

A Loveable Thing: St. Paul's Cathedral and National Identity, 1900 to 1940

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Introduction

St. Paul's Cathedral is a symbol of Britain, both as an outward representation of Empire and an inward depiction of England as an individual nation. (Figure 1). The ambiguous nature of expressing both imperial and national ideas is at the heart of defining British identity in the first half of the 20th century. Because of this dichotomy, St. Paul's is not a stable image. By understanding the Cathedral as a pliable symbol, its associations can be molded to serve its audience. In terms of nation, the Cathedral acts as a staunch English icon. It is a recognizable symbol of state and has been since its reconstruction in 1675. St. Paul's embodies survival and longevity after the Great Fire of London in 1666, a phoenix rising from the ashes. As Britain expanded and the Empire grew, the image has been reformulated. Having taken on an imperial role, it became the focal point for the stability and endurance of the Empire. Because of the associations of Britain and England, as empire and as nation, national identity is not something easily categorized. However, monuments like St. Paul's Cathedral act as flexible symbols with the ability to depict values of empire and state. St. Paul's significance lies in its elasticity and its ability to survive, serving both nation and empire as it is defined through the circumstances of its time.

Two moments of St. Paul's modern history matter in fundamental ways. Both situations prompted national reflection on the Cathedral's importance. In the 1920s and during the bombings of World War II, the building was under threat. In 1924, St. Paul's was condemned as a dangerous building due to the instability of the structure. This encouraged an examination of the Cathedral's legacy and importance. The second risk comes from external forces. The Blitz of 1940 posed an immense danger to St. Paul's,

which evoked the fear of losing the building. This anxiety was deeply rooted in the panic of surrendering the definition of the British self to an outside force. The response towards the preservation of St. Paul's is just one instance that sheds light onto the larger need to maintain what the building symbolized. These challenges are part of England's national story and serve as defining points as the country struggled to find identity in a changing world.

Most scholarship has treated St. Paul's ecclesiastical history or focused on the continuation of "Phoenix Paulina," the Cathedral's eternal quality.¹ In the 2004 compilation of essays collected in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604 - 2004*, Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint featured essays about various aspects of the Cathedral, from the original medieval church through 2004. One of the major themes that pervaded through the many essays was that of an eternal quality to the building. The essays range from the materiality of the building, the social history that is tied to the building, the interior, and the history of the deans. Throughout these essays, it is clear why the building is physically there, but what remains is the question as to why that matters. This thesis will examine the malleability of St. Paul's image, and how its story of survival is a driving force in its impact.

Other studies of the Cathedral have focused on the architect. Sir Christopher Wren's involvement and intention is critical to the understanding of the building's significance in the 20th century. While researching this topic, Wren's presence was keenly felt. Wren, often seen as the hero-architect, was aware of the implications of

¹ James Wright, *Phoenix Paulina: A Poem on the New Fabrick of St. Paul's Cathedral*, (London: Collins, 1709).

rebuilding of St. Paul's to the city and monarchy after the Great Fire of 1666.²

Biographical works on Wren by Kerry Downs and broad sweeping histories of the Cathedral were important in understanding the role of the architect in relation to his work. Other scholarship has stressed the importance of understanding buildings in relation to their architects and patrons. Both Alice Friedman and Lisa Jardine argue that architecture was a form of self-expression in the 17th century.³ Friedman especially links Renaissance England's self-fashioning to its architecture. To explore that further, an examination of St. Paul's as an expression of Stuart self-fashioning in response to Elizabethan architectural styles was necessary. St. Paul's was a continuation of that tradition, and expressed England's emergence into its modern self.

An understanding of the subtleties in difference between nationalism and imperialism was also imperative to this argument. The terms "Britishness" and "Englishness" denote two separate, yet connected, meanings. It also became important to realize that in the early 20th century in England, the idea of empire was still very strong, and it was not until after the Second World War that Britain's imperial holdings were challenged. The British defined themselves through empire, but as the world faced two world wars, that understanding shifted. The dichotomy between England as empire and England as insular is important in exploring the image of St. Paul's. The Cathedral draws the two terms together, connecting the dualistic self-definitions.

² Leo Hollis, *London Rising: The Men Who Made Modern London*, (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2008), 129-131.

³ Friedman explores 17th century self-fashioning in many of her works, especially "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House," while Jardine explores architecture as an extension of the scientific exploration of the 17th century in her *Ingenious Pursuits: Building the Scientific Revolution*.

In the following chapters, the complex image of St. Paul's in the early 20th century and World War II is explored. Prior to investigating the Cathedral in the 20th century, there is a brief history of the church and an overview of the importance of British architectural self-fashioning. The first chapter examines the building's structure through the 1920s, and its essential role in promoting Britain's image. Next, the terms of nationalism and imperialism will be assessed. Chapter two focuses on the global, yet insular, identity of England, and how St. Paul's Cathedral can be a symbol for both imperial Britain and national England. The final chapter looks at St. Paul's Cathedral during the Blitz of 1940, and how image and propaganda solidified its position as an emblem of England.

St. Paul's has a long history of representing English ideas and has come to embody both England and a larger Britain. Two key moments in the early 20th century solidified the Cathedral's role. Beginning with Wren's reconstruction, St. Paul's been a metaphor for London's survival, its meaning transferred from being the phoenix of the Great Fire to the continued symbol for the survival of empire and nation.

A Short History of the Cathedral and the Importance of Identity in British Architecture

There has been a religious building on the site of St. Paul's since the 7th century. The first St. Paul's was constructed under the direction of Mellitus, a monk who came to Britain with St. Augustine in 597.⁴ Augustine was dispatched to England as part of Pope Gregory the Great's scheme to re-establish Christianity throughout the post-Roman world. St. Paul's held the medieval shrine to Erkenwald, Bishop of London.⁵ The first of St. Paul's fires happened in 675. Almost three hundred years after, the Danes destroyed the structure in 961.⁶

The 10th century church was made of stone, which a second fire destroyed it in 1087, under Bishop Maurice, William the Conqueror's chaplain.⁷ After this fire, the medieval Cathedral (Figure 2) was rebuilt and completed in 1148. The church had a tower of 245 feet, and a twelve-bay nave.⁸ Like its modern successor, the medieval St. Paul's was a point of pride for Londoners. The Cathedral was the largest structure in London and soared over the rest of the city.⁹ However, the medieval Cathedral was not to go unharmed. There were fires, started by lightning strikes in 1341 and again in 1444. Both instances brought the need for repairs to the medieval design.

In the Middle Ages, St. Paul's gained the reputation as a church for the people. The Cathedral offered an alternative to Westminster Abbey, a church fully funded by and devoted to the King. As Ann Saunders mentions in her book, *St. Paul's: The Story of the*

⁴ Ann Saunders. *St. Paul's: The Story of the Cathedral*. (London: Collins & Brown, 2001), 14.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *ibid.*, 14.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *ibid.*, 15.

⁹ *ibid.*, 16.

Cathedral, “[the] Cathedral had been built not by extraordinary royal expenditure but by the devotion of the clergy and the steady charity of all manner of people, low as well as high.”¹⁰ The medieval Cathedral stood as a monument for the English people and their dedication. This idea of St. Paul’s as the parish church of London would be carried throughout its history.

Like the modern Cathedral, medieval St. Paul’s faced many challenges and had to adapt to maintain its significance. During Henry VIII’s Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s, St. Paul’s was badly damaged and the shrine to Erkenwald was destroyed.¹¹ During the Elizabethan era, there was a change in the church’s function. While the church remained a sacred space, the interior of the church was modified for non-religious purposes. It became a place of business, and because of the increased use of the building, the church’s structure cracked due to stress and overuse. After its repairs, it continued to serve as an important place for national celebration. Queen Elizabeth I used the Cathedral to celebrate a Thanksgiving Service for her victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588.¹²

Elizabeth and the succeeding Stuart kings understood the importance of architectural expression as an extension of identity and self-fashioning. This need for a physical representation of incorporeal qualities has been part of the national writing since the Venerable Bede.¹³ A national architectural style was a way to identify as English. Elizabethan expression is explained in Alice Friedman’s “Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House.”

¹⁰ Saunders, 17.

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Adrian Hastings. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 36.

Tending in an apparently antithetical direction, contemporary interest in Italian Renaissance architecture, especially northern Italian and specifically Palladian examples, ran high among architects, craftsmen, and educated patrons in court circles. Numerous sketches for country houses with distinctly un-English plans, derived from the works of Palladio and Serlio, appear in the portfolios of Smythson and other architects during this period. Architectural treatises and hand-books on the topic fill the libraries of patrons and amateurs. Yet while many builders had, since mid-century, incorporated isolated ornamental elements of Italianate classicism into their houses, none had gone so far as to replace the highly specialized form of the hall with the ordered symmetries and open spaces of the axial or central plan. Loss of the aura of tradition associated with these conventional forms - an indispensable ingredient in the representation of power in this period - was apparently too great a risk. Wollaton Hall (1580-88), built by Smythson for Sir Francis Willoughby, is an important transitional example of this phenomenon. The house combines many aspects of the traditional ground-floor plan, including the screens passage, screen, and great hall, with a new compactness and axial planning in an upper-floor plan derived from Palladian models. Wollaton's exterior also integrates the two traditions, creating a characteristically late-Elizabethan mixture of superimposed medieval and classicizing images.¹⁴

Friedman notes the intentionality of a distinct architectural style. While the Stuarts returned to the classical models, the Elizabethans made a conscious effort to display themselves by imposing older, more vernacular architectural styles onto their buildings. The departure from a monumental style set England apart from its continental neighbors. Under Elizabeth I, England was going through an upheaval of order, responding to a female ruler. This upheaval is symbolized through some of the architecture in that time.¹⁵ While traditional elements remained, the example of Wollaton Hall (Figure 3) shows the architectural distinction of Elizabethan England.

By contrast, the Stuarts returned to a neoclassical model, which visually brought focus back to the traditional monumental trope. This shift represented the Stuart desire for stability as England again tried to establish its identity. James I employed Inigo Jones

¹⁴ Alice T. Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House," *Assemblage*, No. 18 (August 1992), 52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171205> (accessed 06 November 2013)

¹⁵ *ibid.*

and used classical architecture to root himself firmly in the architectural traditions of an established past. Architecture connected the Stuart monarchy with historical precedents.

However, the stability the Stuarts sought was interrupted. The monarchy was overthrown during the English Civil War. However, once Charles II regained the crown, steadying measures were once again needed. On September 2nd, 1666 a small fire began in a bakery on Pudding Lane. With dry, windy weather, the small fire turned into a gigantic blaze. Pre-Fire London was a maze of medieval streets, with houses extremely close together, primarily made of wood. These were perfect conditions for the fire to get out of hand. By dawn the fire traveled down to London Bridge and surrounding areas. The destruction of the City brought about major changes for the built environment and an emphasis on different materials. The Great Fire of 1666 was the pivotal moment in both the histories of the City and St. Paul's. While the Cathedral to this point had been no stranger to fire, this inferno brought more than a minor rebuilding. It destroyed a large portion of the City, including the Cathedral. (Figure 4). The fire destroyed Inigo Jones's front portico as well as the remaining medieval parts of the church.¹⁶

The rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral was not only crucial in reestablishing the royal control and connection with the church, but also in replacing a part of London's spirit. Charles II commissioned Wren to rebuild the Cathedral. (Figure 5). St Paul's Cathedral exemplified the notion of architectural self-fashioning. The Cathedral represented a model for English architecture. Wren's design brought English architecture up to the continental European standards, and Wren was aware of the message that the

¹⁶ Saunders, 39.

new church would carry. Lisa Jardine's article, "Monuments and Microscopes: Scientific Thinking on a Grand Scale in the Early Royal Society" puts it in this way:

A horizon-dominating, spectacular St Paul's rising phoenix-like from its own ashes was, in propaganda terms, absolutely central to London's rebuilding effort, and closely associated with the similarly phoenix-like revival of the Stuart monarchy.¹⁷

The Cathedral marked a great achievement for both Wren, whose portrait for the Royal Society shows him with St. Paul's in the background (Figure 6), and the Stuart monarchy. The Stuarts fought an uphill battle to gain legitimacy and worked to establish itself as the true inheritors of the British throne.

Sir Christopher Wren's post-Reformation Cathedral, completed in 1710, is the icon of London. After the Great Fire, London was given the opportunity to transform into a modern city. Wren envisioned an ideal London, "a perfect, geometrically ordered city which might be erected on the conveniently provided clean sheet that had been the capital."¹⁸ (Figure 7). The street plan of London remained largely the same as its medieval lay out, and Wren's scheme was never realized. However, his model intentionally makes St. Paul's the center of the City's design, with the city radiating from the Cathedral. This linked God with the worldly design of the city, thusly making St. Paul's the most important building in London.¹⁹

A more complete history of the church's past can be found in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604 – 2004* and other sources. However for the purposes of

¹⁷ Lisa Jardine. "Monuments and Microscopes: Scientific Thinking on a Grand Scale in the Early Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (May 2001), 295. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.its.virginia.edu/stable/532102> (accessed 03 March 2014)

¹⁸ Saunders, 47.

¹⁹ Saunders, 50.

this study, the majority of the exterior remained unaltered until the 20th century. The interior changes, however, were constant and connected with the changing atmosphere of Anglicanism. Wren's interior was originally plain and emphasized the power and drama of the large, empty space. (Figure 8). He replaced the older tower and crossing with "a Spacious Dome or rotunda with a Cupolo or Hemispherical Roof," echoing the models of the Florence Cathedral.²⁰ (Figure 9). The interior is giant, but it is at a human scale, with the height to the interior columns' shafts is only about four feet.²¹ The effect draws the visitor towards the bright airiness of the dome, which seems to float on a heavenly level. The space under the nave was kept unfurnished until the 1860s, when there was a massive undertaking to remodel the interior.

Today's interior has changed dramatically since Wren's time. As mentioned before, Wren's sparse interior was purposeful. The intention was that the Cathedral would be eternal, drawing on ancient precedents.²² In the 19th century, the interior needed serious attention. After years of neglect, a restoration was crucial. The interior was transformed. There was a heavy amount of gilding in the new decorations and an addition of color into the Choir. (Figure 10). The effect of the interior, with its added stained glass and explosion of color leading towards the apse transforms Wren's empty space into one of intentional jaw-dropping grandeur.²³ These changes in the interior speak to the Victorian influence on the Cathedral as it is used as a stage for important state and civic ceremonies.

²⁰ Kerry Downes. "Wren and the New Cathedral", *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 202.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Theresa Sladen. "Embellishment and Decoration, 1696 – 1900", *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604 – 2004*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 256.

²³ *ibid.*

The changes and additions to the Cathedral in the 20th century add to the church's narrative. St. Paul's has been iconic since its rebuilding, and important within the context of understanding the British self. The threats that the Cathedral faced in the 20th century further exemplify the building's eternal quality. St. Paul's transcends its image as a church and becomes the architectural expression of the British spirit.

Chapter One: Changes to the Cathedral from the late 19th Century to 1925

With heart and mind and treasure our fathers builded these splendid cathedrals that are of the glories of our country. Ours is the humbler, and incidentally the far less costly, task of seeing to it that they do not crumble to the ground. Otherwise we shall go down to posterity as a generation that spent its money freely in the erection of mammoth hotels and splendid Government offices and gaols, but forgot the claims of the House of God.²⁴

St. Paul's is the visual definition of Britishness, and this appeal from 1914 calls for the preservation and care of the church. In the 1920s, St. Paul's was endangered from its foundations. Structurally, St. Paul's had needed almost constant care and attention since the 1700s. The story of the Cathedral at the beginning of the 20th century shows the strength of the Cathedral's importance in the face of a changing world order. This chapter examines St. Paul's at the beginning of the 20th century and explores the continued importance and preservation of it.

The structural dangers that St. Paul's faced in the 1920s were alleviated through the efforts to save the building. This would not have been necessary if the structure did not carry the symbolic weight that it did. As mentioned earlier the Cathedral has needed almost constant care and has been looked after by the Surveyors of the Fabric, who were responsible for keeping the building secure and up to date. One of the ever-present problems has been the unsteady foundation on which the building was constructed. The sub-soil has been likened to quicksand, and it has been a constant battle with the moisture in the ground to keep the building stable.²⁵ The situation with the soil has raised many

²⁴ "Preservation of St. Paul's." *The Times*. 24 February 1914.
http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/viewArticle.arc?articleId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1914-02-24-09-004&pageId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1914-02-24-09. (accessed 14 November 2013).

²⁵ 'St Paul's Danger: Careless Building on Quicksand'. *The Evening Telegraph and Post*, 1 July 1913. (accessed 14 November 2013).

questions and investigations about the safety of the building's settlement. At the onset of the 1900s, the structural security continued to plague the surveyors.

One of the reasons that the fabric needed so much attention was that the Victorian caretakers of the Cathedral were focused on the building's interior. The exterior and structure took a back seat to the décor. Over time, the interior had become grimy and gloomy, and under Francis Cranmer Penrose, the Surveyor in 1851, a major reworking of the interior took place.²⁶ The cavernous space needed to be cleaned and heated, a constant problem that faced the church. It would not be long, though, until the more pressing problems of structural stability would overtake the interior restoration.

In 1890, the extension of the Central London Railway (Figure 11), today's Central Line on the Underground, was set to run very near to the Cathedral's foundations. This caused immense concern from the community about the proximity of the train line.

When a proposal was put forward in 1890 to run the Central London Railway tunnel close to the Cathedral, Penrose consulted Francis Fox, a notable engineer whose career embraced both underground railways and historic buildings, and had the proposal modified.²⁷

This proposal, discussed and set before Parliament in April 1890, suggested that the railway extend from Uxbridge-road to Bank. It was debated in the House of Commons and presented a more expansive system to run through the City.²⁸ This plan would add nine more stops on its way through to Bank, one of the busiest sections of the City. The

²⁶ Martin Stancliffe, "Conservation of the Fabric", *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604 – 2004*, ed Derek Keene, Arthur Burns, and Andrew Saint. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 298.

²⁷ Stancliffe, 298.

²⁸ "Central London Electric Railway Bill", *The Times*, 23 April 1890.
http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/viewArticle.arc?articleId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1890-04-23-08-002&pageId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1890-04-23-08 (accessed 13 November 2013)

article in *The Times* stated that, “[there] was not the slightest fear of vibration or noise above ground, the average depth from the surface being 50ft.”²⁹ At this depth, the disturbance level appeared to be minimal, however, there were still fears about disturbances to the Cathedral’s structure. To settle the question, a committee of architects and engineers was called to examine the security of the structure, which then resulted in stabilizing repair work that would continue through to the 20th century.

Over the next twenty years, including two more Surveyors, work on the structural integrity of the Cathedral continued. When Penrose retired in 1897, Somers Clark, partner of J.T. Micklethwaite who was Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, assumed the role.³⁰ Clarke’s major challenge was to redirect the focus of the work of his predecessors. Too much attention had been paid to the interior, and due to the examinations of the 1890s, many structural issues came to the surface. Once Surveyor, Clarke also had to contend with the continuation of the Central London Railway, as original determinations about the Cathedral’s stability were unclear. Clarke conducted a series of detailed measurements and tests to assess the structural health of the building and found that there was, indeed, a need for repairs.³¹ Ultimately the Railway was allowed to exist, however, it underwent many changes and revisions to the route.³²

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ Stancliffe, 298.

³¹ *ibid.*

³² There has been a much larger study about the construction of London’s Underground system. A full history can be found in *The Subterranean Railway: How the London Underground was Built and How it Changed the City Forever*, by Christian Wolmar in 2009. Wolmar’s book chronicles the history of London’s Underground from its inception to the ways it affected and shaped the city.

For health reasons, Somers Clarke appointed Mervyn Macartney to replace him in 1906.³³

Within weeks of his appointment, the dean and chapter, in response to yet another proposal to run a sewer close to the cathedral, set up a commission to help him examine and report on the building's structural stability ... They reported in 1907 that in spite of the settlement there was no immediate necessity for any extensive remedial measurements, with the important proviso that the existing conditions of the sub soil and the existing water levels were maintained.³⁴

Macartney's work was cut out for him. While the problems of the building's settlement were still an issue, it took many years for anything to be done about the structural integrity.

With all of these tests and challenges to the building, it was a huge project to maintain Wren's structure. The work that had to be done was expensive and ultimately put off for as long as possible. While there was structural neglect, the Cathedral continued to be an important feature in the Empire, as publications increased its visibility. The Cathedral can be found in paintings and etchings throughout the Empire, including in the header for the *London Illustrated News* that was circulated throughout Britain. (Figure 12). So, too, did the Cathedral provide the backdrop for dramatic scenes of imperial power that increased the visualization of St. Paul's as a symbol for both nation and Empire. It is featured in the background of the *London Illustrated News* depiction of Queen Victoria's Jubilee Thanksgiving Service. (Figure 13). In that picture, the queen sits in front of St. Paul's surrounded by colonials dressed in their national costume. The visual connection was of increasing importance as the First World War loomed.

³³ Stancliffe, 298.

³⁴ *ibid*, 299.

In 1914, it was finally decided that the principal works should be done to the pairs of the dome and the crypt.³⁵ This, however, was a massively expensive undertaking. To fund the effort, a public appeal was issued to preserve the Cathedral on 24 February, 1914:

We publish to-day an appeal by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's which should arouse active sympathy not only in London, but throughout the United Kingdom and in many distant parts of the Empire. They ask for a sum of £70,000 to enable them to carry out the duty laid upon them by their position of maintaining intact the fabric of the building under their charge. For some time past it has been a matter of common knowledge that there is a grave risk of subsidence. Unfortunately it is not founded on a rock, but on a shifting substratum of wet sand, gravel, and peat. Wren's Cathedral has not suffered, like its predecessor on the same site, from the havoc of lightning and fire. But the most subtly disintegrating effects of water and rust, aggravated by the disturbance due to the construction of sewers and other underground buildings and the great increase of heavy traffic in the streets, are slowly doing their work[...]. In the section of the *Parentalia*, in which the younger Christopher Wren described the architectural work of his father, it is laid down as an axiom that 'in cramping of Stones, no Iron should lye within nine Inches of Air, if possible, for the Air is the Menstruum that consumes all Materials whatever.' It is a curious fact that the decay now visible is in the stones round the base of the dome is chiefly due to the disregard by Wren's builder of this very precaution[...]. It is therefore all the more incumbent on all who care for the safety and dignity of St. Paul's to give generously to the object of their appeal. With heart and mind and treasure our fathers builded these splendid cathedrals that are of the glories of our country. Ours is the humbler, and incidentally the far less costly, task of seeing to it that they do not crumble to the ground. Otherwise we shall go down to posterity as a generation that spent its money freely in the erection of mammoth hotels and splendid Government offices and gaols, but forgot the claims of the House of God.³⁶

The language used in this appeal is important to the understanding of the meaning of St. Paul's for the British mentality. It plays on many ideas circulating at the time. National duty and the need to preserve a solid connection to the past was a call to arms. The historical aspect of the building was brought to the fore, stating that it was the filial responsibility of modern Londoners to take up their fathers' work on the Cathedral. The Britons of 1914 were being criticized for their focus on worldly pleasures and the lack of

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ "Preservation of St. Paul's." *The Times*. 24 February 1914.
http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/viewArticle.arc?articleId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1914-02-24-09-004&pageId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1914-02-24-09. (accessed 14 November 2013).

higher thinking of the previous ages. While the campaign was successful, the work was slow due to the demands of World War I, because of which the cost of repairs increased.³⁷

Even with this attention, the building's woes were nowhere near over. The Surveyor of the City of London issued the Cathedral a Dangerous Structure Notice on Christmas Eve, 1924.³⁸ It was issued because the building work mandated by the Commissioners were not taking place quickly enough.³⁹ This notice was an effective threat. Again, money needed to be raised to save the Cathedral, and again, there was an understanding that if something should happen to the building, then the British were losing more than a cherished edifice, they were losing the constructed sense of self.⁴⁰ This threat will be repeated later in the 20th century, and met with similar action. The danger of losing St. Paul's awakened the awareness of the need for the church's preservation. It was noted that the work needed to be done immediately, or face the closure and deterioration of a national icon.⁴¹ The piers inability to support the weight of the dome was the major threat to the building's stability. These remodeling works were crucial to the safety of the Cathedral. (Figures 14, 15).

With the end of World War I, work returned to a normal pace, which ultimately helped preserve the Cathedral. Two further reports on the building's safety were issued

³⁷ Stancliffe, 299.

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ These were the same commissioners who were brought in to check the integrity of the building with Mervyn Macartney, who remained Surveyor through the First World War. These experts deemed that the rate of construction was not fast enough to keep up with the strains on the building.

⁴⁰ 'Urgent Work at St. Paul's'. *The Times*. 31 December 1924.
http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/viewArticle.arc?articleId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1924-12-31-11-004&pageId=ARCHIVE-The_Times-1924-12-31-11 (accessed 02 December 2013).

⁴¹ *ibid.*

and subsequently approved of by the Commission and the City of London. The Dangerous Structure Notice was lifted.⁴² In removing the Notice, the historic and national qualities of the building were given in the subcommittee's reports: "the Government should be asked to take the necessary measures in respect to safeguard such a National monument."⁴³ Like the appeal of 1914, the language cites national pride and duty to the building. The Cathedral needs protection because the national image was crucial in understanding a sense of self as Britain moved forward into the 20th century. St. Paul's acts as the visual representation for the larger ideas of nation and empire.

As a result of the money raised by British citizens, the repair works to remove the Dangerous Structures Notice were able to continue. To create a new and structurally sound base for the dome, supporting steel was inserted into the arches and piers. Stainless steel chains and tie-bars were also added for continued support.⁴⁴ Now secure, and perhaps even more than necessary, the dome and Cathedral would be ready to face the next set of challenges. More work was done to the chapels throughout the Cathedral. The Kitchener Chapel and the chapels to the Order of St. Michael and St. George were developed. These additions further extended the sense of the Cathedral as a stage for national and imperial concepts. In giving spaces for the adoration and memory of men who worked towards the continuation of the empire, the church advanced its connection with these ideas. With these additions, St. Paul's was closed from 1925 to 1930.⁴⁵ The

⁴² Stancliffe, 299.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Gordon Higgott. 'Cathedral History: 1906 to present'. "Cathedral and History". St. Paul's Cathedral. <http://www.stpauls.co.uk/Cathedral-History/Cathedral-History/1906-to-present>. (accessed 12 January 2014).

reopening was marked by a Thanksgiving celebration, held on June 25, 1930, and attended by the King and Queen.⁴⁶

This was the final project for Macartney as Surveyor. He retired in 1931, and in his last report, he stated that, “ [the] Cathedral is now as safe as human ingenuity can make it but this condition can only be maintained if the subsoil and the water it contains remained unaltered.”⁴⁷ Macartney left the building structurally capable for what was awaiting it during the trials of World War II. Without the Macartney’s actions, St. Paul’s narrative of survival would have undoubtedly ended differently. From the start of the 20th century, St. Paul’s has served a multi-faceted purpose as symbol of nation and Empire. Its preservation through the 1920s is important to the understanding of St. Paul’s place in the construction of the English myth and national identity. The following chapter looks at the nature of these two terms, and how St. Paul’s fits each description.

⁴⁶ Stancliffe, 300.

⁴⁷ Mervyn Macartney as quoted by Martin Stancliffe, 300.

Chapter Two: Empire, Nation, and Identity

“What should they know of England, who only England know?”⁴⁸ – Rudyard Kipling
 “The English Flag” 1891

St. Paul’s Cathedral serves as an emblem for nation and empire, fitting the need for a visual representation of both, depending on the need. This duality is reflective of Britain’s identity in the early part of the 20th century. This chapter will look at the role of empire and nation from 1900 through to World War II. In this discussion, the idea of national identity and the differences between the collective ‘British’ and an individualized ‘Englishness’ will be explored. These terms are complex within themselves, and it is important to clearly define the meaning of each. Images and visual representations of various aspects of England and the larger Empire were used to define a sense of self. St. Paul’s serves as that visual and has been used time and again to convey the message of nation and empire. The dualistic quality of the image is reflective of the duality of understanding in British identity.

Empire

At the end of the 19th century, the British Empire was at its height, and more visually connected than ever before. As of 1900, the Empire was truly global, stretching from the northernmost parts of Canada to the southernmost parts of Africa, Australia and New Zealand. (Figure 16). And while the world map looked like your older cousin solidly defeating you at Risk, the size of the Empire caused a problem in defining a clear sense of unity between mother country and her dominions. The struggle was figuring out how to connect the outlying territories with England and vice versa. The imperial ideal

⁴⁸ Rudyard Kipling. “The English Flag” (1891). *Kipling Poems: Everyman’s Pocket Library*. ed. Peter Washington. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007).

was something that was constructed and needed to be accepted by the British people both at home and abroad to be successful. The idea needed to be comprehensive enough that it had to become an afterthought. The imperialist agenda needed to seem natural in the understanding of the British self, and it needed to be broadcast. The answer was an increased communication, visually and rhetorically, between England and colonies.

The British people received the imperial message from school textbooks and teachers, juvenile literature, youth movements, the churches, music hall, theater, propagandist societies, exhibitions, cinema, radio, and political parties ... The imperial message also appeared in commercial advertising and packaging. Imperialism itself became a commodity to be sold to the British public.⁴⁹

The key to Imperialism was the increased communication, visually and rhetorically, between England and colonies.

One way visual connection was established was through architecture. While England had images of the more foreign parts of the Empire on display, how was English dominance to be established abroad?⁵⁰ As had been seen in the introduction, English identity has had a history of establishing a sense of self through its architecture. The same practice of establishment was happening throughout the empire. English neo-classicism was exported throughout the empire. This was an important visual connection to the people living all over the globe. Wren's dome was exported to the architecture throughout the empire, and it was a way to connect the imperial citizens to England. This can be most clearly seen through the architecture of Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker,

⁴⁹ Paul Ward, *Britishness Since 1870*, (London: Routledge, 2004), 15.

⁵⁰ There were various showcases of foreign display in England throughout the 19th century. These were chances to see bounds of the empire on display. Colonized peoples were represented usually as 'savages' who needed European civilization. This was also a chance to advertise and showcase the produce and other riches from throughout the colonies. This was also a chance at bringing cohesion to the relationships between the imperial holdings. For more information on exhibitions, see *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, by Andrew Thompson, pgs. 84 to 88.

whose classical designs were imposed upon the colonial landscape.⁵¹ Seen in their architecture in India and in South Africa, the “discipline of English classical style” became the imperial face of the mother country.⁵² There was an appropriateness to the addition of neo-classical structures to the imperial built environment. When Wren reconstructed St. Paul’s in 1675, as mentioned in Chapter one, he was aware of the message that was being presented with the structure of the building.⁵³ There was a similar connotation with the new imperial structures:

The only architectural language that could represent the ‘ideal of British Empire’ and be adaptable to various climates, Lutyens asserted, was ‘of course classic’; it was ‘better, wiser, saner & more gentlemanlike’ than the sham sentiment of imitation Indian styles. Lutyens made no secret of his disdain for ‘Mogulose & Hindoo contraptions,’ ... Like Wren he considered simple geometrical shapes the best, the classical arch, based on a true circle, was fundamental to his conception for architecture in the Indian capital.⁵⁴

This classicism can be seen in Lutyens’ Viceroy House in New Delhi, with its dome and symmetry. The Viceroy House, known as Rashtrapati Bhavan, was built in 1912 and draws upon the classical examples of the Pantheon, a prototype for Wren’s dome. (Figure 17). Baker was inspired by Lutyens’ imposition and similarly built the Union Buildings in Pretoria, South Africa in a classical style. In the view from the gardens, Baker’s building references Wren’s Greenwich Hospital. (Figure 18). The Union Buildings, like the Hospital, has protruding towers that anchor a symmetrical, columned courtyard.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 184.

⁵² *ibid*, 184.

⁵³ Kerry Downes, “Wren and the New Cathedral”, *St. Paul’s: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 194.

⁵⁴ Robert Grant Irving, “Architecture for Empire’s Sake: Lutyens’s Palace for Delhi”, *Perspecta*, Vol 18 (1982), 9. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1567032> (accessed 15 January 2014).

⁵⁵ An interesting study could be made on the connection between the exaltation of masculinity in the 17th and 19th century in relation to architecture. The imperial architecture promoted the established and militaristic masculine ideals that were being propagated in popular culture in Imperial Britain. Likewise, in the 17th century, masculine forms of classical architecture

Imposing these styles meant to “fearlessly put the stamp of British sovereignty” on the colonial environment.⁵⁶ Not only did the architectural style link these outposts visually, they also offered a sense of continuity. This continuity was not only important to create an architectural link with England, but to create a sense of historical permanence to the built environment. Like the Stuart monarchy’s use of architectural precedent to create a sense of longevity to their reign, Lutyens and Baker’s appropriation of Wren and Inigo Jones’s classicism establishes the English claim to imperial power. Having these buildings carry over the English message, the imperial idea can be read in the continuation of style.

St. Paul’s was an ubiquitous link from mother country to the colonies. The appropriation of styles was important and, even after World War I, the imperial agenda was being pushed onto the British territories. As late as 1925, *Country Life* showcased a rendering of St. Paul’s (Figure 19), which was purchased for the National Gallery in Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

The whole of the church is concealed behind the jumble of chimneys and roofs that form the foregrounds of all the grandest views of our unplanned city. London chimney pots have something entirely individual and local about them. Humbler, more intimate than the ranged stacks of Paris or Edinburgh, they convey the essence of London to the Londoner – and the essence not only fog. Their mellow blackness recalls the times when they were built... The greatness of St. Paul’s lies largely in its intimacy. It is a welcoming, loveable thing, inseparable from our London life and London chimneys... No more true and mastery rendering of the essence of London could be presented to Australia.⁵⁷

were replacing the curves and irregular forms popular during Elizabethan times. See the work of Alice Friedman for femininity and masculinity of structures of 16th and 17th century English architecture, and many sources on the British Empire for discussions of gender and empire.

⁵⁶ Irving, 184.

⁵⁷ “The dome of London: an appreciation,” *Country Life*, Vol. 58, 1925. December 26th 1925. London. p. 1011

The tone of the article is warm and welcoming, inviting the Australian audience into the intimate look into London life. As the center of the empire, a connection with London was important in establishing a connection with the understanding of Empire and Nation. St. Paul's represents 'our London', which draws the Australian audience with the Londoners, who are sharing a cozy, home-like, image of the commercial and urban center of the empire. The connection with the Cathedral supplies a connection with the larger empire and invites the Australians to take part in the urban center of the realm.

London was an essential connection from England to the larger Empire, and the use of a Wren-like architectural language connected the outer reaches of the empire with the Imperial hub. The association between the domestic landscape with its imperial sister cities was a strategic move towards bringing the empire together. By the 1870s, British architecture and empire were intrinsically mixed:

It was during this period that Britain openly acknowledged its 'duty' towards empire, recognizing its apparent responsibility as a force for good in the world as well as its desire to extend (by force where necessary) its global trade networks...Here architecture was seen to play an increasingly important role as one of the most imposing and virtually prominent markers of cultural achievement, giving shape and substance to ideas that were otherwise immaterial.⁵⁸

The architectural style was to convey the ideas that would have been otherwise impossible to visualize. The imposing buildings were delegates of British power in its colonies.

Artistic representations of the Cathedral as the central point for the empire also promoted this connection. In his 1904 painting, *The Heart of the Empire* (Figure 20),

⁵⁸ G. Alex Bremner. "Nation and Empire in Government Architecture of Mid-Victorian London: The Foreign and India Office Reconsidered," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (September 2005), 706.

Niels Moeller Lund paints a scene of the bustling London, which is anchored in the background by St. Paul's. The cathedral is the central point in this painting and the action seems to be radiating from it. The attention to scale in the painting is important. The classical buildings of the City dwarf the crowded human figures, and above them all sits the Cathedral. The church is silhouetted by the bright white clouds that frame it. The Cathedral dominates the bustle and the built landscape and is at the heart of this painting. This scene was the "definition of imperial London" and by depicting the Cathedral at the center of all of this, it draws the imperial efforts together and solidly represents the City as the "commercial and financial nexus of the empire, its frenetic source of economic power."⁵⁹ This painting views the Imperial city as a living organism with St. Paul's as its pulsating heart.⁶⁰

Like the visual examples of architecture, the appearance of monarchy as an imperial tool was important. In Paul Ward's *Britishness Since 1870*, he states, "monarchy and imperialism...were intended in many ways to perform the same function of forging Britishness, and because they were seen as so fundamentally linked."⁶¹ Monarchy, according to Ward, gives a unifying force to the imperial story, that all of the nations under the British flag have, at the very least, one common bond. St. Paul's Cathedral is intertwined with the promotion of monarchy and empire as one. The Cathedral served as

⁵⁹ Maurizio Cinquegrani, "Empire and the City: Early Films of London", in Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy (eds), *The Camden Town Group in Context*, May 2012. <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/maurizio-cinquegrani-empire-and-the-city-early-films-of-london-r1104356>. (accessed 01 March 2014).

⁶⁰ Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 31.

⁶¹ Ward, 15.

a dramatic backdrop for imperial celebrations like Empire Day and the royal celebrations throughout the course of the empire. (Figure 21).

St. Paul's is further accentuated as a symbol of empire in the commemorations held there. The crypt and radiating chapels that had been added to Wren's original design only help promote the imperial agenda. The funerals of Lord Horatio Nelson and Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington took place at the Cathedral. (Figures 22, 23). These two men famously defended British pride and the empire. St. Paul's is the resting place to many imperial figures, and their interment stands as a testimony to the building's imperial connection. In addition to the crypt, the chapels that are attached to the Cathedral also speak to the imperial connections of the building. The Order of the Empire, the oldest secular knighthood, has a chapel in the crypt. The Kitchener Chapel, too, is a monument to the imperial understanding of the British self.

Englishness and National Identity: "This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England."⁶²

St. Paul's Cathedral served as a powerful emblem of Imperial might and power, but it also was a more localized symbol. St. Paul's came also to represent England as a nation. London served dually as the capital of both England and the larger Empire, and St. Paul's was at the center of that. As Stephen Daniels puts it in his *Field of Vision*, "At this time all leading nation-states were competing to make their capital cities pompous theaters of national identity, whether royal or republican, in lay out, buildings, monuments and ceremonial."⁶³ St. Paul's served as this theater of national display and

⁶² William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, Act 2, Scene 1.

⁶³ Daniels, 30-31.

had since its reconstruction. The Cathedral was a visual definition of England and what it meant to be English. This section looks at the establishment of “Englishness” as it is imposed on the English, and its separation from the term “British”.

It is important to distinguish the differences between “English” and “British” in the early part of the 20th century. The distinction between the two is a way of categorizing the multi-national identity of the empire. The vagueness of Britishness:

[w]as not part of a crisis of identity but was one of the ways in which the British have tackled the complexities of an integrated yet diverse multi-national polity, formed over centuries, yet only fleetingly ‘complete’ between 1801 and 1922.⁶⁴

Ireland gained independence in 1922 and by World War II, the unity of the British Empire was challenged. Britishness tended to have a larger, more global connotation. Wendy Webster writes, “[m]ost had claimed Britishness as a global identity, and the power, influence, and authority associated with a world role.”⁶⁵ This universal character of Britishness encompassed the entirety of the Empire. The cohesiveness of the term was unifying as well as isolating, as can be seen in Rudyard Kipling’s poem “We and They”. In the poem, Kipling writes of the complexities between the collective identity and the separation that is felt on both sides. “All good people agree,/And all good people say,/ All nice people, like Us, are We/ And everyone else is They:/ But if you cross over the sea,/ Instead of over the way,/ You may end by (think of it!) looking on We/ As only a sort of They!”⁶⁶ This separation between “We” and “They” was keenly felt, but put aside when the overarching “British” term was applied. While the colonies maintained a sense of

⁶⁴ Ward, 141.

⁶⁵ Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire 1939-1965*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 11.

⁶⁶ Rudyard Kipling, “We and They,” *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, (Ware, Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1994), 790.

their own national identities, Britishness was Englishness imposed on the rest of the Empire.

Englishness, by contrast, means England alone, not the rest of the Empire. This term is not easily definable, however it has certain traits that express it. The term is inward looking, while still being the model of, and the understanding for Britishness.

From Shakespeare to Rupert Brooke it has been lauded as the font of freedom and the standard of civilization, a place of virtue as well as beauty... Nelson fell at Trafalgar, according to J. Brahman's patriotic poem of 1812, for 'England, home and beauty' – a phrase much loved and oft repeated in the nineteenth century.⁶⁷

England is synonymous for civilization and the right way to do things. England, then, needed to be a separate entity from the rest of the empire, and it was important to incorporate its own historic culture apart from the Empire. The English myth was important to understanding England as apart and culturally distinct from the remainder of its holdings.⁶⁸

One important way of establishing the importance of a distinctly English character was through Anglicanism. In "The Religion of Englishness: Puritanism, Providentialism and 'National Character'", author Matthew Grimley argues that it was the interwar years when the idea of Britishness came to mean Englishness.⁶⁹ This was largely due to the changes within the structure of the Church of England. In the 1930s, the Church of England came to encompass Anglican and non-conformist Protestant

⁶⁷ Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8.

⁶⁸ David Powell, *Nationhood and Identity: The British State Since 1800*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2002), 88.

⁶⁹ Matthew Grimley, "The Religion of Englishness: Puritanism, Providentialism, and 'National Character'". *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 46 (October 2007), pp. 884-906. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/520264> (accessed 01 February 2014).

religions. This understanding does not include Roman Catholics, Jews or immigrants in their understanding of Englishness. This is significant because being part of the State religion was to be included within the State itself.

[The] new sense of amity between Anglicans and Nonconformists meant that it was no longer contentious to present Anglicanism as emblematic of English national character ...Nonconformists were becoming more inclined to regard the Church of England as representative of Christianity in the nation.⁷⁰

The Church became part of the national culture and not a polarizing establishment for other Christians. Christianity was an important distinction for the English, as well, as they had always been established as a Christian state. In his article, Grimley discusses the common traits that define the English as a people connected through language and experience. “The virtues [the national character] celebrated were gentle ones – tolerance, modesty, eccentricity, and individualism.”⁷¹ So, too, was the English self based on a sense of individual piety, which strengthened the national spirit. This inner piety, or puritanism, refers to the quiet courage and individuality that will be important in understanding Englishness during the Second World War. This puritanism is defined by Grimley as “the more positive attributes of independence, adherence to conscience, tolerance, high seriousness, and hard work. It also had connotations of manly vigor and was often, though, not exclusively applied to males.”⁷² This characterization allowed for England to stand apart from its Dominions.

To put St. Paul’s in this context is to remind the Englishman of its solidity and presence, like the virtues of the English national character. As a structure, it brings the qualities of the English to the fore and displays the sentiments of the national character in

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹ *ibid.*, 889.

⁷² *ibid.*, 896.

built form. It combines the need for a symbol that can be national and imperial, dualistic and singular, all at once. The church, as has been seen in Chapter one was built by a combination of forces to serve the people of England and subsequently the Empire. It became an important showpiece in the visual culture of the late Victorian and Edwardian worlds and was important in establishing the connection between England and her colonies. (Figure 24).

As St. Paul's is the center of the City, and the City is the center of the Empire, the dualistic quality of the image serves both sentiments. The flexibility of the Cathedral's image is necessary for St. Paul's to remain an important site that inscribes the emotions of the nation and Empire as it moves into World War II. The following chapter will show the importance of this structure during the bombings of the war, and why the understanding of the Cathedral as a multi-layered symbol will ultimately be important for the continuation of the British state as it comes up against its Finest Hour.

Chapter Three: St. Paul's in the Blitz: Aerial Attack and Survival

“Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves, that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, this was their finest hour.” – Winston Churchill, 18 June 1940

As the previous chapters have emphasized, St. Paul's Cathedral has acted as a symbol of stability and a visual expression of an English sense of self. Nationalism and Imperialism were important points of self-understanding to the British people throughout the 20th Century. While the British were quick to emphasize tolerance and patience as national and imperial values, they were contrasted with the promotion of German nationalism and the rise of fascism after World War I. By the outbreak of World War II, it was the nationalistic qualities of the British that would determine their line in the handling of attacks. St. Paul's Cathedral was transformed once more into a symbol of stability and security for the British. Using the preservation of St. Paul's as a symbol of survival, the entrenched understanding of resistance and patience were drawn upon during the aerial attacks of World War II. *St. Paul's Survives*, called the War's most iconic photo, was taken by Herbert Mason on December 29th, 1940, and cemented St. Paul's reputation as the emblem of British stoicism.

On September 3, 1939, England declared war on Germany. There was an imminent feeling of a coming attack that permeated London.⁷³ The fear of aerial attacks was a carry over from earlier panic, which stemmed from World War I. (Figure 25). The Cathedral's caretakers, too, were fearful of these developments, and was unsure of its role. In 1939, Walter Matthew, the Dean of St. Paul's from 1934 to 1967, wondered if it would be useful to open the Cathedral as a shelter. Had this happened, the church would

⁷³ Philip Ziegler, *London at War: 1939 – 1945*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 29.

not only have been a symbol of safety, but a possible haven for it under the impending Luftwaffe attacks. However, no matter what the Cathedral did, it could not protect people completely from the coming air raids.⁷⁴

The Cathedral, like the city itself, was at risk. Unlike the internal issues that the Cathedral had sustained during the 1920s, the danger this time was external. The issue was not just fear of a damaged building, but also the fear of a crumbling nation and a decimation of the country. The destruction of St. Paul's would be the end of a symbolic England. The city braced for attack and tried to build up defenses as best it could. The Blitz, the period of intense bombing of English cities, lasted nightly from September 1940 to May 1941. This period of attack was devastating to the civilian population of London, as well as the architectural identity of the city.⁷⁵

The fear of aerial attack was nothing new at the dawn of the war. In the interwar years, it was a constant worry. Lewis Mumford describes the projected terror that he predicts for the future of a militaristic city:

The sirens sounds. Schoolchildren, factory hands, housewives, office workers, one and all don their gas masks. Whirring planes overhead lay down a blanket of protective smoke. Cellars open to receive their refugees. Red Cross stations to succor the stricken and the wounded are opened at improvised shelters: underground vaults yawn to receive the gold and securities of the banks: masked men in asbestos suits attempt to gather up the fallen incendiary bombs. Presently the anti-aircraft guns sputter. Fear vomits: poison crawls through the pores. Whether the attack is arranged or real, it produces similar psychological effects.

⁷⁴ *ibid*, 30.

⁷⁵The Architectural Toll. 1940. *New York Times* (1923-Current file), Sep 23, 1940. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/105166654?accountid=14678> (accessed April 26, 2014). The *New York Times* article laments the architectural losses that London had sustained. "Many Wren churches in the old City have suffered...there is no telling, from the dispatches, how much harm has been done to the quiet courts of Lincoln's Inn, or to the peaceful squares which were London's greatest charm. Having been free of physical catastrophes since the Great Fire of 1666, the London of a fortnight ago was old and mellow, like no other metropolis in the world. That mellowness may vanish in the smoke and flame of bombardments, but London has been amazingly lucky until now in seeing so many of its architectural treasures spared. At this rate one can hope to see many if not most of the, still standing when the nightmare ends."

Plainly, terrors more devastating and demoralizing than any known in the ancient jungle or cave have been re-introduced into modern urban existence. Panting, choking, spluttering, cringing, hating, the dweller in the Metropolis dies, by anticipation, a thousand deaths. Fear is thus fixed into routine: the constant anxiety over war produces by itself a collective psychosis comparable to that which active warfare might develop. Waves of fear and hatred rise in the metropolis and spread by means of the newspaper and the newsreel and radio program to the most distant provinces.⁷⁶

This fear and anxiety that Mumford illustrates is something that Londoners felt keenly. In Saint-Amour's essay on air war prophecy, he discusses Mumford's use of the word 'routine' to demonstrate how this fear that was part of everyday life becomes normal. Saint-Amour states that the city becomes "a space where the civil defense crisis has become ritualized, quotidian, a general rather than an exceptional case: the city, in other words, as a battlefield or trauma ward."⁷⁷ London during the Blitz was this battlefield. The Blitz, a nightly event, became routine. As the bombs continued to fall over London, though, the Londoners began to get used to the barrage. In Malcolm Smith's *Britain and 1940: History, Myth and Popular Memory*, he asserts that, "thousands trekked out of London every night, rather to get a good night's sleep than in terror, ...and returned the following day to get to work."⁷⁸ While the mass panic that was predicted by officials never truly happened, the normalizing of the shock and danger of the bombardment did manifest itself as Londoners' routines. They trudged on with life, accepting that by day there would be work and clean up, and by night they would leave the city, go underground, or wait it out. This cycle of heightened awareness settled itself on the city.

⁷⁶ Lewis Mumford quoted in Paul K. Saint-Amour, "Air War Prophecy and Interwar Modernism," *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 2005. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 2005), 130.

⁷⁷ Saint-Amour, 130-131.

⁷⁸ Malcolm Smith. *Britain and 1940: History, Myth, and Popular Memory*. (London: Routledge, 2000), 77.

London's Blitz tested its residents like nothing else had before, but because of their understanding of their national identity, they responded with a steadfast attitude that allowed them to continue on with life. In her research on daily life in the city during the 1940s, Amy Helen Bell looks at the effects of the Blitz on Londoners. In her book, *London Was Ours*, she quotes M. Mogridge, a London woman writing in 1942:

A people who can remain steadfast under bombardment from dusk to dawn for weeks on end deserve to win, and Fate, in the end, gives the prize to the deserving. The victory of London was not won with weapons it was won in the human heart, and hearts of such caliber can do many things.⁷⁹

This quotation is particularly important as it touches upon not only the confidence of the British victory, but Mogridge also asserts that the city deserved victory due to the inherent morality of Londoners.

Being a Londoner, however, did not just mean being able to physically withstand the bombardment and devastation of the city. It meant belonging on a deeper level. As mentioned in the previous chapter, being identified as English was an exclusive right, one that was entrenched in nationalist and religious association. Class and religious divisions among Londoners was very present and none more so than with London's Jewish community. The Jewish population of London was largely concentrated in the East End, and they were seen as "the object of transferable vengeance."⁸⁰ London's Jews were popular scapegoats for England's problems, including its inclusion in the war. They were also seen as cowards, which stood far outside of the national understanding of the English self. While this was a largely perpetuated image in the early 20th century, there was also

⁷⁹ M. Mogridge's account was part of the Mass Observation collections and is quoted in Amy Helen Bell's, *London Was Ours: Diaries and Memories of the London Blitz*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), 53.

⁸⁰ Ritchie Calder, *The Lessons of London*, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1941), 74.

push back to rectify that image.⁸¹ When the first bombs of the Blitz came, they fell on the East End.

Initially, this attack was seen as an East End problem. The bombs were concentrated in this area to cause the most damage. This was an effective strategy because this part of London had a higher concentration of people and factories; the Germans were trying to cripple London's productivity. East and West London were divided socially, and many West Enders paid little attention to the initial nightly raids. In September 1939, some celebrated the arrival of the action, and celebrated by having a "magnum of champagne to celebrate the commencement of the real war."⁸² And while the disconnect between the East and West end was very prevalent, they eventually were united by the bombs. On 13 September, a bomb hit Buckingham Palace while the King and Queen were there. This spurred an immediate feeling of camaraderie among all Londoners, from royalty to the poor. Now the city was experiencing the Blitz together, the bombs no longer helping to define the class divisions.⁸³ Once the West End had to deal with the bombings, the city became unified.

Eventually, the Blitz became a normal part of life, even though the nervousness of invasion never left. It almost became a white noise. "All was calm...because once you've gone through three nights of bombing and come out alive, you can't help feeling safe the fourth time."⁸⁴ Even with this feeling of acceptance, the death toll continued to rise, and during the Blitz, there were over 40,000 civilian casualties, more than the total loss of

⁸¹ Ziegler, 176.

⁸² *ibid*, 114.

⁸³ *ibid*, 121.

⁸⁴ *ibid*, 122.

British uniformed soldiers until 1942.⁸⁵ The toll on civilian life was devastating to the city's morale, but the British remained defiant. They saw this attack as a personal affront to their way of life and existence. The British saw the civilian casualties not as collateral damage of aerial attack, but as a deliberate act of aggression from the Germans, not as nations against each other, but culture.⁸⁶ This attack only strengthened the people's resolve to remain steadfast in the face of "this hell of Hitler's making."⁸⁷

Throughout this period of attack, St. Paul's symbolized the stoicism showed by the British people. The most damage done to the building was on 29 December 1940. Preparations were taken to strengthen the Cathedral's defenses during the war. During the Great War, the St. Paul's Watch (Figure 26), a volunteer group of firewatchers and protectors, was formed to protect the church from air-raids. However, during World War I, the group was not as necessary, due to the fact that the military technology prevented aerial attack of a comparable magnitude as World War II.⁸⁸ The Watch was reformed by Dean Matthew and Godfrey Allen, the Surveyor of the Fabric, and the person with the best knowledge of the building. This became the first line of defense in the care of the building during the Blitz.

Prior to December 29th, the Cathedral was subject to strikes in September and October, 1940. On 12 September, an 800-pound bomb hit the ground just outside the Cathedral's façade. The bomb had the power to completely destroy the entirety of the front of the Cathedral. Miraculously, it did not explode, but sank deeply into the ground, beneath electrical cables and thick mud. It sank into the unstable soil that had been

⁸⁵ Smith, 70.

⁸⁶ *ibid*, 71.

⁸⁷ *The Daily Herald*, 16 November 1940.

⁸⁸ Trevor Beeson, *The Deans*, (London: Hymns Ancient and Modern, Ltd, 2004), 155.

problematic to the building since its reconstruction. The September bomb was finally extracted from the site after three days of careful work. It was then brought to the Hackney marshes, where it was detonated. The damage of the explosion created a crater a hundred feet across and caused damage to buildings half a mile away.⁸⁹

Had that bomb gone off in front of the Cathedral, the story of the building would have been completely reversed. Its significance to the British was recognized internationally after these bombings. In an article from 13 September 1940, the *New York Times* wrote:

For more than two hundred years the dome of St. Paul's has floated serenely above the roofs of London. It has been many things to many generations of men. To some it has meant enduring strength; to others, who have seen it bathed in moonlight, soaring so lightly over the steeples near by, it has been a miracle of grace. To all in London it has been more personal than any church in the world. It was called the parish church of the Empire, because Londoners turned instinctively at deeply felt moments of national joy or sorrow. Streams of history flowed down its aisles; the tombs of heroes, of Nelson and Kitchener and Lawrence of Arabia, lay in its keeping. What the Campanile is to Venice or St. Peter's to Rome, St. Paul's has been to London.⁹⁰

Without the Cathedral, London would lose its identity. The church's luck would not hold, however, and on the 9th of October, the Cathedral suffered a direct hit from the Luftwaffe. On that night, a bomb ripped through the east choir and exploded mid-air.⁹¹

This brought down masses of heavy masonry, wrecked the high altar, severely damaged the reredos, and completely destroyed one of the 'saucer domes.' All of which raised fears as to the stability of the dome itself, but these were dispelled following the tests and, in spite of the shortage of material and equipment, the continual air raids, the cathedral's works staff carried out essential repairs to the roof.⁹²

⁸⁹ Ziegler, 122.

⁹⁰ "St. Paul's". 1940. *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, Sep 13, 1940.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/105164760?accountid=14678> (accessed 03 April 2014).

⁹¹ Beeson, 156.

⁹² *ibid*, 156.

The damages were repaired and the building did not receive any more damaging blows until December 29th. The October bombings were the most damaging to date, and without the repairs made in the 1920s, it is possible that St. Paul's would have fared much worse. Due to the work of Godfrey Allen and his team, the building held up well in the face of the hits received in December and then later in May 1941.

On December 29th, the Luftwaffe unleashed another attack, this attack was focused on the City, and indeed St. Paul's itself. Herbert Mason, a photographer for the Daily Mail, took the famous *St. Paul's Survives* (Figure 27) during these bombings. Mason's photo was largely used as a propaganda tool, but the image stood as a symbol of Britain's resilience and London's resistance throughout the war. Professional photographs taken during the war were "heavily censored to protect civilian morale and to conceal from the Germans information about the success of their raids."⁹³ The controlling of images was very important, and the information given to the public was strictly controlled. This image, however, was circulated almost immediately. Censorship restrictions to the images and information from the December 29th attacks were lifted, and the official report was that the attack was directly for the City.⁹⁴ The image of St. Paul's standing proud under attack from the air was happily distributed and made an international impact as well.⁹⁵

While the fires surrounding the building were true depictions, the Cathedral miraculously did not sustain the leveling that much of the City did. With the water supply

⁹³ Bell, 29.

⁹⁴ Robert P Post Special Cable to The New York Times. 1940. "Havoc in 'The City'". *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, Dec 31, 1940. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/105198955?accountid=14678> (accessed 26 April 2014).

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

of the City at a drastic low, due to the tidal patterns of the Thames, and given the date being so near to Christmas and New Year's, the volunteer effort was slower in responding than it normally would have been. The fires raged on throughout the City limits from Moorgate, Aldgate, Cannon Street and Old Street. More than 1500 fires were started that night, and as B.J. Rogers observed from the of the Bank of England:

The whole of London seemed alight! We were hemmed in by the wall of flame in every direction. It wasn't just big fires here and there, but a continuous sheet of flame all around us. We rather got the wind up, as it looked absolutely out of control, and we thought, if it did reach us, how were we to get away?⁹⁶

These fires, an element so feared historically by St. Paul's, did not damage the building. However, it was hit by incendiary bombs. The onslaught was so feared that Edward R. Murrow, the legendary CBS correspondent in London during the War, reported the devastation on the night that Churchill called London's greatest trial and finest hour. Murrow stated, "The church that means most to London is gone. St. Paul's Cathedral is burning to the ground as I talk to you now."⁹⁷ And while this obituary was premature, it does give a wider lens to the identity bound intrinsically with the building. Without St. Paul's, London loses a sense of identity and its public face.

Mason's photo shows St. Paul's standing against the sea of black, acrid smoke, however this was not first experienced on the 29th, but certainly the most widely seen. During bombings on 7th September 1940, Tom Chalmers, a BBC correspondent was broadcasting from the roof of the Broadcasting house and reporting on what he saw. He

⁹⁶ B.J. Rogers as quoted in Ziegler, 144.

⁹⁷ Edward R. Murrow, as quoted in Max Hastings, "Censored for days this picture was finally published in the Mail. Now, 70 years on, Max Hastings reveals the dramatic story behind THE iconic image of the Blitz. *The Daily Mail*. 30 December 2010. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1342305/The-Blitzs-iconic-image-On-70th-anniversary-The-Mail-tells-story-picture-St-Pauls.html#ixzz302SqlJo5> (accessed 07 March 2014).

was terrified and awed by what he saw, the Blitz was terrifying, but also startling beautiful:

[If] this weren't so appalling, it would be one of the most wonderful sights I've ever seen...And I think the most beautiful sight of all, apart from the tragedy of it, are the towers and the suspension of the bridge of Tower Bridge...The flames are leaping up in the air now. St. Paul's, the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, is silhouetted blackly against it. ...The smoke is going up very slowly now and it's just illuminated faintly. It's almost like the Day of Judgment as pictured in some of the old books.⁹⁸

St. Paul's rises above the chaos in a horrifyingly beautiful scene that was as terrifying as it was striking. The silhouette of the Cathedral amongst the backdrop of flames sets the Cathedral in a familiar setting. Fire has been common throughout St. Paul's history, as has rising out of it victorious. The phoenix metaphor held true in World War II, but luckily, it did not succumb to fire as it had time and time again.

Mason's photograph captured this feeling. The picture was taken on top of the *Mail* building. He was up there to take pictures of that night's damage. It was one of the most destructive to the cultural heart of Britain. The photographer set up the scene and could not have captured a more perfect moment.

I focused at intervals as the great dome loomed up through the smoke. Glares of many fires and sweeping clouds of smoke kept hiding the shape. Then a wind sprang up. Suddenly, the shine of the cross, dome and towers stood out like a symbol in the inferno. The scene was unbelievable. In that moment or two, I released my shutter.⁹⁹

This moment, gives St. Paul's an almost mythical symbol of strength and rebirth, it is the phoenix born again. It was widely circulated to convey the message that was clearly being constructed by British propaganda. The emotions that are elicited from the view are

⁹⁸ Tom Chalmers news clip as quoted in Malcolm Smith's *Britain and 1940: History, Myth, and Popular Memory*, p. 80.

⁹⁹ Herbert Mason as quoted in Smith, 80.

being constructed. The building is important culturally, and rests at the heart of British ingenuity, but the circumstances surrounding the photo allow it not just to be a lucky and convenient shot, but a deliberate attempt to guide an emotional response. Upon looking at the photo, one feels an immediate pull to stand at London's side during all of the suffering. It is precisely because the viewer is meant to see what she does. The 'moment or two' of pictorial history conveys the constructed message of the British self. This along with countless other propaganda pieces throughout the war allows for a better understanding of the continued construction of a British self.

The December 29th attacks caused harm not only to the exterior of the building, but the interior as well. The scene inside the cathedral did not project the calm determination that the strong façade of the building standing up against the German bombers. While Mason's photograph captured the Cathedral in a moment of determination, the scene at the Cathedral was very different. In an article discussing the iconic photograph from December 29, Max Hastings discusses what was happening inside the building in those 'one or two moments' that Mason's camera captured the image:

Falling rubble had blocked emergency services from getting through the streets and an abnormally low tide in the Thames caused hydrants on which firemen's pumps depended to run dry. When a fire broke out in the cathedral's library aisle, there was no mains water to fight it – the blaze was eventually suppressed with stirrup pumps, buckets and sand. Then soon after 6:30pm, an incendiary bomb – one of 29 to fall on and around St Paul's that night – pierced the lead roof of the dome and lodged in its timbers. Molten lead began to drip into the nave below. The aged wood of the choir stalls and organ screen, carved by the great sculptor Grinling Gibbons, was at mortal risk, while smoke from the blazing buildings surrounding the cathedral enveloped it.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Max Hastings, "The Blitz's Most Iconic Image: On the 70th Anniversary, *The Mail* tells the story of that picture of St Paul's". *The Daily Mail*. 31 December 2010. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1342305/The-Blitzs-iconic-image-On-70th-anniversary-The-Mail-tells-story-picture-St-Pauls.html> (accessed 06 September 2013)

The volunteers were on high alert and the tireless efforts to preserve the interior of the fabric stood in stark contrast to the scene captured in Mason's photo. The rubble and the destruction to the interior had destroyed much of the reworked Victorian interiors that had changed the Wren interior. The damage to the dome caused particular worry. As Hastings mentions, the lead from the partially melted dome began to drip into the nave and this caused fire damage throughout the interior. Without the water supply needed, the interior of the Cathedral was badly damaged, but eventually the workers were able to bring the fires under control.

While the building was tested by the onslaught of the Blitz, the bombings of World War II only strengthened the Cathedral's role as a structural representation of self. St. Paul's became the face of the English spirit, and without that, the English would be fighting for nothing. The Cathedral remained a space where Empire and nation convened as one, and even held the funeral services of Winston Churchill. (Figure 28). St. Paul's stands as a national backdrop that serves the needs of its people, continuing to be London, and the Empire's, parish church. (Figure 29).

Conclusion

St. Paul's represents England's survival. Without it, something internal is lost. There is an inherent spirit that the Cathedral embodies. The end of the 19th century was wrought with struggles and changes to the old order, and the first half of the 20th century was left to deal with a question of how to handle it. Europe was rocked by two world wars and identity was a considerable factor in each fight. Through it all, though, St. Paul's continued to represent the needs of the British people to connect itself with something solidly of themselves. St. Paul's flexibility to represent the needs of the people who look up to it is important in its continuation of importance.

Not only was St Paul's Cathedral the architectural connection between nation and empire, its place as a venue for state events made it just as important for the creation of the empire as it does for the establishment of a visual connection between home and abroad. As mentioned before, it was the place for state funerals and celebrations. As this stage, the Cathedral acts as the repository for the promotion of British ideals. St Paul's was the location of the Duke of Wellington's funeral. Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, gained fame as the hero during the Napoleonic Wars with the decisive victory at the Battle of Waterloo. When he died on November 15, 1852, Wellington's funeral captured the British world. Tennyson even wrote a poem, an Ode to the Duke's death. In it, "St Paul's Cathedral becomes the center of the universe, and national honor becomes religious salvation in and with the 'Godlike' hero."¹⁰¹ The Cathedral served, too, as a ceremonial place, serving as the location of the funeral for Sir Winston Churchill

¹⁰¹ Margery Stricker Durham. "Tennyson's Wellington Ode and the Cosmology of Love," *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Winter, 1976), pp. 277 – 292. West Virginia University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40001884>, 278. (accessed 10 January 2014)

in 1965. The national heroes that were celebrated here make St Paul's a central point, again, in the continuing legacy of the British ideal.

The meaning shifts again with the onslaught of the Luftwaffe's attack on London and the building grew into physical representation and embodiment of all that it meant to be English during times of crisis. The building has been under threat many times in its history, but through it all, it has been resilient.

What was at stake for St Paul's Cathedral in the early half of the 20th Century was the idea of identity and the threat of a disappearing cultural association. The threats to the building were both internal and external, and each instance brought on different emotions within the popular feeling of the Cathedral. For a building that has gone through multiple metamorphoses in the minds of the British people, one thing has remained constant: it has endured. This endurance is not on a whim, but on the care and keeping of a national symbol. It is true that the English spirit is captured and promoted in other, non-architectural ways, however, the Cathedral is a central point in the visual imagining of Britain. London without St Paul's was something unthinkable during the structural issues of the 1920s and even more so in the 1940s. The needs for protecting the building come from an internal place within the national spirit. When people are faced with the terrible knowledge that something so intrinsically part of their identity is about to be lost, then action is taken.

This loss has been the driving force of the preservation and protection efforts for St Paul's Cathedral since Wren's rebuilding after the Great Fire. The building has shifted through times and meanings, but has remained consistently present throughout. It has survived fire and ruin, disestablishment and unification, peace and war. No other building

so fully tells the story of London or encapsulates the ideas of national identity more-so than St Paul's.

The building represents more than Portland stone and an eye to history. It represents people facing a changing world and the very human need for a fixed solidity. St Paul's is that fixed point on the London skyline, and while there has been development around it and a surge into the modern steel and glass architectural future, the Cathedral to the British people and its ideals has remained sturdy and steadfast in this changing world. Alterations have been made to the interior and people have changed, but what remains is the stern face and the bright white stone against the growing and changing city. It is a symbol of former and future assurance, that throughout it all Britain will remain. If nothing else, it is the physical manifestation of the stereotypical stiff upper lip. St Paul's Cathedral, the center of the radiating city, continues to stand because it is a definition of a people.

Today, St Paul's is going through another change, this time, not threatening but still fighting to maintain its importance.

With the disasters of war and the ever-increasing scale of rebuilding in London, Wren's St Paul's has gained strength as a symbol of the city and of the nation. The distinctive skyline where it once ruled a family of churches and other monuments, has all but disappeared. ... Moreover, as the City [of London] fights to maintain its role as a leading international financial market, the neighbourhood of St Paul's has acquired a new significance for its potential value as a business address ...¹⁰²

St Paul's continues to be important in the changing identity of the city, and its ability to transform and grow for the city's needs is part of its history. It is still prominent in a

¹⁰² Keene, Derek. "Past and Future in the Shadow of St Paul's: The Design and Setting of St Paul's: a continuing debate." *The London Journal*. (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1991), 99.

world that is getting higher and more futuristic. It clings to the past as it moves into the future, giving grounding to the modern uses and constructions around it.

This study looks at the effectiveness of place to tell a story. The addition of St. Paul's in England's larger national myth is important in understanding the need to embody values in a tangible form. Architecture as definitions of self is a critical question that deserves more attention. It is not enough to say that a building matters, what is needed is an exploration as to why it does. St. Paul's is important to the British because it exemplifies a sense of self in a way that can be seen and broadcast.

Architecturally, it is a masterpiece of a great mind and the culmination of the many years of blood, sweat, and toil that have gone into the preservation of it. Historically, it is the fixed point on London's horizon that bridges the City and the Nation. It is an ambassador, it is a protector, and most importantly, it continues to be there. (Figure 30).

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Illustrations



Figure 1: St Paul's Cathedral, by Canaletto, c.1754, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (<http://www.stpauls.co.uk/Files/downloads/ba-obj-16-0004-pub-large.jpg>)

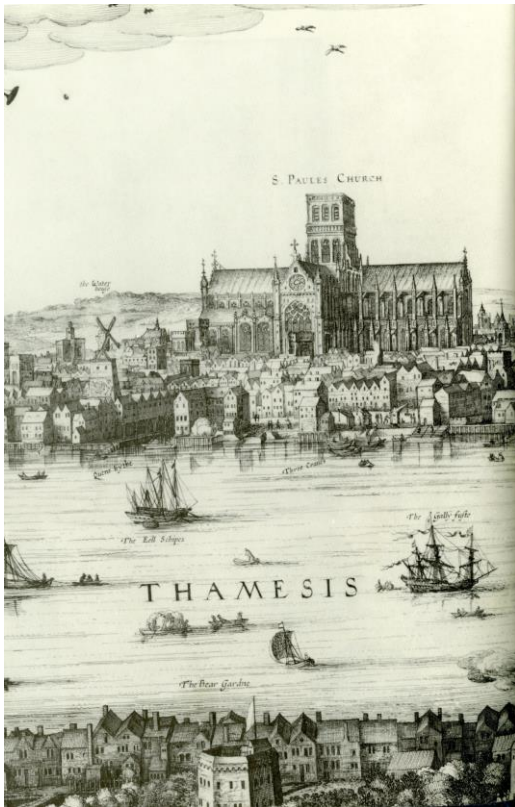


Figure 2: Medieval St. Paul's Cathedral, engraving by Nicholas Visscher, c. 1616. (Ann Saunders, *St. Paul's: The Story of the Cathedral* (London: Collins & Brown, 2001), 19.

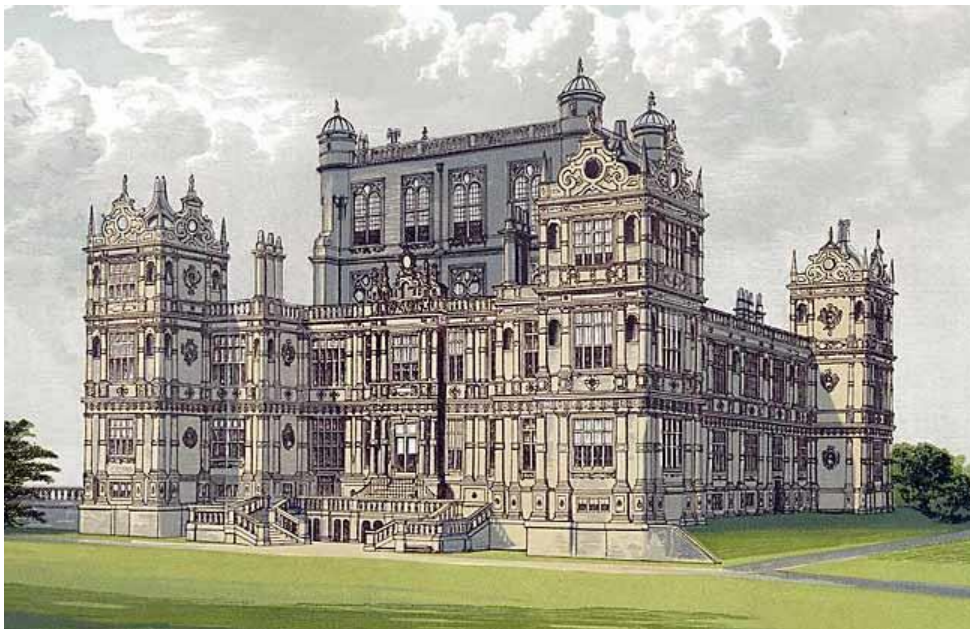


Figure 3: Wollaton Hall, 1580-88. (<http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/Jacks1881/wollaton.htm>)



Old St. Paul's on Fire.

Figure 4: Old St. Paul's on Fire, W. Finden, 1666. (Saunders, 39)

Charles II

Whereas We have been informed that a portion of the
 Impostion layd upon Coales which by an Act of Parliamēt
 is appointed, and set apart for the Rebuilding of the Cathedral
 Church of S.^t Paul in Our Capitall City of London doth at present
 amount to a considerable Summe, which though not proportionable to
 the greatnesse of the worke is notwithstanding sufficient to begin the
 same, and with all the Materials and other Assistances which may
 probably be expected will put a New Quire in great forwardnesse; and
 whereas amongst divers Designes which have been represented to
 Us We have particularly pitch'd upon one, as well because Mr. ^{Wren} found
 it very artificiall proper and usefull, as because it was so Order'd
 that it might be built and finish'd by parts, We do then for by
 these Presents signify Our Royall approbation of the said Designe
 herewith annex'd, And do will and require you forthwith to provide
 according to the said Designe, beginning with the East End or
 Quire, and accomplishing the same with the present stock of money,
 and such other Supplies as may probably accrue according to the
 tenor of the late Commission to you directed. And for so doing
 you shall be your Warrant. Given at Our Court at
 Whitehall the 14th day of May 1665. in the Tenth and
 Twentieth year of Our Reigne.

Commissioners for
 the Cathedral Church
 of London

By his Maj^{ties} Command

Figure 5: Charles II's warrant for the rebuilding of the Cathedral, 1666. (Saunders, 64).



Figure 6: Sir Christopher Wren, Royal Society Portrait, John Closterman, c. 1694. (Saunders, 71)

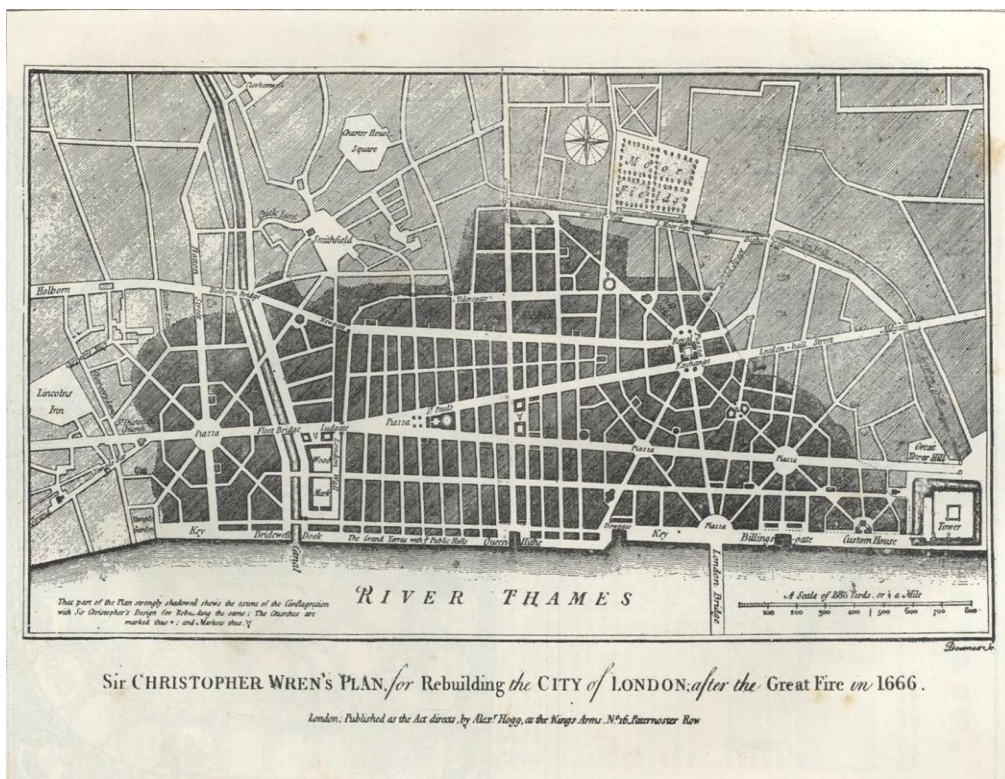


Figure 7: Wren's design for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of 1666, Christopher Wren, 1666. (Saunders, 49)

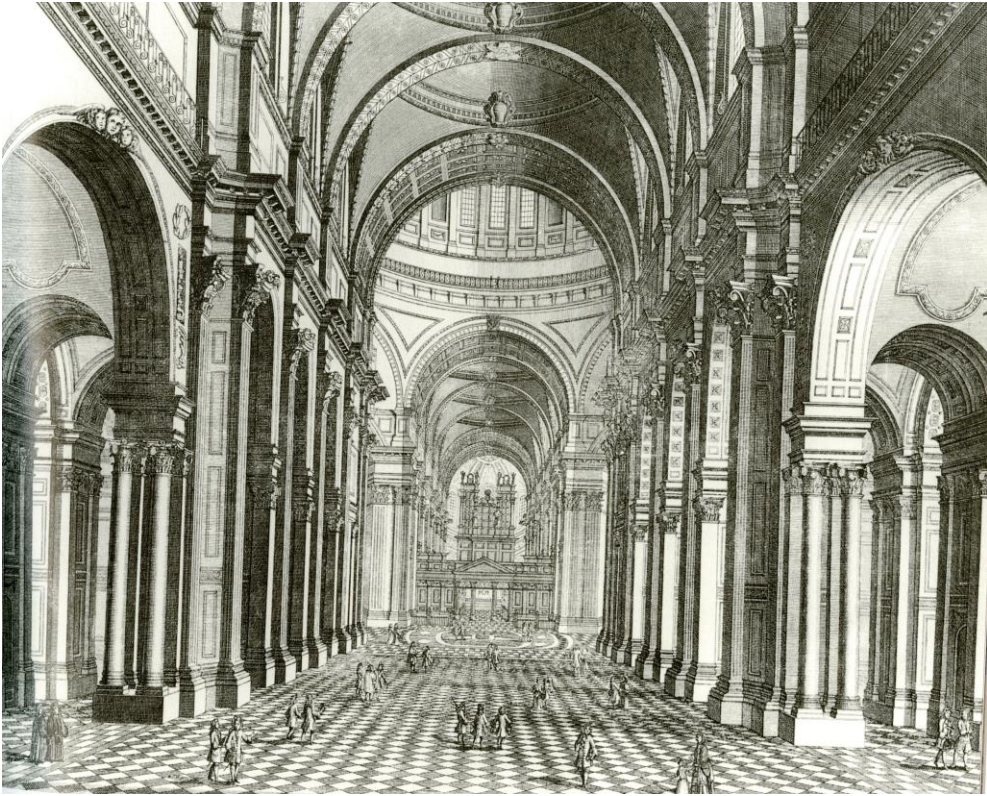


Figure 8: Wren's interior, c. 1720 (Saunders, 87)

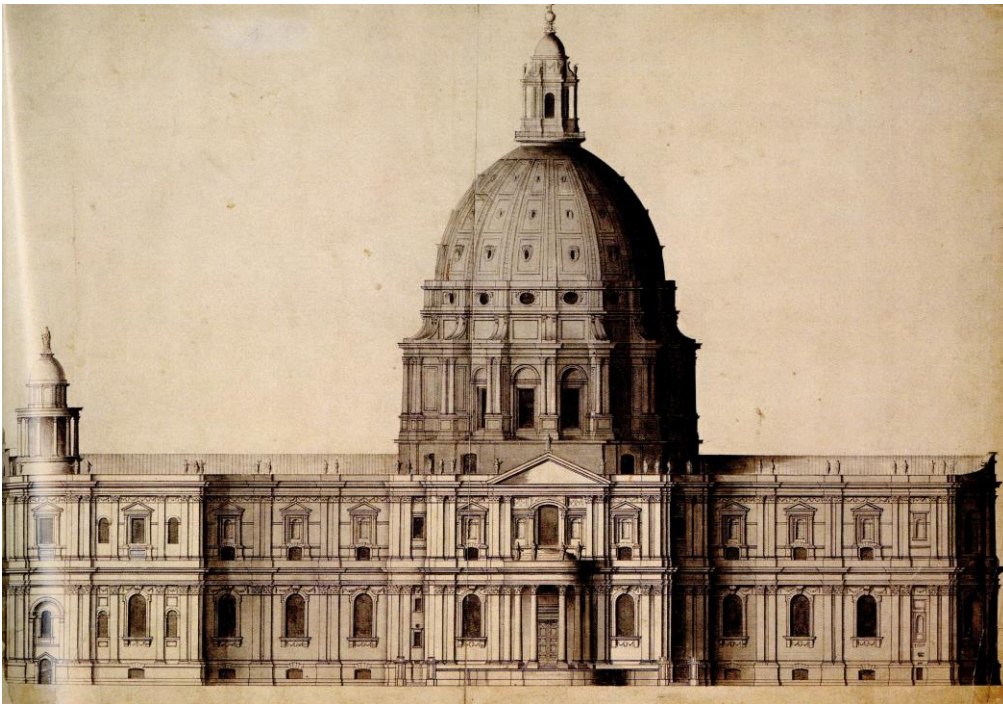


Figure 9: Wren's final design, c. 1675. (Saunders, 65)

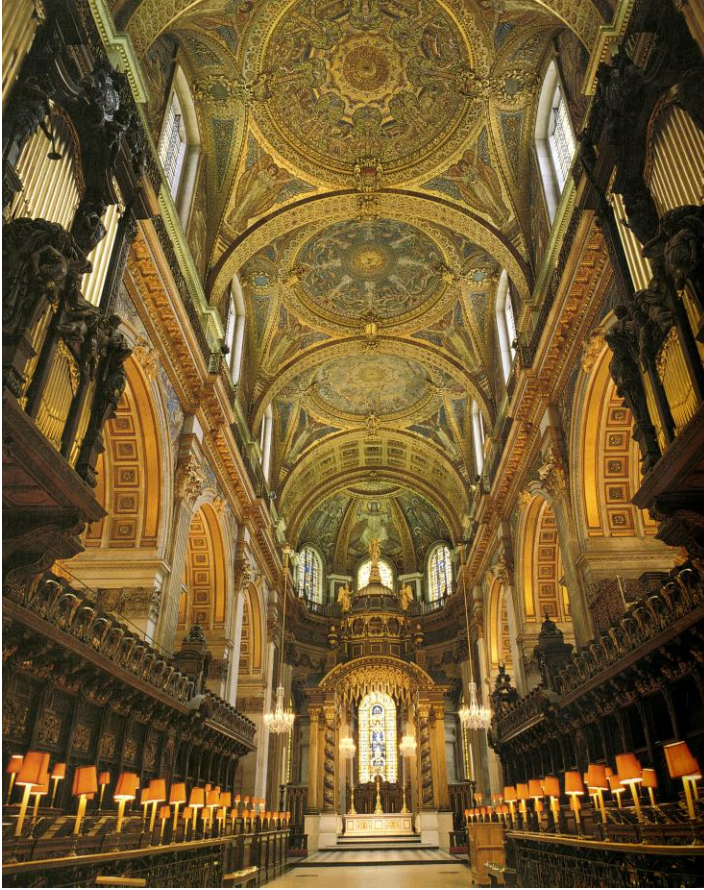


Figure 10: Choir and apse, Sampson Lloyd, 2001 (Saunders, 146)

CENTRAL LONDON RAILWAY 1891

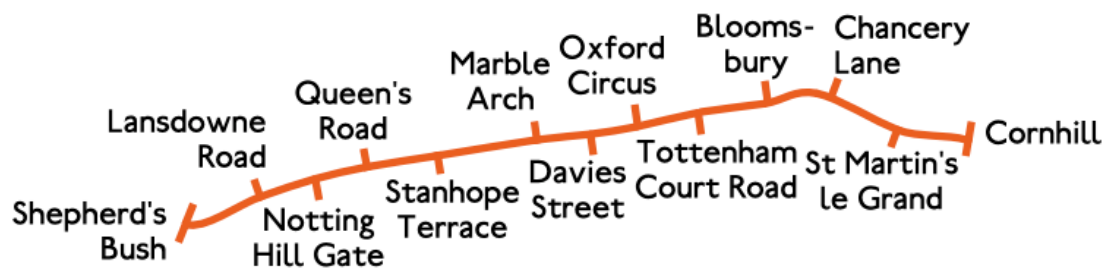


Figure 11: *Geographic Map of the Central London Railway as planned in 1891*, based on Antony Badsey-Ellis, 2005. Ed g2s, 27 March 2010.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Central_London_Railway_1891.png



Figure 12: *The Illustrated London News*, Front page, 7 June 1879. British Library
<http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/images/newspapers/large14386.html>



Figure 13: Front Page of the *Illustrated London News* 26 June 1897, Daniels, Stephen. *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 30.



Figure 14: Repair work to the Cathedral, c. 1925. (Saunders, 175)



Figure 15: Repair work to the Cathedral, c. 1925. (Saunders, 175)

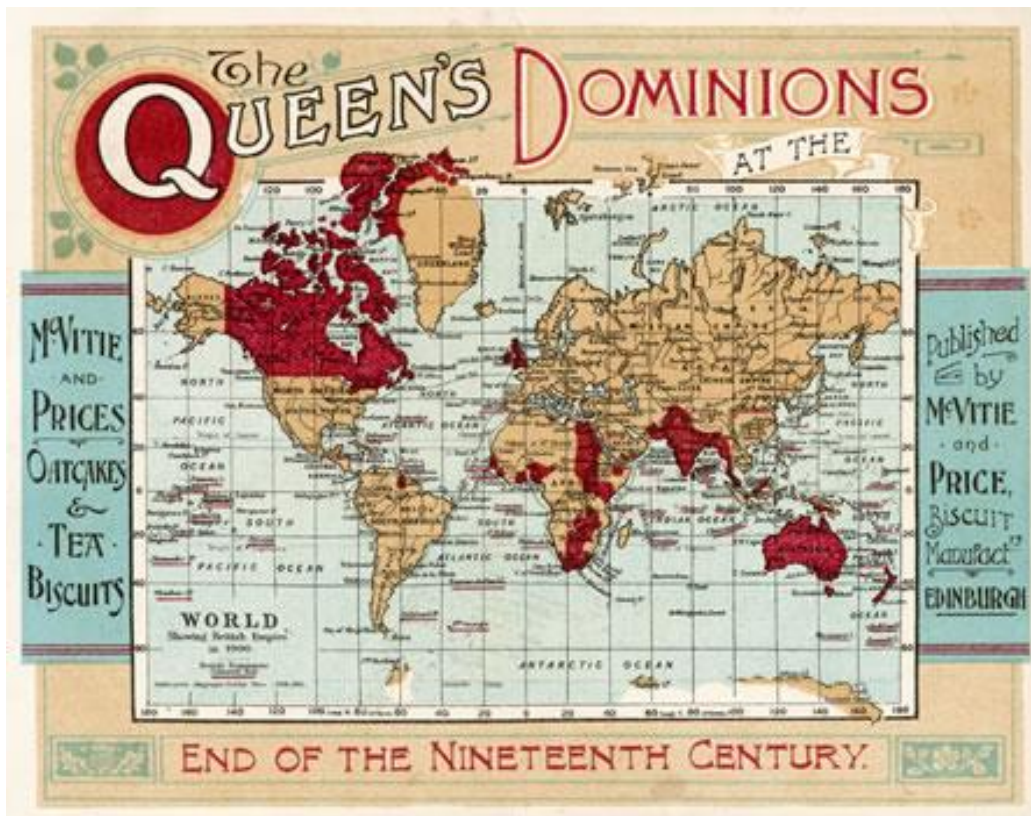


Figure 16: Map of Queen's Dominions, 1897 from McVitie and Prices Oatcakes and Tea Biscuits, Edinburgh - an example of the commercialization of Empire. (BBC, http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/primaryhistory/victorian_britain/introduction/)

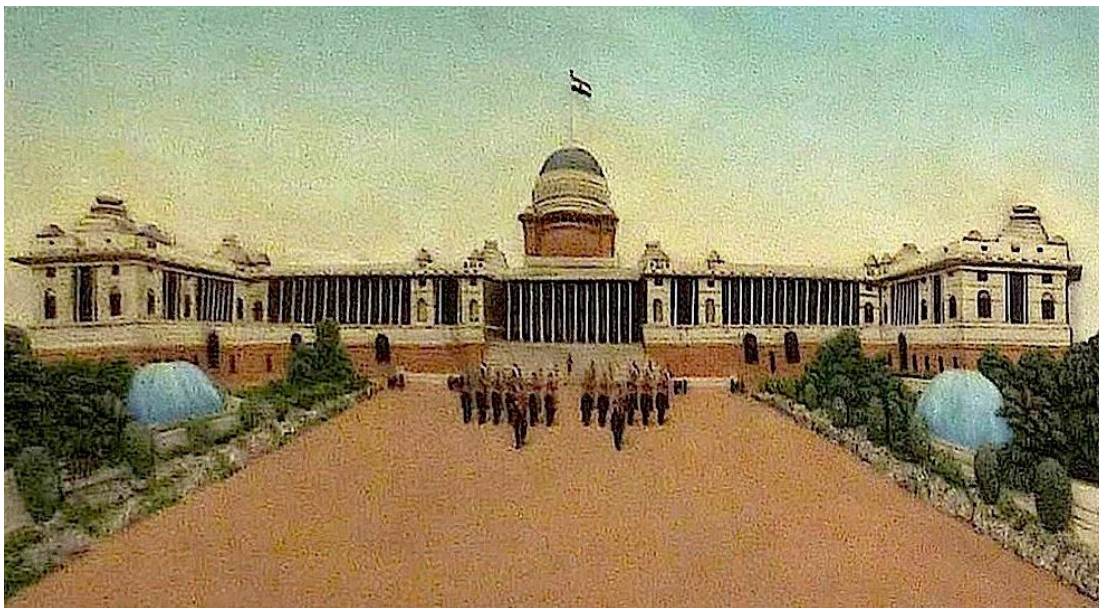


Figure 17: Viceroy House (Rashtrapati Bhavan), New Delhi, Edward Lutyens, 1912
<http://www.victorianweb.org/art/architecture/lutyens/10b.jpg>



Figure 18: Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa, Herbert Baker, 913. Davinci77, Wikipedia. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Uniegebou.jpg>



Figure 19: "St. Paul's Over Amen Corner" by Muirhead Bone, from "The dome of London: an appreciation," *Country Life*, Vol. 58, 1925. December 26th 1925. London, 1011.



Figure 20: *The Heart of the Empire*, 1904, Niels Moeller Lund (1863-1916), Guildhall Art Gallery, City of London.



Figure 21: Queen Victoria in front of St. Paul's at the Jubilee Celebration, 1897. (Saunders 165)



Figure 22: Lord Nelson's funeral procession to St. Paul's, 1806. John Wolffe, "National Occasions at St. Paul's Since 1800", *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604 – 2004*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p 382.



Figure 23: Duke of Wellington's funeral service at St. Paul's, 1852. John Wolffe, "National Occasions at St. Paul's Since 1800", *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604 – 2004*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p 383.

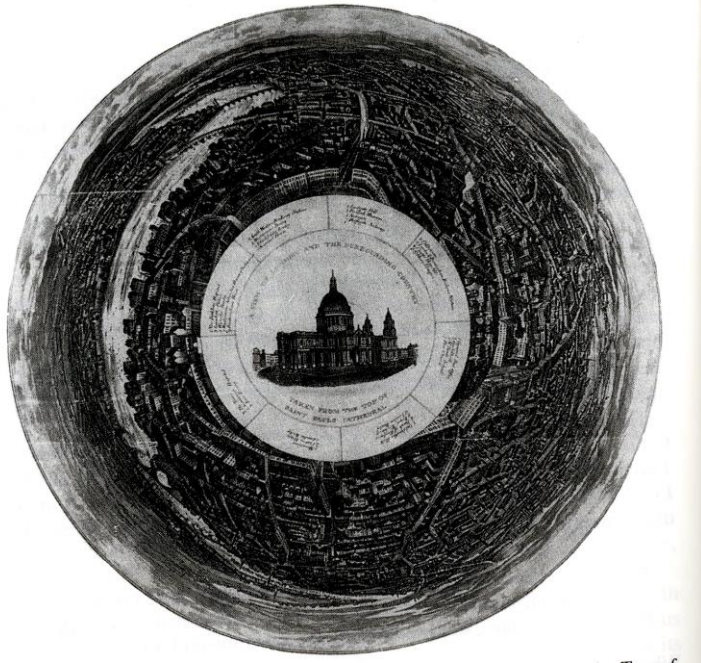


Figure 24: "A View of London and the Surrounding Country from the Top of St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1845. Private Collection." (Daniels, 24).



Figure 25: *Bombers over England*, Georg Lebrecht, a German painter, 1940. (Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), 177.



Figure 26: Members of the St. Paul's Watch, 1942. Arthur Burns, "From 1830 to the Present" *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604 – 2004*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 98.



Figure 27: *St. Paul Survives*, Herbert Mason, 29 December 1940 for *The Daily Mail*. (Saunders, 178)



Figure 28: Funeral service for Winston Churchill, 1965 (Saunders, 202)



Figure 29: St. Paul's floodlit in celebration of VE Day, 1945. Philip Zeigler, *London at War 1939-1945*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 240.



Figure 30: St. Paul's from the South Bank. Photo by Author, 31 August 2013.