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Gavin Stamp and the Tradition of the Activist-Scholar in Architectural History

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Abstract

This article positions the architectural historian Gavin Stamp (1948–2017) as an exemplar of one of architectural history's underexplored traditions: the activist-scholar. It argues that Stamp's wide-ranging career was a cumulative campaign against what he saw as architectural ignorance and philistinism, resulting in "uglification". Consequently, the hallmark of his work was an emphasis on widening an appreciation of architecture, on bridging professional and public spheres and on strengthening the culture of critique. Contextualising Stamp's contribution involves reuniting his scholarly work in print with his wider activities, evidence for which can be found in an informal and less accessible sphere of reminiscences, journalism, personal communication and ephemera. The article therefore makes recourse to oral history and to Stamp's archive, gifted to the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art following his death. It examines Stamp's inventive forms of advocacy, the networks within which he operated, how he mediated his causes across diverse platforms—and to what end. The article shows that, although as a student at Cambridge Stamp subscribed to an anti-modernist disposition as part of a right-leaning coterie, over his career his early certitudes were slowly shaken down and some of his more inveterate hostilities gradually softened.

Introduction

"I knew it was wrong at the time", recalled the architectural historian Gavin Stamp (1948–2017) (fig. 1).[1] He was remembering his family home on the edge of the green belt in Hayes, Kent, a detached 1930s neo-Tudor property with leaded light windows (fig. 2). It epitomised the "By-pass Variegated", a term coined by one of Stamp's heroes, Osbert Lancaster, "the essential taxonomist of neo-Tudor".[2] According to Stamp, his parents despoiled the home in the 1950s by replacing the space that occupied the living-room fireplace with a large plate-glass window stretching the width of the hipped roof, and removing the chimney. "They made what was quite a nice house into a complete sort of awful mongrel".[3] Such were the roots of Stamp's lifelong, heartfelt rally against architectural philistinism and barbarism—"the ubiquitous enemy".[4]

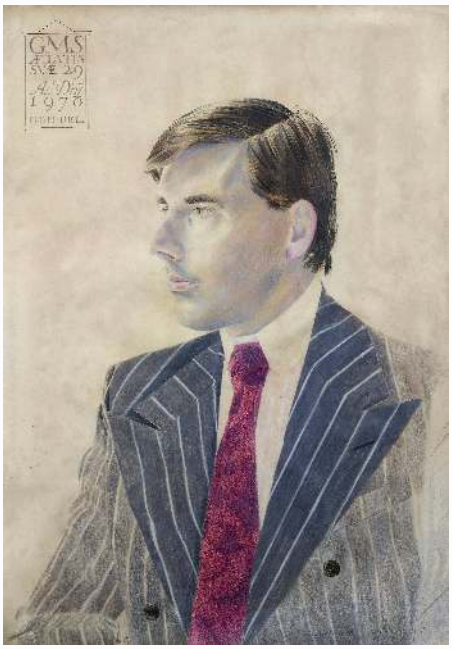


Figure 1

Glynn Boyd Harte, *Gavin Stamp*, wash drawing, 1978. Collection of Agnes Stamp. Digital image courtesy of Matthew Hollow (all rights reserved).

Figure 2

Barry Stamp, Gavin Stamp sitting on his father's Rover 14 in the driveway at 13 Sandiland Crescent, Hayes, photograph, 1954. Private collection. Digital image courtesy of the estate of Gavin Stamp (all rights reserved).

Suburbia would go on to fascinate Stamp, as it did his friend John Betjeman. This extended to neo-Tudor architecture.[5] It yielded an important lesson against Betjeman's "Antiquarian Prejudice": "It is the task of the historian to cut through élitist and snobbish prejudices and regard buildings—all buildings—as significant cultural manifestations, however laughable or mediocre they may be".[6] In a career spanning half a century, Stamp consistently redirected our gaze away from orthodox views on architecture and its accepted canons. The Betjemanic theme of neglect proliferated. Indeed, Stamp's project furthered Betjeman's own: he set out to validate what he saw as the missing sections of architectural history albeit, as a product of his time, he limited his inquiries almost exclusively to the contributions of white European men. Stamp did, however, recognise the "intolerant misogyny endemic in the masculine world of architectural history".[7]

From a prosperous middle-class background, Gavin was born to Norah Stamp (née Rich) and Barry Stamp, who chaired the grocery business Cave Austin and Co. Gavin's brother Gerard remembered his (later renowned) contrarian manner from his childhood, when he and his father "always played devil's advocate with each other. Neither would give in".[8] Norah came from a lower middle-class Bristolian family, several of whom were Fabian socialists.[9] Yet—unsurprisingly for someone so socially ambitious—two grander relatives inspired Gavin: his father's uncles, the geographer Sir Dudley Stamp (1898–1966) and Josiah Stamp, 1st Baron Stamp (1880–1941), who had been a director of the Bank of England and chairman of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway. Being the progeny of socialists and self-made gentry helped to form a future architectural historian who was to present himself as an effete member of the upper class and to admire grand heritage, yet insist on inclusivity, and to become a leading exemplar of a form of socially engaged intellectual endeavour within architectural history.

Following his untimely death from cancer in December 2017, Stamp's archive was gifted by his widow, Rosemary Hill, to the Paul Mellon Centre (PMC) for Studies in British Art. This acquisition has enabled me to revisit the texture and nuance of his life and, with the addition of anecdotal evidence, to tell Stamp's story more fully than has hitherto been possible.[10] The archive reveals the pluralistic thematic

territories that occupied him over a career traversing the historiographical *terrains vague*.

To adapt an architectural analogy, in what follows I will combine the long section of Stamp's life—a biographical account following a chronological narrative—with a cross section that seeks to show how all the various parts of his life's work—scholarship, journalism, campaigning, graphic design, television, exhibitions and teaching—were bound together by a single purpose. For Stamp pursued his causes across diverse platforms: scholarly monographs, lectures, magazine articles, broadcasts, tours, graphic art and exhibitions. As Timothy Brittain-Catlin has argued and as encapsulated by Stamp's corpus, a more enriched architectural culture, including the rediscovery and reinterpretation of subjects that may not appear on the academic radar, depends on a vast variety of platforms and voices.[11] After all, much of the make-up of architectural history in Britain had developed through journalism, and has, according to Adrian Forty, "always occupied an ambivalent relationship to universities and academia".[12] Architectural history has also been shaped by the activities of the voluntary groups in which Stamp was active, including the Georgian Group, the Ecclesiological Society, the Lutyens Trust, the Alexander Thomson Society and especially the Victorian Society and the Twentieth Century Society (formerly the Thirties Society), both of which were effectively professionalised during Stamp's active membership.[13]

This article positions Stamp in the historiography of the late twentieth- and early twenty-first century discipline as an activist-scholar, a lively tradition curiously missing from David Watkin's seminal disciplinary history of 1980, and as a figure who worked across a broad fusion of intellectual modes that have received little scholarly attention.[14] The focus is on early rather than late Stamp as this article holds that Stamp's posthumous reputation has been shaped primarily by his earlier work and outlook.[15] Furthermore, I situate Stamp in a series of *lateral centres*, the key informal fulcrums around which were formed Stamp's alliances and friendships, which helped to fuel the modern conservation movement in Britain. These included Benjamin Weinreb's bookshop in London's Great Russell Street and the lunches, those "quick-fire conservation exchange[s]" in London's Park

Square West, of SAVE Britain's Heritage (fig. 3).[16] Beyond his homes in Southwark and King's Cross, London, and Strathbungo, Glasgow, other nexuses for Stamp in London included the Bride of Denmark pub at the Architectural Press; the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA); the Art Workers' Guild; and St Mary's, Bourne Street. While these centres show architectural history thriving outside the academy, they also reinforce its exclusivity as a discipline developed informally by a tightly woven, largely male and relatively affluent elite (fig. 4).

SAVE SANDWICHES

the food of Georgie Love

Georgie Boy can meet Georgie Girl at a SAVE lunch, the quick-fire conservation information exchange. It is held on the first Friday in the month in Park Square West and is one of the great conservation institutions.

Figure 3

SAVE Britain's Heritage sandwiches article, in *The New Georgian Handbook* (London: Ebury Press, 1985). Digital image courtesy of Ebury Press (all rights reserved).

Figure 4

Seating plan, *Country Life* annual dinner attended by Gavin Stamp, 1992. Private collection. Digital image courtesy of Paul Doyle (all rights reserved).

By the time of Stamp's death, Anthony Geraghty recognised that he had "enjoyed a higher profile than any other architectural historian of his generation".[17] Geraghty added, "I remember knowing of him when I was at school . . . there's no way I would have heard of any other architectural historians [at that time]".[18] It is difficult to quantify Geraghty's claim but a hint is offered by Hélène Lipstadt who had recognised in 1982 that Stamp had unusual reach for an architectural historian and was "a man to watch. This is not hard to do for [he] appears everywhere, from the pages of the *T.L.S*. to the A.A.".[19] Following a pendulum shift in the 1970s, the increased dominance of the New Right in political and cultural thought helped Stamp find a large audience and some fame as a journalist at *Private Eye* (if pseudonymously), the *Spectator* and the *Daily Telegraph*. He went on to enjoy a public persona beyond his scholarly articles and books as a columnist (at different times) for the *Independent,* the Scottish *Herald*, the *Scotsman* and *Apollo*, as well as through television work for the BBC and Channel 5.

Stamp's oeuvre was that of a public intellectual, designed to help (re)create and sustain a public discourse around architecture. As Ian Jack put it, "it was Stamp, arguably more than any writer since Betjeman, who made sure that architecture remains high in the list of British public concerns".[20] Or as Ian Hislop, editor of *Private Eye*, remarked of Stamp's journalism, "The truth is that people would go with him. If Gavin was interested then the reader would be [too]".[21] Stamp therefore had much in common with Betjeman, as well as Nikolaus Pevsner, in his ability to engage with a lay public in the reassessment of English (and later Scottish) architecture.[22] If the hallmark of his work was his emphasis on raising public awareness, this relied, as we will see, on constant and inventive advocacy. Stamp and his network were interested in finding strategies to imaginatively bridge past and present—or even to offer "a direct bridge to a distant past", as he described early architectural photography (an enduring passion).[23]

Stamp was at times seemingly out there on his own, "the poor architectural critic, always Seeking After Truth".[24] This is reminiscent of the architectural historian and activist James Marston Fitch (1909–2000), who was scathing of the sycophantic mainstream architectural press, which had produced "a literature

hermetically sealed against reality—auto-intoxicated, self-congratulatory, elitist, and suffocatingly smug".[25] Stamp was there to offer accountability in the UK context. Whereas Joan Ockman raised her concern in 2017 that research is slowly replacing critique in architecture ("it eschews tendentiousness, preferring to 'defer judgment'"), Stamp's corpus was cumulatively a work of criticism and of judgement, where his binary position on what was right and wrong was often stubborn and unrelenting.[26] As an activist-scholar, his work was one big campaign —and to campaign one had to be for or against things.

Stamp had his own critics. For instance, in the wake of the Mansion House Square inquiry of the 1980s, the artist and polemicist Patrick Heron saw Stamp as representative of "a flood of architectural journalism that is quite unprecedented in the way it substitutes gossipy denigration for critical formal analysis".[27] The journalist Paul Finch, furthermore, found Stamp's diatribes "far too ad hominem".[28] Stamp's criticism often lacked nuance, and he was quick to denigrate his detractors. Stephen Games, publisher and journalist, was one of many who were irritated by his "messianic" style and "black–white" polemics.[29] Typical of this controversial style is Stamp's judgement of William Whitfield's swansong, Juxon House, Paternoster Square, London (2003): "my objection . . . is not that it is (sort of) Classical, not that it is Not Modern, but merely that it is bad".[30] Yet, as A. N. Wilson put it, "Gavin didn't compromise in any way. That was missed by Ian Hislop, who wanted to make him a balanced journalist at *Private Eye*. But the whole point about Gavin was there only was one point of view".[31] His work, reminiscent of A. W. N. Pugin's and John Ruskin's, was shaped by a moral-aesthetic position on what he passionately felt was right or wrong.[32]

What exactly constituted right or wrong could sometimes be hard to discern. Given the sheer breadth of his interests and political shifts, Stamp could appear inconsistent and enigmatic. A case in point comes from a letter to Stamp from Charles Jencks of 27 November 1987. Its jocularity suggests mutual affection and is a reminder that a sense of fun, as much as a moral seriousness, pervades Stamp's work.

Dear Sir Stamp

I realise you're a paid up Member of the Art Workers Class and the Georgian Socialistic Cooperative, but your recent Invitation to listen to the Modernist talk at the Entre-Deux-Guerres Society comes as a surprise.

Are you also a member & Chairman of the Forties, Fifties, Sixties, Seventies & Nineties Society?

Are you All Things to All People? Will the real Stamp sit down? I am now so confused as to your identity that on the nights of the 5th & 6th I would ask you to wear a Red Boutonnière for the Workers and a Blue one for the Georgians, so I can recognise you.

And you realise you have to be an Architectural Critic on December 12th and come to our meeting at the Royal Society, 6:00–8:30 to Drink and Debate the Role of the Critic (or your identity).

Yours C.[33]

Young Fogeyism

Stamp attended Greenhayes School for Boys in West Wickham (circa 1953–59) before going on to Dulwich College (1959–67), originally as a beneficiary of the "Dulwich Experiment", the initiative of the master and educationalist Christopher Gilkes that secured local authority funding for academically bright students.[34] Charles Barry junior's Dulwich College (1866–70), Stamp recalled in 2017, was "the beginnings of my architectural education".[35] It also formed the basis for his first piece of architectural history—and invective. In the face of a feeling of utopianism in the air in the 1960s, and demonstrating his early impatience with those who did not value the past, he implored the college to value and safeguard its historic built environment.[36] He later recalled being "deliberately bad" at games (as a reaction against his father's masculinity), which enabled him to spend Wednesday afternoons in the art room.[37] Yet, his interest in designing and making objects had been nurtured even earlier. Stamp remembered visiting his uncle Rosse Stamp, a scientist who had worked for the Admiralty, whose home was "full of clocks and other devices that he had designed and made himself, including curious machines which successfully delighted his young nephew".[38] He therefore went on

to understand architecture not only as a historian but also as a maker. One early result was his modelling, in cardboard, of a Victorian train with articulated carriages (fig. 5).

Figure 5

Gavin Stamp, model of a Victorian train, cardboard, late 1960s. Collection of Cecilia Stamp. Digital image courtesy of Ian Marshall Photography (all rights reserved).

In 1967, aged nineteen, Stamp made his first trip to the northern industrial cities of the United Kingdom. Witnessing changes that were hard to stomach, he saw modern architecture "as a form of terror destroying so much that I loved".[39] The following year he matriculated at Cambridge University, where he studied history for two years at Gonville and Caius College, but he was keen to focus on architecture and transferred to the fine arts faculty for the second part of the tripos (established by Michael Jaffé).[40] However, Stamp found that the belief in "a ludicrous Utopia" held by architectural students in the Department of Architecture at Scroope Terrace "turned me off completely". For instance, the long-serving head of department, Leslie Martin, had only recently published his ill-fated Whitehall scheme of 1965, which planned to replace the historic government district with a concrete megastructure.[41] Looking back, Roger Scruton, a fellow at Peterhouse (1969–71), captured a Stampian sensibility in his memoir, describing "the aesthetics of modernism . . . [as] an attempt to remake the world as though it contained nothing save atomic individuals, disinfected of the past, and living like ants within their metallic and functional shells".[42]

While Stamp subscribed to an anti-modernist view of the past, he took issue less with modernism per se than with the people whom the modernists extolled as heroes. As Jonathan Meades suggested, "it was not so much the buildings that he

objected to as the shrill manifestos, pious bombast and ludicrously pretentious claims which were attached to them".[43] Stamp found romantic refuge in rooms high up in Alfred Waterhouse's Tree Court building (1870) at Caius, which he captured in a fantastical drawing "resembling Gormenghast" (fig. 6).[44]

Stamp was one of the first generation of the coterie of talented male students mentored by David Watkin (1941–2018), fellow of Peterhouse, which along with Selwyn and Christ's was one of the centres of the Cambridge right.[45] The oldest of the Cambridge colleges, Peterhouse was, as Michael Gove put it, "charmed by an environment defiantly at odds with the temper of the times".[46] Like Watkin—captured by Stamp in a 1970 photograph—Stamp's own sense of timelessness and shifting political leanings were signalled sartorially (fig. 7).[47] He wore double-breasted pin-stripe suits, ties and Edwardian starched collars. As a limerick on his twenty-first birthday from a Cambridge contemporary began: "I once knew a man called Stamp / Whose style was incredibly camp".[48] Reminiscent of the interwar Oxford Hypocrites' Club of Evelyn Waugh, Robert Byron and his circle, Stamp liked to dress up to appear markedly against the post-Second World War consensus.[49] However, Stamp admitted that he had habitually worn jeans as a boarder at Dulwich College and had even attended a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament march.[50] But he moved to the right as an undergraduate and was now unlikely to espouse popular causes. The so-called Peterhouse Right—or "Peterhouse High Tory Tomfoolery", to use Alan Watkins's words—was an exclusionary fraternity of dons united by a hatred of liberals, that is seen by some commentators as having laid the intellectual foundations for the modern conservatism of Margaret Thatcher.[51]

Figure 6

Gavin Stamp, imaginative drawing of the Tree Court Building, or “The Tower”, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, circa 1971. Private collection. Digital image courtesy of Matthew Hollow (all rights reserved).

Figure 7

Gavin Stamp, David Watkin, photograph, 1970. Private collection. Digital image courtesy of Paul Doyle / The estate of Gavin Stamp (all rights reserved).

Watkin later published *Morality and Architecture*, a polemic critiquing the deeply rooted modernist and determinist orthodoxy of architectural history.[52] While these thoughts were codified in the book in 1977, the germs of his thesis had been aired at Cambridge in 1968.[53] Its targets ranged from the Gothic propagandising of Pugin to the modernist propagandising of Pevsner—in Stamp's words, Pevsner's "pathetic subjugation to a Hegelian notion of the moral supremacy of the *zeitgeist*".[54] Watkin was a hard-line classical revivalist whose career focused on expounding the careers of historic figures who espoused the eternal values of classicism. His 1977 exhibition *The Triumph of the Classical: Cambridge Architecture, 1804–1834* at the Fitzwilliam Museum, which can be seen as an extension of *Morality and Architecture*, included a model made by Stamp of the aborted east range of C. R. Cockerell's design for Cambridge University Library (circa 1836), now Gonville and Caius Library (fig. 8). In 1982 Stamp was described by Lipstadt as no less than the leader of the Watkinites.[55] After all, Watkin had been incredibly supportive of Stamp as a student, as their surviving letters reveal.[56]

Detractors of the Peterhouse Right, according to Susie Harries, saw it as "a caucus of reaction in Cambridge, a collection of self-appointed right-wing *penseurs* with aspirational lifestyles and déclassé origins".[57] Watkin entertained in a grand set in St Peter's Terrace and had a flat in Albany, Piccadilly, but his background, as the son of a salesman for a builder's merchant, was modest.[58] Not unlike Stamp, Watkin was a model of post-war social mobility, having gained a place at Farnham Grammar School, benefited from the county scholarships offered under the Butler Education Act and won a scholarship to Cambridge. Yet the world he created, as he saw it himself, was "essentially an aristocratic, or would-be, aristocratic one: High Tory, High Catholic, and High Camp".[59] He was formatively influenced by Monsignor Gilbey (1901–98), the atavistic Catholic chaplain of the university from 1932 to 1965 (fig. 9). A deeply reactionary man, "spiritually and psychologically, [Gilbey] remained undetachable from the late Victorian world".[60] When in the 1960s and 1970s most of the intelligentsia were left-wing, those who were right-wing stood out. Stamp was therefore a conspicuous part of a fraternity of

architectural neoconservatives, or what Reyner Banham described as "the lunatic core . . . the New Architectural Tories" or "the National Trust Navy, those roving bands of mansion-fanciers and peerage-buffs".[61] This was a reactionary youth movement, a generational recoil later self-parodied as "young fogeyism".[62]

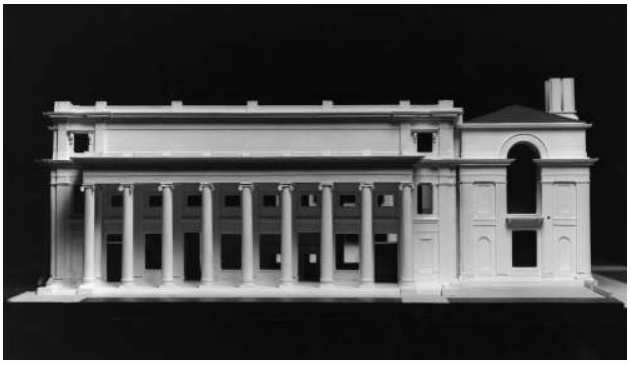


Figure 8

Gavin Stamp, model of Cockerell's former Cambridge University Library, 1977. Digital image courtesy of Architectural Press Archive / RIBA Collections (all rights reserved).

Figure 9

David Watkin and Monsignor Alfred Newman Gilbey, circa 1995–96. Private collection. Digital image courtesy of Paul Doyle (all rights reserved).

Peterhouse was also a world of effete aestheticism. It played host to the secretive male-only Adonian Society, and Watkin himself presided over the later Cocoa Tree Club, described in a letter to Stamp from October 1984 as "a new dining society dedicated to tradition, Conservation [*sic*] and intellectual conversation in a most agreeable atmosphere. The club is, needless to say, named after the meeting place of the Hanoverian Tories, under Sir Thomas W[yndham], during Walpole's tenure of power", namely the Cocoa Tree coffee house, Pall Mall.[63] Furthermore, this coterie was a breeding ground for right-wing journalism. In the *Cambridge Review*, edited by one of Stamp's tutors, John Casey, "the wing-collared English don" and founder of the Conservative Philosophy Group, Stamp published an early architectural polemic on James Stirling's history faculty library, Cambridge (opened in 1968), which he found wanting aesthetically, environmentally and functionally.[64] This helped him establish his reputation and find his way as a journalist.

Stamp's student work demonstrates his interest in examining alternatives to the standard norms of twentieth-century praise. His undergraduate thesis, "High Victorian Rogue Gothic Architecture" (1971), displayed his proselytisation of obscure, forgotten, often wilful architects, who had been characterised by H. S. Goodhart-Rendel in 1949 as "rogues" (figs. 10 and 11).[65] They challenged the hegemony of High Church taste and many faced a hostile reception in the twentieth century. Stamp's doctoral thesis examined the transition of High Victorian muscular Gothic to refined Gothic.[66] His protagonist was the "brilliant and peculiar, and very little known" George Gilbert Scott junior (1839–97), who offered "the best of all possible worlds: drunkenness, adultery and insanity".[67] In his domestic architecture he belonged to the Queen Anne avant-garde, while a late Gothic manner informed his churches, such as St Agnes, Kennington Park (1874), in opposition to the orthodoxy of the English Middle Pointed (fig. 12).[68] Scott junior played a key role in the reaction against the pursuit of the ideal of "development" championed by Charles Eastlake in *The Gothic Revival* (1872), which informed subsequent interpretations of the subject, "an expression of the 'Biological Fallacy'", as Stamp put it.[69] He was referring to a term employed by

Geoffrey Scott in *The Architecture of Humanism* in 1914. Watkin's foreword to the 1980 edition of the book summarises Scott's position on nineteenth-century architectural theory as "the attempt to decide architectural right and wrong purely on intellectual grounds [which remains] precisely one of the roots of our mischief" in the present discipline.[70] Stamp himself had offered further historiographical context for his doctoral work in 1975:

> *The effect of the arrival of Pevsner on the scene was to regard Victorian architecture, selectively, as a progression towards Modern Architecture . . . Out of the fog are pulled the bright progressive lights: Pugin, Morris, Webb, Mackintosh. Summerson resurrected Butterfield brilliantly, because he seemed to be dada—anti-art, aggressive, original, but Reginald Blomfield's book on Norman Shaw was belittled as Blomfield saw Shaw's style leading, not towards modernism, but to the revival of the Great Classical Style.*[71]

Figure 10

Gavin Stamp, hand-drawn frontispiece to “High Victorian Rogue Gothic Architecture” (1971), unpublished undergraduate thesis, University of Cambridge. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/9 (all rights reserved).

Figure 11

Gavin Stamp, Polaroid photographs from his undergraduate thesis of Shadwell Park, Norfolk, circa 1856–60, designed by Samuel Sanders Teulon. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/9 (all rights reserved).

Figure 12

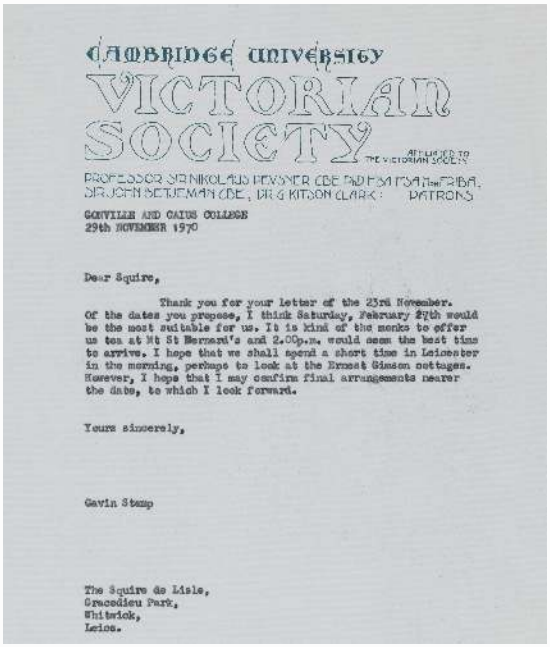
The nave looking towards the chancel screen at St Agnes, Kennington, London, 1889. Digital image courtesy of RIBA Collections, RIBA58067 (all rights reserved).

In the 1960s and 1970s late Victorian architecture was still off beam, an almost lost generation awaiting retrieval. As Michael Hall put it, "one aspect of the nineteenth-century architectural legacy that had a particularly poor reputation as a result [of a Whiggish emphasis on 'progress'] was the Gothic Revival after about 1870".[72] Robert Furneaux Jordan's *Victorian Architecture* (1966) was a case in point; Stamp described it as "a blinkered Hegelian view of the 19th C. [*sic*]" and its author as "an erratic communist [by which he meant from the liberal left] of the Festival of Britain vintage".[73] Reflecting contemporary architectural factionalism, Stamp often used "Marxist" and "communist" as terms of abuse, while the term "fascist" was used to describe figures of the New Right.[74]

Stamp was an early beneficiary of the post-war, primarily German-Jewish and Colvinian, raising of standards for history and architectural history.[75] Like Stamp, the architectural historian Howard Colvin was an empiricist rarely prone to speculation, who prioritised history over theory, stressed the importance of archival research and championed architectural biography. Stamp's methodology was

established at Cambridge and developed throughout his career, which centred mainly on named architects, in line with the prevailing Colvinian emphasis.[76] Although Stamp rarely offered methodological scaffolding for his work, it was primarily retrievalist and can be seen as akin to fandom, a method "of passionately (lovingly, angrily, slavishly) reworking canonised icons".[77] In offering a rationale for the subjects of his retrieval, Stamp often subscribed to a genius narrative—for instance, the thesis of the unknown genius pervades his work on the architect Alexander Thomson—that has become increasingly outmoded and, as argued by Christine Battersby, is also misogynistic.[78]

It was at Cambridge that the roots of Stamp's career as an activist and grassroots organiser were laid, with his foundation in 1968 of the Cambridge University Victorian Society (CUVS), affiliated to the national society.[79] He displayed an early enterprising spirit and a talent for bringing people together.[80] The CUVS organised trips and talks and played an active role in campaigns, for instance supporting Holy Trinity Church, Reading, in its appeal to rescue the Pugin rood screen from St Chad's, Birmingham, in 1969 (figs. 13, 14 and 15).[81] Here too Stamp displayed initiative in experimenting with tools to popularise the hitherto unseen and forgotten, such as the walking tour (fig. 16).[82] As though modelling an anti-ugly aesthetic himself, Stamp also designed the shopfront and lettering for the Victorian-era Waffles cafe at 62–64 Fitzroy Street, Cambridge, for Pat and Virginia La Charite in 1973, along with menus and letterheads (fig. 17).[83] He also took part in jobbing work as a self-taught draughtsman and continued with his patchwork freelance career throughout the 1970s and 1980s, including designing bookplates both for himself and for those in his network, including Watkin, Colin Amery, Peter Freeman and his fellow Caius student John Gwinnell (fig. 18).[84]



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY
VICTORIAN SOCIETY
AFFILIATED TO THE VICTORIAN SOCIETY

PROFESSOR SIR NIKOLAUS PEVSNER CBE PHD FBA FSA HON FRIBA,
SIR JOHN BETJEMAN CBE, DR G KITSON CLARK: PATRONS

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE
29th NOVEMBER 1970

Dear Squire,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd November. Of the dates you propose, I think Saturday, February 27th would be the most suitable for us. It is kind of the monks to offer us tea at Mt St Bernard's and 2.00p.m. would seem the best time to arrive. I hope that we shall spend a short time in Leicester in the morning, perhaps to look at the Ernest Gimson cottages. However, I hope that I may confirm final arrangements nearer the date, to which I look forward.

Yours sincerely,

Gavin Stamp

The Squire de Lisle,
Gracedieu Park,
Whitwick,
Leics.

Figure 13

Letter from Gavin Stamp to the Squire de Lisle regarding a Cambridge University Victorian Society visit to Grace Dieu Manor, Leicestershire, 29 November 1970. Digital image courtesy of Cambridge University Library (all rights reserved).

Figure 14

Gavin Stamp and members of the Cambridge University Victorian Society outside Bunyan Meeting (designed and built in 1849–50 by Wing & Jackson), Bedford, 1969. Digital image courtesy of Cambridge University Library (all rights reserved).

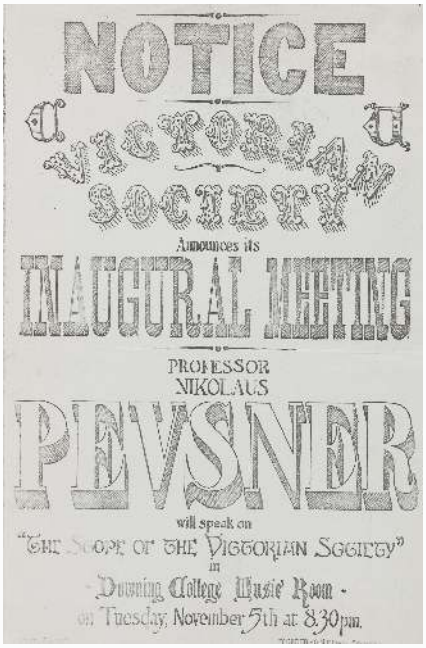


Figure 15

Gavin Stamp, poster advertising “The Scope of the Victorian Society”, a talk given by Nikolaus Pevsner to the Cambridge University Victorian Society, November 1968. Digital image courtesy of Cambridge University Library (all rights reserved).

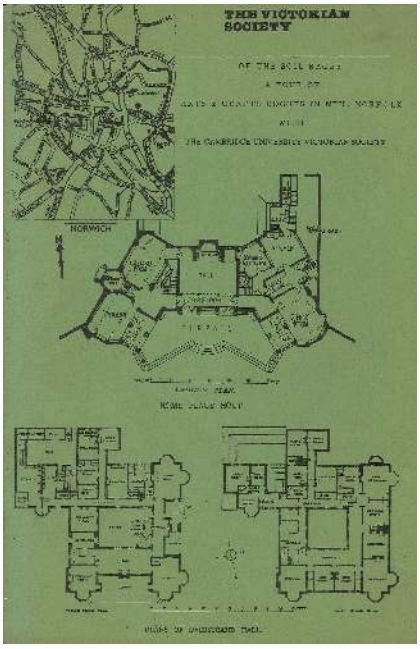


Figure 16

“The Victorian Society: Of the Soil Racey: A Tour of Arts & Crafts Rogues in Nth. Norfolk with the Cambridge University Victorian Society”, front cover of the walking tour notes for the tour led by Roderick Gradidge and Gavin Stamp, 1969. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/4 (all rights reserved).

Figure 17

Jón Fairbain, Waffles cafe shopfront at 62–64 Fitzroy Street, Cambridge, designed by Gavin Stamp, photograph, 1973. Private collection. Digital image courtesy of the estate of Gavin Stamp (all rights reserved).

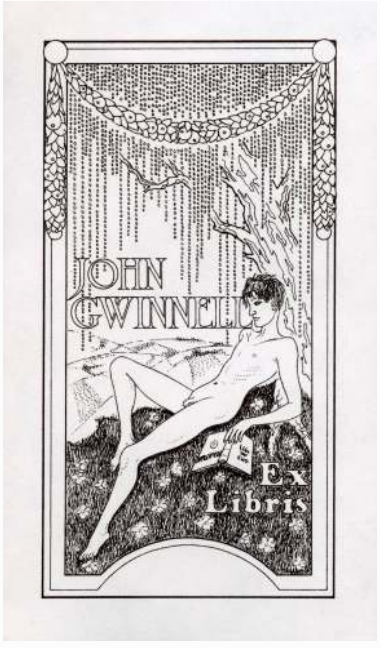


Figure 18

Bookplate for John Gwinnell (a friend of Stamp's at Gonville and Caius), 1973, designed by Gavin Stamp. Digital image courtesy of Janette Ray (all rights reserved).

After many decades away from Cambridge, Stamp returned to Caius as a bye-fellow from 2002 to 2004. The Revd Francis Bown, an old friend, congratulated him: "I see you now as the Hugh Plommer *de nos jours*: wise, articulate and fearless, that Defender of Truth and Tradition against the mindless liberalism and false egalitarianisms of the Age (and of the universities)".[85] William Hugh Plommer (1922–83), a former lecturer in classical architecture who had lectured to Stamp's cohort in the 1960s, and later taught with him, had been a vocal critic of modern architecture in Cambridge. Stamp never became fossilised in the fogey mode, however, but outgrew and even renounced it. Looking back in 2017, he described himself in his student years, as though haunted by them, as "gauche, posturing, silly, naïve, pretentious".[86]

Curating and Campaigning

Stamp moved back to London in the early 1970s at a creative time for conservation activism. The Civic Amenities Act of 1967 had created conservation areas and strengthened the power of amenity groups, while the Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 introduced the legal necessity for owners of listed buildings to apply for consent if they planned to alter or demolish them. Stamp's move closely preceded the European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975, the year of the watershed *Destruction of the English Country House, 1875–1975* exhibition at the V&A, and the foundation of SAVE Britain's Heritage, which anticipated the foundation of the Spitalfields Trust in 1977 and the Thirties Society in 1979. Almost as a counter-cultural gesture, Stamp took up residence at the top of the former clergy house of St Alphege, Pocock Street, Southwark (fig. 19). He decorated it with wallpaper from Watts & Co. where he worked as a freelance consultant with his friend (and former supervisor) the architectural historian and Anglican (later Jesuit) priest Anthony Symondson (1940–2024), helping to keep the spirit of Victorian ecclesiastical and domestic needlework and embroidery alive.[87] They chronicled the company history and redesigned several catalogues, adding new designs rediscovered in 1975 such as Pugin's Rose and Coronet wallpaper (circa 1848).[88] Persuading clergy to choose something traditional for frontals, copes, stoles and so on in suitable decorative fabrics aligned with Stamp's

anti-ugly remit as articulated a decade later in *The Church in Crisis*.[89] He occasionally designed objects himself for Watts & Co., too (fig. 20).

Pocock Street was the appropriate base for Stamp to launch his campaigns on behalf of old buildings, including one of the hardest fought by Betjeman, in 1973–74, concerning the threat of demolition of the church of Holy Trinity, Sloane Street (J. D. Sedding, 1890).[90] The owner (and churchwarden), Lord Cadogan, and the rector, the Revd A. B. Carver, claimed that the building was too expensive to maintain and sought to develop the site with a new church and flats. In August 1973, Betjeman had asked for Stamp's assistance not as a writer but as an artist. This was prompted by a recent commercial enterprise by Stamp, a series of prints of "architectural phantasies" forming *The Architect's Calendar* (1973), bound with wallpaper by the architect George Frederick Bodley, courtesy of Watts & Co.

Betjeman was "enchanted" with Stamp's resulting drawings, which "give far more the quality of the church than could a photograph" (fig. 21).[91] They were initially offered to the rector to be sold to aid restoration efforts but were refused, and thus a pamphlet of four drawings, along with Betjeman's appeal, was offered for sale to the public.[92] The resulting publicity was considerable and the building was saved. The campaign revealed the vulnerability of historic churches under existing legislation, namely their exclusion from listed building controls.

Figure 19

Alan Powers, The interior of Gavin Stamp's flat, Pocock Street, London, ink and wash, circa 1981. Collection of Cecilia Stamp. Digital image courtesy of Ian Marshall Photography (all rights reserved).

Figure 20

Gavin Stamp, drawing of proposed white altar frontal for St Margaret's Church, Westminster, for Watts & Co., 1973. Digital image courtesy of Kenneth Powell (all rights reserved).

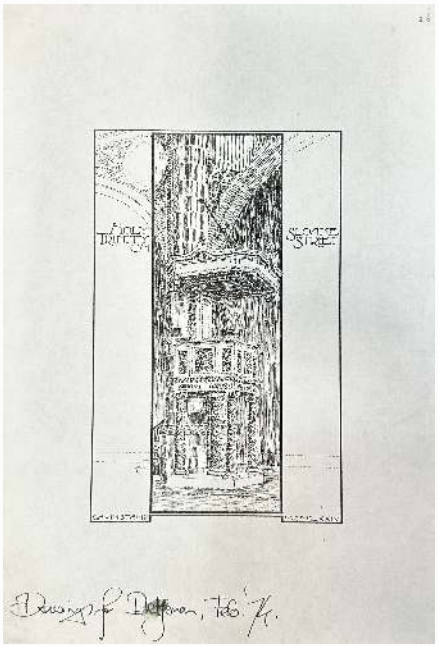


Figure 21

Gavin Stamp, photocopy of a drawing of Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, 1974, draft in preparation for *A Plea for Holy Trinity Church Sloane Street*. Collection of the British Library, Add MS 89741/7. Digital image courtesy of the British Library of Board (all rights reserved).

Stamp had met Betjeman in the Bride of Denmark pub at the Architectural Press in Queen Anne's Gate. The Bride had been conceived in 1946 by the chairman of the press, Hubert de Cronin Hastings, and became a hub for architectural journalism—while it lasted. When it became known in 1990 that Robert Maxwell was to buy the press and relocate it to Clerkenwell, the cartoonist Louis Hellman wrote to Stamp: "It seems Capt. Bob [Maxwell] is busy destroying the most important architectural publishing company in the world . . . Bride of Denmark raped . . . Shock horror".[93] In the Bride's last days, Stamp lamented:

> *I have spent far too many happy hours by the bar, drinking far too much of the Architectural Press's whisky and discussing the latest architectural gossip and ideas for articles . . . [it is] the soul of the publishing house that has been at the very centre of English architectural life for almost a century.*[94]

The appropriately neo-Victorian setting of the Bride was Stamp's social base in the 1970s and 1980s.

One of Stamp's principal (and enduring) preoccupations of those decades was the Great War. He mounted the *Silent Cities* exhibition in 1977 at the RIBA's Heinz Gallery (fig. 22), which had been established in 1972 with funds from Drue and Henry Heinz, focusing on the work of the principal architects of the Imperial War Graves Commission, including Sir Edwin Lutyens.[95] Countering Pevsnerian functionalism, Stamp quoted Lutyens in his catalogue: "Architecture with its love and passion, begins where function ends".[96] On receiving the catalogue, Betjeman described the exhibition (in terms that seem hackneyed today) as "a herald of the new dawn after Bau Hause [*sic*] blackness for what seems centuries".[97] Betjeman praised the catalogue (designed and lettered by Stamp) as resembling the work of Mervyn McCartney, a pupil of the architect Richard Norman Shaw and a founder of the Art Workers' Guild, who edited the *Architectural Review* between 1905 and 1920.[98] Incidentally, Stamp had also co-organised the Norman Shaw exhibition (with Andrew Saint) at the Heinz Gallery the previous year (fig. 23).

Stamp invited Oswald Mosley (1896–1980) to speak at the opening of *Silent Cities* on Armistice Day 1977.[99] Mosley, then living in Orsay, had fought on the Western Front, returned as a war hero and become a Tory member of parliament, aged twenty-two, before shifting politically to the right and founding the British Union of Fascists (fig. 24). To Stamp, he was a rare living representative who remembered what the First World War had been like. He had also known Lutyens.[100] Mosley accepted the invitation.[101] As Stamp explained to him: "my views do not impress the cowardly bureaucrats and leftist fellow-travellers at 66 Portland Place [RIBA headquarters]—mediocre architects who still worship two of the real evil influences of this century, Corbusier and Gropius".[102]

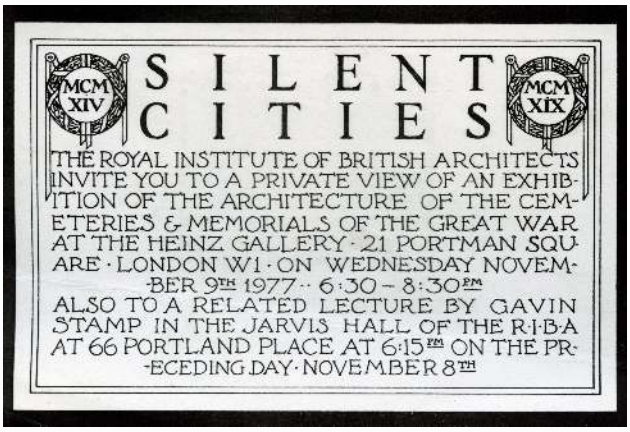


Figure 22

Gavin Stamp, invitation card for the private view of the *Silent Cities* exhibition, Heinz Gallery, London, 9 November 1977, and advertising a lecture by Stamp at 66 Portland Place the previous day, ink drawing. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/1/5 (all rights reserved).

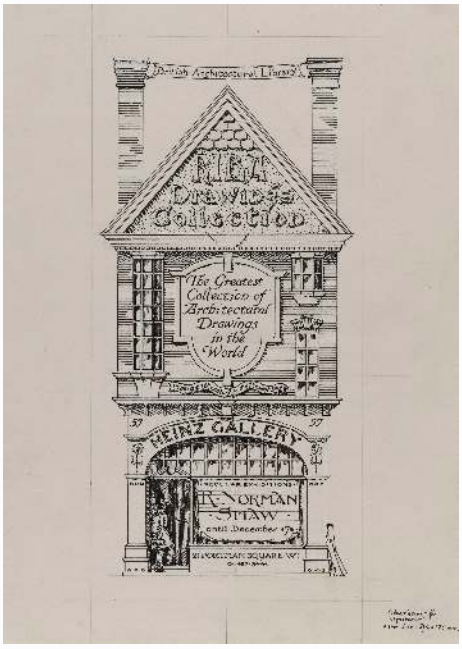


Figure 23

Gavin Stamp, *Spectator* advertisement, announcing the Richard Norman Shaw exhibition at the Heinz Gallery and, by extension, the RIBA Drawings Collection at 21 Portman Square, London, 1976. Digital image courtesy of RIBA Collections, PB249/2 (all rights reserved).

Figure 24

Envelope addressed to Gavin Stamp at St Alphege House, Southwark, from Oswald Mosley, 1977 (note Orsay French postmark). Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/1/5 (all rights reserved).

The incumbent RIBA president, Gordon Graham, and the RIBA librarian, David Dean, shut the idea down. As Dean put it to Stamp on 21 October 1977, "It was simply a striking idea which, in this sublunary world, wouldn't work".[103] Stamp, who was forced to disinvite Mosley, sent a letter of apology to him as follows:

> *For you to speak . . . at an exhibition about the memorials to the dead . . . not about politics but about that war and what it meant to you would be of harmless and [of] very great interest, but as you will understand, the RIBA are terrified that any association between you and the Institute will outrage the left-wing power-seeking architects on their Council. I know well that if (fortunately impossible) I were to invite Stalin or Andreas Baader . . . to speak . . . there would be scarcely a murmur from them. Such is the nature of the so-called liberal establishment which, with double standards, dominates this country.*[104]

Astragal at the *Architects' Journal* and Scorpio at *Building News* criticised the idea publicly.[105] Stamp defended himself to the editor of the last in a letter facetiously signed "Reichstag".[106] As a historian who frequently used oral historical methods, he was trying to anatomise a historical moment to retrieve its truths. However, he compromised his intention as his polemicist instincts meant that he could not resist

being provocative in making a point about leftist intolerance by choosing Mosley to speak.[107]

Another Heinz Gallery exhibition, *London 1900* (1978), had been a further early manifestation of the young Stamp's anti-Pevsnerian mode. To Betjeman it was "a glorious tonic", while to Watkin it was "a doctrinal exhibition . . . [that has] an eagerness to proselytise".[108] A special issue of *Architectural Design* that Stamp guest edited in 1979 on "Britain in the Thirties" was furthermore "a deliberate antidote" that set a historiographical tone for studying the period pluralistically (and acerbically), if with only limited attention to modernism.[109] Stamp enjoyed a rich and regular correspondence with John Summerson from the late 1970s up to the latter's death in 1992. He brought Summerson along with him as he himself was coming to terms with the architecture of the recent past, which the latter desired to take "seriously, i.e. non-nostalgically" (fig. 25).[110] Summerson expressed empathy with Stamp's "anxiety to see the thirties whole":[111] "I cannot but agree with your last sentence [of "Britain in the Thirties"], 'confused, tortured . . . rather unattractive! Yes, indeed!'"[112]

Figure 25

Photograph of Gavin Stamp in front of the Hoover Factory, west London, designed in 1932–35 by Wallis, Gilbert and Partners, in the *Observer*, 11 May 1980. Digital image courtesy of Jane Bown, Camera Press London / Guardian News & Media Ltd 2024 (all rights reserved).

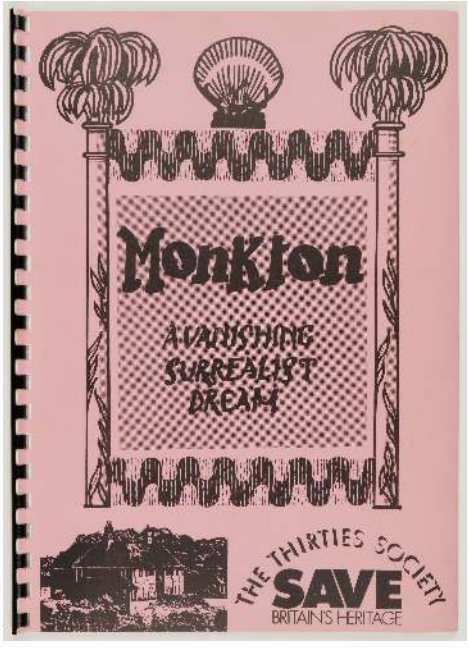


Figure 26

Front cover of the report by the Thirties Society and SAVE Britain's Heritage, *Monkton: A Vanishing Surrealist Dream*, 1986. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/3 (all rights reserved).

In 1979 Stamp had been one of the founders of the Thirties Society (renamed the Twentieth Century Society in 1992). While he had been very active, he did not occupy a particular position until he succeeded Bevis Hillier as chairman in 1983 and continued in the role until 2007. Stamp contributed to the society's new journal from its inauguration in 1981 which Summerson, savouring the early volumes, referred to it as Stamp's "annual horror comic!"[113] One of the many campaigns in which Stamp assisted was Monkton House, Sussex (1902), a Lutyens house transformed into a Surrealist fantasy in the 1930s by the bisexual socialite and Surrealist enthusiast Edward James (fig. 26). When the trustees of the Edward James Foundation sought to sell and disperse most of the house's contents in 1985–86, Stamp supported their retention, finding the house "both perversely unique and yet curiously representative of its time".[114] In 1987 Stamp was a key figure in helping secure statutory protection for Bracken House, London (Albert Richardson, 1959)—incidentally the *bête noire* of the Anti-Ugly Action Group, a modernist architectural protest group founded in 1958 by students of the Royal College of Art—which became the first post-war building to be listed by the Department of the Environment. Stamp was also key in protesting the modernisation of London Regional Transport in the 1980s, which the Thirties Society feared would despoil the continuity of high design standards inaugurated by Frank Pick in the 1930s. Stamp is best known for shaping the heritage listing of the K2, the red telephone kiosk designed by Giles Gilbert Scott in 1929, whose wholesale replacement by British Telecom was imminent. An indominable campaign was mounted by the Thirties Society.[115]

Stamp was heavily involved not only with the Thirties/Twentieth Century Society, but also the Victorian Society, the Georgian Group and other amenity groups.[116] Their statuses owe much to Stamp's involvement, especially in organising talks—notably a series on "Unfashionable Architects" for the Victorian Society (2000)—and walking tours, from "Wendingen: de Amsterdamse School en Dudok" (1973) in Holland for the Victorian Society with Roderick Gradidge to "Dudley and Wolverhampton" for the Thirties Society (1988).[117] Stamp often used his critical

platforms to champion causes informally on behalf of the amenity societies, even when he had less direct involvement with casework.

In the late 1970s Stamp also began championing his causes through peripatetic teaching. From 1976 he lectured part time on the history of art tripos at Cambridge, originally on Victorian architecture but extending to "Post-War Architecture" by 1985.[118] He also taught on several American programmes in London (Hollins College, 1974–90; Tufts University, circa 1982–88; University of Delaware, 1989; and New York University, 2005–12) and was particularly influential in shaping the Victorian Society in America London Summer School, which he led in 1976–82 and 1985–94.[119] Between about 1980 and 1990 he was a part-time lecturer at the Architectural Association (AA) during Alvin Boyarsky's chairmanship, at such a time as he self-consciously saw himself as "a reactionary historian . . . [who was there] to keep a balance", especially, he probably meant, by critically questioning "the heroic role of the Left in both politics and architecture".[120] While his wide-ranging teaching included a neoclassical and Georgian lecture series, he was part of a pedagogical culture under Boyarsky that was, in Patrick Zamarian's words, "decidedly eclectic".[121] As Alan Powers recalls, "Boyarsky liked to provoke the AA modernist establishment both from an avant-garde and a neo-traditional standpoint".[122] Furthermore, Robin Middleton (b. 1931), as general studies co-ordinator at the AA—who had also been an important intellectual (and sartorial) counterpart to Watkin at the art history department at Cambridge—was a strong supporter of Stamp whose own pluralism is reflected in his exhibitions at the school on Ernö Goldfinger (1983, with James Dunnett), Raymond Myerscough-Walker (1984) and Robert Atkinson (1989).

Invective

It did not take Stamp long to establish himself as the wittiest architectural historian of his generation—and he was trenchant with it, becoming a salient figure in "the new phase of the Puginian polemical tradition".[123] A case in point is his adoption of the Puginian trope of "contrasts" (fig. 27). His principal medium of invective, and his primary means of income for much of his life was journalism. In this

capacity he was the apostolic successor to Betjeman but in his invective mode he could also be likened to other precursors. He had rapt admiration for the urban writer Ian Nairn (1930–83). Another apostle of Nairn, Jonathan Meades, exchanged his thoughts on him with Stamp in 2001:

> *His eye was sure and curious. He was passionate, discriminate, fond, angry. His descriptive prose was supple, graphic, poetically inventive: its aptness—the right word in the right place—is endlessly impressive.*[124]

Above all, Stamp saw himself as a disciple of the writer and critic Robert Byron (1905–41), modelling his architectural criticism on that of the *Architectural Review* "in its greatest days" in the interwar period, in spite of its being "a grimly propagandist organ for the 'New Architecture'".[125] He admired its aim for a public critical discourse. During his short life, Byron had a freelance journalistic career. He was one of the biggest champions of Lutyens's achievement in New Delhi. He sold articles to *Country Life*, itself a conservationist vehicle under Christopher Hussey, gave impassioned broadcasts and wrote polemics for the *Architectural Review* (fig. 28).[126] In an interview with Stamp, Osbert Lancaster remembered Byron at the *Review* in the 1930s: "he was . . . not a dearly loved character, [but] few could afford to ignore him".[127] And he was famously contrarian. As his friend Nancy Mitford once put it, "Isn't Robert simply killing? . . . he seems to hate everything, which ordinary people like!"[128]

Figure 27

Gavin Stamp, “Contrasted Security Systems”, referencing 10 Downing Street, annual Christmas card, 1990. Digital image courtesy of Janette Ray (all rights reserved).

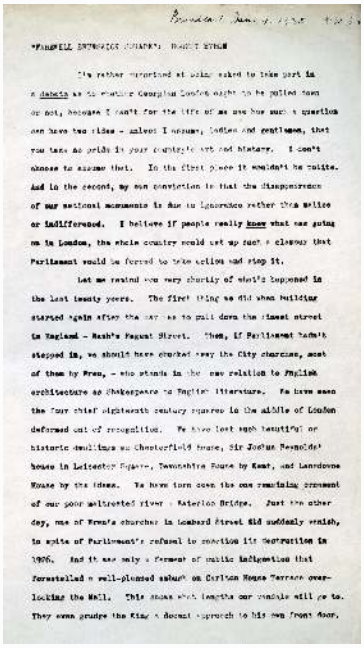


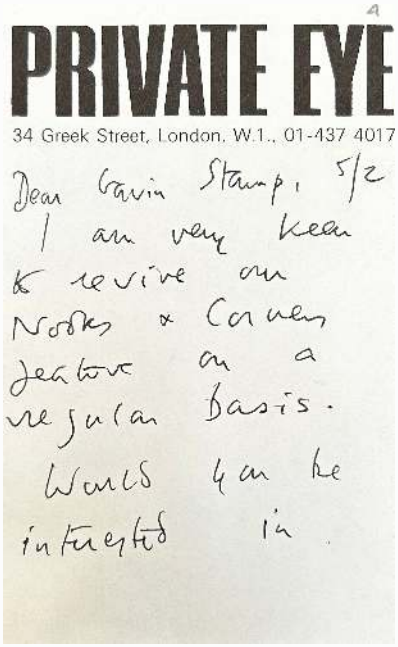
Figure 28

Robert Byron, typescript of “Farewell Brunswick Square”, a BBC London Regional Programme radio broadcast by Robert Byron, 4 January 1938. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/1/5 (all rights reserved).

Stamp acknowledged that his general model for invective was Byron’s *How We Celebrate the Coronation*.[129] It was a wrathful, voluble attack on the institutions

that he deemed to be exerting their negative agency over London's conservation. The polemic followed a huge spate of demolitions of Georgian buildings, culminating in the Adam brothers' Adelphi Terrace in 1936. The Georgian Group was founded in response in 1937. Stamp was interested in the group's origins, especially the personalities of its founders, the author and diplomat Lord Derwent, the writer Douglas Goldring, as well as Byron, its first deputy chairman.[130] The writer and architectural historian James Lees-Milne was a member of the group from the beginning and enjoyed a lively correspondence with Stamp, whose campaigning he encouraged by advising that "vitriol is the best weapon to use. Robert B. discovered that and used it to wonderful advantage".[131] In the Georgian Group's infancy, Lees-Milne knew Wilhelmine Harrod (née Cresswell), known as Billa, when she was the organisation's assistant secretary in the 1930s. She was one of the founders of the Friends of Norwich Churches in 1970 and the founding chair of the Norfolk Churches Trust in 1976, which Mark Girouard saw as "a model for similar organisations all over the country".[132] Stamp was admiring of her achievements and Lees-Milne put him in touch with her in 1982, recalling how "she was . . . my informant re. your intimate friendship with M. Piloti" in *Private Eye*.[133]

A clear allusion to Banham's *The New Brutalism*, "Nooks and Corners of the New Barbarism" in *Private Eye* was begun by John Betjeman in May 1971.[134] As the magazine's then editor Richard Ingrams recalled, the column's object "was to highlight various examples of architectural vandalism of which there was never a shortage".[135] Betjeman's daughter, Candida Lycett Green, took it over for several years. After a short caesura, Ingrams was keen to revive the column and Betjeman recommended Stamp, who took over in 1978 using the pseudonym "Piloti" (figs. 29a and 29b).[136] In that same year, appropriately, Wayne Attoe published his influential *Architecture and Critical Imagination*, urging critics "to be more political and less politic"—a call, incidentally, met by Stamp over his four decades at *Private Eye*.[137]



PRIVATE EYE

34 Greek Street, London, W.1., 01-437 4017

Dear Gavin Stamp, 5/2

I am very keen to revive our Nooks & Corners feature on a regular basis.

Would you be interested in

Figure 29a

Richard Ingrams, handwritten invitation to Gavin Stamp to take over the “Nooks and Corners” column at *Private Eye*, August 1978. Collection British Library, London, Add MS 89741/6, Papers of Gavin Stamp relating to Sir John Betjeman. Digital image courtesy of British Library Board (all rights reserved).

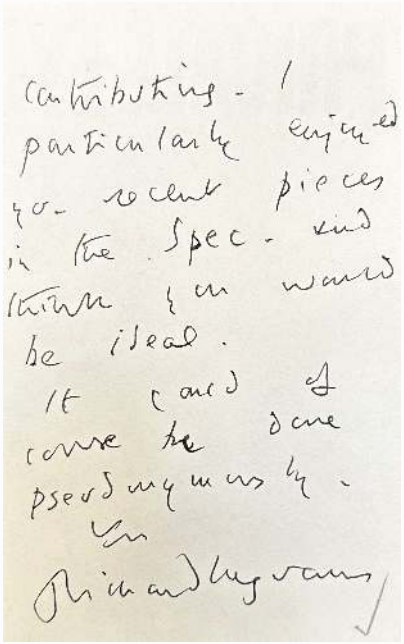


Figure 29b

Richard Ingrams, handwritten invitation to Gavin Stamp to take over the "Nooks and Corners" column at *Private Eye*, August 1978. Collection British Library, London, Add MS 89741/6, Papers of Gavin Stamp relating to Sir John Betjeman. Digital image courtesy of British Library Board (all rights reserved).

"Nooks and Corners" was a vital place for debating the architectural style wars that were prevalent in the 1970s and the 1980s and an anti-canonical vehicle in which heroes became villains. Stamp sought to give plurality (and accountability) to a discourse where a set of names were thought to be sacrosanct. Above all, he called out sycophancy, especially by exposing what he perceived as the vanity and egotism of the Big Three knighted architects Richard Rogers, James Stirling and Norman Foster. Many architectural monikers were born of Stamp's wit: Rogers, in anticipation of the Millennium Dome, was dubbed "Labour's Speer", while followers of Owen Luder were dubbed "craven Luddites".[138] As so many people were the targets of Stamp's vitriol, Anthony Rushton, one of the directors of *Private Eye*, warned him not to express his views too trenchantly at the risk of becoming an architectural history equivalent of the acidic art critic Brian Sewell, adding: "Too much passion is a dangerous thing (how v. English)".[139]

While "Nooks and Corners" has been seen as the mouthpiece of the new architectural Tories, John Martin Robinson described "the purlieus of the *Spectator*"—in which Stamp, having been invited to join by Alexander Chancellor in 1978, was a regular columnist—as the heart of young fogeyism.[140] Stamp could be said to have taken a largely High Tory perspective on politics, remaining an Attlee Welfare State supporter throughout his life, a position not antithetical to conservatism in the 1960s and 1970s. If not a natural conservative, he was far from ever being a socialist or an arch-liberal. Furthermore, as the right began to win out in architecture and society, Stamp moved from the centre right (even extreme right, according to A. N. Wilson) to what might best be described as the centre left, distancing himself increasingly from Conservatism during the course of Margaret Thatcher's administration.[141] The *Spectator* afforded him the opportunity to voice his project to Thatcher herself, however, in April 1985, as the following exchange records:

> *Dear Prime Minister*
>
> *It was a very great pleasure and a privilege to meet you last week when you so kindly entertained the Spectator . . . I am afraid I rather went on about Architecture, but it is my subject and I should be sorry to see your Government identified with vandalism just as Lord Stockton [Harold Macmillan] is remembered for the quite unnecessary demolition of the Euston Arch.*[142]

Stamp had met Thatcher in the context of the ongoing Mansion House Square inquiry, a watershed moment for the conservation movement.[143] Stamp himself was the subject of visual satire in this capacity in May 1985. Lord Palumbo had failed to gain permission to build a huge tower designed by Mies van der Rohe beside London's Mansion House. Prince Charles condemned the tower as a "giant glass stump", a stump that ought, suggested the artist Louis Hellman in his illustration for the *Architects' Journal*, to be stumped, as on a cricket ground.[144] In the sketch are Marcus Binney, Palumbo and Stamp representing the Thirties Society and Patrick Jenkin, secretary of state for the environment; the late van der Rohe watches proceedings from above. In a further Hellman sketch from about

1988, the stylistic militancy of the moment was dramatically captured via the vitriol Stamp directed towards the classical architect Quinlan Terry (fig. 30). Stamp criticised his "Toytown Palladianism" unendingly, including his Howard Building at Downing College, Cambridge (fig. 31).[145] To Stamp, classicism was about innovating the tradition, which he found in Lutyens, Raymond Erith, Francis Johnson, Albert Richardson—and even Donald McMorran and George Whitby, scions of Lutyens, "unsung heroes of an intelligent modern Classicism" whose achievements Stamp helped foreground.[146] He reserved huge admiration too for the "inspired strangeness" of Lutyens's Slovene contemporary Jože Plečnik (fig. 32).[147] Yet, in proselytising for his own preferred type of classical revivalism, Stamp was accused by Leon Krier of displaying "the kind of moralistic radicalism that established and maintained Modernism's intolerant reign".[148]

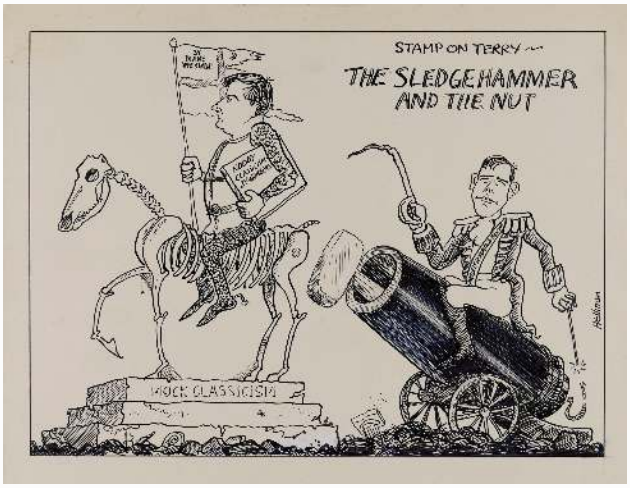


Figure 30

Louis Hellman, “Stamp on Terry”, sketch published in Paul Finch, “My Tour of Chicago with Gavin Stamp Highlighted his Inconsistencies”, *Architects’ Journal*, 9 January 2018. Digital image © The Heartfield Community of Heirs / DACS 2024 (all rights reserved).

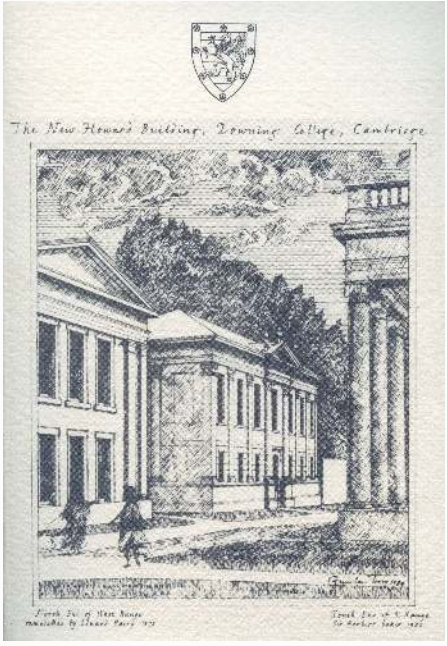


Figure 31

Invitation from Downing College, Cambridge University, to Gavin Stamp to celebrate a benefaction to the college by the Howard Foundation for the new Howard Building, designed by Quinlan Terry, October 1984. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/5 (all rights reserved).

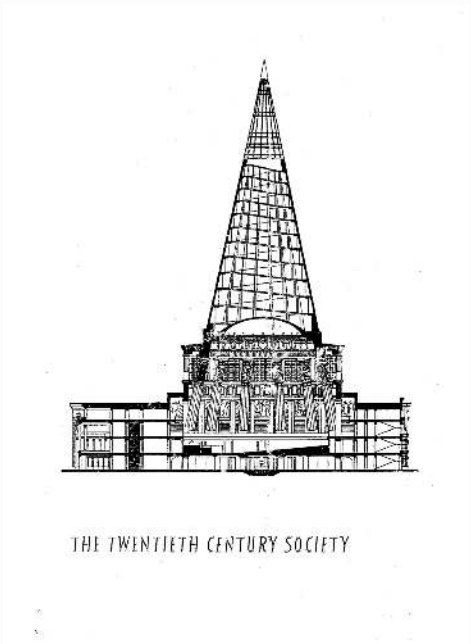


Figure 32

The Twentieth Century Society visit to Ljubljana, 26–29 May 1994. Cover of walking tour notes prepared by Gavin Stamp, focusing on the work of Jože Plečnik, May 1994. Digital image courtesy of the Twentieth Century Society Archive (all rights reserved).

Edwin Lutyens and Roderick Gradidge

The year after starting at *Private Eye*, Stamp published *Temples of Power* (1979), "that most eccentric book . . . on the architecture of electricity", bringing to fruition his long-term interest in industrial archaeology.[149] It contained lithographs on power stations by Stamp's friend, the artist Glynn Boyd Harte (1948–2003), with a letterpress by Stamp. There was the usual manifesto: Stamp suggested that power stations, often bricky and elegantly mannered, offered a palliative to the "puritanical morality" of functionalism.[150] The book was launched at the National Liberal Club with a Battenberg cake made by Fullers' Bakery, Soho, in the shape of Battersea Power Station (fig. 33). It had pink icing approximating brickwork and solid marzipan chimneys, reinforced by knitting needles.[151] Stamp would later be closely associated with conservation campaigns to protect Giles Gilbert Scott's Battersea and Bankside power stations.[152]

Figure 33

Gavin Stamp, John Betjeman cutting the cake at the *Temples of Power* book launch, 1979. Collection British Library, London, Add MS 89741/6, Papers of Gavin Stamp relating to Sir John Betjeman. Digital image courtesy of British Library Board (all rights reserved).

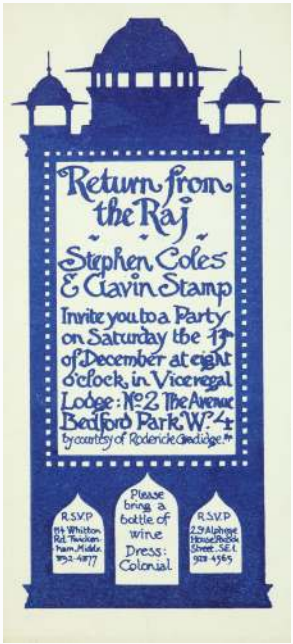


Figure 34

Gavin Stamp, “Return from the Raj” party invitation, following Gavin Stamp and Stephen Coles’s trip to India, 1975. Private collection. Digital image courtesy of Matthew Hollow (all rights reserved).

A moral triumph for Stamp's coterie was achieved with the Lutyens exhibition at the Hayward Gallery (1981–82), designed with neo-Lutyens playfulness by Piers Gough.[153] According to Summerson, Stamp's generation, "having been half-drowned in half-baked Modern ideologies had to 'discover' Lutyens".[154] The exhibition met with disapproval from the left, both politically and stylistically, as the conspiratorial gesturing of a resurgent conservative right.[155] Rodney Mace saw Lutyens as a representative of a neoconservatism in which "The architect's role as arbiter of taste, until recently disguised by social democracy, has been re-asserted".[156] Stamp was responsible for the celebratory section on New Delhi, built during the period of the British Raj, which he had first visited in 1975 (fig. 34).[157] Although New Delhi was to become, as Mark Crinson put it, "the pre-eminent test case of postcolonial urban studies" three years after the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, it appears that a postcolonial critical consciousness had barely informed British architectural history.[158] However, Stamp reflected in 2002 on the problem of "post-Imperial guilt, which has led to a certain embarrassment about extolling New Delhi".[159]

Stamp's own interest in Lutyens had been nurtured by his friend the architect Roderick Gradidge (1929–2000), who also set out to combat left-wing tendencies in British architecture and to rescue it from the "Prussian corset" of Pevsner.[160] Brought up among the splendours of the Raj—his father was a brigadier stationed in India—Gradidge had an imperious manner and an imperial mindset.[161] Flamboyant and openly gay, he wore kilts and was heavily tattooed with designs including the sacred heart and Our Lady and held riotous parties (fig. 35). Gradidge found a sense of belonging at the Art Workers' Guild, Bloomsbury, which he joined in 1969 and which, as Alan Powers put it, "he saw as a secret cell of anti-modern resistance" (fig. 36).[162] "Enthralled by the traditions", Stamp was also a stalwart of the guild, which he joined in 1973 in his capacity as a graphic artist.[163] He worked briefly as a draughtsman in the early 1970s for Gradidge, who was a popular choice for breweries looking to adapt their public houses in historicist styles. Stamp drew a perspective of the Old Bull & Bush public house in Hampstead,

London (1923–24), which was being altered by Gradidge (circa 1973) (fig. 37) and made a model for Whitbread's brewery on Chiswell Street, London.[164]

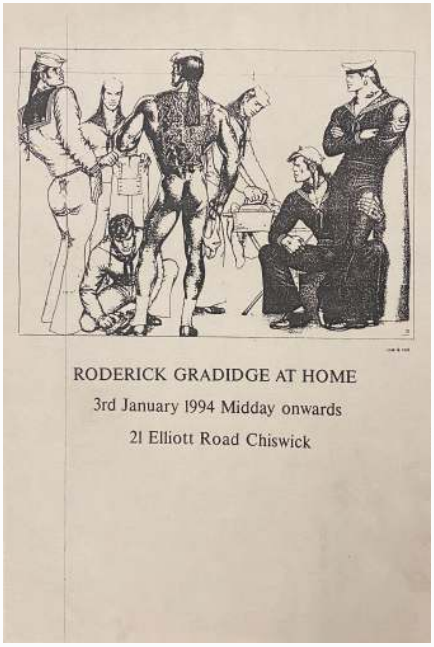


Figure 35

Roderick Gradidge, party invitation featuring Tom of Finland design, 3 January 1994. Digital image courtesy of Kenneth Powell (all rights reserved).

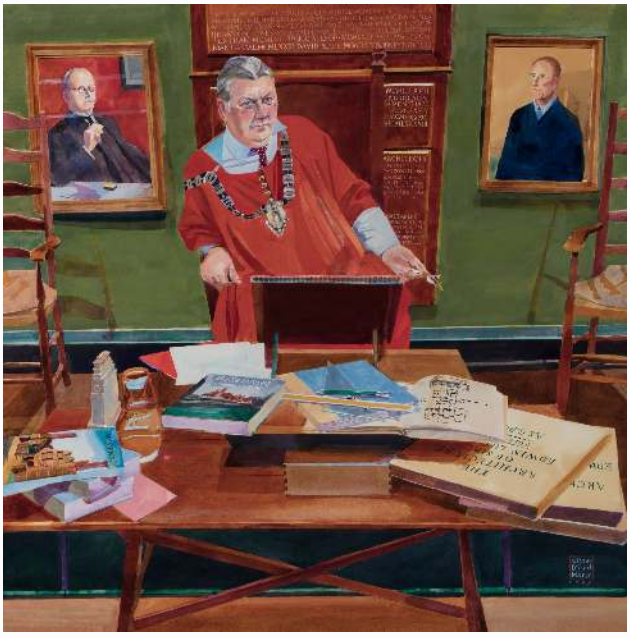


Figure 36

Glynn Boyd Harte, portrait of Roderick Gradidge as Master of the Art Workers' Guild, watercolour on paper, 1987. Digital image courtesy of Bridgeman Images (all rights reserved).

Figure 37

Gavin Stamp, perspective of the Old Bull & Bush public house, Hampstead (built 1923–24), altered by Roderick Gradidge, circa 1973. Digital image courtesy of RIBA Collections (all rights reserved).

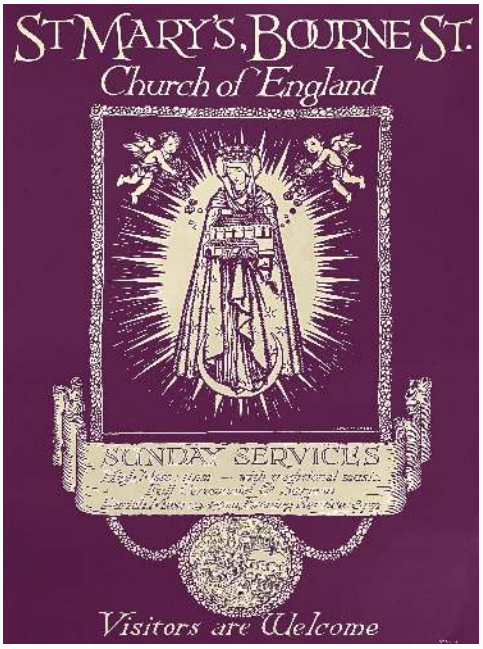


Figure 38

Gavin Stamp (after Martin Travers), poster advertising services at St Mary's, Bourne Street, London, 1973. Digital image courtesy of Kenneth Powell (all rights reserved).

Stamp's architectural and conservation network interacted closely with an exclusive, homosocial (and often homosexual) world that itself revolved around the High Church. Gradidge introduced Stamp to St Mary's, Bourne Street, the most Anglo-Catholic church in London then, as now (fig. 38). A former chapel of ease to St Paul's, Wilton Place (R. J. Withers, 1873–74), it had been extended by Goodhart-Rendel (mostly 1925–28), with fittings classicised by Martin Travers (1921 and 1934).[165] Stamp himself lettered the columns to either side of the

chancel (1974).[166] Mindful of Bourne Street, the High Anglican friends Stamp, Charles Moore and A. N. Wilson co-authored *The Church in Crisis*, a title that may have deliberately mirrored the seventeenth-century High Tory slogan "church in danger". It was a critical dismissal of the liberal instincts of the clergy in the Church of England.[167] Himself a High Anglican, and perhaps as a result of a deeply ingrained English antipathy, Stamp found the conversions to Roman Catholicism of several friends (including Watkin) and of his wife, Alexandra Artley, dismaying.

Although Stamp's formative influences—the lofty and detached Watkin and the more outwardly eccentric and metropolitan Gradidge—were seemingly poles apart, both were gay, chauvinistic and united by their reactionary positions. Stamp's turn to the past seemingly derived from an inherent conservationist sensibility, whereas Watkin's outsider status probably had more to do with sex. His whole persona in the 1960s and 1970s, unlike Gradidge's, was bound up with his repressed sexuality, with which he later made peace.[168] Beyond a romantic sensibility, for both Gradidge and Watkin the turn to the past can be seen as the creation of a fantasy to outface an undesirable present. Certainly, Watkin was admiring of Gradidge's work; he found his remodelling of Bodelwyddan Castle, near St Asaph (1988–89) "brilliantly colourful, imaginative, yet somehow completely authentic".[169] While Stamp and Gradidge's friendship lasted until the latter's death, Stamp became increasingly distanced from Watkin and, by the millennium, had complained to Symondson of the "blighting influence" he had exerted over architectural history.[170] This was mostly the result of differing views on journalism, modern architecture—and, as we have seen, modern classicism.[171]

Reappraising Modernism

In 1982 Stamp married Artley, a journalist who worked for the Architectural Press and who wrote generally liberal social columns for the Thatcherite *Spectator* and *Harper's & Queen*. Following their marriage, the Stamps moved into a late Georgian house at 1 St Chad's Street, King's Cross. Their *Désordre Britannique* at the latter is hyperbolically satirised in Artley's novella *Hoorah for the Filth-*

Packets![172] A. N. Wilson remembered "St Chad's Street . . . [as] rather like Catto's at Oxford, filled with those who would continue to be friends for life".[173]

Stamp once reflected that "the great rule I followed . . . was never ever to meet living architects".[174] Breaking this rule left him vulnerable to doubting his sense of objectivity as a critic, but by doing the opposite he arrived at a more nuanced understanding of modernist architecture, namely his initial re-evaluation of the work of two pioneer émigré architects who helped establish the modern movement in Britain.[175] They were, like Stamp, both tall, pugnacious and assertive. Berthold Lubetkin (1901–90) and Ernö Goldfinger (1902–87) had already built reputations in Europe before moving to Britain (Lubetkin in 1931 and Goldfinger in 1934).[176]

Stamp recalled to Cathy Courtney in 2000 that, in the late 1960s, "Goldfinger came to represent everything I disliked most about the alien arrogance of the modern movement".[177] "Alien" is reminiscent of Amery and Cruickshank's *The Rape of Britain*, a bellicose metaphor to suggest that Britain had been despoiled by foreign interference.[178] This view changed when Stamp met Goldfinger at the RIBA Drawings Collection in Portman Square while Stamp was cataloguing the drawings of the Scott dynasty.[179] The Drawings Collection under the helm of John Harris (between 1970 and 1986) was another key centre for architectural history, which Simon Swynfen Jervis recalled as being "informal, epicurean and noisy . . . a convivial and cosmopolitan meeting place and gossip-shop".[180] Stamp himself remembered the collection as "a great centre of activity and scholarship . . . [even] the kitchen was a . . . social event".[181] Goldfinger arranged to deposit his archive at the RIBA, within which can now be found a handful of exchanges from Stamp to Goldfinger. In the earliest, signed "Bourgeois Reactionary", in September 1979, Stamp desired "to take up your kind invitation to see if your flat roof leaks" at his home at Willow Road, Hampstead (fig. 39).[182] Stamp's critical interest in Goldfinger came to fruition in the 1983 exhibition at the AA curated by Stamp and James Dunnett. Stamp reflected on it in a letter to Goldfinger in May 1983, addressed to him at the "Anglo-Soviet Friendship House": "I do hope you will be pleased with the catalogue [containing] . . . a neo-Fascist piece by me and a

Stalinist eulogy from James. It has all been very enjoyable and an education for me".[183]

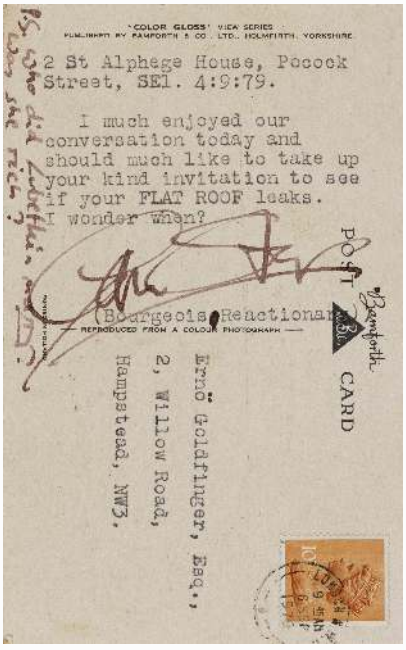


Figure 39

Postcard from Gavin Stamp Ernö Goldfinger, 4 September 1979. Digital image courtesy of RIBA Collections (all rights reserved).

Stamp corresponded with Lubetkin at least as early as 1983, opening his letter to him with a caveat that seemed necessary: "As I live within ten minutes' walk of the Finsbury Health Centre, Holford Square [Bevin Court] and Priory Green [now Priory Heights], I certainly cannot, and would not dismiss your work".[184] He invited Lubetkin to lecture at the Architectural Association the following autumn, but Lubetkin, who shared much of Stamp's own sense of estrangement with contemporary architecture, declined the invitation: "In spite of the glorious past of this institution [the AA], I consider it now as a hornet's nest, a citadel of international headquarters of terrorists of art. They are dispensing zany, goofy gobbledigook!"[185] Stamp would later reassure him that, despite his association with the AA, he was himself "a huge-eared and senile reactionary".[186]

Stamp interviewed Lubetkin in 1987 at his Clifton home, and the interview was published in the *Architects' Journal*.[187] In the correspondence that followed, Stamp discussed his admiration for "the strange romance . . . beauty and cleverness" of

Lubetkin's work at Dudley Zoo, especially the Penguin Pool, which had been demolished in 1979.[188] He also discussed the latter with Summerson, who quipped to Stamp: "The Penguins have, I suppose, been reading David Watkin—just their cup of cocoa".[189] Stamp's equal admiration for Lubetkin's zoo architecture in London was aided by visits to London Zoo with his young daughter Agnes (and later Cecilia). Stamp reflected with jocular regret to Lubetkin, after visiting the Penguin Pool (Lubetkin and Tecton, 1934) in 1987, that "It is now quite fortified . . . [and] quite difficult for children and penguins to meet each other . . . I have to lift up my daughter [over the parapet]".[190]

Stamp had built his journalistic reputation by attacking modernist architects, but they were no longer self-deceived Hampstead trendies as caricatured by Osbert Lancaster but part of a premise that looked increasingly valid, even commendable.[191] He also began to drop his use of "Marxist" as a term of abuse, even though it was seldom used literally.[192] If exposure to the architects in person led to a chink in his armour, Stamp was now not too far away from subscribing to the tradition of understanding architecture according to the *Geistesgeschichte* and *Zeitgeist*. In a profile of him at his 1827 home at St Chad's Street in Lees-Milne and Moore's *The Englishman's Room*, Stamp referred to the wide popularity of the Regency style in which he and his wife had fashioned it, jokingly admitting that, "try as we will, we are all victims of fashion and prisoners of the *Zeitgeist*".[193] Yet, for all of Stamp's acceptance of the *Zeitgeist*, he championed those with the independence of spirit to give it "a bold slap in the face".[194]

A Hack at the Mack

"Well, well!", wrote Summerson to Stamp on 2 May 1990, "So you are installed at the Mackintosh School and thinking of living in Thomson's house, a really strong combination of seats".[195] Inveigled by the architectural historian and lecturer James Macaulay (1934–2022), Stamp took up an academic position as a lecturer at the Mackintosh School of Architecture that year; he was later senior lecturer (and honorary reader) from 1999, head of history between 1997 and 2003, and personal professor in 2003.[196] He justified the move to the Mack to Boyarsky at the AA:

"This rival organisation has offered me a proper job and, being rather sick of journalism, I have taken it".[197] In Glasgow, Stamp lived in Néo Grec splendour at 1 Moray Place, Strathbungo, built by Alexander "Greek" Thomson (1817–75), a Glaswegian Scot and Presbyterian architect, who strove to keep classicism going in Scotland in the midst of the Gothic Revival (fig. 40). Thomson developed, from the mid-nineteenth century, a distinctive abstract Grecian style, particularly influenced by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Stamp helped redress the balance between the reputations of Thomson and of Charles Rennie Mackintosh in shaping Glasgow. To help retrieve Thomson, Stamp republished and edited the architect's intellectual literature; founded the Alexander Thomson Society in 1991; curated several exhibitions; and co-made a documentary film (figs. 41 and 42).[198] His efforts also likely inspired CZWG Architects' hyperbolic riff on Thomson in their office building in Glasgow's Cochrane Square.

Figure 40

Simon Bullard, Gavin Stamp in front of his house at 1 Moray Place (built by and for Alexander Thomson, 1859–60), Strathbungo, Glasgow, circa 1990–92. Digital image courtesy of Simon Bullard (all rights reserved).

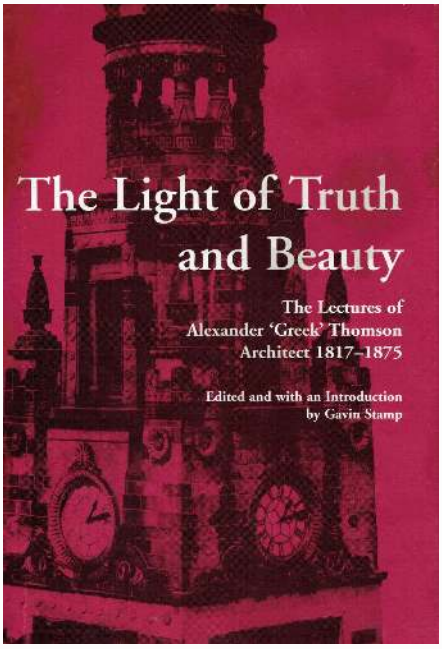


Figure 41

Jacket of *The Light of Truth and Beauty: The Lectures of Alexander "Greek" Thomson", Architect 1817–1875* (Glasgow: Alexander Thomson Society, 1999). Digital image courtesy of the Alexander Thomson Society (all rights reserved).

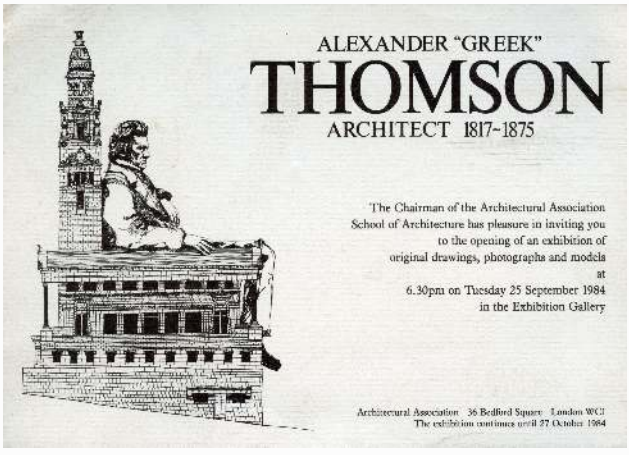


Figure 42

Invitation card to Alexander Thomson exhibition at the Architectural Association, 25 September 1984. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/5 (all rights reserved).

Stamp became interested in locating and celebrating Scotland's own vigorous architectural traditions, from nineteenth-century neoclassicism (principally

Thomson) to Arts and Crafts (principally Robert Weir Schultz) to modernism (principally the post-war work of Gillespie, Kidd and Coia), the last nurtured through his relationship with the architects Andy Macmillan (1928–2014) and Isi Metzstein (1928–2012) who were on the staff at the Mack. "The image of a sober, serious English gentleman in amongst Andy Macmillan's whiskey-sodden Glaswegian scene" seemed incongruous to Boyarsky, but Stamp had crossed the frontier into modernism in a new way.[199] He saw Gillespie, Kidd and Coia's seminary in Cardross (1958–66), for example, as "the supreme manifestation of the enlightened artistic patronage that characterised the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow in the Fifties and Sixties" (fig. 43).[200]

Figure 43

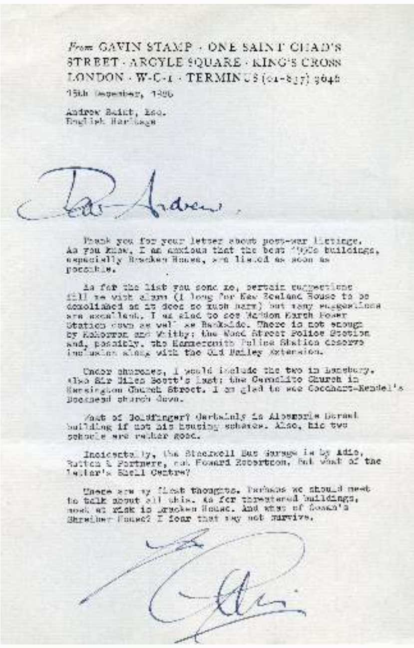
Gavin Stamp, St Peter's Seminary in Cardross, 1994. Collection of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/1/5 (all rights reserved).

Stamp's journalism and activism continued alongside his teaching and research. In May 1991, as "Piloti", for instance, he looked back on the "barbarous" impact of 1980s neoliberalism in which "the Thatcher years [sought] a chimera of efficiency".[201] During Thatcher's administration, the appetite for listing more interwar, and then post-war, buildings had grown following the pre-emptive destruction of the Firestone Factory, Brentford, London (Wallis, Gilbert & Partners, 1928) in 1979. This helped reveal the extreme vulnerability of twentieth-century architecture, resulting in the Heseltine Resurvey. Stamp became a key

player in shaping the protection of post-war buildings as a result of his involvement (1992–2003) in English Heritage's Post-War Listing Steering Group, established in 1992 (fig. 44).[202] At this time, he also reflected on the theme of changing his mind about modernism in the *Spectator*:

> *In the cause of objectivity [. . . and] cursed by that historical sense that makes me see the point of things I once loathed . . . I now find myself almost liking the clinical, Classical purity of late Mies [van der Rohe]. But if I ever start defending St Thomas's Hospital, I should be put down.*[203]

As Alan Powers was keen to stress, Stamp "never fully reconciled to modernism's aesthetic and practical shortcomings".[204] He even described "modernity" itself in 2004 as "a snare and a delusion".[205]



From GAVIN STAMP · ONE SAINT CHAD'S STREET · ARGYLE SQUARE · KING'S CROSS LONDON · W.C.1 · TERMINUS (01-837) 3645

15th December, 1986

Andrew Saint, Esq.
English Heritage

Dear Andrew

Thank you for your letter about post-war listings. As you know, I am anxious that the best 1950s buildings, especially Bracken House, are listed as soon as possible.

As for the list you sent me, certain suggestions fill me with alarm (I long for New Zealand House to be demolished as it does so much harm) but many suggestions are excellent. I am glad to see [illegible] Marsh Power Station down as well as Bankside. There is not enough by McMorran and Whitby; the Wood Street Police Station and, possibly, the Hammersmith Police Station deserve inclusion along with the Old Bailey Extension.

Under churches, I would include the two in Lansbury. Also Sir Giles Scott's last: the Carmelite Church in Kensington Church Street. I am glad to see Goodhart-Rendel's Dockhead church down.

What of Goldfinger? Certainly his Alexander Fleming building if not his housing schemes. Also, his two schools are rather good.

Incidentally, the Stockwell Bus Garage is by Adie, Button & Partners, not Howard Robertson. But what of the latter's Shell Centre?

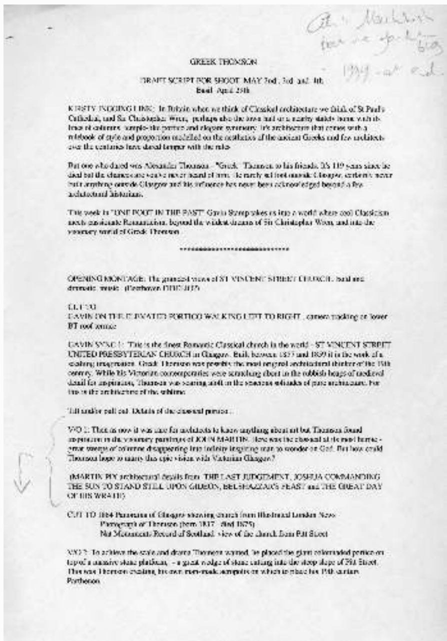
These are my first thoughts. Perhaps we should meet to talk about all this. As for threatened buildings, most at risk is Bracken House. And what of Gowan's Schreiber House? I fear that may not survive.

Figure 44

Letter from Gavin Stamp to Andrew Saint at English Heritage, 15 December 1986, with his suggestions of buildings he deemed worthy of statutory listing six years prior to the establishment of the Post-War Steering Group. Digital image courtesy of Historic England (all rights reserved).

Stamp's oeuvre as a scholar remained varied and industrious into the new millennium. At the Mack he developed his work on interwar architecture, Lutyens,

the Scott dynasty and Scottish architecture, but perhaps the total Stamp, the activist-scholar, was not an easy fit with academic culture. Although he published some twenty-seven books and exhibition catalogues (twelve while at the Mack) and numerous peer-reviewed articles over his lifetime, his wider-reaching contribution to architectural history through popular journalism and criticism was less likely to be acknowledged by the Academy. This included bringing his enthusiasms to a much wider audience as a television presenter for the BBC, including in episodes of *One Foot in the Past*, especially on Bankside Power Station in 1993 and on Thomson's St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow, in 1994. His rhetorical strategies are revealed in the annotated script of the latter, in which Stamp desired to open with "a vitriolic piece to camera", with opening shots of the church accompanied by music from Beethoven's *Fidelio* (figs. 45a and 45b).[206] In any case, Andrew Sanders remembered Stamp as being snooty about academics before his own appointment and that "Gavin wished to be a public figure, which meant journalism".[207] Or, as Alan Powers grimly but tellingly put it, "Gavin was too much of a communicator to be an academic".[208] Stamp might well fit the remit of one of Stefan Collini's biographical subjects in *Common Reading*, figures who "attempted to sail a course between the rocks of journalistic superficiality and academic unreadability".[209]



GREEK THOMSON

OPENING MONTAGE: ... ST VINCENT STREET CHURCH ...

GAVIN SYNC 1: This is the finest Romantic Classical church in the world - ST VINCENT STREET UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in Glasgow. ...

(MARTIN PIX architectural details from THE LAST JUDGEMENT, JOSHUA COMMANDING THE SUN TO STAND STILL UPON GIBEON, BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST and THE GREAT DAY OF HIS WRATH)

Figure 45a

Television script written by Gavin Stamp for *One Foot in the Past* (BBC Television) on St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow, 1994 (designed by Alexander “Greek” Thomson), with Kirsty Wark. Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/1/5 (all rights reserved).

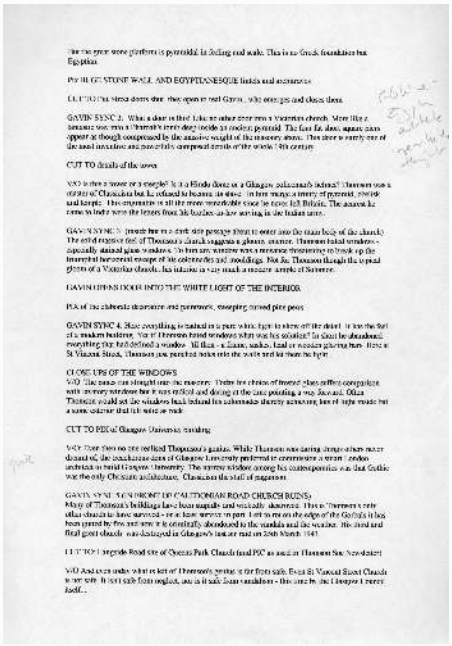


Figure 45b

Television script written by Gavin Stamp for *One Foot in the Past* (BBC Television) on St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow, 1994 (designed by Alexander "Greek" Thomson). Digital image courtesy of the Paul Mellon Centre, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/1/5 (all rights reserved).

This sense of academic displacement brings to mind Thomas Weaver's argument that "the universally accepted Humboldt method [in academia] has had a detrimental effect on the way we write architecture, because in its promotion of science over art and its consistent championing of research, it devolves out of academicism the responsibility to be literary or writerly".[210] Stamp's writing *was* writerly, his primary tool to engender pleasure and appreciation, to help shape a public discourse and to ameliorate a polarised architectural culture. He also used words to stand up for a visual rather than purely literary architectural culture, in line with Roger Scruton's thesis in *The Aesthetics of Architecture*.[211] A case in point is his critique of Venturi Scott Brown and Associates' National Gallery extension (1991). Although Stamp admired Robert Venturi's contribution to the eclecticism of contemporary practice through his writings, as well as his championing of Lutyens, he thought that the National Gallery building was contrived in its deliberate creation of complexity and contradiction:[212] "There is a

world of difference", he argued, "between a mannerism or innovation which enriches an architectural system, or discipline, and a camp joke which undermines and trivialises it". In short, "great buildings are compositions which are immediately Comprehensible [*sic*] visually".[213]

In 2003, after thirteen years, Stamp decided to leave Glasgow. He briefly (and unsuccessfully) sought an alternative academic appointment (including at the University of York) and applied (also unsuccessfully) to follow in Summerson's footsteps as curator of the Sir John Soane's Museum. His return to London, this time to a mansion flat in Forest Hill, marked a return to full-time journalism. He had separated from Artley in Glasgow, and the move to London was in part prompted by his relationship with Rosemary Hill, whom he married in 2014.

Stamp found a new opportunity to continue his campaign through longer-form journalism as an often curmudgeonly architectural columnist for *Apollo* magazine from April 2004, which he continued until his death. A selection of articles were anthologised as *Anti-Ugly*.[214] Although thematically wide-ranging, Stamp's column continued to dispel the "uncritical reverence" of modernism.[215] Furthermore, in spite of the softening of his Peterhouse ideas in the 1980s, many of Stamp's late opinions can hardly be said to have been leftist. An example is Stamp's defence in 2013, on aesthetic grounds, of the architect Herbert Baker's Rhodes House, Oxford, a memorial to the diamond mogul, imperialist and racist Cecil Rhodes and home of the Rhodes trustees, whose reputation, Stamp argued, "circumstances [had recently] contrived to diminish".[216] The millennium brought further work on television including *Pevsner's Cities* (2005–6) and *Gavin Stamp's Orient Express* (2007) for Channel 5 (fig. 46). Stamp also furthered the theme of architectural loss, for example in *Lost Victorian Britain*, and brought his interest in the memorial architecture of the Great War to a poignant conclusion in *The Memorial to the Missing of the Somme*.[217]

Figure 46

Chris Ridley, Gavin Stamp presenting *Gavin Stamp's Orient Express* for Channel 5, production still, 2007. Digital image courtesy of Chris Ridley / WAG TV / Channel 5 (all rights reserved).

Stamp's hitherto unfinished opus *Interwar: British Architecture 1919–1939* has been published posthumously, bringing to completion his attempt to grapple with and contextualise the stylistic pluralism and "contradictory tendencies" of the period, a subject that occupied his whole working life.[218] A further key area of research and writing for Stamp in the years before his death was the Anti-Ugly Action Group, which in the 1950s experimented with inventive forms of architectural criticism to provoke and encourage debate about the style and quality of British architecture.[219] In spirit if not in taste, they were the heroic forerunners of Stamp's lifelong project.

Conclusion

Epitomising the architectural historian as activist-scholar, Stamp contributed to a substantial growth of new knowledge, heritage consciousness and informed debate. In the process, his diverse outputs were significant discourse makers that impacted the way architecture was talked about, perceived, discussed, taught, preserved and ultimately canonised.

Stamp subscribed to "an ongoing creative process of environmental improvement", seeing architecture and conservation as tools to help vitalise people and revitalise cities.[220] As Charles Moore put it, Stamp had "a keen sense of how what we build

can capture or obliterate what is good about our culture . . . [and] how the public realm can exalt or degrade the life of each citizen".[221] Championing aestheticism over the (especially economic) realities of construction and practice, Stamp's focus was generally on form, including a belief (akin to the Welsh architectural critic Arthur Trystan Edwards's) in good and bad "manners" in architecture, or even in "the secret of beauty . . . that tectonic Holy Grail".[222] He wanted beauty to reign around him.[223] And, although he occasionally made an ecological case for protecting a building, his oeuvre cumulatively stressed the importance of psychogeography and cultural sustainability in tune with Wilfried Wang's manifesto on *Architectural Criticism in the Twenty-First Century*: "Sustainability is not reducible to just a technical question; it must also provide enduring aesthetic delight in order to be organically rooted in a given culture".[224]

Stamp's project was, furthermore, a cultural critique against architectural obsolescence in favour of universal and timeless values. His academic crushes epitomised these: Lutyens was the author of "works of transcendent humanity and originality within the Western tradition"; Thomson argued for "timeless laws by which tradition could come to terms with contemporary conditions [and] for a rational resonant modern architecture beyond fashion and sentimental associations"; and Scott junior, who like others of his generation rejected self-conscious novelty, was concerned with stasis over contemporary "development", "an ideal informed by precedent yet timeless, transcending history while being inescapably part of it".[225]

While his interests broadened and shifted over the course of his life, his means and the goal remained to the end. Though seldom given to caprice or compromise, Stamp was also quite capable of changing his mind, including at the very end of his life.[226] Attending Guy's Hospital, London, for cancer treatment in 2017, in a new building by Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, a practice he famously loathed, he found "a sympathetic building . . . that works, and has, I think, made both staff and patients happier—as good architecture should".[227]

Acknowledgements

That Gavin Stamp left a mark on so many, and that he spread his affections so widely, quickly became apparent when I began to work on this project as the first Library and Archives Fellow of the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. The support of members of Stamp's family—Alexandra Artley, Rosemary Hill, Agnes Stamp, Cecilia Stamp, and Gerard Stamp—has been invaluable. I have benefited vastly from conversations and correspondence with many of Stamp's friends, including Mosette Broderick, Dan Cruickshank, Anthony Geraghty, Peter Howell, Ken Powell, Alan Powers, John Martin Robinson, Andrew Saint, Andrew Sanders, Nicholas Taylor and A. N. Wilson. Further thanks are due to those who kindly answered queries and/or helped me access materials: Susie Barson, Gergely Battha-Pajor, Ed Bottoms, Eleanor Dickens, Paul Doyle, Leigh Milsom Fowler, Oli Marshall, Tom Mason, Anna McNally, Janette Ray, Kathy Redington, Teresa Sladen, and William Terrier. At the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, I wish to thank Charlotte Brunskill, Hannah Jones, Martin Myrone, and Sarah Victoria Turner, and at *British Art Studies* I extend my thanks to Baillie Card, Chloë Julius, Maisoon Rehani, and my anonymous readers.

About the author

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Footnotes

1. Gavin Stamp interviewed by Niamh Dillon, 18 December 2017, British Library Sound Archive, London, National Life Stories Collection.
2. Gavin Stamp, "Neo-Tudor and Its Enemies", *Architectural History* 49 (2016), 2. As he put it himself, Stamp "was brought up in a Tudor bungalow on the Orpington By-Pass" in Petts Wood (Gavin Stamp, "Britain in the Thirties: AD Profiles 24", special issue, *Architectural Design* 49, nos. 10–11

(1979), 25), before moving to Sandiland Crescent, Hayes, when he was three (Gerard Stamp, email to author, 1 June 2023).

3. Stamp interviewed by Dillon.
4. Gavin Stamp, "Nooks and Corners", *Private Eye* 731 (22 December 1989): 9.
5. Stamp, "Neo-Tudor and Its Enemies".
6. Ibid., 3.
7. Gavin Stamp, "Dorothy Stroud", *Daily Telegraph*, 15 January 1998, 25.
8. Gerard Stamp, conversation with author, 2 March 2024.
9. Oliver and Clara Rich, Stamp's maternal grandfather and grandmother, were members of the Bristol Socialist Party. Oliver Rich was a buyer for a clothing company that supplied First World War uniforms. He died of influenza in 1932 when Norah was only fourteen, which meant she had to leave school and go out to work (Gerard Stamp, email to author, 8 January 2023).
10. There are numerous obituaries of Stamp in addition to Alan Powers's entry on Stamp in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Alan Powers, "Stamp, Gavin Mark (1948–2017)" (2021), DOI:10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.90000380357). In following a largely anecdotal approach, I have been informed by Joseph Epstein, *Gossip: The Untrivial Pursuit* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), and Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, vol. 1, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994).
11. Timothy Brittain-Catlin, "The Success of Failure", lecture delivered at the Annual Colloquium of Doctoral Students of the Institute of Technology and the History and Theory of Architecture, ETH Zurich, 17–18 November 2016. Conversely, Sarah Whiting has raised fears that the digital revolution has given the discipline *too many* voices (Sarah Whiting, "Possibilitarianism", *Log*, no. 29 (Fall 2013): 153–59). This is mirrored by Peter Kelly, writing on the shift of architectural criticism towards non-

traditional media and arguing that there is a dearth of critical writing (Peter Kelly, "The New Establishment", *Blueprint*, no. 297 (December 2010): 60–64.

12. Adrian Forty, "Architectural History Research and the Universities in the UK", *Rassegna di Architettura e Urbanistica* 139 (2013): 7.
13. Stamp was a founding member of the Lutyens Trust, the Alexander Thomson Society and the Thirties Society.
14. David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History* (London: Architectural Press, 1980), 183–90. Watkin described conservation advocacy as a "recent tendency" – and yet there were, of course, considerable forebears.
15. The archival evidence for the early work is also stronger, owing to its physical nature. I was unable to access some more recent parts of the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (PMC) archive, which were closed for consultation under the conditions of General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR).
16. Alexandra Artley and John Martin Robinson, *The New Georgian Handbook* (London: Ebury Press, 1985), 7.
17. Anthony Geraghty, "Gavin Stamp", *Architectural Historian*, no. 6 (February 2018): 20–21.
18. Anthony Geraghty, conversation with author, 3 February 2024.
19. Hélène Lipstadt, "Letter from London", *Skyline: The Architecture and Design Review*, May 1982, 8.
20. Ian Jack, "Gavin Stamp Obituary", *Guardian*, 7 January 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2018/jan/07/gavin-stamp-obituary.
21. Ian Hislop, quoted in Richard Waite, "Tributes Pour in for 'Elegant and Opinionated' Gavin Stamp", *Architects' Journal* 245 (11 January 2018): 7.
22. Lynne Walker, "'The Greatest Century': Pevsner, Victorian Architecture and the Lay Public", in *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. Peter Draper

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 129–48. See also Peter Mandler, "John Summerson 1904–1992: The Architectural Critic and the Quest for the Modern", in *After the Victorians*, ed. Susan Pedersen and Peter Mandler (London: Routledge, 1994), 229.

23. Gavin Stamp, *The Changing Metropolis: The Earliest Photographs of London* (London: Viking, 1984), 9.
24. Gavin Stamp, "Nooks and Corners", *Private Eye* 1053 (8 May 2002): 9.
25. James Marston Fitch, "Architectural Criticism—Trapped in Its Own Metaphysics", *Journal of Architectural Education* 19, no. 4 (1976): 3.
26. Joan Ockman, "Slashed", *e-flux Architecture*, October 2017, https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/history-theory/159236/slashed.
27. *Observer*, "Richard Ingrams", 5 June 1988, 14. Gavin Stamp's papers on the 1984 Mansion House Square public inquiry and on the 1988 No. 1 Poultry inquiry (circa 1984–89) can be found in the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Drawings and Archives Collection, London, The Gavin Stamp Papers, StG/1–3.
28. Paul Finch, "My Tour of Chicago with Gavin Stamp Highlighted His Inconsistencies", *Architects' Journal*, 9 January 2018, https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/opinion/my-tour-of-chicago-with-gavin-stamp-highlighted-his-inconsistencies.
29. Stephen Games, "Good on Paper", *Listener* 108 (July 1982): 24.
30. Gavin Stamp, "Nooks and Corners", *Private Eye* 1097 (9 January 2004): 12.
31. A. N. Wilson, conversation with author, 23 December 2023.
32. See discussion below of Stamp's hero Robert Byron. Byron's "*raison d'être* as a critic", according to James Knox, was "to equip the public with the skills to differentiate between good and bad architecture" (James Knox, *Robert Byron* (London: John Murray, 2004), 268).
33. Letter from Charles Jencks to Gavin Stamp, 27 November 1987, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, Gavin Stamp Archive,

GMS/5.

34. When his family moved to Norfolk in 1964, Stamp no longer qualified for local authority funding and was privately funded during his sixth form (Gerard Stamp, conversation with author, 1 March 2024).
35. Stamp interviewed by Dillon.
36. Gavin Stamp, "Dulwich College: Our Architectural Heritage", *Alleynian* 95, no. 611 (Winter 1967): 14–18. He concluded, "If, by this article, I have stimulated some interest in the school buildings where apathy existed before, then something has been achieved in the right direction" (p. 18).
37. Stamp interviewed by Dillon.
38. Gavin Stamp, "Rosse Stamp, Scientist who Developed Underwater Television—Obituary", *Telegraph*, 7 July 2017, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/obituaries/2017/07/07/rosse-stamp-scientist-developed-underwater-television-obituary.
39. Gavin Stamp, "Review of Timothy Mowl, *Stylistic Cold Wars*", *Oldie* 134 (May 2000): 49.
40. Stamp sat for his examination on 18 June 1971. His examiners were Jaffé, David Watkin, Virginia Spate and Alan Bowness ("History of Art Tripos, 1971", *Cambridge University Reporter* 101 (1971): 947).
41. Stamp interviewed by Dillon.
42. Roger Scruton, *Gentle Regrets: Thoughts from a Life* (London: Continuum, 2005), 39. Scruton's *Aesthetics of Architecture* (London: Methuen, 1979) and earlier writing in the *Cambridge Review*, especially "The Architecture of Stalinism", *Cambridge Review* 94 (16 November 1976): 36–41, can be seen as a counterpart to Watkin's polemic.
43. Jonathan Meades, *Pedro and Ricky Come Again: Selected Writing 1988–2020* (London: Unbound, 2021), 364.
44. Andrew Sanders, email to author, 10 January 2024.

45. Watkin did teach some female students, of course. The architectural historian Deborah Howard, who was supervised by him as part of the architecture and fine art tripos for one term in 1966–67, recalled that Peterhouse (and Watkin) had "not a jot of influence" on her (especially compared to the architects who taught history, namely Peter Bicknell and David Roberts). In contrast to Peterhouse's very conservative ethos, she was always on the left, both as a student and subsequently (Deborah Howard, email to author, 6 May 2024).
46. Michael Gove, *Michael Portillo: The Future of the Right* (London: Fourth Estate, 1995), 60.
47. "Gavin Stamp" [obituary], *Times*, 10 January 2018, 55; Harry Mount, "The Young Fogey: An Elegy", *Spectator* 293 (13 September 2003): 29.
48. Signed "lotsaluv Marcus" [surname unknown], Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Records of the Cambridge University Victorian Society (CUVS), 1967–1976, GBR/0265/UA/SOC.79.1, n.d. (circa March 1969).
49. Gavin Stamp, "I Was Lord Kitchener's Valet or, How the Vic Soc Saved London", *Twentieth Century Architecture* 6 (2002): 130–44.
50. Ibid., 132. This was largely the province of a privileged urban middle class turning to radical politics in the 1960s (Frank Parkin, *Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968)).
51. Alan Watkins, "Who Defined the Young Fogey?", *Observer*, 26 May 1985, 6.
52. David Watkin, *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
53. Stamp regretted that Watkin had not published the treatise a decade earlier (Gavin Stamp, "Nikolaus Pevsner: 1902–1983", *Quaderns d'Arquitectura i*

Urbanisme 160 (1984): 55. He probably attended Watkin's lecture "From Pugin to Pevsner" in 1968.

54. Gavin Stamp, "Signore Pevsner", *Architects' Journal* 99 (11 March 1992): 46.

55. Lipstadt, "Letter from London", 8.

56. There are curiously few letters between Watkin and Stamp in the PMC archive; with William Terrier, I found fourteen letters from Stamp to Watkin in Sheringham Hall, Norfolk, David Watkin Papers (uncatalogued; private collection).

57. Susie Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner: The Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2011), 778. Harries also offers a nuanced corrective to the assumption made by Stamp (and others), in Pevsner's heyday, that he was simply a man of the left.

58. Clive Aslet and Jeremy Musson, "Restoration and Retirement: Peterhouse, Cambridge", *Country Life* 203, no. 16 (22 April 2009): 92–96.

59. Introduction to "A Don's Diary", sample of Watkin's diary prepared for a prospective publisher, undated manuscript, n.p., Sheringham Hall, Norfolk, David Watkin Papers.

60. Gerard Noel, "Obituary: Monsignor Alfred Gilbey", *Independent*, 28 March 1998, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-monsignor-alfred-gilbey-1152936.html.

61. Reyner Banham, "The Thing in the Forecourt", *New Society*, 28 July 1983, 138; Reyner Banham, "King Lut's Navy", *New Society*, 12 November 1981, 285.

62. Suzanne Lowry, *The Young Fogey Handbook: A Guide to Backward Mobility* (Poole: Javelin, 1985).

63. Letter from Stephen Rogerson to Gavin Stamp, 15 October 1984, PMC, GMS/5. See also Linda J. Colley, "The Loyal Brotherhood and the Cocoa Tree: The London Organization of the Tory Party, 1727–1760", *Historical Journal* 2, no. 1 (March 1977): 77–95. For the Adonians see Tom Freeman,

"Strange Bedfellows", *Varsity*, 5 February 2016, https://www.varsity.co.uk/news/9715.

64. Lowry, *The Young Fogey Handbook*, 10; Gavin Stamp, "Stirling's Worth", *Cambridge Review* 98 (30 January 1976): 77–82.
65. Gavin Stamp, "High Victorian Rogue Gothic Architecture" (1971), 2, PMC, GMS/9. It was submitted for the second part of the history of art tripos; H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, "Rogue Architects of the Victorian Era", *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 56 (1949): 251–59. David Watkin had suggested that Beresford Pite and Halsey Ricardo might be a good thesis subject (letter from Watkin to Stamp, 14 September 1970, CUVS, GBR/0265/UA/SOC.79.1).
66. Gavin Stamp, "George Gilbert Scott, Junior, Architect; 1839–1897", PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1978 (PMC, GMS/9).
67. Letter from Gavin Stamp to Ronald Maddox, 17 April 1977, PMC, GMS/1/1/61; Gavin Stamp, "G. G. Scott Junior & the problems of research into Victorian Architecture", script of lecture given by Stamp to the Cambridge Research Student Group, University of Cambridge, 17 October 1975, PMC, GMS/1/1/61.
68. John Betjeman may have had an influence on Stamp's interest in the middle Scott; following bomb damage in 1941, Betjeman and Stephen Dykes Bower led a failed campaign to save St Agnes between 1953 and 1956.
69. Gavin Stamp, *An Architect of Promise: George Gilbert Scott Junior (1839–1897) and the Late Gothic Revival* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 7.
70. David Watkin, "Foreword", in Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste* (1914; London: Architectural Press, 1980), xxiv.
71. Stamp, "George Gilbert Scott Junior and the Problem of Research", 2–3.
72. Michael Hall, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 4.

73. Stamp, "George Gilbert Scott Junior and the Problem of Research", 3. As he mellowed in his later years, Stamp described Jordan's book as simply "rather old-fashioned" (Stamp, "I Was Lord Kitchener's Valet", 137).
74. For example, Stephen Games, "30s Is a Dangerous Age", *Guardian*, 14 December 1979, 9. See also Bevis Hillier, "Current Concerns", *Times Literary Supplement* 4108 (25 December 1981): 1505.
75. Watkin, *Rise of Architectural History*, 145–64.
76. Malcolm Airs and William Whyte, eds., *Architectural History After Colvin* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 2013).
77. Catherine Grant and Kate Random Love, "Introduction: Fandom as Methodology", in *Fandom as Methodology: A Sourcebook for Artists and Writers*, ed. Catherine Grant and Kate Random Love (London: Goldsmiths Press, 2019), 2–3.
78. Gavin Stamp, *Alexander Thomson: The Unknown Genius* (London: Lawrence King, 1999); Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: Women's Press, 1989).
79. Stamp was the founding secretary and Richard Wildman (Clare College) the founding president (CUVS, GBR/0265/UA/SOC.79.1, n.d., circa March 1969). The society appears to have been disbanded in 1973.
80. Pevsner, Betjeman and the historian George Kitson Clark all accepted invitations to become honorary patrons.
81. Pevsner spoke on "The Scope of the Victorian Society" in the Downing College Music Room on 5 November 1968; other early speakers included James Laver, L. T. C. Rolt, Paul Thompson and John Summerson. Cecil Beaton and Mark Girouard were among those who declined an invitation (CUVS, GBR/0265/UA/SOC.79.1, n.d.).
82. See Burckhardt's strollology, which he used to analyse what he called the "uglification" of the environment (Lucius Burckhardt, "Strollological Observations on Perception of the Environment and the Tasks Facing Our Generation", in *Lucius Burckhardt Writings: Rethinking Man-Made*

Environments, ed. Jesko Fezer and Martin Schmitz (Vienna: Springer, 2012), 239–48).

83. The building was demolished in 1981 to make way for the Grafton Shopping Centre.
84. Peter Freeman was a former Cambridge student with Gavin who directed him and others in the 1970 film *The Silver Wheel* (https://thesilverwheel.co.uk/silverwheel.html).
85. Letter from Francis A. Bown to Stamp, 20 Feb 2004, PMC, GMS/5.
86. Stamp interviewed by Dillon. Plommer authored his own polemical pamphlet, *The Line of Duty* (Cambridge: H. Plommer, 1982).
87. Roderick Gradidge, "Architecture Shelved", *Traditional Homes*, September 1986, 58–62.
88. Anthony Symondson, "Wallpaper from Watts & Company", *Connoisseur* 204, no. 819 (June 1980): 114–21.
89. Charles Moore, A. N. Wilson and Gavin Stamp, *The Church in Crisis* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986).
90. Stamp began a correspondence with Betjeman at least as early as 14 February 1968, when he invited him to become an honorary vice-patron of the CUVS (letter from Stamp to Betjeman, CUVS, GBR/0265/US/SOC.79.1).
91. Letter from John Betjeman to Stamp, 21 February 1974, British Library, London, Add MS 89741/1, Papers of Gavin Stamp relating to Sir John Betjeman.
92. *Marylebone Mercury*, 12 July 1974; John Betjeman and Gavin Stamp, *A Plea for Holy Trinity Church Sloane Street by Sir John Betjeman, Poet Laureate, with Four Drawings by Gavin Stamp* (London: Church Literature Association, 1974).
93. Postcard from Louis Hellman to Stamp, n.d. (circa 1989), PMC, GMS/5.
94. Gavin Stamp, "The Battered Bride", *Spectator* 265 (1 December 1990): 59.

95. Gavin Stamp, *Silent Cities: An Exhibition of the Memorial and Cemetery Architecture of the Great War* (London: RIBA, 1977); John Harris, "Memorials to the Fallen: The Work of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission", *Country Life* 162, no. 4196 (8 December 1977): 1744, 1746.
96. Gavin Stamp, *Silent Cities*, 18.
97. Photocopy of letter from John Betjeman to Stamp, 10 December 1977, PMC, GMS/1/5.
98. Photocopy of letter from John Betjeman to Stamp, 22 November 1977, PMC, GMS/1/5.
99. Letter from Oswald Mosley to Stamp, 16 October 1977, PMC, GMS/1/5.
100. As a result of the family connections of Cynthia Mosley (née Curzon). When Cynthia Mosley died of peritonitis in 1933, Lutyens designed her tomb in pink travertine marble at their home, Savehay Farm, in Denham, Buckinghamshire.
101. Letter from Oswald Mosley to Stamp, 16 October 1977, PMC, GMS/1/5.
102. Letter from Stamp to Oswald Mosley, 21 October 1977, PMC, GMS/1/5.
103. Letter from David Dean to Stamp, 21 October 1977, PMC, GMS/1/5. As Stamp was not an official RIBA employee, it fell to John Harris to reluctantly withdraw Mosley's invitation; Stamp bore full responsibility. Dan Cruickshank recalled that Stamp had obtained full approval from the RIBA prior to inviting Mosley (Cruickshank, conversation with author, 26 January 2024).
104. Letter from Stamp to Oswald Mosley, 21 October 1977, PMC, GMS/1/5.
105. Astragal, "Unwanted Guest", *Architects' Journal* 166 (26 October 1977): 783. Astragal declared that, whoever was asked to open the exhibition, "it will definitely not be a dingy luminary of the far right (or, for that matter, of the far left)" (Scorpio, "No Invitation", *Building Design* 161 (11 November 1977): 11).

106. Letter from Stamp to "The Editor" of *Building Design*, n.d., PMC, GMS/1/5.

107. Stamp may have known that Kenneth Clarke, who shared his mischievous sense of humour, had invited Mosley to address the Cambridge University Conservative Association (leading to Michael Howard's resignation) in the Lent term of 1962 (Steerpike, "When Ken Clarke Failed to Stand Up to Fascism", *Spectator*, 31 January 2017, https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/when-ken-clarke-failed-to-stand-up-to-fascism).>

108. Letter from John Betjeman to Stamp, July 1978, British Library, Add MS 89741/1; David Watkin, "Architecture of the Empire's Capital: The London 1900 Exhibition at the Heinz Gallery", *Country Life* 163 (29 June 1978): 1916.

109. Gavin Stamp, ed., "Britain in the Thirties"; Gavin Stamp, "The Art of Keeping One Jump Ahead: Conservation Societies in the Twentieth Century", in *Preserving the Past: The Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain*, ed. Michael Hunter (London: Alan Sutton, 1996), 92.

110. Letter from Summerson to Stamp, 14 June 1983, PMC, GMS/1/6.

111. Letter from Summerson to Stamp, 8 August 1979, PMC, GMS/1/6.

112. Letter from Summerson to Stamp, 17 December 1979, PMC, GMS/1/6.

113. Letter from Summerson to Stamp, 25 March 1987, PMC, GMS/1/6.

114. Quoted in Jane Stevenson, *Baroque between the Wars: Alternative Style in the Arts, 1918–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 145. Stamp was one of many in a vociferous campaign to save it mounted by the Thirties Society and SAVE (1985–86). See also Thirties Society and SAVE Britain's Heritage, *Monkton—A Vanishing Surrealist Dream* (London: Thirties Society and SAVE Britain's Heritage, 1986).

115. Clive Aslet and Alan Powers, *The British Telephone Box . . . Take It as Red* (London: Thirties Society, 1987). Stamp's research informed his book *Telephone Boxes* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1989).

116. For the early work of the Twentieth Century Society see Alan Powers and Gavin Stamp, "The Twentieth Century Society: A Brief History", *Twentieth Century Architecture* 7 (2004): 158–60. The Thirties Society subscribed to a press cuttings agency, and these cuttings formed a key part of the institution's archive. For the Victorian Society see Gavin Stamp, *Saving a Century: The Victorian Society 1958–2008*, exhibition catalogue (London: Victorian Society, 2008). Many of Stamp's walking tour notes can be found in PMC, GMS/3 and GMS/4.

117. Translation: "Twists and Turns: The Amsterdam School and Dudok"; Gradidge led the tour while Stamp wrote the notes.

118. *Cambridge University Reporter*, "Lecture List, Lent Term 1985", special no., 10 (1985): 4. Stamp would later become an honorary professor of the history of architecture at the University of Cambridge from 2010 to 2014.

119. Gavin Stamp, "A Short History of the London Summer School", *Nineteenth Century* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 31–33. He was also continually involved in running the northern portion of the tours until his death.

120. Letter from Stamp to Micki Hawkes [secretary to Alvin Boyarsky], 19 January 1990, Architectural Association Archives, 2010:36; Gavin Stamp, "The New Machine Order", *Spectator* 244 (5 April 1980): 16.

121. Patrick Zamarian, *The Architectural Association in the Postwar Years* (London: Lund Humphries, 2020), 147.

122. Alan Powers, email to author, 4 July 2024.

123. Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation: Antiquity to Modernity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 324. See also Michela Rosso, *Laughing at Architecture: Architectural Histories of Humour, Satire and Wit* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

124. Printed email from Meades to Stamp, 2 December 2001, PMC, GMS/1/6.

125. Stamp, "Sir Osbert Lancaster", *Thirties Society Journal*, no. 6 (1987): 1; Gavin Stamp, "The New Machine Order", *Spectator*, 5 April 1980, 16.

126. Knox, *Robert Byron*, 179–80.

127. Gavin Stamp, interview of Osbert Lancaster, 1982, British Library Sound Archive, London, C977/02/01.

128. Nancy Mitford, quoted in Knox, *Robert Byron*, 175.

129. Robert Byron, *How We Celebrate the Coronation: A Word to London's Visitors* (London: Architectural Press, 1937). See also Gavin Stamp, "How We Celebrated the Coronation: The Foundation and Early Years of the Georgian Group", *Georgian Group Journal* 20 (2012): 1–21.

130. Gavin Stamp, "The Origins of the Group", *Architects' Journal* 176 (31 March 1982): 35.

131. Letter from James Lees-Milne to Stamp, 10 April 1982, PMC, GMS/1/6. See James Lees-Milne, *Holy Dread: Diaries, 1982–1984* (London: John Murray, 2003), 12.

132. Mark Girouard, *Friendships* (London: Wilmington Square Books, 2017), 60.

133. Letter from James Lees-Milne to Stamp, 18 April 1982, PMC, GMS/1/6.

134. It first appeared in *Private Eye* 246 (21 May 1971). Stamp republished it in *Private Eye* 586 on 1 June 1984, following Betjeman's death.

135. Richard Ingrams, "Foreword", in Candida Lycett Green, *Unwrecked England* (London: Oldie Publications, 2009), 9.

136. Letter from Richard Ingrams to Gavin Stamp, 5 February 1978, British Library, Add MS 89741/6/4–5.

137. Wayne Attoe, *Architecture and Critical Imagination* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1978), xv.

138. Stamp, "Nooks and Corners", *Private Eye* 992 (24 December 1999): 9; 510 (3 July 1981): 9.

139. Letter from Anthony Rushton to Stamp, 20 July [no year]), PMC, GMS/5.

140. John Martin Robinson, *Holland Blind Twilight* (Cricklade: Mount Orleans Press, 2021), 35.

141. A. N. Wilson, conversation with author, 23 December 2023.

142. Letter from Stamp to Margaret Thatcher, 21 April 1985, RIBA, StG/1–3.

143. Gavin Stamp's papers on the Mansion House Square public inquiry and the No. 1 Poultry public inquiry (circa 1984–89) can be found at the V&A/RIBA, StG/1–3. Stamp had attended the launch of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England at 10 Downing Street on 2 April 1984. His letter follows a *Spectator* lunch there held on 19 April 1985.

144. HRH Prince of Wales, "The Hampton Court Speech", *Royal Institute of British Architects: Transactions* 3, no. 2 (1984): 48–51; Louis Hellman, "Hellman and Diary. Mansion House Square Scheme: The Trial of the Century", *Architects' Journal* 181 (29 May 1985): 27.

145. Stamp, "Nooks and Corners", *Private Eye* 669 (7 August 1987): 9; Gavin Stamp, "Classics Debate", *Architects' Journal* 187 (16 March 1988): 36–51.

146. Gavin Stamp, "Lutyens, India and the Future of Architecture", in *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles*, ed. Andrew Hopkins and Gavin Stamp (London: British School at Rome, 2002), 202; Gavin Stamp, "McMorran and Whitby: A Progressive Classicism", *Modern Painters* 4, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 56–60.

147. Gavin Stamp, "Plečnik, the Genius of Prague", *Independent*, 2 September 1996, https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/news/plecnik-the-genius-of-prague-1361590.html.

148. Leon Krier, "Leon Krier's Rebuttal", *Progressive Architecture* 69 (July 1988): 100.

149. Stamp interviewed by Dillon.

150. Gavin Stamp and Glynn Boyd Harte, *Temples of Power: Architecture of Electricity in London* (Burford: Cygnet Press, 1979), n.p.

151. Alan Powers, email to author, 23 February 2023. As Simon Rendall at the Curwen Press remembered: "There was a slight problem: we had planned a scale model, but of course we nearly always look up at the chimneys; when scaled, when we looked down on the Cake, they looked unbelievably short

and stumpy, so Gavin made them rather taller. I think we were all happy with this adjustment—certainly the Manager of the power station was not concerned as he cut the Cake in all seriousness, with Sir John Betjeman in fits of giggles" (Rendall, email to author, 2 March 2023).

152. According to Alan Powers, however, it was Alan Baxter rather than Stamp who had suggested Bankside's potential as an art gallery to Tate's deputy director, Francis Carnwath (Alan Powers, email to author, 12 January 2024).

153. Hayward Gallery, *Lutyens: The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944)* (London: Arts Council, 1981). The exhibition ran from 18 November 1981 to 31 January 1982. The exhibition committee was chaired by Colin Amery and consisted of Stamp, along with Jane Brown, Hugh Casson, Roderick Gradidge, Piers Gough, Peter Inskip, Mary Lutyens, Margaret Richardson, Nicholas Taylor and David Watkin. Joanna Drew oversaw the exhibition at the Arts Council, which sponsored it.

154. Letter from Summerson to Stamp, 25 July 1981, PMC, GMS/1/6.

155. Peregrine Horden, "The Functions of Form: Recent Architectural Aesthetics", *Oxford Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (1983): 42; Martin Spring, "Revising the Classics", *Buildings Design* 240 (13 November 1981): 32; Gavin Stamp, "The Rise and Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens", *Architectural Review* 170 (19 November 1981): 316.

156. Rodney Mace, "Imperial Architecture Revisited", *Marxism Today* 25, no. 12 (December 1981): 37.

157. "Gavin hung the room as if he was the Viceroy's wife" (Piers Gough, conversation with author, 30 October 2022). Stamp also curated the sections on war memorials and Lutyens's mostly unrealised work on Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral. In terms of Stamp's visits to India, Andrew Sanders remembers that "He went first, intrepidly travelling overland (Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan) with Stephen Coles [in 1975] and stayed with Rupert Sheldrake (who was a visiting scholar) in Hyderabad. He went back for a

further extended visit with Colin Amery" (Sanders, email to author, 29 May 2024).

158. Mark Crinson, "Book Review" (Stephen Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), *Planning Perspectives* 24, no. 1 (2009): 134; Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

159. Stamp, "Lutyens, India and the Future of Architecture", 204.

160. Roderick Gradidge, *Dream Houses: The Edwardian Ideal* (London: Constable, 1980), xv. Stamp had known Gradidge from at least 1969, according to a letter from Peter Clarke to Stamp of 8 March 1969: "I hear you had a visit from Sir Roderick M'Gradidge" (CUVS, GBR/0265/UA/SOC.79.1, secretary's correspondence). This was almost certainly at the Victorian Society Annual Dinner in February 1969 (letter from Gradidge to Stamp, 12 February 1969).

161. Note the self-conscious imperialism of *Dream Houses* such as Herbert Baker's Groot Schurr. Stamp designed the title page of the book.

162. Alan Powers, "Roderick Gradidge", *Guardian*, 25 January 2001, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/jan/25/guardianobituaries.alanpower.

163. Kenneth Powell, "Bloater Paste with the Chaps", *Sunday Telegraph*, 5 March 1995, 81. Stamp was co-organiser of the Art Workers' Guild's centenary exhibition, *Beauty's Awakening*, at the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery in 1984. Several of Stamp's other enthusiasms as a graphic artist can be found in the *New Georgian Handbook*, of which Stamp was an uncredited co-author and the book's designer.

164. Paul Joyce (1934–2014) was a fellow draughtsman in the Gradidge office.

165. Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 6: Westminster*, The Buildings of England (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 732–33. While living in King's Cross, Stamp had attended Holy Cross in Cromer Street, designed by one of his "rogues", Joseph Peacock (1887–88). Towards the end of his life, Stamp worshipped at the more conventionally

High Church St Hilda's, Crofton Park (1905–8), the Arts and Crafts Gothic church by F. H. Greenaway and J. E. Newberry.

166. Roderick Gradidge, "The Columbarium and Shrine of the True Cross", typescript of notes written shortly before his death, provided by Kathy Redington, from the archive of St Mary's, Bourne Street, London.

167. Lowry, *The Young Fogey Handbook*, 11.

168. As evidenced especially by his diary, which he hoped to publish. Unfortunately, I have seen only small excerpts from the typescript of Watkin's diary, which he had been preparing for publication with the working title "The Diary of a Don". I have seen excerpts for 1989, 1991, 1993, 1997, 1998 and 2002. The remainder is believed to be held only in digital format on Watkin's computer, which is owned by Paul Doyle (Sheringham Hall, Norfolk, David Watkin Papers).

169. Watkin, diary entry, 26 August 1989, Sheringham Hall, Norfolk, David Watkin Papers.

170. As revealed in a letter from Anthony Symondson to Stamp, 18 October 2001, PMC, GMS/1/1/60.

171. Watkin described Stamp despairingly as "pro-Modernist" in a diary entry of 6 November 1991 (Sheringham Hall, Norfolk, David Watkin Papers).

172. Alexandra Artley, *Hoorah for the Filth-Packets!* (London: Methuen, 1987). *Désordre Britannique* is the term used in Artley and Robinson, *The New Georgian Handbook*, 57. Here one also finds a photograph of the Stamps' bedroom; attached to the bed are Gavin's striped shirts and ties of Watts fabric.

173. A. N. Wilson, *Confessions: A Life of Failed Promises* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), 287. See also Robinson, *Holland Blind Twilight*, 29–30. Robinson and Cruickshank each gifted Regency chimneypieces to the Stamps as wedding presents.

174. Quoted in *Times*, "Gavin Stamp" [obituary], 10 January 2018, 55.

175. Mirroring Naomi Stead's more recent call for a similar practice in Australian architectural criticism (Naomi Stead, "Three Complaints about Architectural Criticism", *Architecture Australia* 92, no. 6 (November–December 2003): 50–52).

176. Goldfinger lived in Highpoint for some time and had known Lubetkin in Paris. Goldfinger had attended the École des Beaux-Arts and the atelier Perret, while Lubetkin was enrolled at the École *Spéciale* d'Architecture and attended the atelier Perret occasionally at Goldfinger's invitation.

177. Gavin Stamp, interviewed by Cathy Courtney, 2 February 2000, British Library Sound Archive, London, C467/48.

178. Colin Amery and Dan Cruickshank, *The Rape of Britain* (London: Paul Elek), 1975.

179. Stamp was one of a crop of architectural historians brought in to develop the uncatalogued collections. The cataloguing of the Scotts resulted in Joanna Heseltine (ed.), *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: The Scott Family* (Amersham: Gregg International, 1981).

180. Simon Swynfen Jervis, "John Harris—an Architectural Historian and Eagle-Eyed Connoisseur—Has Died, Aged 90", *Art Newspaper*, 23 May 2022, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/05/23/john-harrisan-architectural-historian-and-eagle-eyed-connoisseurhas-died-aged-90.

181. Stamp interviewed by Dillon. For Stamp on the Drawings Collection's legacy prior to its move from Portman Place, see Gavin Stamp, "Drawing Bad Blood", *Spectator* 258 (28 February 1987): 19.

182. Stamp, postcard to Goldfinger, 4 September 1979, Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings and Archives Collection, London, The Ernö Goldfinger Papers, GolEr/280/3. Stamp visited Goldfinger's home in Willow Road to interview him for the journal of the Thirties Society in 1982 (Gavin Stamp, "Conversation with Ernö Goldfinger", *Journal (Thirties Society)* 2 (1982): 19–24).

183. Letter from Stamp to Ernö Goldfinger, 30 May 1983, RIBA, Goldfinger Papers, GolEr/278–280/3.

184. Letter from Stamp to Lubetkin, 1 February 1983, RIBA, Lubetkin Papers, LuB/12/5/1.

185. Letter from Lubetkin to Stamp, 5 September 1984, PMC, GMS/1/6.

186. Letter from Stamp to Lubetkin, 11 June 1985, RIBA, Lubetkin Papers, LuB/12/11/4, 11.

187. *Architects' Journal* 186, nos. 50–51 (16–23 December 1987): 27–58.

188. Letter from Stamp to Lubetkin, 25 September 1988, RIBA, Lubetkin Papers, LuB/12/13/15–16.

189. Letter from Summerson to Stamp, 7 September 1979, PMC, GMS/1/6.

190. Gavin Stamp, interview of Berthold Lubetkin, 1987, British Library Sound Archive, London, F8651.

191. For Stamp's critical appreciation of Denys Lasdun, see especially Gavin Stamp, "Dedicated Modernists", *Spectator* 254 (13 April 1985): 29–30.

192. After all, Lubetkin had witnessed the Russian Revolution and was himself a Marxist, and Goldfinger was not only a member of the Union d'Architecture Artist Revolutionaire but also friendly with Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

193. Alvilde Lees-Milne and Derry Moore, *The Englishman's Room* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986), 135.

194. Gavin Stamp, "The Last High Victorian Goth", in *The Golden City: Essays on the Architecture and Imagination of Beresford Pite*, ed. Brian Hanson (London: Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture, 1993), 15. Stamp was referring in this case to the "rogue" architect Arthur Beresford Pite (1861–1934), who looked up to the then-outmoded High Victorians during their late Victorian nadir.

195. Letter from Summerson to Stamp, 2 May 1990, PMC, GMS/1/6. Information from Gavin Stamp's CV, dated 18 January 2017, provided by

Rosemary Hill. According to Anthony Geraghty, Stamp was eventually awarded the chair from the University of Glasgow through the intervention of Charlie McCallum, another contemporary of Gillespie, Kidd & Coia (Geraghty, conversation with author, 3 February 2024).

196. Information from Anthony Geraghty, conversation with author, 3 February 2024.

197. Andrew Sanders added that Stamp desired a regular salary and a comfortable pension (Sanders, conversation with author, 7 April 2022). Artley was also influential in the move to Glasgow. She had recently been contracted to write what became *Murder in the Heart: A True-Life Psychological Thriller* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1993), which would sustain her intellectually and financially for several years.

198. Gavin Stamp, ed., *The Light of Truth and Beauty: The Lectures of Alexander "Greek" Thomson, Architect, 1817–1875* (Glasgow: Alexander Thomson Society, 1999). Stamp organised the Thomson exhibition at the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland (RIAS), Edinburgh, in 1995 and curated an exhibition on Thomson at the Lighthouse, Glasgow, in 1999, when Clydesdale Bank issued a new £20 note to coincide with it. He also made a documentary film with Murray Grigor titled *Nineveh on the Clyde* (1999).

199. Letter from Alvin Boyarsky to Stamp, 8 February 1990, AA Archives, 2010:36.

200. Gavin Stamp, ". . . And a Great Church at the Mercy of Vandals", *Independent*, 21 December 1994, https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/news/and-a-great-church-at-the-mercy-of-vandals-1390353.html.

201. Stamp, "Nooks and Corners", *Private Eye* 767 (10 May 1991): 9.

202. Stamp advised the Department of the Environment on interwar candidates for listing that allowed for more stylistic variety than Nikolaus Pevsner's earlier list of 1967 (Harries, *Pevsner*, 691). For a list of members of the

post-war steering group, see Elain Harwood, *Space, Hope and Brutalism: English Architecture, 1945–1975* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 702. "The importance of Gavin's role was really in lending his name to what were, in the 1990s, some quite controversial proposals . . . to persuade a reluctant public that listing should extend to buildings of that kind" (Bridget Cherry, email to author, 20 July 2024).

203. Stamp, "Learning to Like Modernism", *Spectator* 269 (3 October 1992): 35. The article was a review of the exhibition *In the Line of Development: The Architecture of Yorke Rosenberg Mardall 1930–1992* at the RIBA Heinz Gallery, organised by Alan Powers. The practice designed St Thomas's Hospital, London (1966–75).

204. Powers, "Stamp, Gavin Mark (1948–2017)". See also Gavin Stamp, "Le Corbusier! Our Saviour!", *Apollo* 163, no. 531 (May 2006): 104–5; Gavin Stamp, "Taking the Plunge", *Apollo* 164, no. 536 (October 2006): 82–83.

205. Gavin Stamp, "'How Is It that There Is No Modern Style of Architecture?' 'Greek' Thomson versus Gilbert Scott", in *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City*, ed. Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen (London: Routledge, 2004), 122.

206. Gavin Stamp, Draft script for *One Foot in the Past* episode on Alexander "Greek" Thomson with Kirsty Wark, which aired on BBC 2, 19 July 1994, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, Gavin Stamp Archive, GMS/1/5.

207. Andrew Sanders, conversation with author, 7 April 2022.

208. Alan Powers, conversation with author, 30 December 2022.

209. Stefan Collini, *Common Reading: Critics, Historians, Publics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2.

210. Thomas Weaver, *Against Research* (Santiago: Ediciones ARQ, 2018), 60.

211. Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Architecture*.

212. Stamp, "The Built Word", *Spectator* 258 (25 April 1987): 34.

213. Ibid., 35.

214. Gavin Stamp, *Anti-Ugly: Excursions in English Architecture and Design* (London: Aurum Press, 2013). He was brought to *Apollo* on the invitation of its editor, Michael Hall, in May 2004.

215. Gavin Stamp, "Le Corbusier! Our Saviour!" Especially a belief that many modernist and utopianist experiments in social housing had "failed utterly" (Stamp, "Long May George Peabody's Legacy Continue to Flourish", *Apollo* 183, no. 640 (March 2016): 48–49).

216. Gavin Stamp, "The Don's Joke", *Country Life* 207, no. 30 (24 July 2013): 46–51. This quotation is from the editorial byline and may not be Stamp's own but it summarises the sentiment of the article correctly.

217. Gavin Stamp, *Lost Victorian Britain* (London: Aurum Press, 2010), and *Britain's Lost Cities* (London: Aurum Press, 2007); Gavin Stamp, *The Memorial to the Missing of the Somme*, rev. 2nd ed. (2006; London: Profile Books, 2016).

218. Gavin Stamp, *Interwar: British Architecture 1919–39* (London: Profile Books, 2024), 12.

219. Gavin Stamp, "Anti-Ugly Action: An Episode in the History of British Modernism", *AA Files* 70 (2015): 76–88.

220. Gavin Stamp, "Nooks and Corners", *Private Eye* 489 (12 September 1980): 9.

221. Charles Moore, "The 'Anti-Ugly' Champion of Public Buildings", *Daily Telegraph*, 2 December 2013, 23, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/columnists/charlesmoore/10487251/The-anti-ugly-champion-of-public-buildings.html.

222. Arthur Trystan Edwards, *Good and Bad Manners in Architecture* (London: Philip Allan, 1924); Gavin Stamp, "Critical Scrutiny", *Architects' Journal* 218 (10 July 2003): 52.

223. As Andrew Sanders recalled, Stamp "didn't suffer fools gladly socially, but he would suffer fools early on if they were decorative" (Sanders,

conversation with author, 7 April 2022).

224. Rosemary Hill points out, crucially, that Stamp did make ecological arguments for a building's conservation ("Foreword", in Stamp, *Interwar*, 1–2). Wilfried Wang, "On the Duty and Power of Architectural Criticism", in *On the Duty and Power of Architectural Criticism*, ed. Wilfried Wang (Zurich: Park Books, 2022), 11.

225. Gavin Stamp and Andrew Hopkins, "Introduction", in *Lutyens Abroad*, ed. Hopkins and Stamp, 1; Stamp, ed., *The Light of Truth and Beauty*, 2; Stamp, *An Architect of Promise*, 7.

226. See, e.g., Gavin Stamp, "Keeping an Open Mind", *Apollo* 164, no. 537 (November 2006): 72–73.

227. Gavin Stamp, "Help the Body Help Itself", *Oldie* (September 2017), https://www.theoldie.co.uk/article/help-the-body-help-itself.

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British Library Sound Archive, London, F8651. Gavin Stamp, interview of Berthold Lubetkin, 1987.

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Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings and Archives Collection, London, The Berthold Lubetkin Papers, LuB.

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Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings and Archives Collection, London, The Gavin Stamp Papers, StG.

Sheringham Hall, Norfolk, David Watkin Papers (uncatalogued; private collection).

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