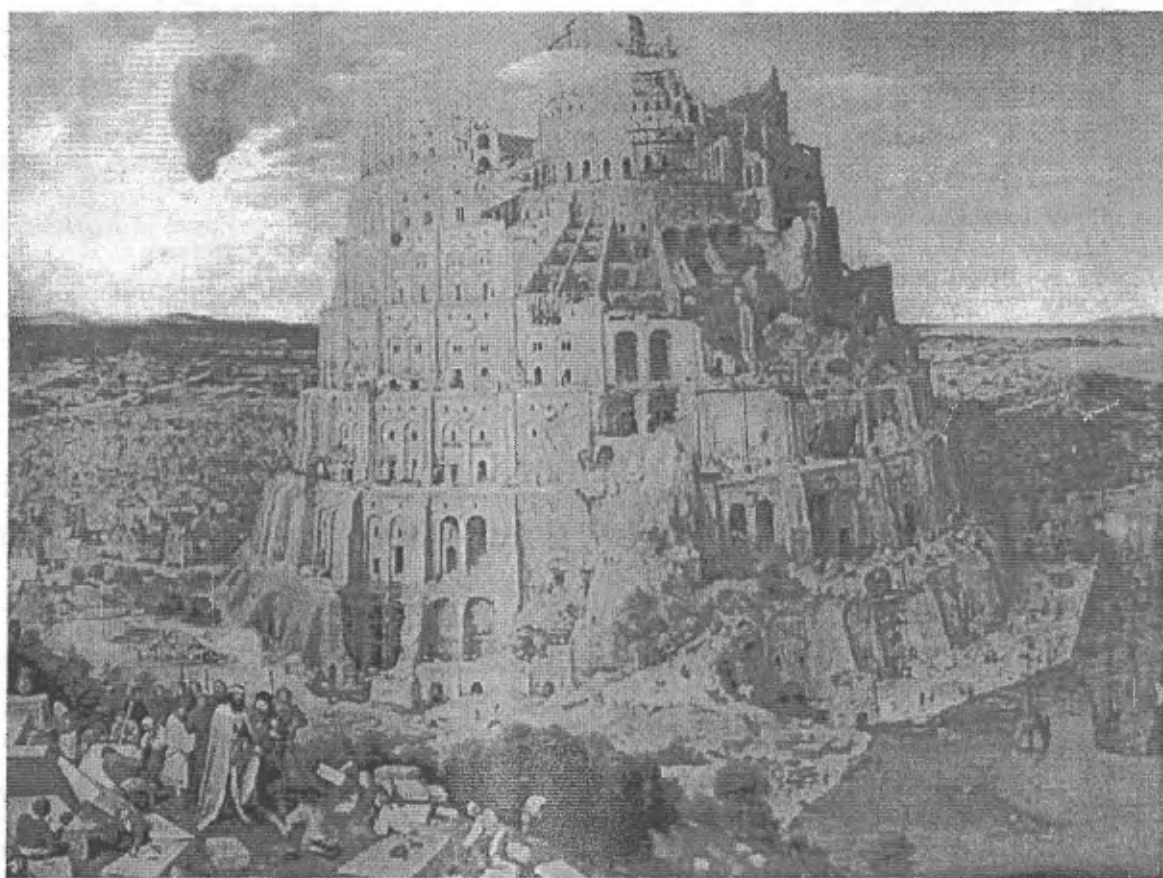


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Cover illustration

The Tower of Babel (1563) by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c.1525–1569), depicting an episode in Genesis chapter 11. When John Wycliffe (c.1324–1384) and his Lollard followers translated the Bible from the Vulgate into English they needed a term to render Latin *lateres* (= bricks, with which the tower was built – and which were unfamiliar to many in the England of the time): they chose *tile stones*, thus, it would seem, combining two familiar elements in order to express the less familiar concept: see the article '*Tile Stone: a Medieval English Term for Brick in the "Wycliffe" Bible*' in this issue, pp.4–9. Bruegel's painting actually shows a brickwork structure clad in stone; his smaller version of the subject (known as *The 'Little' Tower of Babel*, c.1563), by contrast, shows an entirely brick building. For both paintings, with close-up details, see, e.g., R.-M. and R. Hagen, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c.1525–69: Peasants, Fools and Demons* (ET by M. Claridge), Cologne, London, etc.: Taschen, 2004, pp.14–21; one detail from the larger painting (p.19) shows piles of red bricks unloaded on the quay, at bottom right of the cover illustration.

GUEST EDITORIAL: ON BEING A BRICK

You're a Brick, Angela! is the evocative title given by Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig to their study of schoolgirls' fiction between 1839 and 1975, published by Victor Gollancz in 1976. By that time the expression was already somewhat *passé*, but it was once familiar, and in a 2005 crime novel, *A Grave Man*, David Roberts uses it as one element in his creation of the tale's 1930s setting. Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* defines the term, in language now no less quaint, as 'A jolly good fellow', and cites an instance from George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1874–6). The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edition) cites four examples (not including *Daniel Deronda*), the earliest being from R.H. Barham's *The Ingoldsby Legends* (1840). In speech, it is safe to assume, the term would have been current even earlier. The sixth edition of *Collins English Dictionary* (2003) is more up-to-date than Brewer in its definition, but also more bland: 'a reliable, trustworthy, or helpful person'. Angela, one likes to imagine, was rather more *feisty* in her 'brickiness' – more like the protagonist of Denise Deegan's entertaining play of 1983, *Daisy Pulls It Off*.

But why a *brick*? The Centenary Edition of Brewer (1970) suggests: 'perhaps because a brick is solid, four-square, plain and reliable', the second epithet echoing the ancient Greek phrase τετράγωνος ἀνὴρ (*tetragōnos anēr*: literally 'a four-square man', more idiomatically 'a regular bloke') cited in the original (1870) edition. In *English Brickwork*, co-authored with BBS member Ronald Brunskill and published by Ward Lock in 1977, the late Alec Clifton-Taylor commented: 'I have often wondered why committing indiscretions should be described as "dropping bricks".... Then one recalls another common idiomatic use: "He (or ... she) was a regular brick." No hint of indiscretion here...': the picture, he continues, 'is one of

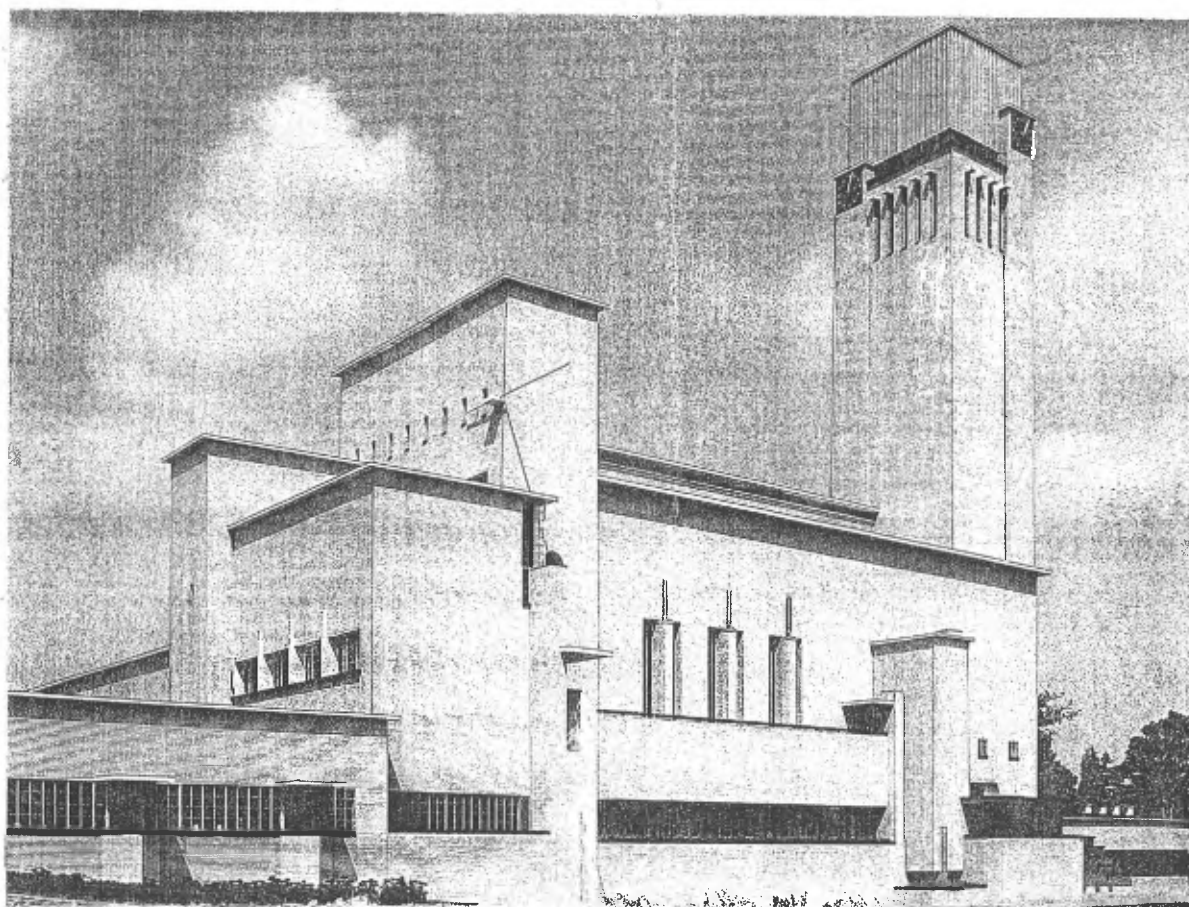


Fig. 1 Hilversum Town Hall (1928–31) from the south

strength, reliability, kindness, warmth'. One may contrast the metaphorical application of some other materials: of the amiable Senator John Bird in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851–2), for example, Harriet Beecher Stowe observes that he is *not* 'stone or steel', whilst Flora Finching in Charles Dickens' *Little Dorrit* (1857) uses 'marble', 'mahogany', and 'stone' to convey the ideas of *hardness* and *coldness*. ('Rock', on the other hand, has *positive* resonances, notably in the religious sphere – 'Rock of Ages', '... you are Peter, and on this rock [πέτρα (*petra*)] I will build my church'.)

Of Clifton-Taylor's four terms, *kindness* may seem, at first, the oddest one to apply to a building material or to the structures in which it is used. And *yet*, the word does not always seem inappropriate, at least when applied to the *best* of brick buildings. In *European Architecture in the Twentieth Century*, published by Leonard Hill in 1974, the late Arnold Whittick records an experience that I have been fortunate enough to witness for myself. Regarding the brick Town Hall (1928–31) at Hilversum in the Netherlands (fig. 1), by Willem Marinus Dudok (1884–1974), Whittick wrote: 'To sit in the gardens on the south side on a summer afternoon when the sunlight is moving from the south face is to enjoy one of the architectural felicities of modern building'. This, to be sure, does not mention *kindness*, but 'felicity' is not so very far removed in meaning and the quality of kindness – of a *welcoming* aspect – is clearly implied. It is, indeed, one of the notable qualities of this and of other brick buildings by Dudok in the town to which he devoted most of a busy working life. Members of the British Brick Society will doubtless be able to think of other brick buildings, old or new, to which Clifton-Taylor's initially puzzling term is no less applicable.

Amongst them, certainly, is the former Luton Grammar (originally Luton Modern) School (1938), by G.L. Turok of Marshall & Tweedy (fig. 2), where our regular Editor, David Kennett, and myself first met – navy-blazered and school-capped, I still in short trousers, he already sporting 'longs' – exactly fifty years ago. I am grateful to him for once again allowing me to occupy the Editor's chair. The arrangement has the advantage that one of my own (too many, I'm afraid) contributions contains numerous oddities of spelling with which it would have been irksome for any editor to have to cope. Aside from that practical matter, the opportunity to edit the issue is due to David's characteristic kindness: he is, clearly – a brick!

TERENCE PAUL SMITH
Guest Editor

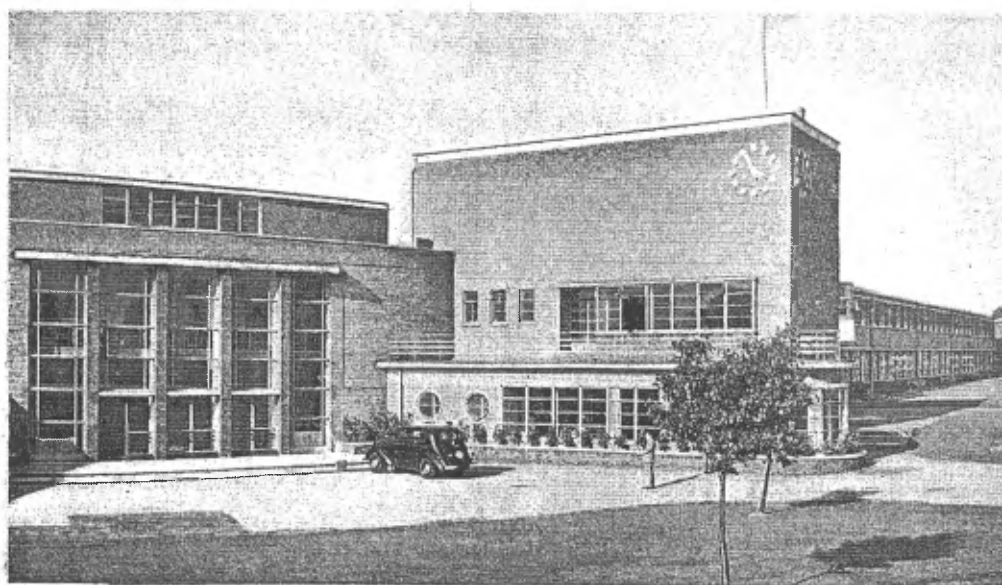


Fig. 2 The former Luton Grammar (originally Modern) School (1938), now incorporated within Luton Sixth Form College

TILE STONE: A MEDIEVAL ENGLISH TERM FOR *BRICK* IN THE 'WYCLIFFE' BIBLE

Terence Paul Smith

Introduction

Some years ago, and drawing on a number of published sources, Jane Wight compiled a useful list of terms used for 'brick' in medieval England: if one treats *bricks* and *brickstones* (both variously spelled) as separate terms, as also with *tegulae* and *tegulae murali*, then it would appear that at least ten terms – Latin or English – were in use.¹ The reason for this lexical *pot-pourri* must lie in the novelty and relative unfamiliarity of the product itself in the England of the time and the consequent absence of an agreed terminology to refer to it.² This absence affected not only the compilers of mundane documents such as building contracts and accounts but also those responsible for more belletristic writings.

The 'Wycliffe' Bible

Amongst the latter were the translators of the 'Wycliffe' (or Lollard) Bible – that is, the English translation of the Bible initiated by John Wycliffe (or Wyclif: c.1324–1384) but almost certainly carried out by various of his Lollard followers and revised in 1388 by one of them, Wycliffe's secretary and friend John Purvey (c.1354–c.1421). This translation did not go back to the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts but followed the Latin Vulgate, the Roman Catholic translation of the scriptures made in the late fourth and early fifth century by St Jerome (c.341–420); as such it included the Deutero-canonical books, recognised as scripture by the Roman Catholic Church but not by Protestants (including Anglicans). The Vulgate refers (or was taken by 'Wycliffe' to refer) to brick(s) on several occasions: the more common, and also the less ambiguous, term used is *later(es)*; less precise in its signification is *testa(e)*, which can apply to various objects of earthenware; both terms are sometimes further qualified, for example by *ex luto*: 'from clay'.³ Most of the references are from the Old Testament, one from a Deutero-canonical work, and none from the New Testament.

The problem for the translators was to render these references from Latin into comprehensible English when no generally agreed terminology for the product was available. Any of the English (though not, obviously, the Latin) terms collected by Wight might have served the purpose, although one suspects that some of them at least would have been unfamiliar to, and thus difficult to comprehend by, those unconnected with the building trade, either as patrons or as craftsmen. And the whole point of the 'Wycliffe' translation was that it should open up the scriptures to *everyone*, rich or poor, educated or uneducated. The term chosen (with variant spellings, as usual for the period) – and which does not appear in Wight's list – was *tile stone(s)*, which is used both as a singular and as a plural noun.⁴

Tile stone(s) in the 'Wycliffe' Bible

The Tower of Babel

The first occurrence concerns the building of the Tower of Babel (cover illustration) in Genesis 11.3: 'And oon seide to his neiybore, Come ye, and make we tiel stonys, and bake we tho [= them] with fier; and thei hadden tiel for stonus, and pitche for morter...'.⁵

Making bricks in Egypt

The term occurs several times in the story of Moses and the Hebrew slaves in Egypt, whose

work included making bricks for Egyptian building projects. Exodus 5.7–9 has: ‘Ye schulen [= shall] no more yyue stre [= give straw] to the puple [= people], to make tijl stoonys as bifore; but go thei, and gedere stobil [= gather stubble]; and ye schulen sette on hem [= them] the mesure of tijl stoonys, which thei maden bifore, nether ye schulen abate ony thing; for thei ben [= are] idil, and therfor thei crien, and seien, Go we, and make we sacrifice to oure God; be thei oppressid bi werkis, and fille [= fulfil] thei tho [= them], that thei assente not to the false wordis.’ In Exodus 5.14 the Hebrew slaves are asked by Pharaoh’s taskmasters, ‘Whi filliden [= fulfilled] ye not the mesure of tijl stoonus, as bifore, nether yistirdai nethir to dai?’ In Exodus 5.16 the slaves complain: ‘Stre is not youun [= given] to vs, and tijl stoonus ben comaundid in lijk manere.’ Finally, Exodus 5.17–19 has: ‘Faraos seide, Ye yyuen tent [= give attention] to idilnesse, and therfor ye seien, Go we, and make we sacrifice to the Lord; therfor go ye, and worche; stre schal not be youun to you, and ye schulen yelde the customable [= accustomed] noumbre of tijl stoonus. And the souereyns [= supervisors] of the children of Israel sien hem silf in yuel [= saw that they were in trouble], for it was seid to hem, No thing schal be decreessid of tijl stoonus bi alle daies [= daily].’

King David sets the people of Rabbah to work

In 2 Samuel (2 Kings in ‘Wycliffe’) 12.31 there is a brief description of King David’s attack on and capture of the Ammonite city of Rabbah: after defeating the city, David ‘ledde forth the puple therof’ and set them to various tasks: amongst other work, in an obscure passage of Middle English, the inhabitants were ‘ledde over bi the licesse of tijl stoonus’ – but the meaning, clear from modern versions, is that David set them to work making bricks.⁵

Rebuilding the city

As an instance of the people’s arrogance following divine punishment, Isaiah 9.10 has the people declare: ‘Tijl stoonys fellen down, but we schulen bilde with square stoonys [= dressed stones]; thei han kit down [= have cut down] sicomoris, but we schulen chaunge [= replace them with] cedris’.

The pride of Moab

Isaiah 16 has two passages referring to the pride of Moab. Isaiah 16.7 reads: ‘Therfor Moab schal yelle to Moab, al Moab shal yelle to hem that ben glad on the wallis of bakun [= baked] tijl stoon’; Isaiah 16.11 reads: ‘On this thing my wombe schal sowne [= sound] as an harpe to Moab, and myn entrails to the wal of bakun tiel stoon’. In most versions the phrases rendered *on the wallis of bakun tijl stoon* and *to the wal of bakun tiel stoon* are treated, entirely properly, as proper names and are therefore transliterated rather than translated: *Kir-hareseth* and *Kir-harash* (AV) and *Kir-hareseth* and *Kir-heres* (NRSV). But ‘Wycliffe’ follows Vulgate’s Latin renderings: *super muros cocti lateris* and *ad murum cocti lateris*.

Speaking against the Creator

Isaiah 45.9 has an incoherent passage which, in later versions than ‘Wycliffe’ does not include a reference to brick: ‘Wo to hym that ayen seith [= says against] his maker, a tiel stoon of erthe of Sannys’.⁶

Worthless sacrifices

Isaiah 65.3 has: ‘It is a puple that stirith me to wrathfulnesse, euere [= ever] bifore my face; whiche offren in gardyns, and maken sacrifice on tiel stoonys’.

Jeremiah at Tahpanhes in Egypt

Jeremiah 43.8–9 reads: ‘And the word of the Lord was maad [= made] to Jeremye in Taphnys,

and seide, Take in thin hond [= hand] grete stoonys, and hide thou tho [= them] in a denne, which is vndur the wal of tiil stoon, in the yate [= gate] of the hous of Farao, in Taphnys...'.⁷

Depicting the siege of Jerusalem

In Ezekiel 4.1 the prophet is directed to depict the siege of Jerusalem: 'And thou, sone of man, take to thee a tijl stoon; and thou schalt sette it bfore thee, and thou schalt discriue [= draw, inscribe] ther ynne the citee of Jerusalem'.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream

In Daniel 2.43, Daniel interprets one of King Nebuchadnezzar's dreams concerning various kingdoms: 'Forsothe that thou siest irun meynd [= mixed] with a tiel stoon of clei, sotheli [= truly] tho [= they] schulen be meynd togidere with mannus [= man's] seed; but tho schulen not cleue [= cleave] to hem silf [= themselves], as irun mai not be meddlid [= mixed] with tyel stoon';⁸ at Daniel 2.45, he continues: 'bi this that thou siest, that a stoon was kit down of the hil with outen hondis [= hands], and maad lesse [= reduced, crushed] the tiel stoon, and irun, and bras, and siluer, and gold'.

Preparing for a siege

One of the more difficult passages, so far as the Middle English is concerned, is in Nahum 3.14: 'Drawe vp to thee water for asegyng, bilde thi strengthis; entre in fen, and trede, thou vndurgoynge holde a tiel stoon'.⁹

Teaching a fool!

It is entertaining to end this catalogue with an easy-to-read proverb which may appeal – at least in more jaded moments! – to anyone who has ever been involved with teaching, even if modern glues have somewhat undercut its import. The Deutero-canonical Ecclesiasticus (or The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach) 22.7 observes: 'He that techith a fool, [is] as he that glueth togidere a tiel stoon'.¹⁰ The exercise, in other words, is a waste of time!

Some other occurrences of tile stone

The same term was used, also in the late fourteenth (or possibly in the early fifteenth) century, by the anchorite Dame Julian of Norwich (c.1342–post-1416) in describing the red face of the Devil seen in one of her 'showings': 'The color was rede like the tilestone whan it is new brent [= burnt], with blak spots therin like blak steknes [= speckles], fouler than the tilestone'; or in a modified version: 'The coloure was reed lyke the tulle stone whan it is new brent, with blacke spottes there in lyke frakylles [= freckles] fouler than the tyle stone'.¹¹ Spelled *teghelstān*, the term also occurs in a fifteenth-century manuscript included in the *Reliquae Antiquae*.¹² After citing a few of the 'Wycliffe' Bible examples, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) cites two further medieval instances. The first is from an English translation of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, dated by OED to 1432–5: 'Oon ston was of marbole ... that other was of tyleston'; the second is from John Arderne's *Treatises of fistula in ano* of c.1425: 'Tak a tile stone or a scarthe [= sherd] of a potte, and putte it in the middez of brynnynng colez [= in the midst of burning coals]'. Later citations date from 1573 down to 1681.¹³

The origin and purpose of the term

It is tempting to connect the English term with Middle Dutch *tichelsteen* (variously spelled), which was sometimes used to mean 'brick' though more often to mean 'floor tile'.¹⁴ This would be consonant with the established adoption of Low Countries terms due to trading connexions with that area.¹⁵ There can be no serious doubt, for example, that English *bakston*

is simply an Anglicisation of Dutch *baksteen* (= brick; cf. German *Backstein*).¹⁶ On the other hand, *tile stone* appears, on present evidence at least, to be restricted to *literary* use, not occurring in building contracts or accounts. It seems more likely, therefore, that it was a discrete English coinage, designed to express as well as possible what was involved.¹⁷ *Tiles*, particularly in the form of floor tiles within churches but also as roofing tiles, were far more familiar to people in fourteenth-century England than were bricks.¹⁸ *Stones*, of course, were an entirely familiar building material, if only again from the parish church. The two concepts could therefore be put together to convey the idea of *brick*: the phrase *tiel for stonus* in the Genesis passage quoted above may bear this out: as we might put it: 'they used tiles *as* (or *as if they were*) stones'; the point is not necessarily undermined by the fact that the phrase is a word-for-word translation of Vulgate's *lateres pro saxis*. Though a literary term, that is, *tile stone* was also coined with the intention of being understood by the masses.

Dominance of the word *brick*

Although Julian of Norwich's 'showings' were recorded in the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, surviving manuscript copies date only from the late sixteenth or from the seventeenth century, by which time, of course, the language was already archaic. Yet *OED*, as noted above, records usages of *tilestone* down to 1681, so that the term was presumably still comprehensible – at least to some – as recently as the late seventeenth century. This may account for the fact that the modified manuscript of Julian's 'showings' does not change *tilestone* to *brick*, whereas it does modernise many other words – replacing, for example, *wonyth* by *dwelleth*, *mekil* by *great*, and *harre* by *sharp*.¹⁹

Already by the early *sixteenth* century, however, the word *brick* was more familiar than it had been in the late fourteenth century (as was the product itself in some parts of the country), and in post-'Wycliffe' translations of the Bible it is the word used in place of *tile stone* in various of the passages quoted above. In Tyndale's version (1526, final revision 1534) Exodus 5.7, for example, reads: 'se that ye geue [= give] the people no moare strawe to make brycke with all as ye dyd in tyme passed: let them goo and gather them strawe them selues'. Thereafter, *brick* (variously spelled) became the normal term in early modern translations: Coverdale's version (1535) uses *bryck* in Exodus 5.7; the Geneva Bible (1560) uses *bricke*; the Bishops' Bible (1568) uses *brycke*; and AV (1611) in its original spelling uses *bricke*.²⁰ In some other passages references to *tile stone* are replaced by alternative, and more accurate, terms – *potsherd*, for example.

In other texts and in non-literary documents too the word *brick* gained dominance in this same period and eventually superseded all rival terms. It seems likely that it was the use of the word in all post-'Wycliffe' Bible translations that fostered this dominance, since the Bible was familiar to practically everyone, either through personal reading or through hearing it read in church. The word itself was probably derived not from Old French *brique*, as has sometimes been suggested,²¹ but from Middle Low German or Middle Dutch *bri(c)ke*, although the French term 'prob[ably] reinforced the adoption from L[ow] G[erman]'.²²

Notes and References

1. J.A. Wight, *Brick Building in England from the Middle Ages to 1550*, London: John Baker, 1972, pp.63–5; I have counted here the term *bakston*, which Wight places under the heading 'Types of brick' at p.66 but which would be more appropriately placed in her general list of terms for *brick*.
2. There was, moreover, great variation within Middle English, as Chaucer noted in *Troilus and Criseyde* (c.1383): '... ther is so gret diversite / In Englissh and in writyng of oure tonge': F.N. Robinson, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edn, London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, p.479, ll.1793–4; William Caxton was still complaining of such 'dyuersite' a century later: quoted in D. Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, corrected edn,

- Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.57. (Interestingly, Chaucer and Caxton saw this as a fault; Prof. Crystal, notoriously, sees it as just the opposite.)
3. In the first-century-BCE Latin of Vitruvius, *later* is used for 'sun-dried brick' and *testa* for 'fired brick': F. Granger, ed. and trans., *Vitruvius on Architecture, Books I–V*, Loeb Classical Library, corrected edn, Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1998, e.g. pp.112, 116; but the terms later changed their signification.
 4. I have used the online version available from Wesley Center Online at Northwest Nazarene University, Nampa, Idaho, at http://wesley.nnu.edu/biblical_studies/wycliffe/. I have added explanations, in square brackets, where I have judged that there might be difficulties for those unfamiliar with Middle English; otherwise, I have let the original texts speak for themselves. It is, of course, easy enough to consult a more modern translation for further explication. For some of the more obscure passages I have added modern versions in the endnotes. Certain letters, it should be noted, are used interchangeably – most confusingly *u* and *v*. The Vulgate text is available on the Clementine Vulgate Project at <http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/html/index.html>. In what follows, AV refers to the Authorised (King James) Version (1611) and NRSV refers to the New Revised Standard Version, Anglicised Edition (1995).
 5. 'Wycliffe' is translating word-for-word Vulgate's no less obscure *traduxit in typo laterum*: Latin *typos* (from Greek τύπος) means 'image, likeness'; NRSV has: David 'sent them to the brick-works', making the best of a difficult Hebrew passage. 'Wycliffe', following Vulgate, labels the books now familiar as 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, and 2 Kings as, respectively, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 3 Kings, and 4 Kings.
 6. Vulgate reads: *Vae qui contradicit fictori suo, testa de samiis terrae*; NRSV has: 'Woe to you who strive with your Maker, / earthen vessels with the potter!'
 7. NRSV has '... bury them in the clay pavement ...', but a textual note explains that the meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain; AV has: '... hide them in the clay in the brickkiln ...'; Vulgate, which 'Wycliffe' typically translates word-for-word, reads: ... *abscondus eos in crypta quae est sub muro latericio*.... Tahpanhes is modern Tell Defenneh (an Arabic version of the Greek name Δάφνη; *Daphnē*, used by Herodotus and other Hellenic travellers) on Lake Manzala in north-east Egypt: W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tanis II – Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, London: Trübner & Co., 1888, pp.47–96.
 8. It may be helpful to give a modern rendering of this somewhat obscure passage; NRSV, which uses the term *clay* rather than *brick*, reads: 'As [in your dream] you saw the iron mixed with clay, so will they mix with one another in marriage, but they will not hold together, just as iron does not mix with clay.' A textual note explains that the Aramaic, here translated 'in marriage', is literally 'by human seed', thus supporting 'Wycliffe', which is based on Vulgate's *quidem humano semine*. In using *tiel stoon of clei* rather than just *clay* 'Wycliffe' is again following the Vulgate text: *testae ex luto*, which may be translated as *object of burnt clay*, *earthenware jar*, or *potsherd*.
 9. Here it seems preferable to give a modern rendering rather than pepper the original with numerous glosses. NRSV, which is set out in lines of verse, reads: 'Draw water for the siege, / strengthen your forts; / trample the clay, / tread the mortar, / take hold of the brick-mould!' Note that this modern version has 'brick-mould' rather than 'brick'; AV, by contrast, finishes: '... make strong the brickkiln'. 'Wycliffe' is following Vulgate's *tene laterem*.
 10. Again NRSV differs from 'Wycliffe': '... one who glues potsherd together'; Vulgate has *qui docet fatuum quasi qui conglutinet testam [est]*, where *testam* may be translated as *object of burnt clay*, *earthenware jar*, or *potsherd* (cf. n.8).
 11. M. Glasscoe, ed., *Julian of Norwich: a Revelation of Divine Love*, revised edn, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993, p.108; D.N. Baker, ed., *Julian of Norwich: Showings*, New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 2005, p.103: in this latter transcription the editor has used *th* in place of the Middle English letter *thorn* of the original. The composition of the longer text of Julian's 'showings' (which is used here) is normally dated to 1393, but for argument that it dates from the early fifteenth century see N. Watson, 'The Composition of Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Love*', *Speculum*, 68, 1993, pp.637–83. Some modernised versions misleadingly translate *tilestone* as 'tile' or 'tiles' rather than as 'brick': e.g. E. Spearing, trans., *Julian of Norwich: Revelations of Divine Love*, London: Penguin Books, 1998, p.152, which compounds the error with an endnote, by A.C. Spearing, at p.186, n.62: 'red like newly fired tiles: Norfolk floor and

- roof tiles are typically bright red and *unglazed*, the last word of which (my italics) is erroneous, at least as far as medieval *floor* tiles are concerned. For medieval Norwich floor and roof tiles see P.J. Drury, 'Ceramic Building Materials', in S. Margeson, 'Norwich Households: the Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations 1971–1978', *East Anglian Archaeol.*, 58, 1993, pp.163–8.
12. T. Wright and J.O. Halliwell, eds, *Reliquae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts*, vol. 1, London: William Pickering, 1841, p.54.
 13. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, *sub* **tilestone**; the original of Arderne's *Treatises* uses the Middle English letter *thorn* for *th*. The earliest citation in *OED* is an Old English gloss of 1100: '*Hec imbrex, tighel-stān*'. (The original uses the Old English letter *yogh* for *gh*.) Here the gloss makes it clear that the term is being applied to a roofing tile, and this and the fact that the next uses do not appear until the late fourteenth century lead me to conclude that these chronologically widely separated terms have nothing to do with each other: *tile stone*, that is to say, is an entirely discrete coinage of the late Middle Ages, devised to meet a new lexical requirement.
 14. J. Hollestelle, *De steenbakkerij in de Nederlanden tot omstreeks 1560*, 2nd edn, Arnhem: Gysbers & Van Loon, 1976, pp.50–53, 212; *tichelsteen* (plural *tichelstenen*), is the term used for *brick(s)* in the 1715 Dutch translation of the Bible: it occurs in several of the passages quoted above, although Genesis 11.3 uses *tichel* (singular) and *tichelen* (plural).
 15. L. Wright, 'Trade between England and the Low Countries: Evidence from Historical Linguistics', in C. Barron and N. Saul, eds, *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995, pp.169–79. One aspect of contemporary English xenophobia was the fear of 'foreigners who sought, allegedly, to destroy the use of the English tongue', whilst in early fifteenth-century Bishop's (now King's) Lynn the first version of *The Book of Margery Kempe* was written 'in a mixture of English and "Duche", apparently a sort of North Sea *lingua franca* stemming from commercial practice': A. Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her World*, London: Longman, 2002, pp.109, 172.
 16. This is clear from, e.g., the purchase at Sandwich in 1372–3 of 4,400 *Bakston* for use at Dover Castle: J.H. Harvey, *Mediaeval Craftsmen*, London and Sydney: B.T. Batsford, 1975, p.142. There is no warrant for taking *bakston* to refer to 'flat pieces of terracotta or stoneware, used in cooking': the conjecture is offered as such in V. Harding, 'Cross-Channel Trade and Cultural Contacts: London and the Low Countries in the Fourteenth Century', in Barron and Saul, 1995, p.166, n.28 (an endnote), although by p.163 of her main text this conjecture has hardened into 'fact'. No evidence is offered beyond reference to a twentieth-century book on Italian cookery, the relevance of which to medieval England and the Low Countries is not immediately apparent.
 17. With two languages as closely interrelated as Middle Dutch (MDu) and Middle English (ME), and using < for 'borrowed from', the historico-linguistic problem with individual terms is that of distinguishing between (i) ME < MDu, (ii) MDu < ME, (iii) MDu and ME < a common source, and (iv) independent coinages within MDu and ME using cognate elements: cf. Wright, 1995, p.172; the suggestion in my text is that MDu *tichelsteen* and ME *tile stone* belong to group (iv).
 18. For the widespread manufacture of medieval floor tiles see the map in E.S. Eames, *Catalogue of Medieval Lead-Glazed Earthenware Tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum*, London: British Museum Publications, 1980, vol. 1, p.24, fig.1; also E. Eames, *Medieval Craftsmen: English Tilers*, London: British Museum Press, 1992, p.4, fig.1.
 19. The modified version is Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) MS anglais 40 and is transcribed in Baker, 2005; the version transcribed in Glasscoe, 1993 is British Library MS Sloane 2499: though a later copy than the Paris manuscript and modernising the orthography, this nevertheless preserves an earlier form of English, much closer to that of Julian herself.
 20. These versions of Exodus are conveniently available in parallel columns at <http://faithofgod.net/PentJona/Ex.htm>. For a succinct account of sixteenth-century translations: A. Nicholson, *Power and Glory: Jacobean England and the Making of the King James Bible*, pbk edn, London: Harper Perennial, 2004, pp.247–50.
 21. E.g. Wight, 1972, p.65.
 22. C.T. Onions with G.W.S. Friedrichsen and R.W. Burchfield, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966, p.117, followed by various dictionaries, e.g. *Concise Oxford*, 1999, *Shorter Oxford*, 2002, *Collins*, 2003, but not, curiously, by *OED*.

BRICK IN PRINT

In Spring and early Summer 2007, the British Brick Society received notice of several publications of interest to members. Publication of such notices is now a regular feature of *BBS Information*, with surveys usually appearing twice a year. Members involved in publication or who come across books or articles of interest are invited to submit notice of them to the Editor of *BBS Information*; websites may also be included. Unsigned contributions in this section are by the Guest Editor.

1. Anon., 'Freston Tower: a Magnificent View', *Heritage Homes*, 3, [June] 2007, pp.40–47.

Freston Tower (fig. 1) is dramatically sited above the River Orwell, some 4½ miles (6 km) south of Ipswich in Suffolk. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk*, 2nd edn, revised E. Radcliffe, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973, p.224 cites a reference of 1561 to the effect that it was 'built within these twelve years' – thus c.1550. This new article, however, reports a dendrochronological date of 1578/9 from selected timbers within the tower. A date of c.1580 certainly fits much better the architectural character of the building, which may be compared with the Elizabethan tower at Clifton House, King's Lynn and with the Elizabethan Tower House at Bracondale, Norwich, especially in the pedimented windows, although Freston is more elaborate than those two. In c.1580 the manor of Freston was owned by Thomas Gooding, a wealthy Ipswich merchant, for whom, therefore, the tower must have been built. The 1561 reference presumably relates to a mid-sixteenth-century building, by the previous owner, Christopher Latimer – perhaps a house to which Gooding added the tower. The windowless lower three stages on the south side, with a simple square-headed doorway asymmetrically placed on the ground floor, certainly suggest this, as does the roof 'shadow' visible in earlier photographs (fig. 1, in which a later porch obscures the doorway).

The tower is of red brick laid in English Bond, with lozenge and saltire-cross patterns in black bricks on the north and west faces – those most clearly visible from the river. The north face is also distinguished by a semi-octagonal turret, which rises through seven stages, each with single-light windows, some of them with triangular pediments. The tower itself is of six stages, with an arcaded parapet at the top. The stair thus gives access not only to the individual floors but also to the roof, where the turret changes to a fully octagonal form. At the corners of the tower are octagonal clasp-buttresses, which rise well above the parapet. The main tower has copings of shaped bricks, but the stair-turret has a crenellated parapet, also of shaped bricks – an interesting medievalising element in a late Tudor building which was otherwise striving to be up-to-date with its Classical trimmings. (The crenellations have had to be reconstructed using replica bricks, their forms based on old photographs.)

The windows of the main tower increase in complexity as the building rises: the three lowest stages have triple-light windows with square heads; the next two stages have similar windows topped by triangular pediments; whilst the topmost stage has larger windows with mullions and transoms – forming six lights – again topped by triangular pediments. The building also includes some blind panels, as well as two plaques flanking the window on the fifth stage of the south face: the article suggests that these may have been painted with Gooding's arms, which were *Or a fess between six lion's heads erased gules*.

The window surrounds, the mullions and transoms, and the interiors of the pediments were originally rendered to resemble stone, a practice known from elsewhere. This has now been restored as part of general reparation of the tower.

The purpose of the tower is not known for certain, but it is significant that there are no fireplaces, ruling out permanent domestic use. The article plausibly suggests that 'the most likely explanation is that it was simply a celebration of wealth. / Freston Tower was originally

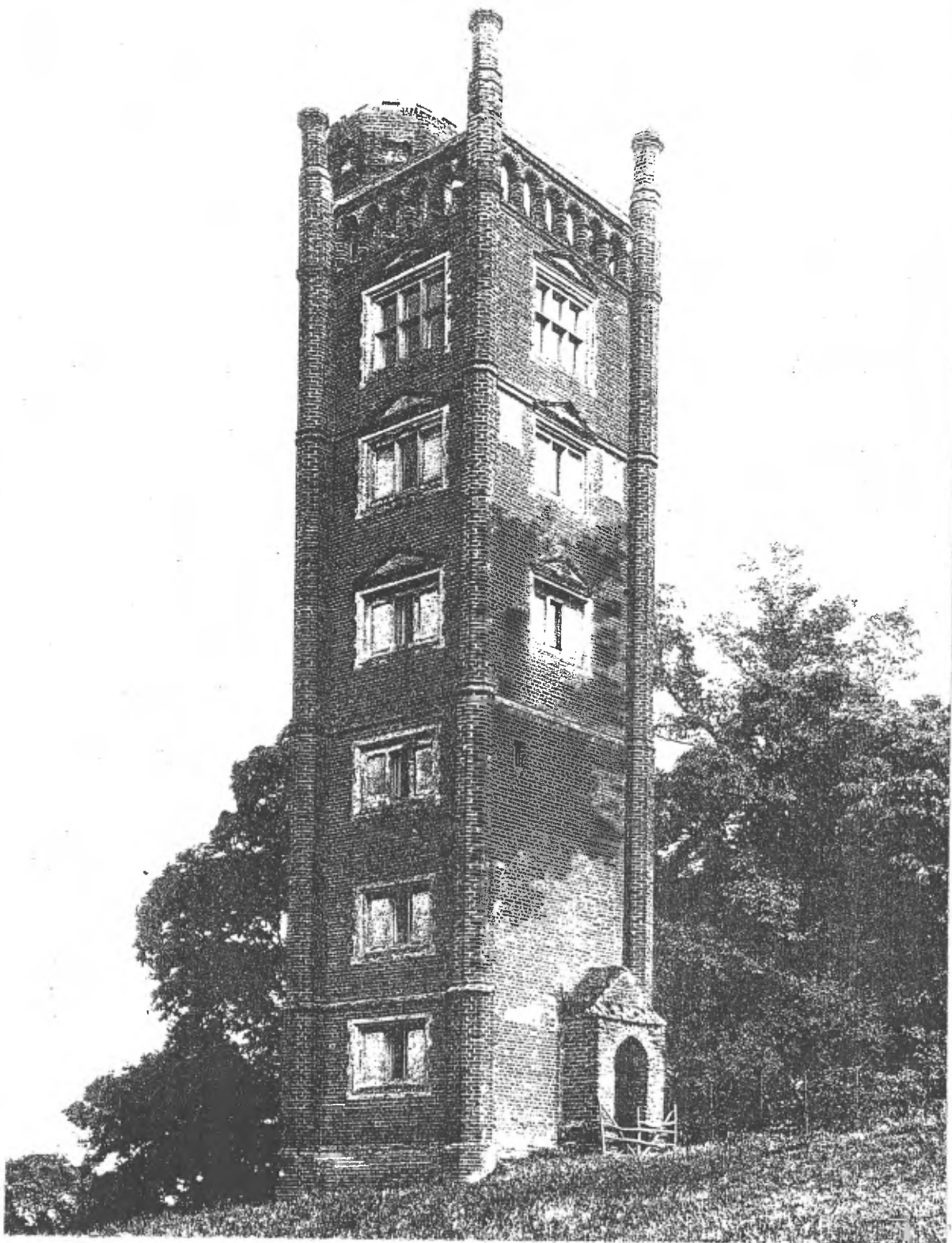


Fig. 1 Freston Tower, Suffolk from the south-west, before the recent restoration; as part of that work the (later) porch at bottom right has been demolished; above it is the roof 'shadow' of a once adjoining wing, its form suggesting a half-hipped building.

built to be looked at and out of rather than lived in...' (p.41); this dual aspect is reflected in the nicely ambiguous 'Magnificent View' of the article's title. Perhaps, more practically, as the article suggests, Gooding also used it to watch for the safe return of his ships to Ipswich, just upriver from Freston.

The building has passed through several owners, the last of whom, Mrs Claire Hunt and her husband, used it as a holiday home when sailing on the Orwell. In 1999 Mrs Hunt generously gave it to the Landmark Trust. Now beautifully restored, it is available for holidays for up to four people. (Details are available from www.landmarktrust.org.uk, telephone 01628 825925.) The article is illustrated by nine excellent colour photographs, five of them showing the brickwork.

2. Douglas Black, 'The Fall and Rise of St Brendan's Church, Belfast', *C20: The Magazine of the Twentieth Century Society*, Autumn 2007, p.13.

A 1965 church by Denis Hanna had attempted in its materials to express something of the spirit of St Brendan the Navigator (c.486–c.575), a man known to the medieval world and to Christopher Columbus, by using a tall nave with a steep roof and a cedar-clad tower. Hanna's building stood for just two years and one week, before being destroyed in a storm.

The 1967 replacement, by Gordon McKnight, is designed to be robust and to have a stability the complete opposite of the frailness of St Brendan's coracle. In 1963, McKnight had designed St Paul's, Lisburn with sturdy internal piers and a solid brick form. A similar solidity informs St Brendan's, and by the clever use of side buttresses and tall, deeply-recessed windows the interior gives the impression of concealed light. At the east end is Desmond Kinney's mural of the Last Supper, saved from the previous church by the Roman Catholic workmen responsible for demolition and site clearance.

Externally, the building is dominated by a large gable above the arcaded west entrance, which is placed off-centre to accommodate the solid, block-like tower, the latter having in its upper stage four rows of three round-headed openings on each side, a feature reminiscent of Italian architecture of the 1930s and '40s. The building is not listed, and Douglas Black, who worshipped there as a child, conjectures that the listing inspectors may have been 'put off by its self consciously heavy exterior and [so] never ventured inside'.

Despite its solidity, St Brendan's seems a very welcoming building. It clearly lifts the spirit, both externally in expressing its strength of purpose and internally in using the mural of the Last Supper as a focal point. When the *Buildings of Ireland* series comes to survey Belfast, St Brendan's will deserve a prominent place amongst the city's churches.

DAVID H. KENNETT

3. Nicholas Cooper, 'Barrington Court, Somerset', *Country Life*, 24 May 2007, pp.146–51.

Barrington Court is well known as an early E-plan house of Ham Hill stone built in the late 1550s for a London merchant, William Clifton, whose family did not enjoy it much beyond the end of Elizabeth's reign. In 1625, the house was purchased by William Strode.

In 1674, William Strode II built a quadrangular stable block of brick to the north of the house. It is equal in size to the house: there are nineteen chimney stacks to the house but thirty in the stables. The west side, the 'show front' of the house, has stone dressings, but the unaltered south and east façades have plain brick around the fenestration. The nine-bay east front, which is on the same plane as the modern entrance to the house, has its central five bays recessed, although the red tile roof is continuous. The stables became part of the living accommodation when the house was restored by Colonel Arthur Lyle, of the sugar-refining family, in the 1920s. The family held a long lease of Barrington Court from 1915 to 1991. His alterations included closing the north front of the stable to give an orangery-type façade

picked out in Ham Hill stone and with the same stone used to accentuate the nine first-floor windows, and turning the stable yard into a garden with an ornamental pool. Col. Lyle's architect was Edwin Forbes of Forbes & Tate.

The article has three splendid photographs of the stable block, from the west with the house to the south, from the north showing the new front, and from the north-east. The first and the last clearly show the close relationship between the house and the stable block.

DAVID H. KENNETT

4. David Dimbleby, *How We Built Britain*, London: Bloomsbury in association with the BBC, 2007; 288 pages; numerous illustrations, mostly in colour; ISBN 978 0 747 58871 9; price: £20, hardback.

This book, accompanying the television series of the same title, is informal in style whilst viewing the buildings against a wide socio-historical background. On the basis of a dubious historical claim about 'the origins of the Britain we know today' being in 1066, the story is started at that date, thus ignoring not only (and reasonably enough perhaps) prehistoric and Roman remains but also (and far *less* reasonably) 'the *few traces* of Saxon building' (p.14, my italics: there are getting on for 300 such 'traces', some of them substantial buildings). Apart from that on Scotland, which covers the Middle Ages to the present, the chapters are arranged chronologically, with each also based on a particular region. Some buildings shown in the television series are omitted, although in compensation there are illustrations and brief discussions of relevant buildings beyond the geographical limits of each chapter.

A section at pp.38–9 considers the reintroduction of brick in the Middle Ages and its use as a fashion statement. The discussion of Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk (c.1482) insists that its turrets and battlements are not to be taken seriously: 'brick has been used to make a home[,], not a fortress'; that is essentially correct, although there is evidence – e.g. in the *Paston Letters* – that *minimal* defence might be desirable in such buildings during times of local feud. Otherwise there is little in the book about brick, although it is referred to incidentally in a few places and appears in some of the illustrations, notably those of the kitchen at Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincs. (p.26), Harvington Hall, Warwicks. (p.82), Mount Street, Dublin (p.175), and St Pancras Station, London (pp.220–21). Most frustrating, perhaps, is a passage at p.258 on inter-war architecture. The author quotes a recently published statement by the late Sir Nikolaus Pevsner: 'There is in this reversion to a traditional material [*viz.* brick] something typically British'. And yet, relevant buildings are not discussed or illustrated, because the author misunderstands the application of the statement, taking it to refer to houses built by speculative builders in 1930s suburbia, whereas Pevsner was actually writing about versions of the International Style erected in brick.

In this canter through Britain's building history much is omitted, not least in the consideration of post-Victorian architecture, which is far more complex than a modernist/non-modernist divide: one thinks of, say, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott or Sir Albert Richardson. The author's lack of specialist expertise occasionally shows itself, as at p.236, where Mies van der Rohe is described as 'the', rather than as *a*, 'leading proponent of modernism'. More surprisingly, from so experienced a broadcaster, the English sometimes falters, most seriously at p.233, where the author clearly does not *really* mean to refer to the *wickedness* ('enormity') of Metroland but to its *enormousness* – or, in a less cumbersome synonym, its *vastness*. The illustrations are refreshingly different from those which often accompany such overviews of the subject. It is a pity, therefore, that their reproduction is less than satisfactory: much poorer than the superb television images – which survive even on the deficient technology of DVD (BBCDVD2349). The author's unmannered enthusiasm – evident in the television programmes – is infectious; regrettably, a charming and sensitive (if sometimes flawed) television series has not transferred especially well to the printed page.

5. Mary Miers, 'Hemingstone Hall, Suffolk', *Country Life*, 3 May 2007, pp.140–45.

Hemingstone Hall is a medium-sized H-shaped Jacobean house of brick, seven miles north of Ipswich. On the south front are three shaped gables. On the two wings they exhibit a sequence of horizontal, convex arc, vertical, horizontal, and ogee curve, with a horizontal at the top. The gable of the porch has two convex arcs separated by a step. Interestingly, while this is a brick house, there are massive timber vertical corner posts and wall-plates integral to the structure. Suffolk builders trusted timber; they were not yet so confident about tall brick walls as to dispense with their traditional frame.

In the eighteenth century a second, plain-gabled east wing was added, together with a five-bay block to the north, infilling the space between the two plain-gabled rear wings. The north block has a half-hipped roof and regularly spaced bays. New sash windows were inserted in the west wing. This work was completed before 1758, when the house was inherited by the heiress Elizabeth Acton, whose impoverished husband, the extravagant Richard Colvile, could not afford to spend money on the house. Changes of family ownership in 1789 and again in 1824 to persons of even lesser means meant that the house was too expensive to up-date.

Owned in the 1960s and 1970s by the keen gardeners, Sir James Gault and his wife Elizabeth, and between 1993 and 2007 by John and Diana Huntingford, the house and its grounds have been the subject of much restoration work. New hand-made bricks have been 'carefully stitched in and areas repointed in lime mortar to preserve the weathered patina of the old pantiled and red-brick ranges'. Part of the north-west gable was taken down and rebuilt to remove a serious crack and the four chimney stacks have been stabilised.

DAVID H. KENNETT

6. Joseph Mirwitch, 'King's Lynn Post Office', *C20: The Magazine of the Twentieth Century Society*, Autumn 2007, p.12.

Large central post offices were a common feature of town-centre rebuilding in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s. D.N. Dyke, the Office of Works architect responsible for the King's Lynn Post Office, built in 1939, designed no fewer than seventeen, using the neo-Georgian style developed for many types of medium-sized government buildings between the wars.

The King's Lynn Post Office, facing New Conduit Street, is five bays wide, with the central three bays brought forward and embellished by a generous use of Portland stone. Three storeys high, under a hipped roof, it stretches back eight bays with a rear extension. The brickwork uses 'hand cut [*sic*: for 'hand moulded'?] bricks of two colours', and the mortar incorporates crushed aggregate to give texture and colour. Internally, some of the woodwork was of elm from the piling beneath the piers of the first Waterloo Bridge, recycled when the latter was demolished in 1936; other woodwork was of silver beech.

Now closed, the building faces an uncertain future: a proposal for listing has been made jointly by the Civic Society and the Twentieth Century Society, who regard the building as both architecturally fine and of significance as the last example of the Office of Works neo-Georgian style to be completed on the eve of the Second World War.

DAVID H. KENNETT

7. Jeremy Musson, 'Somerleyton Hall, Suffolk', *Country Life*, 26 April 2007, pp.166–71.

An ordinary bricklayer by origin and one of the great railway contractors to the world by profession, Sir Samuel Morton Peto (1809–89) was a Victorian who rose from the multitude but within less than a decade of completing his dream house was forced into bankruptcy and

the sale of his estate.

Peto built widely: the Reform Club, Trafalgar Square and Nelson's Column, the new Houses of Parliament, and one-seventh of Britain's railway network between 1830 and 1857. Work brought contacts, and through Sir Charles Barry he met the sculptor John Thomas, who became Peto's architect. The result is a very sculptural house, perhaps one whose 'design [was] characterised by a good deal of pretentiousness', as Robert Kerr, another Victorian architect, thought. What we have is local red brick, made in an estate kiln, encased in exceptional quantities of Caen stone. John Thomas did the carving himself. The effect is sumptuous vitality to the east and west fronts. Peto did not enjoy his opulent house for long. In 1863, a fellow Liberal MP, Sir Francis Crossley of Halifax, the carpet manufacturer, whose son became the first Lord Somerleyton in 1916, purchased the property. The latter's descendants still live in the house, which is open to the public.

Internal decoration includes several typical touches of the period of building. Roundels in the dome to the entrance hall depict game birds: the writer can attest to the excellence of the pheasant and partridge shot on the estate. Internally, all that hints at an earlier, Jacobean house is a low ceiling to one room and panelling in the Oak Parlour. Externally, nothing of the house of the 1610s is visible.

John Thomas also built an estate village, using a wide variety of styles for the individual cottages. Many of these, like the great house itself, use Somerleyton reds, the bricks produced in the local kiln, which continued in operation until 1937. The village and the kiln were visited by the British Brick Society in 1990.

DAVID H. KENNETT

8. Susan Pringle, 'London's Earliest Roman Bath-Houses?', *London Archaeologist*, 11, 8, Spring 2007, pp.205–9.

This article, which appears in the new A4 format *London Archaeologist* with its greater use of colour, follows Susan Pringle's earlier and related article noticed in *BBS Information*, 102, September 2006, pp.30–31. The new article presents computer-generated distribution maps, and discussion, of several ceramic building materials associated with hypocaust heating systems, and therefore, the author avers, with bath-houses, in mid-first-century London; the possibility of these materials being used for domestic 'central heating' is not considered, though it is perhaps tacitly acknowledged in that question mark hovering at the end of the article's title. The materials included are box flue tiles, half-box flue tiles, scored wall-tiles, *tegulae mammatae* (bricks with raised bosses), and ceramic water-pipes. (The typically low-bossed *tegulae mammatae* found in London, it may be noted and as the author *hints* at p.206, may not have been used vertically in creating cavity walls as part of hypocaust systems but horizontally in walls, the bosses serving as mortar keys. Water-pipes, of course, also had non-hypocaust/bath-house applications.) The various types were available in a number of fabrics, mostly red but sometimes cream.

'It is clear from this study,' the author concludes, 'that there was a wide variety of hypocaust-related tile[s] in use in London in the mid-1st century AD' (p.209). The sometimes discrete distributions, the author suggests, may perhaps be accounted for in one of two ways: *either* 'the construction of hypocausts in public buildings was still a fairly new technology to the Romans' at the time, *or* there may have been 'a lack of centralised political or administrative control before c.AD 70–80' (p.209). Some materials, however, have much more widespread distributions – half-box flue tiles in fabric 2454, for example (p.207, fig. 3). How is *that* accounted for on either of these interpretations? The matter is not discussed. Apart from this matter of (some) discrete distributions, it is not easy to extract any general overview from the author's presentation of the data.

9. Gavin Stamp, “‘A Catholic Church in which Everything Is Genuine and Good’: the Roman Catholic Parish Churches of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott”, *Ecclesiology Today*, 38, May 2007, pp.63–80.

Sir Giles Gilbert Scott (1880–1960) – a ‘cradle Catholic’ – was responsible not only for the Anglican Liverpool Cathedral and for monastic buildings at Downside Abbey, but also for numerous parish churches, Anglican and Roman Catholic, as well as for several significant secular buildings – most of the last in brick, including London’s Bankside Power Station (1957–60), transformed into Tate Modern by Herzog & de Meuron in 1996–2000. In this article, which appears in an issue of *Ecclesiology Today* devoted to Roman Catholic churches, Gavin Stamp, a noted authority on the architect’s work, surveys Scott’s Roman Catholic parish churches, many of which are in brick.

Scott’s first independent work was the Church of the Annunciation at Bournemouth, formerly Hants., now Dorset, erected in 1906–7. (Liverpool Cathedral had been designed earlier, in 1903, but there, because of his youth, Scott had been forced to collaborate with G.F. Bodley [1827–1907].) An updated version of thirteenth-century Gothic, it is of brick with stone dressings. It points forward to Scott’s use of massing in both secular and ecclesiastical works, although here, to this writer’s eye, the effect is blocky, lumpish even – a young man trying a little too hard to be original, perhaps.

More successful is St Joseph, Sheringham, Norfolk (1908–12 with extension in 1934–6). Tall and narrow, it has plain external red brick walls. The attached presbytery is also by Scott and was built in 1911–12. Exactly contemporary with St Joseph’s is Our Lady Star of the Sea & St Maughold, Ramsay, isle of Man. A narrow nave culminating in a heavy tower, it is of rubble stone from local demolished buildings; but the interior is of white-washed brick.

A little later is Our Lady of the Assumption, Northfleet, Kent (1913–16), dramatically sited on the edge of a chalk quarry. Of reinforced concrete construction, it is faced externally with attractive Crowborough bricks from Sussex. Internally, the walls are plastered but with exposed brick used to pick out specific features. An unusual design with a long nave and a double set of tall transepts and terminating in an impressive tower, it is a far more mature church building than those which preceded it.

Our Lady & St Alphege, Bath (1927–8) is of Bath stone in an Italian round-arched style. Its exact contemporary, St Michael, Ashford, formerly Middlesex, now Surrey, is in a similar style but with an exterior faced with attractive narrow Dutch bricks. As at Bath, the roof is of pantiles. The (liturgical) west end and the upper parts of the campanile were completed (the latter to a revised design) only in 1960.

Three stone churches – at Broadstairs, Kent and at Edinburgh and Oban in Scotland – followed, but Scott returned to brick with the Priory Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel & St Simon Stock, Kensington, London (1957–9; the church also serves as a parish church). Gavin Stamp describes it as externally ‘an austere composition of planes of fine pale brickwork; inside it is faced in rough plaster above a continuous dado of red sandstone’ (p.76). Its contemporary, St Anthony of Padua, Preston, is also of brick. A long – *over*-long, one feels – nave and chancel, with a continuous clerestory of narrow round-headed arches, terminates at the (liturgical) east end in a polygonal apse; there is a tall tower at the (liturgical) south-west, its walls rising sheer to belfry level. It is, to this writer’s eye, an ungainly composition, a strange falling off from the more balanced designs of many of Scott’s earlier churches, Anglican and Roman Catholic.

Scott’s last design, drawn up whilst he was lying terminally ill in University College Hospital, London and completed by his son Richard Gilbert Scott (b.1923), was the Church of Christ the King, Plymouth, which is brick-faced externally. At the request of the client, Scott adopted a distinctly Gothic style.

A note at the end of the essay briefly mentions churches by Scott's younger brother, Adrian Gilbert Scott (1882–1963) and by Scott's son, Richard Gilbert Scott.

This article is a valuable contribution to a subject which has been largely neglected, but which is now beginning to receive the attention it deserves, not least through the publication of Christopher Martin's superbly illustrated book, *A Glimpse of Heaven: Catholic Churches of England and Wales*, London: English Heritage, 2007.

TONDU BRICKS: A NOTE ON THEIR DATE AND USE

Alan Cox

In *BBS Information* 104, John Wells described four bricks found in a cottage garden in Cardiganshire/Ceredigion.¹ They include one brick stamped **TONDU** in bold sans-serif capitals within a shallow frog (fig. 1). In 1922, under the heading 'New Brick Companies', *The British Clayworker* included Tondy Brickworks Company Limited, Tondy Brickworks, Aberkenfig, Glamorgan.² Aberkenfig (NGR: SS895837) is immediately south of Tondy itself. The new company had a nominal capital of £60,000.

Tondy bricks evidently enjoyed a wide reputation, and by the early 1930s the company had sales offices and showrooms in London at 119 Bishopsgate, EC2.³ Tondy bricks were used in at least four London buildings erected in this period: Eastbury Court on the corner of Holland Road, Kensington;⁴ the Sperry Gyroscope Company's factory in Brentford;⁵ the church of St Thomas the Apostle, Boston Road, Hanwell (1933–4, architect: Edward Maufe);⁶ and Eresby House, Rutland Gate, a smart block of flats in fashionable South Kensington (1933–4, architects: T.P. Bennett & Son).⁷

References

1. J. Wells, 'Four Bricks from South-West Wales', *BBS Information*, 104, July 2007, pp.8–10.
2. *The British Clayworker*, 28, 333, 15 January 1920.
3. *The Brick Builder*, September 1931, p.10 (advertisement).
4. *The Brick Builder*, June 1931, p.38.
5. *The Brick Builder*, September 1931, p.10 (advertisement).
6. Department of National Heritage, *36th Amendment of the 28th List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historical Interest: London Borough of Ealing*, 3 January 1996; for the building see also B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London, 3: North West*, London: Penguin Books, 1991, p.184; and J. Leonard, *London's Parish Churches*, Derby: The Breedon Books Publishing Co., 1997, pp.186–7, which notes that it 'is built of brick from South Wales'.
7. *The Builder*, 30 March 1934, p.540.

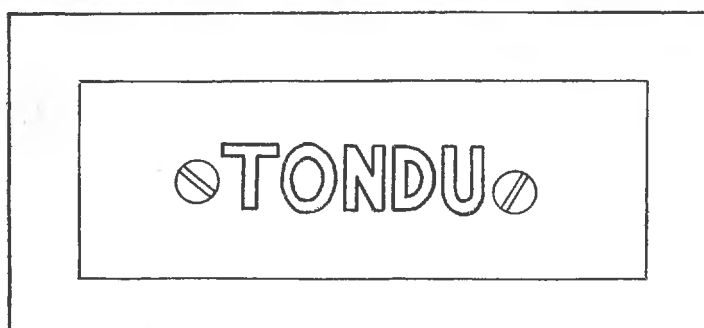


Fig. 1 Brick stamped **TONDU** in the frog

A QUESTION OF PRESTIGE: TWO EARLY BRICK HOUSES IN WALES

David H. Kennett

Few brick houses were built in Wales before 1700. Two of the earliest were constructed for Sir Richard Clough (?–1570), who had been the factor (agent) of Sir Thomas Gresham (c.1518–1579) in Antwerp, including the period between 1566 and 1570, when Gresham was building the Royal Exchange in London.¹ The bricks and other materials for this were imported from Flemish coastal regions, extending across the modern Dutch-Belgian border. By the most direct sea route, Antwerp is just over 200 miles (320 km) from London.

Clough was much involved in Gresham's work and supervised the export of the building materials from the Flemish port. At the same time, he was contemplating two new houses in his native north Wales: Bach-y-graig (NGR: SJ075713), near Tremeirchion, Flintshire (fig. 1; note his initials in darker bricks),² and Plas Clough (NGR: SJ058677), near Denbigh.³ They have, or had, datestones of 1567, although construction extended over several seasons at Bach-y-graig. Both are of brick, that at Plas Clough now rendered. The two houses show Netherlandish Renaissance influences in their design: there was a colonnade (now blocked) in the south range of Bach-y-graig, echoing that in the Royal Exchange, whilst Plas Clough has the earliest use of stepped gables in Wales.

In building Bach-y-graig, Sir Richard Clough may have had the assistance of Hendryck van Paesschen of Antwerp, the supervisor during the building of the Royal Exchange.⁴ Suggestions have been advanced that the bricks used at Bach-y-graig were imported from the Low Countries, using the port of Rhuddlan, whence they were carried 'by road',⁵ although it seems no less likely that they were transported up the navigable River Clwyd (Afon Clwyd), which runs close to both houses. No suggestions, however, have been made concerning the route from the Flemish coast to north Wales – specifically, whether it was through the English

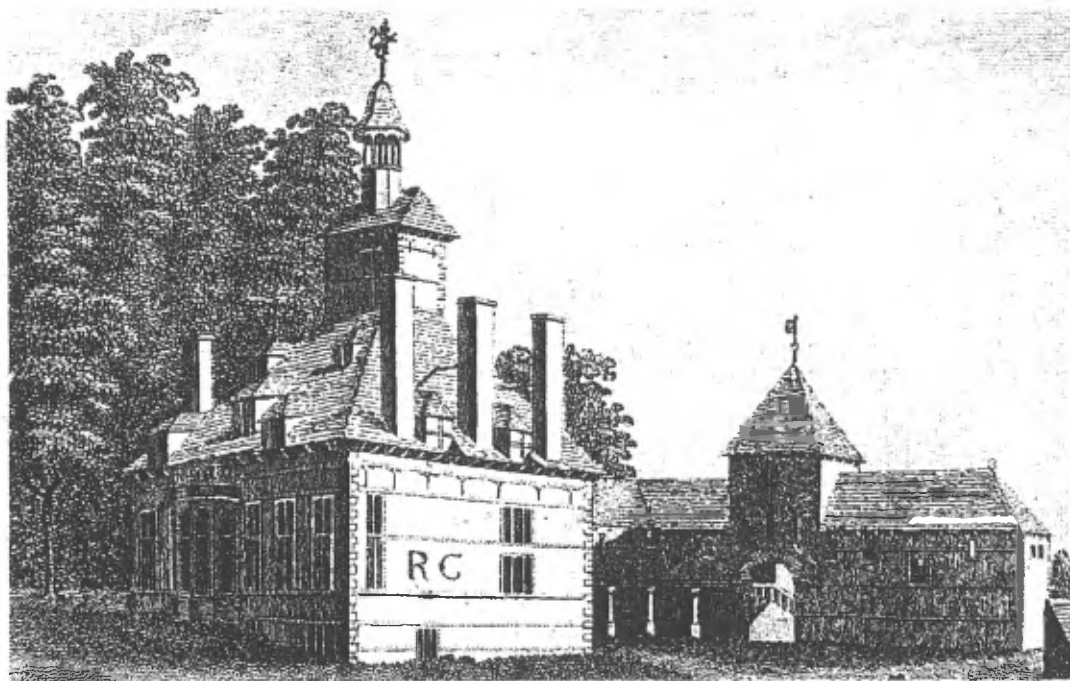


Fig. 1 Bach-y-graig, Flintshire

Channel and up the Irish Sea or whether the ships took the route followed four decades later by the much larger vessels of the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC), which sailed round the top of Britain and into the Atlantic: if the latter, then Clough's supplies would have come down the west coast of Scotland to north Wales.

When beginning his houses, Clough knew nothing of the brickmaking potential of the clays of the Clwyd valley, something he would later acquire, because at some point the supply of imported bricks seems to have been insufficient to complete his two houses and Clough is thought to have employed brickmakers from the Low Countries to search for and use suitable local brickearths.⁶

In the 1560s, both builders, Sir Thomas Gresham and Sir Richard Clough, had strong connexions with Antwerp, and their buildings were prestige projects. Clough's two parvenu Welsh houses in particular must have been especially striking, in architectural form as well as in material, for Wales at the time 'had very few men with the money and the taste to erect buildings reflecting the style of the Renaissance'.⁷ Perhaps, indeed, some of Clough's less cosmopolitan – or more resolutely Cymric – neighbours may even have thought, in words which we may appropriate from Shakespeare's Mercutio: 'A plague o' both your houses'!⁸ But in any case, Clough, who died in 1570, had little time to enjoy either of them.⁹

Notes and References

1. The Royal Exchange, which was based on the second *Beurs* (Bourse) (1531) at Antwerp, was destroyed in the Great Fire of London (1666): S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 1: The City of London*, London: Penguin Books for the Buildings Books Trust, 1997, pp.328–9. For views of the interior courtyard, see, e.g., G. Perry, *Hollar's England: a Mid-Seventeenth-Century View*, Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1980, pl.51; J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1994, p.25, fig.25; R. Porter, *London: a Social History*, pbk edn, London: Penguin Books, 1996, p.47; and S. Inwood, *A History of London*, revised edn, London, Basingstoke, and Oxford: Papermac, 2000, pl.16.
2. E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd*, London: Penguin Books, 1986, pp.451–2; M. Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983, p.30.
3. Hubbard, 1986, p.154.
4. It may be significant in this respect that the bricks are laid in Cross Bond, almost unknown in sixteenth-century England and Wales but common in Flanders: R.W. Brunskill, *Brick Building in Britain*, new edn, London: Victor Gollancz in association with Peter Crawley, 1997, pp.50, 130. The building, on the other hand, is coarse and provincial compared with the Royal Exchange. Does the bonding pattern, therefore, perhaps reflect the employment of Flemish *bricklayers* rather than the involvement of a Flemish architect? *Welsh* bricklayers, after all, would scarcely have been easy to find at the time. In 1584, some of the bricklayers and their labourers employed at Carpenters' Hall, London had distinctly Welsh names; but – whatever may be the case with the labourers – it is unlikely that the bricklayers were *first-generation* migrants to London: T.P. Smith, 'The Building of the New "Pasterie" and its Brick Ovens at Carpenters' Hall, London in 1584', in prep. (This and subsequent notes have been added by the Guest Editor.)
5. A. Connolly, *Life in the Victorian Brickyards of Flintshire and Denbighshire*, Llanrwst: Gwsag Carreg Gwalch, 2003, p.16.
6. Connolly, 2003, p.16.
7. J. Davies, *A History of Wales*, revised edn, London: Penguin Books, 2007, p.249; and see the whole of the discussion at pp.243–51, 257–8.
8. *Romeo and Juliet*, III.i.8 (Arden edn, ed. B. Gibbons, 1980, p.164).
9. All but the first sentence of this final paragraph has been added by the Guest Editor; he, and not the principal author, is responsible for the judgements and for any errors or infelicities that the addition may contain, as also with n.4.

WILLIAM BENNETT: A MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY ST ALBANS BRICKWORKS PROPRIETOR

Terence Paul Smith

Introduction

In his useful gazetteer of Hertfordshire brickworks, Lyle Perrins includes the Klondyke Brickworks at St Albans, which was worked in the mid-nineteenth century by William Bennett, who is mentioned in the *Post Office Directory London & Home Counties* for 1846 and, as 'WILLIAM BENNETT', in *Kelly's Directory* for 1854.¹ More can be learned about Bennett, his family, and his business from the 1851 census (which was taken on the night of Sunday 30/ Monday 31 March), from various other data gathered and placed on the internet by Chris Reynolds,² and from his tomb in St Peter's churchyard at St Albans.

William Bennett, Brickworks Proprietor

The 1851 census returns record William Bennett as living in St Peter's Street in the parish of St Peter, St Albans. He is described as 'Builder & Brickmaker' (fig. 1). He was still living there at the time of the 1861 census, when he is described as 'Alderman – Brickmaker'.³ In 1851 the further information is given that he employed twenty-seven men, including six brickmakers and two labourers: almost certainly the two latter worked in the brickyard since fourteen other labourers are specifically linked with the building side of the concern, which comprised three carpenters and two bricklayers. The 1861 census shows a smaller establishment and is less helpful since it mentions merely seventeen labourers. (For this reason, it is the 1851 census which is used below to establish a picture of Bennett's brickmaking enterprise; the exercise is not repeated for the census of a decade later.) Bennett may have been a brickmaker who added building to his enterprise or a builder who decided to open his own brickyard, in which case he need have had no brickmaking skills himself. The latter situation, which seems to have been far more common than the former, is most probably the case with Bennett, since he did not take over the brickyard until some time after arriving in St Albans (see below).

Bennett and his Family

In the 1851 census returns Bennett's age is given erroneously (see below) as forty-eight, his wife Martha's as thirty-seven. Martha was almost certainly the Martha Cannon christened in St Peter's church on 27 October 1811 (in which case her age is also given erroneously): she was the daughter of William and Mary Cannon.⁴ Over the night of the 1851 census five children were resident at their parents' home: Mary Ann (14), Eleanor (7), Harriet (5), Alice (3), and Henry (1). These were not the only children, however. They are known since all, like their mother, were baptised in St Peter's church: Martha Cannon (christened 20 June 1834), Mary Ann Luckman (4 July 1836), William Cannon (13 June 1839), Eleanor Maria (21 October 1843), Harriet Louisa (22 February 1846), Alice Henrietta (30 April 1848), and Henry Charles (15 October 1850); following the 1851 census a further two children were born: Edward Herbert (christened 31 October 1852) and Eliza Adelaide (2 July 1856). The eldest daughter, Martha Cannon Bennett, would have been only sixteen at the time of the 1851 census. It is unlikely that a girl from her social background would have left home by that age and, unless she was staying with friends or relations, she may have died in childhood. (She is not mentioned in the 1861 census, but, of course, if still alive could have been married

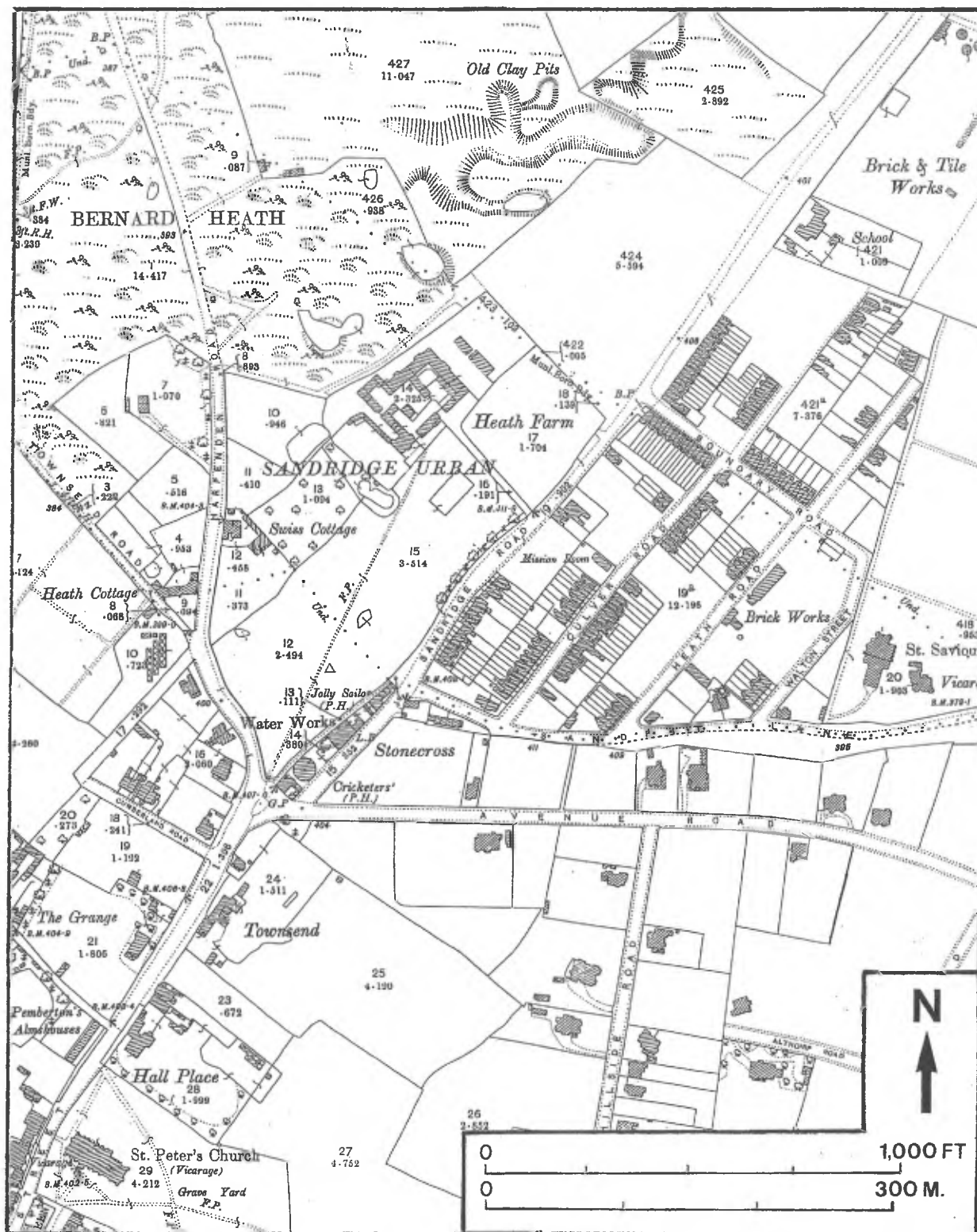


Fig. 1 Northern St Albans from the 1897 Ordnance Survey map (Crown Copyright Reserved). St Peter's church, in the churchyard of which William Bennett is buried, is at bottom left. St Peter's Street, where Bennett lived, is immediately west of the church. Bernard's (or Bernard) Heath originally started at the road junction at the north-east end of St Peter's Street, with Snatch Alley running north-east from the junction. (The 's' of 'Water Works' lies on this alley.) The 'Brick & Tile Works' at top right is probably that run by Jacob Reynolds. Bennett's yard was probably on the opposite side of Sandridge Road: note the 'Old Clay Pits' there.

by that time, when she would have been twenty-six.) The eldest son certainly did not die in childhood since his death (in 1887) is recorded on William Bennett's tomb in St Peter's churchyard (see below). He would have been eleven at the time of the census and it therefore seems safe to accept that he was the William Bennett, aged eleven and noted as born in St Albans, who is recorded in the census as a pupil boarding at a school run by Rev. Henry Hall, 'Clergyman without cure', in Fishpool Street, St Albans parish. The most likely explanation for a young son's absence, within this social class, is indeed that he was at school.

The Fishpool Street establishment was almost certainly St Albans Grammar School. In March 1851, so the census tells us, it had twenty-nine boarders, all boys, aged nine to eighteen. They came from various places in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, and Nottinghamshire. Perhaps the school did not take day-boys, so that even a local boy had to board, or possibly Bennett *père* simply preferred things that way.

Mary Ann is described as 'Scholar' – that is, school pupil – though clearly she did not board. The other children have no description under *Occupation*: they – or at least the eldest of them – were presumably taught at home. In 1861 the six youngest children, then aged six to seventeen, are all listed as 'Scholar'; Mary Ann, now aged twenty-four, and William, now aged twenty-one, were still living at home.

In 1851 the Bennetts had one living-in 'House Servant', eighteen-year-old Hannah Bates, who had been born in Paddington, London. By 1861 she had been replaced by a 'Housemaid', eighteen-year-old Rebekah Angell, who had been born in Hatfield. At both dates it is likely that there were other, non-resident, domestic staff too, for Bennett was a prominent man locally, becoming a Town Councillor in 1849 and Mayor of St Albans in 1851; he continued as a Councillor down to 1852 and became an Alderman in 1856. He was a Churchwarden at St Peter's and a member of the St Albans Board of Guardians. He was also a substantial property owner.⁵

Bennett's Employees in 1851

As noted above, Bennett's employees included six brickmakers and two brickyard labourers. Interestingly, apart from two independent brickmakers and the eldest daughter of one of them (also listed as a brickmaker), the census returns record exactly six brickmakers and two brickyard labourers as living in the parish of St Peter, some of them in that portion of it which lay within the Liberty of St Albans, and it seems safe to assume that they were the men employed by Bennett. Two of them, indeed, Henry Dell and Isaac Slough, actually describe themselves as 'Works Brickmaker', whilst James Crawley's designation 'Journeyman Brickmaker' implies employment by another: he was only seventeen years old and so unlikely in any case to have been an independent brickmaker.

The six brickmakers are: James Crawley, who lodged at Beastneys in the Liberty of St Albans (with a seventy-five-year-old spinster, Ann Little, who had been a straw plait worker but was now 'Receiving Relief from the parish'), Henry Dell of Snatch Alley, Thomas Dell of The Camp in the Liberty, William Findell of Snatch Alley, Joseph Harcourt of The Camp, and Isaac Slough of Cock Lane (now Hatfield Road). Two of these men, Henry Dell and William Findell, were most conveniently located for working for Bennett since they lived in Snatch (or Snatchup) Alley, a row of cottages (of which Bennett held the copyhold) at the south end of Sandridge Road close to Bennett's brickyard at Bernard's Heath (see below). Snatch Alley still exists as an unnamed footpath running northwards immediately west of The Cricketers public house. At least one cottage, in red brick, survives, its front door blocked and the wall now forming the rear of The Jolly Sailor public house. The others lived further away but all within easy walking distance of the yard.

Most of these employees were fairly local men (fig. 2). Joseph Harcourt was born in St

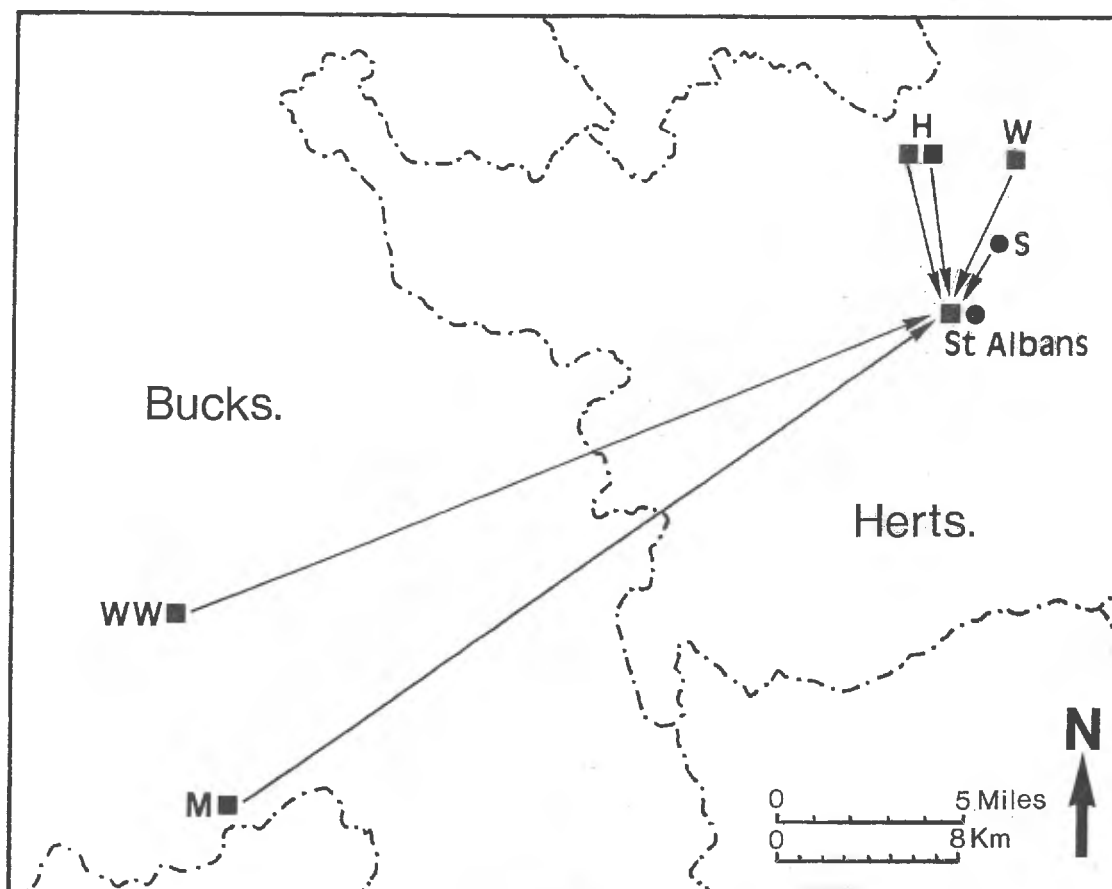


Fig. 2 Birthplaces of the brickmakers (■) and brickyard labourers (●) probably employed by William Bennett in March 1851: **H** = Harpenden; **M** = Marlow; **S** = Sandridge; **W** = Wheathampstead; **WW** = West Wycombe. (NB: The arrows indicate removal to St Albans but there is evidence that some of the men did not move *direct* to the town.)

Albans itself, William Findell and Isaac Slough in nearby Harpenden, and James Crawley in nearby Wheathampstead. Only Thomas Dell and Henry Dell, who were probably father and son, had moved into the town from further afield: Thomas was born in Marlow, Bucks. and Henry in 'West Wickham', Bucks. – that is, West Wycombe – some 5 miles (8 km) from Marlow. In 1851 James Crawley was seventeen years old, Henry Dell was twenty-eight, William Findell and Joseph Harcourt forty-two, Isaac Slough forty-nine, and Thomas Dell fifty. All except Crawley were married with one or more children.

In considering these brickmaking employees, it is as well to remember the late Raphael Samuel's warning: 'Brickfield workers must ... have been underestimated by the census, if only because of the time in which it was taken, in March.... Most yards in mid-Victorian times were "summer yards" with only a nucleus of workers who stayed all the year round.'⁶ During the busiest months others were almost certainly employed. In the county town, Hertford, summer brickmaking was combined by many workers with winter employment in the important malting industry.⁷ The latter was predominantly a winter activity since the processes involved were difficult to carry out in hotter weather. Malting was pursued at St Albans too and may well have provided winter employment for some of the summer brickyard workers. In other parts of the country winter work might be found in gasworks (the demand for their product being greatest at that time), coal-portering (again with a high winter demand), navvying, or – though not appropriate to St Albans – dock-working.⁸

The two brickyard labourers were a father and son, Thomas and Henry Hedges, aged forty-seven and twenty-two respectively in 1851, both living at the same address in Cock Lane (Hatfield Road), again within easy walking distance of the brickyard. Thomas had been born in neighbouring Sandridge but must have moved to St Albans by c.1828, when Henry was born there. Here in particular it is important to remember the 'snapshot' aspect of the census: in March 1851 both men were brickyard labourers, but there is no reason to suppose that this was their permanent occupation; no less probably they were general labourers who, at the time of the census, happened to be employed at a brickyard. Doubtless they would have been joined by others during the height of manufacture in summer. Some of those others at least may be represented by the numerous men recorded in the census simply as 'Labourer' – finding work wherever and whenever they could. Interestingly, a number of men so recorded were living in Snatch Alley, the row of cottages near the brickyard where two of the recorded brickmakers also lived. Others probably arrived in town for the season, found temporary accommodation, and so go unrecorded in the St Albans district census.⁹

Bennett's Tomb

Bennett died on 11 June 1862 and *The Hertfordshire Advertiser* for 14 June noted: 'On the 11th instant, at his residence, St Peter's Street, St Albans, William Bennett, Esq., in his 63rd year. Deceased was for many years a churchwarden of the Parish of St Peter, an Alderman, has served the office of Mayor, was much respected, and is much regretted'.¹⁰ The phrase 'in his 63rd year' means, of course, that he was sixty-two, which is indeed the age given on his polished grey stone tomb-chest immediately south of the south aisle in St Peter's churchyard. There are a *chi-rho* monogram within a circle and two biblical quotations on the hipped top.¹¹ On the south front the inscription, in bold sanserif capitals, reads:

IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE OF
WILLIAM BENNETT
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 11TH OF JUNE 1862 AGED 62 YEARS
ALSO OF MARTHA HIS WIFE
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 15TH OF MAY 1878 AGED 64 YEARS
ALSO OF WILLIAM CANNON BENNETT THEIR ELDEST SON
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 22ND OF JUNE 1887

William Cannon Bennett's age is not stated but in June 1887 he would have just turned forty-eight. On the west side of the tomb are inscriptions to two of Bennett's daughters:

ELEANOR MARIA BENNETT
DIED JUNE 29TH 1893
MARY ANN LUCKMAN
BENNETT
DIED MARCH 2ND 1895

Eleanor would have been forty-nine and Mary Ann fifty-eight at the times of their deaths. On the evidence of Bennett and his wife and of these three children, they seem to have been a not very long-lived family, even by nineteenth-century standards. From the newspaper notice and from the tomb it is clear that Bennett's age as given in the 1851 census – viz. forty-eight – cannot be correct: he must have been born in 1800 and would have been fifty-one at the time of the census. (His age is correctly given as sixty-one in the 1861 census.) If Martha was (as seems virtually certain) the Martha Cannon christened on 27 October 1811, then she would have been sixty-six rather than sixty-four at her death in May 1878. William was born, so the returns tell us, in Hackney, north London. His wife was born in St Albans. Presumably he met her there, for he had moved to St Albans by 1832, when he is listed in the Hertfordshire Poll Book for the election of 20 and 21 December of that year.¹²

Bennett's Brickworks

The brickyard itself was not in St Peter's Street, where Bennett lived, but at Bernard's Heath, immediately beyond the northern end of St Peter's Street, in the fork formed by Harpenden Road and Sandridge Road (fig. 1). It is referred to in an advertisement in *The Hertfordshire Advertiser* for 13 August 1864, two years after Bennett's death: James Vass, a local builder, announces that he 'has taken over the old-established and well-known BRICK and LIME YARD, situate on Bernard's Heath, and for so many years carried on by the late Mr. William Bennett; where he intends to produce first-class BRICKS, at the lowest possible prices...'.¹³ Vass, the 1851 census tells us, also lived in St Peter's Street. He was born in London and, at the time of the census, was forty-six years old. His wife Maria, who was born in Ayot St Peter, Herts., was significantly older, at sixty-one. No children are listed and Maria may have been beyond child-bearing age when the two married.

Bennett's brickyard was known as Klondyke Works; it covered an area of 9 acres 1 rod 38 perches (3.8 ha). In 1843 it was owned by a Widow Brown and worked by Thomas Burningham, but by 1846 it was in Bennett's hands.¹⁴ His ownership thus began between 1843 and 1846, a decade or more after his arrival in St Albans, suggesting that he was primarily a builder who added brickmaking to his entrepreneurial interests, although he is listed in Pigot's 1839 *Directory* under 'Brickmakers & Lime Burners', so that his interests in those areas of manufacture had clearly begun before he took over the Klondyke Works; in the 1834 edition, however, he is listed under 'Carpenters and Builders'.¹⁵ He owned a further brickyard on Harpenden Common, probably as early as 1838, which seems to have been run by his widow after his death, for it is referred to as 'Mrs Bennett's Brick Yard' in an advertisement of 1868, when it was offered for sale by auction; the *Post Office Directory* for 1846 mentions a William Bennett making bricks at Leverstock Green, Hemel Hempstead, but he may have been a different person altogether: in Bennett's will, signed and sealed on 20 March 1862, the Harpenden Common yard is left to his son Henry Charles Bennett and his heirs, but there is no mention of a yard at Leverstock Green.¹⁶

In the mid-nineteenth century Bernard's Heath was still largely open heathland, conveniently outside the built-up area of the town, which would thus have been unaffected by the noxious and even poisonous fumes given off during firing – a feature of brickfields noted by Charles Dickens in a melancholy reflection on a yard which he placed, interestingly enough, near St Albans: "I don't want no shelter," [said the boy]; "I can lay amongst the warm bricks." / "But don't you know that people die there?" replied Charley. / "They dies everywhere," said the boy."¹⁷ At the same time, Bernard's Heath was well placed on a main road, with, in particular, easy access by cart or wagon to the town of St Albans.

Conclusion

From its beginnings in the Middle Ages English brickmaking has shown a variety of organisational structures. In the nineteenth century it was by no means unusual for brickmakers to combine the trade with another, often disparate, occupation – farming most frequently, but also tavern-keeping, acting as coal merchants, and many others.¹⁸ In these situations it was the brickmaking which was usually subsidiary, a consequence of two circumstances: the seasonal nature of brickmaking at the time and the varying demand for the product, itself consequent upon cyclic fluctuations in the building trade. Bennett's set-up represents something different: an integrated system in which the brick and lime works enabled the building side of the business to be self-sufficient in the supply of two of its principal materials: bricks and lime for mortar. A proprietor need not himself have been a skilled brickmaker – and Bennett probably was not. Of course, bricks surplus to the building firm's own requirements could be sold to others. Elsewhere in the county, at Hitchin, the Jeeves family business provides a further

example; so too, just across the county boundary in Bedfordshire, does the firm of George Powdrill of Luton.¹⁹ The most prominent and successful of such contractors-cum-brickmakers was Thomas Cubitt (1788–1855) of London, who established his own brickworks in various parts of north London and in the Medway area of Kent.²⁰ Bennett was hardly in the same league, but he was certainly more typical of small-scale local operators up and down the country, for ‘Cubitt’s “revolution” in organization, if such it can be called, had not more than a handful of imitators, even in London, until much later in the [nineteenth] century.’²¹

One cautionary implication of this consideration – which needs to be borne in mind when examining census returns, directory entries, and some other documentary sources – is that the term ‘brickmaker’ can have one of at least three different meanings: (i) a brickyard proprietor who might or might not have brickmaking skills, (ii) a small-scale independent brickmaker assisted by his family (and perhaps by one or two other workers), and (iii) a brick-making employee working for a brickmaker in one of the first two senses.²²

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Brian Adams of the Museum of St Albans for allowing me to make use of a file on local brickmaking which is kept by the museum. Gratitude of a less personal nature must also be expressed to Chris Reynolds for posting much valuable data on his website.

Notes and References

1. L. Perrins, ‘Hertfordshire Brickworks: a Gazetteer’, *Herts. Archaeol. and Hist.*, 14, 2004–5, p. 202.
2. The various component sites of Chris Reynolds’ website (hereinafter: Reynolds, website) may be accessed by navigating from <http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/index.htm>.
3. N. Goose, ed., *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851*, vol. 2, *St Albans and its Region*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2000, pp. 356–438; further references to these pages are not given. Throughout the present contribution, data given in the census are accepted at face value unless, as with William Bennett’s age (see below), there is clear contrary evidence. Of course, there may be other mistakes, and strictly one should qualify each citation with some such formula as ‘according to the census returns’: but this would be tedious and is not done. Data from the 1861 census are given on Reynolds, website.
4. Reynolds, website.
5. Reynolds, website.
6. R. Samuel, ‘Mineral Workers’, in R. Samuel, ed., *Miners, Quarrymen and Saltworkers*, London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977, p.4.
7. E.J. Connell, ‘Hertford Brewers’, *Industrial Archaeol.*, 4, 1, February 1967, p.42.
8. E.J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, corrected edn, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968, p.162 and p.174, n.23. Of course, there was no *guarantee* of other work: Henry Mayhew noted the lot of a London brickmaker of the period through the poignant words of his small daughter to the butcher: “‘Please, sir [she said in summer], father don’t care for the price just a-now; but he must have his chops good; line-chops, sir, and tender, please – ’cause he’s a brickmaker.” In the winter, it was, “O please, sir, here’s a fourpenny bit, and you must send father something cheap. He don’t care what it is, so long as it’s cheap. It’s winter, and he hasn’t no work, sir – ’cause he’s a brickmaker””: H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 2nd edn, London: Charles Griffin & Co, 1862, vol. 2, p.368.
9. The 1851 census enumerator’s manuscript note on Yiewsley, Middx. observes that although the recorded population was 200, ‘during the Brickmaking season the temporary residents would be nearly 300 in a busy time’: quoted in Samuel, 1977, p.76, n.14.
10. Reynolds, website. Some time after his death, Martha moved to 6 Western Terrace, Brighton, where she is recorded in the 1871 census as living with six of her children: Mary, Eleanor, (Alice) Henrietta, (Henry) Charles, Edward, and (Eliza) Adelaide, the eldest of whom would have been thirty-four and the youngest fourteen at that time. By the time of the 1891 census (when Martha

was dead) Mary, (Eleanor) Maria, Alice, Henry, and (Edward) Herbert were living in Brunswick Road, Hove; the two men, aged forty and thirty-eight respectively, were both clergymen.

11. The *chi-rho* monogram combines the first two letters, **X** (*chi*) and **P** (*rho*), of the Greek Χριστός (*Christos* = Christ). The quotations, in bold sanserif capitals, are from the Authorised (King James) Version of the Bible: the first is from Hebrews 4.9: **THERE REMAINETH THEREFORE A REST TO THE PEOPLE OF GOD**; the second consists of the single word **KEPT** from I Peter 1.5: '... who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time'; the references are given in abbreviated form: **HEB. IV.9** and **I PET. I.5**.
12. Reynolds, website; on 18 May 1833 and 5 June 1835 he is recorded in the Sandridge Rate Returns. There is much other information here on St Albans brickmaking: there was, for example, a 'Brickkyln' at Bernard's Heath as early as 1726, and the area remained important in the local industry, at least down to the early twentieth century. See also C.F. Reynolds, *A Short History of Bernard's Heath, St Albans, Herts*, Tring: Codil Language Systems Ltd, 2000, unnumbered pp.10–14.
13. Reynolds, website.
14. Unpublished notes held at the Museum of St Albans; Perrins, 2004–5, p.202.
15. Reynolds, website.
16. Reynolds, website, which includes the full text of Bennett's will. The Harpenden yard is mentioned, for the years 1846–50, in Perrins, 2004–5, p.197.
17. C. Dickens, *Bleak House*, London: Bradbury & Evans, 1853 and numerous subsequent editions to date, chapter 31. Dickens' brother, so Brian Adams of the Museum of St Albans informs me, lived in St Albans: it is tempting to suppose, therefore, that in Dickens' description, in chapter 8, of the 'cluster of wretched hovels in a brickfield, with pigsties close to the broken windows, and miserable little gardens before the doors, growing nothing but stagnant pools,' we may have a portrait, almost exactly contemporary with the 1851 census, of living conditions at Bernard's Heath. It has been claimed, however, that Dickens had in mind a brickyard with adjoining cottages at Leverstock Green, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.: see Peter Ward's website: <http://bacchrochicle.homestead.com/Brickmaking.html>. It is possible, however, as with any novelist, that Dickens was drawing on a variety of experiences: certainly it would be rash to suppose that he is providing an *exact description* of any specific location.
18. T.P. Smith, 'Editorial', *BBS Information*, 38, February 1986, pp.1–2; M. Beswick, 'Dual Occupations', *BBS Information*, 39, May 1986, pp.14–15; M. Beswick, *Brickmaking in Sussex: a History and Gazetteer*, 2nd edn, Midhurst: Middleton Press, 2001, pp.36–44; P. Ryan, *Brick in Essex: the Clayworking Craftsmen and Gazetteer of Clayworking Sites*, privately published, Chelmsford, 1999, pp.33–5.
19. T. Crosby *et al.*, *Jeeves Yard: a Dynasty of Hitchin Builders and Brickmakers*, Baldock: Streets Publishers for Hitchin Historical Society, 2003, *passim*, esp. pp.41–80; A. Cox, *Survey of Bedfordshire: Brickmaking, a History and Gazetteer*, Bedford: Beds. County Council, and London: RCHM (England), 1979, pp.76, 88, 104. Cf. George Warren of Stevenage in N. Freebody, 'Brick-yards and Brickmakers in Stevenage', *Hertfordshire's Past*, 28, Spring 1990, 38; James Vass, who took over Bennett's yard in 1864, was also a builder.
20. H. Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt, Master Builder*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1971, pp.302–15; for the north London situation see also L. Clarke, *Building Capitalism: Historical Change and the Labour Process in the Production of the Built Environment*, London and New York: Routledge, 1992, pp.129–40. Less familiar is Alexander Copland, who, rather than Cubitt, it has been suggested, may be more properly regarded as the prototype of such contractors: J. Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815–1970*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1978, p.19.
21. Burnett, 1978, p.20.
22. The second class is not relevant to the present study. In St Albans, two such brickmakers are recorded in 1851: William Slough and Joseph Taylor, neighbours in Catherine Lane (now Catherine Street) in St Peter's parish. Taylor's nineteen-year-old daughter, Mary, is also listed as 'Brick-maker': since she was living at home it seems safe to assume that she worked for her father. Both men had younger children listed under *Occupation* as 'Assists Father': the youngest was aged four! William Slough was perhaps a relation of the brickyard employee Isaac Slough, for the two men were born three years apart in neighbouring Wheathampstead and Harpenden respectively.

Book Notice: Mid-Twentieth-Century Brick in the USA

Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, *Frank Lloyd Wright 1867–1959: Building for Democracy*, Cologne, London, etc.: Taschen, 2004, 96pp., numerous illustrations, ISBN 3-8228-2757-6; price £4-99, paperback.

Pierluigi Serraino, *Eero Saarinen 1910–1961: a Structural Expressionist*, Cologne, London, etc.: Taschen, 2005; 96pp., numerous illustrations, ISBN 3-8228-3645-1; price £4-99, paperback.

Joseph Rosa, *Louis I. Kahn 1901–1974: Enlightened Space*, Cologne, London, etc.: Taschen, 2006; 96pp., numerous illustrations, ISBN 3-8228-4641-9; price £4-99, paperback.

Elizabeth A.T. Smith, *Case Study Houses 1945–1966: the California Impetus*, Cologne, London, etc.: Taschen, 2006; 96pp., numerous illustrations, ISBN 3-8228-4617-1; price £4-99, paperback.¹

Flying into Washington's Dulles International Airport at Chantilly, in the Virginia countryside, one encounters a world strangely different from the slum that is London Heathrow. Dulles is an exciting building, and a not unpleasant one in which to spend three hours changing planes – shades of Mr Norris in Berlin, even if one *is* marking the third set of coursework essays on a Saturday afternoon!² Eero Saarinen designed this light-filled structure in 1958, when he must have thought that he still had much to offer: three years later, still in his prime, he was cruelly struck down, a year before the building was completed.

Like Saarinen's TWA terminal at what is now John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York (1956–62, disused), the principal building material of Dulles is concrete. But Saarinen may be seen as a master of many materials. His best-known use of *brick* is in the chapel of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. (1950–55: fig. 1), externally a windowless drum surrounded by a moat, its interior formed as a crinkle-crankle wall; the building is also notable for its deliberate use of deformed bricks, randomly disposed amongst the properly fired bricks, to create a striking textural effect. Saarinen also used brick in some other buildings of the mid-1950s, as in the four solid external walls of Stephens College Chapel at Columbia, Missouri (1954–6), where each side has a central entrance vestibule of glass, and the Kramer Chapel (1953–8) at what is now Concordia Theological

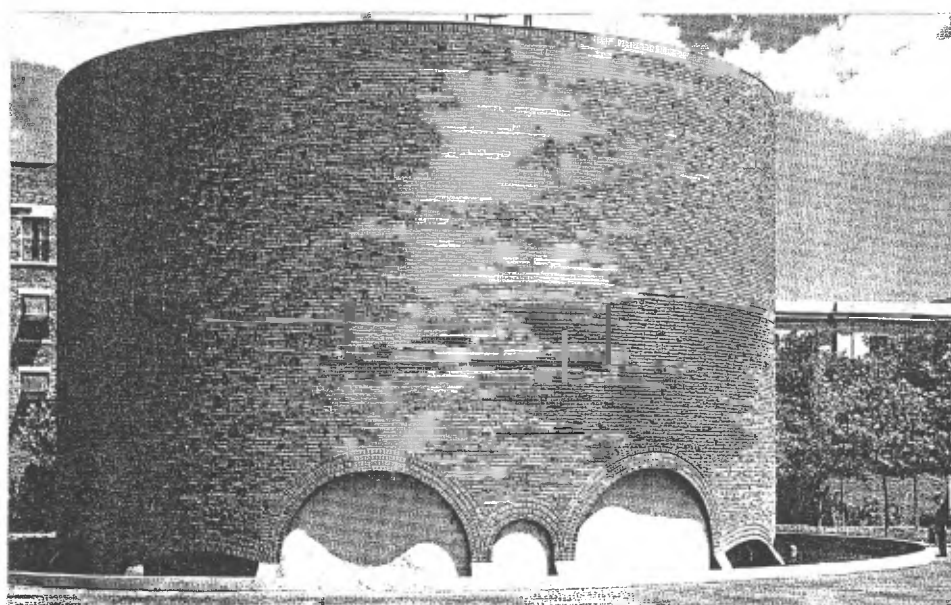


Fig. 1 Massachusetts Institute of Technology: chapel

College, Fort Wayne, Indiana, where the liturgical east elevation is an isosceles triangle of brick with a muted pattern, inside and out, of upright and inverted triangles. It is lighted on the south side only, heightening the drama of sacred space. In a totally different context, the General Motors Technical Center at Warren, Michigan (1948–56, one of Saarinen's most Miesian designs) uses glazed bricks of different colours in the end-walls to distinguish the separate buildings of the overall complex; some of the brickwork is set within black steel framing.

Saarinen worked across much of the USA. With Charles Eames, he contributed the Entenza House on Chantauqua Boulevard, Pacific Palisades (1945–9) to the Case Study Houses (CSH) programme, a series of mostly single-storey dwellings conceived or built over the twenty-one-year period 1945–66, of which one of the most publicised is the Stahl House (1959–60) by Pierre Koenig, which juts out dramatically over the hills of West Hollywood. This, the Entenza House, and the adjacent house (1945–9) of Charles and Ray Eames do not make any great use of brick. But others show the versatility of the material. CSH No. 2 (1945–7) by Sumner Spaulding and John Rex, has a distinctive serpentine brick wall beside the motor court, providing a link to the reception area of the house. In several of the houses, the chimneybreasts are constructed of exposed brick. The fireplace of the Bass House (1958) by Buff, Straub & Hensman, is a drum of textured white bricks cut away for one-third of its front. The last house in the programme, CSH No. 28 on Inverness Road in Thousand Oaks (1965–6) by Buff & Hensman, is one of the largest. Like a Roman courtyard villa in plan, with a central pool, it uses superbly laid red bricks of a long and thin format in Quarter (Raking Stretcher) Bond, which is used throughout the house. To judge from the photographs, the perpends throughout line up with great precision. Some other houses in the programme use brick minimally, often only for interior features: they include works by Craig Ellwood, Richard Neutra, Kemper Nomland & Kemper Nomland Jnr, Raphael Soriano, Rodney Walker, and William Wursted & Theodore Bernardi. (It is, incidentally, worth noting, since the author does not mention the fact, that the numbers 16–20 were, for some reason, each assigned to *two* houses in the series: hence the potentially puzzling double occurrence in the book of CSH#(= No.)16, CSH#17, and CSH#20.)

Rather different in their use of brick are the buildings of Louis Kahn, though Saarinen and Kahn enjoyed the same kind of patronage. In the USA, Kahn's best-known work in brick is perhaps the Library at the Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire (1965–71): there is beautifully crafted brickwork on the exterior, exposed brickwork internally, and large open circles framed by concrete to the atrium. The books occupy the outer square with space to move around – so very unlike what one often encounters in university libraries of this date in England. Earlier, in 1957–61, Kahn had built the Alfred Newton Richards Medical Research Building for the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia with impressive brick towers, something he repeated in the last building to be completed in his lifetime, the Korman House at Fort Washington, Pennsylvania (1971–3). Also of brick is the First Unitarian Church and School at Rochester, in New York State (1959–69). Kahn spent much of the seventh and eighth decades of his life working on projects for South Asia. Both the Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India (1962–74), and some of the buildings for the government sector in Dhaka, Bangladesh (1962–83), show how brick may enhance a building, whilst the careful placing of circular and semi-circular voids framed in brick enables the buildings to respond to their environment. (But, as Joseph Rosa notes, the Ahmedabad buildings are marred by the poor quality of the bricks and of the construction work.) The subtitle of Rosa's book, 'Enlightened Space', captures one aspect of Kahn's approach, but ignores – what the author's text stresses and the photographs illustrate – his characteristic creation of monumental forms, even when working on a relatively small scale.

Between the mid-1930s and 1950 Frank Lloyd Wright designed two buildings for the

Johnson Wax Company at Racine, Wisconsin: the administration building of 1936–9 and the research tower of 1943–50 both display exceptional use of brick as a cladding material. By the late 1930s Wright had worked with brick for fifty years, and the decade from 1889 had been crucial to his architectural thinking. The influence of those years is seen as late as 1949 in the frontage of the V.C. Morris Gift Shop on Maiden Lane, San Francisco, in red bricks of a long and thin format well laid in Stretcher Bond, and notable for its bold semi-circular entrance arch (fig. 2) – a motif which harks back to some of the work of Wright’s *Lieber Meister*, Louis Sullivan (1856–1924): the entrance to the Chicago Stock Exchange (1894), for example, now re-erected in the grounds of the Chicago Institute of Art, and its near-contemporary, the Golden Door of the Transportation Building at the Columbian World Exposition in Chicago (1892–3, demolished).

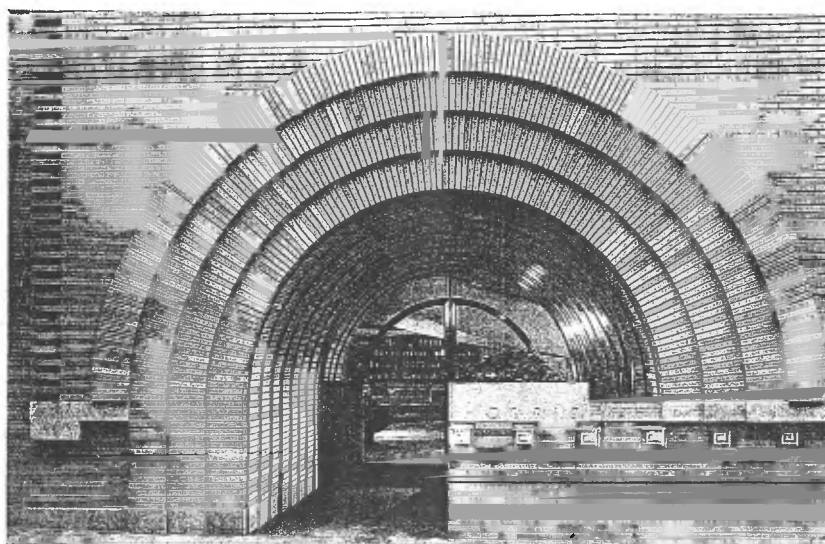


Fig. 2 V.C. Morris Gift Shop, San Francisco: entrance arch

All four books considered in this notice show something of the versatility of brick and its uses in the USA in the middle decades of the twentieth century.³ Like others in Taschen’s series, all are attractively produced whilst being remarkably modestly priced.

DAVID H. KENNETT⁴

Guest Editor’s Notes

1. The price of these books, it may be noted, has (mid-2007) increased to £5-99: TPS.
2. A little mischievously perhaps, I cannot resist quoting a contrary view, the more so since it comes from one who was a (slightly younger) fellow pupil of David Kennett and myself at Luton Grammar School in the early 1960s: in March 2007, Andrew Stephen, now US Editor of *New Statesman* magazine, had to travel from ‘Washington Dulles – which was a zoo, far worse than I have ever seen Heathrow’: A. Stephen, ‘Grounded: Why America’s Airlines Are the World’s Worst’, *New Statesman*, 16 April 2007, p.37: TPS.
3. A further book in the series – Louna Lahti, *Alvar Aalto 1895–1976: Paradise for the Man in the Street*, Cologne, London, etc.: Taschen, 2004 (noticed in *BBS Information*, 98, November 2005, pp.24–5) – includes a key building of mid-twentieth-century America: the student accommodation building (1947–9), later named Baker House, at MIT by the Finnish architect Alvar Aalto. Like Saarinen’s chapel on the same campus (fig. 1) it uses deformed bricks for textural effect – but it is a far finer building. TPS.
4. With additional material and editing by TPS.

TAILPIECE: 'BYE BEST!

In New York in 1969 James Wines teamed up with Alison Sky to form the architectural firm of SITE – an acronym of Sculpture In The Environment; they were soon joined by others, some of them on a temporary basis. SITE is known particularly for its series of showrooms for the former retail company Best Products in various parts of the USA.

These unconventional buildings – conceived as architectural sculpture or, in SITE's own term, as *de-architecture* – sought to undermine architectonic expectations by constructing, for example, a brick skin which appeared to peel away from the structure like old wallpaper, a corner which could be pulled out from an angle of the building, a frontage tilted up obliquely, or – at one of SITE's most familiar projects, Indeterminate Façade in the Almeda-Genoa Shopping Center, Houston, Texas (1975) – a building which appeared to be half-ruinous, with a cascade of falling bricks above the entrance (fig. 1). It was thus something like an eighteenth-century folly – though with a very different agenda.



Fig. 1 Indeterminate Façade, Almeda-Genoa Shopping Center, Houston, Texas

Some years ago, in a consideration of 'Brick and the World of Play', I treated these buildings as architectural jokes, which they certainly were. But they were also conceived as jokes with a serious sociological message, intended as a critique of American commercial culture, underlining, in Jessica Robey's words, its 'jury-rigged, decaying, fly-by-night' character. This, as she continues, presented an obvious problem: 'would a commercial organization actually confess such a thing in the public and official context of a showroom?' It seems, *prima facie*, unlikely. Yet Best Products *did* commission several of these apparently self-deprecating buildings.

One might suppose that Best's directors just failed to see the point. But entrepreneurs tend to be pretty canny, and one suspects that they not only *saw* the point but also *saw through* it – realised, that is, that architecture is not actually very good at expressing sociological doctrines. Some words of Robert Maguire and Keith Murray concerning certain symbolically contrived *churches* apply equally to endeavours such as Indeterminate Façade: the devices employed 'depend on translation into an intellectual concept – the building needs to be *explained* by an idea which is extraneous to it as a building'. Such explanations – of interest to a handful of socio-architectural *cognoscenti* – were of no concern to the overwhelming majority of Best's customers. One goes shopping for *shopping*, after all, not for sociological ideas – and not even for a good laugh.

This last consideration raises a further problem. 'Architecture,' as Jonathan Glancey

observes in a discussion of Indeterminate Façade, 'just isn't very funny (except unintentionally) and Wines was trying a little too hard.' Nor do jokes bear being heard (or *seen*) too often. Familiarity breeds – *indifference*: for regular users, Best's buildings would become just the places they went to, their witticisms no longer noticed, somewhat in the way that well-worn metaphors cease to *be* metaphors and become simply the accepted words for concepts: the *bonnet* of a car, for example, or *broadcast* (originally an agricultural term) applied to radio and television transmissions. Jonathan Glancey again: 'Perhaps regular customers laughed ... for the first few months, but they probably got to worrying about the price of frozen corn cobs and treated the buildings like any other store.' Two hours' observation by Diebold Essen at Indeterminate Façade in the late 1970s revealed that precisely this happened: 'People drove in, parked, got out, went in, bought, came out, left, with never a glance at the extremely indeterminate facade'. Perhaps this indifference was even a kind of in-built defence mechanism: without it, such quirky structures might have become, over time, visually *wearing* – SITE for sore eyes!

There is a more sombre reflection too. Quite by chance, on the very day that I typed the first draft of this piece, BBC One's six o'clock news showed footage of Iraq which included, in the background, a half-ruined building with a striking and disturbing resemblance to Indeterminate Façade. The joke suddenly turned rather sour.

Nemesis, in any case, has struck: 'these buildings-as-sculpture in Wal-Mart country,' as James McCown noted in 2003, 'were not to last. Best Products ... folded in the mid-1990s. Of the nine showrooms ... all but two have either been torn down or stripped of their architectural witticisms.' In 1999, Indeterminate Façade stood empty, its future uncertain; by August 2003 its distinctive elements had been removed, the building reduced to a simple plain box.

One is left wondering who has the last laugh. Not the retail company, certainly, for Best went bust. Not the architects, equally certainly, since their buildings for the company have either been emasculated or gone altogether. SITE's approach was obviously more risky than they anticipated. But *then*, architects are meant to create architecture: those who deliberately set out to produce *de-architecture* should not, perhaps, be unduly surprised if the exercise turns out to be self-defeating.

'... what began best can't end worst,' wrote Robert Browning (1812–89): replace the lower-case 'b' of 'best' with a capital and the assertion takes on a new meaning, on which, with the same substitution, the minor poet Charles Churchill (1731–64) may be taken to offer an apt contradictory comment: '... best things carried to excess are wrong'.

TERENCE PAUL SMITH

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BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY MEETINGS IN 2008

Meetings planned for 2008 include

A Saturday in March or April 2008

Spring Meeting

The Forest of Dean

The society is hoping to arrange a visit to either Coleford Brick or Broadmoor Brick.

Saturday 14 June 2008 or Saturday 21 June 2008

Annual General Meeting

Amberley Chalk Pits Museum, Sussex

A Saturday in July or August 2008

Welsh Meeting

Neath including St David's Church and other brick buildings in the town.

A Saturday in October 2008

London Autumn Meeting

West London: Hillingdon Civic Centre, West Drayton manor, Harmondsworth Church and Barn

Full details of meetings in the Spring in the next mailing.

The British Brick Society is always looking for new ideas for future meetings.

Suggestions of brickworks to visit are particularly welcome.

Offers to organise a meeting are equally welcome.

Suggestions please to James Campbell, Michael Oliver or David Kennett.

Changes of Address

If you move house, please inform the society through its Membership Secretary, Dr Anthony A. Preston at 11 Harcourt Way, Selsey, West Sussex PO20 0PF.

The society has recently been embarrassed by material being returned to various officers from the house of someone who has moved but not told the society.