious comparison of Port Arthur with the Tower of London, a relic of antiquity whose history has pages assuredly "gruesome" enough, as Mr. Gibson has said, yet one which nobody would propose to sequester from the tourist on that account. We cannot support that view, and we believe it is not the view of the great majority of our readers, desirous though they be of encouraging any business enterprise that will help their State to retain economic and financial solvency. In our opinion the filming of the story named would be, as the Hobart and Launceston members of the Royal Society aver, one of the worst advertisements that Tasmania could possibly have.
>
> There are higher and more important considerations than those of business or financial solvency involved in keeping one's "good name." It is a matter of extreme regret that any paltering whatever

> should be countenanced where it is a question between money and morals, as touching the future reputation of Tasmania with the world. "I would rather make my name than inherit it," wrote Thackeray. When at last Van Diemen's Land's desperate protests were listened to, and the Mother Country announced that she would cease to send her undesirables here - now over seventy years ago! - the people were so alive to the value of a name to be made, as compared with that inherited, that they unanimously resolved to turn over the page of history that was ended and start a new life under a new name. "Van Diemen's Land" ceased as such to exist in 1855. "Tasmania" has no convict record to bring a blush to the cheek of any of her daughters. Why proclaim to the whole world, with the indelible impress of the latest scientific method of reaching memory through the eyes and the emotions, that "Tasmania" is the old "Van Diemen's Land?" It is inhuman cruelty. Even criminals and convicts are suffered to forget their past if they so wish. Is a State, a whole community, to be denied the possibility of "living it down"? This proposed film, shown even in many a country where English is not spoken, will stigmatise us for ever!
>
> What is likely to be the effect of bringing before unthinking people in the Empire, in America, and in other countries all over the world, the hideous happenings of a re-imagined past that even by the mute stones of Port Arthur prompts good Englishmen and good Australians to exclaim, when they hear the stories as visitors, "What brutes! - what cruel fiends!" Is that the kind of thing to help either the Empire, or England, or Tasmania, or the English-speaking ideal, or the Peace of the world? Peace and Goodwill - those are what we need for the poor suffering world; not money-making "pictures" that might drive some to frenzy and others to shame and despair of progress.

The editorial concludes:

> It is the reputation of England, more than that of Tasmania, that is at stake in this unhappy project. [1]

The next day another editorial appeared expanding on the same theme:

> Even in the effects upon the good name of Tasmania this is a bad influence; for English or other people of means and education, such as we should naturally wish to come out here to live in our beautiful and healthy island, the State of all Australia best suited for them, are the very class of people who

> habitually pay most attention to the question of the breeding, type and character of their neighbours in selecting a new home. Everybody knows, too, how sweeping generalisations get fixed upon a country for very slight reason. New Zealand, for instance, is always spoken of by visitors as a splendid example of the successful colonisation of a new country when the "right stock" is chosen. Whose fault is it that every Australian State cannot have a similar testimonial? The fault is that of the British authorities of the earlier part of the last century, who used "transportation" less for the purpose of giving their surplus population a new chance in a new country - such as Mr. Micawber had in Dicken's fine novel "David Copperfield" when he left for Australia - than to get rid of their undesirables, whether half-sane wastrels, real criminals, political rebels, or anti-Trinitarian thinkers. We believe the ill-effects of all this are quite over-rated; in any case it all ended, except in the case of West Australia, a long lifetime ago. And "Tasmania," under this name, has no such blot on her 'scutcheon. But who does not understand how ignorant and emotional people, or for that matter, people not at all ignorant, can be stirred themselves, or can stir other people, by pictured dramatic scenes of the kind that are selected for their "thrill" or other effectiveness. [2]

The matter was then discussed in the Tasmanian Legislative Council, where the Hon. C.J. Eady was reported as saying:

> ... members doubtless knew of the proposal to film the story and depict incidents that had occurred during the convict days at Port Arthur, which would, no doubt, include scenes depicting the horrors of those old times ... Such a thing he regarded as most undesirable. (Hear, hear.) ... They did not want an advertisement of that nature to go out to the world. (Hear, hear.) [3]

The Council of Churches in Victoria disapproved of the scheme and voiced their opinion in no uncertain terms:

> It is urged that the story is of incidents which Australians can well afford to forget, and of which it is undesirable to remind the growing generation; that the exhibition of such a picture can do no other than produce a degrading effect; that it will be difficult to prevent it reaching the overseas market, and, if shown among other peoples, would lower us in their eyes. [4]

Several letters to The Mercury supported the kinds of views already expressed, one signed by Richard Hilder (aged 70 years) asked:

> Can we trust Americans who will largely take part in such a production as that suggested, not to make the more sordid portions of Marcus Clark's novel particularly sordidly attractive? However good the "intentions" of Mr. Gibson and his company to exclude all the brutal and repulsive scenes, the bare fact of the publication of Mr. Gibson's disclaimer will at once arouse curiosity-mongers, who may up to the present be ignorant of the fact that such awful exhibitions once upon a time were familiar in our fair isle, and that we have been able, under the good providence of God, to live such down.
>
> Secondly, is it fair or justly reasonable that for the sake of filthy lucre gained by a big company the rising generation of the whole Commonwealth should have enacted before their eyes such scenes as prevailed at Port Arthur and Macquarie Harbour in the convict history of Tasmania (from which the other States were comparatively free), and which she, as a Crown colony, was powerless to prevent? The very title of the film will give encouragement to many to read or re-read Marcus Clarke's novel (written with big imagination). But to my mind the printed page, however sordid, is not half so powerful to stir the emotions and prompt the imagination as a picture film.
>
> To our everlasting credit real Tasmanians have overwhelmingly blotted out the stigma produced by the convict system. And the majority of our finest citizens have no wish to have revived and blazoned by flaring pictures throughout Australia the sad and sordid features of the convict days, which should be kept securely locked in the dead past.
>
> In conclusion I repeat my protest on behalf of thousands of my fellow-countrymen and women, who say with me, "Let the past lie buried fast." And our desire is that the Australian Films Limited be frustrated in their intention to belittle Tasmania. [5]

And another correspondent wrote in part:

> It is cruel from every point of view to revive the sins and mistakes, whether of the Government or individuals. An English lady lecturer who was here many years ago said she supposed we still suffered from the taint of the convict days. If such an idea is still possible, how very much the proposed film would increase it!

The letter concluded:

> I have never read the book; the first chapter or two was enough for me. I wish every copy had been burnt, also that all the awful buildings at Port Arthur had been pulled down, instead of using them for a sensational sight-seeing tourist crowd. [6]

Others were more skeptical of the film's allegedly disastrous effects. One, E.P.W., questioned its ill effect on immigration and saw other advantages as being derived from it.

> Are the class of people whom we desire here unable to differentiate the present-day Tasmania from the ancient Van Diemen's Land? - as undoubtedly the State will be titled - or are we to imagine they are so dense as not to be capable of knowing by the wording and titling and dates before their very eyes, that it is a story of a dark age that they are watching? It is but waste of your valuable space to have to refer to history again, but would the quite recent filming of Ancient Rome throwing her Christians to the lions prevent any of us paying a visit to Mussolini? No, we realise the present-day Rome has no connection, so to speak, with ancient Rome and her barbarous devices. So it is, then, with Tasmania, and Van Diemen's Land. Let the picture be filmed here, and the industry encouraged, so that we may advertise our beautiful island, encourage more promoters to visit us. [7]

Another, Harold S.R. Wright appeared to find attitudes expressed in The Mercury to have been overstated:

> I am surprised at the great opposition that has arisen to the filming of the book. We Tasmanians are not in any way responsible for the policy of the British Government of the day, and even if it is a blot on their fair fame, theirs is a reputation as a whole that can stand it. I heard the following true story anent Port Arthur in those days. A nurse girl was asked by an official there to come home to England with them, and he would pay her passage back. She refused, and on being asked why, replied: That is where all the convicts come from. [8]

E.D. tried to achieve a balanced view:

> England was not the cruel stepmother sending naughty children into exile, but a wise mother acting on the guidance of her wisest sons, sending her surplus population to the space they needed, the spaces that needed them. The convict system was established. It was a political move to people a new country, and relieve an overburdened population. Evils crept in as such will do into any movement, even as disease into the human system; but the big idea was there, and later, willing immigrants were assisted and wealthier ones encouraged.
>
> Even amongst the notorious criminals there must have been some good material, for as the "free man" with his family and dependents drifted in in over increasing numbers to stand side by side with the "convict," evil seemed to vanish and the foundation of Australia was laid. Can any Australian blush for his country today?
>
> The fact that a great many of these convicts were not in any sense criminals at all, is history: and instances can even be given of those who committed petty thefts, to come "within the law" so that they might be convicted and sent out to Australia. This was before assisting immigrants was established, but shows that the degradation surrounding the convict system was somewhat imaginary. But those evils which did creep in, and against which England took very stern measures, did degrade the system; for the authorities may have been testing the first step in psychological treatment of prisoners; the men who had charge of them certainly knew nothing, and met brute failing with more brutal force.
>
> If any picture could be produced which gave the heart stuff of Marcus Clarke's book and the psychological ideals of the system with their proved material results, the production of this picture now, and in Tasmania, might do both Tasmania and the world a lot of good. [9]

While others whole-heartedly approved of the proposal:

> The Model Parliament, composed of members of the Constitutional Club, at its weekly meeting last night unanimously approved of the decision to film in Tasmania the novel, "For the Term of His Natural Life."
>
> During the course of the proceedings, Mr. Pedder moved the adjournment of the House in order to draw attention to the matter of the filming of the book. He thought that perhaps the picture was being produced a generation too soon, but on the whole, it was better to have it done here under supervision than have an exaggerated and untrue version produced in America.

> Professor Taylor feared that Tasmania might suffer harm for any attempt to prevent the production. He pointed out that America had never vetoed the filming of the darker portions of her history.
>
> Mr Rowntree gave an interesting account of his own experience of historical sights in England and America, many of which recalled most gruesome events, but tourists were greatly attracted and diverted by the stories, especially those most exaggerated.
>
> Messrs. Gellibrand, Sidwell and others spoke in the same strain. Mr. Jarvis urged that historical truth should not be objected to.
>
> Mr. O'Connor moved, - "That this House agrees with the proposal to film the book in Tasmania."
>
> Mr. Barnett supported the motion, which was carried unanimously. [10]

And a particularly effective attack on the detractors of the scheme came from 'A member of the Scenario Writers' Forum, America, and Photoplaywrights' League.' He wrote:

> "The Term of His Natural Life" is far too near the bitter truth to make a picture as it stands. It would not be profitable ... I doubt if any producer would be heartless enough to even attempt a picture sticking strictly to real happenings at Port Arthur (as portrayed in official records in my possession). Such a gruesome story would not pay for the amount of raw film used. If a person dabbles in foreign history - be it ever so dark - he is classed here as a "student." Let him discuss local happenings. Mention the indisputable fact that the convicts were Englishmen, sentenced in England by Englishmen, deported in British ships to an English colony of torture, and you are heralded as "unpatriotic!" I quite agree with those who have talked of "frowsiness." If a stronger term would arouse the slumberers and instil a little genuine "Yankee pep" there would hardly be so much concern over our dwindling population, the result of lack of "go-ahead" methods, coupled with pig-headed opposition to modern development and new ideas which have made other countries prosperous. [11]

Others supported or rejected the proposal to make the film on more academic grounds. For instance, the Royal Society condemned the proposal "On the grounds that the novel "For the Term of His Natural Life" was not true to

history, and that its picturisation would be harmful to white prestige, ..." after Mr A.N. Lewis had moved:

> That the Royal Society of Tasmania learns with grave apprehension of the proposal to make a cinema representation of Marcus Clarke's novel, "For the Term of His Natural Life," as the book does not represent true history, and since the tradition of American cinema producers is contrary to the representation of true history, and that these people have shown only an ability to pervert facts for money-making purposes, this society condemns the proposal, considers such a production to be against the best interests of Tasmania and historical studies, and directs its council to join in any opposition to the scheme, and to do what lies in its power to discourage it.

He also said that:

> ... the novel did not represent what actually happened At Port Arthur. Anyone who had studied the history of Tasmania knew that Port Arthur played a very unimportant part. If this were a proposal to film real history he would commend it. There was really nothing to be ashamed of in that. [12]

The Bishop of Tasmania continued the debate, and said that:

> There was no doubt that the effect of the showing of a film from "For the Term of His Natural Life" on minds not gifted with the power of discrimination would be very serious for Tasmania, Australia, the British Empire, and the white race generally. It was not only to be a film to exhibit to Australian people; it was to be world-wide. For his part, he would prefer to see everything associated with the days of Port Arthur scrapped for ever. New South Wales had scrapped all its associations with the days of penal settlements, and he saw no reason why Tasmania should not do likewise. Port Arthur was a very attractive place, quite apart from its convict associations. To see those things there gave him the "blues" every time he went there.

and

> Dr. Crowther supported the motion, remarking that the days which it was proposed to depict were brutal and degrading. Their forefathers had fought for the cessation of transportation, and he did not see why Tasmanians today should allow the record of those days or an alleged record - to go on in perpetuity.

On the other hand:

> The chairman (Mr. L. Rodway), prior to putting the motion, remarked that he could not see what good purpose would be served by agreeing to it, seeing that they could not put it into practice if it were carried. He thought, with Mr. Cummins, that too much was being made of the question. It would be better to leave the matter alone.
>
> The modified motion was put and agreed to by a small majority. [13]

The Constitutional Club was all for the making of the film. Mr E.W. Turner, speaking at one of their meetings said:

> ... the question of whether the film was or was not to be made seemed to be largely a question as to whether we were or were not going to please ourselves as to which parts of our history we remembered, and which we found it convenient to forget. [14]

And in a similar vein 'Fair Play' wrote:

> Apropos the suggestion to destroy all evidence, whether in stone, photographs, film or other records of the early history of Tasmania, this is almost impossible, and will not wipe out historical facts, while by palliating the proposed picture, which a producer always considers his prerogative to make it more agreeable to public taste, a quite opposite effect may be achieved to that feared by those antagonistic to the scheme. [15]

In searching for a compromise, several people suggested that if a descriptive image of modern Tasmania could accompany the film its ill-effects would be ameliorated. For instance, 'A Tasmanian Woman' wrote:

> ... we have men in Tasmania who have gone to much trouble and expense, and from north, south, east, and west have garnered photographs of our island's scenic beauties, its flora and fauna, etc., and have also made and hand-coloured most beautiful lantern slides, and are ready at any time to give lantern lectures. Perhaps the time will come when these will be used to advertise and educate, at home and abroad. [16]

And 'Another Tasmanian' wrote:

> No doubt the company has gone to considerable expense in coming to Australia, and it is, perhaps only fair that Tasmanians should place facilities in their way to enable them to make a different picture. Could not the committee of the Come to Tasmania movement, the City Council, and the Tourist Bureau work, in conjunction with the film company, in enabling them to see and film the unsurpassed scenery of the State? Ample scope is afforded from such spots as Eaglehawk Neck, Fern Tree, Waterworks, Derwent Valley and Salmon Ponds. National-park, including the beautiful lakes, tarns, and the highlands, East Coast, Scamander, Weldborough, the Cataract Gorge, and the famous rivers on the West Coast. An insight could be given to the industries, some of which are unique. The Zinc Works and Messrs. Cadbury's are both set amidst beautiful surroundings, and for the sake of the advertisement the proprietors should be only too pleased for the processes to be filmed. The fruit-growing and wool centres could be introduced, as both these are amongst some of the finest in the world.[17]

While Mr O'Connor hoped that:

> ... the Government would co-operate with the promoters in order to secure for Tasmania the best advertisement possible by the inclusion of appropriate views of the State's best scenery.[18]

R.A. Moore was of the same opinion:

> As it now appears that the people of Tasmania will have to suffer, with the best possible grace, the screening of the film version of Marcus Clarke's novel, it is suggested that the Tasmanian Government should choose the lesser of two evils, and render the promoters every possible assistance in order to make sure that the picture is well made. If this is done, it should be easy to arrange with the directors to show at the conclusion of each performance a few "shots" of modern Tasmania, comprising an aerial view of Hobart and surroundings, including the hydro scheme, and some of our chief industries. This should tend to minimise the unpleasantness resulting from a resurrection of unsavoury episodes of the days when the system held sway.[19]

The Mercury continued its policy of opposition to the filming and concluded:

The book is being far too much advertised by this unfortunate discussion, and the effects are wholly bad, but those of a picture will be a thousand times worse - to Tasmania as perpetuating a foul stigma upon the heredity of the State's population, and to patriotic sentiment in the Empire, and British prestige outside, by placing British rule in the worst possible light - for a very small proportion of those who see the film in future will know how long ago were the incidents and characters that are made to live again before their eyes. The comparisons with other books and historic episodes are beside the mark. It is the specific effects that must be considered in each case. Imagine the effect of filming the execution of the Mutineers in India, or "Slagter's Neck" in South Africa, or the court-martial of rebels in Ireland. Why pick upon a tale that every decent person wants to forget? It casts a cruel slur upon living people, and for its anti-British influence upon ignorant minds might well be a piece of enemy propaganda, to pave the way for a Communistic insurrection or a new war.[20]

APPENDIX 3

A description of His Natural Life
including Clarke's preface

Marcus Clarke was born in England in 1846. His mother died when he was young and his father, a lawyer, who was at first eccentric and later insane, died when Clarke was sixteen leaving him with relatively little money. Clarke immigrated to Melbourne, where he gradually became established as a journalist. He married an actress, Marian Dunn in 1869; the marriage producing six children in rapid succession. To keep them, Clarke took a job as clerk to the Trustees of the Public Library of Victoria, and subsequently as sub-librarian. Clarke was in many ways an attractive figure, both sociable and likeable, although he had increasing difficulties with an over-active consumption of money and alcohol. He was declared bankrupt in 1874 and again in 1881. On the first occasion his debts were discharged partly through the sale of his personal library, on the second occasion he was unable to meet his debts and, hence, was obliged to resign from his post at the library, he died shortly afterwards.

Clarke visited Port Arthur in 1870. His Natural Life appeared in serial form over the next two years, published by The Australian Journal. The three articles describing his visit to Tasmania appeared in The Argus in 1873 after the serial had been completed. Meanwhile, Clarke was revising His Natural Life, the revised book version was

published first in 1874 by George Robertson in Sydney and then a year later in England by Richard Bentley and Son. [1]

Clarke's work consists of a bulk of journalism, which is lively, forthright and well observed. It is notable for the extent of its social comment and his antipathy on occasion to the Church of England and to Jews. In addition, he wrote critical articles and short stories, adapted plays, wrote songs and produced three and a half novels, including His Natural Life. Shortly after he died a selection from his work was collected into a Memorial volume which appeared in 1886 and for which Lord Rosebery accepted the dedication and wrote what amounted to a preface. Although Clarke has been chiefly associated with His Natural Life his other work, particularly his journalism has quite recently received renewed critical attention.

The revised book version of His Natural Life is very much shorter than the serial; both the preface and the sequel to the convict section were almost totally excised in the revision. The book version has a short introductory section establishing the main character Richard Devine or Rufus Dawes as a gentleman, although a bastard, and one not guilty of the crime for which he was subsequently deported. The rest of the book is divided into five roughly equal sections. The first depicts the voyage out to Australia; the second, Dawes' incarceration at the Macquarie Harbour penal settlement; the next, his subsequent escape and his rescue of Sylvia and Lieutenant Frere; the next, his unjust imprisonment at Port Arthur;

and the last, his ultimate degradation at Norfolk Island which is only terminated by his death.

The other main characters in the book; Sylvia the young girl whom Dawes loves, Lieutenant Frere who persecutes him at every turn, and the Reverend North who befriends him as much as his addiction to alcohol will allow, are all closely bound to Dawes, to each other and to the action of the densely packed novel. In addition, each of the major characters is contrasted with another person whose life runs in parallel but whose character is very different. Dawes is counterpoised by his self-seeking half-brother and fellow convict, John Rex. The somewhat passive Sylvia contrasts with Sarah Purfoy who loves John Rex and effectively arranges his escape, the Rev. North with the pompous, foolish Rev. Meecham, and the cruel but strong Maurice Frere with Sylvia's father, his own father-in-law, who is humanitarian but weak. Similarly, the murderer and cannibal, Gabbett is set against another convict Kirkland whose fate is to be violated by others. Thus, in this as well as in other ways the book can be described as being strongly structured. It is also convincingly written and uses its sources well. Clarke had read quite widely in his preparation for writing the book as its appendix and the list of Clarke's own library show.[2] Since critical opinion of His Natural Life has been obviously influenced by Clarke's dedication it is quoted below. Subsequent editions shorten the dedication by omitting the first and last paragraphs thus converting it to a preface.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES, - I take leave to dedicate this work to you, not merely because your nineteen years of political and literary life in Australia render it very fitting that any work written by a resident in the colonies, and having to do with the history of past colonial days, should bear your name upon its dedicatory page, but because - although a portion of the story has already appeared in an Australia serial - the publication of the book itself in its present form, is due to your advice and encouragement.

The convict of fiction has been hitherto shown only at the beginning or at the end of his career. Either his exile has been the mysterious end to his misdeeds, or he has appeared upon the scene to claim interest by reason of an equally unintelligible love of crime acquired during his experience in a penal settlement. Charles Reade has drawn the interior of a house of correction in England, and Victor Hugo has shown how a French convict fares after the fulfilment of his sentence. But no writer - so far as I am aware - has attempted to depict the dismal condition of a felon during his term of transportation.

I have endeavoured in "His Natural Life" to set forth the working and the results of an English system of transportation carefully considered and carried out under official supervision; and to illustrate in a manner best calculated, as I think, to attract general attention, the inexpediency of again allowing offenders against the law to be herded together in places remote from the wholesome influence of public opinion, and to be submitted to a discipline which must necessarily depend for its just administration upon the personal character and temper of their gaolers.

Your critical faculty will doubtless find, in the construction and artistic working of this book, many faults. I do not think, however, that you will discover any exaggerations. Some of the events narrated are doubtless tragic and terrible; but I hold it needful to my purpose to record them, for they are events which have actually occurred, and which, if the blunders which produced them be repeated, must infallibly occur again. It is true that the British Government have ceased to deport the criminals of England, but the method of punishment, of which that deportation was a part, is still in existence. Port Blair is a Port Arthur filled with Indian-men instead of English-men; and, within the last year, France has established, at New Caledonia, a penal settlement which will, in the natural course of things, repeat in its own annals the history of Macquarie Harbour and of Norfolk Island.

> With this brief preface I beg you to accept the volume. I would that its merits were equal either to your kindness or to my regard. [3]

The mood of the book, and to a lesser extent of the serial, is one of unrelieved gloom and relentless negation. The penal system is described with a degree of sadism, made horrific rather by what is implied than by what is explicity described. While the good in all the principal characters is inexorably corroded by its influence; Dawes' degradation, Sylvia's deeply-seated evasion, Frere's brutalization and North's humiliation are all dwelt upon at length. The climax of the novel in which Sylvia and Dawes are drowned in each other's arms is a release not only for them but also for the reader; an overwhelming sense of relief accompanies the close of the book.

APPENDIX 4

The popularity of His Natural Life: A survey of its printings

Some idea of public reception of Clarke's His Natural Life can be gained from an examination of the number of copies of it that were printed and sold and from the prices they commanded. It is with this purpose in mind that the following survey of the printings of His Natural Life has been carried out.

His Natural Life was first published in Melbourne in the Australian Journal. It appeared in serial form in copies issued between March 1870 and June 1873, during which period the magazine's circulation dropped.[1] Nevertheless it was re-run in the same journal, this time in double-length episodes beginning in September 1881 shortly after Clarke's death, when it appears to have been more favourably received.[2] It was run again between September 1886 and January 1888 and for the last time, over a longer period June 1913 to November 1915.[3]

Once the serial version had been completed the work was shortened and revised by Clarke. The revised version was published in book form first in 1874 by George Robertson of Sydney "probably in a small run",[4] and then a year later in Britain by Richard Bentley and Son. The first edition issued by Bentley's was of 750 copies each comprising 3 volumes which sold together for £1-11-6d.[5] The size

of the edition was consistent with Bentley's practice of issuing books by various authors in a small edition which was destined mainly for the circulating libraries. In this way they were able to test the popularity of such novels before making a more substantial investment. The price was the standard one agreed by what amounted to a cartel of London publishers.[6] The edition sold slowly and about one-third of the books were remaindered at one third of the published price.[7] All the same the publishers were sufficiently encouraged by the sales to issue a second edition of 2000 copies each of which was priced at 6/-. Of these probably more than half were sent to Australia. A third edition of 1522 copies followed "the majority of which were intended for Australia,"[8] and which used for the first time the longer title For the Term of His Natural Life. It was not until Bentley issued a fourth edition for sale only in Australia and at the further reduced price of 2/6d a copy that sales soared. During the two years 1885 and 1886, 19,000 copies were printed and another 22,000 copies were printed between 1888 and 1898. Some of these were sold in Britain but the vast majority were sold in Australia. By the time the firm of Bentley and Son was sold to Macmillan in 1898 a total of 44,777 copies of the book had been sold and of these 36,821 copies had been exported, mainly, all one presumes, to Australia. Sales continued at a steady although gradually declining rate around the turn of the century. It was Macmillan's practice not to introduce a cheap edition of a novel until the sales at a standard price had been fully

exploited so it was not until 1908 that an edition was issued at 6d a copy. Various editions followed of books costing between 1/- and 2/6d. Macmillan's last edition was published in 1935.

Up until the time they ended publication of the book Macmillan had been the chief publishers of the novel, although ten Australian editions (including the original edition by Robertson) had been published up to this time. In addition in 1929 Angus and Robertson published the magazine version in book form. Since the Second World War the book has been most often published in Australia where there have been in a thirty-year period over thirty printings. At the same time Oxford University Press published 27,000 copies of the book between 1951 and 1966.

It has been said that the book has the remarkable record of never having been out of print since it was first published. It can certainly be regarded as having been widely dissemninated in Australia. Brian Elliott once wrote that "it was to be found on every bookshelf" [9] in Australian homes. This is undoubtedly an exaggeration, but by the end of the nineteenth century a copy might have been owned by one person in fifty and very many more persons must have read it in one of its two versions. Since those that had the opportunity to travel were those who were likely to own or have read the book, it is safe to assume at this period a very considerable proportion of those who visited Port Arthur were familiar with the book and many others must have known it by reputation.

In the early twentieth-century Macmillan's cheap editions must have widened the book's reception, and made it available to those who formerly could not afford it. At the same time a widening proportion of the community were able to take holidays. Since about 1950 the rate of publication of His Natural Life has increased again and one might estimate that in the region of a copy for one in a hundred of the population has been printed during this time.

In addition His Natural Life has been widely disseminated through other media. During the nineteenth century, four or five adaptations were made for the theatre, two of which were frequently performed in Australia between 1885 and the end of the century. The work has also been adapted for radio and has been made into a film on several occasions. Films of His Natural Life were released in 1908, 1911 and a longer, more ambitious, though still silent film, was released in 1927. Recently the 1927 film version has been re-released and another somewhat debased version produced for television which was first transmitted in 1983. Of the theatre and film versions all have had, as far as I can ascertain, 'happy' endings.

His Natural Life can certainly be regarded as the most widely disseminated nineteenth-century Australian novel, and perhaps has a claim to being as well-known as any book written in Australia. Its popularity and reputation have been sustained over a very long period of time. Although it is possible from records of the printings to

see that it has been most widely purchased at two periods of time. Firstly, in the period from Clarke's death until the First World War, with the peak of its popularity from 1885 up to the end of the century. Secondly, from about 1950 up to the present time. In the intervening period relatively fewer printings were made, but at least part of the drop in sales is likely to have been due to the effects of the inter-war depression.

APPENDIX 5

The critical reception of His Natural Life

Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life[1] was published in book form in 1874 in Australia and in 1875 in England. On the latter occasion it received widespread critical notice. Hergenhan has pointed out[2] that what is most notable about the reviews is their strong reaction to what was seen as a violent and horrifying novel. The nature of this reaction seems to have been rather different in England and Australia. In England the reviewers question the propriety of displaying such horrors in a novel.[3] In Australia, perhaps unsurprisingly considering the local strength of the convict legacy, it is the propriety of the convict system itself that is often discussed. In other words, in England the novel is seen as a novel and subject to due conventions of that form, in Australia it tended to be seen as an exposé of reality.

In either case the devices Clarke used to gain acceptance of his novel were shrewdly calculated to succeed.[4] His preface clearly points out the moral purpose of the novel:

> I have endeavoured in "His Natural Life" to set forth the working and the results of an English system of transportation carefully considered and carried out under official supervision; and to illustrate in a manner best calculated, as I think, to attract general attention, the inexpediency of again allowing offenders against the law to be herded together in places remote from the wholesome influence of public opinion, and to be submitted to a discipline which must necessarily depend for its just administration upon the personal character and temper of their gaolers.

> Your critical faculty will doubtless find, in the construction and artistic working of this book many faults. I do not think, however, that you will discover any exaggerations. Some of the events narrated are doubtless tragic and terrible; but I hold it needful to my purpose to record them, for they are events which have actually occurred, and which, if the blunders which produced them be repeated, must infallibly occur again. [5]

Further, the genre of the novel was indicated with reference to its literary antecedents; Charles Reade and Victor Hugo. The appendix made it clear that the novel is based upon fact. Thus the preface and the appendix taken together placed His Natural Life into a niche for novels with an ostensible social purpose which, at the time, legitimated the use of unsavoury details of reality, Dickens' Bleak House being another obvious example of this kind.[6] In both cases the social evil referred to had, in fact, passed, therefore an acceptance of the purpose of either of the novels necessitated a recognition that it actually referred to a wider set of circumstances than those specifically referred to in the text. Again, Clarke used his preface to hint that such was his intention.[7] Not all reviewers grasped a wider significance for the novel, those who were unable to rise above its specific detail were inclined to reject it.

> ... "Its [the convict system's] exceeding hideousness cannot be described in decent language, but one is inclined to ask now these barefaced iniquities have passed away, Cui bono their exposure? For what purpose are our feelings harrowed? ..." [8]

and

> Hideous with realistic ghastliness, nauseous with detail of barbaric torturings, scarcely relieved by any touch of tenderness, it reiterates a nightmare of iniquities to the end. The deportation of convicts to Tasmania and elsewhere has happily

> ceased ... But after all why kick a dead dog? ... But why send them [the "horrors"] round, in three volumes and in an elegant cover, to startle boarding school young ladies, and fire the molluscuous imagination of novel readers with an auto-da-fe on paper and all the tortures of Nero? ... Those who sup on horrors know where to go, and those who take any useful interest in convicts are likely to be touched by other means than these. [9]

In Australia the appendix was of particular relevance since it had the effect of confirming the factual nature of the incidents described. Here is a typical example of its effect:

> It is hard to believe in men being so totally dead to the suffering of their fellows as these military martinets were. But the picture is unquestionably a true one. Flogging, brutal and continuous, was the order of the day. [10]

On the other hand, the Herald whilst emphasizing fact, is able also to relate it to its fictional setting:

> ... "climax of his book is to be found in the Appendix where he gives us chapter and verse for the hideous sufferings ... Indeed, were it otherwise, and without a distinct purpose of warning for the future, these 'Truths severe, in Faery fiction dress'd' would be open to challenge on the score of good taste". [11]

Hergenhan comments on the Australian reception of the novel:

> The Sydney Morning Herald gave probably the most balanced account of the novel's imaginative use of convict history. It pointed out that the problems of crime and punishment were recent ones, still unsolved, and that if Clarke's book provided a remedy, he had not attempted to do so, nor was it to be expected of him: "he has, in self-justification, done something else which he was well able to do - he has written a very clever and readable book". The reviewer acknowledged that the convict system had done much harm, and could be "unutterably savage, demoralizing and sad". But he pointed to the other side of the picture, to the way transportation, "as some of us remember it", saved many men from a

> summary committal to the gallows in England and gave them "a change of scene and a chance, instead of a cruel and shameful death; and in myriads of cases, the human being so mercifully spared was eventually, in some degree at all events, restored to society and self-respect". [12]

The effectiveness with which the material was presented was recognized by very many reviewers, even those who disapproved of the novel's subject matter. Hergenhan writes:

> The Athenaeum (2 October 1875) granted that readers "such as are not deterred by the subject" would find the book rewarding ("Considerable descriptive power, a complicated plot, certainly no lack of incident ... skill and pathos"), but it thought that the author might have "dealt more effectively with finer materials" than "such a godless crew", and concluded: "though we would never willingly read the book again we recognize some tragic force in the method of its writing". [13]

The Spectator not only recognized the power of Clarke's writing but also described the way in which it was utilized to fulfil its purpose:

> We can hardly recommend ordinary readers of fiction to get and peruse the terrible and tragic story of an innocent convict's life which Mr Marcus Clarke has here told for us, with a grim fidelity to the natural history of convict ships and penal settlements which is as revolting as it is unquestionably powerful ... Mr Clarke's familiarity with all the most humble details of the life of a penal settlement is far too minute, and his power of reproducing them far too graphic, to render this powerful book for general perusal. It ought, however, to be read by all who, while they care for literary power, are not afraid of grim detail, and by all who still advocate the establishment of penal settlements at a distance from the wholesome influence of an opinion which has neither grown apathetic through long habit to the horror of crime, nor incredulous of the hope of humanising the outcasts of society ... Indeed the power of the book is shown by the nightmare of horror it leaves on the spirit of the reader - a nightmare so oppressive that one feels that to any man that has breathed the atmosphere of such a life as is here described. [14]

The conventional structural devices of the nineteenth-century novel were, hardly surprisingly, unquestioned. As Hergenhan comments, on the one hand, the complicated plot was generally appreciated but, on the other, the book was found to be overloaded with incident.[15] The criticism, however, is directed towards the style of the novel rather than towards its credibility. Hence the review in the Daily Telegraph writes:

> Indeed, this wonderful narrative ... has the material of a whole circulating libary of tragic romance in its three modest volumes. The only fault is over-abundance which necessitates hurry in its disposal ... [and again later] It may be that the plot is over-crowded with these romantic additions, but the exuberance, if such it be, is so agreeably the reverse of an impoverished and labouring invention that most persons will accept it with all its sins ... [16]

Clarke's novel has subsequently been valued differently at different periods, but it has always been regarded at least as of importance to the history of the Australian novel. On the whole, its early critical reception outlined most of the other issues which have continued to be discussed. The ambivalence felt towards the horror of the events described, the effectiveness of the description, the moral issues raised, and the truth or otherwise of its factual basis. Over the hundred-year period that is described here, opinion has varied or emphasis has changed in the critic's assessment of the novel's position in Australian literature, the literary quality of the work and the meaning of the novel's imaginative content. While it is not possible to delineate definite periods of appreciation, it is possible to present in relation to various

facets of the novel considerable variations in critical opinion. In the examination which follows emphasis will be placed on the novel's reputation and its appreciation in Australia.

A. Literary Standing of the Novel

It has already been shown that, apart from a feeling that the novel was over-compressed for the amount of incident it contained, it was well received within the terms governing the literature of the time. Almost all critics found it effectively drawn. The epithet applied to the writing most frequently was 'powerful'. Towards the end of the century a different mood can be discerned which affected the reception of Clarke's work, the novel begins to be seen as a work of the past rather than a contemporary one. Perhaps the publication of 'Price Warung's' (William Astley's) Tales of the Convict System accentuated the perceived difference between Clarke's writing and more contemporary modes of presentation. This change resulted in a generally unsympathetic assessment of Clarke's work which in turn prompted some critics to defend his literary ability. It is of interest that at this period it is Clarke's writing in general that is defended and not just the writing of His Natural Life. Adams writes in 1893: "Clarke could do more than write clearly and quietly: he could at times heighten his composition with the subtle and magical effects of the true literary artist",[17] and "... it is a fact that the only prose that has yet been written in Australia has been written by Marcus Clarke"[18]

and later Murdoch reinforces Adams' views, he describes Clarke as:

> A born man of letters, he wrote enormously: and being endowed with brains and a temperament, he touched hardly anything that he did not vivify. Had the great novel never been written, he would still be a conspicuous figure in the literature of Australia.

and continues:

> I am not attempting to argue that the popular estimate is all wrong, and that the great novel is not, after all, his masterpiece. It is; alike in conception and execution, it puts the rest of his work in the shade. It is his one work which can fitly be called great; one wonders, indeed, whether the casual reader understands how great it is. [19]

Now that an involvement with the subject matter has to some degree faded it is recognized that it was Clarke's skill that moulded his material into a powerful novel, and that the events depicted were alone incapable of achieving the work's effect. Patterson writes:

> It is, indeed, a proof of Marcus Clarke's genius that in his hands these sordid details are so moulded into the setting of a great drama, that we see only a fellow-creature struggling helplessly and hopelessly against ruthless fate. It is sometimes urged that Clarke had the advantage of being the first to handle a wealth of absolutely new material. As well might one say that a sculptor deserves no credit for his modelling because he finds plenty of clay ready to his hand.
>
> In examining the old records it is marvellous to see how accurately he has adhered to them, and yet has clothed them with a wonderful interest. [20]

And Stephens, while not approving his style, recognized that at least Clarke's prose contributed to the whole.

> One inclines to believe, then, that much of the force of 'His Natural Life' must have laid <u>perdu</u> in the records on which Clarke based his story. But Clarke had a fine faculty of dramatic insight and dramatic expression. Given the ore he could refine it; given the situation, the scene, the men, he

> could bring all the contours and contrasts into prominence. His style is an admirable journalist's style, but not always good from the point of literature. It is full of light, but lacks colour and harmony. The clean, staccato sentences grow monotonous; they want a varied rhythm and sweep. [21]

But perhaps the most telling criticism, clearly indicating a changed viewpont, is an assumption that Clarke's temperament had affected the choice of subject matter for the novel and its treatment. It is obvious that the literary convention of the nineteenth-century social novel permitting the depiction of horror in a good cause was no longer being observed. Patterson and Brazier make the same point:

> His avowed object was to produce a work that should expose the iniquities of the Convict System, - a congenial task, as his literary bent lay in the direction of the tragic. His views of the artistic in literature are best expressed by his own remark about a story of Balzac's: "The story does not end happily. Balzac was too great a master of his art for that. In real life the curtain never falls on a comfortably finished drama." Certainly he found little of the "comfortably finished" element in the records of the convict days. He set to work with an almost cynical relish at his terrible drama.[22]

> In certain passages in "His Natural Life" and in the problems that are suggested by some of his "psychological" pieces, there is evidence of the depth of Clarke's nature and of its inward questionings. He seems to come now and again upon that thin partition that divides the material from the spiritual, the relative from the absolute phenomena from - well, some "thing in itself." [23]

After this little critical attention is directed at Clarke's novel for a considerable period of time. It is not until the 1930s that his work begins to be noticed again, and criticism is usually severe. While critics recognize that the book is historically important its

style is out of favour and its mood is not appreciated. It is probably not until after the publication of Elliott's biography in 1958, and then only very slowly, that Clarke's work once more begins to be enjoyed by literary critics. What kind of adverse criticism was levelled at His Natural Life during its long period of disfavour?

> Though crude and amateurish, and in places distressingly melodramatic, For the Term of His Natural Life is still a novel of significance.
>
> (Gratton, 1929)[24]

> ... soaked in that specifically Victorian fluid, melodramatic emotion earnest and unashamed. True that it reflects much of the flashiness of its author, lacks a truly sensitive, distinguished grain, takes sadistic delight in cruelty, waxes rhetorical and journalesy [sic].
>
> (Rees, 1942)[25]

> ... obvious strainings for effect, sensationalism and certain weakneses of plot construction.
>
> (Roderick, 1950)[26]

> ... the improbabilities of the plot ...
>
> (Roderick, 1950)[27]

> Clarke has made too great a concession to the taste of Dickens's readers for involved "plot" and melodramatic situation. He would have done better to have kept the story more simple.
>
> (Howarth, 1954)[28]

> ... the revised edition, which is the one here considered, is the better story, though it too still has much of a first draft about it. Discrepancies, situations not finally sifted, emotions not fully digested, tumble from the author as in the bald slabs of convict records.
>
> (Franklin, 1956)[29]

> The use of coincidence in this novel in both versions is an abuse, and if one were to judge it by structure alone, then it would be faulty.
>
> (Hadgraft, 1960)[30]

> The crudities of For the Term of His Natural Life are emphatic and obtrusive ... Clarke is constantly being betrayed by the excesses or ineptitude of his prose ...
>
> (Wilkes, 1969)[31]

In spite of the vehemence of much of this criticism each author admits that the book has positive qualities:

> ... it is a credit to any literature, and is certainly one of the most gripping books that Australia has given to the world, ...
>
> (Gratton, 1929)[32]

> His Natural Life remains a great novel. Read to-day, it is as compelling, as richly, deeply absorbing as seventy years ago.
>
> (Rees, 1942)[33]

> Opening with tragedy, it closes in the same way. The cruelty of fate, impassive to the sufferings of man, is drawn with fidelity and skill. It is thoroughly in keeping with the powerful and sombre atmosphere that is skilfully maintained throughout.
>
> (Roderick, 1950)[34]

> Clarke's style, clear, definite, graphic, apt in images, urgent yet controlled, is exactly appropriate to all purposes in this book.
>
> (Howarth, 1954)[35]

> Nevertheless, Clarke's fire and intensity produced a novel besides which other Australian novels on the same theme are pale and dull.
>
> (Franklin, 1956)[36]

> The most powerful novel written in Australia last century ...
>
> (Hadgraft, 1960)[37]

> ... the book has an intensity which no other Australian novel of the time achieved.
>
> (Wilkes, 1969)[38]

In addition to the extracts quoted above which are generally too short to subject to much analysis some more extended pieces show the way in which their writers have come to terms with historical quality and current literary fashion which together are largely responsible for the other critics' ambivalent attitudes. Green writes in 1930:

> Indeed there are faults enough [in His Natural Life], one would think, to damn any book.
>
> Yet they do not damn this book. The fact is, and it is a fact which some critics do not sufficiently

> realise, that the defects of a work of art are of far less importance than its merits. Except in comparing works of the highest art, which cannot of course be claimed for this book, even serious defects deserve only secondary consideration. The most important question is whether any positive excellence has been attained, and there is no doubt about such an attainment here. For the Term of His Natural Life is one of the most powerfully written novels in English. [39]

Here we can see a current tenet working in favour of the book rather than against it. On the other hand, Miller is able to take a stance relatively free of literary fashion because he is viewing His Natural Life from an historical perspective.

> [Its] standing, which is due to author's evocation of powerful incidents and accentuates characterization in the manner of romances of the time, and to the skilful writing producing incidental passages of notable prose ... and the sombrely rhythmical chapter on "The Topography of Van Diemen's Land." [40]

Ewers, too, has a nice appreciation:

> For The Term Of His Natural Life contains some of the most vivid writing in Australian literature. Of the books of this colonial period, it most nearly deserves the name "classic." If it overstates the picture, it does so to impress the truth. If it is melodramatic, its theme is one calculated to tempt the writer beyond restraint. [41]

While Palmer's critique is by contrast, the epitome of the viewpoint of his time:

> Latterly we have come to place more emphasis on poetic vision, the power to pour imagination over a thing and make it show a new face. Clarke had very little of this; though warm of heart in the daily affairs of life, his imagination was always cold; he was the professional, moved by nothing but his own sense of skill. [42]

Elliott expresses the contemporary disdain of the past, and yet wishes for a reassessment of the work:

> Many thoughtful people in Australia today are inclined to the view that our national literature really begins no longer ago than perhaps thirty years back - that with a few outstanding exceptions, there were no really significant writers before the later twenties and early thirties of this century. It is not my view, but it has a certain validity. It is true that there has been in comparatively recent times a change of tempo and a vast increase in energy, and a clear distinction of outlook and character is discernible between Australian writing before and after the division.
>
> I would rather argue that there is a difference, not merely of quality or even of quantity, but most significantly of period and maturity; and I deprecate the easy contention that Colonial Australian literature is negligible as creative art merely because it is now out of date, or because modern Australian writing has more sophistication, ease and grace ....
>
> Therefore it seems to me that no apology is required for turning our attention back with interest and appreciation to the landmarks of the Colonial past. And indeed in the case of Marcus Clarke it seems to me that the rewards - both of literary pleasure and historical information - are considerable.
>
> For the Term of His Natural Life is at any rate to be accorded the status of a major landmark in Australian fiction, a work fully alive in the Colonial tradition of writing, and immensely superior in style and achievement to anything else written before ...[43]

The more modern attitude to Clarke's work is expressed by Burrows writing in 1974:

> IT IS just a hundred years since His Natural Life was first published as a book. As its many editions attest, it has always held its place with the reading public. In the last twenty years or so, it has commanded a renewed critical attention ... If one need no longer strenuously defend the belief that His Natural Life easily surpasses all other Australian novels of the nineteenth century, perhaps one may still usefully attempt to distinguish its precise quality. [44]

And as Burrows indicates there has been a subsequent change in kind in literary criticism of Clarke's work. Firstly, His Natural Life is seen again, in the more general context of the rest of Clarke's work which, in the

interim, had been widely neglected. Secondly, in treating Clarke's His Natural Life its major importance is taken for granted leaving the way open to exercise serious and extensive analysis upon it. Hergenhan's examination of the novel's use of symbolism,[45] Burrows' appreciation of it as a melodrama,[46] Wilding's investigation of its relationship with Antipodean myth[47] and, above all, Poole's thesis which examines in detail its literary qualities,[48] can all be regarded as fitting this description, they will be examined in more detail later.

B. The Novel in its World Setting

The most common method used to establish the nature and the value of Marcus Clarke's novel has been to compare it with the work of others. It underlines the critics' assumption of the importance of Clarke's work that such a process has not only been carried out in relation to other Australian authors but also many authors of world stature. The process began as soon as the novel was published.

> Scattered throughout the work are pictures drawn with a bold vigour and reality, reminding one of passages in the pages of the best French novelists; ... [49]

Hergenhan notes:

> The Australasian praised the "typographical accuracy" of the novel comparing it with Victor Hugo's work, and noting that the "natural phenomena" are "made subservient to romantic ends". [50]

and

> The apparent factual quality of the novel led the Morning Post to accept it as fact told with "Defoe-like simplicity". [51]

A little later Lord Rosebery was to write, in his preface to the Marcus Clarke Memorial Volume, that His Natural Life was:

> ... the most terrible of all novels, more terrible than Oliver Twist, or Victor Hugo's most startling effects, for the simple reason that it is more real. It has all the solemn ghastliness of truth. [52]

Adams, another visitor to Australia, wrote:

> A certain classical sense (and what is the classical sense in all literature, art, and science but the sense of proportion, of outline?) saved him from Balzac's pedantry, if he was unable to fathom Balzac's profundity ... [53]

and

> Clarke's debt to Balzac is a large one, a far larger one than can appear to any one who has not studied the work of the Australian writer as a whole. [54]

Then in 1896 Byrne wrote:

> ... his touch is occasionally strong and fearless, like that of Kipling. [55]

While A.G. Stephens wrote:

> Some passages of Clarke seem modelled on Balzac; some on Hugo; some on Disraeli, Thackeray, and Dickens. He took his literary property where he found it; and his contemporaries called him a not too scrupulous borrower. Perhaps he followed the Thackerayan model more closely than any other, since in mental vision he was nearly kin with Thackeray. But he lacked Thackeray's breadth and depth. [56]

Brazier displayed a quite different point of view:

> He had much of the pathos, the passion, the force of Heine; and was not without some of the chief characteristics of Shelley: his rebellious spirit, the purity and vividness of his imaginative gift. [57]

Gratton (1929) found His Natural Life of inferior quality to Dostoevesky's "House of the Dead",[58] and Rees

(1942) made a similar comparison but on the grounds of genre rather than literary quality:

> For its unremitting exposure of the brutalities of "the system," His Natural Life groups Marcus Clarke with Dickens and Dostoiejevsky among the nineteenth century sociological novelists who will be remembered. [59]

Elliott exercised a similar critical technique when he wrote:

> ... that it is in a class - a category - with Les Miserables must also be admitted. [60]

Howarth (1954) saw Clarke's style as having something in common with Dickens[61] and so did Hadgraft.

> Despite the over-writing typical of both author and period, this is effective in its place in the novel. A fastidious taste may reject it as melodramatic. So it is; but, sustained, it has its vocation. Clarke was of his age, and he can still give us, if not always the characters, at least the form and pressure of the period. In this work he is an inferior and savage Dickens. [62]

Hergenhan (1965) was both more detailed in his comparison and more enthusiastic:

> The kind of synthesis or rationalization Clarke attempted was a conventional ingredient in the Victorian novel of social protest which not only revealed festering social ills but also indicated a way of remedying them. However, Clarke offers no easy solutions like many of his contemporaries; and he links his social ills with what is enduring in human nature. Moreover, the affirmatory strain, even in the work of such novelists as Dickens, Charles Kingsley and Charles Reade, is often more crude and 'undigested' than His Natural Life. If Clarke failed to realize his views of good and evil with equal success, and to merge them in single powerful vision, he failed in a supreme task. [63]

He also expressed another opinion as to the possible source of Clarke's writing:

> In an article on American literature he once expressed admiration for the power of "moral horror" in Hawthorne, and His Natural Life may owe something to that author. [64]

Wilding like Hergenhan has shifted his interest to Clarke's sources:

> Clarke had his literary models for a novel of convict life: Charles Reade's It is Never Too Late to Mend (1853), Victor Hugo's Les Miserables (1862), Alexandre Dumas's Le Comte de Monte Cristo (1844-45) and Balzac's Splendeurs et miseres des courtisanes (1839-47). But he had too the historical records preserved in Australia - diaries, memoirs, reports and the Parliamentary Papers. [65]

It is Poole who so far has investigated this aspect of Clarke's work most thoroughly, she has concluded that Clarke was a derivative writer.[66] In addition, she has been more thorough in investigating through Clarke's own writing his opinion of the writing of others. For instance, she notes: "Marcus Clarke had referred to the special nature of the 'realism' practised by Charles Dickens as "the romance of reality"[67] and:

> If to Dickens belonged the "romances of reality" to Balzac belonged the honour of being "founder of his realistic school ... the modern school of authors, not only in France, but throughout Europe" ... Balzac and Dickens are seen [by him] as heroes. Their response to the time spirit revolutionary and seminal. Both writers tried to convey the actual life of a particular time and place. But Balzac's geographical realism and historical exactness do not prevent him from presenting the city of Paris as virtually a character of his novels, a living thing. [68]

One can note that these extracts show several differences in approach. At first they consist of simple comparisons to establish the work in whole or in part as having, or sometimes, as failing to have, a quality of a famous author. Almost without exception Clarke is compared

with other authors of the nineteenth-century, although one can trace in the earliest extracts a tendency to compare him with earlier nineteenth-century writers and in the extracts of the late nineteenth-century to later nineteenth-century writers. Then, there is a trend to place the book in a certain class rather than to compare it with the works of an individual author. Finally, interest turns to examining the sources of Clarke's work in increasing detail.[69] The more modern critics are able to turn their attention to detail, as we have seen earlier, because they accept, without colonialist-paranoia, the quality of Australian novels as being comparable with literature from Europe and therefore worth studying in a like manner. Poole encapsulates this new attitude neatly by mixing Australian and European antecedents of Clarke's work without comment:

> What is important is that the influence of Hugo and Reade and Leakey upon the structure and technique of His Natural Life should not be ignored. [70]

C. The Novel's Place in Australia

One can see that in comparing Clarke's work with that of novelists of world stature another comparison is being made covertly: the process is also delineating Australian literature as a whole in relation to the word at large. It is not unreasonable to connect such an examination also to a search for an understanding of Australia's national characteristics. Further, intertwined with an examination of the importance of the Australian novel there is the concomitant investigation into the place and status of the

novelist in Australia. All these concerns are touched on in Byrne's Australian Writers (1896):

> Every Australian now knows that For the Term of his Natural Life is a great novel of its class; but as a leading Victorian journalist (Mr. James Smith) once pointed out in an article in the Melbourne Review, Clarke's real merit was for years undervalued, because he was known to be 'only a colonial writer.' Thousands of English, European and American readers had admired the novel before they thought of inquiring who the writer was or whence he came. It is true that the story attracted a good deal of interest in Australia even during its first appearance as a serial, but from elsewhere came its recognition as one of the novels of the century. [71]

I take it that this paragraph implies that the reputation of His Natural Life was seen to be established overseas prior to the novel being recognized in Australia, and that its Australian recognition was consequent upon its reception overseas. Further, that the lack of early recognition in Australia was due to the novelist being Australian. The attitudes and opinions expressed could hardly be more different from those expressed thirty years later. Take this quotation of Gratton's: it is aggressively nationalistic, emphasis is placed upon the importance of the novel as an Australian novel and Clarke himself is rejected as being both un-Australian and anti-Australian.

> Much more famous and decidedly more Australian is For the Term of His Natural Life by Marcus Clarke, published serially in Australia in 1870 and 1871 and issued in a revised edition in England in 1874. Clarke was an Englishman who arrived in Australia when he was nineteen and died there when he was thirty-five. He never ceased to regard Australia as anything but a colony; he never became an Australian; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the publishers got him to write his famous novel. He frequently said that there was no need to write another Australian novel, for the great one, Henry Kingsley's, had been written. [72]

Wilding has also commented upon the work's reception in the 1930s:

> Many nationalistic critics wanted that era of colonial brutality moved from the centre of literary attention. P.R. Stephensen complained in 1935 that convictism had become a dominant motif 'because the immigrant writers, with their preconceived hypothesis, thought that it ought to have been dominant'. [73]

and

> Clarke also suffered from the new nationalists' devaluation of the colonial period, rejection of the convict past, and rejection of writers not born in Australia. [74]

Perhaps related to the phenomenon of post-war immigration, Clarke is subsequently seen as an Englishman coming to terms with the Australia in which he chose to live. Howarth, after praising His Natural Life's style, writes:

> When we recall that it was written by a new-chum of only twenty-five, we can do nothing but marvel at the power of the emotion of indignation that stirred Clarke, a journalist writing for money, into creation of one of the great books in the literature of social protest, the group that contains works of Byron ("The Prisoner of Chillon"), Dickens, Reade, Hardy, Wells, and others. Since it rapidly became world-famous, as O.W. Holmes had predicted, For the Term of His Natural Life must have exerted an influence on public and so on official opinion everywhere, and surely contributed to the gradual amelioration of the convict's lot, especially the growing feeling that casting men out of this earthly Eden is no true way of settling their problems or ours. It is thus the first great Australian novel. [75]

If the reasons for Howarth's conclusion are oddly assembled, on the one hand, assessing the novel as great because it forms part of a European genre and, on the other, because it must have done some general good, we can see that the novel is in his estimation standing high at

one and the same time both in Australia and the world at large. Argyle, as well as Howarth, explored the theme of Clarke as an immigrant:

> Clarke is writing as an Englishman whose exile became permanent, who had to live not only with the world described by Henry Kingsley - the descriptions of which he praised - but also with the history of the 'convict country', as Rowcroft called it. Clarke summarizes the second thus: 'All that the vilest and most bestial of human creatures could invent and practise, was in this unhappy country invented and practised without restraint and without shame.' In other words, he is not only the first of many Australian historical novelists, but the first Englishman to attempt in print to come to terms with the harsh origins of the country of his adoption. The constancy of his anger is the result of the double shame he felt: as an Englishman whose countrymen had 'invented and practised' what 'Price Warung' was to call The System, and as an Australian who, like his countrymen, had to live with the whole of his past. [76]

Not only is Wilding able to accept Clarke as an Australian author on the basis of his immigration, and to see immigration as an Australian characteristic but also to see some of the less attractive aspects of immigration encapsulated in the novel itself, as Elliott had briefly done before him:

> Brian Elliott in a lecture on Clarke has seen Dawes's love for Sylvia, the child brought up in the colony, away from England, as the central image of the novel. In Dawes's rejection by and of the old world and his clinging to and protecting this fragile infant despite every hindrance, Eliott sees an image of the colonial experience. But Sylvia, though a regenerative image and inspiration for Dawes, is an inspiration all for nothing. She can provide no fulfilment for Dawes, any more than Australia did for Clarke. He went to Australia when his father died, leaving him at sixteen without the inheritance he had expected. He died there, bankrupt for the second time, aged thirty-five. Much of his experience of the colony was of frustration, sickness, financial anxiety, misery. The killing of the father at the beginning of His Natural Life is an event bringing on misery for all the main characters

> of the novel. Once the societal taboos and values of the old world are broken away from, then the 'natural life' breaks out unchecked. The brutality of Frere, the homosexual rape and flogging to death of Kirkland, Gabbett's cannibalism - is this man's natural life? There seems no fulfilment; the hopeless expiation of North produces only suicide, Dawes's protection of his mother's name produces a life time's imprisonment. Clarke takes a hopeless view of the colonial experience, of the conversion of the antipodean paradise into a natural penitentiary. [77]

Further, Wilding attributed the darker, more pessimistic character of the revised version of His Natural Life to Clarke's realization he would not be returning to England and that he too was imprisoned in Australia. [78]

It has also been difficult for critics to accept Clarke as a proper sort of person to fill the role of 'great Australian author'. His might have been a life suitable for a journalist but not for a creative writer of note. It is partly because Murdoch valued all Clarke's work that he was able to discount Clarke's life as being relevant to his work:

> It is abundantly clear that Clarke's doings were not at all times such as we can reasonably be asked to admire. It is clear that he did not invariably act wisely, and that he spoke at times even less wisely than he acted. What then? Whose biography can afford to dispense with some reticence in the writing and some charity in the reading? Not yours nor mine, I fear. "His faults," says a recent critic, writing of Henry Fielding, "were those which spring from too easy a temper and too mercurial a disposition." That, after all, is the worst that will be said of Clarke, I believe, when the verdict of posterity comes to be uttered. [79]

But his is a lonely opinion, others should also be quoted. Green writes in 1930 of Clarke, that he:

> ... was not at all the sort of man one might imagine after reading For the Term of His Natural Life. The

> son of one of those apparently rich men who leave nothing behind them, Clarke was turned loose during his boyhood in England with an extravagant allowance in a literary and Bohemian circle of which his father's house was the centre, and in which, he wrote, he "was suffered at sixteen to ape the vices of sixty." He was a born journalist and loved to produce an effect, but there is no doubt that his self-willed impetuous nature was allowed very free scope. His school master seems to have been a good influence but Clarke was not strong enough to join in the school sports. [80]

Green neglects to mention he also had a crippled arm to add to his list of un-Australian defects. Later nationalism not being as strong a trigger, Clarke's character and misdeeds are treated more lightly. Hadgraft writes in 1960, after praising the quality of His Natural Life:

> ... the reader must still wonder at the production of such a considerable work by such an unlikely author - spendthrift, feckless, inebriate, and charming - at the early age of twenty-four. [81]

Mares (1964) describes Clarke as a "witty, bohemian, unscrupulous, bankrupt young man"[82] and elsewhere states:

> He was plainly a man of great personal charm and some talent, witty, sociable, excellent company and a bon viveur, but with a tendency to self-dramatization, to taking romantic attitudes. In early days he swung between eulogizing the bush life and seeing himself as Ovid among the Goths. [83]

While Elliott, having written his biography, is more sympathetic:

> The public had an image of Clarke as a witty and lazy man who cared nothing for serious things - a very wrong impression, but it must be admitted that he enjoyed the deception. Mischievously, he did nothing to correct the illusion that he was a sort of wild and Bacchanalian bohemian, or even a kind of Puck among the journalists. Indeed it is only in His Natural Life that the deeper seriousness of his real nature ever does find full expression in his writings. [84]

The fact that His Natural Life has been accepted as a novel of importance while Clarke, himself, has been rejected has led to some odd critical distortions. Some have averred that Clarke was assisted by others in writing His Natural Life, some that the writing of His Natural Life was an accident or a fluke, some that its quality depended on his borrowing heavily from other authors and from his historical sources. In addition, the position taken from about 1930 onwards and for sometime afterwards that Clarke's other writing was worthless because it was journalism and as such could not be regarded as serious writing further accentuated the split between critical opinion on His Natural Life and the rest of his work. The following quotations illustrate this theme. Stephens writing in the Bulletin in 1906 over-emphasized the help Clarke received during the process of the serial's metamorphosis into the novel.

> ... the reader must remember that the book, as published by Messrs. Bentley in London, is vastly different in finish, and even in the construction of the story and the portrayal of the characters, to that which appeared in serial form in the Australian Journal. In the work of excision and supervision, prior to the publication of the book in London, Clarke had the experienced literary assistance of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy to whom he dedicated the work, and in whose opinion the author held a high position as a man of letters. [85]

Here Duffy lends his respectability to the novel. Stephens is also of the view that Clarke was heavily dependent upon other sources, but even so he gives the book a high status.

> He took hints and help from Dickens; from the Tichbourne case; and especially from Les Misérables. He pillaged the old records ruthlessly, and created with splendid talent a book that remains, whatever

> its faults, the only masterpiece in fiction that has been written in Australia. [86]

More or less contemporaneously Adams wrote of Clarke:

> It was a writer of this complex constitution who, feeling the ground slipping from under his feet, made one desperate effort to concentrate himself in a masterpiece, and who, when criticism has said its last words concerning obvious technical flaws and intellectual limitations, it must be admitted, in a measure succeeded. [87]

Vance Palmer's later (1946) analysis of Adams and Stephen's opinion is of interest especially for the insight it gives of Palmer's own assumptions. Palmer sees the problem clearly:

> The uncertain nature of Clarke's gifts has always troubled his critics. Was the power he showed in For the Term of His Natural Life an organic part of him, or was it communicated to him by the dark realities of the records? What was the relation between his intelligence and his creative impulse? [88]

He continues:

> Without his masterpiece, Clarke's case would be simple. There are always plenty of writers in every period who have skill with words and a gift of analysis, yet no power to construct anything of their own. And, soon after Clarke died, there was a tendency to dispose of the problem he presented by writing down For the Term of His Natural Life. It was suggested that there was something spurious about it; that it was a pastiche concocted with one eye on Balzac and the other on material very much more 'prepared' than the ordinary raw substance of life.
>
> Francis Adams, who came here in the middle 'eighties, found that a reaction had set in against Clarke ...
>
> An admirer of Clarke, Adams was eager to re-build his reputation. Clarke, he affirmed, was the author of the only real prose yet written in Australia.
>
> Fellow-feeling had perhaps a little to do with Adams' judgement. Cultured, cut off from his English roots, at once attracted and repelled by the country he had come to, he had much in common with Clarke. They both wrote a brilliant prose; they loved broad

> and sweeping generalizations and were weak in detail. And the novels of Francis Adams, like those of Clarke, had the hard glitter of intelligence in them but rarely beat with a human pulse. [89]

Palmer tends to side with the Australian critics:

> This shrewd instinct of theirs, nourished on stark little Bulletin sketches, made them suspect that Clarke's writing was all surface texture. [90]

He concludes:

> The truth seems to be where A.G. Stephens found it. Clarke was essentially a professional writer, like his English contemporaries and forerunners. He had not much original impulse, but he had a keen intelligence and a sharp sense of craft.
>
> 'Given the ore he could refine it,' says Stephens, 'given the situation, the scene, the men, he could bring all the contours and contrasts into prominence. His style is an admirable journalist's style; but not always good from the point-of-view of literature.'

Palmer ends with a paragraph quoted previously but worth repeating. He asks:

> Is this underestimating Clarke's achievement? Perhaps, a little. But it largely depends upon how you value the element of craft in the novel, the ability to work well according to a traditional pattern. Latterly we have come to place more emphasis on poetic vision, the power to pour imagination over a thing and make it show a new face. Clarke had very little of this; though warm of heart in the daily affairs of life, his imagination was always cold; he was the professional, moved by nothing but his own sense of skill. [91]

Then Ewers builds on Adams' somewhat mystical approach:

> Clarke and Boldrewood wrote exclusively of the Australian scene, but their genius expended itself in one book, leaving little over for the others. It was almost as if, at that period, the fountain-head of inspiration - Australians and the Australian scene - dried up at its source once it was tapped to any great extent by any one novelist. [92]

What might be described as another evasive tactic in criticism is typical of its time - the 1950s. It depends

upon a contemporary concept that works of art as distinct from other products of the literary and visual arts are touched by a particular quality; they have been created by men of genius. Further, that this quality overrides other imperfections in the work rendering them relatively unimportant. Hence, Miles Franklin writes:

> Clarke strained a sense of proportion, but genius, which is freely allowed him, is often indebted to the lack of a sense of proportion; also, a work of genius sometimes has flaws as a work of art. [93]

In assigning a work to the category 'work of art' the importance of the work as a whole is recognized while its parts can be condemned. Elliott combines this approach with the earlier expression of biographical interest:

> There is no doubt that His Natural Life turned out to be a much more impressive story than either the printers or even its author at first intended. For one thing, it became very much longer.
>
> The probability is that his control over his imagination, at least in this instance, was no firmer than his unbusinesslike handling of his finances. However, while his freedom with money led to utter disaster, his prodigality in imagination was a mark of genius. [94]

Incidentally, this seems to be the expression of an opinion developed much earlier. Elsewhere, he appears to be moving away from earlier attitudes:

> I would rather think of him as a writer carried away by an inspiration than as a hack who wrote a great book by mere chance. Of course the hack is present in the book; and he had to be a hack to live by his writing at all. But isn't that part of the Colonial situation? [95]

and

> The most extraordinary perversions of rumour become current when no one contradicts them. It was probably some dim recollection of the part played by Walstab in the continuity of Long Odds which led

> that most discerning of Australian critics, A.G. Stephens (who did not like it) to say of His Natural Life that "perhaps the most attractive chapter" was written by G.A. Walstab! [96]

Nevertheless, any praise given at this period is given grudgingly, the quality of the novel allowed only reluctantly and usually judgement is qualified. Barnes' view is typical:

> Clarke's one work of importance, His Natural Life (1874), is, however, grounded in Australian history. Clarke is, in no sense, a follower of Kingsley in the novel; and, indeed, it is almost by accident that he wrote a major Australian novel, for he was essentially a journalist, facile, witty, sophisticated, and reckless. The novel for which he is remembered shows little of this side of him, but it reveals an intensity of compassion and an order of moral awareness that found no place in his more ephemeral writings. Beginning with the intention of writing up Tasmanian convict records, he wrote a serial novel, running on interminably, spinning out an improbable plot, but the resulting book (trimmed for publication), hopelessly flawed as it is, is more powerful than any other Australian novel before The Fortunes of Richard Mahony. [97]

Renewed attention to the text as part of recent critical method has rendered Clarke's life and circumstances less important to critics except in so far as they elucidate the text itself. Wilding's Oedipal interpretation of His Natural Life may be quoted as an example of this approach:

> The settlement is blighted by the guilt of the initial Oedipal killing. The characters are all guilt ridden - North's remorse and hopeless expiation of his failure to speak at the trial, Frere's guilt at his lie about the coracle and his fear Sylvia will remember one day. And though Dawes has nothing to be guilty of, his motivation, to protect his mother's guilt, is related: it is an expiation by proxy of her guilt, an expiation for wanting his father's or supposed father's death, a sexual trauma at the realisation of his illegitimacy? Sylvia, of course, is notably innocent and guilt free: but

> fearful every time she encounters Dawes, fearful of something she cannot remember. Guilt becomes a major theme for the novel's mood, relatable to the initial Oedipal killing, and appropriate for the story of a colonisation founded on the convict system. [98]

Comment on this section would be incomplete without note being taken of the changing circumstances of the critic himself. Early quotations tend to be from criticism by journalists. Stephens and Murdoch have, of course, connections with journalism but both must be regarded as having greater expertise than most in the literary field. In the 1930s at least some criticism is made by those engaged in, using the terminology of the time, creative writing. The 1950s and 1960s began to see the rise of the professional academic critic and the 1970s, due to a university funding bonanza, his proliferation. At the same time it seems, at least from a present viewpoint, that there has been an accompanying impressive growth of the expertise applied to the criticism of Clarke's work during the most recent period. It can, I believe, be seen that these changing circumstances have, to a degree, influenced critical opinion. It has often been felt that Clarke was the kind of man who did not do credit to the literary profession, or that his journalism was something less than literature. Such opinions cannot be divorced from the critic's own pretentions.

As the body of literature grew it was possible to compare various Australian works with one another. It must be said that opinions of the relative quality of novels does not only illustrate a change of taste, here too the

critic's own concerns obtrude. Thus, two of Clarke's severest critics, Hadgraft and Franklin, have drawn two rival claimants to the attention of the public. Hadgraft was largely responsible for discovering Quintus Servinton[99] and Franklin wrote substantially on Furphy.[100] Several comparisons have been made; first between the various novels on the convict system and, secondly, between Australian novels generally. At the same time, assessment is made on two grounds that are not always differentiated - popularity and quality. Green (1930) compares Clarke with other writers of convict novels:

> The work of "Price Warung" (William Astley, 1855-1911), inevitably suggests a comparison with His Natural Life, if only because of the similarity of subject matter. But there is more between Astley and Clarke than this, for they are both realists, at least in contradistinction to several others who have written about the convict system, notably William Hay, who belongs to the next period. Astley has neither Clarke's personality nor his creative imagination, but on the other hand he is not so melodramatic or sentimental as Clarke. [101]

but he tentatively also places him in a wider context:

> Another debatable question is whether the present generation of Australian writers has produced not one but several novels better than any written in Australian hitherto. There is no doubt about the Mahony trilogy, if we count this as one; and perhaps the strongest objection that could be made against adding Maurice Guest would be that it was the work of a writer living outside Australia and that its subject was not Australian. But in considering this question we should have to take into account the novels (at least one of which is, by the way, a romance), of Katharine Susannah Prichard (Mrs. Hugo Throssell), who ranks to-day next after Henry Handel Richardson. It is possible that one or more of these novels may ultimately take rank above the best of the previous generation. [102]

Green seems surer of which constitute the best novels of the past and lists For the Term of His Natural Life,

Robbery Under Arms, Uncle Piper of Piper's Hill, A Marked Man, Jonah and Such is Life.[103] Ewers, on the other hand, compares His Natural Life unfavourably with Such is Life of which he writes:

> In the first place, it is a starting-point for the really Australian outlook in the longer form of the novel. Here at once is a revolt away from the tear-dimmed, exile wistfulness of Kingsley, Clarke, Boldrewood and company. Furphy addresses himself to his own Australian people. [104]

He repudiates what he believes to be the nineteenth-century Australian novel's too high reputation. He writes, perhaps over-defensively:

> No doubt, they have in the past been exalted beyond their real significance. In ill-formed or prejudiced circles, both here and abroad, they have been referred to until quite recently as if they comprised the whole range of the Australian novel. Such a claim is as ridiculous as that which described Adam Lindsay Gordon as Australia's national poet, bracketing his work with that of Kendall and Lawson as the entire output of Australian poetry. Usually, both claims emanated from similar sources and for similar reasons. [105]

Barnes, though writing twenty years later, is substantially of the same opinion, he makes the basis of his judgement clear:

> In spite of the impression which lingers, that there is a solid body of Australian fiction in this period, it is only with Furphy's Such is Life in 1903 and Henry Handel Richardson's The Getting of Wisdom in 1910 that it is possible to think of Australian classics. Geoffry Hamlyn, His Natural Life, and Robbery Under Arms diminish in stature as time passes; they are milestones, but they are not the classics of Australian fiction which they were once thought to be. They hold a considerable interest for us still, because they represent stages in the history of the progress towards an Australiana prose tradition. An account of prose fiction in Australia from the beginnings to 1920 inevitably becomes an account of fumbling attempts to discover the artistic possibilities of Australian subject-matter. The 'Australian-ness' of the material (under-

> stood in different ways) is the constant problem of the novelists, ... [106]

Finally, J.C. Horner (1966) sticks closely to his title "The Themes of Four Tasmanian Convict Novels"[107] and does not venture a judgement on their comparative literary merit. Indeed, the fashion of doing so seems, by this time, to have faded.

D. Attitudes Toward the Subject Matter of His Natural Life

We have seen that contemporary criticism of Clarke's novel exhibited several moral positions: that the violence expressed in the novel was unacceptable because it was in poor taste, that violence was allowable in the novel in view of its evident social purpose fitting it into the convention of the nineteenth-century social novel, and that the events depicted though shocking should be exposed because they had actually occurred and that they had been exposed in a novel was incidental. There was some evidence to show that the latter attitude was more common in Australia. Indeed in writing the novel after the social evil had ceased while passing it off as fulfilling a social purpose was a pose several critics found hard to take.

Apart from Murdoch's article on Clarke which stands outside the mainstream of criticism,[108] the attitudes initially expressed in Australia continued, Byrne wrote in 1896:

> Never was a novel written with a franker or more deliberate purpose than that shown in For the Term

> of his Natural Life. The author had the twofold object of picturing the dreadful crudities and brutalities of the early system of convict 'reformation' in Australia, and of preventing their possible repetition elsewhere. The first of these aims was attained with a fuller employment, and perhaps more moderate statement of historical facts, than can be found in any other fiction of the same class; the second was ineffective, because, when it found expression, the abuses which had suggested it no longer continued at the Antipodes, and could not conceivably be repeated on the existing settlements at Port Blair and Noumea.
>
> The story was written a quarter of a century too late to assist the abolition of convict transportation to Australia. Had it appeared at the right time, it might have done much ... [109]

The novel's social purpose was also rejected by Ewers:

> Clarke set out to lay bare the horrors of the convict system, not with the reforming zeal of a Dickens seeking to ventilate contemporary injustices. Convictism was a thing of the past when Clarke began work on his masterpiece, He saw it as a fine theme for a story and achieved immediate success. [110]

But Franklin was incensed by it:

> The regret about our convict classic is that its anger was belated. Transportation had ceased for twenty years before Clarke began to write it. Had there been a Clarke with such a novel in the twenties or thirties of last century it is doubtful if so furious an indictment would have been printed. Anger against the past is futile because of that silence which the dead never break. You can't argue with a dead man, as one of our war poets has said. It is mere sentimentalizing to burn about the wrongs of those gone if at the same time remaining supine in fact of the current sinning and torturing of the unfortunate. What evidence is there that Clarke was on the side of the reformers of his own day?
>
> Clarke was prejudiced against authority, but was censorious rather than revolutionary. He was anti-Semite, and to be anti- any section of the human family is inconsistent with democratic assumption. [111]

In the longer term, the novel's wider moral message came to be recognized in Australia and through this process the brutality expressed in it was seen as legitim-

ated. Mares specifically rejected the earlier attitude and saw the purpose of the book in new terms:

> His Natural Life is not a novel of social protest, its tone is too dark for that. The reformer, however terrible the evils he attacks, must leave room for hope. Hope, for Rufus Dawes, is reduced to nothing.[112]

and

> The measure of what he did in His Natural Life (the savagely ironic title of the book weakened by its later extension) is that even today we see the convict period through Clarke's imaginative synthesis of the facts of brutality and pathos into a vision of man's potentiality for evil.[113]

Elliott's (1969) comment is very similar (although earlier he had questioned the novel's social purpose):

> This is always the theme. The suffering of the innocent shows that inhuman treatment destroys and dehumanizes all alike until there is no distinction between good and evil, and innocence itself seems futile.
>
> ... the whole narrative is one of blackness and suffering, designed to show how, under a cruel, self-generating system of sanctioned official inhumanity, nature itself is perverted and the good in man is almost entirely destroyed - in the innocent no less than in the guilty.[114]

Several others of the same period make a similar point. Poole writes:

> Clarke is less interested in presenting the process of the system of convict discipline than in examining the consequences of tyranny and coercion. He is before Oscar Wilde not only in being sickened by "the punishments the good have inflicted" but also in actually demonstrating just how brutalized a community may become "by the habitual employment of punishment".[115]

and like Elliott she sees the moral message as being more clearly conveyed by the revised novel than by the earlier serial version:

> ... Clarke's abridgement of his novel. I have suggested, reflected his diminishing interest in documentary realism, as changes in character and plot reflected increased attention to the meaning of experience ... [116]

Smith, Hergenhan, Boehm and Wilding all offer similar analyses:

> Clarke describes a convict flogged to death, another cracked on a torture stretcher and men turned cannibal through hunger and madness. We cannot regard such acts as last century's shame beyond which "progress" has lifted us because the work of Buchenwald is of recent memory. A century apart, the two types of camp had a common curse. [117]

> His Natural Life does in fact offer a powerful warning against "enclosed" systems of rigorous physical and mental punishment. [118]

> That man has not lost his capacity for evil is all too evident; Clarke was writing about an ephemeral system - one, in fact, almost non-existent by the time he published his novel - but he used it merely to embody a universal and seemingly timeless side of man's nature; a side not dependent on individual circumstances but using them to manifest its darkness. That is the reason His Natural Life has not dissolved into the case studies of a bygone era of which it is composed. The story of Rufus Dawes has been repeated in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and the jungles of Vietnam and in a thousand places under the sun in all its variations. Maurice Frere has worn an SS on his collar and a deputy sheriff's badge on his shirt, as well as the uniform of the civil commandant of Norfolk Island. As long as the innocent suffer for the sins of the guilty and there is injustice on the face of the earth, His Natural Life will be a living book. [119]

> Clarke did write to ensure that events of the recent past could not easily be swept away and forgotten; he insisted on a social accountability for the evil, on a recognition of what had been done. This contemporary relevance of the novel should not be forgotten when we turn to its wider meanings. For it has wider meanings. Important as His Natural Life is as an account of a particular place at a particular time, its power is not restricted to that historical aspect. [120]

Argyle is less decisive:

> What is interesting is the way the book holds together despite its ragged string. It does so mainly because of the constancy of Clarke's anger that such a system of punishment should ever have existed; it does not matter - as it does not in Dickens's Bleak House - that the abuses should have already disappeared by the time he came to write about them. He seems not to have been impelled so much by a social conscience, as by a feeling of collective and inherited guilt. He recognized in his Preface that he was partly working within the nineteenth-century tradition of protest ... He also intended a warning for society in general.[121]

What is implicit in all this discussion is an assumption that the novel depicts an actual situation that should be remedied, or that it depicts a situation which lends itself to animadversion, and that the situation depicted is such that its moral lesson is not irrelevant to life in general. The history of the appreciation of the novel tends to move from the former to the latter position. The former attitude is tied to the novel's narrower social purpose, the latter to its wider one. Turner's appreciation of the novel is worth quoting at length as being representative of the early Australian attitude.

> It is a novel of great power, full of intense and exciting interest, but withal so permeated by vivid pictures of hellish passion, official brutality, and fiendish injustice, that the blood tingles as the reader takes in the horrible surroundings, and the mind is benumbed with the pain of realizing that it is no exaggeration of the truth. The dehumanizing effect upon the officials, of the exercise of arbitrary, irresponsible despotism is not less revolting to properly constituted minds than the bestial viciousness which the dreary, desolate hopelessness and gross tyrannical injustice engendered in the miserable, cowed outcasts who were thrust outside the pale of human rights. Could a writer of Marcus Clarke's ability have placed this narrative before the British public fifty years ago, and secured for it a wide circulation, and the vouchers of official verification, it would have done more to wipe out

> this blot upon our civilizaton than the laboured efforts of the Howard Society and all other kindred associations. It would have aroused an outburst of feeling that had swept like an avalanche over official indifference or obstruction, and rendered the continuance of such ghastly horrors an impossibility. A vast amount of labour was expended by Marcus Clarke in collecting the materials for this story, in searching the convict records, and familiarizing himself with the scenery, incidents, and regulations of that physically lovely, but morally hideous, settlement of Port Arthur. How faithfully he reproduced his impressions the story bears admirable witness; and the minute fidelity of his descriptions is the more remarkable in one who was generally so ready to idealize when it saved trouble. The examination of the official registers of the penal settlement - the bare lists of authorized punishments, the dealings with "refractories", the outbreaks, the executions - was a long task, distasteful enough to most men, but possessing a strange fascination for him, and revealing conditions of unspeakable horror, such as he assured some of his friends he dared not commit to print. [122]

The last sentence needs to be noted. Because many found the novel's facts shocking and wished to be shocked by feelings of propriety rather than mere sensationalism, they needed to be reassured that the events depicted were not exaggerated. Indeed, that the author had exercised restraint and that he might have said more. Further, it was necessary to know that events had not been distorted for fictional purposes. Byrne takes up most of these points:

> That there are some exaggerations in the treatment of facts need hardly be stated, but they are few in number, not serious in import, and outbalanced by numerous cases in which it has been necessary to modify the description of incidents either too painful or horrible to be fully depicted. As a compensation for its occasional storical inaccuracy, His Natural Life is notably free of the melodramatic excesses that most young writers would have been tempted to commit. Clarke was too good an artist to think of pleading the sanction of facts for any misuse of the privileges of good fiction. To maintain a strong impression on the reader, his touch is occasionally strong and fearless, like that of

> Kipling. But this object attained, he uses his materials with an almost unnecessary reticence. [123]

He goes further than this, in his effort to emphasize the factual content of His Natural Life, he casts Clarke as an historian:

> Marcus Clarke is still alone in Australian literature. Others have shown the cheerful, hopeful, romantic aspects of the new land; he, not less honestly, but with a more concentrated and individual view, has pictured some of the monotony of its half-grown society, the gloom of its scenery, and the painful realities of its early penal systems. Reputed only as a novelist, he possessed besides imagination some of the higher qualities of the critical historian. [124]

It is of interest that Byrne recognized that his was what might be termed a second generation attitude, he wrote:

> It was the work of a vivid historian, rather than of a social reformer, that Marcus Clarke's masterpiece won its popularity, and, for its dramatic and substantially accurate view of the worst (always the worst) aspect of convict life, it will continue to be read while anyone remains to take an interest in the unhappiest period of Australian history. From its pages may be learned how long it has taken the intelligent theorist of the British Government to acquire a practical method of treating a difficult social question; how long stupidity and inhumanity may be practised with the sanction of what Major Vickers was fond of respectfully calling 'the King's regulations'; and how far English gentlemen, remote from the influence of public opinion and invested with more power than single individuals should ever possess, may become despots, and even blackguards. [125]

As his argument develops one can see how a growing Australian national consciousness has changed the concept of the purpose of the novel from that which Clarke stated to have been his aim (to show how a basically good British Government had gone astray) to a conviction that what it conveyed was that the system itself was an evil one that had been inflicted by the British Government on Australia.

The basis on which the facts are to be believed has changed.

Two other attitudes are also apparent at this time. The first was touched on by Turner, when he mentioned that the research Clarke had undertaken had "a strange fascination for him." What is implied is not so much that Clarke had overstepped the bonds of good taste but that in some way his interest was misdirected or even that it was abnormal. Patchett Martin calls His Natural Life:

> ... a work of singular, I may say of cold-blooded, power, which is actually based in the main on official papers regarding the early penal settlements in Van Dieman's Land. This book must always occupy a foremost position, perhaps I should say a unique position, in Australian literature. It can never be superseded or rewritten. [126]

and he emphasizes its bizarre character:

> Such chapters in His Natural Life as those headed 'One Hundred Lashes,' and the absolutely horrible one called 'The Valley of the Shadow of Death' - to my mind the most revolting thing in English fiction - are almost too ghastly to dwell upon. But if you ever want to meet a man who really enjoys horrors, you should always search amongst professional jokers and comedians. I was not at all surprised, therefore, to find, in an interview with a colonial reporter in Sydney, that Mark Twain gave expression to his intense admiration of His Natural Life, and to his especial delight in the repulsive character of Gabbett, the convict-cannibal. His Natural Life has also proved a rare solace to another recent antipodean tourist - Mr. Michael Davitt. [127]

The other attitude is related to the first in that it springs from an unease with the nature of the facts presented. In this case though their presentation is legitimated by the creative power of the author, which produces a novel of importance. Brazier writes:

> If many of these incidents [in His Natural Life] are gruesome and cause a revulsion of horror, it must be remembered how powerful is the imaginative work which has placed human beings in such an environment with results so inevitable as traced with a sequence and vividness that only genius could command. [128]

Patterson says of the novel:

> Nor would it be worth reading merely for the descriptions of the convict days - a series of cruelties and horrors that would be not only monotonous but absolutely sickening if touched by any but a master hand.
>
> Almost every incident detailed in the book may be found in the convict records; he neither added nor took away one single fact. He simply, by the magic of his telling, converted a dull, sodden, brutal incident into a moving episode of his drama. [129]

and Murdoch writes:

> ... in his method of handling his material - in what the French call documentation, in the patient, laborious working-up of his historical evidence - he is the co-mate not of Hugo, but of Flaubert and Zola, and of the great master of all who employ this method, Defoe. Not Defoe himself, collecting his materials for the Journal of the Plague Year, worked more diligently or to better purpose than Clarke with his records of the convict system. The idea of such a book being written by a careless Bohemian, writing as the mood took him from day to day, is merely preposterous. The book was written by a great and serious artist in love with his art, patient, sedulous, and industrious in pursuit of it. His reward is a book that lives. [130]

When the popularity of the novel is eclipsed, Clarke's presentation of facts is again questioned. Miles Franklin writes in 1956:

> The reader still recoils physically nauseated from factual records of the tortures inflicted on our convicts. [131]

In the face of such revulsion and of strong identification with the recipients of the violence, one must not be surprised to see evasive action being taken - the facts as

they are presented by Clarke are denied or alternative explanations are given as to why they cannot be believed. Here again such attitudes are reinforced by current literary theory. The logic of the situation is as follows: Clarke's novel is not admired at this period therefore, it is not in modern terms a good novel, good novels are characterized by a "willing suspension of disbelief",[132] Clarke's novel is, therefore, not believable. The best instance of this kind of criticism comes from Green's Outline of Australian Literature. He writes of His Natural Life:

> Although the brutalities and degradations of the system on which the story is founded are real, and although not one of the events described is impossible and many did actually occur in other contexts, the story is nevertheless a string of improbabilities. The series of events as a result of which Devine, or Dawes, is transported; the planning by Sarah Purfoy of so desperate an expedient as a mutiny on the convict ship, when her lover might have been freed so much more easily and surely by assignement to her after the voyage; the convenience of Mrs. Vicker's death and Sylvia's loss of memory so that Frere and not Dawes might seem to have been the hero of the marooning episode after the seizure of the Osprey at Hell's Gates; the easy acceptance of Rex as Devine, half-brother or not, by even his mother; Sylvia's marriage with Frere: these and other things almost as improbable are enough to throw an atmosphere of unreality over the whole book. But the atmosphere is not merely unreal, it is unnatural and strained. An impossible story may be so related that, given the premises, we are quite capable of that temporary suspension of disbelief of which Coleridge speaks. But the life described in this book, even apart from the improbabilities that pile up until they amount to the impossible, is felt to be unnatural. [133]

perhaps rather surprisingly he still concludes:

> The story proceeds from its melodramatic beginning to its sentimental end with a deliberate relentless motion which one feels that nothing can check, and if the gloomy world within which it moves is not the

> normal human world, it is at least a world which is intensely vital and full of force. [134]

Alternatively, Clarke's novel is seen to give an unbalanced picture of its time, and hence to be historically untrue. Green voices this view first in 1930 although he personally does not hold it:

> It seems to be the fashion nowadays to belittle the book, partly perhaps because of the feeling that it represents times and conditions which are better forgotten and which, it has been contended, "have no more relation to ordinary colonial life than the diary of a governor of Dartmoor would have to the life of a Devonshire farmer." [135]

Elliott, in his early writing is condemnatory:

> It purports to represent the truth of the Convict system, but it is much to be doubted how consistently representative it is ... It exploits known and verifiable events and characters, but it selects them less for impartial truth than for the scope they offer to the seeker after dramatic sensation - and the excitements offered are in the execrable taste of the late nineteenth century theatrical style. For all this it is a novel on a great scale, and it has enough of the passion and pathos of the world in it - independent of the Australian setting - to justify the importance which is given to it. It is a most valuable Australian book. But paradoxically, (even as an Australian book) I would not claim that its value rests upon its presentation of the facts (whether true or distorted) of Australian history; ... [136]

Robson, on the one hand, denies the historical truth of His Natural Life because Dawes is placed:

> ... among the dregs of the convict system and not in the typical situation of an assigned servant. Thus although the author seizes upon his material where it suits his purpose to entertain the reader, historically speaking we must conclude that the novel cannot help but be a misleading account of convict colonization. The reader must therefore not take Clarke too seriously as an historian; he was concerned with the dramatic highlights of transportation, not with a dispassionate history of it. [137]

On the other hand, he finds the novel, as a novel, believable:

> The strength of Clarke's novel is that though he strains our credulity he does not fatally jolt us from a willing suspension of disbelief, and the knowledge that the individual horrors of which he writes are documented contributes to this effect by lending an impression of historical truth to the whole story. It is beyond the scope of this enquiry to look into matters of a more exclusively literary character, such as the full significance and force of Clarke's general picture of evil and suffering. There is no doubt, however, that his use of historical material made the novel a more effective human document than it otherwise might have been. [138]

Horner and Goodenough follow suit:

> The Broad Arrow gives a much more balanced picture of the operation of the convict system than does For the Term of His Natural Life. [139]

> There is not much historical research in these stories or for that matter in His Natural Life. Although Clarke does claim that he had been to historical sources, he certainly was not an historian. He largely accepted the current beliefs about the system and the yarns of the "old hands who related terrible and true stories". Some of these old hands had met in the "Ship" hotel in Hobart. I think, perhaps, that they led him on a little in some of the stories they told. [140]

It is not irrelevant that both Robson and Horner are Tasmanians and hence may perhaps be regarded as more sensitive on this issue than those from elsewhere. Goodenough spent some time in Tasmania and was perhaps sympathetic to the Tasmanian viewpoint:

> While retaining a belief in the facts presented by the novel, others have found the whole unbelievable because of its artificial structure. Hadgraft writes of the "long series of convenient coincidences" which he described as "an abuse."[141] Wilkes is of a similar turn of

mind:

> The story survives the melodramatic absurdities leading to Dawes's conviction in England, only to run into the greater improbability of Sylvia's loss of memory of all the events at Macquarie Harbour, and of her marriage to Frere. The account of the brutalities of the convict system verges on the sensational ... Yet the book has an intensity which no other Australian novel of the time achieved. It comes partly from the involvement of the story in the convict system, of which Clarke shirks no unpalatable feature, from flogging to cannibalism and sodomy: as most of the episodes can be documented, it is only the aggregation of them that produces a melodramatic effect. [142]

And Hergenhan writes as recently as 1971:

> ... it is not uncommon for modern readers to dismiss His Natural Life as contrived and exaggerated beyond all credibility ... [143]

Mares is the exception, he writes:

> The sequence of events in the plot which brings Dawes further and further into the power of the system and of Maurice Frere is, at a realistic level, almost incredible, but this scarcely worries the reader, for the emotional logic of the book requires this steady destruction, which Dawes's periodic reassertions of his native virtue only make more poignant. [144]

The more modern attitude towards the book, appreciating as it does the conventions of the Victorian novel, is less concerned about a non-naturalistic presentation. Indeed a good case might be made in terms of modern criticism, although I have not yet seen it made, that Clarke's obvious use of the nineteenth-century novelistic convention of coincidence together with his factual material achieves an aesthetic effect from the one counterpoised against the other; artifice versus naturalism. Poole, Wilding and Burrows have all been able to find positive advantages in Clarke's use of coincidence. Poole writes

appreciatively of "one of those extraordinary coincidences which Clarke so often uses to good effect."[145] While Wilding admits:

> Viewed realistically, these coincidences are absurd: and many critics have commented adversely on the novel as a result of them. And since the historical portrayal of the convict system is done with such a careful and insistent documentary realism, the temptation to read the novel as wholly naturalistic is great.[146]

He goes on to say:

> ... the coincidences have a role other than of providing sensational revelations and of providing some structural neatness to what might have been a rambling narrative. The familial connections of the characters offer a basis for a reading of the novel at a different level from the historical naturalistic. The blood relationship of Dawes and Rex allows for some important paralleling of their lives ... Rex is the guilty equivalent of Dawes.[147]

Having disposed of the difficulties impairing credence of the novel as a whole Wilding is able, as one supposes others must in this age of widespread media dissemination of violence and brutality, to accept as factual Clarke's subject matter. In so doing, he is in a better position to appreciate Clarke's novel. He writes:

> His Natural Life is not pleasant reading. One recurrent critical response has been to react from the aggregation of horrors and dismiss the novel as melodramatic. But this is a dismissal that involves a denial of the realities of the Australian convict settlement.[148]

He is thus able to reassess the quality of Clarke's writing:

> The tone Clarke strives for in detailing these episodes is one of objectivity; he generally shuns the sensationally emotional. His prose, of course, shares with the other Victorian novelists that greater expressiveness, that more explicitly emot-

> ional and demonstrative tone than most twentieth-century fiction possesses. But within that context he exercises a restraint. [149]

and

> Again the restraint, the detached manner of narration, makes the horror more telling. Clarke uses a similar detachment of manner in his scrupulousness about the precise months and years, and about geographical accuracy. This both emphasises the documentary aspect of the book, and underlines the horror. [150]

he concludes:

> Clarke's recording of the atrocities of a not far distant past, turning court records and royal commissions into imaginative fiction, was a major achievement. [151]

Burrows, on the other hand, takes a different view from Wilding, seeing the strength of the novel lying in its artificiality of form; he accepts the novel's melodramatic qualities and places it within the nineteenth-century form of the melodrama. This enables him to come to terms with the novel's string of coincidences.

> "Almost at the same moment." All these and many others are, literally, coincidences whose effect is to evoke the pathos of Dawes's situation. From "coincidence" and "pathos" to "spurious" and "sentimental" is an habitual step in the criticism of melodrama. Instead of taking it, we should reflect that, at least in such instances as these, we are faced not with cheap substitutes for dramatic action but with moments in which that action is epitomized, with potent images of things already brought into association with each other by dramatic means. In defending Clarke, moreover, one is defending his more distinguished contemporaries ... [152]

Burrows goes on to develop his thesis, he defines the form of melodrama:

> [The] O.E.D. holds mostly to familiar ground, touching on "romantic" and "sensational" qualities of plot and incident; on mechanical stratagems; on bandits and disguised noblemen; on violent and exaggerated appeals to the emotions; and on

> contrived poetic justice. His Natural Life meets these terms with dismaying facility. [153]

And, like Wilding he admits:

> ... the absurd improbability of Clarke's story warrants our attention because it makes for difficulties too central to be lightly set aside. [154]

He continues:

> There are novels, it is true, where lapses into the melodramatic can be regarded as peripheral or inconsequential ... Just such a line of extenuation lies behind some of those accounts of His Natural Life which demonstrate Clarke's remarkable fidelity to the convict records and memoirs on which he drew. [155]

He concludes, even if somewhat tentatively:

> Perhaps it is possible, while freely acknowledging the importance of these improbabilities, to establish that the novel somehow transmutes them. [156]

He then goes on to develop the possibilities of melodrama using:

> ... a brief comment of Northrop Frye's: "In melodrama two themes are important: the triumph of moral virtue over villainy, and the consequent idealizing of the moral views assumed to be held by the audience". The possible looseness of any writer's assumptions about his audience and the precise force of "idealizing" may well give rise to problems: yet Frye does raise the possibility of an intelligible connection between melodrama itself and the serious attitudes of those who watch it - the possibility, that is to say, that melodrama may at times offer something more than mere excitement or mere escapism. [157]

In so doing he provides a most convincing amplification of Clarke's expressed purpose of the novel. He concludes:

> In his declared intention, then, Clarke conforms to Frye's account of melodrama not in the sense that his readers can simply feel confirmed in their own rectitude but in the richer sense that though confirmed in their essential standards, they are brought to painful awareness of a situation in which those standards have been forgotten or debased. [158]

Poole explores the nature of His Natural Life as a romance, rather than a novel, and is able thus to place fact in an interesting relationship to literary form. She recounts a story that Clarke had the words 'a novel' removed from the title page of his work:

> If there is any truth in the story it is possible that Clarke's argument was based upon distinction such as that made by Nathaniel Hawthorne in his preface to The House of Seven Gables (1851) when he discusses the Novel and the Romance. The Novel, Hawthorne explains, "is presumed to aim at a very minute fidelity, not merely to the possible, but to the probable and ordinary course of man's experience." But the Romance, "while as a work of art, it must rigidly subject itself to laws, and while it sins unpardonably so far as it may swerve aside from the truth of the human heart - has fairly a right to present the truth under circumstances, to a great extent, of the writer's own choosing or creation."
>
> Marcus Clarke had referred to the special nature of the "realism" practised by Charles Dickens as "the romance of reality." [159]

It is notable here that, far from giving a personal opinion, Poole is endeavouring to place the work in Clarke's original intellectual context. The same might be said of both Wilding and Burrows; Wilding accepts the novel's factual content and Burrows its moral purpose, both do so in Clarke's own terms as stated by him in his preface.

E. Other Attributes of the Novel Affecting its Credibility: Character, Scene and Symbolism

As for the initial reviews of His Natural Life, Hergenhan claims that: "The characterization of His Natural Life drew general praise, though individual reactions to the characters differed."[160] The exception was the review in the Spectator which stated:

> Mr Clarke's power is greater in painting the moral incidents and physical scenery of the life he deals with, than in painting individual character. His hero is never clear to us from beginning to end. There are evidences here and there, especially in the delineation of the child Sylvia, and of ... Sarah Purfoy ... also in the outline of Frere ... the evil genius of the story, and in the striking picture of the drinking Chaplain's agony of soul ... that Mr Clarke might, if he took pains, draw individual character as he draws both physical and moral scenery ... He has put in a considerable number of clever superficial sketches, both of criminals and their superiors ... As Sylvia grows from the child into the woman, we see her less and less clearly. "Good Mr Dawes", and violent, bitter, hardened Mr Dawes, are never made quite the same person, and neither of them is really understood by the reader. [161]

Hergenhan asks if the review implies that "Clarke is more interested in the morality of individual episodes and incidents than in building up characters in depth?"[162] He concludes that this is so. The Examiner also shared the view that the book's character portrayals were not realistic, but in this case the reviewer was aware of the more literary nature of Clarke's characters flavoured with heroism or villainy. Hergenhan writes:

> ... it saw Dawes as "a brutalized Prometheus ... an incarnation of suffering"; Frere as "the Goth who develops by unrestrained exercise of power into the ruthless tyrant, and who slowly but surely chokes his springs of good. He is, as it were, a Teutonic and ruffianly Tito". [163]

The Australian reviews that followed expressed similar feelings. Patterson felt that "Its characters are all powerfully but vaguely drawn - titanic figures in a gloomy atmosphere;" but he also commented "... it is not on skill of character-drawing that the wonderful fascination of the book depends."[164] Brazier wrote of Clarke's "masterly portrayal of human character, developing in a

strange and horrible environment."[165] Patterson and Brazier only hinted at qualities which were crystallized in Murdoch's analysis.

> But when all deductions have been made, how penetrating, in its tragic intensity, that central story is! It has been objected that the characterisation is weak. This refers, I suppose, to Rufus Dawes; and Rufus Dawes is certainly not drawn with strongly-marked individual traits ... But the objection is nothing to the purpose; tragedy, as Aristotle saw, can afford to do without character ... This is, I think, of immense importance in judging such a book as His Natural Life; the interest in Dawes is aroused, not by the drawing of his character, but by the drawing of his situation; and that interest would not be a whit more poignant if we knew him, complete in every inflection of voice and trick of gesture, as we know a character of Meredith's. The picture of this mere human soul, in the vicissitudes of his struggle with the system - the sytem whose shadow hangs over the story as the shadow of necessity hangs over a tragedy of AEschylus - has a grandeur of outline that raises its maker almost to a level with Hugo - the Hugo of Les Misérables. [166]

Stephens and Adams, however, expressed quite a different appreciation, Stephens wrote that "... the pages in 'His Natural Life,' for example, which tell how Tommy and Bill 'did it,' have a true, natural pathos which Clarke must have felt keenly; and throughout the novel there is ever and again a glow of genuine humanity"[167] and Adams:

> Yet Clarke in Sylvia in "His Natural Life" - Sylvia with her "thousand imperious prettinesses," "her little figure as upright and supple as a willow rod," "her innocent delicate face in its nimbus of fine gold hair," "charmingly conscious of her own beauty," "standing piteously near the wounded Bates, but afraid to touch him" - where in our modern fiction is a more real, more delightfully real, portrait of a child than Sylvia? [168]

Neither of these forms of appreciation were easily carried forward into the 1930s and beyond. Then there was an obvious concern with the importance of characterization

and with psychology of character; it appeared to be generally accepted that characterization and character development should be given naturalistic treatment. Green (1930) can be seen to have been sensitive both to the qualities of His Natural Life delineated by Murdoch and to the demands of modern literary theory. He writes:

> Every conceivable opportunity for dramatic effect is seized upon and overloaded; no chance is missed of adding to Dawes' burdens and no chance is allowed to help him. Moreover, Dawes himself is a very shadowy person, one feels doubts about Sylvia, and the general atmosphere of gloom and brutality is almost unredeemed.
>
> ... The fate of poor Dawes unfolds and darkens, event succeeding cruel and crushing event. And, strained and over-coloured as is the whole story, how tragic Clarke contrives to make the separate misfortunes, and how overwhelmingly lifelike or not, their gathering and collective weight! [169]

Miller was also appreciative of His Natural Life because he was able to view the novel in historical perspective. He believed that its standing was due to the author's "evocation of powerful incidents and accentuated characterization in the manner of romances of the time ..."[170] Roderick's analysis was more equivocal but he still accepted the novel's own conventions, he wrote:

> Opening with tragedy, it closes in the same way. The cruelty of fate, impassive to the sufferings of man, is drawn with fidelity and skill. It is thoroughly in keeping with the powerful and sombre atmosphere that is skilfully maintained throughout. There are individual scenes which are unforgettable: the suicide of the two boys, the last ghastly days in the life of Vetch, the abasement of North and the unmasking of John Rex. For the Term of His Natural Life contains many brilliant passages, but few more powerful or more effective than the final scene. At the same time it is from the very excess of vivid writing that the defects of the work as a piece of prose fiction arise. Zealous research into prison records revealed to Clarke a multiplicity of horrors, which are made to fall upon the head of one

> man, his hero, Rufus Dawes, who, to preserve a mother's secret, sounds the very depths of human misery and degradation. It is from this that the improbabilities of the plot arise. The greatness of the work lies in its presentation of the utter helplessness of virtue in the grip of blind, unreasoning brute force. [171]

On the other hand, the suicide incident appreciated by Stephens was now dismissed as "too forced, too sentimental." [172] There was an obvious search for a different form of character portrayal. Green enthused "... how some of the minor characters stand out, Sarah Purfoy at the head of them; how real she is!" [173] and Rees wrote: "... the author makes the cardinal error of never letting you see into the mind of his hero, and thus denies him the reader's true sympathy based on self-identification" and more appreciatively "Other parts, particularly the treatment of Rev. North, show uncannily modern penetration into psychology." [174] In addition, Roderick reported:

> ... Those who admire its craftsmanship will point to its massive outlines, its sharp flashes of insight into character in action, its wealth of detail, its revelation of what constitutes real virtue, its portrayal of the naked souls of keepers and kept, and its essential truth. [175]

and Blake averred:

> ... he created unforgettable characters: the vital, magnificent Sarah Purfoy, the inhuman, cold-blooded Frere who sought to smash Dawes's spirit, the craven parson North, who knew the truth of Dawes's crime, and the ghastly horror known as Gabbett who ate his fellow escapees. [176]

Inevitably any interest in character must be focussed upon Dawes. Franklin's attitude has been widely expressed. She wrote "Clarke piled on one victim too much tragedy to be endured." [177] The comment is, I believe, a critical one and

its implication is 'endured by men' or 'endured by us'. Hadgraft made the same point but reduced its importance, seeing character as subordinate to narrative. He wrote of Clarke:

> Though he focuses all types of punishment upon Dawes, and though this may strain belief, one is inclined to feel that the effect, overwhelming in force, justifies the violation. Under the iron flail Dawes changes in a way that Clarke describes with a skill beyond that of the other Australian novelists of the century. It is a picture of hardening and coarsening, with periodic softenings into humanity and tenderness that are followed by further access of grim resolution. It is not so much the creation of a character as the tracing of temperamental changes. [178]

and underlined his meaning: "Rufus Dawes is shown as human nature changing rather than as a living individual human being." [179] Blake harked back to Franklin and Green's opinion:

> For The Term of his Natural Life (1874) told with harsh realism and garish detail of the sombre existence of Richard Devine ("Rufus Dawes"), wrongfully convicted for the murder of Lord Bellasis. Horrors and brutality crowded in on Dawes during his years in the hells of Macquarie Harbour and Port Arthur. Clarke overdid this terrible concentration of evils on one man; he wrenched too strongly to gain Dickensian pathos and the "Les Miserables" effect of Hugo ... The narrative rolled and thundered on, building up tremendous force and vitality to the final escape and death of Dawes with the angelic, impossible Sylvia. [180]

Wilkes too, saw character in His Natural Life developed within literary conventions of the past but also showing traces of the more modern aspects of characterization:

> Clarke's melodrama is in the strain of Edgar Allan Poe, where the horrors are reflected in a human consciousness, and the writer is able to explore excited or neurotic states of mind. Clarke shows the conditions of numbness which his sufferings produce in Dawes, and the indifference that passes into

> bravado at Norfolk Island, as he is careless whether he lives or dies; ... no other novel of the period has the same psychological penetration or grasp. [181]

Hergenhan brought a similar appreciation to the novel:

> For the first half of the novel Dawes is used to expose man-made evils through the role of innocent sufferer, but later Clarke carries both his indictment of the System and his wider purpose further by showing Dawes as deeply, if not irremediably, corrupted. It is this corruption, in which Clarke departs from and challenges convention ... [182]

He then wrote of Dawes:

> His inevitable loneliness, despair, loss of self-respect and desire for revenge are communicated in this way but we may well feel that we want to know what it must have felt like to be a Dawes more directly and at greater length. However, the novel is not static, and the later part does bring Dawes closer to us. Still Dawes is never given as much solidity as Frere; instead of becoming a personality he tends to be a kind of symbol who has a certain human life within individual episodes but conveys little sense of a developing personality emerging from the episodes and fusing them together. This episodic quality of the novel results from Clarke's desire make Dawes run the whole gamut of the worst of the System i.e. all the main places and phases of secondary punishment for the worst offenders. [183]

And again emphasizing the psychological dimension:

> The flogging at Port Arthur is one of the turning-points of the novel, not because of its sensational brutality, but because here more than anywhere else Clarke shows the deepest understanding of the effects of Dawes' kind of suffering, even though he perhaps touches on some significances rather than exploring them. It is noticeable that in the flogging incident Clarke allows himself only two brief but telling paragraphs on the physical horrors involved sufficient to evoke the reader's revulsion and sympathy, and then concentrates on the effects on the victim's mind. [184]

Notwithstanding this episode Hergenhan concluded that in general "... Clarke relies more on frequent and varied incident than an elaboration of inner experience to

develop his theme ..."[185] The clash between the psychological appreciation of character, its development in what might be termed internal personal narrative and the alternative narrative presentation of concentrating upon events external to the character remained unresolved. Both Argyle and Poole have recognized the difficulty. Argyle wrote:

> What finally prevents his success is the realism of his setting and the conviction of his anger: for they conflict with the ideals embodied in his main characters. Scene and anger give unity to his novel, but he fails to preserve the tension that comes from a constant opposition of morality and psychology. Where morality, with allegorical and stock figures, condemns and applauds, psychology, through sybolism, precludes both condemnation and applause, offering instead a bewildered pity. Clarke reverses the functions, trying to extract pity from morality, and applause for his psychology. His intention was to write a 'sensation novel', and he ended by offering his public a novel of protest. It is as much his intentions as his achievement that are in doubt. [186]

and Poole concluded that "one of the weaknesses of the novel is to present Rufus Dawes as a consistently developing personality through whom the various episodes of the novel are coherently connected." [187]

An examination of character in the novel has sometimes led to a reassessment of the novel as a whole. Thus Elliott wrote of Clarke:

> His motive for planning a novel on this theme was essentially neither descriptive nor expository. As it first took shape in his mind the story was broadly historical, but it emerged finally as a psychological romance. [188]

While Hergenhan has, in Poole's words, seen in His Natural Life an "... underlying meaning which transforms the story of the old convict system into a parable of corruption and redemption ..." [189]

In the 1970s a new atmosphere of acceptance of Clarke's style and a sympathy with his general tone, together with a more appreciative attitude towards Victorian literature has engendered other studies of greater depth into Clarke's work. At the same time, it is obvious that the current obsessive search for meaning in literature is also reflected in them. Firstly, Hergenhan and then Poole and Burrows have written on the symbolic aspects of the novel. Of its use of animal imagery. Hergenhan wrote that effects in His Natural Life "... are conveyed not only by the vivid dramatic scenes and pictures, but also by the evocative language. Imagery relating to nature and animals is consistently used here and throughout the novel for this purpose"[190] and also noted that:

> Animal imagery is similarly used to develop the novel's moral concerns. It emphasises the debased instincts which are part of man's nature and which are echoed in animate as well as inanimate creation. These images reflect on both the gaoled and the gaolers and on the system which links them. The convicts' quarters are 'a cattle-pen'; and later 'a wild beasts' den', from which they are released to 'sniff fresh air'; the callous Frere instinctively refers to them as dogs and they 'cringe' to him. [191]

Poole drew a similar conclusion that:

> The debasing effects of the system of punishment upon convicts and free men alike is reflected in the persistence with which animal qualities in human behaviour are noted. [192]

Burrows wrote on the same theme comparing the two versions of Clarke's novel. With respect to Dawes' characterization he wrote:

> Whereas the original Dawes had been directly likened to a beast on several dark occasions, the Dawes of the revised version, though so described by some

> whose opinions we are to reject, is nowhere shown as more than partly brutalized except at the time of his worst degradation: "It was as though each blow of the cat forced out of him a fresh burst of beast-like rage. He seemed to have abandoned his humanity" ... All in all, Clarke insists unfalteringly on the two main aspects of this potent set of images: that, to the extent that convicts are beasts, they are made so by the System; and that the System bestializes the gaolers no less than the gaoled. [193]

Boehm has also written:

> The imagery which ties the book together follows ... from the crude to the complex ... there are three major sets of images in the novel: animal imagery, prison imagery, and images of 'value' which surround Sylvia and her relationship with Dawes. [194]

As well as the novel using symbolism to reinforce its meaning it has also been taken in itself to be symbolic. We have already mentioned Hergenhan's analysis of it in relation to Christian myth. It has also been taken to symbolize the relationship between England and Australia (Burrows) and to play out the antipodean myth (Wilding). Writing within the theme he developed of His Natural Life being essentially a melodrama Burrows wrote:

> By another of those metaphoric processes on which melodrama relies, he seeks also into origins. As everyone knows, Victorian melodrama is much occupied with inheritances ... [195]

and

> Part history, part myth, it is the English inheritance that was repudiated, with a brash but touching optimism, by so many Australians of Clarke's time and afterwards, fired by the belief that they could start afresh.
>
> But, drawing on a convention of faith in natural aristocracy that goes back beyond melodrama into romances like Cymbeline and Arcadia, Clarke corrects the balance. [196]

He does so by making Dawes a disguised nobleman, a hero indeed of melodrama. Wilding's analysis of his theme is more sustained:

> For those who wrote about her before she was known to exist, Australia was in image a Utopia, a sort of Paradise. The reverse of conditions in Europe, this unknown continent of the Antipodes could be imagined free from corruptions and persecutions. The realities of the settlement shattered this image; but it continued to survive as a bitter parody of what might have been. A potential Eden had become an evil penitentiary. Mr Pounce of the civil list, one of the English establishment running the penal colony in Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life (1874) gives all unconsciously such a parody of the utopian and providential hopes.
>
> > "This island seems specially adapted by Providence for a convict settlement; for with an admirable climate, it carries little indigenous vegetation which will support human life ... Poor Potherick used often to say that it seemed as if some Almighty Hand had planned the Penal Settlement round the coast, the country is so delightfully barren."
>
> It is by the use of such myths as basic images for his novel, that Clarke is able to offer so much more than an historical account of the convict settlement. His account and indictment of the system is masterly. But Clarke was not simply offering a naturalistic account of a particular situation at a particular historical time and in a particular geographical context. He was also presenting a vision of human life, a vision in part and ironically drawing on the old myth of the Antipodes ...
>
> The Antipodes traditionally represented the other side of the social coin: and that is Clarke's material. His novel deals literally with the underworld; the world beneath Europe, the other side of the globe, the bottom of the map: and the world of criminals and prisoners (not necessarily synonymous), the underworld of society that England preferred not to know about and to dispose of. In his depiction of the penal colony Clarke offers a complete counter picture of English society in its systems of authority, oppression and brutalisation. The officers, the guards, the clergy, the innocent and the guilty prisoners, and the free settlers, comprise a full social range. But it is a society that is the reverse image of the official picture of early Victorian England: here the convicts are not conveniently shipped away, here the underworld is the dominant concern of the society. Here the systems of authority of England reveal themselves in

> explicit brutality. The particular circumstances of this underworld allow man's 'natural life' to emerge without any of the inhibiting restraints of European society. The Antipodes here represent not the ideal state that man, freed from European society, might aspire to, but its reverse, the brutality that, implicit in European society, he will quickly sink to if allowed. [197]

and again in 1976, expounding on the same theme:

> The antipodes here hold not the ideal, 'natural' state that man, freed from European society, might aspire to; but its reverse, the brutality, degradation and despair that, implicit in European society, here have their full flowering. The cumulative effect of the specific evils of the convict system is a vision of the futility, the hopelessness, the meaninglessness of human life. [198]

Assessments of Clarke's use of landscape in His Natural Life are particularly important to this study linking ideas and place. "Most of the [original] English reviewers ... praised Clarke's depiction of "scenery", highly if briefly ..." [199] The Spectator found his depiction of scenery superior to his characterization [200] and wrote:

> We ought to add that, in our opinion, scenery has hardly ever been described with more striking effect than the scenery of Van Diemen's Land, in the various stories contained here of convict-life, and escapes, and of desperate wanderings in the wilderness till the prospect of recapture becomes far the least terrible of the various alternatives open to the wretched fugitives. [201]

Perhaps because of the rather different bias of the initial Australian criticism, praise of the writer's ability to depict a scene realistically and dramatically appears to have been emphasized.

> The Australasian argued that "Even the historian ... fails to give us anything like so good an idea of the historical personages, the events, the politics and social life, the manners, customs, pastimes and enjoyments of the past as the romance writer ... By the power of his imagination the novelist projects

himself into the midst of the scenes and events which he describes." [202]

The Sydney Morning Herald while admitting the novel's power to depict scenery effectively cannot quite accept the picture offered, the reviewer wrote:

> The romance of His Natural Life is a history of the Convict System, written with undeniable ability and with the professed intention of enlisting our sympathy by exposing all its abuses, carefully presenting only the dark side of the picture, and a very melancholy picture it is ... The events related are tragic and startling; the whole being so grouped together that it is often difficult to point out where the truth ends, and where the bias of the author's mind has led him into some excusable exaggeration ... Once fairly launched (after the "abrupt and unnatural" Prologue), however, into his romance, the life of the luckless Rufus Dawes ... is told with a graphic power by which the reader is irresistibly carried away, even against his better judgment. [203]

There is a long gap before critical interest was again shown in this aspect of the novel. Morris-Miller wrote of His Natural Life "sombrely rhythmical chapter on "The Topography of Van Dieman's Land" [204] but otherwise there was a general critical blank except for the occasional notice taken of Clarke's trip to Port Arthur and its consequences. Howarth elaborated on the way such a visit affected the writing of the novel:

> There can be no doubt that as well as studying manuscript sources Clarke carried out field-work, combining this with the quest for health. The minute descriptions in his novel of Port Arthur and its surroundings could have come only from first-hand knowledge acquired by visiting there - after all it isn't far from Hobart - and the same may perhaps be claimed for the Macquarie Harbour scenes. At any rate Clarke returned to Melbourne with a store of impressions as well as with notes from the records, and he then commenced the writing ... [205]

In spite of Hergenhan's claim that most of the original reviewers of His Natural Life "probably felt something of its symbolic and atmospheric power even if they could not articulate it",[206] and for which he produces no evidence, it seems more likely that this aspect of Clarke's novel was not explored at this time. The earliest evidence I have found of scenery given symbolic value is a hint to that effect by Stephens in 1906 and only in relation to an excerpt from the serial which was omitted in the book version. Stephens wrote: "Clarke gives some passages ... autobiographical value." He then quoted one:

> These ranges - big, long and bristling with the grotesque vegetation of the Australian mountain ridges - were his father and mother, his confidant and familiar friend. Whenever he was beaten or maltreated he would disappear into the sombre gullies, and forcing his mountain bred horse up all sorts of devious paths, would spend hours stretched upon some lofty crag staring alternately into the blue sky above him and the grey bush below him. Not that there was anything poetical in the boy save that natural poetry inherent in children - but that in these solitudes lay all he had known of peace and ease. Alone amid the mountain gorges, with his fleet horse tethered close at hand, ready to bear him where he liked, and with no living creature else visible but the fleeting eaglehawks, he realised something of that calm happiness which more fortunate children find in well-ordered homes and the caresses of loving parents.
>
> Lying there a solitary little soul, he could form wild boyish plans of the future, beat his sorrows into the kindly earth with passionate hands, catch from the rustling of the branches and the soughing of the mountain airs - something of a better and holier thought than was vouchsafed to him in the gross revelry of the huts, or the fierce excitement of the yards. The trees were his companions; the boulders and crags his trusty friends. They never laughed at him nor lashed him. On this giant gum he had cut out his initials, by that rough stone he had sat and wept. It was in this creek he had been nearly drowned in the last winter's flood. It was in that gully he had found the brindled bullock, for whom the whole station had hunted in vain. It was into that pool he hurled fragments of earth, measur-

> ing the future greatness of his righteous vengeance by the widening eddies. It was against yonder tree that he had flung stones deciding if he should find his father - that momentous and absorbing question - by his success in striking the gnarled and knotted target. [207]

It is not until 1965 that this aspect of Clarke's work is again explored in any detail; Hergenhan wrote:

> The descriptions of sea and sky are used to reflect, and so to deepen, the feelings of gloom and anguish which the scene conveys, and also to suggest that nature herself can be hostile or coldly indifferent towards man as well as his human oppressors. Such references are used throughout the novel to extend the treatment of suffering and evil beyond the transportation framework, and they help to account for the power the novel develops. Thus Clarke does not simply avail himself of 'the pathetic fallacy' but includes nature as part of the embracing moral scheme he is dramatizing. Though Clarke's language is always liable to suffer from melodrama and journalistic flourishes, its imaginative qualities are often skilfully exploited so that the pictorial vividness and emotional power both contribute to an underlying moral pattern instead of being used for mere sensational effect.
>
> The opening scene economically draws attention to the 'breathless stillness', the 'hot and heavy' atmosphere: 'the sky brazen and cloudless'; the shadow of the ship lying solitary in 'the glittering sea'. The 'fiery red sun' is an 'enemy' to the unprotected convicts. The appearance of friendly birds is offset by 'the hideous fin of a silently-swimming shark' which tries to stalk them. Here and elsewhere the oppressive silence, heat and stillness are used to suggest numb misery, stagnation and lurking violence and terror, as in ch. VI in which the terrors of even a calm ocean of 'hideous vastness' are briefly described. The sea is one of the most powerful images in the novel and it is usually associated with the darker side of Clarke's vision as an enemy of man. [208]

Hergenhan expanded his theme:

> The tension between the opposing sides of man's nature, and of nature as a whole, is maintained throughout the novel. For instance it is skilfully embodied in the opening chapter of Book II, 'The Topography of Van Diemen's Land', in terms of the natural landscape and the forces that mould it. Here

> the extended description is given moral undertones. Some parts of Tasmania offer all that is mild, beautiful and beneficent in nature, but against this are set, gently at first then more forcefully, nature's destructive and cruel forces. The contrast is epitomized in the juxtaposition of picturesque Hobart and the bleak west coast. [209]

In a second article, Hergenhan examines the role both seascape and landscape play in the novel. Here the emphasis lies less on their symbolic role and more on their psychological effect on the participants in the novel; we understand their plight through the presentation of the landscape as they saw it.

> A sense of personal insignificance is powerfully conveyed at a number of points not all concerning Dawes, and it is linked with a painful sense of aloneness. These states are produced not simply by the sadistic actions of the gaolers but by the alien universe through which the exiled convicts travel after leaving the familiar English shores. [210]

and

> ... even the calm sea (it is to be stormy and threatening in later episodes) is more terrifying than an angry one because its very calmness accentuates its crushing vastness. The indifference of the natural wilderness through which Dawes later moves, reflecting the closed hearts and minds of the gaolers, is to be as painful to him as nature's hostility. Pictures of an isolated figure or group of figures in an alien landscape, hostile or indifferent, are used frequently throughout the novel for a similar purpose, for example Dawes' solitary confinement on the rock in Macquarie Harbour; his wanderings in the wilderness around Macquarie Harbour; Rex's experience in the blow-hole; the wanderings of the Port Arthur escapees. In all of these episodes, landscape and atmosphere are used to suggest the inner plight of Dawes or other convicts, his dwindling sense of his own significance, his hopeless isolation, cut off from both fellow convicts and all outside influences. [211]

Hergenhan rejected Barnes' view, as he would presumably also have rejected Stephens', that the landscape described in His Natural Life is a direct reflection of

Clarke's personality. Barnes had written:

> Clarke's version of the Australian landscape was really a projection of his own inner state, a personal condition, which did not depend upon the visible external landscape and his relation to it. [212]

To which Hergenhan replied:

> It is distorting and inadequate, then, to see Clarke's description as "really a projection of his own inner state, a personal condition" ... though one may admit Clarke chose to express those conventions which were attuned to the darker side of his own temperament. [213]

We can see evidence here of clear rejection of the former psychological, analytical approach in favour of the later employment of stylistic criticism. Hergenhan (1971) made this plain:

> His Natural Life is probably the first Australian novel to use landscape in this way with any real success, and in modern times similar effects have been achieved by Patrick White, Randolph Stow and Thomas Keneally. If Clarke's treatment depends more on generalization than specific detail, this contributes imaginatively to the universalizing of his theme. Though he does capture some distinctive features of the Tasmanian landscape he was more interested in larger and more universal aspects of nature. [214]

In the same vein Argyle (1972) has written of Clarke's chapter "The Topography of Van Dieman's Land":

> This is a handsome appreciation; it is, moreover, a description of Tasmania, an island which no earlier novelist had had the chance to sit back and appreciate. The element of 'sitting back' is important: the island, or the eastern half of it, had been settled since Rowcroft's time, and was by now in a condition to allow its inhabitants to rest as well as to receive guests; and Clarke is looking at it as a visitor might. Such details as he gives are the prominent ones a tourist with a map would remark upon. His audience is clearly European in origin and experience, people who might have heard of Hobart but who would more readily know what it was to enjoy the 'mean temperature of Smyrna'.

> This flatness of description, however, has its uses in the novel. It is at once the distant background to the story, and the immmediate contrast to the foreground scenery. [215]

However, he also recognized the more complex use of scenery in the novel:

> Clarke writes that, according to Colonel Arthur, the spot which bore his name was a 'natural penitentiary', an opinion which earlier in the book Mr. Pounce, of the 'Civil list', has expressed over soup: 'This island seems specially adapted by Providence for a convict settlement; for with an admirable climate, it carries little indigenous vegetation which will support human life.' As is evident in the title, Clarke's overt theme is going to be 'Australia as a prison'; but as much to his point is the constant presence of the sea and the symbolic quality he extracts from it. Its encircling terror is real ... As the sea ensures a 'natural penitentiary', it is also the symbol of Dawes's restless and encircling love for Sylvia; 'the transparent beauty of our Australian coastal waters' would hardly have served the purpose. They are rather the equivalent of Mr. Pounce's soup. [216]

Poole has written "The irony of the title of His Natural Life is reflected in Clarke's management of nature in the novel." She went on to illustrate the point in some detail:

> Book One opens with a vivid presentation of the physical discomfort on the prison ship becalmed under a "brazen and cloudless sky." There is a sense of foreboding in the "breathless stillness" through which "his enemy the sun" pours "his hottest rays" upon Dawes's head, and the action of the novel is hinted as an albatross narrowly escapes a pursuing shark at the same moment that Frere, roused by the fiery sun, looks about for something "to break the monotony of his employment" and roughly commands Dawes to "get out of the gangway." Dawes, fixed in his cattle-pen, is less fortunate than the albatross. [217]
>
> From the beginning the sea is a symbol of man's alienation from nature. On the Malabar its vastness demonstrates the puny insignificance of man and his works. At the prison settlements it is one of the natural forces converted to the role of gaoler. Wherever he is, the sea presents a barrier between Dawes and free human dignity. It becomes endowed with malevolent energy of its own, "meditating evil" as its "pitiless billows" ... repeat themselves for

> endless leagues. When Dawes attempts to escape from Macquarie Harbour the sea, "salt, glittering, and hungry" ... signals his failure, and as he returns to the deserted settlement "the sea, crawling at his feet, seemed to grin at him with a thin lipped hungry mouth" ... The beauty of the scene at Port Arthur mocks Dawes as he returns to bondage; from the "hideously clean jetty refuses to look at "the exquisite blue of the sea, the soft shadows of the hills, ... the soothing ripple of the waves that crept voluptuously to the white breast of the shining shore" [and so on]. [218]

And finally:

> Dawes's last day on the island returns us to the atmosphere of the opening scene on the Malabar: "the day was exceedingly close and sultry" with no breath of wind to ruffle the surface of the sea, "heavy dun clouds ... on the horizon" presaging a storm ... The hurricane which follows aptly reflects the storm of passion released upon Norfolk Island by Frere's calculated and disciplined brutality. Their mutual discovery and recognition in the heart of the storm demonstrates the success of Dawes and Sylvia in having resisted the corrupting forces of evil. Frere, deluded by dreams of absolute power, is left solitary on the island as the bodies of the man and the woman drift, on an ocean "placid" at last, golden in the rays of the sun. [219]

Of all the modern analyses Burrows has the most stylistic approach, it is notable for the variety of the ways in which scenery is explained to have acted in His Natural Life. He wrote:

> Such language gives rise to questions, no less pertinent to His Natural Life, about a congeries of associations between nature and human life that pervades the melodramatic fiction of that time.
>
> All too commonly, such associations reflect no seriously felt belief and define no particular attitude. For, when nineteenth-century descriptive prose becomes flabby, inert personifications of nature are seldom far to seek. Folowing Ruskin's celebrated comments, Fowler is justly scathing about this habit of - is it? - mind: "Sphinx-like, siren-sweet, sly, benign, impassive, vindictive, callously indifferent the sea may seem to a consciousness addicted to pathetic fallacies" (Modern English Usage, s.v. "pathetic fallacy"). When Clarke writes in this way, he is usually conscious enough of what his words connote to offer an uneasy gesture of

> defence. Sometimes the idea is guarded by an authorial "seem": "It would seem as though nature, jealous of the beauties of her silver Derwent" ... Sometimes it is disguised by a transition from more literal epithets: "All around is the fruitless, shadeless, shelterless bush. Above, the pitiless heaven. In the distance, the remorseless sea" ... Sometimes it is attached, more or less firmly, to the consciousness of a particular character: "the sea, crawling at his feet, seemed to grin at him with a thin-lipped, hungry mouth" ...
>
> Given Dawes's state of mind at that time, this last example can serve to mark the transition from cliches guarded by defensive gestures to more purposeful and suggestive associations between man and nature. To begin with, Clarke takes satirical advantage of the pathetic fallacy when he locates it in the minds of Hobart Town society. Those petty dignitaries are most of them persuaded that providence - or even Providence - is marvellously at one with properly constituted authority. How else to account for the fortunate geography of the Tasman Peninsula, for the way both bush and sea are allied against the excesses of convictism ...? Convictism, however, holds to a less metaphysical hypothesis: in another image that runs through our early literature, the convicts are so prosaic as to blame the authorities themselves for making an earthly paradise into a hell on earth.
>
> Nature and man are variously associated in Clarke's set pieces of heightened description. But, if the heightening is the mark of an imagination aroused by his visit to Port Arthur, the variousness comes rather from the variety of literary sources on which he draws. [220]

He concluded:

> In His Natural Life, as in Dickens himself, when the susurrus of the pathetic fallacy is shut out of mind, there remain not only distinct echoes of Romantic poetry but also a deeper resonance of the Wordsworthian sublime: the predominant effect is to set the affairs of individuals within a larger scheme. [221]

Wilding, while not altogether discounting Clarke's symbolic use of scenery, emphasized its role as lending verisimilitude to the novel:

> Clarke's detail of date and geography and topography throughout the novel is another stylistic device to emphasize the documentary reality of the materials.

> He is not always accurate about the dates or descriptions, of course: there was always a hasty, journalistic inaccuracy about his writing. But stylistically, his insistence on giving precise months and years and latitudes and longitudes served to set the tone of objective documentation. It served, too, to underline the horror ... the opening chapter of Book II is called, with ... unemotional, dispassionate, factual objectivity, 'The Topography of Van Diemen's Land'. But the human aspects of punishment and suffering avoided by these objective historical and geographical chapter headings, are drawn attention to all the more forcefully by that very avoidance ... the topography is the topography of the 'natural penitentiary'. [222]

We can see encompassed here a number of ways in which place has been seen to have been used in the novel. Clarke wrote of real places, some of which it was recognized that he had personally visited and he described them vividly and convincingly. Such description has been seen both to contrast with and lend relief to the rest of the action and, conversely, to be connected with the action of the story making it stronger pictorially. By describing scenery, which is undoubtedly real, in the same manner as action is described action has been imbued with a similar reality. The scenery has also been seen to represent in some manner Clarke's own relationship to the Australian landscape or a sublimation of it. The visual surroundings are often described as seen by the characters in the novel, emphasizing their fear, isolation, alienation or imprisonment, here their character and situation is defined by their relationship to the natural world. In short, many critics have seen place as intimately connected to the novel's story and its meaning.

F. Summary

The way in which this examination of Clarke's work has been organized, separating appreciation of the novel to separate dimensions has, to some extent, disguised an important feature of the appreciation. That is, that the work tends to be assessed consistently across them all. While the novel is positively admired, reasons for admiring it are sought and found. The reverse is also true. We have to ask, why this is so? There are several possibilities. Firstly, no doubt, it is a not uncommon phenomenon for people to rationalize all-embracing intuitive judgments, and in doing so, attempt to achieve a consistency that has an aesthetic appeal or an appearance of rationality. Alternatively, one dimension might be regarded as of overweening importance and other dimensions are organized so that they conform with it. Or one can take a structuralist viewpoint that some system outwith the one we are considering governs it in some manner, forcing a consistency upon it. The actual position may well be a complex one showing evidence of all these mechanisms at work.

Hence, the initial British reviews of the novel, tend on the whole to be favourable. It was a novel of its time in that it could be seen to fit into an established genre. For those reviewers who were able to place the novel in this way the violence it displayed was excused, indeed it could be regarded as necessary to the novel's moral purpose, and the conviction with which the story was

conveyed and the graphic quality of its prose could then also be commented upon favourably. Conversely, those reviewers who were unable to categorize the novel, or who were unable to regard it as fiction had less of a framework in which to place it, and their opinion is more varied, ranging from rejection to appreciation. In addition, the Australianness of the novel obviously appealed to Australians, since it appears that at this time there was a feeling that the link between Australia and Britain was strong and the fact of the British imposing a convict system upon Australia less resented than later. The convict system could be seen to be part of the system of colonization, as could Clarke himself.

So we can see here most commonly displayed a favourable intuitive judgment. The governing factor influencing critical opinion of the novel as a novel tends to be a literary one. Or, if the book is taken to be more real than fictive and hence has to be seen and discussed in terms of its subject matter and the morality of the convict system, other judgments are subordinated to this main concern.

At the turn of the century, the position is much less clear. On the one hand, Clarke's novel had an established position. On the other hand, its literary framework had been superseded and the topicality of its subject matter lessened. It is not surprising that judgments varied.

By the 1930s and for another thirty years a firm set of literary principles had been established, there was a

certain anti-historicism and rejection of the past and a belief that progress was taking place in Australia - both in the larger social and economic spheres and in literature. His Natural Life and Clarke were unpopular on all counts. The quality of the novel was only grudgingly recognized, and seldom appears to have been actually enjoyed.

A general resurgence of interest in the history of Australia, and a more particular interest in the history of literature, together with a greater appreciation of the value of the past and the value of past literature are influences which interact with one another to determine or influence a new critical acceptance of Clarke's work in the 1970s. Over a hundred years after it was published Clarke's work is probably now more highly regarded critically than it has ever been, except perhaps when it was first published.

APPENDIX 6

Clarke's visit to Port Arthur

Clarke visited Port Arthur in 1870 while the prison was still in operation. His account of his visit appeared in the Argus three years later after the serial of His Natural Life had been completed. Therefore, the extent to which it is an unmodified description of his spontaneous reactions is in doubt, but it is worth examining on several grounds. Firstly, because it links His Natural Life to Port Arthur, and is evidence that Clarke considered first hand knowledge of scene to be important, then because critics have regarded his visit as of critical relevance and finally, because Clarke's own attitudes to Port Arthur and convictism are expressed in it.

His actual experience of the site was undramatic, he approached it by sea on a dull day and was not able to be moved by the beauty of the setting. Rather, he seems to have been determined to impose his own image upon it, feeling "that there was a grim propriety in the melancholy of nature."[1] He and his companions were greeted at the jetty, housed in the Government-cottage and shown around the settlement by an affable official. In response they acted, as he said, in "the intrusive and objectless manner of men out upon a holiday."[2]

The articles go to some lengths to establish the dullness of the visit and the dullness of the place. Not that the articles themselves are dull, since they are

enlived by a series of comic incidents such as the guide's fall into the tan pits and are punctuated by Clarke's companions recourse to his rum flask. Such comic relief only serves to emphasize the dullness of the rest. In a similar manner the present is juxtaposed to the past. In his first article Clarke presents a grim picture of the prison's former horrors ending with considerable irony:

> Such was Port Arthur 30 years ago, but the cessation of transportation caused a complete revolution in its manners and customs. It was used as a depot for Imperial prisoners - the survivors of the lash and chain - a probation station for long-sentence men, a sort of country-seat for the governor, and a show place for visitors. The enormous barracks were reputed to be empty, the many sets of irons to be rusting unused; and the worthy hostess of our Hobart Town hotel regetfully said, when we announced our intention of going down to the once dreaded prison, "Ah, you should have been there in the old times, sir!" [3]

The same point is made several times, Clarke reports the commandant as saying: "I am afraid that you will find but little to interest you, ... The place is not like it used to be" and comments with pointed cruelty:

> This regretful allusion to past glories is common to Tasmanian settlers; and naturally so. But then they all pretend that they are so delighted to have ruined themselves by the abolition of transportation! [4]

The sentiment "The place is not like it used to be" is used by Clarke in several other ways. Firstly, to establish that the past associated with Port Arthur however grim was more vigorous and more interesting than its present. Instead of presenting Port Arthur as a place which manifests its awful history, he is rather emphasizing that it does not do so. That, in fact, it is a

disappointment to those seeking an imaginative experience from it. Then by contrasting past events to the present state of the settlement Clarke is able to introduce an historical distance that is quite new to descriptions of Port Arthur. The salient characteristic of contemporary descriptions was that they concentrated upon describing Port Arthur as a working prison; as an ongoing activity which might be improved upon or made more humane but whose purpose was largely unquestioned. Although Trollope's description also recognized that closure was inevitable he envisaged the prison's oblivion. Clarke, on the other hand, took a moral as well as an historical view and his work was directed towards determining that its memory should not fade, that the past should not be buried and particularly that it should not be buried by British officialdom. [5]

> In the folio reports of the House of Commons can be read statements which make one turn sick with disgust, and flush hot with indignation. Officialdom, with its crew of parasites and lickspittles, may try to palliate the enormities committed in the years gone by; may revile, with such powers of abuse as are given to it the writers who record the facts which it blushes for; but the sad grim truth remains. For half a century the law allowed the vagabonds and criminals of England to be subjected to a lingering torment, to a hideous debasement, to a monstrous system of punishment futile for good and horribly powerful for evil; and it is with feelings of the most profound delight that we record the abolition of the last memorial of an error fraught with so much misery. [6]

So that another way in which "the place is not like it used to be" is that the past was British, the present colonial. Such a recognition creates a mechanism by which guilt can be transferred, at least in some measure, and

hence which makes the past accessible. Further, it feeds upon what must have been strong latent feelings in the community of resentment towards Britain's policy of transportation, this would be particularly so in colonies relatively free of its direct effects. Clarke's articles are clearly directed at the Victorian public. [7]

Clarke's description of his own visit demonstrates the application of the same principle sharply differentiating the present from the past. Through it he demonstrates the nature of experience that can be gained from having a concept of the past, a clear picture of it and an acceptance of its nature, since it opens the way for an imaginative response by the viewer. This new attitude is illustrated not only by the description of his own imaginative response but also by the satirical treatment of contrasting passages based on the conventional mode of description.

> I am afraid that my memory will not serve me sufficiently to enable me to accurately detail all the arrangements of the prison. I know that the saws in the workshops made a great noise, and that the tan-pits had a very strong odour about them - an odour, by the way, which Mr. Dale [the guide] (who incontinently fell into one during some enthusiastic explanation of the doings of the commandant), persisted in carrying about with us, despite all hints. [8]

So much for the usual descriptions which had emphasized the importance of gainful employment for the convicts and reinforced the dignity of those in charge. Such descriptions can be contrasted with Clarke's description of his experience in the penitentiary.

> I pictured the many windows of that hideously square and practical structure crowded with heads; saw the open ground before us once more dotted over with chain-gangs, heard the cat hiss and swing, and caught the echoes of the awful mirth with which the doomed wretches cheered their lingering hours. How many sighs had gone up to Heaven from among those trim trees, how many tears had moistened those neatly chiselled flagstones? The scene upon which we gazed had been the loathed life-long prospect of many a poor scoundrel, who perhaps was not so much worse than I. [9]

Then he moves back again to what can be regarded as a skit upon the usual form of description:

> We made progress through the gaol. We saw the kitchens, and tasted the "skilly", and replied to the enquiry, "is not that remarkably good, Sir? Many an honest poor man would be glad to get that, eh?" by a proper "Yes, indeed," as is the etiquette to do on such occasions. The messroom was admirably ordered. At one given signal, somebody says an orthodox grace, at another the 150 men who comprise the available force of able-bodied criminals sit down and eat, at another they rise up and return thanks for their daily bread, at a third they clank away to their dormitories. [10]

It is notable that Clarke in spite of speaking of the guide's "glib stories of escapes, and murders and suicides to avoid the agony of living"[11] actually finds them stimulating. Nor is he above being taken in by them. The exercise yard in the Model Prison is seen by him, presumably as a result of their guide's glib stories, as the "punishment yard", where men had in old times received their 200 lashes, and regarded it with the same curious awe with which we peeped into the torture chamber at the Tower on some school holiday, or watched the genial beef-eater imprison in the "gaoler's daughter" the dainty wrist of our pretty cousin from the country."[12] Yet even here there is a note of self-mockery, though this does not

quite disguise the fact that Clarke is susceptible to experiences of morbid frisson. Indeed, underlying the articles there is evidence of a deep obsession; a horror that is partly masked and partly balanced by the intermittent humour of its presentation. With chracteristic skill Clarke is able to draw together his disgust of the prison system, and its ineffectual aftermath, his own experience of it and the articles' comic relief with reference to a distinctly experiential phenomenon - that of smell. The guide is smelly, the prison air is damp and heavy and the aroma of rum drifts into each episode. The flask is only depleted at the end of the description where smell assumes a metaphorical value.

> "Ay, only the smell of it left, your honour!" said a prisoner, breaking silence for the first time.
>
> This exclamation of our prisoner's rude, but true is, in fact, an admirable summing up of the convict system ... The frightful blunder had become a thing of the past, the victims of it were dead or insane. Everybody admitted that "mistakes had been made in the old times," and begged that the loathly corpse of this dead wickedness called Transportation might be comfortably buried away and ignored of men and journalists. But, "the smell of it" remained - remains. [13]

Clarke's articles and more particularly His Natural Life have materially aided its retention.

APPENDIX 7

His Natural Life and place

This section considers ways in which descriptions of places in His Natural Life might be linked to an appreciation of those places. The discussion here focusses on the potential that the book offers rather than describing instances in which it has been used for this purpose. Although some comment is also offered as to how aspects of places in His Natural Life have been taken up in practice.

Firstly, His Natural Life offers scope for what might be described as the simplest mechanism for linking together description and place - that of recognition. Here the novel is seen to describe a reality that is also known to the reader. The pleasure arising from this mode of reading arises from the comfort of the author's reinforcement of a shared image. Clarke's chapter on 'The Topography of Van Diemen's Land' clearly offered scope for being used in this manner, since it reinforced the image of Tasmania that at the time Tasmanians wished to convey. The comparative lushness of the vegetation which made up a softer landscape than was to be found elsewhere in Australia and the island's pleasing climate are beautifully depicted. However, although the quality of the writing of this section has been much admired by literary critics, it does not appear to have caught the imagination of the general public and has apparently been largely ignored.

Similarly, Clarke strings together place names in what is close to an incantation. Here it is not only that Australians can recognize the names, and that in addition the names are given added importance by their inclusion in a novel of considerable merit, but here there is an element of enhancing the common image by the quality of the prose with which it is conveyed. Added to all these elements of appreciation there is in the act of naming in this manner a certain magical quality which adds to the strangeness and remoteness of the settings which Clarke portrays. Here again this aspect of his work passes without a mention. Perhaps it is because his topographical descriptions have been seen as relief from the action of the novel rather than as an integral part of it. Hence they have lost dramatic value and, therefore, have been less appreciated. Although Wilding, at least, has recognized that because these sections lend themselves to recognition the reader is led on to also consider the dramatic sequences in the same way, in other words, the descriptive passages lend a sense of reality to the whole. [1]

One can contrast this use of landscape with one that has been more widely noticed and hence more widely appreciated. I refer to Clarke's use of landscape to highlight the action of the narrative. For instance, the Tasmanian bush, as described by Clarke, not only acts as a setting for various attempts to escape from the convict system, but it also participates in the action physically, thwarting those who are trying to escape and terrifying

them at every turn. It becomes as much their enemy as the system they are attempting to evade:

> Crashing through the scrub and brake, torn, bleeding, and wild with terror, he reached a spur of the Range, and looked around him. Above him rose the iron hills, below him lay the panorama of the bush. The white cone of the Frenchman's Cap was on his right hand, on his left a succession of ranges seemed to bar further progress. A gleam, as of a lake, streaked the eastward. Gigantic pine trees reared their graceful heads against the opal of the evening sky, and at their feet the dense scrub through which he had so painfully toiled, spread without break and without flaw. [2]

Undoubtedly, the most successful welding of image and action in the book occurs at the Blow-Hole as John Rex is attempting to escape from Port Arthur. There is ample evidence to show that the book and the incident have become firmly attached to this particular location. To many who have read the book and subsequently visited the scene a dramatic dimension has been added to what is already an impressive and sometimes terrifyingly powerful natural feature.

As well as contributing to the action of the novel scenery is also used to underline its meaning. Poole has described the symbolic function of the sea and the way in which it is used to reinforce mood.[3] In relation to the land, Clarke binds place to the action of the novel and to its depiction of character in other ways. Firstly, by the insertion in his description of place many images normally associated with prisons. He describes the coast of Van Diemen's Land as resembling a biscuit which rats (the traditional inhabitants of dungeons) have nibbled away. The most often quoted image which at first appears so

incongruous of "Tasman's Peninsula hanging like a huge double-dropped earing, from the mainland"[4] may also be seen to have been treated in a similar manner for 'hanging' and 'double-dropped' both have sinister overtones, and the shape described can be seen to resemble that of leg-irons. "Iron-bound" shore has a similar connotation.

Then, one can argue that not only is there symbolism of a general kind displayed in the description of scenery but also that there is a strong parallel between Dawes' situation and the way the island of Van Diemen's Land as a whole is described. Man as an island is a well established metaphor but here the relationship is harsher, for this distant and isolated island is equated with the convict Dawes and his situation in the penal system. The hard-bitten exterior, battered by sea and storm harbours a "warm, sheltered and moist"[5] interior and "a succession of beautiful valleys, through which glide clear and sparkling streams."[6] These references which could be seen as sexual and curiously feminine are probably better read as merely generally anatomical, with a strong inference that the mental make-up reflects this physical state. The soft interior is well protected "as though Nature, jealous of the beauties of her silver Derwent, had made the approach to it as dangerous as possible ..."[7] Such is Tasmania and such is Dawes and his situation; isolated, iron-bound and lashed (and one should note the ambiguity of all these terms) but sweetness and goodness is preserved within. Clarke contrasts this metaphor of Dawes with a similar

approach to other characters in the book. Kirkland is soft and unprotected and hence is "cut to pieces"[8] while Gabbett to survive eats others' flesh. Land, flesh and situation are linked together in some of the strongest incidents in this book.

Later in the book Clarke continues to parallel Dawes' inner state with the surrounding scenery. It is notable that at Port Arthur Dawes is unable to respond to the beauty around him, and this situation is a reflection of his bitter disappointment and despair.[9] As his situation becomes increasingly hopeless so his surroundings become more and more barren.

Change in scene divides the action of the book into five parts; at sea, on the west coast of Van Diemen's Land, in Hobart, on the Tasman Peninsula and on Norfolk Island. In the book approximately equal weight is given to each, and each section is of approximately the same length. Given this structure it is surprising that it is with Port Arthur and the Tasman Peninsula that the book is almost always linked. The reasons for this being the only transfer from action to place are not clear. Several factors, however, are likely to have contributed to this phenomenon. Port Arthur is the most accessible of the three prison sites and is hence the one most usually visited. It was the only one of the sites visited by Clarke, and it is possible to argue that as a consequence it is the place most vividly described in the book. Of Port Arthur itself the description is recognizable but

brief,[10] it is perhaps too easily recognizable as the place Clarke visited in 1871 rather than a description of the settlement at an early stage, but a similar recognition of the place by the visitor may have also tended to link the two. But it may also be argued that the penal settlements of the Tasman Peninsula were by far the largest prison conglomerate therefore this is where public attention was already focussed and hence to where Clarke's novel of the penal system was attached. It is with this last possibility that the most likely explanation lies. Clarke's novel was used to attach a legend to Port Arthur, but it did not establish the legend of convictism - that existed already.

APPENDIX 8: The work of Hannah Arendt pertaining to Jencks' criticism

The World of Hannah Arendt

Hannah Arendt's body of thought has been used to present a view of architecture that is fundamentally opposed to that of Modern Movement theory by at least two architectural historians or critics; Kenneth Frampton and Charles Jencks. Although Arendt's work consisted in the main of an examination of political events and their meaning, she also presented a comprehensive view of the world at large which had the potential to act as a base for viewing architecture in the larger context.

Further, the way in which her subject was treated and the quality of her writing make her work an interesting exemplar for architectural history or criticism. Her frequent use of metaphors, often of spatial metaphors, which are also part of the accepted vocabulary of architecture, bridges the gap between architecture and her political world making her work appear accessible and relevant to those with an interest in architecture. Finally, by using metaphors extensively she engages in a process of imaginative transfer of thought from other fields into her own, and in turn lays her own work open, or rather offers it, for metaphorical transfer into other contexts, for instance, into the field of architecture. Or, in other words, the style of her work makes it easy for architects to freely adapt or misread it, but the misreadings may result in useful offshoots from her work.

What follows is a demonstration of how Arendt's work could be used in all these ways; by drawing directly on its content, by exploring its methodology and by using her work more freely, or perhaps poetically, as a source of inspiration for architectural thought. It is necessary to give a description of the bare bones of the content of her body of thought, before moving on to an examination of how it might be used. Whenever possible the description incorporates her own words, both to distort her meanings as little as possible and to demonstrate the manner of her writing.

All Arendt's earlier work was directed towards an exposition of the nature of the Vita Activa, it was only later in her life that she began to publish work on thinking as opposed to acting. Here her theory on thought is examined only so far as it underpins her view of the Viva Activa, otherwise the description will be confined to her world of action. It is founded on the importance of the individual and on a concept of freedom focussed on the individual. A recollection by Arendt of her childhood seems to have some meaning here, and serves as an introduction to her work as a whole. She comments on anti-Semitism:

> You see, all Jewish children were poisoned by it. The difference with us was that my mother always insisted that we never humble ourselves. That one must defend oneself! When my teachers made anti-Semitic remarks - usually they were not directed at me, but at my classmates, particularly at the eastern Jewesses - I was instructed to stand up immediately, to leave the class and to go home ... My mother would write one of her many letters, and, with that, my involvement in the affair ended completely ... There existed house rules by which my dignity was, so to speak, protected, absolutely protected ...." [1]

One can note here the emphasis on maintenance of personal dignity, the obligation to take action not only on one's own behalf but on behalf of others and hence to recognize the special circumstances which give a person a particular position from which to act. All these are themes that become important in Arendt's body of thought.

To begin then, a description of her concept of 'action'; Arendt sees 'action' as being an exclusively political phenomenon. Much of her work develops the relationship between the individual, the group around him and their several needs for action, the condition that binds them together is one of 'plurality', Arendt attaches great importance to this concept: "plurality is specifically the condition ... of all political life",[2] and "Plurality is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, human, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives or will live."[3]

In other words membership and individuality together provide the "raison d'etre" for a person's involvement in action in the political field. Arendt insists that an individual is unable to gauge his own potential contribution to humanity, is unable by himself to know himself but can only do so through 'action'. Arendt's earlier work tends to emphasize individual action in the political arena - almost in competition with others, later she envisages a more participatory process.

Bhikhu Parekh, who has written one of the only two monographs on Arendt's work (the other is by Margaret Canovan) underlines the philosophical implications of her concept:

> In Arendt's view, traditional philosophy never appreciated that the human sense of reality is inter-subjectively derived, that our sensations and perceptions are inherently fragile and require inter-subjective corroboration, that we acquire the capacity to think by engaging in dialogue with others and that each of us is epistemologically and ontologically dependent upon the organised presence of others. [4]

Parekh saw this as an original contribution to political thought. Habermas was more critical, he recognized that 'action' as Arendt saw it was limited

> exclusively to praxis, to the speaking and acting together of individuals. Over against, the production of material objects and theoretical knowledge, communicative action has to appear as the only political category. This narrowing of the political permits illuminating contrasts to the presently palpable elimination of essentially practical contents from the political process. [5]

That is, Haberman rejected what was fundamental to Arendt's view of 'action' - her presupposition of the primacy of responsibility in each person who acts.

For Arendt action could not be undertaken for selfish reasons, although participation may incidentally have given an individual the satisfaction of gaining in self-knowledge and pleasure in participating in joint action. It is, on the contrary, 'action' that gives a person the opportunity to transcend the purely personal, and to do so, he must not only articulate responsible opinion but recognize that his own opinion can only be tentative and

requires support or modification by others for it to become the basis of 'action'.

To Arendt, judgement was the mode of thought pertinent to the exercise of action. Her concept of it obviously relied on Kant. Arendt reiterates Kant's view of judgement as being a way of thinking "which consisted in being able to think in place of everybody else" and she concludes that "From this potential agreement judgement derives its specific validity."[6] What is interesting is that Kant's discussion of judgement relates to taste and the experience of beauty while Arendt is seeing the same process applied to political action. Arendt also draws from Kant in averring that judgement on behalf of others not only makes that judgement objective but also guarantees its disinterestedness. In short, the mode of thought that Arendt sees as being endemic to politics is closely allied to that envisaged by Kant in relation to the appreciation of beauty. I presume it is this similarity that has caused Parekh to argue that "Arendt is almost alone in the history of political philosophy to view politics as an aesthetic activity. ... Arendt subsumes politics under beauty."[7]

The freedom of an individual is, according to Arendt, constituted in the freedom to act. This concept is an extension of, and is, perhaps, in contradistinction to, the more widely accepted concept of freedom as being the freedom to think and to voice opinion.

> Freedom as related to politics is not a phenomenon of the will ... Rather it is ... the freedom of Brutus "That this will be or we will fall for it," that is, the freedom to call something into being which did not exist before, which was not given, not even as an object of cognition or imagination, and which therefore, strictly speaking could not be known. Action to be free, must be free from motive on one side, from its intended goal as a predictable effect on the other. [8]

Freedom is only achievable in a particular rare and fleeting circumstance - that of revolution, a modern phenomenon. Again and again in her writing Arendt links freedom, novelty and revolution. For instance in the above quotation freedom is "to call something into being which did not exist before" and "the aim of revolution was and always has been freedom." And again:

> ... the modern concept of revolution inextricably bound up with the notion that the course of history suddenly begins anew ... was unknown prior to the two great revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century. However, once the revolutions had begun to run their course, and long before those who were involved in them could know whether their enterprise would end in victory or disaster, the novelty of the story and the innermost meaning of its plot became manifest to actors and spectators alike. As to the plot, it was unmistakably the emergence of freedom: ... [9]

and

> Crucial, then, to any understanding of revolutions in the modern age is that the idea of freedom and the experience of a new beginning should coincide. [10]

And a final example:

> What the revolutions brought to the fore was this experience of being free, and this was a new experience ... new to those at any rate who made it, was at the same time the experience of man's faculty to begin something new. These two things together - a new experience which revealed man's capacity for novelty - are at the root of the erroneous pathos which we find in both the American and French

> revolutions ... Only where this pathos of novelty is present and where novelty is connected with the idea of freedom are we entitled to speak of revolution. [11]

The mechanism by which revolutions take place is through the development of 'power'. Power "constitutes the ability to agree upon a common course of action in unconstrained communication." [12] For it to occur there must be weakness in the existing political system, and:

> Even where loss of authority is quite manifest revolutions can break out and succeed only if there exists a sufficient number of men who are prepared for its collapse and, at the same time willing to assume power, eager to organise and to act together for a common purpose. [13]

The experience of revolution as Arendt describes it must necessarily be a brief one but other forces also contribute to its dissipation. Arendt attributes 'the tragic failures' of the French Revolution principally to the poor who "appeared on the scene of politics, necessity appeared with them and the result was that freedom had to be surrendered to necessity, to the urgency of the life process itself." [14] An interesting viewpoint and one which will be examined in more detail later. It is sufficient to say here that Arendt only considers freedom a possibility when men are relieved from the exigencies of necessity. Such a privilege is not envisaged for all but is necessary for freedom of action in political élites.

Arendt returns to the French Revolution for her model of an ideal governing body:

> Of course the men who sat in councils were also an elite ... of the people and sprung from the people ... they were not nominated from above and not

> supported from below ... they had selected themselves were those who cared and those who took the initiative; they were the political elite of the people brought into the open by the revolution. ... Their title rested on nothing but the confidence of their equals, and this equality was not national but political, ... it was the equality of those who had committed themselves to, and were now engaged in, a joint enterprise. [15]

It is clear that those who chose to act, acted on behalf of the rest.

Arendt recognizes that opportunities for freedom are not only fleeting but have also rarely occurred. She calls such opportunities "spaces of freedom" or "spaces of appearance" and describes them as "islands in the sea" or "oases in a desert".[16] Such spaces constitute the political realm itself. This examination of the political realm ends with two opinions of Arendt's concepts, the first by Hans Morgenthau and the second by Bhikhu Parekh:

> The philosophical contribution which Hannah Arendt made to political thought is highly original. One is almost tempted to say that it is unprecedented in its originality. For it refuses to recognise what throughout the Western tradition has been recognised as politics. [For Arendt, the] true political act is an act of freedom, an act performed by free individuals in the public arena, free individuals who interact with each other, who are visible to each other, and who express their personal preferences through this interaction. This and this alone is politics. [17]

and

> ... her analysis of the structure of political action, autonomous nature of opinion and judgement, political significance of territory, the representative nature of political thought and the nature of government break new grounds. She shows further that political life calls into play unique human emotions and passions, creates its own characteristic modes of interpersonal recognition and personal self-determination and has its own virtues, standards of judgement, and criteria of reality. [18]

Both authors are enthusiastic, for them Arendt's work is compelling and is capable of raising a passion and enthusiasm equal to that required by her political participants; her actors. Her's is, in many respects, an heroic view of politics.

If 'action', for Arendt, is the most important component of the Vita Activa it does not comprise all of man's estate: work and labour make up the rest. Labour is characterized as the least laudable of man's activities. It is made up of repetitive actions that are constricted by the necessity to survive on a physical level, as such they are natural and lack the distinctiveness of being specifically human. It is characteristic of labour that it has no permanent outcome. Work stands between action and labour. It is more important than labour because it makes manifest action, encapsulating it in a permanent form. Its objects constitute a culture that is continuous, because of their relative permanence objects are available from the past, to the present and carry on into the future. Together these objects constitute the human world:

> ... durability gives the things of the world their relative independence from men who produced and use them, their "objectivity" which makes them withstand, "stand against" and endure, at least for a time, the voracious needs and wants of their living makers and users. From this viewpoint, the things of the world have the function of stabilizing human life, and their objectivity lies in the fact that ... men, their everchanging nature notwithstanding, can retrieve their sameness, that is their identity, by being related to the same chair and the same table. In other words aginst the subjectivity of men stands the objectivity of the man-made world rather than the sublime indifference of an untouched nature.[19]

Or, as Kenneth Frampton has put it:

> she argued that labour by being a constantly transforming but repetitive procedure ... is inherently processed, private and impermanent, whereas work, by virtue of being the precondition for the reification of the world as the space of human appearance, is by definition static, public and permanent. [20]

For Arendt, to live a wholly private life deprived one of access to the public world in several ways. She writes:

> To live an entirely private life means above all to be deprived of the reality which comes from being seen and heard by others, to be deprived of an objective relationship with them that comes from being related to and separated from them through the intermediary of a common world of things, to be deprived of the possibility of achieving something more permanent than life itself. [21]

In contrast: "The common element connecting art and politics is that they both are phenomena of the public world."[22] Thought is made objective through action in the public realm, action has then to be endowed with 'worldliness' by converting it into objects. The process is an important one to Arendt and she elucidates it carefully:

> In order to become wordly things, that is, deeds and facts and events and patterns of thought or ideas, they must first be seen, heard, and remembered and then transformed, reified into things - into sayings of poetry, the written page or the printed book, into paintings or sculpture into all sorts of records, documents and monuments. The whole factual world of human affairs depends for its reality and its continued existence, first, upon the presence of others who have seen and heard and will remember, and, second, on the transformation of the intangible into the tangibility of things. [23]

Because the constituents of action are essentially impermanent they "need the help of an activity of an altogether different nature; they depend for their reality and materialization upon the same workmanship that builds

the other things in the human artifice. The reality and reliability of the human world rests primarily on the fact that we are surrounded by things more permanent than the activity by which they were produced ..."[24] The relationship between work and action is envisaged as a symbiotic one:

> Power preserves the public realm and the space of appearance, and as such it is also the life blood of the human artifice, which, unless it is the scene of action and speech, of the web of human affairs and relationships and the stories engendered by them, lacks its ultimate raison d'etre. Without being talked about by men and without housing them, the world would not be a human artifice but a heap of unrelated things to which each isolated individual was at liberty to add one more object; without the human artifice to house them human affairs would be as floating, as futile and vain as the wandering of nomadic tribes.[25]

(Actually a curious conclusion, but one to which she is logically constrained by her proposition of the importance of the quality of permanence in objects.)

For Arendt works of art are objects of great importance since they are particularly effective in endowing action with worldliness, hence she writes on a number of occasions:

> Culture indicates that art and politics, their conflicts and tensions notwithstanding are interrelated and even mutually dependent. The fleeting greatness of word and deed can endure in the world to the extent that beauty is bestowed upon it.[26]

> Because of their outstanding permanence, works of art are the most intensely worldly of all tangible things; their durability is almost untouched by the corroding effect of natural processes ... the very stability of the human artifice, which being inhabited and used by mortals, can never be absolute, achieves a representation of its own.[27]

> This earthly home becomes a world in the proper sense of the word only when the totality of fabricated things is so organised that it can resist its consuming life process of the people dwelling in it, and thus outlast them. Only where such survival is assumed do we speak of culture and only when we are confronted with things which exist independently of all utilitarian and functional references, and whose quality remains always the same, do we speak of works of art. [28]

> 'Homo faber' does not stand in the same relationship to the public realm and its publicity as the things he makes, with them appearance, configuration and form in order to be in a position to add constantly new things to the already existing world, he must himself be isolated from the public, must be sheltered and concealed from it. [29]

Works of art, art objects "are in need of some public space where they can appear and be seen; they can fulfil their own being, which is appearance, only in a world which is common to all." [30] On the other hand artists, according to Arendt, do not form part of that public world.

I have quoted from Arendt at length in this section to establish as clearly as possible the nuances of her views on objects, and their relationship to culture. It is clear that they are not just an essential part of the human world, but are seen by Arendt as constituting that world itself. Parekh has attempted to show the linkage between all the concepts described to date, and thus to summarize her contribution:

> Arendt makes out a strong case for the public way of life in general and the political way of life in particular. She offers the vision of a public culture and articulates it in terms of such novel and suggestive concepts as public space, space of appearance, public freedom, space of freedom, public happiness, public identity and self-revelation. She rightly locates man with the world of objects and other men and argues that men are not strangers to one another or only tangentially related, but ontologically and epistemologically interdependant. She

> is almost unique in the history of political philosophy in maintaining that man is a public being who necessarily requires public space in all relevant areas of organised life, and thereby giving the public way of life an ontological foundation. She analyses political life within the context of the public way of life in general, and shows how the public realm of the "polis" is integrally connected with some form of public life in other areas of life.
>
> This enables Arendt to integrate politics into our general conception of culture, one of her greatest contributions. [31]

The relevance of Arendt's body of thought to architecture

It is the central importance that Arendt accords to objects in her world that enables her philosophy to be seen as relevant to architectural theory. In particular her shifting meanings of the word 'object'; object - a thing, object - an objective and object - a thought or deed objectified is masterly, encapsulating, as it does, both her phenomenological approach and her political system. Placing architecture into Arendt's world of objects is to accord architecture meaning at several levels. Moreover, because she depicts political action as heroic, architecture too may thus be ennobled by her views.

Seeing buildings as art objects within her system gives them an even more potent role, it reinforces their quality of relative permanence and their contribution to worldliness and to culture. It also provides an excellent theoretical base for an examination of the practices of conservation, the sympathetic insertion of buildings into the existing environment and for a critique of reproduc-

tion of past styles. The role of the artist as a detached observer who may only participate in the public realm through the objects he produces is also of interest. Must the activist architect by virtue of his political activities be bound to desert the role of artist?

Endowing objects with a cultural meaning that stems from encapsulating action (rather than being derived from social utility) is a concept that can be a fruitful source of architectural discourse. Such an approach meets theories of functionalism head on, for Arendt maintains: "utility established as meaning generates meaninglessness."[32] A wholly functional architecture must be relegated by Arendt's body of thought to the category of labour, part of a repetitive process with no outcome of importance and lacking in all cultural significance. On the other hand, architecture as an art object has great importance. Arendt's argument is an interesting one:

> Culture relates to objects and is a phenomenon of the world; entertainment relates to people and is a phenomenon of life. An object is cultural to the extent that it can endure; its durability is the very opposite of functionality, which is the quality which makes it disappear again from the phenomenal world by being used and used up. The great user and consumer of objects is life itself, the life of the individual and the life of society as a whole. Life is indifferent to the thingness of an object; it insists that every thing must be functional, fulfil some needs. Culture is being threatened when all worldly objects and things, produced by the present or the past, are treated as mere functions for the life process of society, as though they are there only to fulfil some need, and for this functionalization it is almost irrelevant whether the needs in question are of a high or a low order. That the arts must be functional, that cathedrals fulfil a religious need of society, that a picture is born from the need for self-expression in the individual painter and that it is looked at because of a desire

> for self-perfection in the spectator, all these notions are so unconnected with art and historically so new that one is tempted simply to dismiss them as modern prejudices. The cathedrals were built ad majorem gloriam Dei; while they as buildings certainly served the needs of the community, their elaborate beauty can never be explained by these needs, which could have been served quite as well by any nondescript building. Their beauty transcended all needs and made them last through the centuries; but while beauty, the beauty of a cathedral like the beauty of any secular building, transcends needs and functions, it never transcends the world .... [33]

Arendt clearly accepts that buildings may be works of art and hence play an important cultural role. Acknowledging her view, and the philosophy that lies behind it provides inspiration for architectural theory of a different kind from Modern Movement theory.

Arendt's insistence on the importance of the public realm and her bitter opposition to its replacement by a social realm, together with her sharply drawn distinction between the public and private realms also have interest for architecture. Clearly in her schema public architecture is likely to be of greater importance than private architecture. Here again we can appreciate its direct contrast to the assumptions of the Modern Movement and its outcome; the concentration of architects' attention on housing.

The city is a necessary condition for Arendt's world since man can only know himself in company with others of equal stature to himself:

> Action as distinguished from fabrication is never possible in isolation; to be isolated is to be deprived of the capacity to act. Action and speech need the surrounding presence of others no less than fabrication needs the surrounding presence of nature

> for its material, and of a world in which to place the finished product. [34]

Power too is dependent upon concentration of population:

> The only indispensable material factor in the generation of power is the living together of people. Only where men live so close together that the potentialities for action are always present will power remain with them and the formation of cities ... is therefore indeed the most important material prerequisite for power. [35]

It is to the Greek polis that Arendt turns for her ideal. Her concepts of plurality, power, action on behalf of others of action itself and of revolution are most credible if seen as applying to concentrated communities developed on a relatively small scale.

Arendt's critique of the modern world and its implications for architecture

Arendt is able to mount a critique of the modern world on the basis of her investigation of the Vita Activa. This in turn is of interest to architecture and can be used to critically examine the architecture of today.

Arendt's attitude to the modern world has been described as "radical pessimism". [36] Indeed it is not easy to see how her vision of the world, inspiring though it may be to read could be actually utilized; how her world could be implemented. If her work is "prescriptive", [37] it is certainly not prescriptive in this utilitarian sense but only in the sense that she presents a compelling picture, a vision of what might be; based on a myth of

what, however fleetingly, has occurred in the past. Habermas is well aware of this difficulty, and although he appears to think that feasibility of implementation is a criterion for the worth of a postulated political system (denying the value of an ideal as a basis of criticism) his criticism is nevertheless perceptive:

> I want only to indicate the curious perspective that Hannah Arendt adopts: a state which is relieved of the administrative processing of social problems; a politics which is cleansed of socio-economic issues; an institutionalization of public liberty which is independent of the organisation of public wealth; a radical democracy which inhibits its liberating efficacy just at the boundaries where political oppression ceases and social repression begins - this path is unimaginable for any modern society. Thus we are faced with a dilemma: on the one hand, the communications concept of power discloses importance through extreme phenomena of the modern world to when political science has become more and more insensitive; on the other hand, it is linked with a conception of politics which, when applied to modern societies leads to absurdities. [38]

To the extent that Arendt sees the modern world as departing on every front from her own postulated world which approaches her ideal there is reason for her pessimism. They are indeed different. For Arendt totalitarianism through coercion by force makes political reforms through revolution unlikely. There is widespread substitution of force and violence for legitimated power. Mass society swamps all possibility for small scale action and inhibits the emergence of new political élites. The social realm has engulfed the public and private realms to the detriment of each. Widespread consumerism threatens our heritage of worldliness and may well reduce all work to labour.

On the other hand, there have been a number of modern events to which Arendt responded positively, the Hungarian Revolution was one, Young-Bruehl comments:

> What the Hungarian Revolution suggested to Hannah Arendt was that the problems of the age - the rise of mass societies, technological changes of unprecedented sorts, and the breakdown of the nation-state - could lead to two different forms of government; totalitarianism or the council system, which is to say put all of her hope on the human capacity to act, to begin something new, to open, as she put it, "a political space". [39]

Student revolutions in Europe and student activism in America were also seen optimistically, perhaps over-optimistically by Arendt:

> If I consider what really distinguishes this generation in all countries from earlier generations, then the first thing that strikes me is its determination to act, its joy in action, the assurance of being able to change things by one's own efforts. [40]

> ... for the first time in a very long while a spontaneous political movement arose which not only did not simply carry on propaganda but acted, and moreover, acted almost exclusively from moral motives. ... It turned out that acting is fun. This generation discovered what the eighteenth century had called "public happiness", which means that when man takes part in public life he opens up for himself a dimension of human experience that otherwise remains closed to him and that in some way constitutes a part of complete "happiness". [41]

She saw too a general lack of power in existing government which might lay it open to change, but no development of power in alternative groups in, for instance, the student activist groups.

Otherwise the picture she presents of the modern world is pretty well unrelieved. The following quotation may give a more detailed idea of her views. Of existing government which tends towards totalitarianism she writes:

> It is decisive that society, on all its levels, excludes the possibility of action ... instead society expects from each of its members a certain kind of behavior, imposing innumerable and various rules, all of which tend to "normalize" its members, to make them behave, and to exclude spontaneous action or outstanding achievement. [42]

She contrasts the past in which an élite could be equated with high society to the present in which "the mass of population has become incorporated into society" a phenomenon she terms "mass society".[43] Can a mass society develop a mass culture? Arendt sees as highly problematic the relationship between them. For her mass society tends to form a social rather than a public or private sphere of life and, in doing so, impoverishes both the household (private) and the political (public) realms. Hence work, the production of objects as evidence of the public realm, is undermined.

As modern society is materialistic and oriented towards consumerism, the cultural world tends to come under threat:

> Mass culture comes into being when mass society seizes upon cultural objects, and its danger is that the life process of society ... will literally consume the cultural objects, eat them up destroy them. [44]

She concludes

> The ideals of homo faber, the fabricator of the world, which are permanence, stability, and durability, have seen sacrificed to abundance, the ideal of animal laborans, ... we have changed work into labouring, ... [45]

She sees only one exception to this general degeneration:

> We are all supposed to be engaged in making a living ...; such is the verdict of society, and the number

> of people, especially in the professions who might challenge it, has decreased rapidly. The only exception society is wishing to grant is the artist, who, strictly speaking, is the only "worker" left in a labouring society. [46]

Or, to put it another way: "the last individual left in a mass society seems to be the artist." [47]

Arendt's fear that worldly objects are being consumed and culture lost is only too easily illustrated by the state of modern cities and their buildings. The loss of historic material, the making over of old buildings to the extent that they have lost all original meaning; and the adoption of past images to engineer changes of fashion which are designed to disguise meaningless buildings are all widespread. There is also a paucity of new buildings which have public purpose, public content and therefore in Arendt's terms meaning.[48] All these themes can be developed from Arendt's critique of the modern world and can gather strength and depth from it.

Arendt's method and mode of presentation: its relevance for architectural theory

Arendt has written some literary criticism but the bulk of her work explores the nature and present state of the Vita Activa, particularly the nature and state of politics. It is her three works published between 1958 and 1965 which are particularly referred to in this section and which have been drawn on to describe her political construct and her political critique. They are The Human Condition (published in 1958), Between Past and Future

(1961) and On Revolution (1965).

The Human Condition is often described as Arendt's most philosophical work. It is the work in which the framework of the Vita Activa was developed. Between Past and Future is subtitled 'Six Exercises in Political Thought', it uses subjects already dealt with in The Human Condition to mount a critique of the modern world. On Revolution develops its particular aspect of politics. The work is, like the two others, part inquiry and part critique, but it contains in addition, an extended examination of the meaning of the French and American Revolutions.

The first point to note about Arendt's work is the consistency with which her concepts are developed and applied. This characteristic has been noted by others and has been variously described: by Bernard Crick as "a consistent world view",[49] by Ernst Vollrath as "a matchless logical cohesion", he says, in addition, "I would insist that every attempt to show some discontinuities in her work is inherently doomed"[50] and by Hans Jonas, who says "Hannah Arendt has left no 'philosophy' nor even aspired to such a goal - yet there is a unity of another than the systematic kind in all her thinking from beginning to end."[51]

The three descriptions are of interest in that while they agree as to the unity of her work, they diverge in opinion as to its nature. It is this last point I wish to pursue. It seems clear that the unity is achieved by having a firm conceptual framework into which her comment

and criticism fit. Should such a framework be described as a 'world view' or a 'philosophy'? I wish to argue that the first is a more appropriate description. The character of Arendt's work appears to be nearer that of a creative work of the imagination than of a philosophical work in that it emphasizes rather than suppresses its personal viewpoint, and it appears to have a different relationship to fact than is usual in a philosophical work.

Both a philosophical construct and an imaginative construct have a world view but they are of different kinds. The first may be verified or otherwise against reality or others' views of reality, the second has primarily to be verified for consistency, within its own closed system. It is primarily but not wholly self-referential, this is because artificial constructs can only be approached through the readers' (or put more generally, the receivers') experience of reality, and for a work to be comprehensible to the reader it must relate to an appreciable degree to the world as he knows it.

An imaginative construct is allowed to exhibit a personal viewpoint because it does not pretend to universality, rather its nature is particular. Its purpose it persuasive rather than compelling, engendering the response "yes, that is how it might be" rather than "yes, that is how it is." In other words, an imaginative construct exhibits the author's opinion, philosophy aims for a more general view.

If it is accepted that Arendt's work is best seen as an imaginative construct, it remains to be considered what kind it is. There appear to be three possibilities; that it is, fiction, idealism or opinion. Clearly, Arendt's work cannot be considered as fiction, it alludes too often to the real world, without making any attempt to transfer it into a fictional system. Nor is its nature ideal, Arendt's political position precludes this possibility. An ideal, a fixed end would be anathema to her and would undermine her concepts of freedom, action and revolution. Her work must be seen as a coherent personal statement, the result of the author's own understanding of the nature of politics and the nature of political events.

The position is not a usual one for a political scientist or political philosopher to take. Parekh notes that "Arendt is the first major political thinker in the English-speaking world to apply the phenomenological method to the understanding of politics."[52] In view of the peculiarity of her approach we should perhaps examine what appears as its main difficulty; the reconciliation of the personal and the actual. Arendt stated "the politically most relevant truths are factual."[53] For her "Correctness was more than a theoretical condition. It was the fundamental ground of political judgement. Political judgement was about events and action which had taken place in fact."[54] She maintained the chances that a lost theory will be rediscovered are "infinitely better than the chances that a fact of circumstance forgotten, or, more likely, lied away, will one day be rediscovered."[55] Facts are fragile,

they are easily destroyed; they are deliberately buried or falsified or they can be lost through being unrecorded. To be able to be used, to be a part of human culture, facts need constant re-ification; they require re-recording and rearranging to make them appear relevant. Theory is not the appropriate mechanism, facts lose their identity when they are incorporated into generalizations. As Canovan says:

> One may, perhaps sum up the differences between Hannah Arendt's views and those of the social scientists by saying that she objects to their whole attempt to offer general explanations in politics (on the model of the general laws of physics and other sciences) and in doing so to ignore or detract from the specific, particular, unique course of events and the authors who make it. [56]

To be incorporated into culture facts need to be ordered by opinion. Such a process may legitimately select, emphasize and arrange facts, indeed it must do so to achieve its aim of demonstrating their meaning and engendering understanding. Arendt summarizes the relationship as she sees it:

> Facts and opinions, though they must be kept apart are not antagonistic to each other, they belong to the same realm. Facts inform opinions, and various opinions, inspired by different interests and passions, can differ widely and still be legitimate so long as they respect factual truth. Freedom of opinion is a farce unless factual information is guaranteed and the facts themselves are not in dispute. In other words, factual truth informs political thought just as rational truth informs philosophical speculation. [57]

Arendt's abstract discussion is interlarded with description of real events. These serve two functions; they are, on the one hand, the raw material on which she builds her highly individual construct and, on the other,

serve as illustrations of it. The connection between her theoretical discussion and fact is not, (as we would expect from previous discussion) a formal, logical one. Arendt's construct is neither derived inductively from the events she describes, nor is it a postulation which she verifies with respect to the described events. Her work is discursive in nature and the relationship between fact and opinion is subtle and shifting. The events she describes to some extent define her area of interest in the real world, they also lend colour and verisimilitude to her construct and act as a bridge between reality and her construct, aiding interpretation of it by others.

Given Arendt's view on the importance of fact, how do we judge the changes of inaccuracy of fact that have been levelled at her work? If true, they could not be ignored. Inaccuracy of fact would detract from her work at several levels, all of which are implicit in the discussion above. Firstly, if her construct is not offered as comment on the real world but another construct of it, it loses point. Secondly, her communication becomes less effective if the events she describes are in dispute. Thirdly, it weakens the bridge between her construct and the world at large.

However, since I have been unable, in spite of general criticism to find any instances of Arendt falsifying fact, I am inclined to the view that what is actually being criticized is her interpretation of fact. It is true that Arendt can be highly selective and that she emphasizes and arranges fact to suit her account, to draw out

meaning. Such a process Arendt would see, in her own terms, as being quite legitimate and therefore not open to criticism. However, Arendt does admit there are difficulties in separating opinion and fact. She asks:

> Do facts independent of opinion and interpretation exist at all? Have not generations of historians and philosophers of history demonstrated the impossibilities of ascertaining facts without interpretation, since they must be first pieced out of chaos of sheer happenings (and the principles of choice are surely not factual data) and then be fitted into a story which can be told only in a certain perspective that has nothing to do with the original occurrence? No doubt these and more perplexities inherent in the historical sciences are real, but they are no argument against the existence of factual matter, nor can they serve as a justification for blurring the dwindling lines between fact and opinion, and interpretation, or as an excuse for the historian to manipulate facts as he pleases. Even if we admit that every generation has the right to write its own history, we admit no more than that it has the right to rearrange the facts in accordance with its own perspective; we don't admit the right to touch the factual matter itself. [58]

Judith Shklar has an interesting perspective on Arendt's work that to some extent ameliorates what others have seen as defective - Arendt's departure from accepted fact or accepted opinion. She bases her analysis on Nietzsche's contention that there are three kinds of history; the monumental, the antiquarian and the critical, and goes on to develop her argument:

> Hannah Arendt was what he called a monumental historian. At its best monumental history is addressed to political actors, to remind them that great deeds were performed by notable men and that what was once feasible is at least possible again ... Every act and event worth remembering at all carries an appropriate lesson within it, and to reveal that meaning is the task of such a historian. History can thus serve the present valuer and then bury it under the weight of the past. ... There is no point in denying that Miss Arendt, like every other monumental historian, on occasion made remarks about the past that

> strictly speaking, were just not so. These were mostly matters of over-emphasis or silence, but they were not casual mistakes. They arose from the purposes and style of argument of monumental history. It has always dealt in opposites ... Miss Arendt added at least two, classes/masses and spontaneous/professional politics .... Monumental history generally and Miss Arendt particularly, teach us how to praise and, by implication, how to condemn. [59]

To understand Arendt as a historian one needs to place her work in a historical perspective. It can be seen as a reaction to nineteenth-century historicism, in particular to the German historical tradition and to Hegel. Hegel's assumption of history exhibiting trends tending towards fixed ends and overwhelming forces determining the form of historical events were unacceptable to Arendt:

> The invisible action behind the scenes is an invention arising from a mental perplexity but corresponding to no real experience. Through it, the story resulting from action is misconstrued as a fictional story, where indeed an author pulls the ships and directs the plans. [60]

Instead she sees modern history as exhibiting sharp interruptions, which change its course setting it off in new unforeseeable directions that can only be understood in retrospect. Again Shklar's analysis is perceptive:

> In Virgil she found the most perfect telling of the one political myth which she thought still might have some life in it: the myth of founding new politics ...
>
> By talking about founding ... Miss Arendt meant to invite us to think about history in a special way. The founding is an arbitrary act in two ways. First it does not depend on any prior rules for justification. Its principle is its own justification. The structure and spirit of the laws that arise from it justify, and indeed satisfy, a successful founding. It is second, ... an unforeseeable and irregular interruption of the ordinary course of history and political life ... it was for the sake of the

> present that the necessity of re-thinking the past seemed so urgent to her. If the idea of a founding is something like a political myth, it is not itself fanciful. On the contrary it was meant to fortify us against a very actual and quite specific danger - [totalitarianism]. [61]

It is the historian's function to supply meaning to such historical events, to present them in a form in which they can be understood and incorporated into culture. It is done by imparting to them a narrative sequence which they did not originally possess by virtue of any coercive historical force, and were not at the time seen to possess by the participants: Arendt writes:

> Even though stories were the inevitable result of action, it is not the actor but the story teller who perceives and 'makes' the story. [62]

So Arendt sees the function of the historian to re-ify fact and to organize that fact so that it can be understood and utilized by others. Miller collaborates this view:

> She follows Benjamin in constructing revolutionary history as an episodic set of stories needing to be remembered and told again, lest the true revolutionary spirit with its redeeming commitment to freedom, be lost 'through the failure of thought and remembrance.' Her conceptual apparatus is only a tool to this end. The distinctions she insists upon are only meant to draw out the pathos of the story, and render it fit to serve as a model. [63]

The technique Arendt uses to, as she sees it, incorporate fact into culture is story-telling. Again it should be emphasized that story-telling must be distinguished from fiction. Hill has explored this aspect of her work in some detail. He writes:

> How can we distinguish a story from a fiction? Only by whether we recognise the experiences and events

> in its telling rather than a series of unified abstractions. Here the criterion of the possible and the probable come into play, which, according to Aristotle make up the realm poetry illuminates. For the story offers us a sketch that must appear possible and probable, otherwise we cannot recognise the words and deeds of men in its account of them. [64]

To make her stories effective, Arendt draws on her considerable gifts of language. Her prose is rich and inventive and is capable of conveying the high emotions of tragedy and pathos, both of which loom large in the stories she tells. For instance, Miller writes of On Revolution:

> Her tone is sombre, her prose elegiac: her object is to arouse a kind of thinking passion in response to the events she recalls, to elicit a sense of pathos. [65]

Arendt's work, particularly her earlier work, is not easy to read. It is dense, complex, erudite and with a highly individual vocabulary. But the novelty of her vocabulary could also be stimulating. Sheldon S. Wolin writes:

> The appearance of The Human Condition in 1958 came as a deliverance. It fulfilled the criterion which she was later to invoke in discussing the phenomenon of revolution: that book brought something new into the world. It introduced a distinctive language ('political action', 'public realm', 'political space') and with it a new political sensibility which invested politics with both a high seriousness and dignity that transcended the dreary and trivial categories of academic political science. [66]

Her use of language therefore is creative, but it is also learned. Much of her argument arises from the manipulation of language itself and displays her grasp of its subtleties. Metaphor is fundamental to her work, it links her convictions about the nature of thought (that insight is achieved and conveyed via metaphor) with her practice of the same technique, it is the device by which her richest

aesthetic effects are developed. Others have described this aspect of her work in similar terms. Arendt has written some literary criticism, and Erich Heller writes of it:

> There was no doubt about her aesthetic perceptivity. What she said about metaphors in her essay about Walter Benjamin ranks with the best ever said about this poetic procedure .... Remembering that the Greek verse meta pherein means 'to carry over', 'to transfer', she says of metaphors that they render 'visible' the invisible and make the abstract 'sensible' .... This is as much to say that metaphors in her definition, come close to being symbols. [67]

He goes on to analyse her use of the metaphor:

> Hannah Arendt saw more than the aesthetic aspect of the metaphorical, for her the metaphorical was that element in poetry that gives us knowledge. What kind of knowledge? The knowledge conveyed by the correspondence, the affinity between apparently remote things. [68]

And then quotes Arendt:

> Metaphors are the means by which the oneness of the world is poetically brought about. [69]

Hans Morgenthau reinforces the same points, and compares "The affinity of Hannah Arendt's political thought not only with general philosophy but with poetry." He writes:

> If you consider the enormous suggestiveness of her insights into political matters in contrast to the systematic attempts to which I have referred, you realise that her mind worked in a way not dissimilar to the poetic mind, which creates affinities, which discovers relationships that appear obvious once they are formulated but that nobody had thought of before the poet formulated them. [70]

In her effort to make her myths appear concrete and to lend them verisimilitude Arendt makes widespread use of spatial metaphors. It is as though the reader is asked to

place her actors on a stage, to make them appear. Instances are numerous: 'public space', 'space of appearance', 'public realm', 'private realm', 'political realm'. Here is a typical example of the way they are used by Arendt:

> The space of appearance comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action, and therefore predates and precedes all formal constitution of the public realm and the various forms of government, that is, the various forms in which the public realm can be organized. Its peculiarity is that, unlike the spaces which are the work of our hands, it does not survive the actuality of the movement which brought it into being, but disappears not only with the dispersal of men ... but with the disappearance or arrest of the activities themselves. [71]

What we should note here is the intimate relationship between her presentation and her body of thought. Her presentation relies on metaphor which makes her thoughts appear. This concept of appearances is mirrored in her political thought to which it is basic; judgement, political action and public realm all depend on it. Her work and her body of thought stand in a metaphorical relationship to one another.

The literary quality of Arendt's work is high, and this enables her story-telling to be effective but much of her work is more analytical than the description 'story-telling' would indicate. Her mode of argument is unusual and particularly in her earlier books caused difficulties for her readers. Bernard Crick writes of the Origins of Totalitarianism:

> Her prefaces establish the sense of the problem ... but say nothing helpful to the reader faced with a work so large, so unusual, so diverse, so outside the Anglo-American scholarly tradition about her presuppositions ... her premises and preconceptions are

> not made clear, at least not in the prefaces or in any one place in the text. They become clear in her later books, The Human Condition (1958) makes clear her assumptions about the political, human freedom and the capacity for action. On Revolution (1963) makes clear her assumptions about the possibilities of deliberate social change ....

And, gradually, as her preconceptions became clearly established her work became more accessible, so that Crick could write of Between Past and Future "These essays remove some of the obscurities of this most remarkable intellectual apparatus which she has constructed for herself." [72]

Her concepts often depend upon setting in opposition two qualities and hence accentuating their differences; such oppositions can yield novel insight as to their nature. Wolin lists a number of these, for Arendt:

> ... political action and labour signified primordial opposites: freedom versus necessity; extraordinary action versus repetitive activity: life risking versus life-sustaining; action occurring in the bright light of the public stage versus activity hidden away in private places and private transactions; and finally, action constituted and signified by utterance and preserved in remembrance versus activity that is speechless, that issues in products destined to be consumed and forgotten. [73]

The skill with which she divided the concepts is neatly described by Michael Oakshott. He writes Arendt's:

> quality of intelligence in which great and ready learning, the skill of always cutting between the joints and brilliant powers of generalization combine to make each piece of her writing not only a profoundly thought-provoking composition but also a dazzling performance.

His appreciation continues:

> Since the virtue of this book lies in the profoundly observed distinctions and finely observed connec-

> tions which fill its pages, and in the learning which informs every turn of its arguments, it is not surprising that an occasional note of exaggeration should intrude .... But in a book ... which touches the history of European civilization at so many points and touches nothing without adding to its intelligibility, there is something to be learned from these exaggerations and, indeed, from the puzzles which remain. [74]

Bernard Crick on one occasion labelled Arendt as "the most rational of the revolt against reason theorists."[75] I take it that this is, on the one hand, a tribute to the coherence of her presentation, and on the other, a recognition of the basis on which that body of thought displayed in her work rests. The second term needs qualification on two grounds. It should be made plain that because Arendt's work was directed towards only part of human endeavour - the Vita Activa and especially to political action - she deliberately rejected the rational, logically formed mode of argument regarding it as being inappropriate for her subject.

Arendt did not deny that the Vita Contemplativa rested on anything other than rational thought and rational method. It was just that she did not pursue this area of study in her earlier work. Second, from argument that has already been presented, it is not correct to call Arendt a theorist. It follows that the compliment is misdirected; it would be better expressed as "Arendt the most methodical of anti-rationalists." Yet even this is only true if we do not endow 'methodical' with qualities of rationalism, but considering the field in which it was applied, accept her alternative discursive mode as a legit-

imate one. "A thorough, through and through anti-rationalist" might be a better description of her, in relation to her work on politics. However, it must be kept in mind her acceptance of Kant's concept of judgement requiring the presence of others "in whose places" one must think and for this holding not only for aesthetics, but for politics.[76] The principle applies equally to her own work and the responsibility with which it is applied gives to her argument a measure of objectivity it would otherwise lack.

I now wish to move from a discussion of the mode of presentation of Arendt's work to discuss in more detail the thought that underlies it. In other words, to examine the half of Crick's description that was not explored above. Arendt's conceptual framework of politics makes assumptions about the nature of thought and the ways in which thought is applied to human action. Her writing seems to rest on the same assumptions and they govern the nature of her presentation. Habermas describes Arendt as holding "fast to the classical distinction between theory and practice; practice rests on opinions and convictions."[77] Theory, in contradistinction rests on rational demonstration. Arendt sees theory as being appropriate to the Vita Contemplativa and practice to the Vita Activa. Practice is not to be considered as a less cerebral activity, but to employ a different mode of thought.

Truth is derived from the accumulation of theory, each new theory rests upon others and adds to knowledge,

the acquisition of knowledge is a cumulative process which aims for the truth. The argument used to establish a theory has been highly formalized; it employs the devices of formal logic and rests upon a priori presuppositions. It employs rational thought.

Arendt is very firm that theory is not the appropriate basis of action. Action should be based on opinion, opinion is derived quite differently from theory. It is not based on a priori logic, rather it derives from insight. Its processes have not been formalized, rather they are derived hermeneutically, that is they arise as man tries to understand the world about him, in order to act. Parekh notes it is that characteristic of hermeneutic questions that they can be answered in several different ways and are "at best persuasive"[78](an extraordinary statement in Arendt's terms. Arendt might well have said that answers to hermeneutic questions are best employed in action because they are persuasive rather than coercive - that would be more consistent with her philosophy). Arendt describes the process:

> No opinion is self-evident. In matters of opinion, but not in matters of truth, our thinking is truly discursive, running as it were from place to place, from one part of the world to the other through all kinds of conflicting views, until finally ascends from all these particularities to some important generality. [79]

- that is understanding. It derives from a quest for meaning.

The process by which Arendt sees personal opinion becoming the basis for concerted action, that is, the process by which a matter becomes generally understood by a group has been criticized by Habermas and Parekh. Neither of them have found her explanation convincing. Both attribute the deficiency to her sharp distinction, (Habermas calls it a "yawning abyss")[80] between knowledge and opinion and their appropriate procedures:

> Arendt's difficulty springs from the fact that she remains imprisoned within the Platonic framework of thought and accepts his dichotomy between truth and opinion. In rightly reacting against Plato's conception of absolute truth, she swings to the other extreme and treats individual opinions as if they were incorrigible. She seems to think that truth and opinion exhaust the types of knowledge possible in politics. She does not explore the intermediate ground of rational principles and standards which although not 'true' offer as much certainty as human affairs permit. [81]

In seeing Arendt's mechanism for reaching general understanding as inadequate both Parekh and Habermas undervalue or discount Arendt's reliance on the process of judgement that she claims takes place within the individual. The mechanism of thought which Kant attributed to being appropriate to aesthetic matters and Arendt to politics that of thinking in the place of others, in order to render thought objective before agreement is sought. But even Arendt concedes that the actual presence of others is necessary to the process:

> Judgment knows how to transcend its own individual limitations and cannot function in still isolation or solitude; it needs the presence of others 'in whose places' it must think, whose perspectives it must take into consideration, and without whom it never has the opportunity to operate at all. [82]

To return from a consideration of the nature of Arendt's concept of thought applied to politics to the nature of thought applied in her work. Vollrath notes:

> Hannah Arendt's political thinking does not posit itself a priori outside the political field; rather it grows from within that field. [83]

In other words he clearly assigns Arendt's process to that which in her terms is appropriate to opinion. And he is right, Arendt's description of thought for action also describes very adequately the basis of her own presentation.

If this is so, we have to consider if, in the terms of Arendt's own construct, her work is intended to be part of a sequence of action (which must be political action), or, if we reject this proposition, can it be regarded, again in her terms, as a product of work, as an object? If we take the sequence of events that for Arendt make up political action: individual thought, presentation to a peer group in public; a process of acceptance, argument interaction and finally common understanding, then it is tempting to see Arendt's work as fitting into this sequence. Its subject is clearly political, her work presents her individual view, and is in the manner of its presentation designed to elicit agreement and to incite others to act, even if action is limited to instigating thought on subjects which are important to Arendt and states which, in her view, require re-ification. It is illuminating that the work generally seen to be the most philosophical, The Human Condition was later seen by

Arendt to be defective for this very reason:

> The main flaw and mistake of The Human Condition is the following: I still look at what is called in the tradition the Vita Activa from the viewpoint of the Vita Contemplativa without ever saying anything real about the Vita Contemplativa. Now I think that to look at it from the Vita Contemplativa is already the first fallacy. [84]

Can we conclude then that the bulk of her work was intended to be action? Or, is her objection made on aesthetic rather than political grounds; and she only regrets that the method did not mirror the philosophy? Or, is a third interpretation possible, that she rejects the mode of thought of the Vita Contemplativa as suitable for applying to an examination of politics? Arendt appears to reject the first proposition that her work is a form of action, she has said:

> I am, of course, primarily interested in understanding. This is absolutely true. And I will admit that there are other people who are primarily interested in doing something. I am not, I can very well live without doing anything. But I cannot live without trying at least to understand whatever happens. [85]

But it does not wholly desert the Vita Activa. First because it is the subject matter of her work and second because of the quality of her work, its claim to be seen as an art object. Then Arendt postulates a third connection, "I do believe that thinking has some influence on action. But on acting man. Because it is the same ego that thinks and the same ego that acts. But not theory." [86]

Here, perhaps is the clue to the essence of the character of Arendt's work. It is a demonstration of the kind of thinking that is directed towards instigating

action. Not part of action itself, but a prelude to it. Others must think and act for themselves, but her work is intended to help them to do so. It is directed to enriching the concepts, vocabulary and methodology of thought used in action, and it takes the form of literature as the mode of presentation most likely to achieve her purpose. Hence Arendt can write, "I do want to share. And I do not want to indoctrinate"[87] and "A good line of poetry is a good line of poetry, meaning by this it has a convincing force of its own."[88] And, finally, as Canovan says, Arendt's "attempt to comprehend the situation in which mankind now finds itself, to think what we are doing" as she puts it, is in fact the central concern of all her writing to which she returns again and again.[89]

The standing of Arend't work

The foregoing analysis of Arendt's work described the nature of her subject matter, the technique of her presentation, the relationship between the content of her work and its presentation and touched on its subsequent effect. The analysis has, of course, been highly selective, further it has been deliberately sympthetic to Arendt's point of view. Such a procedure may be felt to be inadequate, especially for those unfamiliar with the field in which she worked who may wish to know what has been the effect of her work and where her reputation rests. To do so we should turn to the opinion of those who have written monographs on her work. First to Margaret Conovan, whose book The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt serves as a

useful introduction to her work, but whose judgement is, perhaps, somewhat limited.

> Our answer to the question, does Hannah Arendt succeed in illuminating political experience, is therefore twofold. Her ideal model of what politics should be is surely too romantic to be helpful, but her general conception of the human condition really does help us to see aspects of politics that tend to be unjustifiably neglected. That is to say, she is most illuminating when she talks about the human condition in general, least so when she apparently gets down to brass tacks and discusses the virtues of councils as opposed to parties. [90]

Then to Bhinku Parekh whose comment carries more authority:

> She does not succeed in laying the foundations of an 'authentic' political philosophy but she does establish its need and furnishes some of the elements of which it must be composed. By any standard this is a very considerable achievement whose significance has gone unnoticed because of her unfamiliar language and her habit of never offering a reasoned defence of her profound insights. [91]

As to her affect on political thought, it is not easy to judge. There are aspects of her work which might make it difficult to accept it into the mainstream of the discipline; for instance, its emphasis on insight rather than argument, its acceptance of a non-rational mode of thought, and its tolerance of the subjective viewpoint. Although I would have thought that the current intellectual climate might find her approach more acceptable than her contemporaries did.

Arendt cannot be categorized as being either on the right or the left of the political spectrum. She was certainly unaffiliated to any political group other than at one stage to Zionism. Her viewpoint is an individual one, sometimes appearing to one side or the other.

Habermas, for instance, sees her concept of power as being very close to Marx's "critical revolutionary activity",[92] while her conviction of the importance of élites and her opposition to mass-society make her sympathies appear with the right. Her concept of work and labour is argued in opposition to Marx.

The independence of her political viewpoint too makes it difficult to accept her work into the political institution. Mervyn Hill takes up these points, writing just after her death in 1978:

> Hannah Arendt's thinking is at odds with the major schools of thought that prevail today ... As a consequence she enjoys a peculiar reputation: while her books are respected, few people feel comfortable with the way she argued or with the conclusions she reached. Her recognition takes the form of a succes d'estime, where the sheer originality of her thinking is acknowledged at the same time that it is agreed that a sustained dialogue with her would distract one from the significant debate on the left or the right in our time. [93]

For those who feel sympathetic towards her work, it has, I imagine, provided insight on many important concepts. Bernard Crick, for instance, in his inaugural lecture at the University of Sheffield in 1966, "Freedom as Politics" drew significantly from her work.[94] For others she has been an inspiration, for instance, Mildred Bakan writes, "Arendt communicates a message. People will find a way and there is no substitute for participation in the struggle" and:

> The Human Condition makes a point with respect to speech and action and persons that we forget at our peril. The essential open-endedness of the human situation, the sense of a person as an originating ground, as introducing the principle of beginning

into the world through speech and action, is described with a clarity and persuasion not exceeded in any contemporary political writing that I know of. [95]

APPENDIX 9

The work of I.A. Richards pertaining to Jencks' criticism

This summary describes Richards' concepts of art and its objects, the role of the artist, critic and experiencer or reader, and a number of his key theoretical concepts. It will be followed by a brief description of his techniques of presentation and comment upon some of the directions his work took. In short, it will follow the same general pattern as the summary of Hannah Arendt's work.

The books of Richards' which Jencks might have considered to be of relevance to architecture and its appreciation and criticism are all from his earlier work. They are, in order of publication: 'The Meaning of Meaning' written in collaboration with C.K. Ogden and published in 1923, 'Principles of Literary Criticism' (1924), 'Practical Criticism' (1929) and 'Coleridge on Imagination' (1934). After this date his work becomes increasingly concerned with verbal communication. The following summary concentrates on presenting that part of his body of thought contained in 'Principles of Literary Criticism' particularly the material in his chapter on 'The Imagination'. The analysis is reinforced by referring to relevant passages in Richards' other works, and to others' comment upon his work.

Richards rejects the proposition that there is a particular kind of experience associated with the appreciation of the arts. Instead, he places appreciation of the arts as part of experience in general, but the arts have an especial function because they are "the supreme form of the communicative activity"[1] - they are particularly effective means of communication and what they have to impart is of especial value. Hence, Richards says: "The two pillars upon which a theory of criticism must rest are an account of value and an account of communication." [2]

It must be emphasized that value for Richards is the value of the response to the object and is not a property of the object itself. "This is beautiful" is, he maintains, an ellipsis and we should rather say "that it causes an experience in us which is valuable in certain ways." [3] To overcome the difficulties of common usage of language which generally attributes qualities to the object that should rather be attributed to experience, Richards suggests that criticism be divided into two parts - the criticial part which examines the experience and the technical part which describes the object. One might think that the very strong emphasis on communication derives from Richards' preoccupation with a particular form of the arts, with poetry, and perhaps this is so but at least he did not intend his theories to be linked to this one form. He specifically mentions, as being relevant to this argument, music, poetry, painting, sculpture and architecture. [4]

Richards maintains that a study of the critical part amounted to a study of psychology, much of his description of aesthetic experience is couched in terms that are intended to be scientific, for example:

> For successful communication a number of impulses with their effective stimuli must be common to the communicators, and further the general ways in which impulses modify one another must be shared. We evidently cannot expect that many total situations and responses will have been common, and it is not necessary that they should be. Within limits the disparities can be overcome by what is called imagination. [5]

It is interesting to compare Arendt's and Richards' concept of what the arts communicate. Arendt sees them as embodying action, that is, the experience of others. Richards sees them embodying the experience of the artist himself. But, in either case, a high value is placed on what is embodied in the object, and both see art objects as essential parts of human culture. Here is Richards' exposition:

> The arts are our storehouse of recorded values. They spring from and perpetuate hours in the lives of exceptional people, when their control and command of experience is at its highest, hours when the varying possibilities of existence are most clearly seen ... Both in the genesis of a work of art, in the creative moment, and in its aspect as a vehicle of communication, reasons can be found for giving to the arts a very important place in the theory of Value. They record the most important judgements we possess as to the values of experience ... In the arts we find the record in the only form in which these things can be recorded of the experiences which have seemed worth having to the most sensitive and discriminating persons ... The arts, if rightly approached, supply the best data available for deciding which experiences are more valuable than others. [6]

In Richards' schema the artist plays a more direct role than in Arendt's. He writes:

> The artist is concerned with the record and perpetuation of the experiences which seem to him most worth having ... he is also the man who is most likely to have experiences of value to record. He is the point at which the growth of the mind shows itself. His experiences, those at least which give value to his work, represent conciliations of impulses which in most minds are still confused, intertrammelled and conflicting. His work is the ordering of what in most minds is disordered ... when he succeeds, the value of what he has accomplished is found always in a more perfect organisation which makes more of the possibilities of response and activity available. [7]

To carry out this role the artist must have a more than usual sensitivity to his experiences and a more than usual manipulative ability. Thus Richards writes:

> The greatest difference between the artist or poet and the ordinary person is found, as has often been pointed out, in the range, delicacy, and freedom of the connections he is able to make between different elements of his experience. [8]

But such differences should not be of kind, only of degree, since communication must be possible between the artist and others, so if "the availability of his past experience is the first characteristic of the poet, the second is what we may provisionally call his normality." [9]

To turn from artist to critic.

> The qualifications of a good critic are three. He must be an adept at experiencing, without eccentricities, the state of mind relevant to the work of art he is judging. Secondly, he must be able to distinguish experiences from one another as regards their less superficial features. Thirdly, he must be a sound judge of values. [10]

To be influential the critic like the artist must also be normal "At the least a critic is concerned with the value of things for himself and for people like him." [11]

As to the critic's task, it is seen by Richards to centre around his experiences.

> Criticism, as I understand it, is the endeavour to discriminate between experiences and to evaluate them. We cannot do with without some understanding of the nature of experience, or without theories of valuation and communication. Such principles as apply in criticism must be taken from these more fundamental studies. All other critical principles are arbitrary, and the history of the subject is a record of their obstructive influence. The view of value implied throughout is one which must be held in some form by very many persons. [12]

We should note here that Richards conviction of the importance of the successive development of man's attitudes which are brought about by an enriched appreciation of experience, enrichment being most potently provided by the arts. He goes so far as to say:

> An improvement of response is the only benefit which anyone can receive, and the degradation, the lowering of a response, is the only calamity. [13]

The critic aids this process by skill in experiencing the arts, an appreciation of his own role, and an ability, in turn, to communicate with the public at large.

A critic must, according to Richards, be able to distinguish clearly between the communicative and the value aspects of a work of art, but Richards holds that value relies on the "minute particulars of response and attitude,"[14] so the two are closely linked. Communication must take place to engender response. Criticism may be seen as normative or idiosyncratic. The first produces standards which we may endeavour to approximate, the second offers insights which may stimulate further thought

in others without acceptance being necessary, but in either case the critic's role is to mediate between the work and others, to enhance others' understanding of it and, hence, to enrich each person's attitudes and thus aid his personal development.

Hotopf reinforces my reading of Richards' general aim in relation to poetry:

> ... nearly all Richards' books were concerned primarily with heightening the reader's awareness about the nature of language so as to improve his reading and thinking and thus to bring about development in his personality. [15]

Hotopf also makes the point that his real concern is indeed with the individual, and not with society at large for which he expressed considerable antagonism. Richards had written:

> For many reasons standards are much more in need of defence than they used to be. It is perhaps premature to envisage a collapse of values, a transvaluation by which popular taste replaces trained discrimination. Yet commercialism has done stranger things: ... [16]

But the artist may cater for the less educated or less perceptive by double-coding his work. Richards describes the process:

> There still remains the most interesting of the cases in which apparent agreement disguises real differences, that in which a work occasions valuable responses of the same kind at a number of different levels. Macbeth is as good an example as any. Its very wide popularity is due to the fact that crude responses to its situations integrate with one another, not so well as more refined responses, but still in something of the same fashion. At one end of the scale it is a highly successful, easily apprehended, two-colour melodrama, at the other a peculiarly enigmatic and subtle tragedy, and in between there are various stages which give fairly

> satisfactory results. Thus people of very different capacities for discrimination and with their attitudes developed in very different degrees can join in admiring it. This possibility of being enjoyed at many levels is a recognised chracteristic of Elizabethan Drama.
>
> We must, of course, distinguish art of this kind from the Christmas party or magazine kind of production, in which the author provides something (different and in a different place) for everybody. The works of Dickens might be cited as examples. [17]

Richards, like Arendt, accepts the presence of an elite and directs his work to its members, Richards' elite is an intellectual one.

However, even within this narrowed range, Richards sees interpretation as being a difficult task. Many difficulties prevent a successful interpretation. Indeed, he says:

> The only proper attitude is to look upon a successful interpretation, a correct understanding, as a triumph against odds. We must cease to regard a misinterpretation as a mere unluckly accident. We must treat it as the normal and probable event. [18]

Richards did not regard experimental aesthetics as providing the key to interpretation.

> ... it is showing no ingratitude to these investigators if we point out certain defects of almost all experimental work on aesthetics, which make their results at best of only indirect service to our wider problems.
>
> The most obvious of these concerns their inevitable choice of experiments. Only the simplest human activities are at present amenable to laboratory methods. Aestheticians have therefore been compelled to begin with as simple forms of 'aesthetic choice' as can be devised. In practice, line-lengths and elementary forms, single notes and phrases, single colours, and simple collocations, nonsense syllables, metronomic beats, skeleton rhythms and metres and similar simplications have alone been open to investigation. Such more complex objects as have been examined have yielded very uncertain results, for reasons which

> anyone who has ever both looked at a picture or read a poem and been inside a psychological laboratory or conversed with a representative psychologist will understand. [19]

On the one hand, works of art are complex, hence tend to greater definition of their meaning but, on the other, this complexity of the receptive process leads to a multiplicity of experiences so that Richards concludes:

> It is unquestionable that the actual experiences, which even good critics undergo when reading, as we say, the same poem, differ very widely. [20]

Richards summarizes the events which take place on reading a poem:

1. The visual sensations the printed words evoke.
2. Images very closely associated with these sensations.
3. Images relatively free.
4. References to, or impulses, or 'thinkings of', various things.
5. Emotions.
6. Affective volitional attitudes. [21]

And many are the traps which inhibit a successful interpretation and present difficulties to criticism.

1. Making out the plain sense of poetry.
2. Difficulties of sensuous apprehension.
3. Place of imagery.
4. Persuasive influences of the critics, mnemonic irrelevances.
5. Stock responses.
6. Sentimentality.
7. Inhibition.
8. Doctrinal adhesions.
9. Technical presuppositions.
10. General critical preconceptions. [22]

Considering in more detail some concepts developed by Richards, one can begin with what is generally agreed to be one of his most valuable contributions, his exposition of imagination, for part of which he was considerably indebted to Coleridge.

Let us begin, then, with Coleridge's concept of the imagination:

> The primary IMAGINATION I hold to be the living Power and prime Agent of all human Perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I Am. The secondary Imagination I consider as an echo of the former, co-existing with the conscious will, yet still as identical with the primary in the kind of its operation. It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essential vital, even as all objects (as objects) are essentially fixed and dead.
>
> Fancy, on the contrary, has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. [23]

Richards re-interprets and extends Coleridge:

> The Primary Imagination is normal perception that produces the usual world of the senses, ... The Secondary Imagination, re-forming this world, gives us not only poetry ... but every aspect of the routine world in which it is invested with other values than these necessary for our bare continuance as living beings: ... [24]

But both are bound together

> Imagination must have fancy, in fact the higher intellectual powers can only act through a corresponding energy of the lower. [25]

Richards sees that the differences between the employment of the two modes to be in their respective use of links, that is, the way in which units (images, notions,

feelings, desires or attitudes) are associated. If the association is accidental arising from the author's past experience as it happened to have occurred then the author is using his Fancy to produce the work. If, on the other hand, the units are organized so that the relationship between them is reinforced by their juxtaposition, so that their cross-connections are meaningful and reinforce the action as a whole, then the author is using his imagination.

Richards believes that the unity of a work is achieved by "... the number of connexions between the many [units], and the relations between these connexions, ..."[26] The juxtaposition of images and feelings and the ways they are linked together causes each image or feeling to be modified by another. Coleridge writes of "the power by which one image or feeling is made to modify many others and by a sort of fusion to force many into one, ..."[27] thus achieving unity.

Coleridge, it is clear, sees such processes not only taking place in the author's mind but also in the mind of the reader.

> In Imagination the parts of the meaning - both as regards the ways in which they are apprehended and the modes of combination of their effects in the mind - mutually modify one another.
>
> In Fancy, the parts of the meaning are apprehended as though independent of their fellow-members (as they would be if they belonged to quite other wholes) and although, of course, the parts together have a joint effect which is not what it would be if the assemblage were different, the effects of the parts remain for an interval separate and collide or combine later, in so far as they do so at all. [28]

In fact, Richards concludes, what Coleridge's work on the imagination "... does offer is an immense opportunity for improving our technique of understanding."[29] Now to turn to Richards' own theory of the imagination, as expounded in his chapter by the same name in 'Principles of Literary Criticism'. Firstly, Richards lists six senses of the word imagination:

(i) the production of vivid images, usually (in poetry) visual images.

(ii) the use of figurative language, ranging from the use of metaphors in everyday speech to its employment of "the supreme agent by which disparate or hitherto unconnected things are brought together in poetry."

(iii) a sympathetic reproduction of other people's states of mind.

(iv) inventiveness, the bringing together of elements which are not ordinarily connected.

(v) relevant connection of things ordinarily thought of as disparate which is exemplified in scientific imagination which involves an ordering of experience in definite ways and for a definite end or purpose.

(vi) that sense of the imagination first formulated by Coleridge

> "That synthetic and magical power, to which we have exclusively appropriated the name of imagination ... reveals itself in the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities ... the sense of novelty and freshness, with old and familiar objects; a more than usual state of emotion, with more than usual order; judgement ever awake and steady self-possession with enthusiasm and feeling profound or vehement." "The sense of musical delight ... with the power of reducing multitude into unity of effect, and modifying a series of thoughts by some one predominant thought or feeling ..." [30]

Then he argues that because the poet has superior ordering powers he is able to draw on a wider range of experience than the ordinary man who must repress most of his experiences since he is unable to use them. It is only

at rare moments, for instance when he is struck by tragedy that the ordinary man can find all his experience relevant "he feels as though everything were beginning anew",[31] but generally such experiences only come to the ordinary man through the arts. "For great art has this effect, and owes thereto its supreme place in human life." [32]

Tragedy, Richards believes, is the example of imaginative synthesis which is easiest to analyse. He draws on Aristotle's definition of tragedy "... an imitation of an action ... effecting through Pity and Terror the correction and refinement of such passions."[33] He sees "Pity the impulse to approach and Terror the impulse to retreat" as fulfilling Coleridge's "balance or reconcilitation of opposite or discordant qualities." He concludes:

> Tragedy is perhaps the most general, all-accepting, all-ordering experience known. It can take anything into its organisation, modifying it so that it finds a place. It is invulnerable; there is nothing which does not present to the tragic attitude when fully developed a fitting aspect and only a fitting aspect ... But pseudo-tragedy ... is one of the most fragile and precarious of attitudes. Parody easily overthrows it, the ironic addition paralyses it; even a mediocre joke may make it look lopsided and extravagant. [34]

Richards concludes:

> This balanced poise, stable through its power of inclusion, not through the force of its exclusions, is not peculiar to Tragedy. It is a general characteristic of all the most valuable experiences of the arts. [35]

Given this conclusion, it is hardly surprising that Richards rates more highly works that incorporate different tendencies and still manage to achieve a balance than, for example, pseudo tragedies, that have a more limited

range. Those of the latter kind are unstable, they are susceptible to irony because "Irony in this sense consists in the bringing in of the opposite, the complementary impulses; that is why poetry which is exposed to it is not of the highest order, ..."[36] On the other hand, poetry that incorporates opposites can make use of irony so that irony, itself, is constantly a characteristic of poetry of the highest order. Richards preference is not, or not only, an aesthetic one but depends on his view of the purpose of art.

> The equilibrium of opposed impulses, which we suspect to be the ground-plan of the most valuable aesthetic responses, brings into play far more of our personality than is possible in experiences of a more defined emotion. We cease to be orientated in one definite direction; more facets of the mind are exposed and, what is the same thing, more aspects of things are able to affect us. To response, not through one narrow channel of interest, but simultaneously and coherently through many is to be disinterested ... [37]

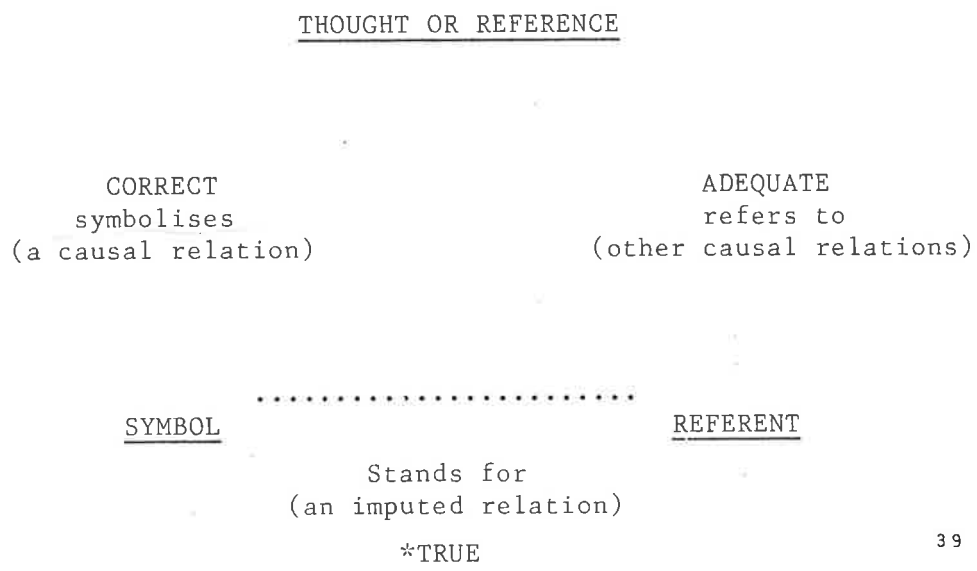
it is thus that individuals can practise a degree of objectivity.

In addition to his formulation of the imagination, Richards' concept of the two uses of language was also influential. It overcomes or, perhaps, rather, circumnavigates the distinction between processes of verification in fiction and in science. Richards writes:

> The distinction which needs to be kept clear does not set up fictions in opposition to verifiable truths in the scientific sense. A statement may be used for the sake of the reference, true or false, which it causes. This is the scientific use of language. But it may also be used for the sake of the effects in emotion and attitude produced by the reference it occasions. This is the emotive use of language. The distinction once clearly grasped is

> simple. We may either use words for the sake of the references they promote, or we may use them for the sake of the attitudes and emotions which ensue. [38]

Ogden and Richards explore their relationships in science in their book 'The Meaning of Meaning', they can be epitomized in their much borrowed and often emasculated diagram:



[39]

> Further, in the scientific use of language not only must the references be correct for success, but the connections and relations of references to one another must be of the kind which we call logical. They must not get in one another's way, and must be so organised as not to impede further reference. But for emotive purposes logical arrangement is not necessary. It may be and often is an obstacle. For what matters is that the series of attitudes due to the references should have their own proper organisation, their own emotional interconnection, and this often has no dependence upon the logical relations of such references as may be concerned in bringing the attitudes into being. [40]

This structure enables Richards to tease out different natures of truth and to allocate them to different uses of language. He writes that 'Truth' may be used in several ways in criticism:

1. The scientific sense that, namely, in which references, and derivatively statements symbolising references, are true, ...

2. The most usual other sense is that of acceptability ... the acceptability of the things we are told, their acceptability in the interests of the effects of the narrative, not their correspondence with any actual facts ... It is in this sense that 'Truth' is equivalent to 'internal necessity' or rightness.

3. Truth may be equivalent to Sincerity. [41]

"Sincerity ... is obedience to that tendency which 'seeks' a more perfect order within the mind" [42] of the reader. Richards sets no criterion for sincerity but offers some heartfelt advice:

> When our response to a poem after our best efforts remains uncertain, when we are unsure whether the feelings it excites come from a deep source in our experience, whether our liking or disliking is genuine, is ours, or an accident of fashion, a response to surface detail or to essentials, we may perhaps help ourselves by considering it in a frame of feelings whose sincerity is beyond our questioning. Sit by the fire (with eyes shut and fingers pressed firmly upon the eyeballs) and consider with as full 'realisation' as possible:-
>
> i. Man's loneliness (the isolation of the human situation).
>
> ii. The facts of birth, and of death, in their inexplicable oddity.
>
> iii. The inconceivable immensity of the Universe.
>
> iv. Man's place in the perspective of time.
>
> v. The enormity of his ignorance,
>
> not as gloomy thoughts or as targets for doctrine, but as the most incomprehensible and inexhaustible objects for meditation there are; then in the glow of their emotional reverberation pass the poem through the mind, silently reciting it as slowly as it allows. Whether what it can stir in us is important or not to us will, perhaps, show itself then. [43]

Poetry is, in Richards' terms, "the supreme form of emotive language" [44] it is, therefore, worth exploring the

nature of truth in poetry. Richards writes:

> It is evident that the bulk of poetry consists of statements which only the very foolish would think of attempting to verify. They are not the kind of things which can be verified. If we recall what was said ... as to the natural generality or vagueness of reference we shall see another reason why references as they occur in poetry are rarely susceptible of scientific truth or falsity. Only references which are brought into certain highly complex and very special combinations, so as to correspond to the ways in which things actually hang together, can be either true or false, and most references in poetry are not knit together in this way.
>
> But even when they are, on examination, frankly false, this is no defect. Unless, indeed, the obviousness of the falsity forces the reader to reactions which are incongruent or disturbing to the poem. And equally, a point more often misunderstood, their truth, when they are true, is not merit ... For all that matters in either case is acceptance, that is to say, the initiation and development of the further response.
>
> Poetry affords the clearest examples of this subordination of reference to attitude. [45]

and further:

> ... a statement in poetry arouses attitudes much more wide and general in direction than the references of the statement. [46]

Richards then proceeds to analyse belief in relation to science and to the emotions, he concludes:

> Scientific belief we may perhaps define as readiness to act as though the reference symbolised by the proposition which is believed were true.
>
> Emotive belief is very different. Readiness to act as though some references were true is often involved, but the connections and circumstances in which this readiness remains are narrowly restricted. Similarly the extent of the action is ordinarily limited. [47]

he concludes:

> The bulk of the beliefs involved in the arts are of this kind, provisional acceptances, holding only in special circumstances (in the state of mind which is the poem or work of art) acceptances made for the

> sake of the 'imaginative experience' which they make possible. The difference between these emotive beliefs and scientific beliefs is not one of degree but of kind. As feelings they are very similar, but as attitudes their difference in structure has widespread consequences. [48]

but over and above particular beliefs embodied in the arts there is

> ... another set of emotive effects which may also be called beliefs. ... Very often the whole state of mind in which we are left by a poem, or by music, or more rarely perhaps by other forms of art, is of a kind which it is natural to describe as a belief. ... This belief ... is a consequence not a cause of the experience ... [49]

Such beliefs lend to the developent of attitudes, and here we are led back again to where we began this summary of Richards' theory, to reiterate the importance of the arts to life in general:

> For clear and impartial awareness of the nature of the world in which we live and the development of attitudes which will enable us to live in it finely are both necessities, and neither can be subordinated to the other. [50]

I turn now to a brief discussion of Richards' Technique. Like Arendt he is a persuasive writer, Hotopf describes his work as having "an exhilarating quality about it which is important to the reader. "One feels his enthusiasm"[51] but Hotopf cannot quite brook the style of 'Meaning of Meaning'

> Even for those days the tone - literary, scholarly, Common Room talk - was, I think, unprofessional, taking into account the nature of the subejct they were dealing with.
>
> But though academic, (sic) the effect is of great energy, which seems to be bursting out everywhere, ... The book with its great promise and its sketchy, at times slapdash, performance is almost more manifesto than scholarship. [52]

So Hotopf finds Richards' mode of argument what he might term too unprofessional and elsewhere he describes it as "very digressive".[53] He is more perceptive when he sees in Richards' writing a reflection of his literary theory, he cites as evidence:

> The connection between Richards' theory of language and his writing practice, the way in which he uses words in different senses and in different categories and his reliance upon our using the whole in determining the meaning of the parts; his tendency to produce disjunctive theories ... and his free association way of thinking, ... [54]

The relationship is not accidental, Richards is concious that his theory must affect his presentation.

> To discuss poetry and the ways in which it may be approached, appreciated and judged is, of course, its prime purpose. But poetry itself is a mode of communication. What is communicates and how it does so and the worth of what is communicated form the subject-matter of criticism. It follows that criticism itself is very largely, though not wholly, an exercise in navigation. It is all the more surprising then that no treatise on the art and science of intellectual and emotional navigation has yet been written; for logic, which might appear to cover part of this field, in actuality hardly touches it. [55]

Given that Arendt's subject is politics and Richards' literature, especially poetry, there is something not unalike in their presentation. Arendt constantly refers to political events and Richards frequently alludes to literary examples. In neither case is the matter cited merely illustrative, rather it forms an integral part of the presentation. Arendt claimed that facts were too important to be submerged in abstract argument, Richards appears to have acted on the same supposition in regard to literary instances. Wimsatt describes his mode of operation

> He characteristically adduces literary works - as either statements or illustrations of literary epistemological, or ethical doctrine. [56]

Here, too, there is an intimate connection between method and theory. His whole approach in 'Practical Criticism' illustrates the point. He says of it:

> In part then this book is the record of a piece of field-work in comparative ideology. But I hope, not only to present an instructive collection of contemporary opinions, presuppositions, theories, beliefs, responses and the rest, but also to make some suggestions towards a better control of these tricksy components of our lives ... There are two ways of interpreting all but a very few utterances. [57]
>
> 1. What seems to be said (statements).
> 2. The mental operations of the writer/speaker (expression).

He goes on to say:

> Our prime endeavour [in criticism] must be to get the relevant mental condition and then see what happens. If we cannot then decide whether it is good or bad, it is doubtful whether any principles, however refined and subtle, can help us much. Without the capacity to get the experience they cannot help us at all. This is still clearer if we consider the use of critical maxims in teaching. Value cannot be demonstrated except through the communication of what is valuable. [58]

'Practical Criticism' perhaps demonstrates most clearly that Richards' books are intended to be demonstrations of how to think, and that to think well should be a primary endeavour of each individual. And, again like Arendt, Richards places more emphasis on teaching the reader to think than on teaching him what to think. Hotopf, too, takes this point:

> His theories are sketches, not Academy pictures. The important thing for him is to get his reader's minds to grips with fundamental problems. Detail and technical language must be sacrificed to scope and

> audience size. Indeed, as we have seen in our discussion of his attitude to syntax, he believes his mission more likely to be accomplished if comprehension is difficult. It may be, too, that apart from his views about what is good for his audience, Richards himself fears the stillness of solid form, requiring instead the continuous flickering of alternative vistas in the scenes he sketches. [59]

But it is easy to over-emphasize the non-rational content of Richards' work; it does not lack order. 'Principles of Literary Criticism' is perhaps of the group under study his most thoroughly argued work, of it Hotopf writes:

> ... few writers seem to have appreciated Richards' theory about the way in which experiences are valuable, because of the increased capacity for fulfilling impulses that they bring about, something which we need to understand in order to understand his later notions of growth, and self-fulfilment. If these ideas are noticed at all, they are dismissed as "mysterious" or treated as simple, rather than as the complex abstractions they are. The means to understanding them lie in Richards' speculative theory about attitudes. But his critics are generally too ignorant of psychology to follow Richards' reasoning, or so much reacting against what they conceive to be an overemphasis upon science, psychology, and neurological models that they are prevented from seeing the distinct and well articulated pattern that is presented in the Principles ... [60]

Finally, a survey of the importance of Richards' work and the context in which it should be placed. Without questioning Richards' conviction that art was of supreme value for the responses it evoked and which were essential for a man's development - for this was the mainspring of his earlier work - it is still important to note that in terms of the development of literary theory, "His concern was to destroy a then still active notion that art should be 'for Art's sake'." [61] But it is probable that, because of the strength of the main thrust of his work, we should view what was a change of direction in the history of

ideas of literature as incidental rather than motivational. From the first Richards viewed all the arts, but particularly literature, from the point of view of its use to society. He has consequently been labelled a Utilitarian and a Benthamite. The following comment by Richards is revealing in this regard:

> What got into Coleridge on Imagination was a sort of free reconstruction. I wasn't so much concerned to say what Coleridge had thought as to suggest what might be done with what he had said. [62]

So too is a remark which Richards said pleased him, he recounts his introduction to Hugh Gaitskell "And I said, "Principles of Literary Criticism," and he said, "No, Principles of Intellectual Rectitude. That's what I learned through that book." [63]

The second fundamental characteristic of Richards' work is its strong relationship to science and its application. Here it is of its time in general and aesthetic terms, one has only to think of contemporary concerns in architecture to be aware of it. Incidentally, Richards quoted Le Corbusier on several occasions and began the preface to 'Principles of Literary Criticism' with "A Book is a machine to think with".[64] His reliance on fact may be seen as a scientific trait but it also had a literary derivation:

> Coleridge, perhaps first among English critics, looked for the principles of an intrinsic criticism of poetry, and one tenet of his method was a refusal to separate criticism from its object, poetry. [65]

Richards also stuck closely to his texts as was evidenced particularly in 'Practical Criticism', Angus Fletcher

writes of it:

> This masterstroke of demonstration and applied theory appeared four years later, and if any had wondered before about the reality of stock responses and their associated theory, they could now sit back and relax and worry about how much too real such phenomena in fact were. [66]

and

> Practical Criticism is one of the great descendants of Baconian tradition. In its pragmatic curiosity about what readers actually do when they read it manages to be vastly entertaining from cover to cover. In its account of the famous 'protocols' it reaches a level of high comedy seldom if ever attained by critical discourse. [67]

The fun and the scientific approach were far from incompatible at the time, as reminiscences of Cambridge at this period show. Apart from his approach to literature which emphasized his factual base, he made other important contributions to critical theory by transposing psychology and semantics into the literary field. Richards said modestly: "I was someone really saturated in psychology and neurology making up a book about the literary approaches. That was a bit of luck really. Two quite different concerns crossing at a crucial point."[68] Angus Fletcher emphasizes the importance of his contribution both for the disciplines which it brought to literary criticism and their effect on literature as a whole and an understanding of its structure:

> Thus Richards in his second major work, the Principles of Literary Criticism (1925), met the forces of chaos head-on. He set out to refine a literary theory in terms of psychology, semantics, communication and a connected "theory of value." This latter problem is a major subject in Principles ... The final placement of problems of value is perhaps the central critical concern, nor is there, for the

> twentieth-century world of journalism, advertising, propaganda and pop culture, any more agonizingly important concern than this. Critics have to be valuers.[69]

and

> Richards advanced a purer semantic method than any critic of English literature before him. The systematic assault upon the "meaning of meaning," by which Ogden and Richards took the first steps toward a rhetoric of meaning which would include all necessary tropes, ended with one of the typical results of systematic clarification: semantics became a productive field, because the science of criticism acquired instruments of response. [70]

To complete a survey of Richards' most important contributions to literature, we should note a contribution which we have so far only mentioned in passing; the wide influence of Richards' techniques for teaching appreciation of poetry explained in 'Practical Criticism'

> As one of its most powerful critical statements, Principles of Literatary Criticism developed the idea of the "stock response." Richards observed that such responses accompanied "artificial fixations of attitudes," while "against these stock responses the artist's internal and external conflicts are fought, and with them the popular writer's triumphs are made." ... In retrospect the political implications of such concerns are clearer than they can have been in the twenties. What was always clear was that Richards called for a variousness in response to literature which the popular author, with his stock devices, his triggering mechanisms, could not generally work for. Gross popularity sought an art that would enslave the imagination. [71]

and

> As an experiment in reading, Practical Criticism set itself up to free the reader from himself, by showing him (through comparisons with other readers) where and in what modes and on what levels of sensitivity and activity he had been engaged, as he read each poem. ... It was an experiment whose spirit, if not letter, was to become the dominant practical influence within the large domain of the New Criticism. [72]

Fletcher points out the essential link between this important contribution and his other, the principles of balance of opposing forces in poetry and the strength of the critical system which resulted from it:

> The Meaning of Meaning and Principles of Literary Criticism opened out wide, seemingly infinite fields of semantic exploration.
>
> This infinity is the central Ricardian problem. Critical balance is needed precisely because there is such a richness of meaning to be held under control. "Poetry gives most pleasure when only generally and not perfectly understood" - if this scandalous Coleridgean remark is to be taken seriously, as in Richards, it must be as a call to almost infinite delicacy of response. It leads to the Coleridgean stress upon the variousness, the varieties, the multiplicities, what Empson called the "ambiguities" of poetic utterance. Richards' theoretical career can be seen as a life of interplay between the acceptance of verbal plenitude and a countering search for an instrumental austerity within that overfull semantic space. Richards first showed that poems have too many meanings, and then showed how to control or appropriately cut down on that excess of meaning. This is the art of critical balance. [73]

Cleanth Brooks has a similar analysis:

> My ... purpose is to examine the role of I.A. Richards in calling attention to several important (and related) questions: the fact of disparity in poetry, the kinds of unification possible and desirable, and the positive values of a poetry that makes use of tension as its structural principle.
>
> Richards has exerted during the last fifty years a powerful influence on our understanding of these matters - perhaps the most powerful influence of all. [74]

And for a summary of Richards' influence at the time, Joan Bennett writes of 'Principles':

> ... I will try to recall and explain the force of its impact. It was valuable at that time to be presented with a basis for literary criticism, rational, man-centred, rooted in utilitarianism. In the Principles I.A.R. always raises the basic question "what does this contribute to the good of man?" ... Fundamental to his thinking is his assump-

> tion that the purpose of art is the benefit of man and that the artist's tools are such as can effect this. [75]

Richards' effect on literature was not confined to his writing, he was as one can easily gather from 'Practical Criticism' a thoroughly effective-teacher, but again one should emphasize the nature of his teaching. Kathleen Coburn writes: "Richards is above all a great educator" but also notes "all his studies are open-ended ..."[76] his teaching was never prescriptive.

Richards' interests subsequently diverged from literary studies, into educating for effective thinking and communicating, and his writing changed direction accordingly, he did, however, continue to give lectures in the appreciation of poetry. Later still he changed direction again and became a poet himself. Evidently Richards' retreat from academia was not easy, for he wrote:

> Do you know when I decided to back out of literature, as a subject, completely, and go into elementary education, I learnt something. I learnt where the academic railway tracks are. I was crossing the railway tracks in a most sinister fashion. I was told so again and again. Russell had tried to do it, you know. He'd founded a school and written a book on education. And people had said, "No wonder. He hadn't anything more to say." There's a very severe penalty attaching to going the wrong way across the railway tracks. [77]

Now, his third career, and an elapse of time has reinstated his academic reputation.

XI. REFERENCES AND NOTES

XI. REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. INTRODUCTION: THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

1. Williams, Raymond, Culture. Fontana Paperbacks, 1981, p.35.

2. Clarke, Marcus, For the Term of His Natural Life. Oxford University Press, 1965. (First published in book form as His Natural Life in 1874.)

3. Jencks, Charles, Modern Movements in Architecture. Anchor Books, 1973.

4. White, James, The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists & the Gothic Revival. Cambridge University Press, 1978 (fp. 1962).

5. For example, Nikolaus Pevsner's Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century; Kenneth Clark's The Gothic Revival and Basil Clarke's Church Builders.

2. A THEORETICAL EXPOSITION OF THE NATURE OF ARCHITECTURAL APPRECIATION

1. Clive Bell, Art. Capricorn Books, New York, 1958, pp.16-17.

2. Raymond Williams' analysis in Chapter 1 of The Long Revolution, Penguin, 1975, exemplified this approach.

3. Janet Wolff, Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1983.

   Tony Hincks writes on the same theme:

   > The sociology of art should be prepared to open up to discourse to allow consideration of other perspectives, and in doing so not let its own discourse dictate the proceedings. In this way we can approach reality. We can give due emphasis to our existential involvement in the world and the certainty of the aesthetic transaction and avoid becoming trapped in an abstracted discursive activity.

   British Journal of Aesthetics, Vol.24, No.4, Autumn 1984.

4. This term is preferred here to the more usual 'extrinsic interpretation' for poetic reasons.

5. Assuming that 'colour' is used here metaphorically, William Hazlett Selected Writings. Penguin 1970, p.148. Originally published in "Why distant objects please" Table Talk, 1821.

   Another interesting set of examples is given by Marghanita Laski in Ecstasy: a study of some secular and religious experiences. The Cresset Press, London, 1961. She refers to the object in the case of this kind of experience as a 'trigger'.

6. Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful, (fp.1756).

7. Immanuel Kant, The Critique of Judgement, trans. James Creed Meredith. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1982, p.42 (1st German edition 1790).

8. William Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955 (1753).

9. Richard Wollheim, Art and its objects. Penguin, 1970, p.103 (1968).

10. Leo N. Tolstoy, What is Art. Oxford University Press, 1930.

    Wollheim has a more subtle analysis of this relationship differentiating this category from the previous one:

> the preoccupation with what the artist felt, or might have felt, reflects a concern with the work of art as a piece of natural expression: whereas the preoccupation with what the spectator feels, or might feel, reflects a concern with the work of art as an example of correspondence.

op. cit., pp.47-48.

11. Kant, op. cit., pp.41-2.

12. ibid., p.50.

13. Both E.D. Hirsch and Roger Scruton have sought grounds for objectivity. Hence in Validity in Interpretation Hirsch separated experience of a work from judgement of it assigning objectivity to the latter category. As a matter of principle and assumption he advocated assessment of a work should be made in the terms of the author's situation and intention.

    Scruton in The Aesthetics of Architecture reduced architecture conceptually to an art object and regressed to the application of eighteenth-century aesthetics and taste to achieve a quasi-objectivity. Then Hirsch changed his position from one of absolute objectivity (since its terms of reference were fixed) to objectivity on grounds recognized to be the result of a political decision and hence to which agreement needed to be sought for its validity. This was too much for Scruton who launched an attack on Hirsch's Aims of Interpretation denying the split between experience and judgement. See Roger Scruton Public Text and Common Reader in Comparative Criticism; A Yearbook No.4.

    E.D. Hirsch, The Aims of Interpretation. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1976.

    Compare their concerns with Raymond Williams whose "special importance ... has been his refusal from the outset to recognise any division of intrinisic and extrinsic in the study of literature."

    Evan Watkins, The Critical Act: Criticism and Community. Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1978.

14. Here I am taking the same liberties that Kant took in describing an object as 'beautiful', op. cit., p.51.

15. Northrop Frye, The Critical Path: an essay on the social context of literary criticism. Indiana University Press, 1971, p.25.

16. I.A. Richards, Practical Criticism: a study of literary judgement. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1978 (1929).

17. G.W.F. Hegel, Aesthetics: Lectures on fine art, trans. J.M. Knox. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975, p.634.

> Architecture ... is the art whose medium is purely external, so that here the essential differences depend on whether this external object has its meaning within itself or whether, treated as a means, it subserves an end other than itself, or whether in this subservience it appears at the same time as independent. The first case coincides with the symbolic form as such, the second with the classical because here the meaning proper attains portrayal on its own account and then the symbolic is tacked onto it as a purely external environment, and this is implicit in the principle of classical art. But the union of the two runs parallel with the romantic, because romantic art does use the external as a means of expression, but it withdraws into itself out of this external reality and therefore can leave the object free to be shaped independently.

18. David Watkin, Morality and Architecture. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977.

    Roger Scruton, The Aesthetics of Architecture, op. cit. Watkin's book is the only recent one included by Scruton in his bibliography.

19. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Lectures and Conversations on aesthetics, psychology and religious belief. Basil Blackwood, Oxford, 1966, p.8. The author writes:

    > One wouldn't talk of appreciating the tremendous things in Art. In certain styles in Architecture a door is correct, and the thing is you appreciate it. But in the case of a Gothic Cathedral what we do is not at all to find it correct - it plays an entirely different role with us. The entire game is different. It is as different as to judge a human being and on the one hand to say 'He behaves well' and on the other hand 'He made a great impression on me'.

    Appreciation as used here is not the way in which it has been used in this thesis.

20. Michael Thompson, Ruins, their preservation and display. A Colonnade Book. British Museum Publications Ltd, 1981. Consideration of function may constitute a pleasure Thompson writes:

    > The pleasure of a ruin is to stimulate our imagination and reconstruct in our mind's eye the structure in its original state.

21. Christian Norberg Schulz, Genius loci: towards a phenomenology of architecture. Rizzoli, New York, 1980.

22. Geoffrey Scott, The architecture of humanism: a study in the history of taste. Constable & Co. Ltd, London, 1924 (1914), p.210.

23. Geoffrey Scott, The national character of English architecture: the Chancellor's essay. Oxford, 1908. The nature of symbolism is explained by Gass:

> More than a marker, a monument literally stands for something; it speaks to a community, a city, a state; but monumentality as a quality which only a few objects possess, exceeds speech. It moves to make and solidify the society it addresses, actually drawing toward and even taking into itself a public which its significance then shapes (original emphasis).

William H. Gass, Monumentality/Mentality in Oppositions. Fall, 1982:25.

24. Ernst H. Gombrich. In Search of Cultural History. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978 (1969), pp.42-43. See also,

David Lowenthal has taken up Gombrich's phrase and uses it for the title of his book The Past is a Foreign Country C.U.P. 1985, and he points out it is also used by L.P. Hartley in The Go-Between, Hamish Hamilton, 1953. It should be noted that Lowenthal's book was not available when this section was written. MacCannel puts the same idea in different terms:

Dean MacCannel, The tourist: a new history of the leisure class. Schocken Books, New York, 1976. MacCannel believes that "self discovery through a complex and sometimes arduous search for an Absolute Other is a basic theme of our civilisation." He concludes "in this way tourists resemble social scientists" p.5.

25. Raymond Williams, Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society. Fontana Paperbacks, London, 1983 (1976), p.90.

Also for a rather different definition by the same author see Raymond Williams Culture. Fontana Paperbacks, 1981, p.11.

26. Raymond Williams, Culture and Society. Penguin, 1976 (1958), p.137.

27. MacCannel confirms this view op. cit., p.14.

"In the establishment of modern society, [which MacCannel assumes is the purpose of tourism], "the individual act of sightseeing is probably less important than the ceremonial satisfaction of authentic attractions as objects of Ultimate Value."

28. John Britton's "Letter from John Britton to Joseph Hume" on the eligibility of making some Government provision for preserving the Ancient Public Edifices of Great Britain is an early expression of this concept. He writes:

> Legislation is reasonably required to make some provision for preserving these National Edifices which may be strictly regarded as essential ornaments of the country.
>
> John Britton, The Autobiography of John Britton F.S.A. London, 1850, p.73.

29. Richard Wollheim, op. cit., p.103.

30. Although Culler, for instance, sees the process as having gone too far, he writes:

> Theories of reading demonstrate the impossibility of establishing well-grounded distinctions between fact and interpretation, between what can be read in the text and what is read into it, or between text and reader, and thus lead to a monism. Everything is constituted by interpretation - so m uch so that Fish admits he cannot answer the question, what are interpretive acts interpretations of?
>
> (The reference is to Stanley Fish, Is there a text in this class? Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, p.165.)
>
> Jonathon Culler, On deconstruction; theory and criticism after structualism. Cornell University Press, New York, 1982.

31. Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator", Illuminations. Fontana/Collins, 1970, p.72.

32. Roland Barthes S/Z. Hill & Wang, New York, 1974.

33. As was evidenced, for instance, by a number of speakers at the Insight and Interpretation Conference at the Humanities Research Centre, A.N.U. held 13-16 May 1982, including Howard Felperin.

34. Geoffrey Scott, The Architecture of Humanism, op. cit., p.vii. The emphasis is mine.

35. ibid., p.213. Author's emphasis.

36. In 1984 the Pompidou Centre had as many visitors as the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre combined. Reported by Astragal in the Architects Journal (reference lost).

37. See note 6.

38. William Camden, Britania 1695. Though it is more than a guidebook it is of this ilk and was an important pattern for many lesser works which followed it.

39. It is not until the nineteenth-century that physical detail begins to eclipse historical association, see, for instance, Black's Guide to the County of York. London, Adam & Charles Black, 14th edition, 1894.

Nikolaus Pevsner's series on the Building of England typifies the last development.

40. William S. Gilpen, Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening: with some remarks on Domestic Architecture as connected with scenery. London, 1832; and

William S. Gilpen, Observations relative chiefly to picturesque beauty made in the year 1776 on several parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-Lands of Scotland. London, 1789.

41. John Henry Parker, An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture, 10th edition, 1893.

42. The series of "Britain in Pictures" is typical. For example, Thomas Burke English Inns. William Collins, London, 1943 and Edmund Blunden English Villages. William Collins, London, 1945.

43. Richard Wollheim, op. cit., p.123.

44. Ernst Gombrich, "Meditations on a Hobby Horse" in Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other essays on the theory of art. Phaedon, London & New York, 1978 (1963), p.11.

45. One should not underestimate the importance of this function, for the viewer needs to be reassured not only that the building is authentic but that the experience arising from it is also a genuine one. I once led my family along a disused railway track under a mistaken impression it was a Roman road, we enjoyed the experience until the incompatibility between the object and the guidebook description became too obvious to ignore. The realization of the unauthenticity of the experience was disconcerting to us all.

46. Horace Walpole, Letters, p.287.

Later written to the Countess of Upper Ossory on August 30th, 1790; or, put more theoretically:

> We do not and cannot miraculously create meaning out of ourselves. We inherit meaning from others who have thought, spoken or written before us. And whenever possible, we recreate this meaning, according to our own projects and interpretations. But we are always obliged to listen to (horën) what has already been spoken, in other times and places, before we can in turn speak for ourselves in the here and now.

Richard Kearney, "A note on the hermeneutics of dialogue" in Dialogues with contemporary continental thinkers: a phenomenological heritage. Richard Kearney (ed.), Manchester University Press, 1984.

47. Dean MacCannel, The Tourist: a new theory of the leisure class. Schocken Books, New York, 1976.

> ... a tourist attraction is an empirical relationship between a tourist, a sight and a marker (a piece of information about the sight) (p.41).

48. Ernst Gombrich, "Visual Metaphors of Value in Art" in Meditations on a Hobby Horse, op. cit., p.14. The nature of metaphor is also explored by Nelson Goodman,

> Metaphorical use of language differs in significant ways from literal use but is no less comprehensible, no more recondite, no less practical, and no more independent of truth and falsity than is literal use. Far from being a mere matter of ornament, it participates fully in the progress of knowledge: in replacing some stale "natural" kinds with novel and illuminating categories, in contriving facts, in revising theory, and in bringing us new worlds. The oddity is that metaphorical truth is compatible with literal falsity.

Nelson Goodman, "After thoughts on Metaphor" in On Metaphor, Shelton Sacks (ed.). University of Chicago Press, 1979, p.175.

49. Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution. Penguin Books, 1980 (1961), p.34.

50. Raymond Williams, The Country and the City. Paladin, 1975 (1973), p.350.

51. For instance, Steven Mailloux theorizes

> about interpretation only therapeutically exploring the problems without foundationalism and explaining the attraction of realist and idealist positions. But a rhetorical hermeneutics has more to do: it should also provide histories of how particular theoretical and critical discourses have evolved. Why? Because acts of persuasion always take place against an ever-changing background of shared and disputed assumptions, questions, assertions and so forth. Any full rhetorical analysis of interpretation must therefore describe this tradition of discursive practice in which acts of interpretive persuasion are embedded. Thus rhetorical hermeneutics lead inevitably to rhetorical histories.

Steven Mailloux, "Rhetorical Hermeneutics" in Critical Inquiry. June 1985, Vol.11, No.4; also explored by

Richard Kearney, "A note on the hermeneutics of dialogue" in Dialogues with Contemporary Continental Thinkers: the phenomenological heritage. Manchester University Press, 1984.

52. This subject is also explored by Juan Pablo Bonta, Architecture and its Interpretation. Rizzoli, New York, 1979, p.91 ff.

53. Raymond Williams, The Country and the City, op. cit. In a study as wide ranging as the one above there seems little point in citing for the sake of display a wide range of authors. I have rather chosen to cite classic aesthetic texts or those authors, like Williams and Wollheim, to whose work I feel a particular affinity.

54. Dean MacCannel, op. cit.

55. See note 24.

56. Philippe Boudon, Lived in Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac revisited, trans. Gerald Onn. Lund Humphries, London, 1972.

57. Juan Pablo Bonta, op. cit.

58. ibid., p.225.

59. ibid., p.223.

60. ibid., p.156; or, put more strongly

> What people want is to see their own meanings in the environment - with their own system of values, from their own frames of reference, shaped by the expressive systems that they share with their community. (Author's emphasis)

Bonta op. cit., p.232.

61. Alois Riegl, "The modern cult of monuments: its character and its origin". Trans Kurt W. Forster & Diane Ghirardo in Oppositions. Fall, 1982:25.

3. CASE STUDY ONE

The activities of the Cambridge Camden Society (C.C.S)

1. Webb Diaries, MSS Misc. e406 Bodleian Library, June-Sep., 1838.
2. ibid., October 1838. Webb also notes for Jan., 1839 "saw much of Carlos: whose talk is v. Romanizing."
3. ibid., Oct., 1838.
4. ibid., Oct.-Nov., 1838.
5. Neale Diaries, Vol. III, MSS 3107 Lambeth Palace Library, Dec. 9th, 1838.
6. ibid., Dec. 25th, 1838.
7. A.G. Lough, John Mason Neale - Priest Extraordinary. The Author, p.18.
8. Neale Diaries, 12th Nov., 1838.
9. ibid., 2nd Dec., 1838.
10. ibid., 15th Dec., 1838.
11. ibid., 16th Dec., 1838.
12. ibid., 25th Feb., 1839.
13. ibid., 1 April, 1839.
14. Its members were Harvey Goodwin (president), Colson (secretary), Webb, Neale, Poynder, Hough, Codd and later Mills (all of them except Poynder were later active in the C.C.S.).
15. Webb Diaries, March 18th, April 18th, May 7th, 1839.
16. ibid., Dec. 3rd, 1839.
17. ibid., Sep. 16th, 1839.
18. C.C.S. "Laws of the Society" contained in Report of the Committee of the C.C.S. for the year 1840-41, p.54.
19. Stuart Piggot, Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism, University Press, Edinburgh, p.171, ff.

20. C.C.S. "Laws of the Society" contained in Report of the Committee of the C.C.S. for the year 1840-41, p.54.

21. C.C.S. Church Schemes, 1839 and many subsequent editions.

22. Webb Diaries, 13th April, 1839.

23. Thomas Rickman, An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation. London, 1835, 4th edition.

24. Matthew Holbeck Bloxam, The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture. W. Kent & Co., London, 1859.

25. William Whewell, His Writings, Vol.2, 1835, p.206:

> As for a church reform, I dare say it will be a reasonably well compounded dose when one considers the doctors; and probably when the first soreness of application is over, we shall feel rather better than worse for it. At any rate we must hope it will be so, as our good hopes are the best inheritance we have left.

26. William Whewell, Architectural Notes on German Churches with Remarks on the Origin of Gothic Architecture. Cambridge, 1830, p.xxvii.

27. ibid., p.70.

28. ibid., p.xxvii

29. ibid., p.71, ff.

30. ibid., p.77.

31. C.C.S. President's Address, p.9, given on March 28th, 1840.

32. ibid., p.11.

33. ibid., p.12.

34. Neale Diaries, Nov. 26th, 1839.

35. C.C.S., 1839.

36. ibid., p.3.

37. loc. cit.

38. ibid., p.6.

39. ibid., p.13.

40. ibid., p.24. One should note here the quasi-canonization of architects, they appear to have become, in relation to the built church, its saints!

41. ibid., p.25.

42. R.I.B.A. Library, MSS 726.54 (42)(083).

43. C.C.S. Report of the Committee for the year 1840-41, p.35.

44. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1 (1841-42), p.1.

45. C.C.S. Report, 1841, p.57, ff.

46. Numbers counted from annoted Church Schemes held in Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 2677.

47. Neale Diaries, Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 3107, 23rd August, 1839 and 24th August, 1839.

48. St Margaret's Magazine, Vol.1, 1889, p.145.

49. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1.

50. James F. White, The Cambridge Movement, C.U.P., 1962, p.54; also

    Edward J. Boyce, A Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society, London, 1888.

51. Annotated Church Schemes

    R.I.B.A. Library MSS 726.54 (42)(083).
    Lambeth Palace Library MSS, 1977.

52. Neale Diaries, Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 3107, 14th Oct., 1839.

53. Neale Diaries, 15th Oct., 1839.

54. Neale Diaries, 13th Feb., 1840.

55. St Margaret's Magazine, Vol.1, 1889, p.143.

56. C.C.S. Illustrations of Monumental Brasses, 1840-43.

57. Letters of John Mason Neale, p.17.

58. A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments. No. I Suited to Country Parishes. The Cambridge Camden Society, 1841.

    A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments No. II Suited to Town or Manufacturing Parishes. The Cambridge Camden Society, 1841.

    See also Hints on the Well-Keeping and Ordering of Churches. A broadsheet. The Cambridge Camden Society, [1842].

59. White, op. cit., p.115

60. Neale Diaries, 30/10/39. At Coton:

> I obtained leave to do what I liked with the glass. I intend to have it all removed to one window; the insertion and arms made as perfect as may be, and the glass cleaned thoroughly.

The work was carried out.

61. Neale Diaries. The submission prepared by Neale and presented here as evidence of competence reads:

1) That the Tower of S. Benedict's is one of the few specimens of Saxon architecture remaining in this country, and, as such possesses great interest for the Architect and the Antiquary.

2) That the first authorities in these departments of science such as Prof Willis, Mr Rickman and Mr Bloxam concur in the wish of seeing it restored to its original state.

3) That "pointing" the wall of the Tower, while it fulfills this desire w[oul]d also be an equal or better protection from the weather, [and] would hereafter entail less expense on the parish, and would destroy the present unsightly appearance of the building.

4) That the tower of S. Michael's Church Oxford formerly coated in the same way, has lately been restored in the manner above mentioned, with the most complete success.

5) That on the one hand (if the above recommendations be adopted) the parish must incur before long the expense of replastering two sides of the Tower. But that on the other the Camden Society are willing to take the whole expense both of unplastering and pointing it upon themselves.

All which considerations their Committee submit to the Parish in the hope that their offer in springing solely from a desire to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities - will be accepted.

Camden Committee Room, Feb. 18th, 1840.

62. William Whewell, His Writings, Vol.2, Letter 17, Oct., 1824. In making plans for the area including St Mary's "en passant we will reform the portico and knock the balls from the steeple."

63. C.C.S. Report, 1841. It was also claimed that the membership was at the time of publication 300.

64. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, pp.62-64.

> A notice set forth some time before, that a Camden expedition is to take place on a day therein specified in the month of May, brings to the place

of rendezvous some ten well-mounted equestrians, each prepared for a hard day's riding - for nothing less, in short, than a steeple-chase in its most literal sense. A great deal of greeting and talking, and inquiries for the President, is heard at the trysting-place, which is behind Trinity College; and several of the party who are bad riders, but want to be thought good ones, practise their steeds by giving them (that is to say, letting them take) a preparatory canter up and down the green, and try to look as if they could hold in their horses perfectly well if they liked, only they don't think it worth the trouble. At length, just as the horses are getting rather unmanageable, doleful news is brought that the President is unable to join the party; and accordingly all start at once on the previously arranged route, not at all in better spirits for this last unwelcome piece of information, but still with light hearts, because they are going with the prospect of having a long day of antiquarian research and recreation.

65. C.C.S. Report, 1841. President's Address, Second Anniversary Meeting, 11th May, 1841, p.17.

66. Neale Diaries, Vol.3, Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 3107, 26th Nov., 1839.

67. Neale Diaries, Vol. 3, Lambeth Palace Library MSS 3107, Jan. 28th, 1840.

68. Webb Diaries, Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. Mis. e406, March 15th, 1841.

69. ibid., March 25th, 1841. Webb was later (April 13th, 1842, same source) to write he was "shocked" by Goodwin's growing "skepticism."

70. MSS 2677, Lambeth Palace Library. Letter from James Stewart Forbes to J.M. Neale dated 30th March, 1841. The terms "not prepared" and "Reserve" refer to Isaac Williams' Tract no. 80. Reserve was commonly supposed to be a doctrine only of the Roman Catholic Church. For another instance of this phenomenon see a Tract:

Tract. 1840. 1114 kg/3.

103. It is my "painful duty to bring against the Authors of the Tracts for the Times the change of Novel and Confused views of Doctrine, on one or more serious violations of Discipline, and of disrespect for Episcopal Authority."

Tract 1841. 1114 kg/4.

In addition to the separate and more independent works; from the Review and the Magazine under their patronage, to the cautiously worded occasional article, unwarily gaining access into other publications; from the editorial preface, or the notes

> appended to a reprint, or biographical sketch, to the 'Village Tale', or Children's Story Book; from the pulpit effort, to the more private intercourse of the social circle; no means are left unemployed to disseminate these mischievous doctrines; just so much on each occasion being developed, as the audience or readers are supposed prepared to receive, this wily principle of "Reserve" governing every other, with a constancy and perseverance worthy even of Ignatius Loyola and his followers.

Maitland 1841.

> Perhaps, like the rest of the world, you are so engrossed by no. 90, that you have paid little or no attention to no. 89 ... a very injurious publication ... stealing quickly into circulation, while everybody is looking another way.

71. Charlotte-Elizabeth. This quotation should be compared with Thomas Arnold's weightier but much earlier attack in the Edinburgh Review of April 1836, p.235:

> ... the fanaticism of the English High Churchman has been the fanaticism of mere foolery. A dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony; a technical phraseology, - the superstition of a priesthood, without its power; - the form of Episcopal Government without the substance; - a system imperfect and paralysed, not independent, not sovereign, afraid to cast off the subjections against which it is perpetually murmuring. Such are the objects of High Church fanaticism - objects so pitiful, that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no men the wiser or the better, - they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral or spiritual - to no effect, social or religious, except to the changing of sense into silliness and holiness of heart and love into formality and hypocrasy.

An invective so strong that it shocked so many that its effect was probably counter-productive.

72. C.C.S. Annual Report for 1841. President's Address at Second Anniversary Meeting, 11th May, 1841, p.23.

73. Pusey wrote "To begin with outward things seems like gathering flowers and putting them in the earth to grow", Henry P. Liddon Life of Edward Bouvarie Pusey. London, Longmans Green & Co., 1893, Vol.3, p.369. Quoted by Elizabeth Jay The Evangelical and Oxford Movements, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1983, p.55.

74. C.C.S. Report for 1841, President's Address at Second Anniversary Meeting, 11th May, 1841, p.23.

75. C.C.S. A Few Words to Church Builders. Cambridge at the University Press, 1841.

76. ibid.

77. ibid., p.30.

78. White, op. cit., p.116.

79. Neale Diaries, Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 3108, February 18th, 1842.

80. The Society had started as a largely undergraduate one but the list of ordinary members for 1841-42 shows that about 70% were graduates or professionals, two years later the proportion had risen to nearly 80%. See Annual Reports of the Cambridge Camden Society.

81. In the 1841-42 list about 40% of the ordinary members were ordained clergymen, in the 1843-44 list the figure was about 47%. The number of undergraduates in 1841-42 was about 100 and in 1943-44 about 150.

82. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, No.1, Nov., 1841.

83. If any contributors deserve prominent credit for its success from first to last, few will dispute that John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb are two of these, I find from a copy of volume one, belonging to Neale, which has initials to each article, that out of 158 contributions to that volume Neale made 47, Webb 46 and Paley 36. Under Neale's name in volume three I find written "Et quorum pars magna fui." Letter from E.J. Boyce to the compiler in 1887. J.M. Neale Letters.

84. All titles selected from those in the first two volumes of The Ecclesiologist. In 1842 most references in the index were made to pues and open seats (7), Altars and fonts (4 each).

85. J.L. Petit, Remarks on Church Architecture. The review states in part that the book:

> ... exhibits no higher standard than that of mere taste in church building, which is treated as a matter of trade, convenience, caprice, or of arbitrary arrangement, instead of one that has ever involved and been influenced by the most unvarying and exalted principles."
>
> The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, Nos 6 & 7, April, 1842.

86. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, p.19.

87. ibid., Vol.2, p.79.

88. ibid., Vol.2, p.64.

89. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, No.9, June 1842, p.134.

90. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, p.65.

91. ibid., Vol.1.

92. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.III, Nov. 1843, p.44.

93. The Ecclesiologist, XXXI, XXXII, May 1844, p.128.

94. Richard Hurrel Froude, Remains, Vol.1, p.396. Letter January, 1835:

> As to any reform ... I expect little good; except indeed on the head of pews. If we could do away with them it would be a real step gained.

95. Rev. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences Chiefly of Towns, Villages and Schools. London, Longmans Green & Co., 1885, Vol.2, pp.118-19.

96. There are seven index entries to pews or open seats in volume 1 and fourteen in volume 2.

97. C.C.S. 23 Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews or Pues, n.d.

98. C.C.S. The History of Pues. Cambridge at the University Press, 1841.

99. ibid.

100. ibid.

101. British Critic, Vol.32, 1842, p.497.

102. By December, 1843, the Committee noted that comparatively few Church Schemes had been received by the Society (The Ecclesiologist, Vol.3, p.75). They appealed for more and by the next meeting another 40 were received - not a large number (The Ecclesiologist, Vol.2, p.78).

103. Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely. T. Stevenson, Cambridge, 1843 onwards.

104. The list agrees for instance in large measure with Pevsner's opinion on the churches of Cambridgeshire, Buildings of England.

105. For example: the "ugly square window" (p.21) at Cherry Hinton has vanished. The former noble high-pitched roof of the nave at Trumpington has been reinstated and the western gallery has disappeared (p.47). The chancel at St Andrew, Histon which the C.C.S. thought had "suffered a curtailment in length which has destroyed its proportions and materially damaged the effect of the Church considered as a whole" (pp.70-71) has now been lengthened. At St Mary's, Harlton that "worthless and detestable

material, Roman cement, duly jointed and coloured to look like stone" (p.96) has been removed and a regular Victorian Gothic font has replaced the former pagan vase.

106. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.2, No.1, 1843, p.148.

107. C.C.S. Report, 1843. President's Address at Meeting, 11th May, 1843.

108. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.2, 1843, p.149.

J.J. Smith who moved the amendment had published a pamphlet A Few Words, 11th Feb., 1843. It said in part:

> To prevent, if possible, the Society from being an unwitting instrument in producing and propagating a system as the writer contends, unsound and corrupt, is the object of this appeal. He like many others, at the outset of the Society's career, felt the importance and desireableness of procuring attention to the subject of Ecclesiastical Architecture in such a place as this, ... but he did not contemplate that the pursuit of that study would be mixed up, so implicitly and so subtly with the taint of religious controversy, as to pervert the influence of the Society to the advancement of a peculiar line of religious profession; or that the society would be made to speak in a language of asperity and exaggeration, as derogatory to its own dignity as it must be prejudicial to its own success.

109. loc. cit.

110. ibid., p.148.

111. op. cit., Vol.2, 1843, p.78.

112. This statement is made from observation that gifts are bestowed most often on the rich and powerful, less often by the rich and powerful to those that are nearly so.

113. A Few Words to Parish Clerks, Cambridge Camden Society, Cambridge at the University Press, 1843.

114. A Few Words to Church Sextons, Cambridge Camden Society, Cambridge at the University Press, 1843.

115. C.C.S. Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement, Cambridge at the University Press, 1843.

116. (omitted).

117. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, p.152. Correspondence between the C.C.S. and the Incorporated Society is held in the Lambeth Palace Library. Boyce's Memorial

of the CCS 1888 states a similar submission was made to the Commissioners for Building Churches which administered Government funds for church building.

118. Webb Diaries, Bodleian Library, MSS, Eng. misc. e406.

30th November 1841, 2nd May 1842, 3rd June 1842, 6th August 1842, 3rd November 1842, 22nd November 1842, 28th November 1842, 31st January 1843, 23rd March 1843, 13th April 1843, 28th April 1843.

119. William Durandus' Rationale Divinorum Officiorum. T.W. Green, Leeds, 1843.

120. Neale Diaries. Lambeth Palace, MSS 3108, Aug. 15.

121. Christian Remembrancer, Vol.4, July-Dec. 1842, p.258. See also op. cit. Vol.3, Jan.-June, 1842, p.354:

> Pugin's advocating a return to Roman Catholic church arrangement is a call to return to Roman Catholic practice. The Camden Society of Cambridge has fallen into this snare.

122. C.C.S. Hierurgia Anglicanum. The title perhaps refers to the book by Roman Catholic author Dr Daniel Rock Hierurgia, "an attempt to trace the origin and note the accidental changes in vestments of the priests ... and to explain ... the meaning of our church ceremonies." Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin. Benjamin Blom Inc., New York, 1972 (1861).

123. J.B. Mozley, Letters, July, 1843, p.144. Neale found it a "most wonderful discourse", Neale Diaries, Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 3108, July 9th, 1843.

124. C.C.S. Reports. Figures with regard to membership are not I suspect always accurate. Reports tend to maximize membership by reporting those who have joined the Society but failing to report those who failed to renew their membership.

125. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.3, p.45.

126. C.C.S. Orientator, 1844.

127. C.C.S., Annual Report, 1841.

128. The idea was that such a phenomenon explained the deviation. The matter was still one of debate in the Times in the 1930s.

129. The President lamented for the activities of earlier days and wrote:

> We are perhaps too exclusively a publishing, and consequently a polemical institution ... But I would that we had more workmen, and, for that

purpose, more learners. Our meetings might effectively carry out this purpose, ... we want some systematic instruction of a more popular and experimental character for the members in general. Those who know anything of a subject can never bring themselves adequately to apprehend how ignorant of it are those who know nothing. They will not give an elementary lecture.

C.C.S. Annual Report for 1844, President's Address, p.18.

130. C.C.S. Annual Report for 1844, p.28. Webb reported writing as many as 29 letters in a day. The following letter and attachment give some idea of the importance of these activities to the Society and the manner in which they were dealt with. Cambridge Chronicle, May 29th, 1845:

Sir, -Having reason to believe from some personal experience that it is true, as suggested in the late circular of the Committee, that the panic excited by certain agitators in the ornamental portion of the Camden Society is mainly attributable to a misconception as to the kind of work actually done by the Committee, I have been at the pains to procure information of the proceedings of the Committee at its last meeting (only last night), which my informant, himself a member, has obtained leave for me to make any use of that I desire. It will be cheering to those who, like myself, have a strong opinion in regard to the trial to which the Committee has been exposed, merely for doing its duty to that part of the Society which forms its strength and has profited from its labours - to find the Committee calmly disposing of their arrears of practical business amidst the storm of the present persecution. When this storm shall have cleared the society of the mere friends of its sunshine, we shall know what it really is.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
AN OLD CAMDENIAN

"Met at half-past nine. -New member proposed (the 15th since May 8th.) -A letter inclosing some more resignations. -A curious letter from H...m read. -Applications from the churchwardens of B...; poor parish; no details to certify that the work will be well done: agreed to request Mr. ..., (architect and member,) who is building a church in that neighbourhood, to go over, inspect, and report. -A similar application from the incumbent of a parish in Suffolk: drawings sent: old church in disgraceful state of dilapidation, like a barn: proposed plan for enlargement dreadful - just like S. Giles', Cambridge: Secretary to write to Incumbent to say the church must be rebuilt - never doubt of success. -Application for new church from Ireland:

answer that a church for 200 cannot be built for £400.: to write for more particulars. -Conversation resumed about application from a R.C. artist to be allowed to employ the Society's patterns and designs for church plate: refused. -Applications for a church in Mauritius, a cathedral and churches in Ceylon: deferred. -Letter from a Manchester architect. -Papers received for concluding No. of Transactions. -Conversation on the future proceedings. -Adjourned at half-past eleven."

131. A.W. Pugin Contrasts; London, The Author, 1836.

132. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.3, p..75. Report of C.C.S. meeting held on the 5th Dec., 1843.

133. C.C.S. Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, London, 1844-47, published in parts.

134. C.C.S. Annual Report for 1844, p.29 and The Ecclesiologist, Vol.4 (1844-45) p.23:

> The Committee have now in their possession full working drawings of these ancient churches, selected to serve as models for the colonies. The three churches are All Saints, Teversham, Cambridgeshire; St. Mary Arnold, Nottinghamshire; S. Michael Longstanton, Cambridgeshire. Tracings from the former are prepared for New South Wales and New Zealand.

In its enthusiasm for developing this new field of activities the C.C.S. clashed with the Oxford Society. The issue was which society was to prepare plans for a new Cathedral at Bombay. In the end the C.C.S. withdrew and the Oxford Society commissioned Salvin to prepare them. Correspondence of the Oxford Architectural Society.

135. Cambridge Camden Society Annual Report for 1844, pp. 28-29. The Church plate was also designed by Butterfield. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.2 (1842-43) notified members that font covers were available to match the one the Society had provided for the font at St Edward's, Cambridge.

136. The Ecclesiologist.

137. Christian Remembrancer, Vol.4, July-Dec., 1842, p.261.

138. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.2 (1842-43), p.8.

139. Another example, ibid., Vol.3 (1843-44) p.66:

> It is manifestly impossible to imitate successfully the Early-English style, unless we are resolved to follow closely the main principles at least of the ancient architects. Now, though there be no ascertained rules of proportion between the constituent parts and the whole of a building, there certainly

are sufficiently definite relations between the parts and the size and character of their details, as between a pier and its superincumbent arch, a wall and the window with which it is lighted, a certain position and a certain combination, and so forth, to enable the observant architect to draw with ease general rules for his practice.

140. ibid., Vol.3 (1843-44), p.11:

Mr. Hall regrets (p.2), "the tendency at our Universities towards imitation rather than design." We think unreasonably. Imitation is there inculcated at present merely because we are only attaining sufficient knowledge of the true principles to attempt with complete success original design. No one, we think, will deny that much has been effected by bringing back to the close study of antiquity, and as it were binding down to the absolute observance of certain rules, the erratic fancies of modern designers. Indeed the acknowledged improvement which has within the last two or three years taken place in church building, must in a very great degree, ultimately if not immediately, be referred to this cause. For while we copy with exactness, we are more likely to investigate and recover the lost principles which we compel ourselves to adopt, though we do not understand them, than when we blindly follow the dictates of our own unrestricted judgement and tastes. It is admitted that modern designs were mostly miserable failures; and it is not therefore to be regretted that for a time at least a check has been attempted to be put upon the laxity of practice which has confessedly produced such lamentable results.

141. Letter from Paley to Neale 23rd July (no year) Lambeth Palace Library MS 2677. "Mr Compo" refers to a character in Paley's novel Church Restorers. He is portrayed as an irreverent and incompetent architect. Probably in consequence The Builder 1845, p.10, slated the book describing it as "a disgrace to its author and the college to which he belongs, and [to] denounce it as an insidious attempt ... to introduce theological opinions of the most dangerous character."

142. Weale's Quarterly, Vol.4, 1845, p.5.

143. The Ecclesiologist. Index to Vol.3. It contains a list of 'architects approved' and 'architects condemned' among the former are Butterfield, Carpenter, Derick and Ferrey. Pugin is conspicuous by his absence.

144. J.M. Neale, Hierologus, p.124.

145. There were 270 churches reviewed in the 1842-43 volume and 142 in 1844. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.3

(1843-44) p.59, issued a dismal warning "the state of the church is generally very significant of the state of the parish!"

146. A long series of letters passed between Pusey and Webb, containing detailed discussion on the design of the building. Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. Lett. E92, and Liddon, Life of Pusey, p.478.

147. Webb Diaries, Bodleian Library MSS Eng. misc., e406.

148. See Pusey's correspondence with J. Russel who was part editor with Webb of Hierurgia Anglicanum. MSS Eng. misc. e406, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

149. According to Page's article in The Architectural Review, Vol.89, 1945, p.180, the church was situated in a poor and squalid part of Leeds and there was plenty of room for improvement in social conditions let alone religious ones.

150. Rev. Francis Close, Church Architecture Scriptually Considered from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time. Hatchard & Son, London, 1844.

It is also of interest that in this sermon Close, far from conceding that it was particularly the poor who were in need of the effects of ritual and religious atmosphere, maintained that richly adorned churches were best suited to the status and standing of the rich and plain churches for the poor. From "Let all things be done decently and in order" 1 Corinthians, 14:40. Pace S. Saviors!

151. Rev. Francis Close, The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery: proved and illustrated from the authenticated publications of the "Cambridge Camden Society." A sermon, preached in the Parish Church, Cheltenham on Tuesday, November 5th 1844, p.40.

152. ibid., p.13.

153. ibid., p.4.

154. The Rev. Thomas Kerchever Arnold replied to Close's sermon, then Close wrote again, and again Arnold replied. The Ecclesiologist also joined the debate. Close's second sermon was reprinted several times.

155. Jenner Fust Judgement.

31st January, 1845. In part the judgement (p.7) read:

> The Society under whom the reparations and renovations which have been made in this Church have been carried on, and by whom and other persons, from voluntary subscriptions, this Church has been placed in such a state and condition, and the

general style rendered such as to have met with, I may say, the universal approbation of all persons who have had an opportunity of seeing it, ... with the exception of those two erections, the Credence Table and the Stone Communion Table.

but it concluded that a Stone Altar is not a Communion Table (p.61). Interestingly, a recent dispute over a Henry Moore altar has made use of this judgement. The altar was rejected for the same reasons. The Advertiser, Dec 17, 1986.

156. Webb Diaries. Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. misc. e408, Jan. 31.

157. Details of the Oxford Movement's activities are best recounted in R.W. Church The Oxford Movement: Twelve years 1833-1845, 1891 and several subsequent editions.

158. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.4 (1844-45) p.217:

	Seceded from the Society	Remain in the Society
Members, not members of the University	7	125
Undergraduates	13	129
B.A.	13	124
M.A.	67	267
Of higher standing than M.A. [most, if not all, of whom would have been patrons].	21	35
	121	680

159. Webb Diaries, Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. misc. f97. Between July 7th and October 25th in 1845 Webb was on the Continent. He later used this experience to write Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany and Italy. Joseph Masters, London, 1848.

160. The Builder, 1845, p.621, carried a quotation from the Cambridge Advertiser to this effect.

161. Liddon, Life of Edward Bouvarie Pusey. London, Longmans Green & Co., 1893, pp.482-3.

162. Phoebe Stanton, Pugin. The Viking Press, New York 1970, p.148.

163. ibid., p.127; and

Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin. Benjamin Blom, New York, 1972.

164. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. VII, or 1 (new series) Jan. (1846), p.10.

165. Letters of J.M. Neale. This letter should be compared with an earlier one of Neale's dated May 7th, 1842. ibid., p.296:

> I would not speak of any one, even of the most abandoned Dissenters as you do of Pugin. I could not call them apostates and so on; ...

166. Webb Diaries, R.I.B.A. Library, MSS Eng. misc. 52.

3. CASE STUDY ONE

The theoretical basis of the Cambridge Camden Society's Operations

1. [J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb] Introduction to [William Durandus] The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments. A translation of the first book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum. T.W. Green, Leeds, 1843.

2. In common with the Oxford Movement and particularly with Newman. In fact the Introduction to Durandus articulates the basis of this principle of procedure "assimilation of facts precede that of doctrine in Christianity." For Camdenians it would follow that Christian organizations should proceed in a like manner.

3. Introduction to Durandus p.xlix.

4. ibid., p.lv.

5. ibid., p.xxvi.

6. Here as elsewhere in this section I use solely the masculine gender, because it accurately reflects the attitudes of the Oxford Movement.

7. op. cit., p.cxv.

8. Stuart Piggott, Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism. University Press, Edinburgh. The chapter on "The Origins of English County archaeological societies" touches on all these points.

9. ibid., p.173. This I regret to state is a third-hand quotation. Piggott quotes C.C. Gillespie Genesis and Geology, New York, 1951, who quotes a Herr Schönbein who attended his lectures. In addition, Piggott notes p.174 that Newman also attended his lectures and found them distinctly unscientific!

10. Introduction to Durandus, p.xlv.

11. Piggott, p.171. He quotes Frances Haverfield, The Roman Occupation of Britain, Oxford, 1924, p.81.

12. Newman, on the other hand, expressed opposition to group action in An Essay on The Development of Christian Doctrine, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1949, (1845), p.41. He wrote:

> Sometimes discordant ideas are for a time connected and concealed by a common profession or name. Such is the case of coalitions in politics and comprehen-

> sions in religion. Of which commonly no good is to be expected. Such is an ordinary function of committees and boards, and the sole aim of conciliators and concessions, to make contraries look the same, and to secure an outward agreement where there is no other unity.

On the other hand, he approved of the corporate nature of the Church and allowed it on the basis it had a head.

13. The definition is derived from The Concise Oxford English Dictionary.

    The British Critic Vol.XXXIV, 1843, p.523:

    "Anything from the pen of Mr Neale cannot but be characterised by goodness, ability and information ..."; see also

    Webb Diaries, Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. misc. e406, Oct. 4th, 1843.

14. Nicholas Pevsner in Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century cites many contemporary examples of this phenomenon.

15. Webb Diaries, Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. misc. e406, April 13, 1844.

16. MSS 3110, Lambeth Palace Library, containing a set of press cuttings generally undated, 14r.

17. J.P. Lee, A second letter to the Venerable Archdeacon Thorp, President of the Cambridge Camden Society, On Symbolism. Seeley, Burnsides & Seeley, London, 1945.

18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. The Gothic Revival: an essay in Taste.

21. James T. White, The Cambridge Movement, but the source is not acknowledged, pp.68-79.

3. CASE STUDY ONE

The Influence of Pugin on the development of the Cambridge Camden Society's theoretical base

1. Augustus Welby Pugin. Contrasts or a parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and similar buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of taste. London, The Author, 1836.

2. Augustus Welby Pugin. An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts" being a defence of the assertions advanced in that publication against the various attacks lately made upon it. Birmingham, The Author, 1837.

3. John Mason Neale Diaries, Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 3107, 5th Dec., 1839. Ironically Neale later proposed the well-known Frenchman connected with restoration to become a member, he accepted, and caused a deal of trouble to the Society by his rejection of the term Catholic - on the grounds it could not be Roman Catholic and any other term was meaningless. His pamphlet setting out his views was often used against the Cambridge Camden Society.

4. Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972, p.104. "Pugin's Contrasts is a fighting book and it is a picture book. Neither is a type of book we have met so far."

5. Contrasts, op. cit., p.2.

6. ibid., preface.

7. ibid., p.23.

8. ibid., p.18.

9. loc. cit.

10. ibid., p.19.

11. An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts", op. cit., pp.3-4.

12. ibid., p.4.

13. ibid., p.6.

14. Contrasts, op. cit., p.23.

15. Augustus Welby Pugin, The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England. London, Charles Polman, 1843, p.5. Republished from the Dublin Review, 1840.

16. ibid., p.48, original emphasis.

17. ibid., p.16.

18. Augustus Welby Pugin, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture. London, John Weale, 1841, p.1, original emphasis.

19. Phoebe Stanton, Pugin. The Viking Press, New York, 1972, p.81, ff.

20. The True Principles, op. cit., original emphasis.

21. ibid., p.2, original emphasis.

22. ibid., p.42, original emphasis.

23. ibid., p.43, original emphasis.

24. ibid., p.44, original emphasis.

25. Webb Diaries.

26. Pevsner, Nikolaus. Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century, op. cit., p.126.

27. Pugin's letter, quoted in Phoebe Stanton Pugin, Thames & Hudson, 1971, p.146.

28. Augustus Welby Pugin, Contrasts. Leicester University Press, 1969. Reproduction of the Second Edition of 1841.

29. J.B. Mozley, Letters of the Rev. J.B. Mozley, edited by his sister. Rivingtons, London, 1885, p.99. Letter to his sister. Oxford, Feb. 27th, 1840.

30. Augustus Welby Pugin, Contrasts. Leicester University Press, 1969, op. cit. Preface by Henry Russel Hitchcock, pp.17-18, original emphasis.

31. ibid., p.13.

32. ibid., p.17.

33. ibid., p.53.

34. ibid., p.56.

35. ibid., p.57.

36. loc. cit.

37. loc. cit.

38. ibid., p.58.

39. ibid., p.5.

40. ibid., p.14.

41. ibid., p.16.

42. ibid., p.51.

43. ibid., p.75.

44. Phoebe Stanton, Pugin, op. cit., p.127.

45. Reprinted in Augustus Welby Pugin, The Present State, op. cit.

46. ibid., p.56.

47. loc. cit.

48. loc. cit.

49. So, as it appears, does Professor Stanton Pugin, op. cit., pp.127-128.

50. The Present State, op. cit., p.60.

51. The Ecclesiologist.

52. The Present State, op. cit., p.60.

53. ibid., p.61.

54. The Ecclesiologist, Vol.1, No.1., Nov., 1841, p.9. Neale describes the article as "unwise".

55. The Ecclesiologist.

56. Francis E. Paget, St Antholins or Old Churches and New, A tale for the times. London, James Burns, 1841.

57. The Present State, op. cit., p.86.

58. Benjamin Webb Diaries, Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. misc. e406.

59. Christian Remembrancer, Vol.4, July-Dec. 1842, p.258. Pevsner in Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century, p.129, wrongly calls it a Roman Catholic journal. It was not, it had High Church affiliations and was contributed to mainly by Oxford men (e.g., Thomas Mozley).

60. Augustus Welby Pugin, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England. London, John Weale, 1843.

3. CASE STUDY ONE

The influence of the Oxford Movement in the development of the Cambridge Camden Society's practical and theoretical base

1. R. Chadwick, The Mind of the Oxford Movement. Adam & Charles Black, London, 1960, p.42.

2. R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845.

3. Yngve Brilioth, The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1925, p.211. Cites H. Rashdall, Christus in Ecclesia, Edin. 1904, p.3 as source.

4. Chadwick, op. cit., p.42.

5. J.H. Newman, Letters, Vol. 1, pp.465-466.

6. St Margaret's Magazine, Vol. 1 (1889) p.296:

> ... as to our disputes at Committees. It is very true, and very sad that we should have them, but while we have so many - for I will not be frightened out of the word - Protestants, what else can you expect? You would not, I presume, have me turn one myself, to avoid the inseperable companion of every good work - opposition. Opposition! Why our lives will be one series of it;
>
> Letter from Neale dated May 7th, 1842.

7. Cambridge Camden Society President's Address, 11th May 1843, p.14.

8. ibid.

9. Whewell, William History of the Inductive Sciences. J.W. Parker, London, 1853.

Willis also appears to have understood the implications of operating an inductive system. He writes:

> When principles are to be recovered by the examination of examples alone, which is the case with Middle Ages religious architecture, of which no precepts are preserved, the greater number of examples that can be compared the better.

Quoted by Basil Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century; a study of the Gothic Revival in England. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1938.

10. Butler, Joseph. The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed to the Constitution and Course of Nature. University Press, Dublin, 1849, p.5. Butler also posits a link between probability and symbolism that is linguistic. He writes (ibid., p.4):

> That which chiefly constitutes Probability is expressed in the word Likely, i.e. like some truth, or true event; like it, in itself, in its evidence, in some more or fewer of its circumstances. For when we determine a thing to be probably true, suppose that an event has or will come to pass, it is from the mind's remarking in it a likeness to some other event, which we have observed has come to pass. And this observation forms, in numberless daily instances, a presumption, opinion, or full conviction, that such event has or will come to pass; according as the observation is, that the like event has sometimes, most commonly, or always so far as our observation reaches, come to pass at like distances of time, or place, or upon like occasions.

11. Church, The Oxford Movement, op. cit., p.184.

12. D.M. MacKinnon, "Introductory Essay" to J.H. Newman Newman's University Sermons: Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford 1826-43. S.P.C.K., London, 1970.

13. J.H. Newman, Plain and Parochial Sermons. Vol. 2, No. 2, p.20. Quoted by Brilioth The Anglican Church, p.218.

14. J.H. Newman, Realizations; Newman's Selections of His Parochial and Plain Sermons. Danton Longman & Todd, London, 1964. "Unreal Words" June 2, 1839, pp.74-75.

Whewell was also alive to some of the problems of the application of inductive reasoning. William Whewell, His Writings, p.205. Letter to Rose, 20th February, 1835:

> My architectural speculations are somewhat like the decisions of the judge, who only heard one side because his head was confused by hearing both. I look at the features of the architecture, and pronounce very authoritatively what the date and history of the building ought to be. This does very well when I take a large and distant field like France or Germany for it seems to enable me to classify and speculate, and there is a reasonable excuse for turning aside from the labour of verifying my conjectures by historical research. But it would not do for a single building in England; people would certainly expect me to shew by some external evidence, that the period and circumstances of the work were what my doctrines make them.

and Clarke, Church Builders in the Nineteenth Century also quotes Willis on induction, p.77:

> When principles are to be recovered by the examination of examples alone, which is the case with Middle Ages religious architecture, of which no precepts are preserved, the greater number of examples that can be compared the better ...

15. J.H. Newman, Apologia Vita Sua, p.67. Quoting from Prophetical Office, 1837.

16. J.H. Newman, University Sermons, 1839, pp.178-80, in Chadwick The Mind of the Oxford Movement, p.76.

17. The English Review, Vol. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1845, p.155:

> The Camden soon shot ahead of its sister society [the Cambridge Antiquarian Society] its objects were more definite, more subtle, and more generally interesting. They were also it must be confessed of higher and more practical usefulness.

18. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. 2 (1842-43), p.35.

19. From the Lyra Apostolica (p.96) collected in Chadwick, Mind of the Oxford Movement, p.103.

20. R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement, p.98.

21. Tracts for the Times, Vol. 3, Advertisement.

22. Christian Observer. J. Hatchard & Son, London, 1837, p.464.

23. [John Keble] The Christian Year. Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the year. James Parker & Co., Oxford, 1872 (1827). The edition quoted above is the hundred-and-forty-first.

24. John Keble, The Psalter, or Psalms of David; in English Verse. J.H. Parker, Oxford, 1839.

25. Isaac Williams, The Altar or Meditations in Verse on the Great Christian Sacrifice. London, James Burns, 1842.

    The Cathedral or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England. Oxford, John Henry Parker, 1838.

26. Source lost. See also R. Chadwick, op. cit., pp.36-37.

27. R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement, p.19.

28. For example, Paget, St Antholins or Old Churches & New, London, J. Burns, 1841;

    W. Gresley, Church Clavering, repr. New York, Garland, 1975.

29. The British Critic, Vol.XXXIV, p.522.

30. F.W. Paley, Church Restorers. London, John Van Voorst, 1844.

31. J.M. Neale, Hierologus; or The Church Tourists. London, J. Burns, 1843.

32. J.H. Newman, Realizations. Sermon on Unreal Worlds given June 2, 1839, p.80.

33. J.H. Newman, Apologia, pp.96-97. Apologia pro vita sua: being a History of his Religious Opinions. Longmans Green Reader & Dyer, London, 1880 (1864).

34. J.H. Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons ("The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life") Vol. IV, No. 14, p.233. Quoted by Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, p.214.

35. J. Keble, The Christian Year. Oxford, J. Parker & Co., 1872.

36. J. Keble, op. cit., p.246.

37. op. cit., p.228.

38. J.H. Newman, Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman During his Life in the English Church. Anne Mozely (ed.), London, Longmans Green & Co., 1891, 2 Vols.

39. White also treats Romanticism as an aspect of the C.C.S.

40. The British Critic, Vol.XXV, p.479.

41. J.M. Neale, Hierologus; or the Church Tourists. James Burns, London, 1843, pp.viii-ix.

42. The British Critic, Vol.XXV, p.481.

43. J.H. Newman, Loss and Gain. James Burns, London, 1848.

44. Terence Kenny, The Political Thought of John Henry Newman. Longmans Green & Co., London, New York, Toronto, 1957, p.20.

45. J.H. Newman, An Essay on Development of Christian Doctrine. Longmans Green & Co., London, 1949 (1846), p.34.

46. The church is also described by Peter Maurice, it is of interest to read how it was seen by a strong Protestant:

> I have been within the walls of the new Church at Littlemore, happening to pass that way, and finding

the door open, and a person sweeping it out against the following sabbath; I am therefore able to add my own testimony ... as I have inspected the place where this strange work is being carried on. As I have never set my foot within the walls of a mass-house, I cannot decide upon the comparative merits of the case, but according to the descriptions afforded me, and the drawings I have seen, I should fear the parallel was as correct as it is conceivable. I felt an indescribable horror stealing over me, as I carried my eye towards the eastern wall of the building, and beheld a plain naked cross, either of stone or a good imitation of it, rising up and projecting out of the wall, from the centre of the table of communion, and forming the fulness of one of those arches which are so ornamentally arranged in sevenfold perfection within the rails. There, adjoining the gates of the said railed fence was the hassock, upon which, not long before, a minister of the Reformed and Protestant Church of England had been kneeling. I could not divest myself of that fond delusion of the man of sin, who openly bows down before the image of the cross, and worships the painted wood or the cold stone. May my natural eye never fall upon such a degrading spectacle. Above the arches rose the eastern window, in the elegant symmetry of the early English style of architecture, with the triple tier of lights, in the central division of which my offended eye detected one pane of glass, like a drop of blood, polluting the whole, and upon this I found the representation of an ornamental cross, or crosslet. I mention this, because it confirms the account I had heard so often repeated of a sermon delivered, some time after the opening of the said church, by the Vicar of St Mary the Virgin, in which he drew attention of his hearers to the perfect pattern that he had followed in the erection of the building - comparing the windows, to the twelve apostles; the seven arches, to the pillars of the Church; the window of three divisions, to the mystery of the Trinity etc., etc., etc. I take this little stained pane of glass to be the distinguishing emblem of the Second Person of the Trinity. The next thing that arrested my attention was a second table or side-board, within the same rails as the Lord's table - the latter indeed of stone, similar to the old monuments we see in many of our churches - the former made of wood, attached to the wall, and most ingeniously contrived, so as to have the appearance of a large bracket, or shelf, but the supporting limb reaching down to the ground. Upon this the articles of bread and wine are deposited previously to their being placed by the priest upon the table, for consecration. I should not have mentioned this circumstance at all, if my attention had not, in this matter, been drawn to the subject, and had I not known that

> a moveable table is made use of in other churches for the same purpose, by which means the public labour under an impression that a peculiar and more than ordinary sanctity is attributed to that upon which the consecrated elements are placed, and that it is identical with the altar in use among the Roman Catholics.

in Peter Maurice, The Popery of Oxford 1837 note on pp.53-54. Quoted by R.D. Middleton, Newman and Bloxam; an Oxford Friendship. Oxford University Press, London, 1947, p.40.

47. Letter from Bloxam to Newman, Sep. 23, 1886:

> I do not forget that it is now 50 years since I had the privilege of making your acquaintance ... You were alone placing the stone cross over the Altar. Turning round and seeing a stranger, you asked me, if I thought it threw a sufficient shadow ...
>
> Quoted by R.D. Middleton, op. cit., p.35.

48. Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences Chiefly of Towns, Villages and Schools. Vols 1 & 2, Longmans Green & Co., London, 1885.

49. R.D. Middleton, op. cit., p.42.

50. ibid., opposite p.48.

51. Thomas Mozley, op. cit.

52. Neale Diaries, December 1842 and January 1843, Lambeth Palace Library (MSS 3108).

53. See, for example, The Ecclesiologist, Vol.I, pp.110, 122,160; Vol.IV, pp.174, 218.

54. Peter Maurice, The Popery of Oxford 1837 note on pp.53-4. Quoted by R.D. Middleton, op. cit., p.40.

55. Isaac Williams, The Cathedral or the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England. Oxford, John Henry Parker, 1838.

56. Chadwick, Mind of the Oxford Movement, p.208. Dedication to The Cathedral. Adam & Charles Black, London, 1960.

57. Isaac Williams, The Altar. J. Burns, London, 1847.

58. Isaac Williams, op. cit.

59. Isaac Williams, The Baptistry.

60. Cambridge Chronicle, May 29th, 1845.

61. The C.C.S. did admit that light was required for some functions:

> ... much as we admire such a subdued light in churches it cannot be denied that there are circumstances attending church worship at the present day which render a certain quantity of light indispensable.
>
> The Ecclesiologist, Vol. 3, (1843-44), p.71.

It is a feature of this debate that both parties agree that atmosphere affects people, particularly in churches. Hence Close could write:

> That man is in a great degree the creature of external circumstances may be asserted without any fear of being charged with the materialism of Owen, or the fatalism of the Koran. The wisest and most religious of men cannot wholly divest themselves of the various exterior influences which affect the current of their feelings, and in some degree tend to warp even the most unbending judgement. And that the generality of mankind are subject to such impressions cannot be denied.
>
> This tendency is more observable in religious matters than in the affairs of common life: and hence the necessity of guarding with the utmost vigilance those avenues of the imagination, the feelings and affectations, by which subtle error may steal into the heart and betray it, ere it is conscious of an enemy's approach. (pp.7-8)

Church Architecture Spiritually considered from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time. Hatchard & Son, London, 1844.

62. Froude wrote:

> Because it is true, that more people are likely to come to a comfortable church, and, that those who do come are likely to read more in a light church, and to hear more in an open church, it cannot hence be inferred that comfortable, or light, or open churches, are more calculated to increase the wisdom of mankind; any more than that the sum of pleasure would be increased by making peaches as plentiful as blackberries, and as durable as potatoes; and I suppose, there are few who would allow this change to be made in their peach trees, supposing thereby they must diminish their flavour.
>
> Froude, Remains, Vol. 1, p.77.

63. Lyra Apostolica, 1836, p.28. Poem by John Henry Newman.

64. J.H. Newman, Apologia, p.46. Quotation from an early sermon.

65. J.H. Newman, Realizations. Sermon "Christ hidden from the world" given Dec. 25th 1837, p.101.

66. ibid. Text for Newman's Sermon "Christ hidden from the world" John 1:5.

67. F.A. Paley, The Church Restorers. Jan Van Voorst, London, 1844, p.17.

68. Yngve Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, op. cit., p.216. He also says the Tractarian feeling of awfulness is not a consequence of dread of judgement, but of a lively sense of the nearness and majesty of God, and to it must be assigned a high religious quality (p.217).

69. J.H. Newman, Realizations, p.69.

70. also, The Ecclesiologist, Vol. 2, (1842-43) p.6:

> We have asserted all along that Gothic and Catholick Architecture were convertible terms ... Gothic is the only architecture which, as being an offspring of Christianity, symbolises and expresses its doctrines and feelings.

71. J.M. Neale and B. Webb, Hierologus, 1843, p.vi:

> ... next to Catholicity in design, it seems important to recommend nationality of style. In the terms of her past glory no Church in Christendom could vie with our own; and the arrangement and details of her great architects should be hallowed to those who are endeavouring to tread in their steps.

72. See Basil Clark, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, p.53; or

Benjamin Ferrey, Pugin, p.115, for a verse illustrating the popular reception of this kind of symbolism, it is written by a Mr M'Cann, an Irishman,

> The Catholic Church she never knew -
> Till Mr Pugin taught her
> That orthodoxy had to do
> At all with bricks and mortar.
>
> But now its clear to one and all
> Since he's published his lecture
> No Church is Catholic at all
> Without Gothic architecture.

73. A reprint of a letter addressed to a retired member of the C.C.S. by M. d. Compte de Montalembert. Quotation from paragraph two of the letter:

> I first thought that the Camden Society was merely a scientific body, pursuing an object which, like all branches of history, is of the utmost importance to religion, and to which all religious minds

could associate, but like the French Comite historique, not setting up the flag of any special ecclesiastical denomination. On a nearer study of your publications, I have perceived that they are carried on, with the professed intention of blending together the interests of Catholic art, and of the Church of England, and of identifying the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages in England with the Anglican schism begun by Henry VIII, and Cranmer, and professed at present by all those who agree to the Thirty-nine Articles. Against this intention, I, as an honorary member of the said society, beg to enter my most earnest and most Catholic protest.

74. Christian Remembrancer, Vol. 4, July-Dec., 1842, p.258:

It is well known that the Ecclesiologist is the literary organ of the Camden Society, and that the writers of that journal are avowed disciples of Mr Pugin. Accordingly, they lay down with him the first principle, that the Gothic styles are the only Christian ones, and that no one penetrated with the genius of the Christian dispensation will, whatever the circumstances, select any other in which to build a church, north of the Alps at least, ... Monstrous as this anathematizing seems, Mr Pugin and the Camden Society, if we understand them aright, mean no less.

75. Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972, in George Gilbert Scott's opinion, p.174.

76. Weale's Quarterly Papers, Vol. 4, London (1844-45), p.1.

77. C.C.S. A Few Words to Church Builders 1844:

We are not now called on to prove that Gothic is the only Christian architecture. We believe that after a well-fought battle, this point has been conceded, and that though secondrate architects may for a few years yet, employ Romanesque or revived Pagan, those who are at the head of their profession will be guilty of such errors no longer ... We wish however to restrict the choice of style still further than this. No one can sensibly employ Norman, and perhaps not judiciously even Perpendicular, when free to choose another style. Early English, though it must perhaps be allowed occasionally should be used very sparingly. The Decorated or Edwardian style, that employed we mean between the years 1260 and 1360, is that to which only, except from some very peculiar circumstances, we ought to return. The reason for this is plain. During the so called Norman era, the Catholic Church was forming her architectural language; in

the Tudor period she was unlearning it. What should we say of him, who wishing to acquire the elegance of a polished and expressive tongue should select models from a period, either before that tongue had escaped from barbarism, or after the process of over refinement had reduced it to a frivolous debility? Would not his failure be at once signal and unpitied? And why should an architectural copyist expect a different fate?

78. Basil Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century; A Study of the Gothic Revival in England. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1938, p.79.

79. The Christian Remembrancer, Vol. 7, July-Dec. 1844, wrote a review of Francis Close's Review of Church Architecture Scripturally Condensed and took up this point (p.517):

> ... our wonder is then that ... an author should arise, who though certainly alluding to Popish emblems, should yet spend at least eighty pages in persuading the people of England that their great danger is from their excessive decoration of churches.

80. Although the C.C.S. also maintained that Decorated architecture was also the most suitable style even when only a very plain church could be afforded. C.C.S. A Few Words to Church Builders 1844:

> Once more it is agreed on all hands that the greatest glory which Christian Architecture has yet attained was reached in the early part of the Decorated style; the Art had followed the true clue till that period ... Now, if we really indulge the hope that there is yet a higher pitch of glory to be attained, and which future architects may hope to reach, we may well go back to that point where decay and debasement began ... that we may thence strike out a more real and more faithful course; more real because Perpendicular employed meretricious enrichments, and made ornament for its own sake; more faithful, because the Tudor architects forgot their high vocation of setting forth truth by beauty, and symbolized worldly pomp instead of the Catholic Faith; instead of the teaching of the Church the promptings of Erastianism. ... And if it be said that it is not adapted for a plain church, we reply, "Nothing better!" Its own exquisite grace renders it as perfect when unenriched as when more highly finished. This certainly cannot be said of Perpendicular; nor perhaps to the same degree of Early English. A large Perpendicular window, when stripped of stained glass has a glaring stare; a Decorated window never. A simple Decorated Church is only plain: a Perpendicular one of the same character is meagre and unsatisfactory.

81. Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century, op. cit., p.129.

82. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. 2 (1842-1843), pp.5-16.

83. The Christian Remembrancer, Vol. 10 (Jan.-June 1843) tended to take a more aesthetically orientated view: e.g.

> We have made large concessions to the Ecclesiologist on the subject of pointed Gothic, and we can assure him they have been ungrudging ones. The beauties of that style have been the object of our passionate admiration even from childhood, but we cannot think it right, as a matter of intellectual culture to become bigots to it, or to assert, in opposition to truth, that it is capable of combining all the beauty which the Christian mind can originate in architecture. On the contrary there is one sublime feature beyond its reach - the dome. (p.90)

84. The English Review, Vol.2, 1844, pp.397-422.

85. Tracts for the Times, Vol. III, Tract 76 "Catena Patrum No. II" p.1.

86. Lyra Apostolica 1836. Poem by Newman.

87. Christian Remembrancer, Vol. VII, July-Dec. 1844, p.92.

88. William Goode, The Wooden Walls of England in Danger: A Defence of Church Pews. London, J. Ridgeway, 1844, p.15:

> Pews, those sturdy, significant, outward and visible Protestant Bulwarks against this system of levelling all bodies that they may level all minds. - We wish the Pews stood a little stiffer and are much afraid, that the good old English oak, which was so sound at heart when they were put up by such stout carpenters as Martin Luthot, who made good, solid, tight work, and generally hit the right nail on the head, is a little rotten by age, somewhat decayed and worm-eaten, we fear.

89. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. III (1843-44) p.173, ff.

90. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. IV (1845) p.30.

91. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. III (1843-44) pp.135-137.

92. Butler, Analogy of Religion. Life by William Fitzgerald, p.lxviii.

93. J.H. Newman, Development of Christian Doctrine, p.31.

94. J.H. Newman, Realizations, p.82. "Unreal Worlds" from Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. V, Sermon 3.

95. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement. Longmans Green & Co., London, 1925, p.215.

96. Chadwick, Mind of the Oxford Movement, op. cit., p.40, the quotation is from Newman but the source is not given.

97. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, op. cit., p.192. Sermon on "The Visible Church an Encouragement to Faith", Parochial and Plain Sermons, No. 17.

98. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, op. cit., p.192. "The Visible Church an Encouragement to Faith" given Aug. 14th, 1834, printed in Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. III, No. 17, p.246.

99. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, op. cit., p.265, paraphrasing Newman's sermon "The Communion of Saints" 1837.

100. J.H. Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, No. 11 "The Communion of Saints" 1837. Quoted by Brilioth, ibid.

101. J.H. Newman, Realizations, op. cit., p.106, from the sermon "Christ hidden from the world" given on Dec. 25th, 1837. First published in Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, No. 16.

102. also The Christian Remembrancer, Vol. VII, July-Dec. 1844, p.524: "Our assemblies are not merely a gathering of men, but the gathering of the Church. The very external building has the same claim."

103. J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb, Introduction to William Durandus Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.

104. Introduction to Bishop Butler Analogy, p.24.

105. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, op. cit., p.296. Quotation from J.H. Newman "Mysteries in Religion" Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. II, No. 18, p.211.

106. [J.H. Newman] Tracts for the Times No 34, p.2.

107. J.H. Newman, Realizations, op. cit., pp.79-80.

108. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, op. cit.
Quotation from J.H. Newman Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. VI, 1842, p.319.

109. Chadwick, The Mind of the Oxford Movement, quoting Oakeley from British Circle (Jan.-April 1840) p.270.
An American critic Charles Bristed in Five Years in an English University, Putnam & Co., New York, 1852, p.360, illustrates how a preoccupation with outward

things could seem to one not of High Church persuasion.

> But the Camdenian development of it ... gave him something to do, and aroused the cravings of his better nature. For every man not utterly hypocritical or careless will, on finding himself in a position the duties of which he is unqualified to fulfil, endeavor to find or contrive some substitute for them; if he cannot be a true pastor, he will like to play at being one. If now you can persuade him to adopt Gothic architecture for his creed, and mediaeval restorations for his reforms; if you can convince him that rood-screens and floriated crosses are great articles of faith, and that preaching in a surplice or using altar-cloths of a particular color on particular saints' days occupy an elevated position on the list of good works, that it is sacred duty to - not "orient himself" like Horace Mann's young man, but "orientate" his church, and that the destruction of a pew or gallery is of more importance than the reformation of a sinner; - then you have satisfied him at a cheap rate; ...

110. See for instance [J.H. Newman] Tracts for the Times No 41, "Via Media No 2" Aug. 24th, 1834.

111. Y. Brilioth, The Revival of the Anglican Church, op. cit., p.193. Quotation from J.H. Newman Via Media Vol. II, p.31, 1908 edition.

112. For a similarly transposed metaphor see William Brudenell Barter, The Remarks made by Lord Morpeth on the Authors of "The Tracts for the Times" and the University of Oxford considered in a letter addressed to the editor of "The Times" newspaper. JGFAJ Rivington, London, 1841, p.12.

> If one of Raphael's tablets were in your possession how would you act? would you venture to re-touch, or to re-paint it? would it not rather be your care, if it were possible, to cleanse it from all stains, to bring out the beauties that had been obscured by the effect of time, and to restore every tint of the glorious original.
>
> And will you treat the sacred deposit of catholic Truth, committed to your charge, with less reverence? God forbid. Oh guard it from those who would not hesitate to daub the sacred relic with the coarse colouring of modern art; suffer not Geneva cloaks to be substituted for its graceful and flowing draperies.

113. J.H. Newman, Realizations, op. cit., p.70.

114. The Ecclesiologist, Vol. III (1843-44) pp.18-19. In referring to the ageing of glass the article states:

... the process is one entirely of deception, and therefore must fall under the condemnation passed upon everything unreal and deceptive. (p.18)

115. Chadwick, The Mind of the Oxford Movement, op. cit., pp.207-208. Quotation from J.H. Newman, Plain Sermons, pp.42-43.

116. C.C.S. An Account of the Church of St Mary the Virgin Stow Lincolnshire. Cambridge at the University Press, 1841, pp.3-4.

117. Chadwick, Mind of the Oxford Movement, op. cit., p.104. J.H. Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. I, p.22.

118. Y. Brilioth, The Anglican Revival, op. cit., p.259. Quotation from Lyra Apostolica, No. 55.

119. ibid., p.249. Quotation from J.H. Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. VI, No. 1, p.3 "Fasting or Source of Trial."

120. A.G. Lough.

Quotation from The Ecclesiologist, Vol. 1 (1841-42) p.83.

121. Henry Parry Liddon, Life of Edward Bouvarie Pusey. London, Longmans Green & Co., 1893, p.140.

122. He translated some well known and well loved hymns making a very substantial contribution to Hymns Ancient and Modern (about 1 in 8 are his) including "Good King Wenceslaus". A fair sample of his own writing is quoted below.

How lovely and how loved, how full of grace,
The LORD the GOD of hosts, His dwelling place!
How elect your
Architecture!
How severe your walls remain
Never moved by
Rather proved by
Wind, & storm, & surge, & rain!

J.M. Neale Collected Hymns, Sequences & Carols. Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1914, p.51.

4. CASE STUDY TWO

Port Arthur as a prison

1. C.S.O. 1/807/17244 Backhouse & Walker. Lieutenant-Governor, November 1834, cited by Ian Brand, Penal Peninsula Port Arthur and its Outstations 1827-1829. Hobart, Jason Publications, 1978, p.10.

2. ibid.

3. Brand, Ian, Penal Peninsula Port Arthur and its Outstations 1827-1898. Hobart, Jason Publications, 1978, pp.22-39.

4. ibid., pp.68-83.

5. Lemprière, T.J. Penal Settlements of Van Diemen's Land. Launceston, Royal Society of Tasmania, Northern Branch, 1954.

6. Beattie, J.W. Port Arthur the British Penal Settlement in Tasmania; Glimpses of Its Stirring History. Oldham, Beddome & Meredith Pty Ltd, Hobart, 1892.

7. "An Excursion to Port Arthur" Elliston's Hobart Town Almanack & [Ross's] Van Diemen's Land Annual for 1837, Hobart, 1837.

8. Clarke, Marcus, His Natural Life. Sydney, George Robertson, 1874; London, Richard Bentley & Son, 1875.

9. Lemprière, T.J. ibid., cited by Ian Brand, ibid., 1978, p.39.

10. Brand, op. cit. Statistics drawn from scattered references in pp.28, 35, 39, 52, 53.

11. Brand, op. cit.

12. Fry, Rev. H.P., A System of Penal Discipline. Tascoll, 1850, cited by Brand op. cit., 1978, p.91.

13. Boyd, James, CO280/316/729 Commandant/comp. Gen. 19/1/1854, cited by Brand op. cit., 1978, p.119.

14. Brand, op. cit., 1978, p.159.

15. Brand, op. cit., pp.142, 152, 172.

16. Brand, op. cit., 1978, p.171.

17. Tasmania National Parks & Wildlife Service, Port Arthur Management Plan (Draft). Hobart, Magnet Court, 1975, p.10.

18. Brand, op. cit., 1978, p.171. In a survey of colonial prisons Port Arthur was "placed first in the order of merit".

4. CASE STUDY TWO

Port Arthur as an historic monument: the site and its visitors

1. "Port Arthur Gaol Buildings. A Deputation Waited on the Minister of Lands", Mercury, 7/3/1889, p.19.
2. The New Tasmanian Guide Book for Visitors Including Settlers, Miners, Etc., pub. R. Mowbray, 1889, p.22.
3. The Sketcher, "Visit to Port Arthur", The Tasmanian Mail, 5/11/1887, p.1.
4. "Visitor's Excursion to Port Arthur", The Mercury, 31/1/1895, p.15.
5. The Tasmanian Mail, 1/1/1898, p.30.
6. ibid., p.30.
7. The Mercury, 4/1/1898.
8. The Tasmanian Mail, 5/11/1887, p.2.
8. ibid., p.2.
10. Picturesque Tasmania: The Launceston City & Suburbs Improvement Association, Launceston, n.d., [1897].
11. Guide to Excursionists Between Australia & Tasmania, Melbourne, H. Thomas, 1882.
12. Beattie, J.W. Port Arthur the British Penal Settlement in Tasmania; Glimpses of Its Stirring History. Oldham, Beddome & Meredith Pty Ltd, Hobart, 1892.
13. The Tasmanian Mail, op. cit., p.2.
14. "Sale of Buildings at Carnarvon", The Mercury, 2/3/1889, p.18.
15. The Tasmanian Mail, 23/3/1889, p.7.
16. The Tasmanian Mail, 16/3/1889.
17. Tasmanian Government, Handbook of Tasmania Australia's Playground & Health Resort, produced by the Government of Tasmania, 1914.
18. ibid.
19. ibid.
20. "The Film Company at Work: Scenes at Port Arthur", The Mercury, 8/9/1926, p.10.

21. "Early Visitors; The Crowd Gathers", The Mercury, 16/9/26, p.5.

22. Radcliffe, W. The Port Arthur Guide 1935, p.34.

23. Porter, George, Wanderings in Tasmania, n.d. [c.1928]. London, Selwyn & Blount, p.132.

24. Hobart Walking Club, The Tasmanian Tramp. "The Club at the Peninsula" 22/1/1933.

25. Radcliffe, W. The Port Arthur Guide n.d. [c.1935].

26. Radcliffe W. ibid., p.35.

27. Dyer, A.R. Tasmania for Tourists and Tasmanians. Hobart, J. Walch & Son, 1933.

28. Dyer, A.R. ibid.

29. Dyer, A.R. op. cit., p.154.

30. Dyer, A.R. op. cit., 1933.

31. The Motorists Handbook & Road Map of Tasmania 1936-37, p.34.

32. Hudspeth, W.H., Notes on a Visit to Port Arthur, October 1937.

33. Barrett, C.L., Isle of Mountains. London, Cassell, 1944, p.183.

34. Coles, P.D., "Historic Port Arthur" Walkabout, 1/6/42, p.26.

35. Barrett, C.L. op. cit., p.184.

36. Emmett, E.T., Tasmania By Road & Track. 3rd edition, 1962, pp.118-119.

37. The Mercury, 26/9/1966.

38. Tasmanian National Parks & Wildlife Service, "Available Visitor Statistics Relating to Port Arthur", Report on Port Arthur, Nov. 1972.

4. CASE STUDY TWO

Connecting Marcus Clarke's His Natural Life with the site of Port Arthur

1. McLaren, Ian F., Marcus Clarke: An Annotated Bibliography. Melbourne Library Council of Victoria 1982, Appendix 5, p.272.

2. The phrase is Terry Eagleton's used in this case in reference to the reception of Pamela in The Rape of Clarissa: writing sexuality and class struggle in Samuel Richardson. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1982, p.5.

3. Eagleton writes:

> Richardson's novels, then, are not only or even primarily literary texts ... they entwine with commerce, religion, theatre, ethic debate, the visual arts, public entertainment - they are both cogs in a culture industry and sacred scripture to be reverently conned. In short, they are organising forces of what, after German political theory we may term the bourgeois "public sphere".

ibid., p.6.

4. Byrne, D., Australian Writers. London, Reinhard Bentley, 1896, p.73.

5. Byrne, ibid.

6. Turner, H.G. & Sutherland, A., The Development of Australian Literature. George Robertson, Melbourne, 1898, pp.329-30.

7. Senior, William, Travel & Trout in the Antipodes: "An Angler Sketches in Tasmania & New Zealand". London, Chatto & Windus, 1880, p.71.

8. Walch, G., Huddent, Parker & Co's Guide to Tasmania, c.1890.

9. Tasmanian Government Railway Department Complete Guide to Tasmania, Tasmania, 1906; and

Tasmania at Home, pub. Edward Lynch, n.d. c.1926, p.59.

10. Handbook of Tasmania: Australia's Playground and Health Resort, 1914.

11. Field Naturalists' Club Report, 1926.

12. The Mercury 27/7/1926, editorial, p.6. More views are contained in Appendix 6.

13. The Mercury 5/9/1926.

14. Brogden, S., Tasmanian Journey, printed for Pioneer Tours (fp.1948), p.17.

15. Wheetman, Chas., "Historic Port Arthur", Walkabout 1/5/1935, p.20.

16. Brogden, Stanley, Tasmanian Journey. Printed for Pioneer Tours, 1949, fp. 1948.

17. Smith, J. Coultman, Shadows Over Tasmania: For the First Time the Truth About the State's Convict History. Hobart, Mercury Walch Pty Ltd, fp. 1941, 16th edition, 1972.

18. Abbott-Young, Wendy, "The Prettiest Leg Irons You've Seen", The Advertiser, June 4th 1983.

19. Poole, J.E., Marcus Clarke: A Study 1970. Thesis (M.A.), University of Sydney, 1970.

20. Burrows, J.F. "His Natural Life & the Capacities of Melodrama" Southerly XXXIV, 1974, p.287.

21. Robson, L.L., "The historical basis of For The Term of His Natural Life" Aust Literary Studies 1, Dec. 1963, p.104.

22. Horner, J.C., "The Themes of Four Tasmanian Convict Novels". A paper read to the Association on 14th June 1966.

Proceedings of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Vol.15, No.1, 1967, p.25.

23. Goodenough, W., "For the Term of His Natural Life" in Opinion. Vol.10, No.1, March 1966, pp.36-37.

4. CASE STUDY TWO

Public appreciation of Port Arthur: dimension one - attitudes to convictism

1. The Tasmanian Mail 23/3/1889, p.7.

2. Beattie, J.W. "Foreword to a Reprint of David Burns 'An Excursion to Port Arthur in 1842'". Launceston Examiner & Weekly Courier Offices, n.d., 1892, p.9.

3. Tasmanian Field Naturalists Club, "1920 Easter Campout", Camps at Port Arthur in 1913, 1918, 1920, 1926.

4. The Mercury 27/7/1926, editorial p.6. See Also Appendix 6.

5. Lord, Clive, "Historic Port Arthur", Courier Annual, Nov. 1926, p.23.

6. "Reminiscences of Port Arthur" Tasmanian Mail, 26/10/1927, p.26.

7. Porter, George, Wanderings in Tasmania. London, Selwyn & Blount, n.d. c.1928, pp.134-135.

8. Smith, J. Coultman, Shadow over Tasmania: For the First Time the Truth About the State's Convict History. Tasmania, Mercury Walch, fp.1941, 16th edition 1972, pp.8-9.

9. ibid. Foreword by Robert Cosgrove, Premier of Tasmania.

10. ibid., quoted inside front cover.

11. Brogden, Tasmanian Journey printed for Pioneer Tours 1949, first published 1948.

12. Hurley, Frank, Tasmania, a Glance of it's history, beauty, resources and development over a period of 150 years: A camera study. Sydney, John Sands Pty Ltd, 1953.

13. "Our biggest tourist draw began with an American War" The Mercury, 26/9/1966.

14. Rait, Basil, "Port Arthur: Model Prison or Hell on Earth?" issued to mark the centenary of Port Arthur, c.1977.

15. Tasmania, Australia. Sydney, Southern Cross International, 1968.

4. CASE STUDY TWO

Public appreciation of Port Arthur: dimension two - developing concepts of the past in relation to Port Arthur

1. Burn, David, "An Excursion to Port Arthur in 1842", Tasmanian Journal of Natural Sciences Vol.I, 1942, p.265.

2. Trollope, Anthony, Australia and New Zealand. George Robertson, Melbourne, 1873, ch.xxxx.

3. "Tasmania, the Sanitorium of the Australian Colonies", Guide to Excursionists. Melbourne, H. Thomas, 1882.

4. Tasmanian Mail 9/9/1899, cited by C.A. Morris B.A. (Hons) 1974. Morris' thesis is "In pursuit of the travelling men. A study of Tasmanian Tourism to 1905".

5. Brady, E.J., Australia Unlimited. Melbourne, George Robertson, 1918, p.755.

6. Guide to Excursionists, op. cit.

7. Everybody's Tasmanian Almanac, 1893.

8. Railway Official Guide Book to Tasmania. Thomas Cook & Sons, 1894.

9. Senior, William, Travel & Trout in the Antipodes An Anglers Sketches in Tasmania & New Zealand. London, Chatto & Windus, 1880, pp.73-74.

10. Haywood, Howard, Through Tasmania, Haywood's Illustrated Guide for Visitors & Colonists, 1885-6.

11. Tasmanian Mail, 5/11/1887.

12. ibid.

13. Tasmanian Steam Navigation Co's Guide for Visitors to Tasmania, or How to Spend My Holiday 1886-7. Mercury, Hobart, p.74.

14. Huddent, Parker & Co's Guide to Tasmania, Garnet Walch (pub.), n.d., [c.1890].

15. Beattie, J.W., Foreword to the Reprint of David Burns' An Excursion to Port Arthur 1842, n.d. [1892].

16. Handbook of Tasmania; Australia's Playground & Health Resort, 1914.

17. Brady, E.J., Australia Unlimited 1918. George Robertson, Melbourne, p.755.

18. The Mercury 31/7/1926, p.7.

19. ibid.

20. The Field Naturalists Club Report 1926.

21. Hookey, M., The Romance of Tasmania, W.E. Fuller & Jane Boa. Alexander McClubin, Melbourne, 1921, p.25.

22. Porter, George, Wanderings in Tasmania. London, Selwyn & Blount, n.d. c.1928, p.132.

23. ibid., p.134.

24. Weetman, Chas. "Historic Port Arthur" Walkabout 1/5/1935, p.22.

25. Parker, C., "Tasmania, the Jewel of the Commonwealth", The Industrial Australian & Mining Standard. Hobart, 1937.

26. Bryant, C., "The East Coast (Tasmania)" Walkabout 1/8/1943.

27. Smith, J. Coultman, Port Arthur Through the Artists Eyes. A collection of twenty photo-lithographic etchings of Port Arthur, Tasmania by I.G. Anderson. Hobart, 1948.

28. Coles, P.D. "Historic Port Arthur" Walkabout 1/6/1942, p.25.

29. op. cit., 26/6/1942.

30. Fletcher, J.A., Port Arthur and Its Outstations from 1804 to 1877, 1947, p.12.

31. Coles, P.D., op. cit., p.26.

32. Barrett, C.L., Isle of Mountains. London, Cassell, 1944, p.186.

33. ibid., p.189.

34. ibid., p.86.

35. ibid., p.185.

36. ibid., p.186.

37. ibid., p.181.

38. Brogden, S., Tasmanian Journey. Printed for Pioneer Tours (fp.1948), 1949, p.22.

39. Beatty, Bill, Tasmania, Isle of Splendour. Aust., Cassell (fp.1963), 1967, p.130.

40. Jackman, S.W., Islands, Tasmania. Melbourne, Wren Pub. Pty Ltd., 1974, p.159.

41. Emmett, E.T., Tasmania by Road & Truck, 3rd edition, 1962, p.155.

42. The Mercury 25/9/1967.

4. CASE STUDY TWO

Public appreciation of Port Arthur: dimension three - appreciation of the building fabric

1. "A Deputation Waited Upon The Minister of Lands" The Mercury, 7/3/1889.

2. ibid. For instance, a Mr Lodge said:

   > ... if any expense was incurred in keeping them in repair a small charge could be made for inspecting them, which would provide sufficient revenue to repair them when necessary. ... Whenever relics of the past had been destroyed universal regret had been expressed and it would be so if the old buildings at Carnarvon were demolished.

3. ibid. Statement by historian J.B. Walker.

4. ibid.

5. Tasmanian National Parks & Wildlife Services, Port Arthur; Draft Management Plan 1975.

6. The Mercury 16/10/1950.

7. The Tasmanian Mail 5/7/1884.

8. Garran, A., The Picturesque Atlas of Australia, Volume II, 1886.

9. The Tasmanian Mail 5/11/1887.

10. The Tasmanian Mail 16/3/1889.

11. Tasmanian Government, Handbook of Tasmania, Australia's Health Resort; issued by the Government of Tasmania 1908, p.90.

12. The Tasmanian Mail 16/3/1889, p.7.

13. Ivy was of sufficient interest for a legend to become attached to it. Gruncell relays a story that it would not grow on the bloody spot where a prisoner fell from the roof during construction.

    Gruncell, George, Notes; Reminiscences of Port Arthur & Tasman Peninsula by "Riegel" c.1890.

14. Trollope, Anthony, Australia and New Zealand. George Robertson, Melbourne, 1873, chpt.xxxx.

15. The Tasmanian Mail 5/7/1884.

16. The Tasmanian Mail 16/3/1889.

17. A similar description appeared in the Tasmanian Mail, 5th November 1887, which also differed from the stereotype, it too is a more personal description that details an actual visit. The description begins as the writer approaches from the church:

> ... below the church avenue and towering some four stories high the huge stone penitentiary with its iron barred windows stands a giant sentry, accompanied by an old man, who always spoke in the personal pronoun, and who from the manner of his walking had worn chains; he visited this building from a narrow entrance in the wall, and down some well-worn stone steps we entered the Catholic Chapel and to compare this with a good size hall and omit any large quantity of light, will describe it. Then passing through some folding doors on to a gallery we could look up or down, to a series of iron barred platforms; following our guide and turning to the right we ascended some cabinet stairs to the long mess room, with its pillared supports, book-rooms and grace-platform, at the end of this long hall on the right were two small doors, one leading to the wardsmen's room; the other to a lift, which brought up from the kitchen the prisoners mess; there were also a few wooden ship-like bunks, where bakers and cooks took their sleep, and were thus enabled to rise at a very early hour without disturbing the prison. We were told that 1,500 men were supposed to be served in 17 minutes, from the time the clergyman had finished saying grace.

18. The Tasmanian Mail 5/7/1884.

19. The Tasmanian Mail 23/3/2889, p.7.

20. ibid.

21. The Tasmanian Mail 5/7/1884.

22. The Tasmanian Mail 23/3/1889, p.7.

23. ibid.

24. The Tasmanian Mail 5/7/1884.

25. The Tasmanian Mail 23/3/1899.

26. The New Tasmanian Guide Book for Visitors Including Settlers, Miners etc. R. Mowbray (Pub.), 1889, p.23.

27. The Tasmanian Mail 16/3/1889.

28. Mr J.B. Walker was aware that it was the negative attitude towards convictism that constituted a threat to the prison buildings. In an effort to try to

ensure their conservation he attempted to detach the attitude from the buildings. The Tasmanian Mail of 7th March 1889 reported:

> ... he thought it a great mistake to remove old buildings such as these, simply because they reminded them of the past history of the colony, and alluded to the fact of the dramatised version of His Natural Life being produced at the Theatre Royal night after night without causing anything like ill-feeling in the community.

29. Haywood, Howard, Through Tasmania, Haywood's Visitors & Colonists Guide. Tasmania, 1885-6, p.9.

30. The Mercury 7/3/1889.

31. The Mercury 11/3/1889.

32. Thomas Cook & Sons' Railway Official Guide Book to Tasmania, n.d., [1894], p.103.

33. Ackerman, Jessie A., The World Through A Woman's Eyes, 1896.

34. Denholm, D.A., Port Arthur: The Men and The Myth, Historical Study, (reprint) Vol.14, No.55. University of Melbourne, October 1970.

35. The Mercury 4th/1/1898, p.30.

36. ibid.

37. The Mercury 31/1/1895, p.15.

38. Tasmanian Government Railway Department, Complete Guide to Tasmania, 1906.

39. Tasmanian Government Handbook of Tasmania, Australia's Health Resort, issued by the Government of Tasmania, 1908.

40. Tasmanian Archives NS/21/26/1, p.226.

A collection of cuttings unattributed to their sources. This extract may have come from the Tasmanian Mail some time in 1919 or thereabouts. It is interesting to see how the way the "report of the 1889 sale" has been used to give an historical perspective to this article.

41. Porter, George, Wanderings in Tasmania. Selwyn & Blount, London, c.1928, p.113.

42. The Mercury 7/3/1889. "In this way Fountain's [sic] Abbey in England was maintained, every person who went to view that historic place, paying a small toll for the privilege of inspecting it".

43. Parker, C., Tasmania, the Jewel of the Commonwealth. The Australian Industrial Mining Standard, Hobart, 1937.

44. Wheetman, C., "Historic Port Arthur" Walkabout, 1/5/1935.

45. Barrett, C.L., Isle of Mountains. Cassell, London, 1944, p.184.

46. Smith, J. Coultman, Port Arthur Through the Artists Eyes A Collection of Twenty Photo Lithographic Etchings of Port Arthur, Tasmania by I.G. Anderson. Hobart, 1948, p.3.

47. Hayes, William, The Notorious Escape of Sir William Heans. Melbourne University Press, Victoria, fp.1919, 1955.

48. Lord, Clive, "Historic Port Arthur" The Courier Annual. Courier Pub., Tasmania, 1926, p.23.

49. Smith, J. Coultman, Shadow Over Tasmania; For the First Time the Truth About the State's Convict History. 16th edition. Mercury Walch, Tasmania, fp.1941, 1972, p.49.

50. Coles, P.D., "Historic Port Arthur" Walkabout 1/6/1942, p.25.

51. Fletcher, J.A., Port Arthur & Its Outstations From 1804-1877, 1947, p.5.

52. ibid., p.45.

53. ibid., p.2. Both quotations.

54. ibid., p.5.

55. Smith, J. Coultman, Port Arthur Through The Artist's Eyes. Hobart, 1948, p.3.

56. Lord, C. op. cit.

57. ibid.

58. Porter, George, Wanderings in Tasmania. Selwyn & Blount, London, c.1928, p.113.

59. "Tasmanian Landmark Port Arthur's Old Church", The Mercury 15/2/1933.

60. The Mercury 25/8/1933.

61. Barrett, C.L., Isle of Mountains. Cassell, London, 1944, p.185.

Hudspeth also made a valiant attempt (too long to quote here) to sort out the designer for the church

by piecing together the sources of the stories and relating their details. His work remained unpublished, Typescript Tasmanian Archives NS 690/52.

62. Coles, P.D. "Historic Port Arthur" Walkabout 1st/6/1942.

63. Brogen, S., Tasmanian Journey. Printed for Pioneer Tours, fp.1948, 1949, p.20.

64. ibid.

65. Porter, George Wanderings in Tasmania. Selwyn & Blount, London, c.1928.

66. Coles, P.D., "Historic Port Arthur" Walkabout 1/6/1942.

67. Smith, J. Coultman, op. cit.

68. ibid.

69. Beatty, B., Tasmania Isle of Splendour. Cassell, Australia, fp.1963, 1967, pp.129-30.

The Mercury 26/9/1966 offered a picture of a similar character.

> In its heyday, Port Arthur must have been a fair place to look upon. Backed by a semi-circle of wooded ranges, its well kept and beautifully masoned buildings, its towering church steeple, the imposing magazine, the cottages of free workers, Government House with a fountain playing among the flower beds, the fleet of little schooners - all must have combined to make a pleasant setting.
>
> Something of this scene is being preserved. ...

70. Jackman, S.W., Islands:Tasmania. Wren Publishing Pty Ltd, Melbourne, 1974, p.158.

71. ibid., pp.160-161.

72. Robertson, E.G., Early Buildings of Southern Tasmania Vol 2. Georgian House, Melbourne, 1970, p.368.

73. Tasmanian National Parks & Wildlife Service of Tasmania Report on Port Arthur. Hobart, November 1972.

74. Evidence given to the National Estate Committee of Inquiry, December 1973.

75. Tasmanian National Parks & Wildlife Service of Tasmania, op. cit.

76. ibid.

77. I mean here a policy and the practice arising from it that recognizes the importance of the value of the buildings on the site and of the maintenance of their value. Value meaning both historical importance and monetary worth.

78. Hudspeth, W.H., "The Secondary Penal Station of Old Van Diemen's Land" Medical Journal of Australia, 11/5/1940, p.666.

79. The Mercury 21/1/1955.

80. Hurley, F., Tasmania: A Glance at its History, Beauty Resources & Development Over a Period of 150 Years. A Camera Study. John Sands Pty Ltd, Sydney, 1953, p.87.

81. "Port Arthur Landmark Being Rebuilt" The Mercury 21/6/1963.

82. "Government to Restore Port Arthur" The Mercury 17/1/1969.

83. "Vandalism at Port Arthur" The Mercury 13/1/1970.

84. "Port Arthur Renovation Work Urged" The Mercury 15/11/1966.

85. Jackman, op. cit., 1974, p.160.

86. Haswell, Jan., interview with Four Seasons Motel Manager, John Skinner. Sunday Examiner Express 10/2/1973.

87. Murrell, Peter, quoted in The Sunday Examiner Express 10/2/1973.

88. National Parks & Wildlife Service Port Arthur Draft Management Plan, 1975, p.4.

89. ibid., item 19.2, pp.47-49.

90. ibid., item 19.5, p.49.

91. "Pt Arthur Needs Flair" The Mercury 2/10/1980, p.7.

92. "New Find at Old Port Arthur Sites" The Mercury 21/10/1980.

93. "Conflicting Interests Snag at Port Arthur" The Mercury 4/9/1979.

5. CASE STUDY THREE

The early critical bases of the critic Charles Jencks

1. Jencks, Charles. Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London, 1971.

2. Jencks, Charles. Modern Movements in Architecture. London: Penguin Books, 1982 (1973).

3. ibid., p.6.

4. Arendt, Hannah. On Revolution. New York: The Viking Press, 1963.

   Richards, I.A. Principles of Literary Criticism. London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co. Ltd, 1944 (1924).

   Gombrich, E.H. Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other essays on the theory of art. London: Phaidon, 1963. Jencks draws mainly from two essays, "Visual Metaphors of Virtue in Art", and "Expression and Communication."

5. Jencks, Charles and Baird, George (eds.). Meaning in Architecture. London: Barrie and Rockliff, The Cresset Press, 1969.

6. Richards, I.A. op. cit., p.237.

7. Here Jencks misreads Richards and does not take into account the theory expressed in Ogden and Richards' Meaning of Meaning which assigns different truth conditions to rational and non-rational thought.

8. Jencks, Charles. Thesis, p.29.

9. ibid., p.35.

10. loc. cit.

11. loc. cit.

12. ibid., pp.32-33.

13. ibid., p.38. It is also quoted by Richards, op. cit., p.243 and is taken from S.T. Coleridge's Biographia Literaria. The quotation is unfelicitously curtailed by Jencks.

14. Gombrich, E.H. op. cit., pp.65-66.

15. Jencks, Charles. op. cit., p.38.

16. ibid., p.41.

17. ibid., p.51.

18. ibid., p.55.

19. loc. cit.

20. loc. cit.

21. Although Jencks states that the publisher wished to foist a less technical introduction on the general public than the one contained in the thesis. Private communication, December 1983.

22. Jencks, Charles. Modern Movements in Architecture. op. cit., p.12.

23. ibid., p.30.

24. ibid., p.31.

25. ibid., p.13.

26. (previously quoted) ibid., p.30.

27. ibid., p.27.

28. ibid., p.14.

29. ibid., p.27.

30. ibid., p.30.

31. Modern Movements in Architecture, op. cit., pp.14-15.

32. ibid., pp.17-18.

33. ibid., p.12.

34. ibid., p.30.

35. ibid., p.31.

36. ibid., p.13.

37. ibid., p.14.

38. Jencks continues:

The most general explanation for the way these signals work, information theory, is put forward by Colin Cherry in opposition to expressionist theory, the idea that meanings are inherent both in the viewer and the signals:

> Signals do not convey information as railroad trucks carry coal. Rather we should say: signals have an information content by virtue of their potential for making selections. Signals operate upon the alternatives forming the recipient's doubt. They give power

to discriminate amongst or select from these alternatives.

Basically, we may say that "the alternatives forming the recipient's doubt" are both his past knowledge and his immediate present schemata - his interest and purpose. The point that information theory makes clear is that the viewer's experience consists in projecting forward tentative hypotheses and then selecting by observation from among them in a continual sequence of expectation and confirmation or suggestion and frustration.

It is indicative of the process of transfer that Jencks misquotes Cherry substituting 'railroad' for 'railway'.

39. ibid.

40. ibid.

41. Charles Jencks, Le Corbusier and the Tragic View of Architecture. Allen Lane, 1973.

42. Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp" in Against Interpretation. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1967.

43. Modern Movements in Architecture, op. cit., p.13.

44. ibid., p.12.

45. Jurgen Habermas, "Hannah Arendt's Communications Concept of Power" in Social Research, 44/1 (1977), p.16.

46. Modern Movements in Architecture, op. cit., p.13.

47. loc. cit.

48. ibid., p.27.

49. ibid., p.206.

50. Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp" in Against Interpretation, op. cit.

51. Modern Movements in Architecture, op. cit., p.13.

52. Hannah Arendt "The Crisis in Culture: its social and its political significance" in Between Past and Future: six exercises in political thought. The Viking Press, New York, 1961; and

The Human Condition. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958.

53. Modern Movements in Architecture, op. cit., p.175.

54. ibid., p.20, for example.

55. Hannah Arendt, Between Past and Future: six exercises in political thought, op. cit.

56. I.A. Richards, Practical Criticism, op. cit.

57. "A Reading of Hannah Arendt's 'unusual' distinction between labour and work" in Hannah Arendt: the recovery of the public world, Melvyn A. Hill (ed.). St Martins Press, New York, 1979.

58. An essay first read at Princeton University, October 1966 and in Meaning in Architecture, Charles Jencks and George Baird (eds). Barrie & Rockcliff; The Cresset Press, London, 1969.

59. First read at York University, Toronto, Nov 25 1972 and in Oppositions, Vol.1, Sep 1973.

60. in Hannah Arendt the Recovery of the public world, op. cit.

61. "Industrialization and the crisis in architecture" in Oppositions, Vol.1, Sep 1973.

62. Kenneth Frampton, Modern Architecture: a critical history. Thames & Hudson, London, 1980.

    Although those who reviewed his book did not make much of the derivation of his critical base. See, for instance, Modern Architecture and the Critical Present, Kenneth Frampton (ed.). AD Publications, 1982.

63. Here I use the world in the Victorian, moralistic sense of undeviating, but also as my great-aunts used it of their brother, "Oh yes, Harry was straight." It was said with regret.

64. Major, op. cit., p.154.

65. Frampton, Modern Architecture: a critical history, op. cit., p.9.

66. Frampton, "The status of man and the status of his objects", op. cit., pp.102-104.

67. Frampton, Modern Architecture: a critical history, op. cit., p.9.

68. ibid., p.9.

69. Major, op. cit., p.142.

70. ibid., pp.142-143.

71. loc. cit.

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THIS THESIS

1. Juan Pablo Bonta, Architecture and its Interpretation. Rizzoli, 1979, Chapter 5.

2. Phillipe Boudon, Lived in Architecture, Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited. Lund Humphries, 1972, p.4.

3. Bonta, op. cit, p.66.

4. Wayne Attoe, Architecture & critical imagination. John Wiley & Sons, 1978, pp.156-161.

5. Charles Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival. The Victorian Library, Leicester University Press, 1970, (fp.1872).

   Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival: an essay in the history of taste. John Murray, London, 1978 (fp.1928).

   Basil Clarke, Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: a study of the Gothic Revival in England. S.P.C.K., London, 1938.

   Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972.

6. A.J. Lough, John Mason Neale: Priest Extraordinary. Published by author, 1976.

   Eleanor Towle, John Mason Neale DD: A Memoir. Longmans Green & Co., London, 1906.

   Edward Boyce, A Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society. London, 1888.

   Martin Briggs, Goths and Vandals: A Study of the Destruction, Neglect & Preservation of Historical Buildings in England. Constable, London, 1952.

7. Phoebe Stanton, Pugin. Thames & Hudson, 1971.

8. Kenneth Clark, op. cit., p.156.

9. ibid., p.170.

10. ibid., p.173.

11. Basil Clarke, op. cit., p.97.

12. loc. cit.

13. James F. White, The Cambridge Movement. Cambridge at the University Press, 1962, p.224.

14. Stuart Piggot, Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism. University Press, Edinburgh, 1976, p.183.

15. Juan Pablo Bonta, op. cit., chapter 4.

16. Raymond Williams, The Country and the City. Paladin, London, 1975 (1973), p.350.

17. Alois Reigl, The Modern Cult of Monuments: its character and its origin. Trans. Kurt W. Forster & Diane Ghirardo in Oppositions, No.25, Fall 1982, pp.21-51.

18. Although the Tasmanian National Parks & Wildlife Service has been endeavouring to develop one by surveying visitors. Letter to author from Director, Peter Murrell.

19. Charles Jencks, The Language of Post Modern Architecture. Academy Editions, London, 1978 (1977).

20. Although the issue of Architectural Design devoted to Architectural History explores the device with success. "On the Methodology of Architectural History", Architectural Design, Vol.51, No.617, 1981.

7. APPENDICES

Appendix 2

Extracts from The Mercury: Reaction to a proposal to make a new film of His Natural Life at Port Arthur in 1926

1. The Mercury, 27/7/1926, editorial p.6.
2. loc. cit.
3. op. cit., p.7.
4. The Mercury, 2/8/1926, p.6.
5. The Mercury, 30/7/1926, p.4.
6. loc. cit.
7. The Mercury, 5/8/1926, p.5.
8. The Mercury, 4/8/1926, p.11.
9. The Mercury, 5/8/1926, p.5.
10. The Mercury, 4/8/1926, p.8.
11. The Mercury, 5/8/1926, p.5.
12. The Mercury, 10/8/1926, p.5.
13. loc. cit.
14. The Mercury, 28/7/1926, p.7.
15. The Mercury, 30/7/1926, p.4.
16. loc. cit.
17. The Mercury, 4/8/1926, p.11.
18. The Mercury, 4/8/1926, p.8.
19. The Mercury, 11/8/1926, p.12.
20. The Mercury, 30/7/1926, p.4.

Appendix 3

A description of His Natural Life including Clarke's preface

1. Clarke, Marcus, His Natural Life. George Robertson, Sydney, 1874; Richard Bentley & Son, London, 1875.

2. McLaren, Ian F., Marcus Clarke an Annoted Bibliography. Library Council of Victoria, Melbourne, 1982.

3. Clarke, Marcus, His Natural Life. George Robertson, Sydney, 1874, pp.VII-VIII.

Appendix 4

The popularity of His Natural Life: a survey of its printings

1. McLaren, Ian F., Marcus Clarke, an Annoted Bibliography. Library Council of Victoria, Melbourne, 1982, p.17.

2. ibid., p.222.

3. ibid., p.325.

4. ibid., p.17.

5. ibid., p.19.

6. ibid., p.315.

7. ibid., p.316.

8. ibid., p.316.

9. Brian Elliott, Marcus Clarke: a Study of Literary Life and Character in Colonial Australia. Thesis submitted for D.Litt., Adelaide, 1955, p.239.

Appendix 5

The critical reception of His Natural Life

1. This form of the title was the only one used by Marcus Clarke. It was subsequently changed by his publishers to "For The Term of His Natural Life", perhaps to indicate more strongly to the English public the nature of the novel. Since here the preceding serial "His Natural Life" and the novel are seldom separately analysed ambiguity is avoided. The serial is referred to as 'the serial' the novel as 'the novel' or 'His Natural Life'.

2. Hergenhan, L.T., "The Contemporary Reception of His Natural Life", Southerly, XXXI, 1971, 50-63.

3. For example, Saturday Review, 20 November, 1875:

> Théophile Gautier has expressed a canon of art which is generally thought to be sound in the words, "On ne doit jamais peindre ce qui fait horreur". This canon has been thoroughly disregarded by the author of His Natural Life ... The incidents of convict life which are described grow more and more repulsive as the book goes on, until all bounds are overstepped in the description of the flogging of a prisoner, in which every detail is insisted upon with a horrible fidelity. No kind of excuse can be found for the brutality of this passage. Yet worse in another way, however, is that part of the book just before this which indicates Kirkland's experiences when thrown among his fellow convicts. Even Balzac might have hesitated before touching on such a theme as this: and Mr Clarke is not a Balzac. If he thought that the former existence of the abominations which he describes or hints at called for some record as a matter of warning, he should have embodied their history in anything rather than the pages of a novel ...

   from Hergenhan, L.T., ibid., p.52.

4. It is of some interest to speculate to what extent Clarke successfully gauged the critical atmosphere and composed his preface accordingly, and to what extent the preface governed the critical assessment of his work.

5. Clarke, Marcus. His Natural Life. George Robertson, Sydney, 1874, pp.XII & VIII.

6. Dickens, Charles, Bleak House. Penguin Books, Inc., Middlesex, 1971.

7. Clarke, M., op. cit., p.VIII.

8. Hergenhan, op. cit., pp.53-54.

9. ibid., p.53.

10. ibid., p.58.

11. ibid., p.57.

12. ibid., p.58.

13. ibid., p.53.

14. ibid., p.54.

15. ibid., p.59.

16. ibid., p.59.

17. Adams, F., "Two Australian Writers [Clarke and Gordon]", Fortnightly Review CCCIX, 1 September, 1892. Reprinted in The Australians. Unwin, London, 1893, p.101.

18. ibid., p.107.

19. W. Murdoch, "Marcus Clarke" Argus 22 Oct 1904, p.4. Reprinted in "Loose Leaves". George Robertson, Melbourne, 1910, p.51.

20. Patterson, A.B., Introduction to For the Term of His Natural Life. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1899, p.XV.

21. Stephens, A.G., "Marcus Clarke's Minor Writings" Bulletin 29 April 1899, Red Page. Reprinted in V. Palmer (ed.) A.G. Stephens: His Life and Work. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1941, p.40.

22. Patterson, A.B., op. cit., p.XIV.

23. Brazier, A.W., Marcus Clarke: His Work and Genius. Edis Publishing Co., Melbourne, 1902, p.32.

24. Gratton, C.H., Australian Literature. University of Washington Bookshop, Seattle, 1929, p.25.

25. Rees, L., "His Natural Life the Long and Short of It" Australian Quarterly, XIV, 1942, p.104.

26. Roderick, C., An Introduction to Australian Fiction. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1950, p.27.

27. loc. cit.

28. Howarth, R.G., "Marcus Clarke's For the Term of His Natural Life" Southerly XV, 1954, p.272.

29. Franklin, M., Laughter, Not for a Cage. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1956, pp.41-43.

30. Hadgraft, C., Australian Literature. Heinemann, London, 1960, p.47.

31. Wilkes, G.A., Australian Literature: A Conspectus. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1969, p.21.

32. Gratton, op. cit., p.25.

33. Rees, op. cit., p.104.

34. Roderick, op. cit., p.27.

35. Howarth, op. cit., p.276.

36. Franklin, op. cit., p.41.

37. Hadgraft, op. cit., p.45.

38. Wilkes, op. cit., p.21.

39. Green, H.M., A History of Australian Literature. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1961, p.51.

40. Miller, E.M., Australian Literature 1795-1938. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1940, p.269.

41. Ewers, J.K., Creative Writing in Australia. Georgian House, Melbourne, 1945, p.25.

42. Palmer, V., "Marcus Clarke and His Critics" Meanjin Papers, Vol.1, 1946, p.169.

43. Elliott, B., "Marcus Clarke", a lecture given at Canberra University College, September 22, 1952. Library of the University of Adelaide.

44. Burrows, J.F., "His Natural Life and the Capacities of Melodrama" Southerly XXXIV, 1974, p.280.

45. Hergenhan, L.T., op. cit., p.47.

46. Burrows, op. cit., pp.280-301.

47. Wilding, M., "Marcus Clarke: His Natural Life" in W.S. Ramson (ed.) The Australian Experience. Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1974, pp.19-37.

48. Poole, J.E., Marcus Clarke: A Study. M.A. Thesis, Department of English, University of Sydney, June 1970.

49. Hergenhan, L.T., op. cit., p.58.

50. ibid., p.58.

51. ibid., p.57.

52. Lord Rosebery, Marcus Clarke Memorial Volume. Cameron Laing & Co., Melbourne, 1884. Cited in Franklin, M., 1956, op. cit., pp.36-44.

53. Adams, op. cit., p.115.

54. ibid., p.40.

55. D. Byrne, Australian Writers. Richard Bentley, London, 1896, p.83.

56. Stephens, A.G., op. cit., p.40.

57. Brazier, op. cit., p.32.

58. Gratton, op. cit., p.25.

59. Rees, op. cit., p.104.

60. Elliot, B., Marcus Clarke: A Study of Literary Life and Character in Colonial Australia. Thesis submitted for D.Litt., Adelaide, 1955.

61. Howarth, op. cit., p.272.

62. Hadgraft, op. cit., p.49.

63. Hergenhan, L.T., "The Redemptive Theme in His Natural Life" Australian Literary Studies, June 1965, pp.35-49.

64. Hergenhan, L.T., "Marcus Clarke and the Australian Landscape" Quadrant XIII, 4, Sydney, 1969, pp.31-51.

65. Wilding, M., 1976, p.18.

66. Poole, J.E., op. cit., p.195.

67. Clarke, Marcus, "Charles Dickens" Argus 8 July 1870, p.7. In Poole, J.E., loc. cit.

68. Clarke, Marcus, "Balzac and Modern French Literature" Australasian, 3 Aug 1867, p.136. In Poole, J.E., loc. cit.

69. Poole and Wilding are obvious examples.

70. Poole, op. cit., p.41.

71. Byrne, D., Australian Writers. Richard Bentley, London, 1896, p.18.

72. Gratton, E. Hartley, Australian Literature. University of Washington Bookstore, Seattle, 1929. Reprinted from The Bookman Aug 1928 with the introduction by Netty Palmer, dealing with emphasis on colonial Australian Works and not "more indigenous work", pp.24-25.

73. Wilding, op. cit., p.19.

74. ibid., p.44.

75. Howarth, op. cit., p.272.

76. Argyle, B., An Introduction to the Australian Novel. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972, p.121.

77. Wilding, 1974, pp.36-37.

78. Wilding, op. cit., p.43.

79. Murdoch, op. cit., p.50.

80. Green, H.M., An Outline of Australian Literature. Whitcombe & Tombs, Sydney, 1930, pp.46-47.

81. Hadgraft, C.H., op. cit., p.47.

82. Mares, F.H., "Henry Kingsley, Marcus Clarke and Rolf Bolderwood" in G. Dutton (ed.) The Literature of Australia. Ringwood Victoria, Penguin, 1964, p.253.

83. op. cit., p.253.

84. Eliott, B., Marcus Clarke. Melbourne Oxford University Press, 1969 (Great Australian Series), p.25.

85. Stephens, A.G., "The Making of a Masterpiece" Bulletin, 27 Sep. 1906, Red Page.

86. loc. cit.

87. Adams, Francis W.L., The Australians: A Social Sketch. Unwin, London, 1893, F5653, p.113.

88. Palmer, Vance, "Marcus Clarke and His Critics" Meanjin. Melbourne, 1946, p.167.

89. loc. cit.

90. ibid., p.168.

91. ibid., p.169.

92. Ewers, J.K., Creative Writing in Australia. Georgian House, Melbourne, 1945, pp.24-26.

93. Franklin, Miles, Laughter Not For A Cage. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1956, p.43.

94. Elliott, B., Marcus Clarke. Melbourne Oxford University Press, 1969, pp.16-17.

95. Elliott, Brian, "Marcus Clarke" Commonwealth Literary Fund Lecture, 22nd Sep 1952. Canberra University College, Canberra, 1952, p.16.

96. ibid., p.7.

97. Barnes, John, in G. Dutton (ed.) op. cit., p.158.

98. Wilding, op. cit., p.37.

99. Hadgraft, C., "Introduction" in Quintus Servinton. Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1962.

100. Franklin, M., Joseph Furphy, 1944.

101. Green, op. cit., pp.118-119.

102. op. cit., p.218.

103. ibid.

104. Ewers, J.K., Creative Writing in Australia. Georgian House, Melbourne, 1945, p.14.

105. ibid., p.27.

106. Dutton, Geoffrey (ed.), The Literature of Australia. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1964, revised 1976, p.149.

107. Horner, J.C., "The Themes of Four Tasmanian Convict Novels" Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings. Vol.XV, Hobart, June 1967, pp.18-32.

108. Murdoch, Walter, "Loose Leaves". Robertson, Melbourne, 1910, pp.450-5. "Marcus Clarke" from Argus 22nd Oct 1904 (item 1403). op. cit., p.53.

> It is not a story with a moral "thrown externally over it," in Stevenson's phrase, "like a carpet over a railing." It is not a "novel with a purpose," which becomes valueless when its purpose is accomplished. The transportation system has passed, but man's inhumanity to man remains, and Clarke's great sermon is still of universal validity.

109. Byrne, op. cit., p.63.

110. Ewers, op. cit., pp.24-25.

111. Franklin, op. cit., pp.42-43.

112. Mares in G. Dutton, op. cit., p.254.

113. ibid., p.256.

114. Elliott, "Marcus Clarke" 1969 op. cit., pp.20-23.

115. Poole, op. cit., p.354.

116. ibid., p.317.

117. Smith, G.I., Introduction to Marcus Clarke, For the

Term of His Natural Life. Lloyd O'Neil, Melbourne, 1970, p.16.

118. Hergenhan, Southerly XXXI, op. cit., p.51.

119. Boehm, H.J., "His Natural Life and its Sources" Australian Literary Studies, V., 1971, p.64.

120. Wilding, M., The Short Stories of Marcus Clarke. In Bards, Bohemians and Bookmen, Leon Cantrell (ed.). University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, Queensland, 1976, p.22.

121. Argyle, op. cit., pp.120-21.

122. Turner, H.G., "Marcus Clarke" Melbourne Review VII, 25, 1882, pp.12-13. Reworked in H.G. Turner and A. Sutherland The Development of Australian Literature. Longmans, London, 1898, pp.300-43.

123. Byrne, op. cit., pp.82-83.

124. ibid., p.29.

125. ibid., pp.77-78.

126. Martin, A.P., The Beginnings of Australian Literature. Southeran, London, 1898, p.18.

127. ibid., pp.18-19.

128. Brazier, op. cit., p.21.

129. Patterson, op. cit., p.xv.

130. Murdoch, op. cit., p.53.

131. Franklin, op. cit., p.41.

132. e.g., L.L. Robson "The Historical Basis of For the Term of His Natural Life". Australian Literary Studies 1, Dec 1963, p.121. The phrase was Coleridge's.

133. Green, op. cit., p.50.

134. ibid., p.52.

135. ibid., p.49.

136. Elliott, Brian, Marcus Clarke: Commonwealth Literary Fund Lecture, 22nd Sep 1952. Canberra University College, Canberra, 1952, p.12.

137. Robson, op. cit., p.121.

138. loc. cit.

139. Horner, op. cit., p.19.

140. Goodenough, W., op. cit., p.32.

141. Hadgraft, op. cit., p.47.

142. Wilkes, op. cit., p.21.

143. Hergenhan, Southerly XXXI, 1971, op. cit, p.56.

144. Mares, F.H., in G. Dutton (ed.) op. cit., p.255.

145. Poole, op. cit., p.306.

146. Wilding in W.S. Ramson (ed.) The Australian Experience. Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1974, pp.31-32.

147. ibid., p.32.

148. Wilding, 1976, op. cit., p.19.

149. ibid., p.21.

150. Wilding in W.S. Ramson (ed.) op. cit., p.26. It is of some interest that Clarke writes of John Rex's journal, it was:

> related with grim simplicity which (because it at once bears the stamp of truth, and forces the imagination of the reader to supply the omitted details of horror) is more effective to inspire sympathy than the most elaborate of descriptions. The very barrenness of the narration was hideously suggestive.

Quoted by Poole, op. cit., p.209.

151. Wilding, ibid., p.26.

152. Burrows, op. cit., pp.288-89.

153. ibid., p.281.

154. ibid., p.282.

155. loc. cit.

156. ibid., p.283.

157. ibid., p.284.

158. ibid., p.286.

159. Poole, op. cit., p.277. The quotation is from Marcus Clarke "Charles Dickens" Argus, 8 July 1870, p.7. (Poole's note.)

160. Hergenhan, Southerly XXXI, 1971, op. cit., p.59.

161. quoted by Hergenhan ibid., from Spectator, 1875.

162. ibid.

163. ibid., p.55, quoted from Examiner, 1875.

164. Patterson, op. cit., p.xv.

165. Brazier, op. cit., p.21.

166. Murdoch, op. cit., p.52.

167. Stephens, op. cit., p.38.

168. Adams, op. cit., p.111.

169. Greene, op. cit., p.51.

170. Miller, op. cit., pp.411-17.

171. Roderick, op. cit., p.27.

172. Greene, op. cit., p.51.

173. loc. cit.

174. Rees, op. cit., p.104.

175. Roderick, op. cit., p.27.

176. Blake, L.J., Australian Writers. Rigby, Adelaide, 1969, p.102.

177. Franklin, op. cit., p.41.

178. Hadgraft, op. cit., p.46.

179. ibid., p.47.

180. Blake, op. cit., p.102.

181. Wilkes, op. cit., p.21.

182. Hergenhan, L.T., "The Corruption of Rufus Dawes" Southerly XXIX, 1969, p.211.

183. loc. cit.

184. ibid., p.214.

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