ISSN 0960-7870

BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY

INFORMATION 123

FEBRUARY 2013

BRICK CHURCHES ISSUE

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http://www.britishbricksoc.free-online.co.uk/index.htm

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Cover Illustration

The now demolished St Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral used to stand on Sussex Street, Middlesborough, until replaced by a new cathedral, also dedicated to St Mary, at Coulby Newham (see figure.4 on page 25). Built in 1876-78, the old cathedral was designed by George Goldie, a prominent architect of the Roman Catholic Church in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Guest Editorial: 1812 Overture

Why, tears! is it? tears ... !
Gerard Manley Hopkins,
The Wreck of the Deutschland (1875), stanza 18

As well as being the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II's accession and the year of the London Olympics, the centenary of the sinking of the *RMS Titanic* and that of the ill-fated Antarctic expedition led by Robert Falcon Scott (1868-1912), 2012 was also the bicentenary of a number of significant Britons. Most celebrated has been Charles Dickens (1812-1870); but what he explored in fiction found its 'factual counterpart ... in Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor,* published in the 1840s' (C. Tomalin, *Charles Dickens: a Life,* London: Viking, 2011, p.241). Mayhew (d.1887) was also born in 1812, as were Dickens' first biographer, John Forster (d.1876), the political writer and biographer Samuel Smiles (d.1904), the poets Robert Browning (d.1855) and Edward Lear (d.1888), and three notable Gothic Revival architects: R.C. Carpenter (d.1855) and A.W.N. Pugin (d.1852), both of whom died tragically early, and S.S. Teulon (d.1873) who had a much longer life. This editorial offers a brief personal reflection on Pugin and on his use of brick in particular: a sort of overture to the numerous erudite works on the architect — hence the title of this editorial.

As a fifteen-year-old schoolboy on holiday in Ramsgate in 1961 I responded with — what's the word: *pleasure, excitement, awe*? — to Pugin's St Augustine's Abbey (1842-53; fig.1); and it is a credit to my late parents that they were so encouraging to a youngster who enjoyed visiting buildings as well as the more usual attractions of a seaside resort. By then I had been interested in architecture for some four years, but that was the first time that I had reacted *emotively* to a building — a reflection, I suppose, both of Pugin's achievement and of my own nascent maturity. The church, which despite the provision of a cloister Pugin never intended as monastic, became such four years after his death, when 'Bishop Thomas Grant [1816-1870] of Southwark handed over St Augustine's to a small group of young English monks who had been trained at St Benedict's own Abbey at Subiaco in Italy' (Anon., *A Short Guide to St Augustine's Abbey Church, Ramsgate,* Ramsgate: The Monastery Press, 1968, p.3). Of knapped flint with ashlar dressings, it is not directly relevant to the interests of the British Brick Society. But elsewhere Pugin did design in brick, some instances being noted below.

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin was born on 1 March 1812. Burned out by incessant and frenetic overwork, he died on 14 September 1852, aged only 40; by then he was insane, a result, it has been claimed, of syphilis contracted in his youth (R. Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain,* London: Allen Lane, 2007, pp.257, 492). Some others regard this diagnosis as 'mischievously imputed' (C. Stanford, ed. and introd., *'Dearest Augustus and I': The Journal of Jane Pugin,* Reading: Spire Books in association with the Landmark Trust, 2004, pp.35-7). But Rosemary Hill's case is a convincing one — *except* that it is puzzling that he did not pass the disease on to his long-lived third wife, Jane Pugin (*née* Knill, 1825-1909), with whom he was certainly 'intimate', as the Victorian euphemism had it, since the couple had two children, neither of whom was syphilitic. (Incidentally Jane's account of her husband's final illness, in Stanford, 2004, pp.64-76, makes almost unbearably poignant reading.) Interestingly, Charles Dickens, born just three weeks before Pugin, was equally compulsive — a 'workaholic' as we now say— and similarly highly sexed. Dickens did not contract syphilis, although there is some circumstantial evidence that in 1859 he was suffering from gonorrhoea (Tomalin, 2011, pp.315-16 with p.467, n.24). Each man too *may* have fathered an illegitimate

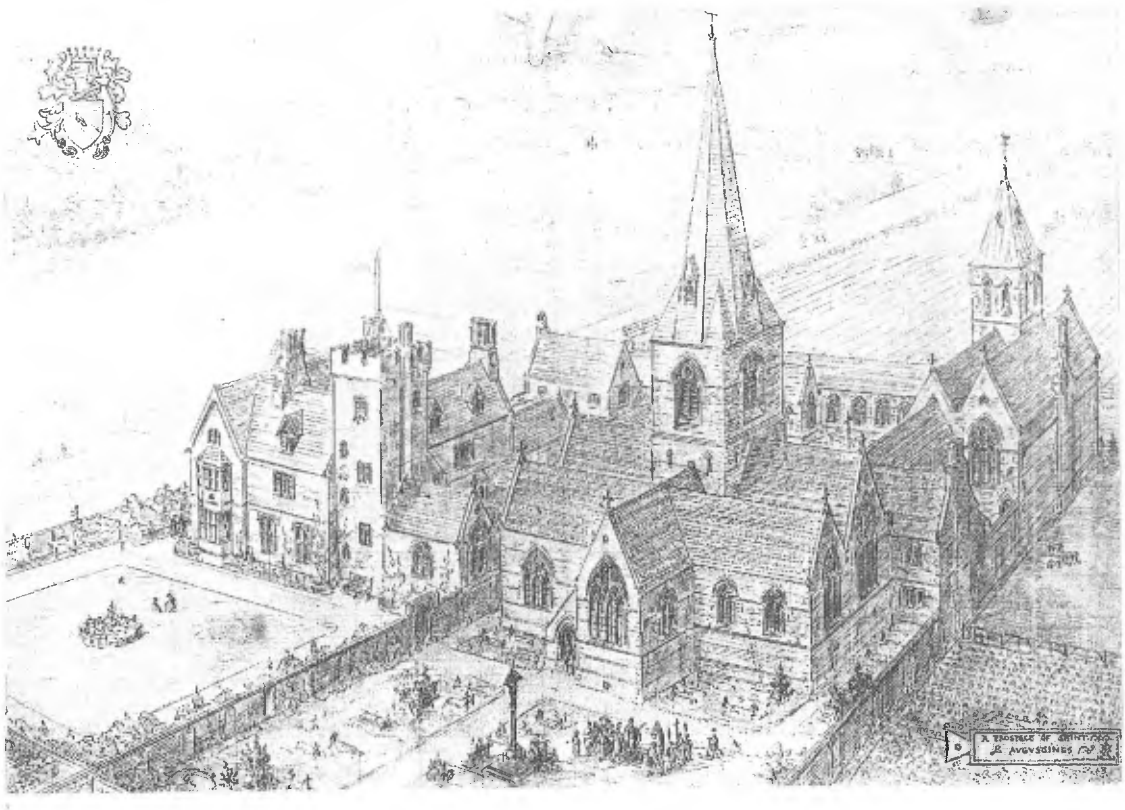

Fig. 1 Pugin's drawing of St Augustine, Ramsgate (1842-43), centre, with the cloister and sacristy behind; there are slight differences from the church as actually built, and the spire was never added to the central tower. To the left is Pugin's own house, The Grange (1843-45); again there are minor differences from the building as erected: see fig. 5.

child (Hill, 2007, pp.278-9; Tomalin, 2011, pp.327-35). Each, also, could combine charm with stern intolerance, moral seriousness with almost childish jollity. Religiously, however, they were radically different: Pugin a Catholic convert, Dickens nominally Anglican but essentially Unitarian and with a deep loathing of Catholicism: certainly the latter would have had no patience with Pugin's obsessive concerns about such matters as the 'proper' length of a chasuble, the 'correct' number of candlesticks on an altar, or the arcane minutiae of Catholic liturgy. (One wonders, incidentally, whether the two men's paths ever crossed in the later 1840s, when Pugin was living at Ramsgate and Dickens was staying periodically in neighbouring Broadstairs: both men were great — almost compulsive — walkers.)

Pugin's father, the French-born immigrant Auguste Charles Pugin (1769-1832), although baptised a Roman Catholic, seems to have had no religious interest; Pugin's mother, Catherine Pugin (*née* Welby, 1768/9-1832), moved from Deism to the charismatic Christianity of Edward Irving (1792-1834). As a boy, Pugin was taken to Irvingite services, which he disliked; in 1835 he was received into the Catholic Church, which he came to regard as the only 'true Christianity', just as he had come to see Gothic, and Gothic alone, as 'Christian architecture'.

Opposed to it was Classical architecture, which Pugin termed 'pagan'; he also deprecated the attenuated 'Gothic' (or 'Gothick') of the Anglican Church Commissioners, insisting on an historically correct medieval approach, which, in the title of his 1841 book, exhibited *The True Principles of Christian Architecture.* His younger contemporary, John Ruskin (1819-1900) shared these architectural views. Rarely can there have been such a congruence of opposites: Pugin virulently anti-Protestant, Ruskin rabidly anti-Catholic. (But there was, a generation later,

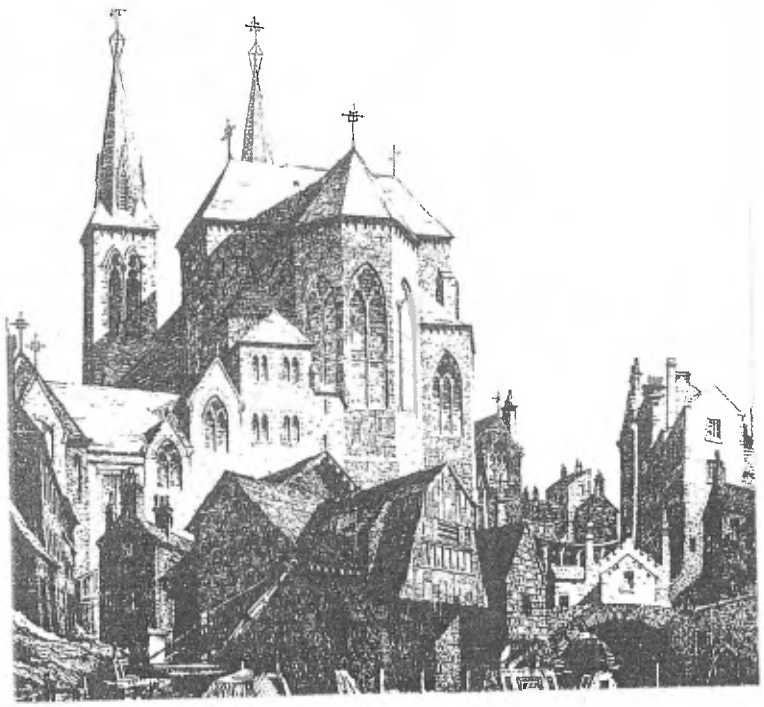

Fig. 2 St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham (1839-41), east end, from a print after a drawing, *c.*1877, by Alphege Pipper; at the rear left is one of the ill-proportioned west turrets.

that improbable friendship between two exactly contemporary poets: the Catholic convert and priest Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) and the staunchly Protestant Robert Bridges (1844-1930)). Pugin and Ruskin, one may add, were *not* friends, the latter sometimes acidly scathing about the former's achievements: was this due as much to religious prejudice as to aesthetic judgement? (For the relationship see R. Hill, 'Ruskin and Pugin' in R. Daniels and G. Brandwood, eds, *Ruskin & Architecture,* Reading: Spire Books, in association with the Victorian Society, 2003, pp.223-245).

Ruskin was keen on brick, but Pugin preferred stone — at least for churches and where it could be afforded — perhaps because, whilst Ruskin drew on his Venetian experiences, Pugin came to favour a specifically *English* Gothic, a visual expression of his desired restoration of *English* Catholicism; as Hopkins put it in *The Wreck of the Deutschland,* stanza 35: 'Our King back, Oh, upon English souls!' English Gothic rarely involved brick until the very end of the medieval and the early Tudor periods. Pugin was suspicious of this Perpendicular architecture: not only was it aesthetically 'degenerate' but it was also either too close to the hated Reformation or — horror of horrors! — actually *post*-Reformation. (At first, the largely autodidactic Pugin did not know, and when he learned preferred to ignore, the fact that the Renaissance in Italy began long before the English Reformation.)

What must be regarded as his two finest ecclesiastical buildings — which is to say his two finest buildings *simpliciter* — are both of stone. One is St Giles, Cheadle, Staffs. (1840-46), paid for by the immensely wealthy John Talbot (1791-1852), sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, a cradle-Catholic whose principal home was Alton Towers, Staffs. It is of carefully wrought local red sandstone ashlar; but the real joy of the church is its richly colourful interior, which really does need to be seen to be appreciated — as I discovered on an overwhelming visit four decades ago. (But for those unable to visit, an excellent second best is provided by the illustrations in M. Fisher, *'Gothic for Ever': A.W.N. Pugin, Lord Shrewsbury, and the Rebuilding of Catholic England,* Reading: Spire Books, 2012, pp.162-218 and frontispiece.) The other building is that

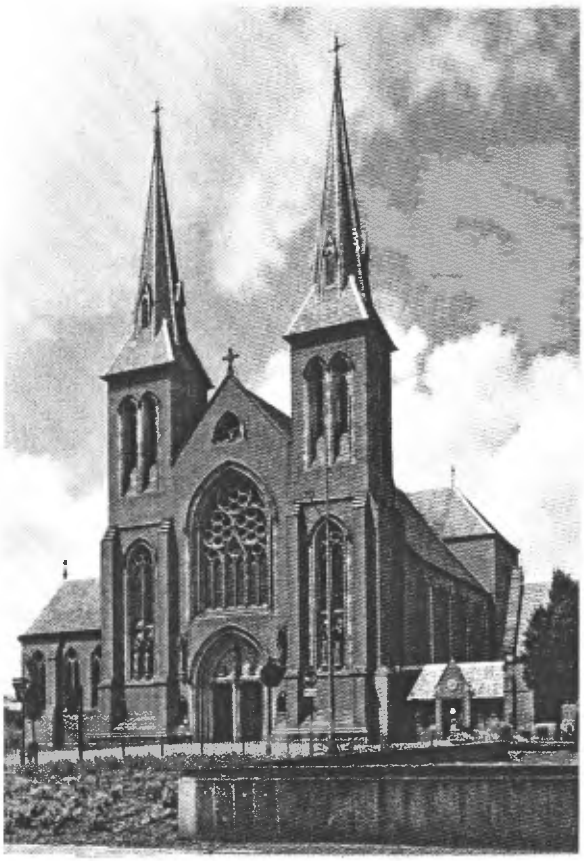

Fig. 3 St Chad's cathedral, Birmingham, west front

with which we began, the far more reticent St Augustine's, Ramsgate, on which Pugin spent £20,000 of his own money — a prodigious sum in the mid-nineteenth century: hardly 'penny plain', even if Cheadle is 'twopence coloured'!

Even earlier than the latter, Pugin had used brick, both in domestic and ecclesiastical contexts. Mostly this was a matter of economics, though in the case of his own house, St Marie's Grange at Alderbury, Wilts. (1835-7 with alterations *c.*1839-41), one suspects sheer bloody-mindedness: why else plonk down a stone-dressed red-brick building in the Wiltshire countryside? The same materials were used — with less incongruity — for Birmingham's St Chad's Roman Catholic Cathedral (1839-41), a macaronic combination of English Decorated with an overall north European *Backsteingotik,* deliberately chosen to distinguish the building from the city's Anglican churches, as Pugin acknowledged in a letter to the craftsman John Hardman jnr (1811-1867), though in the same letter he also explained that it was *cheap.* Internally, the building is impressive. *Externally,* the east end, rising high above a canal (fig.2) is striking. But other aspects, particularly the twin-towered west front (fig.3), are weak and ill-proportioned — a callow performance by an inexperienced architect who was, after all, only 27 when the building was started.

Contemporaneously, he also designed the Bishop's House, of stone-dressed red brick with black bricks used to pick out crosses and monograms of TW — the initials of Bishop Thomas Walsh (1777-1849). In photographs, and in Pugin's own — slightly different — drawing (fig.4) it appears a somewhat taut, even forbidding, building. Unfortunately, we can no longer judge: it was demolished for road widening in 1960.

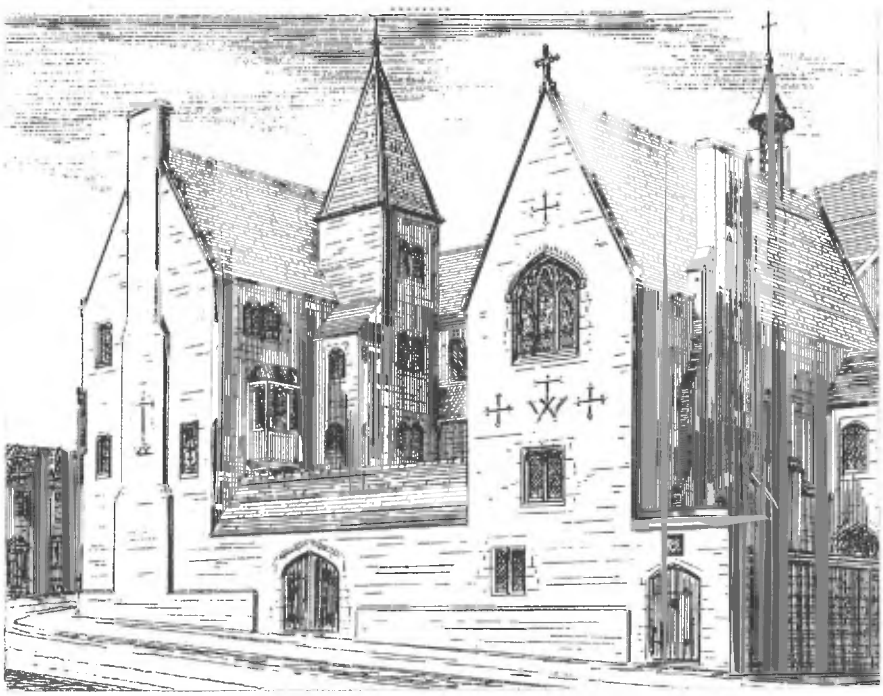

Fig. 4 Pugin's drawing of Bishop's House, Birmingham (1840-41, demolished 1960) — a curiously poor rendering by Pugin's usual standards; there are slight differences from the building as erected.

Much more relaxed, and more mature, is Pugin's own house, The Grange, Ramsgate, adjoining St Augustine's and built in 1843-5 (fig.5; *cf.* fig.1). It is in a gabled domestic style though including a crenellated tower — a lookout for Pugin, who loved the sea. Unlike the church, the house is of dull yellow brick with stone dressings. One wonders whether yellow rather than red brick was chosen because, apart from its local availability, it can, at least from a distance, look like stone, thus offering a less stark contrast with the church. (In the stone district of Cheadle, Pugin did indeed use red brick, with stone dressings, for the School, *c.*1845-6, and for St Joseph's Convent, *c.*1846-9; but there the local stone is red sandstone, so there is no clash.) The Grange was beautifully restored by the Landmark Trust in 2006 and is available to groups wishing to stay (it sleeps up to eight); there are also open days and other events: see *http//www.landmarktrust.org.uk/BuildingDetails/Overview/80/The _Grange* .

The Anglican Cambridge Camden Society (founded 1839; renamed The Ecclesiological Society in 1845) at first eschewed brick for churches, perhaps in part because of its association with some extremely unscholarly and mean-looking buildings erected for the Church Commissioners, such as St Mary's Chapel, Somers Town, London (1824-7) by William (*c.*1771-1843) and his son Henry William (1794-1843) Inwood, which Pugin had justly lampooned in his first book, *Contrasts* (1836). He came to share this view of brick. 'Less than a year after the consecration of St Chad's,' writes Rosemary Hill, Pugin 'was warmly endorsing the [*Ecclesiologist's*] sarcasm at the expense of Ambrose Poynter's [1796/7-1886] St Paul's, Cambridge [1841], a "CHEAP CHURCH OF THE 19TH CENTURY" built in "very red brick indeed".' (Hill, 2003, pp.230-1; at p.244, n.21 she writes 'Quoted by Pugin in *The Present State of* [*Ecclesiastical*] *Architecture in England* (London 1843) p.90'; see also Hill, 2007, pp.265, 557.n18. But the words are not quoted there or elsewhere in *The Present State* ..., and I have been unable to locate them. For a different assessment of the church see T.P. Smith, 'Cambridge: St Paul's Church, Hills Road' *BBS Information,* **103,** April 2007, pp.16-18.) In a letter of 1842,

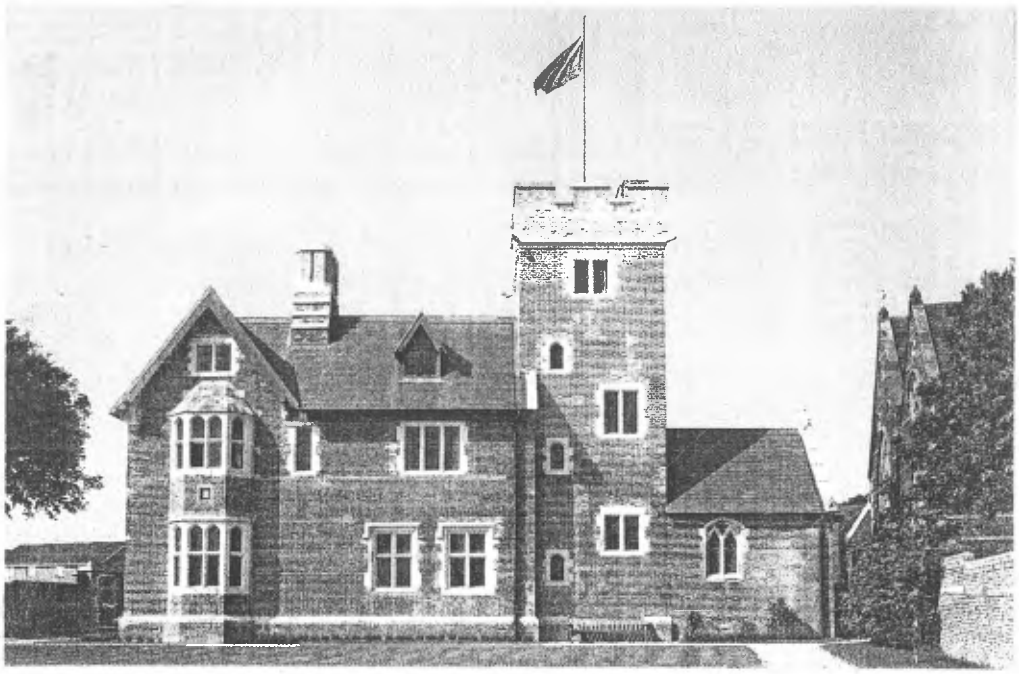

Fig. 5 The Grange, Ramsgate (1843-45), Pugin's own house, now a Landmark Trust property.

Pugin insisted that brick should be employed for churches only in 'extreme necessity' (Hill, 2003, p.231; Hill, 2007, p.265)

That 'necessity' meant financial constraint. His churches were often built with a shortage of funds, and this led to the adoption of brick with only the dressings of stone. This was the case at his first built church, St Mary, Uttoxeter, Staffs. (1838-9, subsequently much altered), where the low budget also determined the size of the small church, as too at the later St Andrew, Cambridge (1842-3), which has had an intriguing history: in 1908 it was dismantled and re-erected, with an added clerestory, at St Ives, Hunts., where it is now dedicated to the Sacred Heart. Much larger, and with an intended tower at the north-west, is St Wilfrid, Hulme, Manchester (1839-42), which is also of brick with stone dressings — though one would not realise this from Pugin's own published drawing of it (fig.6). This has now had an additional internal structure grafted into the nave to provide offices, but the chancel, with its fine woodwork separating it from the north chapel, remains intact.

By mid-century, under the influence of the writings of Ruskin and of the architect George Edmund Street (1824-1881), the Ecclesiological Society changed it collective mind: brick was now welcomed, especially for its use in creating polychrome surfaces inside and out. The approach was exhibited in the Society's 'show church', All Saints, Margaret Street, Westminster (1849-59), by William Butterfield (1814-1900). One likes to think that Pugin would have welcomed this development — it was, after all, consonant with his views on honesty of construction (*cf.* Fisher, 2012, p.296). But by the time of its completion he had been dead for seven years.

It is sometimes suggested that Pugin had little influence on Roman Catholic, as opposed to Anglican, church architecture. It is true that the Ultramontane Catholic hierarchy (including John Henry Newman, 1801-1890) preferred an Italianate or Byzantine style, and a number of resulting buildings are illustrated in C. Martin, *A Glimpse of Heaven: Catholic Churches of England and Wales* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2006), pp.118-31, 170-4. But perusal of the same volume will make it clear that the vast majority of Roman Catholic churches, from small parish churches to large cathedrals, are in a Gothic style. Pugin's influence on his fellow

Catholics persisted down to the end of the Victorian period and even beyond, not least on some converts, including George Gilbert Scott jnr (1839-1897), who designed, *inter alia,* the large and striking church of St John the Baptist, Norwich (1884-1910), completed by his brother, John Oldrid Scott (1841-1913), and now the cathedral of the Roman Catholic Diocese of East Anglia (By agreement the Catholic hierarchy does not duplicate titles of Anglican bishoprics.) Closer to Pugin himself, in more than one sense, are a number of brick churches by his eldest son, Edward Welby Pugin (1834-1875), one of the most attractive being St Henry and St Elizabeth (1863-4) at Sheerness, Kent, which is of yellow brick with black brick banding and stone dressings in a thirteenth-century style. (Sadly, Edward Welby inherited his father's frenetic character but not his charm; he too died young, at only 41).

If Pugin's influence on Anglican architecture was greater, that is just a matter of numbers: the Church of England simply built more churches (and had the money to do so) than did the Catholics. (Pugin himself designed just one Anglican church, St Lawrence, Tubney, Berks., 1844-7, although he was responsible for restoration work at some medieval churches). In his *On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England,* Pugin included beautifully delineated illustrations of some of his designs for parish churches (see fig.6). These, with Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878), R.C. Carpenter, G.E. Street, and others as catalysts, influenced Anglican parish church building throughout the country and throughout the period. That influence is at its most engaging in innumerable rural churches, where lack of funds dictated a simple tower-less structure with brick as the principal material. Arguably, these modest Anglican churches are, collectively, Pugin's greatest gift to posterity.

Certainly they are a more convincing heritage than another that was once seriously claimed. A couple of years after that boyhood experience at Ramsgate, I read *Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (in the revised edition, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960) by (Sir) Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983), in which Pugin is presented as, in the words of the book's original (1936) title, a pioneer of the Modern Movement. I was reduced almost to tears (hence the quotation at the head of this piece) by my inability to follow the argument: surely it was due to my adolescent lack of understanding when the 'Herr Professor' — as Sir John Betjeman (1906-1984) mischievously, or malignantly, called Pevsner — was confidently propounding his thesis? It was years before I realised that the fault lay not with my Sixth Form immaturity but with the thesis itself — as palpably tendentious as anything by Pugin or Ruskin. Pevsner was, of course, a formidable scholar, who gave us much; and to be fair, he came to change his mind about Pugin as, by implication if never explicitly, he abandoned his Hegelian approach to art history — an example of what Sir Karl Popper (1902-1994) characterised as 'the poverty of historicism'. And yet, I can never *quite* forgive him for those adolescent damp eyes. A happier memory is that wide-eyed — and dry-eyed — *wonder* (Ah, yes — that's the word!) at St Augustine's, Ramsgate.

It is hard to imagine Pugin welcoming the claim that he somehow adumbrated Walter Gropius (1883-1969) if, *per impossibile,* he had been able to confront it. His understanding of architectural history was, after all, far from the historicist conception of ineluctable progress — whether in architecture or society: rather, he saw the former as a bell-curve, with Gothic emerging from Romanesque, developing through Early English to an apogee in Decorated, and then degenerating to Perpendicular; thereafter, for Pugin, it suffered even worse decline, as did society itself. So let us forget Pugin as a sort of Gropius *manqué* and respect him for what he *did* achieve: some influential writings, a few outstanding buildings, and some striking designs — albeit many of them over-wrought and cloying, whether furnishings in the Houses of Parliament or altarpieces in Catholic churches. (His non-architectural creations, from simple and attractive wooden tables to meretricious monstrances and reliquaries, are best explored through the catalogue section of P. Atterbury, ed., *A.W.N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival,* New Haven, CT

Fig. 6 Pugin's own drawing of St Wilfrid, Hulme, Manchester (1839-42). The tower was truncated at the level of the nave eaves. The nave has been in office use since 1980 and only the east end is now in ecclesiastical use.

and London: Yale University Press for The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, New York, 1995, pp.223-392.) His influence — not least on brick architecture — was out of all proportion to his own built *oeuvre.* Robert Furneaux Jordan (1903-1978), in a work otherwise best forgotten, neatly captured the situation in a mere six words: Pugin 'was more important than his buildings' (*Victorian Architecture,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966, p.77). Important he certainly was, his influence giving point to the French motto that he adopted: *En avant.*

Following his untimely death, Pugin was buried in St Augustine's, Ramsgate on 20 September 1852. The Pugin family continued in architecture. Edward Welby Pugin (see above) was assisted by his half-brother, Peter Paul Pugin (1851-1904; he was christened Edmund Peter, but changed his name *c.*1868: Stanford, 2004, p.62, n.39). After the former's early death, the latter continued the practice as Pugin & Pugin, with his brother, Cuthbert Welby Pugin (1848-1928), as a sleeping partner. Later, the practice was run by their nephews Sebastian Pugin Powell (1866-1949) and his cousin Charles Henry Cuthbert Powell (1874-1958). Both men were unmarried and childless and the practice came to an end with the latter's death — 106 years after that of A.W.N. Pugin. (R. O'Donnell, 'Pious Bachelors: Fathers and Sons: English Catholic Architects 1791-1939', *Ecclesiology Today,* **38,** May 2007, pp.34-6).

Finally, except for a courteous coda, I wonder — for I have never seen the matter addressed — when the French name, pronounced *Pewzhã,* was changed to the English *Pewjin.* How did A.W.N. Pugin, who spoke fluent French, pronounce his own surname?

And now for that coda: I should like to thank David Kennett, whose friendship dates back even further than my discovery of Pugin, for his invitation to contribute this Guest Editorial, which has enabled me to reflect on a much admired architect, from that boyhood epiphany at Ramsgate to the more mature reflections (I hope!) of pensionable age and fr accepting its super-editorial length. It is only fair to add that 'Editorial' is a courtesy term: the actual editorial slog for the issue has been David's own.

TERENCE PAUL SMITH

The Church with the Railway Station Interior: St James', Tebay, Cumbria

Graham Brooks

Fig.1 The chancel arch and nave interior of St James' church, Tebay, Cumbria, is polychrome brickwork in red and yellow.

In *British Brick Society Information,* **92,** September 2003, P.S. and D.N. Brown describe a number of Victorian churches with stone outer walling but lined with a variety of brick linings. They limited their survey to mainly the south of England and to Wales.[1] I would like to draw members' attention to a brick-lined church in Cumbria. St James' church, Tebay,[2] was built in the 1870s to serve an increasing population of railway workers.

Tebay was a small village at the top of the Lune gorge originally in the parish of Orton. Expansion started with the building and opening of the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway in December 1846 and its station at Tebay.[3] Tebay lies at the foot of the steep climb (1:75) up to Shap summit and there was a development of engine sheds to provide banking engines to help trains over Shap. Housing for the drivers and maintenance men followed. This line eventually became the main line from London to Glasgow and was run by the London and North Western

Fig.2 The chancel arch of Christ Church, Silloth, Cumbria, with the nave in the foreground and the apsidal chancel beyond was constructed in polychrome brickwork using red and yellow bricks.

Railway Company (LNWR). In July 1861, the South Durham and Lancashire Union Railway Company, later to become the North Eastern Railway Company (NER), opened the Stainmore railway to carry coke from the Durham coalfield to the blast furnaces in West Cumbria and Furness. This line formed a junction with the mainline at Tebay and this railway development caused Tebay to grow further, with eventually a doubling of the population. It was decided that the parish church at Orton was too far away for routine worship and services were carried out in the school house.

A local church was required and local people, businesses and railway companies strove together to build a new church. The NER donated a site of 1 acre 16 perches above their line. The LNWR and their workers and shareholders contributed money to the building fund.

Charles James Ferguson (1840-1903) the Carlisle architect — he was usually known as C.J. Ferguson[4] — produced the plans and, with a baptistry apse and north-west tower, these are similar to his Christ Church at Silloth of 1871,[5] which had been illustrated in the issue of *Building News* which appeared on 8 September 1878.[6]

St James' church, Tebay, was consecrated in July 1880. The outer walls are rock-faced in Shap granite, which was supplied free by the quarry company. It is the inside which is of interest to members of the British Brick Society with its yellow and red brick pattern.

Red bricks are used up to the bottom of the windows, above which yellow bricks are used with red brick bands. The chancel arch and window arches have alternate groups of red and

yellow bricks around them. This patterning of brickwork is very similar to those found in many stations; Manchester Victoria is a good example.[7] To date, research has failed to find the actual source of the bricks used at Tebay: were they provided by the LNWR?

It is the red and white brick interior that leads most people in the popular press to name St James', Tebay, as a railway church, and it is usually implied that the internal design was based on railway architecture.[8] However, if we go back to Christ Church, Silloth, with its similar external design, this time, with the apse at the chancel end. Its outer walls are again in granite, using grey granite from Newry in Northern Ireland.[9] But again the interior uses brick and is based on yellow brick with red brick details, all very similar to St James'. This would suggest that the brick design for interiors is possibly a 'creation' of C.J. Ferguson which he simply transferred along with the outer parts of the plan to fit the site at Tebay.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. P.S. and D.N. Brown, 'Brick-lined Churches of the Gothic Revival', *BBS Information,* **92,** September 2003, pp.10-14, and *idem.*, 'Brick-lined Churches in Wales', *BBS Information,* **94,** July 2004, pp.8-11.

2. M. Hyde and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumbria Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness,* London and New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2010, pp.631-2. The 2010 volume supersedes N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967. Tebay is noted *ibid.*, p.293.

3. Hyde and Pevsner, 2010, note the architect of the station as Sir William Tite, who was also the architect of Carlisle Citadel Station in 1846-47.

4. For the basic facts of the career of C.J. Ferguson see A. Brooks, A. Felstead, J. Franklin, L. Pinfield, and J. Oldfield, *Royal Institute of British Architects Directory of British Architects 1834-1914,* London and New York: Continuum, 2001, 2 vols: A-K, L-Z, separately paginated, vol. **I,** p.641. There is much material on his buildings scattered throughout Hyde and Pevsner, 2010.

5. Hyde and Pevsner, 2010, p.618; Pevsner, 1967, p.189.

6. *Building News,* 8 November 1878, p.

7. Manchester Victoria, a station last rebuilt in 1904, was the property of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, which was independent of both the NER and the LNWR. A good illustration of the interior appears I. Bradley and P. de Figueiredo, *Victorian and Edwardian Manchester,* Halifax: Ryburn Publishing, 1988, pl.21.

8. 'Making Tracks for Tebay', *Cumbria Life,* January 2010, p.74.

9. Noted Hyde and Pevsner, 2010, p.618.

Received for Review

Geoff Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin,*
xii + 282 pages, 315 illustrations,
Swindon: English Heritage, 2012,
ISBN 978-1-84802-049-8, price £50-00, hardback.

This lavishly illustrated and important book on the prolific Lancaster practice which began in the mid-1830s and continued through to the Second World War will be discussed in depth in a future issue of *British Brick Society Information.* An important speciality of the firm was the design of churches, primarily for the Church of England but also for other denominations.

DHK

Review Article: Material Matters

Christopher Webster (editor), *Episodes in the Gothic Revival: Six Church Architects,* being *Spire Studies in Architectural History, Volume 1,*
Reading: Spire Books Ltd, 2011,
239 pages, 114 black-and-white illustrations,
ISBN 978-1-904965-34-3, price £34-95, hardback

This book comprises a brief introduction by the editor and essays on six Gothic Revival architects. Although concentrating on churches, the essays also briefly acknowledge, where relevant, the architects' secular works. Only one essay deals with brick in any detail, and the present contribution will concentrate on it, and indeed will consider it within a wider view of brick in nineteenth-century English church architecture. Something, however, may first be said about the other articles.

The first two — on John Carter (1748-1817) by Terry Friedman (pp.13-44) and on Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) by M.H. Port (pp.45-98) — discuss the work of two men who are better known for their writings than for their buildings. Carter was an early advocate of Gothic and an avid recorder of authentic medieval details; so too, though more systematically, was Rickman, whose chief distinction is to have given us the terms still used for the divisions of English Gothic architecture: Early English, Decorated, Perpendicular. Carter designed very few churches, which, for all his erudition, retain an essentially eighteenth-century Strawberry Hill 'Gothick' aspect. Rickman was more prolific and his churches rather more convincing; an intriguing, if not especially attractive, feature of many of them being the use of cast-iron tracery. Best-known of his secular works is the stone-built New Court (1825-31), St John's College, Cambridge — frivolous externally, depressingly dour internally, as well as being incongruous with its red brick Tudor and Stuart neighbours: a forerunner, therefore, of the Brutalist Cripps Building (1963-7) by Powell & Moya.[1] The stone 'Bridge of Sighs', linking the older buildings to New Court across the River Cam is a much finer work by Rickman's junior partner Henry Hutchinson (1800-1831): one wonders what the latter might have realised had he not died so untimely; but I suspect that Hutchinson, who may well have been responsible for a number of 'Rickman' buildings in the 1820s, would have emerged as the more accomplished architect. Alas, we shall never know.

Christopher Webster discusses Thomas Taylor (1777/8-1826) of Leeds (pp.99-132). He designed a number of stone churches in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, although with shallow chancels; and in other respects they failed to conform to the later strictures of the Cambridge Camden (later Ecclesiological) Society, and it is 'the most remarkable aspect of Taylor's reputation ... that, to a significant degree, it survived the proselytising of the Ecclesiologists' (p.127). Taylor died comparatively young — at only 49 — and, one 'can only speculate on what [he] would have achieved' had he lived longer (p.124). As it is, I find it difficult to warm to his often confused and curiously spiky churches, notably St Mary's, Quarry Hill, Leeds (1822-26), despite Webster's advocacy of an interesting yet minor architect.

R.C. Carpenter (1812-1855) is aptly described in the title of John Elliott's essay (pp.133-162) as 'the Anglican's Pugin'. The two men were exact contemporaries, and both died tragically early: A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852) at 40, Carpenter at 42. Both distinguished between what was suitable for an urban and what for a rural church, and Carpenter designed a number of highly accomplished stone churches for both settings. Had he lived longer he may well have emerged as one of the greatest of Victorian architects.

Fig.1. St Saviour's, Luton: north aisle, with porch, and Lady Chapel (1897-98, *left*), and west end of nave with diminutive temporary south aisle (1904-05, *right*), by J.T. Micklethwaite; the intended full south aisle was never built.

J.T. Micklethwaite (1843-1906) is the youngest of the architects considered, the only one to survive into the Edwardian age. His work is discussed in an essay by Peter Howell (pp.199-229). It is not always easy to distinguish his work from that of his partner, George Somers Clarke (1841-1926), for although the latter 'retired' in 1892, the practice continued under the name J.T. Micklethwaite & Somers Clarke, and the latter seems to have collaborated on a number of buildings. Micklethwaite & Somers Clarke's St Mary, Stretton, Staffs. (1895-97), is of stone; but most of their (or just Micklethwaite's) churches were of brick. Many were for Anglo-Catholic clients, reflecting Micklethwaite's own churchmanship, with rood screens and Lady Chapels. Peter Howell is warm in his appreciation of the churches, which I find somewhat quirky and not always attractive. Even a devoted parishioner of the brick-built St Saviour's, Luton (1897-98 and 1904-05, never completed) had to concede that its exterior (fig.1) 'can perhaps be best described as "inconspicuous" and "inoffensive". It cannot, we fear, be called beautiful'.[2]

Like the subjects of the first two essays, Micklethwaite is perhaps better remembered for his writings, especially for his *Modern Parish Churches* (London: Henry S. King, 1874), than for his buildings. In these he shows his High Church sympathies by his stress on 'side chapels with altars, vestries ... for the keeping of vestments [and] sacring bells .... He speaks of rood-screens, and rood-lofts and crucifixes and stations of the Cross'.[3] Curiously, Howell hints at this important aspect of Micklethwaite's approach (at pp.203-4) but does not explicitly mention it. But one matter he does consider is Micklethwaite's admirable restoration work on medieval churches, which is so self-effacing as to be scarcely perceptible — respect for the originals with no self-promotion, As Howell expresses it in his final sentence, Micklethwaite 'deserves to be honoured for his treatment of older churches, not least because of its scholarly restraint' (p.227). Sadly, this is not true of so many other nineteenth-century architects.

And so we come to the essay which is most relevant to members of the British Brick Society, that on George Edmund Street (1824-1881) by Neil Jackson (pp.163-198). It is, so I believe, the best in the book and, indeed, a model of how such brief assessments should be written. It is much concerned with brick, which Street used on many occasions, as in St James-the-Less, Pimlico, London, a striking polychromatic church of 1859-61 (fig.2).

Fig.2 St James-the-Less, Pimlico, London, 1859-61, by G.E. Street; it was visited by members of the British Brick Society in August 2012.

Four decades ago, the late Sir John Summerson (1904-1992) perceptively observed that '[t]he kind and degree of emotional involvement with brick is a variable in nineteenth-century architectural history which is hard to grasp'.[4] So far as Anglican churches are concerned, brick had been much used in the early nineteenth century, notably, but not exclusively for those built under the aegis of the Church Building Commission, giving us the pejorative term 'Commissioners' Gothic' — for the results were not always happy. Best known, because it was mocked by Pugin in his first book, *Contrasts*, (privately published, 1836), is the feeble St Mary's Chapel, Somers Town, London (1824-27), built of drab London Stocks by William (*c.*1771-1843) and Henry William (1794-1843) Inwood, which stands yet as a fuliginous reminder of this phase of church building. In 1839, in *A Letter on Ecclesiastical Architecture* ..., (privately published), the architect John Shaw jnr (1803-1870) urged the use of brick on grounds of its cheapness. He built a number of churches in the material, but though they are sometimes interesting in their detailing they are rarely attractive, as with one of the few survivors, St Peter in the Forest, Walthamstow, London (1840, much altered and extended, and with reconstructions after bomb and arson damage), which is in a Lombardic Romanesque style.

A little later, the Cambridge Camden Society (founded 1839; renamed The Ecclesiological Society in 1845) took a much more hostile view of the material. A Camden Society pamphlet, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841), published anonymously, but in fact by John Mason Neale (1818-1866), insisted that brick 'ought on no account to be used [for churches]: white [that is, buff or yellow] certainly is worse than red, and red than black: but to settle the precedency in such miserable materials is worse than useless'.[5] Neale may well have been thinking of the likes of the dreary St Mary's, Somers Town, which was mentioned above.

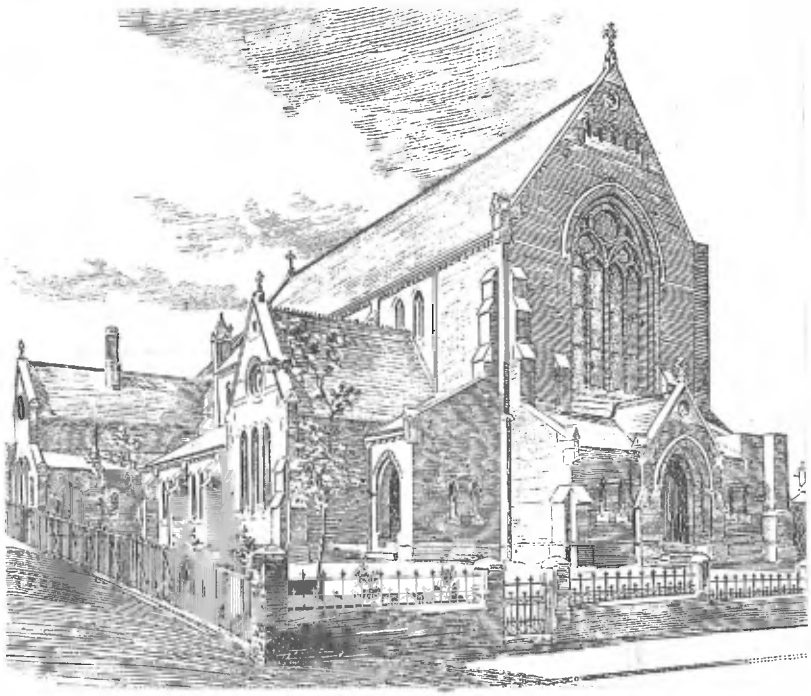

Fig.3 St Paul's, Luton, 1890-91 (demolished), by T.N. Laslett, in a drawing of 1899 by E. Buckner; at right is the large west window with its Netherlands-type brick tracery; further to the right is the stump of the never-built south-west tower.

Pugin came to share the same view, despite having used red brick for St Chad's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Birmingham (1837-56), partly for cost-cutting reasons. Brick, he asserted in 1842, should be employed for churches only in 'extreme necessity' — *economic* necessity, that is.[6]

But in mid-century the Ecclesiological Society (as it had by then become) did a collective *volte-face*: differently coloured brick — black, blue, red, yellow — now came to be valued, along with plain and encaustic tiles and stones of different colours, for their use in creating structural polychrome — built-in rather than *applied* colour contrasts and patterns. This new approach was exhibited in the Society's 'show church', All Saints', Margaret Street, London (1849-59), designed by William Butterfield (1814-1900).

This change of attitude is commonly attributed to the writings of John Ruskin (1819-1900). He was certainly influential. But Street was no less important, as Prof. Jackson's essay demonstrates. Both men were prolific authors, but Street was also a practising architect: he thus *showed*, and did not just write about, what might be done (fig.2). A great traveller on the Continent, he produced seminal works on, *inter alia,* northern Italy, Spain, and northern Europe. And, as Prof. Jackson suggests, acknowledging the view of H.S. Goodhart-Rendel (1887-1959), post-1850 Gothic may have owed more to Street than to Ruskin (p.190).

Certainly Street's vision was wider: '"Though the brickwork of Lübeck," he told [the Oxford Architectural Society in 1855], "is far inferior, in delicacy and beauty, to that which I have seen in Italy, there is [nevertheless] much that can be learned from it"' (pp.173-4). What he learned, he later put into practice in his brick-built All Saints', Sculcoates, Hull (1866-69), which is Germanic in general aspect and in the pilasters in the apex of the west gable. But he also considered that 'brick is no material for window traceries' (quoted at p.173). Those of us who have studied Gothic brick tracery in, say, the Low Countries — or for that matter in Essex or at the unique St John the Baptist, Smallhythe, Kent (1516-17) — may take leave to disagree. But Street carried the day, for virtually all post-1850 brick churches have (or had) stone tracery: Micklethwaite's work provides examples (see fig.1). (A rare instance of North European brick

tracery is the west window of St Paul's, Luton, of 1890-91 by Thomas N. Laslett (*fl.*1888-1891): fig.3; unfortunately the church had to be demolished, for structural reasons in the 1980s.)

As well as displaying exuberant and well wrought brickwork, Street's churches also met the strict demands of the Ecclesiological Society, which he had joined as early as 1845. More important — unless, perhaps, one is a High Anglican! — in a career of some three and a half decades he created, apart from his magisterial stone-built Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London (1866-81) and other secular buildings, many highly accomplished churches, including brick churches.[7] They still have the power to move and enthral, inside and out.

The collection of essays celebrates two accomplished architects — Carpenter and Street — and considers, and in some cases seeks to rehabilitate, four others, who, whilst competent enough, were not in the same class. It is, indeed, a great service of the present Ecclesiological Society — which has only tenuous links with its nineteenth-century precedent and which is mercifully free of the latter's egregious dogmatism — that it so often draws attention to less celebrated church architects, both in its meetings and in its publications.[8]

The book includes notes on contributors and an index. It is an attractive work, marred, however, by poor proof-reading and, it would seem, over-reliance on spell-checker: 'arises' at p.184, for instance, should have been corrected to 'arrises', 'profitable' at p.186 to 'profitably', and 'Lupton' in the index (p.235, under 'Micklethwaite') to 'Luton'. One could multiply examples, but it would be tedious to do so; it might also seem carping, except that at £34-95 for 239 pages with only black-and-white illustrations this is an expensive publication, and one perhaps has the right to expect more care.

TERENCE PAUL SMITH

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2nd edn, 1970, p.156 describes the Cripps Building as 'a masterpiece by one of the best architectural partnerships in the country'; and adjectives applied to it (pp.156-7) include 'masterly' and 'supreme'. Its Brutalist approach was faddish at the time, but less appealing to many of us today. Disturbingly, the bronze window-frames were already deteriorating when I lived in the building as a postgraduate research student in 1971-2 — just four years after its completion!

2. Miss Harris *et al.*, *S. Saviour's, Luton, 1898-1948*, Luton: St Saviour's Church, n.d. but 1942, p.7. Howell mentions but does not assess the church at pp.215-16, and compares it to St Matthew's, Southsea, Hants., 1902-04, completed 1924-26 by Sir Charles Nicholson (1867-1949); the latter church, though Howell does not mention the fact, has been rededicated to the Holy Spirit.

3. B.F.L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: a Study of the Gothic Revival in England*, revised edn, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1969, p.189.

4. J. Summerson, *Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970, p.36.

5. The pamphlet is reprinted in C. Webster, ed., '*temples ... worthy of His presence*': *the Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading: Spire Books in association with the Ecclesiological Society, 2003, pp.133-188; this ref. p.141 (p.9 of the original). J.M. Neale, incidentally is better known as the writer of numerous hymns, including 'O happy band of pilgrims'.

6. Quoted in R. Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, London: Allen Lane, 2007, p.265.

7. [One that does not is St Edmund's, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire, rebuilt in 1855. (DHK)]

8. See, for example, the notice, pp.30-31 below, of Geoff Brandwood, *Seven Church Architects, 1830-1930*, published by the Ecclesiological Society; also R. O'Donnell, 'Pious Bachelors, Fathers and Sons: English Catholic Architects 1791-1939', *Ecclesiology Today*, **38**, May 2007, pp.25-42, and A. Voelcker, 'The Churches of Herbert Luck North [1871-1941]', *Ecclesiology Today*, **44**, July 2011, pp.45-62.

Review Article: Brick and the Cathedral in England

Paul Jeffery, *England's Other Cathedrals,*
Stroud: The History Press, 2012,
256 pages, 30 plates, 88 unnumbered black and white illustrations,
ISBN 978-0-7524-5347-7, price £25-00, hardback

Between 1133 and 1540, the church had seventeen dioceses in England with nineteen cathedrals: in the mid-sixteenth century Coventry Priory was demolished and Bath Abbey became a parish church. In the 1540s Henry VIII created six new dioceses of which five survived after 1550: the sixth, Westminster Abbey, became a royal peculiar, and the area under its jurisdiction — the Archdeaconries of Westminster and St Albans — was absorbed into the diocese of London. Then, between 1836 and 1927, the Church of England created twenty dioceses, mostly after 1905. Four of the nineteenth-century ones — Ripon, St Albans, Southwark, and Southwell — used a surviving medieval great church. These twenty-six churches, all ones where stone is the principal building material, form the 'extended canon' of English cathedrals.

Paul Jeffery's focus is on cathedrals in England other than the twenty-six. Those under consideration are sixteen of the post-Reformation Anglican cathedrals; twenty-five of the Roman Catholic ones including three which did not proceed to cathedral status and three which have been demolished; twelve from various Orthodox rites; and three others. Of these fifty-six, twenty-seven have external walls totally or partially of brick: one Anglican, thirteen Roman Catholic, eight Greek Orthodox, four from other Orthodox rites, one Ukrainian Catholic and one — Wesley's Chapel, Finsbury — from the Methodist Church, regarded by Jeffery as a cathedral (see Appendix 1). Of the brick-built churches, thirteen are in the Greater London area, including the Roman Catholic cathedrals at Southwark and Westminster. The post-Reformation Anglican cathedrals and those of other denominations are discussed in chapters 5 and 6 (respectively pp.119-152 and pp.153-196).

Before these two chapters, and after an 'Introduction' (pp.8-15), Paul Jeffery has chapters on 'Lost Pre-Conquest Sees' (pp.16-47), 'Lost Cathedrals of the Middle Ages' (pp.48-65), 'New Cathedrals Proposed under Henry VIII' (pp.66-94), and 'Lost Predecessor Cathedrals' (pp.95-118). Personally, this writer would have placed the last-named third in this sequence. Two final chapters consider 'Churches with Cathedral Nicknames' (pp.197-211) and 'Other Churches of Cathedral Stature'(pp.212-242). Whilst the last two are useful, the relevance of the chapter on 'Churches with Cathedral Nicknames', seems rather marginal: one might detect the influence of a publisher trying to broaden the book's appeal. A glossary (pp.245-8), a three-page select bibliography and a satisfactory index complete the volume.

English cathedrals *en masse* have been tackled before. In addition to older works, many produced before the Great War, eight surveys have been done relatively recently, four of which were by an earlier generation of scholars. One of the earliest architectural books purchased by this reviewer — in the paperback edition costing 5 shillings — was John Harvey's *English Cathedrals,* which deals only with the 'extended canon' but gives plans and has a table of building dates with architects as Harvey calls the medieval master masons.[1] Also primarily concerned with the 'extended canon' is Alec Clifton Taylor's *The Cathedrals of England,*[2] although this does have short chapters on 'The Protestant Reaction' about Wren's St Paul's and 'The Last Hundred Years'. *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales: The Building Church 600-1540* by Richard K. Morris is more concerned with the construction process than with historical matters.[3] In 1980, Anthony S.B. New produced *A Guide to the Cathedrals of Britain,*[4]

which also covers Scotland and Wales. Soon after his death in 1983, the entries about cathedrals produced by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner in the forty-two volumes of *The Buildings of England* series between 1951 and 1974 were collected together by Priscilla Metcalf, in two substantial volumes with additional material, many photographs and using historic plans.[5] The volumes by Pevsner and New include much on the 'extended canon' of twenty-six Church of England cathedrals not discussed by Jeffery. None of these five works has much on the cathedrals which interest Paul Jeffery, and those by Taylor and Harvey nothing whatsoever.

Except for the Orthodox denominations, Jeffery often omits dedications of the cathedrals he considers and is sparing over dimensions. On the other hand, his work on former cathedrals is much fuller than the two and one third pages devoted to it by Anthony New.[6] Also valuable is the consideration in Jeffery's book of the buildings used before twenty of the medieval cathedrals assumed their present form.

Before considering the use of brick in cathedral buildings in England, the very full chapter on 'New Cathedrals Proposed under Henry VIII' (pp.66-94) deserves further scrutiny as this is a subject rarely discussed.[7] Due to the Danish incursions of the ninth and tenth centuries, the diocesan arrangement of medieval England was severely unbalanced: seven dioceses south of the River Thames covered geographically limited areas, four of which were a single county or less, whilst two physically large dioceses — Lincoln in the east and Coventry and Lichfield, sometimes called Chester, in the west — sufficed for much of the area between the Thames in the south and the Trent and the Ribble in the north. Equally widespread, the Diocese of York covered all of Yorkshire plus Nottinghamshire to the south and Furness and Lancashire north of the Ribble and Westmorland to the west.

Jeffery points out that in 1524 Wolsey had dissolved no fewer than twenty small monasteries so as to provide incomes for his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. Other prelates had made similar transfers from monastery to collegiate estate, but these had been on a much smaller scale.[8] In November 1528 and May 1529 Wolsey obtained papal dispensation to dissolve thirteen larger monastic houses to create thirteen new cathedrals. This careful preparation might have came to naught — he fell from power in July 1529 — but it sowed a seed in Henry VIII's mind which bore fruit in May 1539. A document in Henry's own handwriting lists twelve possible new dioceses, most for a single county, with indications of which monastic incomes would support each new diocese, if the proposed former monastery had insufficient revenues.[9] Six other documents, all undated, some written by a bishop,[10] some annotated by Henry, put forward alternative schemes: five new cathedral locations were proposed, some replacing a place initially suggested.[11] One, Bristol, was due to civic pressure. The table (pp. 70-71) compares the initial scheme and the proposed variants and the eventual outcome in the early 1540s.

One of Henry's proposed new dioceses not proceeded with covered Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire with the cathedral church at Dunstable Priory (fig.1), its own income supplemented by those of Newnham Priory in Bedford and Elstow Nunnery.[12] Four of the later Henrican schemes give additional details such as the cathedral establishment, and one even names its first bishop. In 1540, the parish took over the nave of the monastic church at Dunstable; rebuilding in 1962 above the monastic rood screen of stone introduced brick into the present east end.

In the early 1970s, the town retained some of the feel of the small cathedral city it never became, partly because of its prominence in the eighteenth century from which it retains many brick buildings. When the writer was working there some forty years ago, the town still kept the atmosphere of the prosperous coaching centre it had been — it is situated on Watling Street (the modern A5) — and with the Marshe Almshouses opposite the priory and, to the south of the area covered by the monastic buildings, the Cart Almshouses and Chew's School on High Street South.[13] Dunstable had a score of coaching inns;[14] the largest, the Sugar Loaf,[15] a three-storey

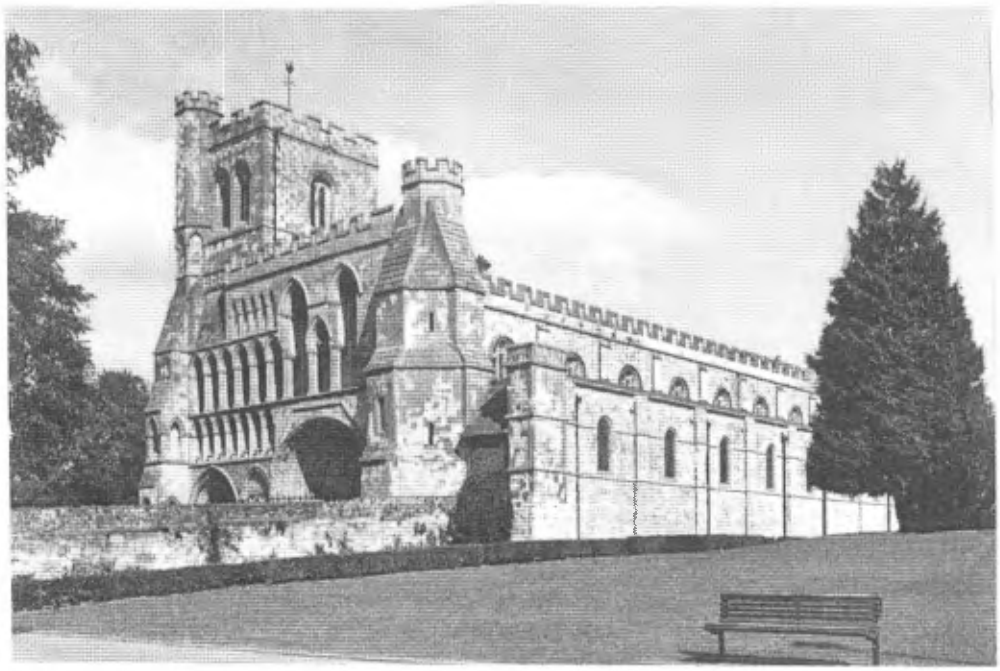

Fig. 1 Dunstable Priory church was considered by Henry VIII as the cathedral of a new diocese for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The east wall of the reduced church (not in the photograph) was rebuilt in brick in 1962 when two neo-Norman windows were inserted to provide light to the chancel.

building of 1717 in blue brick with red brick dressings, had public rooms where the Aynscombe, Cart, Chew, Dickinson, and Marshe familes could meet, converse and arrange suitable matches for their offspring.[16] Jane Cart, who founded the almshouses in about 1723, was the daughter of Thomas Chew[17] whose school for forty boys was endowed in 1715.

But Bedfordshire remains one of nine historic counties, four of which are in the midlands, without a cathedral of the established church.[18] After the 1836 reorganisation of diocesan boundaries the county became part of the Diocese of Ely before being transferred in 1914 to the relatively new Diocese of St Albans, where the former abbey church, from 1539 the town's foremost parish church, was made into a cathedral in 1877.[19]

Southwell Minster, a collegiate foundation in 1535, was dissolved in August 1540 in anticipation of being made a cathedral only to be reinstated in January 1543, dissolved again in 1548 and then again rebounded as collegiate by Mary Tudor, a move confirmed when her half-sister Elizabeth I granted new statutes in 1570. The collegiate status of the town's only church accounts for the eighteenth-century brick-built prebendal houses of Southwell. This was one of the five additions or replacements made to Henry's initial scheme[20] and since 1884 the minster has been the cathedral for Nottinghamshire; initially the diocese also included Derbyshire.[21]

Henry VIII's scheme for new bishoprics gained only partial fulfilment in the mid sixteenth century. Surprisingly, most of the proposals for southern and midland England were fulfilled, albeit between three and four hundred years later and sometimes with different locations for a cathedral. The Oxford diocese did absorb Berkshire as envisaged in Henry VIII's initial scheme and later Buckinghamshire. As remarked above, St Albans Abbey and Southwell Minster did become the cathedrals for Hertfordshire and Nottinghamshire respectively. St Martin's church in the centre of Leicester became a cathedral, replacing the dissolved Leicester Abbey for Leicester diocese in Henry VIII's scheme.[22]

Fig.2 Guildford Cathedral, by Sir Edward Maufe, was built in two campaigns interrupted by the Second World War; it was consecrated in 1961 but work was not completed until 1966. The red brick is laid in Monk Bond.

The proposal for a cathedral in Essex initially envisaged Waltham Abbey, on the western edge of the county, but this was replaced by St John's Priory, Colchester. From this only the gatehouse survives, a flint-faced building but one where structural brick is obvious. St John's was Benedictine and large; St Botolph's Priory, which became a parish church and had to be abandoned after being shelled after the English Civil War, was Augustinian and smaller. The fabric of St Botolph's has much reused Roman brick. Ultimately, Chelmsford parish church was chosen for Essex in 1913.

Like that in Bradford, the cathedrals in both Leicester and Chelmsford still look like parish churches, a charge which can be levelled at other Anglican town-centre churches upgraded to cathedral status in the early twentieth century. The Victorians had the right idea: a cathedral is different to a parish church. Excepting Manchester in 1847, Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1882, and Wakefield in 1888, each suitably and sensitively extended, their creation of cathedrals either utilised medieval great churches — Ripon, St Albans, Southwell, Southwark — or built anew as at Truro and Liverpool. The post-World War I creations have not enjoyed the happiest of extensions: Portsmouth and Sheffield have been poorly-served by schemes abandoned and re-ordered during the building process.

The twentieth century built anew in stone following wartime devastation at Coventry and as a major extension at Bury St Edmunds, a building about whose exterior opinions differ, even if the interior tries to convey the true majesty of a cathedral. One new Anglican cathedral was built in brick, that at Guildford (fig.2); designed by Sir Edward Maufe, the winner of the competition in 1932, construction took three decades but was interrupted by the Second World War. Building campaigns were conducted between 1936 and 1939 and between 1952 and 1966; consecration took place in 1961.

Brick, however, was much favoured by the Roman Catholic Church but not always: Salford Cathedral is a great exception amongst the earliest Roman Catholic cathedrals. Realising in the 1830s that a Catholic hierarchy would one day be permitted — the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 gave full civic rights — in the 1840s the Roman Catholic Church began to build potential cathedrals on a grand or lesser scale. Designed by Matthew Ellison Hadfield (1812-1885), Salford is on the grandest scale: a nave copied from Howden Minster, the chancel was

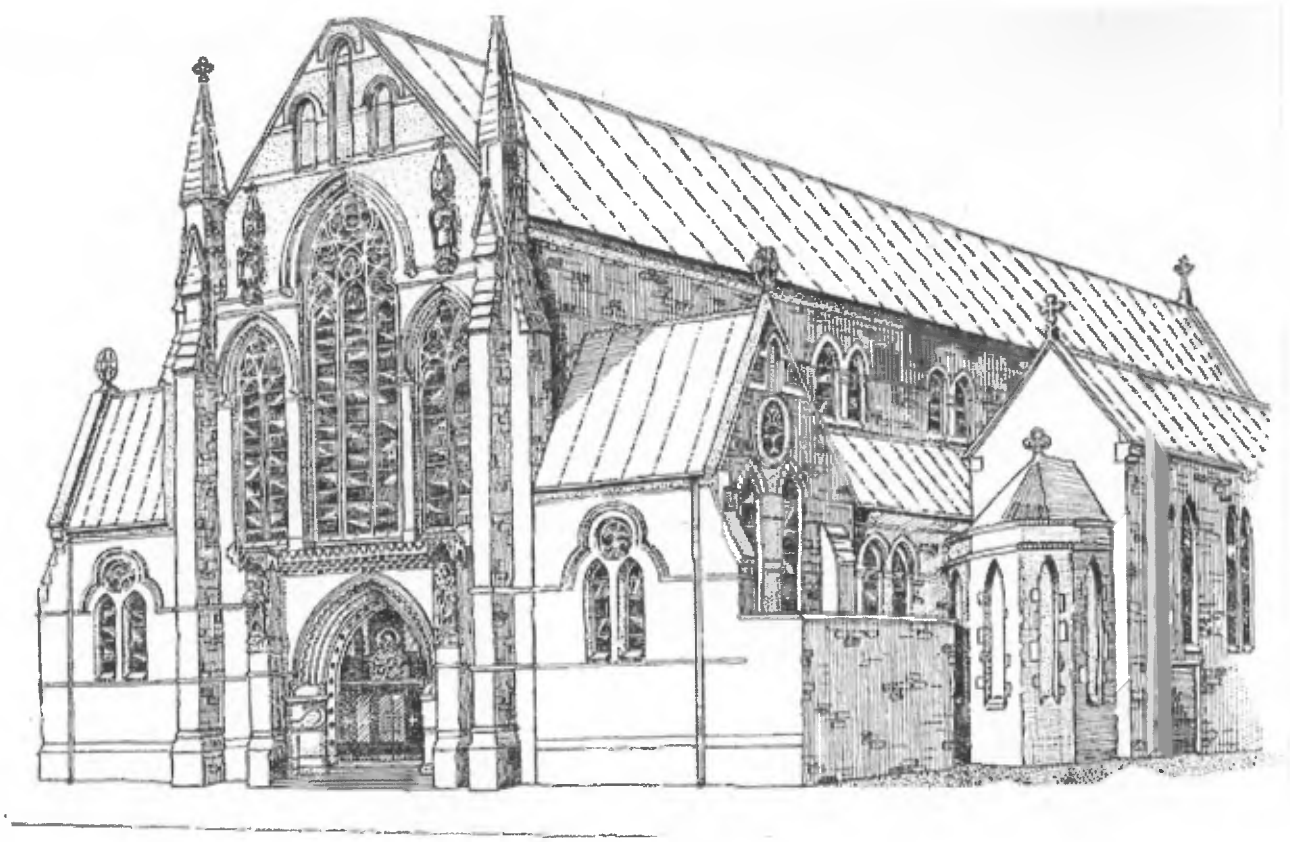

Fig.3 Drawing of the west front and south side of the demolished St Mary's cathedral, Sussex Street, Middlesborough, Yorkshire North Riding, as built between 1876 and 1878 to designs by George Goldie, this was the third church on or near the site. The church was replaced by the new cathedral in 1987 and over the following decade suffered vandalism culminating in an arson attack in 2000 which led to its demolition.

inspired by Selby Abbey, and between them a central tower and spire originating from that of Newark parish church, but because each progenitor employs the Decorated style Salford Cathedral has considerable unity. In contrast, the cathedrals for which A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852) was the designer, particularly those using brick — Birmingham (1838-40), Northampton (1844), and Southwark (1840-48) — invariably hit problems of financial expediency; the exteriors are less striking, however much the interiors convey the mystery of the faith. Externally, he fared better with the stone-built ones: Nottingham (1841-44), Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1842-44) and posthumously at Shrewsbury (1851-52), where building of his design was completed by his son, E.W. Pugin (1834-1875). Nottingham and Shrewsbury were two of the three cathedrals — Birmingham was the other — benefitting from the patronage of John Talbot, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury.

Not to be outdone by a mere earl, Henry Fitzalan Howard (1847-1917), the fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall and premier peer of England, paid for two grand churches which later became cathedrals. Arundel, designed by J.A. Hansom & Son, was built 1869-73 to celebrate his coming of age; it became the cathedral of the diocese of Arundel and Brighton in 1965. Whilst faced internally and externally in Bath stone, its core is brick. To give thanks for his happy marriage, the duke financed the large church dedicated to St John the Baptist on the site of the former city gaol outside the medieval city walls of Norwich. Designed by Catholic convert, the younger George Gilbert Scott (1839-1897), but completed by his brother, John Oldrid Scott (1841-1913) who remained an Anglican, it embodies the Early English style, chosen

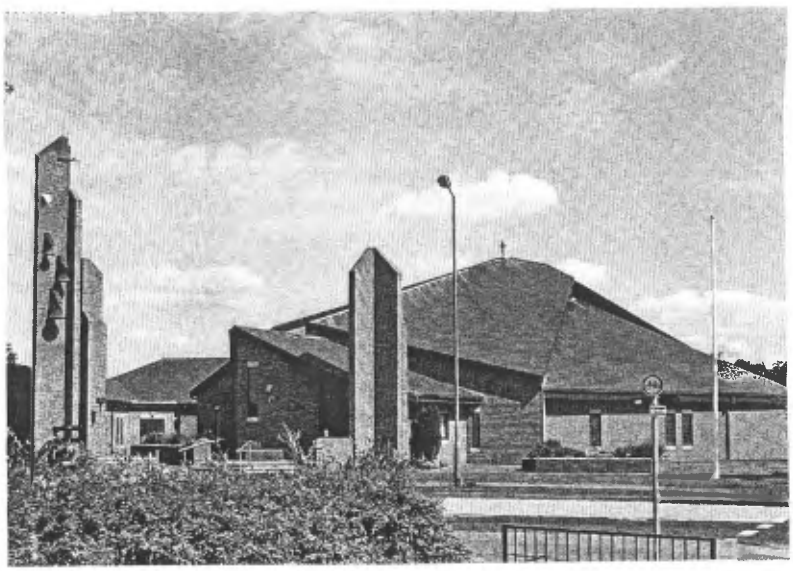

Fig.4 The new St Mary's cathedral at Coulby Newham, near Middlesborough, was built between 1985 and 1987 to designs by Frank Swainston and Peter Fenton. The body of the church, built in light brown brick, is an irregular polygon under a slate roof. The pylon on the left three bells in a brick structure 65 feet (20 metres) high.

by the duke because of the paucity of examples in Norfolk. The nave begun in 1884 is the work of the elder brother; the chancel and tower mainly that of the younger.

The church in Norwich became the cathedral of the new diocese of East Anglia in 1970. Much earlier, in 1860, George Goldie (1828-1887) had designed the chancel of projected cathedral for a putative diocese covering Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. The church of St Pancras in Orwell Place, Ipswich, is that chancel, a fine brick building. Goldie was a cradle-Catholic who designed many churches for his faith, including in 1876 the first, now demolished, cathedral at Middlesborough; it was of red brick. The Yorkshire diocese was divided in 1878 into Leeds for the West Riding and Middlesborough for the North Riding and the East Riding. The former was split again with the Bishop of Hallam having a cathedral in Sheffield, using another large church designed by M.E. Hadfield on a grand scale and built in stone.

The first cathedral in Middlesborough (fig.3) has been demolished. George Goldie designed the building in 1876 prior to the establishment of the diocese in 1878, when the large church was already open; its nave was 9 bays long and there was a chancel with side chapels, although the intended tower was never constructed and the west door was a single point of entry rather than a triple-arched complex. Population movement and the poor condition of the fabric prompted the decision to move the cathedral to Coulby Newham, a dormitory town 5 miles away from Middlesborough, about the time when the church celebrated its centenary. Just over a decade after the move to the new cathedral, the old one was demolished: it had been subject to vandalism and an arson attack in 2000 was the final nail in its coffin.[23]

Building of the new cathedral (fig.4) began in 1985; consecration followed in 1987. Built for a very different liturgy, the central altar set within a polygonal shape and the focus of radiating raked seating emphasises the uniting of priest and congregation in the worship of God. In contrast to the red brick of the former cathedral, the new building is in light brown brick, both externally and internally.

The third group of cathedrals which Paul Jeffery examines are those of the various Orthodox rites: Coptic, Greek, Russian, and Antiochan (pp.186-192). Of the twelve cathedrals, only three were purpose-built: the earliest of the eight for the Greek Orthodox Church, St Sophia,

Moscow Road, Bayswater, London, built in 1877-79 was raised to cathedral status in 1922; a new, whitewashed one for the Russian Orthodox Church in Chiswick, London, was built between 1997 and 2007; and St George's cathedral, Stevenage, for the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt, opened in 2006. The other nine comprise six former Anglican churches; two former churches of the Irvingite Catholic Apostolic Church, one in London, the other in Birmingham; and one former Methodist chapel.

The new Russian Orthodox cathedral in Chiswick from the photograph of the exterior (p.189) reminds this writer of the plan and the exterior of the Russian Orthodox cathedral in north Chicago designed by Louis Sullivan in 1900 and still serving the community for whom it was built.[24] Today, the Russian Orthodox Church in the west is split in two. The Chiswick building is the cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad. The Diocese of Sourozh of the Patriarchate of Moscow uses the former High Anglican church of All Saints, Ennismore Gardens, Kensington, whose splendid interior remains but now lacks the pews (p.191). Jeffery mentions Heywood Sumner's work here in 1892 (p.190) but fails to record the involvement of C. Harrison Townsend, his first independent commission.

Of the conversions from Anglican churches, one which catches the eye is that in Camden Town by the Inwoods, father and son, where the semi-circular porch with circular tower above the entry, is matched by an apsidal sanctuary. Henry William Inwood had been to Greece and brought back ideas and drawings. He adapted his knowledge to English conditions and the difference between a temple to the gods and a Christian church, specifically a relatively low church Anglican one.

In the late twentieth century, the Greek Orthodox Church has opened new cathedrals, in some ways matching the response to population changes of both the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when geographically large dioceses were divided. The Roman Catholic dioceses of 1850 have become seventeen, ironically the same number that there were in medieval England but the distribution is somewhat different: seven are north of the Trent, in contrast to three in the middle ages. Having twenty-two dioceses in 1836, the Anglicans reached a total of forty-two in 1927. Ironically some of the most recently created are now being amalgamated. First to be scaled down is the northern part of the West Riding and the North Riding: Wakefield is to be the cathedral and Ripon Minster and Bradford Cathedral are to become sub-cathedrals. The reabsorption of Portsmouth diocese by its parent, Winchester, is in the pipeline and also proposed, for some undecided date, is the possible amalgamation of Coventry, Leicester and Derby dioceses, all three created after the Great War, but the church to be designated as the cathedral is undecided.[25]

The three existing cathedrals, at Coventry, Derby, Leicester, all qualify for Paul Jeffery's book. The book is a bit of mixed bag. As noted above, one chapter seems to have little relevance to the general theme. On the other hand, the descriptions of the buildings are good and update changes in ownership of several London churches since the publication of individual volumes on the metropolis in *The Buildings of England* series:[26] the collecting together of the cathedrals of the various Orthodox rites breaks new ground.[27] Particularly useful is the discussion of Henry VIII's schemes for new dioceses. The edging of the book's pages with a drawing is tiresome and should not be repeated by the publisher; however, the illustrations are of good quality.

Paul Jeffery does not directly discuss building materials, a serious omission given the relative similarity in production costs in the nineteenth century of brick and stone but the differences of distance in transport which could be required and hence the final purchase price of the walling material. This reviewer knows of only one modern cathedral, the Anglican one at Liverpool, fortunate enough to have its own quarry. The two major stone-built Roman Catholic cathedrals, Arundel and Norwich, were financed by a wealthy duke with the resources to bear the transport costs. Bricks, on the other hand, could be produced at or near to the site and

hence transport costs would be lower than for stone from a quarry at considerable distance.

Members of the British Brick Society interested in cathedrals and in the use of brick as their principal building material are invited to make up their own minds.

DAVID H. KENNETT

APPENDIX

CATHEDRALS BUILT OF BRICK IN ENGLAND

Includes Pro-Cathedrals and Churches original built as Cathedrals

Location *Dedication*	*Denomination*	*Date, Architect* *Notes*
Aldershot, Hampshire Cathedral of the Forces St Michael and St George	Roman Catholic	1892-93, Major Pitt & Lt Michie Originally Anglican; RC chapel from 1972 Cathedral from 1987.
Arundel, East Sussex originally St Philip Neri now Our Lady and St Philip Howard	Roman Catholic	1869-73, J.A. Hansom & Son Brick core to Bath stone finish both inside and out. Cathedral for the Diocese of Arundel and Brighton from 1965.
Birmingham St Chad	Roman Catholic	1839-41, A.W.N. Pugin Red brick.
Birmingham Dorminition of the Mother of God and St Andrew	Greek Orthodox	1873, J.A. Chatwin Built for Catholic Apostolic Church Greek Orthodox from 1958. Large. Exterior: red brick with some bands of blue brick. Internally white brick banded and patterned with red brick and blue brick.
Brentwood, Essex St Mary and St Helen	Roman Catholic	1860-61, G.R. Blount 1989-91, Quinlan Terry Mostly Kentish rag but clerestory of yellow brick; classical in inspiration.
Guildford, Surrey Holy Trinity	Anglican	1749-63, James Horne Used as pro-cathedral 1927-61, now parish church. Red brick.
Guildford, Surrey The Holy Spirit	Anglican	1936-39 and 1952-66, Sir Edward Maufe. Consecrated 1961. Red brick.
Ipswich, Suffolk St Pancras	Roman Catholic	1860-61, George Goldie Built as the chancel of proposed cathedral for Diocese of East Anglia, now parish church. Red brick.
Liverpool, Everton Our Lady Immaculate	Roman Catholic	1853-56, E.W. Pugin Built as Lady Chapel and chancel chapels of proposed cathedral; as parish church, enlarged 1885, demolished 1980s. Red brick.

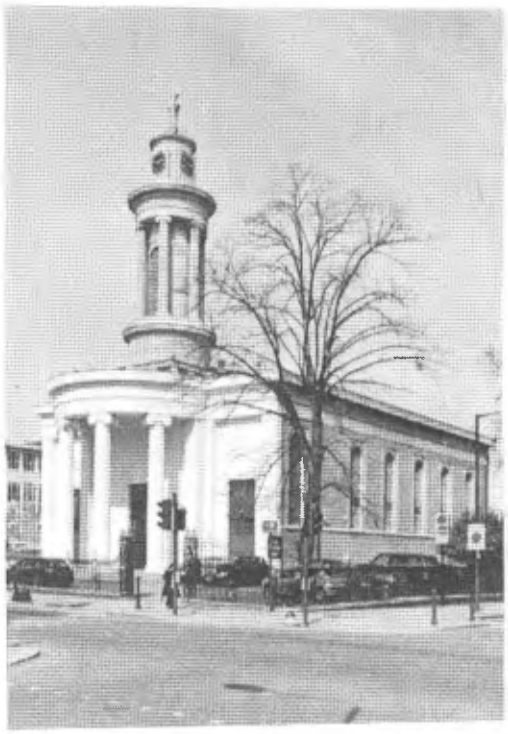

Fig.5 The Greek Orthodox cathedral dedicated to All Saints on Camden Street, Camden Town, was built as the Camden Chapel, an Anglican church, in 1822-24 to designs by William and Henry William Inwood; it stands within a churchyard. The semi-circular porch of Ionic columns and west front in Portland stone and the circular tower derive from Henry William Inwood's visit to Greece.

Liverpool, Hawke Street St Nicholas	Roman Catholic	1808-12, John Bird Made pro-cathedral in 1856. In 1967 reverted to parish church, demolished 1973 Yellow brick.
Liverpool, Mount Pleasant Christ the King	Roman Catholic	1930-40, Sir Edwin Lutyens On site of Liverpool Workhouse Designed 1930, work began on crypt in 1933 but abandoned in 1940. Narrow red bricks exposed throughout interior. New cathedral designed by Sir Frederick Gibberd, 1959-67; not brick.
London, Camberwell Nativity of the Mother of God	Greek Orthodox	1873, J. and J. Belcher Built for Catholic Apostolic Church; Greek Orthodox 1977. Red brick.
London, Camden Town All Saints	Greek Orthodox	1822-24, William and Henry William Inwood Originally Anglican, Greek Orthodox from 1948, cathedral from 1991. Yellow brick. West front of Portland stone Apsidal sanctuary..
London, Chiswick Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God and Holy Royal Martyrs	Russian Orthodox RO Church Abroad	1997-99, 2007 Whitewashed exterior; brick structure

London, Golders Green The Holy Cross and St Michael	Greek Orthodox	1913-14, J.T. Lee Originally Anglican; 1970, shared community church. Greek Orthodox from 1979 Brick.
London, Finsbury no dedication	Methodist Wesley's Chapel	1777-78, George Dance the Younger. Brown brick with rustication for corners.
London, Kensington Assumption and All Saints	Russian Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow	1848-49, Louis Vullimay 1892, C. Harrison Townsend Originally Anglican, dedicated to All Saints Stone with red brick banding.
London, Kentish Town St Andrew	Greek Orthodox	1884-85, Ewan Christian Built as Anglican dedicated to St George; Greek Orthodox, 1957. Yellow brick.
London, Mayfair The Holy Family in Exile	Ukrainian Catholic	1889-91, Alfred Waterhouse Originally Congregational chapel, formerly the King's Weigh House Chapel; Ukrainian from 1965. Red brick with much Burmantofts' terracotta.
London, Paddington St Sophia (or Divine Wisdom)	Greek Orthodox	1877-79, J. Oldrid Scott Purpose built for Greek merchant community in Byzantine style. Greek Cathedral for Western Europe since 1922. Striped yellow and red brick.
London, Regent's Park St George	Antiochan Orthodox	1836-37, James Pennethorne Mid-C19, William Butterfield. Originally Anglican, dedicated to Christ Church. Yellow-grey brick.
London, Shepherd's Bush St Nicholas	Greek Orthodox	1882-87, A.W. Blomfield Originally Anglican, dedicated to St Thomas Yellow brick.
London, Wood Green Dorminition of the Mother of God	Greek Orthodox	1871, Rev. N.J. Johnson Originally Trinity Methodist church. Greek Orthodox, from 1970. Refurbished internally after fire in 1986. Brown brick
Middlesborough, . Yorks N.R. St Mary	Roman Catholic	1876-78, Goldie & Child (George Goldie) Large, demolished 2000 after neglect and arson attack. Red brick.
Middlesborough, in Coulby Newham St Mary	Roman Catholic	1985-87, Frank Swainston and Peter Fenton Polygonal fan-shaped building, low profile. Light brown brick exposed inside and out.
Northampton St Mary and St Thomas	Roman Catholic	1825, Chapel of St Felix (now sanctuary) unknown architect. 1844, A.W.N. Pugin (on site of chancel; 1954 demolished) 1863-64, E.W. Pugin (nave and aisles) 1954-60, Albert S. Herbert (tower and east end) Pale brown brick.
Portsmouth, Hampshire St John the Evangelist	Roman Catholic	1879, John Crawley (died 1880) 1880-1906, Joseph S. Hansom Bright red brick with stone dressings.

Stevenage, Herts. St George	Coptic Orthodox	2006 Red brick with white brick crosses as diaper.
Southwark, London St George	Roman Catholic	1840-48, A.W.N. Pugin (1941, bomb damage) 1953-58, R.B. Craze Yellow brick.
Westminster The Most Precious Holy Blood, St Mary, St Joseph and St Peter	Roman Catholic	1895-1903, J.F. Bentley Red brick with stone dressings.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. J. Harvey, *English Cathedrals*, London: Batsford, 1950, pbk. edn. 1956; re-issued 1974 as *Cathedrals of England and Wales*, London: Batsford, including the four cathedrals of medieval Wales: Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, and St David's.

2. R.K. Morris, *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales: The Building Church 600-1540*, London: J.M. Dent, 1979.

3. A. Clifton Taylor, *The Cathedrals of England*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1967; re-issued 1986. Chapter 10 on 'The Last Hundred Years' is concerned with new cathedrals: Truro, Liverpool and Coventry among the Anglican ones, these without plans. Only the 'extended canon' has plans.

4. A.S.B. New, *A Guide to the Cathedrals of Britain*, London: Constable, 1980.

5. N. Pevsner and P. Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*, London: Viking, 1985, 2 vols. *Volume 1 Southern England* deals with England south of the Thames plus Hertfordshire and Essex; *Volume 2 Midland, Eastern and Northern England* surveys the rest of the country. Reissued in 3 vols, London: Folio Society, 2005.

6. New, 1980, pp.445-7.

7. The notes to Jeffery, 2012, ch.3, on pp.93-94, cite an unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation: C.S. Knighton, 'Collegiate Foundations, 1540-1570 with special reference to St Peter in Westminster', 1975. Brief account in D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England III: The Tudor Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959, pp.389-392, or its illustrated edition without scholarly apparatus, *Bare Ruined Choirs*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp.274-280. As Jeffery notes, 'it seems likely that further research could reveal yet more about this fascinating episode in Tudor history'. The most authoritative recent biography of the king, J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, London: Eyre Methuen, 1968, devotes only three pages to the schemes, pp.512-14. S. Lehmberg, *English Cathedrals A History*, London and New York: Hambledon Continum, 2003, pp.114-116, notes the existence of schemes and the eventual outcome but does not offer a discussion.

8. Knowles, 1976, p.55. William Waynflete acquired defunct houses at Sele, Sussex, and Selborne, Hants., and their endowments for Magdalen College, Oxford; John Alcock reused St Radegund's Nunnery for Jesus College, Cambridge; William Smith suppressed Cold Norton Priory for the benefit of Brasenose College, Oxford; and John Fisher obtained decayed nunneries at Bromhall, Berks., and Lillechurch, Kent, for St John's College, Cambridge. Not noted by Knowles is the case of Creake Abbey, Norfolk, dissolved in 1506 after an outbreak of the plague and given to Christ's College, Cambridge, founded in that year by Lady Margaret Beaufort.

9. J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 1721, new edition 1822. The intention was to provide each cathedral with an income of around £1,000.

10. Knowles, 1976, p.243 notes the interest of Stephen Gardiner of Winchester, Cuthbert Tunstall of Durham, and Richard Sampson of Chichester in the schemes. Jeffery's scheme C, written by Gardiner, is one of those printed in full in H. Cole, *King Henry the Eighth's Scheme of Bishopricks*, 1838.

11. Some, but not all, of the original documents are printed in either Strype, 1721/1822, and Cole, 1838, All seven documents and a House of Lords bill, the last in Henry's own hand, are calendared in J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, **XIV, i,** p.868, *ibid.*, **XIV, ii,** pp.428-430, and *ibid.*, **XIV, Add,** p.1457. The documents are in the British Library and the National Archives Office.

12 J. Godber, *History of Bedfordshire 1066-1888*, Bedford: Bedfordshire County Council, 1969, p.184, citing Cole, 1838, pp.60-2. Incomes in 1535 of

the dissolved monasteries were: Dunstable £344, Newnham £284, and Elstow £284, noted Jeffery, 2012, p.69. Dunstable is noted in four of the six discussion documents about the new dioceses.

13. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire* ..., Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968, p.79. Godber, 1969, pl.41a illustrates Thomas Fisher's drawing of Chew's School.

14. Godber, 1969, p.330 names 13 of the 20 inns at Dunstable in the eighteenth century;

15. Pevsner, 1968, p.79. In 1671, the Sugar Loaf, kept by Mrs Briggs had 23 hearths: L.M. Marshall (ed.), *The Bedfordshire Hearth Tax Return for 1671*, Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1990, p.48. All the entries above 8 hearths in Dunstable in 1671 were inns.

16. Pevsner, 1968, pp.77-8, notes memorials of these families in Dunstable Priory church; Godber, 1969, p.390, lists the charity founders of Dunstable.

17. Pevsner, 1968, p.79.

18. The others are Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Westmorland, Yorkshire East Riding, Yorkshire North Riding.

19. Lehmberg, 2003, 283. For the history of the abbey see C. Brooke,, 'St Albans: The Great Abbey', and O. Chadwick, 'The Victorian Diocese of St Albans', both in R. Runcie, ed., *Cathedral and City: St Albans Ancient and Modern*, London: Martyn Associates, 1977, pp.43-70 and 71-100 respectively.

20. Jeffery, 2012, pp.71 and 72 note Southwell as replacement for Henry's initial proposal of Welbeck Abbey augmented by the revenues of Worksop Priory and Thurgarton Priory.

21. Derbyshire, with the cathedral in All Saints' church, Derby, became a separate diocese in 1927.

22. For descriptions of Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals mentioned in this paragraph and hereafter see the appropriate county volume of N. Pevsner *et al.*, *The Buildings of England*, Harmondsworth or London: Penguin Books, 1951-1999, afterwards New Haven CT and London: Yale University Press, 1999-date. Generally speaking, the volumes in the larger format, 1983 to date, have fuller details and plans of Anglican cathedrals. Alternatively, see New, 1980. If available, both *The Victoria County History* and the *Inventory* volumes of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments have comprehensive descriptions with plans and illustrations.

23. *Building News*, 10 August 1877 for the original intentions with unbuilt tower; description in N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: North Riding*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966, p.248 is exceptionally brief.

24. *The Times*, 10 October 2012 for the Yorkshire amalgamation.

25. P.F. Cannon, *Louis Sullivan creating a new American architecture*, San Francisco and Warwick: Pomegranate, 2011, pp.148-151; R. Nickel *et al.*, *The Complete Architecture of Adler & Sullivan*, Chicago: The Richard Nickel Committee, 2010, pp.385-7, cat. no.144.

26. Publication dates of London volumes of *The Buildings of England* series are *London: South*, 1983; *London: North West*, 1991; *London: North*, 1998; *London: East*, 2005. Several of the Greek and Russian Orthodox cathedrals appear as Anglican churches.

27. Contrast New, 1980, pp.441-3 where the only Greek Orthodox cathedral noted is St Sophia.

Book Notice:
Brick and Victorian Church Architects

Geoff Brandwood (editor), *Seven Church Architects, 1830-1930,*
being *Ecclesiology Today,* **42,** June 2010,
iv + 164 pages, 74 illustrations,
ISSN 1460-4213; ISBN 0-946823-24-3, price £18-00, paperback (postage extra).
Available from the Ecclesiological Society, % The Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London W1V 0HS or from Spire Books, PO Box 2336, Reading RG4 5WJ.

Taken alphabetically, the seven architects considered in this volume are Ewan Christian (1814-1895); Edward Buckton Lamb (1805-1869); George Fellowes Prynne (1853-1927); John Pollard Seddon (1827-1906); Hugh Thackeray Turner (1853-1937); William Wallen (1807-1853); and William White (1825-1875), who, incidentally, was the great-nephew of the naturalist the Rev Gilbert White of Selborne.

The authors of these studies are Tye R. Blackshaw on J.P. Seddon (pp.83-102); Martin Cherry on Ewan Christian (pp.49-68); Anthony Edwards on E.B. Lamb (pp.29-48); Gill Hunter on William White (pp.49-68); Ruth Sharville on Fellowes Prynne (pp.103-120); Robin Stannard on Thackeray Turner (pp.121-146); and Christopher Webster on William Wallen (pp.9-28). There is an introduction by the editor, Geoff Brandwood, and in a volume issued to the Ecclesiological Society, reviews occupy pages 147 to 162.

The architects are arranged in approximate order of when they came to maturity. Lamb and Wallen were around 25 in 1830, and Ewan Christian attained the same age in 1839. Likewise Seddon and White reached maturity in about 1850 and Fellowes Prynne and Turner were aged 25 in 1878. The use of brick as a principal building material is not prominent in the work of Lamb, Wallen, and Christian highlighted in these articles; indeed, the sub-title of the article on E.B. Lamb, 'an exercise in centralised planning', shows its scope, although one may enter the caveat that not all the churches of this member of Goodhart-Rendel's 'rogues' receive equal treatment, partly on account of the surviving documentation and the existence of Lamb's seating plans. One such survival is for St Margaret's, Leiston, Suffolk, of 1853 (pp.40-43); this is the only one of Lamb's churches this writer can recall having visited. The plan is reproduced (Edwards, fig.8) and there is a photograph of the remarkable bracing over the central space (Edwards, fig.7). Liturgy in Lamb's churches was that of 'low church Anglicanism', where the sermon replaces the Eucharist as the focus of divine service.

White was a supremely practical architect, paying attention, for example, to church seating (p.72 with Hunter, fig.2). He was also a pioneer in concrete construction, combining the material with brick at St Mark's, Battersea Rise (pp.75-6 with Hunter fig.5); his construction method saved on materials but labour costs cancelled this out as only 2 feet per day could be erected. 'An architect of many churches' is how J.P. Seddon is described in the subtitle to T.R. Blackshaw's article. Originally the junior partner of John Pritchard (1817-1886) in Llandaff, on the outskirts of Cardiff, Seddon established a London office for the partnership in 1858 and from 1863 practised alone, finding church work from St James', Great Yarmouth, in the east to Llanbadarn Fawr, Cardiganshire (now Ceredigion), in the west. In west Wales, Seddon was also the architect of the Castle House Hotel, Aberystwyth. The hotel failed — a taste for wildness on a windswept rugged coast had yet to be established — and the building became the original home of the University College of Wales, now Aberystwyth University. Throughout his career, Seddon used a variety of materials, but brick was favoured for external walls. The apse and

tower of St Peter's church, Ayot St Peter, Hertfordshire, of 1874-75, are of polychrome brick (pp.95-96 and Blackshaw fig.7). In 1884, Seddon returned to Cardiff to open an office with his new partner, John Coates Carter (1859-1927) and to build more churches: the hall churches dedicated to St Paul in Grangetown, built 1888-91 and 1901-02, and to All Saints' in Penarth, of 1889-91; the date ranges reflect the wealth of the two communities. The latter was financed by the middle class community it served; whilst the former was reliant on donations from Baroness Windsor, who developed Grangetown as a suburb for the respectable working class; the chancel was paid for by her son. Neither church uses brick.

Seddon's hall churches are large, as are those of Fellowes Prynne but if Seddon was a Broad churchman, Fellowes Prynne was of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion, the dominant faction in the Church of England for much of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first two-thirds of the twentieth. Fellowes Prynne designed for that persuasion and did so brilliantly, if expensively. This could mean that towers were left as stumps rather than chancels not being built as might be the case with a church designed for 'low church Anglicanism'. Brick was used at St Saviour's, Ealing, London; St John's, Sidcup, Kent; and St Peter's, Staines, Middlesex (respectively Sharville figs.5,6,7).

Thackeray Turner produced a remarkable piece of planning in the demolished brick church dedicated to St Anselm, in Mayfair, London, built 1893-96. On a tight site bounded to the north by Weighhouse Street, to the east by Davies Street, and to the south by St Anselm's Place, orientation places the chancel to the east, with direct entry from the rectory to the chancel. The church was entered from St Anselm's Place and the rectory and its garden occupied most of the north side of the street. Using brick, the exterior was fourteenth-century Gothic but the interior was in the classical style derived from Italian models of the same century (pp.133-9, with Stannard figs.4-9).

DAVID H. KENNETT

Brick in Print: Brick Churches

In recent months, the Editor of the British Brick Society received notice of several publications regarding brick churches which may be of interest to members of the society. This is a regular feature of *British Brick Society Information* which in this issue has been adapted to concentrate on places where the use of brick as the principal, or even as a minor, building material in churches is the main focus.

Members who are involved in publication or who come across books and articles of interest are invited to submit notice of them to the editor of *BBS Information*. Websites may also be included as with the first entry in these notes. Unsigned contributions in this section are by the editor.

DAVID H. KENNETT

1. Paul Bayley, 'The Lost Art of Churches',
Radio 4, 18 May 2012
website: http://acetrust.org

The Art and Christianity Trust is concerned with art commissioned by churches of any Christian denomination since 1920. Their curator, Paul Bayley, gave a talk on Radio 4 about the work of the trust, instancing Pietro Annagoni's 'The Immaculate Heart of Mary' in the church of the

same name in Hayes, Middlesex, the 'Crucifixion' by Graham Sutherland in St Aidan's church, East Acton, Middlesex, and Jean Cocteau's 'Life of Mary' mural in Notre Dame de France, Leicester Place, Soho, London. All three churches are in the Roman Catholic tradition and each is brick-built.

The church dedicated to Immaculate Heart of Mary has a plain brick exterior with a tall bell frame. It was designed in 1966 by Burles, Newton & Partners. In 1958-61, John Newton of the same firm had designed St Aidan's, a church built of brick and concrete. Here the parish priest, Father James Etherington, commissioned the art; it includes two triptychs by Roy le Maistre, the stations of the cross in concrete by A. Fleischmann, and statues by a variety of artists. The French Catholic church in Soho was designed in 1951-55 by H.O. Corfiato. It is a rotunda, following the plan of its predecessor, a conversion by L.A. Boileau in 1865-68 from Robert Machell's Panorama of 1793. The street front incorporates the windows of the flats on the upper floors; it uses two-inch-thin Stamford bricks. Its central feature is the concave façade of the church with above the entrance a relief of the Virgin by George Saupique.

One of the Anglican churches noted in the programme was St John's, Waterloo Place, Lambeth, which has work by Hans Fierbusch, a 'Virgin and Child' as the reredos and a mural of 'The Crucifixion'. St John's is a commissioners church, of 1822-24 by Francis Bedford, built of stone, but damaged during the Second World War and restored by T.F. Ford in 1951.

Bayley also drew attention to the Methodist Church Art Collection, a growing deposit whose acquisitions policy is centred on the life of Christ: the most recent commission is 'Christ Walking on Water' by Maggi Hambling.

The Art and Christianity Trust have a comprehensive website, *http://acetrust.org/*. It contains material known to them, to which they invite additions. The site also gives details of their other activities: conferences, lectures and publications.

2. Mark Bills, *Watts Chapel A Guide to the Symbols of Mary Watts's Arts and Crafts Masterpiece,*
80 pages, 10 colour plates, 8 black-and-white plates, 185 figures,
London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2010,
ISBN 978-0-85667-692-5, price £14-95, paperback with flaps.

The Watts Chapel, Compton, Surrey, is one of two contributions by Mary Watts (1849-1938) in the village cemetery: the other is the Cloister where she and her husband, the painter George Frederick Watts (1817-1904), are interred. They lived in a large house, Limnerslease, in the village; the house is adjacent to the studio which is now the Watts Gallery.

This guide to the symbols of an Arts and Crafts masterwork is lavishly supplied with illustrations of all the decorated bricks and terracotta used in the building. The text seeks to elucidate their meaning, quoting extensively from Mrs Watts' own account, *The Word in the Pattern,* originally written in 1899 and first published in 1905.

This comparatively slim work does justice to the circular chapel, still in use for funerals, and its expansive decoration hidden on an incline in one of the more remote glades of the Surrey hills.

3. Edwin Heathcote, 'Nordic Light: Årsta Church, Stockholm, Sweden: Johan Celsing', *Architectural Review,* **1379,** January 2012, pages 26-33.

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's dictum 'Less is more' became something of an architectural *cliché,* to the extent where it could be parodied by Robert Venturi's 'Less is a bore'. The quip is entertaining enough; but the simple yet attractive Lutheran church at Årsta, a suburb of

Stockholm, suggests that there is something to be said for the Miesian view. Designed by Johan Celsing, it not only draws on some of the churches of the architect's father, Peter Celsing, but also on the 'particular type of Scandinavian Modernism that greatly appealed to British architects,' with its 'humanised, bricky style' (p.29). The church — which is connected to, and reflects the style and materials of, a 1960s civic centre — comprises a central — near-cubic — block surrounded by lower, equally box-like, ancillary buildings: an entrance lobby, a sacristy, a children's chapel, a Chapel of Stillness, a small hall, and a technical room.

The exterior is of variegated red/brown bricks in Cross Bond, giving a muted diagonal mesh pattern: joints are flush-pointed. The walls are topped with a concrete band, edging a roof of deep concrete beams which 'do not run orthogonally but are irregularly splayed' (p.33). Windows, some of them very large, are simply punched through the walls and have plate glass without glazing bars: this can sometimes give a blank-faced look, but here serves rather to unite exterior and interior.

Within the central space — the church proper — the white walls are of glazed bricks in the lower 2.3 m (7½ ft) and of limewashed brick above. The white glazed bricks are again in Cross Bond, though some stretcher courses show perforations, imparting a textile-like pattern, enhanced by the flush-pointed joints in black mortar — 'an evocation,' so the author claims, 'of the oldest notion of the church as a mobile tabernacle' (p.29). The free-standing altar is of white-glazed bricks in Stack Bond and with their bedfaces showing; again they are flush-jointed in black mortar. At the north-east, the intimate Chapel of Stillness has interior walls of red/brown bricks, roughly laid in Cross Bond, giving an interesting textual effect.

The Årsta church is 'an austere yet serenely numinous setting for Lutheran worship' (p.27); but one does not have to be a Christian to appreciate this self-effacing building, free from architectural *hubris*. If it is also an expression, conscious or otherwise, of 'Less is more', then perhaps we could do with even more *less!*

T.P. SMITH

4. Gill Hunter, *William White, Pioneer Victorian Architect,*
338 pages, 103 colour and 73 black-and-white illustrations,
Reading: Spire Books Ltd., 2010,
ISBN 978-1-904963-26-8, price £37-95, hardback
available from Spire Books Ltd., PO Box 2336, Reading RG4 5WJ

Gill Hunter's book is the first comprehensive biography of William White (1825-1900) and should give him the recognition that he so richly deserves. After apprenticeship with an obscure Warwickshire architect and surveyor, he joined George Gilbert Scott's London practice as an 'improver' in 1845. At the time George Edmund Street and George Frederick Bodley were also improvers with Scott, and both became close friends of White.

Although he never became as famous as his fellow improvers, White was nevertheless a highly original and prolific architect. After setting up in practice on his own account in 1847, he produced work in virtually every English county, as well as in Ireland, Madagascar. and South Africa. The comprehensive list of his works given in the book runs to 348 projects , although in some cases White's designs were not adopted and a few attributions are also included.

Many of the buildings that White designed were built of brick and many of these are illustrated in colour. White clearly had a liking for polychromy in his brickwork and, in particular, for diaperwork decoration. Even where he designed buildings in stone, such as Heydour Vicarage, Lincolnshire (1856-57), or flint, such as Du Boulay's at Winchester College, Hampshire (1862-63), he introduced red brick to provide contrasting polychromy and patterning. White's most vivid, almost garish, polychromy is to be found on Quy Hall, Stow-cum-Quy,

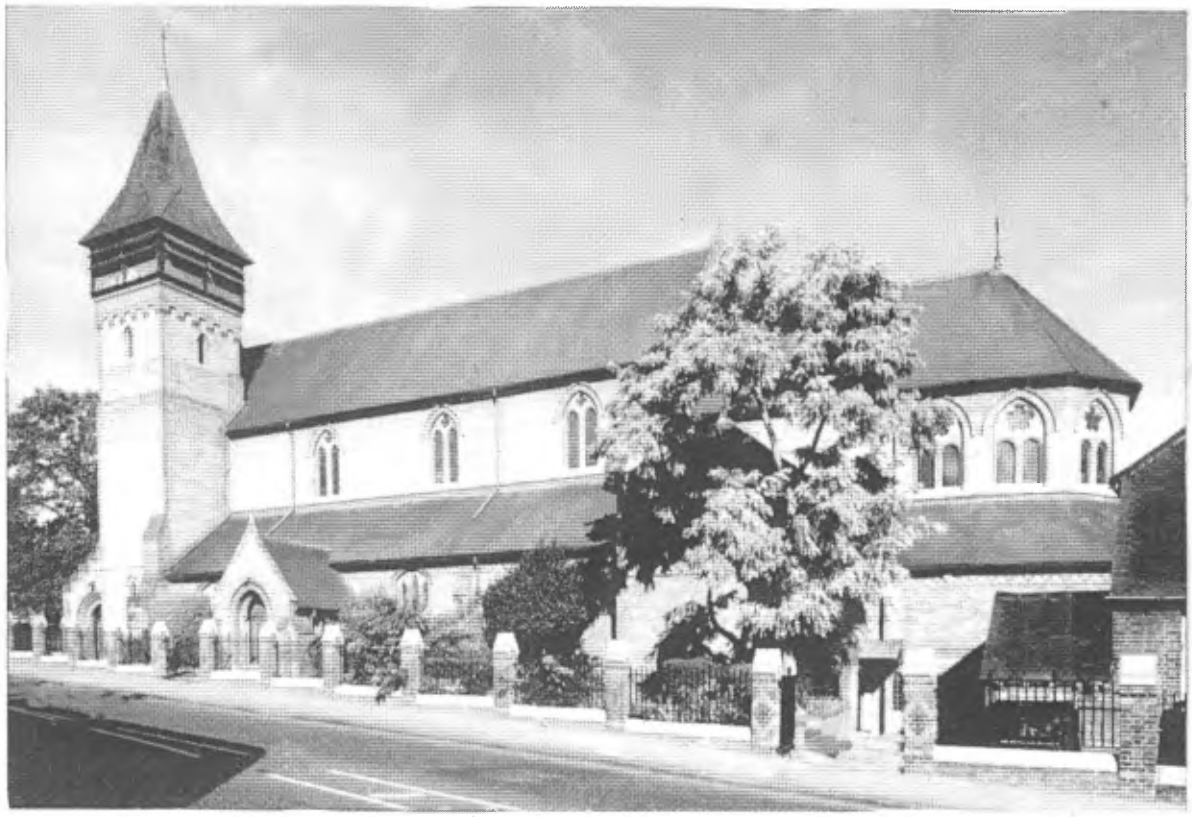

Fig. 1. St Mark's church, Battersea Rise, Battersea, by William White, was built in 1872-74 with brick facing to concrete walls, in an Early English style with lancet windows. The shingled timber spire is an addition.

Cambridgeshire (1869-73); the south front, which is illustrated in colour, even outdoes such an arch 'rogue architect' as S.S. Teulon. The ground floor has horizontal bands, consisting of two courses of red and one of white bricks, while in the first floor this is reversed, one of red and two of white. In addition, the gables are decorated with a red-brick diaper pattern on white, whilst the numerous tall chimneys are also banded in red and white brick.

Three of White's finest churches are built of brick. St Michael and All Angels, Lyndhurst, Hampshire (1858-69), has an exterior of yellow and red brick, with a tall yellow-brick spire incorporating red-brick chevrons. The interior is even more multi-coloured, with red, black, yellow, and white brick. At St Saviour's, Aberdeen Park, Islington, London (1863-69), has polychromatic, patterned brickwork inside and out, with the interior being a riot of colour. The third church, also in London, is particularly interesting in being a remarkably early example of a building constructed of concrete and faced in brick. This is St Mark's, Battersea Rise (1873-76), faced in Kentish stock bricks, with buttresses and dressings of red brick from Slough and moulded bricks from Aylesbury.

ALAN COX

5. John Martin Robinson, 'Italy in the City: St Patrick's, Soho Square, London W1', *Country Life,* 15 February 2012, pages 54-55.

Following the Second Catholic Relief Act of 1791, "a very numerous and respected body of Catholics conceived the wise and charitable project of establishing a Catholic Chapel in the neighbourhood of St Giles's which was inhabited by the poorest and least informed of the Irish who resort to this country". Under the leadership of Fr Arthur O'Leary, an Irish Franciscan, St Patrick's was established in the former assembly rooms added to Carlisle House in 1772 by

Theresa Cornelys. Internally its ballroom measured 93 ft (28.4 m) long by 40 ft (12.2 m) wide. The original chapel was consecrated on 29 September 1792; height was gained by removing the floor to the former first-floor ballroom thereby incorporating the former supper room on the ground floor in it. It was the first non-embassy Roman Catholic Chapel in London.

This chapel served for a century, behind a pair of four-storey houses in stock brick built on the site of Carlisle House in 1791-93: the surviving right-hand one is now the presbytery of St Patrick's. The left-hand one was demolished a century later to make way for the campanile and narthex of the present church in the style of the Italian Renaissance, designed in 1891 by Leeds architect John Kelly (1840-1904), who at the end of his life designed Our Lady of Grace and St Edward, in Chiswick; he also designed churches for both the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglicans in his native city. The aisled nave and apsidal chancel of the new church on the east side of Soho Square and the south side of Sutton Row occupied the site of the old one in the former assembly rooms. It was first used for worship on 17 March 1893.

As with the later Chiswick church, that in Soho Square was built of red brick: a small photograph (p.54) shows a portion of the campanile of St Patrick's, demonstrating high quality workmanship by both brickmaker and bricklayer.

Robinson's short article celebrates the restoration of the church by the Spanish architects Javier Castañon, who is based in London, Jaime Castañon (the architect to Toledo Cathedral), and Antonio Sanchez Barriga working with English conservation engineers Sinclair Johnson. Their work included excavation and remodelling of the crypt to provide additional space for the church's pastoral mission — which includes meals for the homeless — for those who come to London from all over the world and end up poor and not infrequently destitute.

6.. Rolf Toman (editor), Barbara Borngässer (text author), Achim Bednorz (photographer), *Churches and Cathedrals: 1700 Years of the Most Beautiful Architecture,*
256 pages, numerous colour photographs, 43 plans, 4 axonometric diagrams,
Bath, New York, etc.: Parragon Books Ltd., 2010
ISBN 978-1-4075-6743-3, price £15-00, hardback.

Essentially a picture book, this is a useful starting point for planning visits to look at major brick churches in, say, Italy or Germany. The photographs are extremely good, beginning with that of the Palatine Chapel, Trier (p.8); built in brick as the audience hall of Constantine's northern palace, *c.*310, this is undoubtedly one of the oldest and largest brick buildings in the world still in use. From later in the fourth century is San Lorenzo, Milan (p.13), where externally the central portion of a square topped by an octagon is covered in plaster, but the brick of the square corner towers and the octagonal chapels is visible. One hundred and fifty years later, from the second quarter of the sixth century, San Vitale at Ravenna (pp.14-15) is one of the best-known early Christian basilicas built in brick.

The use of brick never ceased in Italy after the end of the centuries of Rome's imperial dominance. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries brick was the principal building material in the rebuilding of San Ambrogio, Milan, between 1088 and 1128 (pp.38-39 with plan). The use of the material spread north of the Alps to Germany and Poland before the thirteenth century. The Cistercian abbey church at Chorin, (p.119) was built between 1273 and 1334 with a splendid brick front, as grand as anything contemplated in stone at the same date, whilst somewhat later is the Marienkirche in Prenzlau (p.118), begun after 1325, which demonstrates increasing sophistication in the use of brick tracery. A century and a half later, the Frauenkirche, Munich, of 1468-1494, is an example of a brick hall church with the characteristic twin west towers crowned by onion domes (p.125). Crow-stepped gables adorn the nave, chancel, aisles, and transepts of Legum Abbey, a Cistercian foundation of 1173 in Denmark (p.135), where the

church and cloister were built between 1225 and 1325. The tradition of building in brick continued into the twentieth century with Grundtvig's church, Copenhagen, by Peder Vilhelm Jensen-Klint and Kaare Klint, begun in 1913 but mostly built between 1921 and 1940 (p.246). In Germany the churches designed by Dominikus Böhm in the 1930s were built in brick; page 248 concentrates on the best-known: St Engelbert's, Cologne.

In contrast, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the English excelled in stone (pp.138-147). The Italians, as noted above, never abandoned brick. In Milan at the end of the fifteenth century, Donato Bramante began rebuilding the monastery of Santa Maria delle Gracie with its grand brick church (p.179) and later Leonardo da Vinci painted the famous *Last Supper* in the refectory, which the monks going to breakfast saw in order to contemplate the eternal. When it was completed, Ludovico Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan and patron of the monastery, went to eat dinner in the refectory at least twice a week: his motives may have been less than spiritual. In Venice, the façades might be of high quality stone but the real building material of Palladio's churches — San Giorgio Maggiore of 1566 and Il Rendentore of 1576 — is a rich red brick (pp.186-7).

Useful to a student starting a course on the history of church building are the 43 plans, unlabelled and some rather small, and the four expanded axonometric diagrams by Pablo de la Riestra. St Godehard's church, Hildesheim, Germany, built in the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is used as representative of the Romanesque (pp.20-1). Gothic churches are shown by an ideal example (pp.82-3), whilst Filippo Brunelleschi's San Spirito, Florence (1436-1487), serves for the typical Renaissance church building (pp.170-1). The Baroque church is again an ideal building (pp.192-3).

7. James Yorke, 'Going for Greek: St Pancras Church, London NW1'
Country Life, 14 March 2012, pages 140-141.

'St Pancras Church is one of the finest Greek Revival buildings to survive in London' (140, fig.1 caption) and thousands walk past or round it every day barely noticing it: for a decade, sometimes daily for several months, I did the former and sometimes the latter on my way to and from the train at St Pancras to the British Museum. To north and south are the distinctive projections with the caryatids which were added to the original design by father and son William Inwood (1771-1843) and Henry William Inwood (1794-1843). Henry had been to Greece in 1818-19 and so was not reliant on *Antiquities of Athens* (1764) by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett. Indeed, Henry Inwood published *The Erechtheion at Athens: Fragments of Athenian Architecture and a few remains in Attica, Megara and Epirus* in 1827. The Erechtheion was the inspiration for the basic plan, the Ionic hexastyle portico and many of the decorative details, including those on the pulpit; the Tower of the Winds provided a model for the church tower.

The portico of the caryatids at the Erechtheion was the inspiration for the two projections above burial chambers either side of the east end; these have the famous caryatids. The St Pancras caryatids are terracotta on iron frames; they were made in the workshops of Charles and Henry Rossi, who also supplied the terracotta rosettes on the exterior cornice and the Ionic capitals for the west portico.

The second illustration by Will Pryce is of the pulpit, using wood from the 'Fairlop' oak, a tree planted in Hainault Forest in the eleventh century, which blew down in a storm in 1820.

BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY
MEETINGS in 2013

Saturday 18 May 2013
London Meeting
Soho Square and Charles Dickens
Buildings on Soho Square and in the vicinity in the morning, including the two brick churches for London's French communities, one Roman Catholic, one Huguenot; the Manette Street Workhouse; and other buildings in the vicinity of Soho Square. In the afternoon, we shall look at the Cleveland Street Workhouse (the model for the workhouse in *Oliver Twist*), Charles Dickens' childhood home on Newman Street, and the polychrome brickwork of All Saints church, Margaret Street by William Butterfield, 1850-59.

Saturday 22 June 2013
Annual General Meeting
Beverley, East Yorkshire
with walk to see the brick buildings of historic Beverley in the afternoon

Saturday 20 July 2013
Summer Visit
Leamington Spa
The Pump Room, Town Hall, Museum/Public Library (now in educational use), cinemas, and St Mark's church and former vicarage by George Gilbert Scott the younger.

Details of the May meeting are included in this mailing.
Details of the 2013 Annual General Meeting will be sent in April/May 2013
Details of the July Meeting will be sent in the May/June mailing.

There is projected visit to the Tilbury Forts in August 2013, which may be a midweek visit for which details have yet to be finalised. It is hoped to include a brickworks visit on a Saturday in September 2013.

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 Michael Chapman, 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 of his/her new addess.