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* *The annual subscription to the British Brick Society is £10-00 per annum*
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British Brick Society web site:

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

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Cover Illustration

The Queen Anne Summerhouse at Shuttleworth Park, Old Warden, Bedfordshire, built in 1712 by Sir Samuel Ongley to celebrate his knighthood and as gift to the nation and to Queen Anne herself.

Editorial:
Brick Castles in Spain

Waiting for the start of the tour of King's Lynn, following the society's 2001 Annual General Meeting, one conversation between members turned to Coca Castle, near Avila, in Old Castile, the area of Spain between the Tagus and the Duero. It is not exactly on the tourist trail, although the castle is open in the afternoon, which in Spain means after 4.00 p.m. In Old Castile the siesta still has jurisdiction.

One must always remember that in this arid area for the majority the historic saying *el hambre has la jurisdiction* (hunger has jurisdiction) would have been true until very recently. They equally knew the difference, as Cervantes' grandmother put it, between *el tenir e el no tenir* (those who have and those who have not). One need only to examine the clothes worn by 'The Waterseller of Seville' [London: Apsley House], the eponymous painting by Diego Velázquez done in 1620 or those of other people in the contemporary, early work by the artist to know that, at one level, poverty was endemic to late medieval Spain and its seventeenth-century successor. At the same time, there was great wealth. Soon after he left Sevilla for Madrid, Velázquez painted the Count-Duke of Olivares, the richest subject in the land and chief minister to Philip III. This portrait shows a man with the full riches of life, if perhaps not all of its satisfactions. The evident affection between the boy and his putative grandmother in 'The Old Woman Cooking Eggs' [Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland] has often been recalled.

Coca Castle was built by Alonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Seville, who lived from 1418 to 1473. Coca Castle (fig. 1) is a highly complex structure, consisting of a lower ward behind a moat, an upper ward with elaborate corner pseudo-defensive structures and a great donjon. Built of pink brick, both rectangular wards and the donjon of the castle have octagonal turrets at each corner with multiple projections, of which the upper parts have distinctive semi-circular columns of cut headers. This distinctive ornament extends across the battlements connecting the corner turrets. On the wall between the lower ward between the corner turrets there three turrets, a circular one in a central position on the wall and two intermediate ones, each between the central one and the corners. The arrangement is repeated on the upper ward but without the intermediate turrets. These intermediate turrets rise from a point one above the batter to the base of the outer walls and the other above the natural rock and form a vertical point akin to a sharpened pencil point. All the brickwork of the outer wall whether flat or circular or angular as with the projections on the turrets on the has very smooth faces. This is both brickmaking and bricklaying both of the very highest order.

On the corner turrets of both the inner and the outer wards, the angular projections also rise from clear points. On the great donjon, the corner turrets and the two intermediate turrets on each side are circular.

In each element there are two horizontal bands of stone bands of white stone. On the lower ward, these are where the point of the projecting turrets gives way to vertical wall and just below the ornamented battlements. On the upper ward the bottom of the lower band of stone is just below the point of the projections, although the brick projections extend across it and are separate from this band of stone. The upper band of stone is a man's height above the lower one. On the donjon, the band of stone is incorporated in the lowest part of the points of the projections.

The archbishop's castle is highly complex in its decorative elements and at the same time very simple, semi-circular cut headers and a band of stone. It is meant as much for display as for defence, although occupying a highly defendable position.

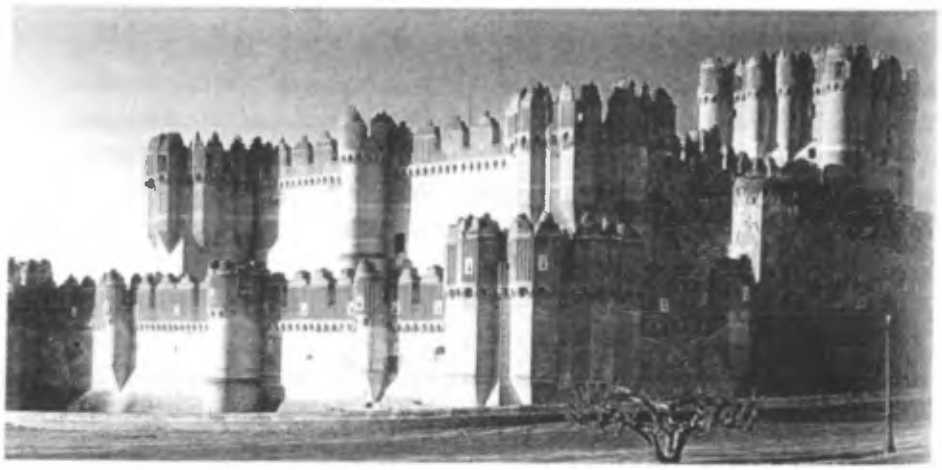

Fig. 1 The highly decorative Coca Castle was built on the north Castilian plain in the 1440s for Alonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Seville. It states the wealth of the man for whom it was commissioned.

In 1454, the archbishop also took possession of an even larger castle, the slightly older castle of La Mota at Medina del Campo, which was commissioned in 1440 by Juan II, who was King of Castile and Leon from 1406 to 1454, and designed by Fernando Carreño. This has round corner turrets and distinctive machicolations.

Both La Mota and Coca are examples of mudéjar work, executed by Moorish craftsmen working for Christian patrons. La Mota is not open to the public although a good idea of its size and grandeur can be gained by an external perambulation.

These great brick castles are larger in conception than any of the surviving contemporary brick structures in England. The donjon at La Mota is a much larger version of the great solar tower at Tattershall Castle, built between 1434 and 1472, but this is only a tower within an existing inner bailey whose walls are of stone. Tattershall, it should be noted is much more massive than say Caister Castle, Norfolk, built 1432 onwards. The differences between Tattershall and Caister reflect the difference in income of the builders. Ralph Lord Cromwell at Tattershall had a declared income of £1007 per annum in the income tax of 1436; Sir John Fastolf at Caister had to content himself with only £600. In fact, Cromwell's income was rather larger; it was reliably put at £1020 in 1429-30, at £1100 in 1436 and at £2263 in 1455. Fastolf, too, had a larger income than his taxable one: £719 in 1436 and £1061 in 1445. Even so, the difference in their incomes remains and this can be seen in the scale of their buildings, both secular and sacred. Cromwell rebuilt in stone a substantial parish church with much splendour, partly this was to house his mortal remains. Fastolf, on the other hand, financed only a new south aisle at an existing abbey, where he used structural brick with a flint facing for the walls.

With all the caveats one might express about using the list of incomes from the 1436 income tax, and this has been the subject of historians' debate, at least since the document was abstracted and published by E.L. Gray in *English Historical Review*, **49**, 1934, it remains to be said that Tattershall was built by a man whose income was within the twenty highest in the land and that Sir John Fastolf at Caister could command an income within the top forty recorded incomes, which counting unrecorded incomes would still have placed him within the fifty richest landowners. The connections between incomes and brick building in the early fifteenth century formed the subject of the writer's presentation to the fortieth International Medieval Congress at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, U.S.A. in May 2005 of which a long summary has appeared in *British Brick Society Information*, **98**, November 2005, although this omits details

of the incomes of those who did not build in brick.

At the May 2007 Kalamazoo congress, your editor presented a paper on 'Brick in the Yorkist Age: builders and buildings' which examines those brick houses, churches, church towers and other structures erected between 1461 and the late 1480s, which has yet to appear in print. It is anticipated that a revised paper based on the presentation will appear of a future issue of *British Brick Society Information*. The current issue of *BBS Information* includes an extended summary of a paper on 'Thomas Rotherham, a fifteenth-century bishop and his buildings', based on a presentation at Kalamazoo in May 2008.

Of the builders of brick houses in the first period of building brick houses, roughly 1399 to 1461 (the reigns of Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI), there seems to be only one man, Sir John Popham at South Charford Manor, Hants., whose income was below £200 per annum, and thus outside the hundred largest recorded incomes. He built only a little brick tower.

As far as incomes is concerned and there is much less information about incomes in the Yorkist period from 1461 to 1485 than is provided in comparative terms by the records of the income tax of 1436, there seems to be no obvious decline in the economic status of the builders between the two periods. What does occur is a wider range of social status, with ecclesiastics becoming prominent amongst those who commissioned brick buildings both as episcopal residences and for education.

Kings, of course, had incomes far above their subjects in the early fifteenth century. Even by European standards, the last adult king, Henry V, was no pauper: half a year's income in 1422, the year of his death, was £43,000, to which must be added the income from the lands of the Duchy of Lancaster, another £13,000 (gross for the whole year) in 1419. Henry V commissioned a great brick palace two decades earlier than his Spanish contemporary but the palace at Sheen was burnt to the ground within a hundred years, and a new king, Henry VII, re-used the site, renaming it Richmond. From drawings by Wenceslas Hollar and others it is clear that this does compare very favourably with both La Mota and Coca. As indeed does Hampton Court from the next generation or Eltham Palace from the Yorkist Age, where Edward IV built the great hall in the 1470s.

La Mota was financed by and built for a king; Coca Castle was work paid for by a rich archbishop, from a long-established ducal family. As in England, in fifteenth-century Spain, it was only the very richest men who could afford to build their show palaces in brick.

The British Brick Society will again be sponsoring a session at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in July 2010. Session 815, 'The Transport of Brick and Other Building Materials in the Middle Ages', will be held in Bodington Music Room on the afternoon of Tuesday 13 July 2010 between 4.30 p.m. and 6.00 p.m. when three members will be giving presentations. Terence Paul Smith is speaking on 'The Organisation of the Brick Industry in the Middle Ages'; Moses Jenkins' topic is 'Transportation of Building Materials to Construct Scotland's Royal Palaces'; and David Kennett has a change to the subject announced in the programme as he is now considering 'Cow Tower and Caister Castle: contrasts in procurement and transport in fifteenth-century Norfolk'. It is hoped that papers arising from some of these will be included in issues of *British Brick Society Information* in 2011.

The organisers of the Leeds International Medieval Congress have announced the dates and the theme for the 2011 congress. This will be taking place between Monday 11 July 2011 and Thursday 14 July 2011 and has as its theme 'Poor ... Rich'. The British Brick Society hopes to sponsor a session on 'Building Patronage by the Rich' and indeed one presentation has already been offered for this, on 'At the Court of Henry VIII: Holbein's Sitters and their Houses'. It may be that contributions could be forthcoming on 'the Poor', who in contrast to the Rich, for these

purposes those who commissioned the building of brick houses or brick chapels adjacent to the chancels of medieval churches, would include brickmakers and bricklayers. If sufficient contributions are suggested, the idea of a second session may be put forward to the congress organisers.

A call for papers for the Leeds International Medieval Congress in July 2011 is included in this mailing.

On the theme of the Leeds congress, in 2009 the British Brick Society took part in the Historical and Archaeological Societies fair on the Wednesday afternoon. It is doing so again this year.

Thanks are due to contributors who sent in papers during 2009. The editor now holds a good stock of articles for use in issues of *British Brick Society Information* during 2010. Whilst members submitting material may receive proofs relatively soon after their submission, it is hoped that contributors will be patient as printing and binding considerations mean that the society's publication is confined to a maximum of 44 pages plus cover and that either 36 pages with cover or 40 pages with cover are more manageable.

One point to be borne in mind is that the finished issue has to fit a multiple of four pages and this is one factor in the choice of articles. Two other factors come into play. Sometimes the editor holds a relatively short article, of four or six pages, on a topic hoping to receive another on the same topic. Two papers on tall chimneys have been received and it is anticipated that these will be published in the next issue of *British Brick Society Information*. The other factor is that the editor does try to vary the names on the contents page. To give as many members as possible the opportunity to see their work in print, as a general rule authors are not included in successive issues.

Given that the editor already holds the probable contents of the issue, it is anticipated that *British Brick Society Information*, **113,** will be ready for publication in June 2010. Contributors should receive proofs soon after publication of the current issue. The editor hopes to complete work on the issue immediately after he returns from the USA and this year's Kalamazoo congress on Saturday 22 May 2010.

DAVID H. KENNETT
Editor, *British Brick Society Information*
Shipston-on-Stour, 1 March 2010

Brick for a Day

The British Brick Society held two meetings in the late summer and autumn of 2009. These were a tour of Rugby School in August and a walking tour of Finsbury from the Angel to Farringdon in September. Both were organised by the society's Visits Co-ordinator, David Kennett. Due to considerations of available space and the need to check recently published information about Clerkenwell, in the two volumes of *The Survey of London: Clerkenwell*, reports on these visits are being held over from this issue of *British Brick Society Information*.

DHK

Thomas Rotherham, a Fifteenth-Century Bishop and Builder in Brick: a preliminary note

David H. Kennett

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Rotherham (1423-1500)[1] is best known for building the surviving great tower from the former bishop's palace beside the parish church at Buckden, Hunts. (fig.1).[2] The tower, built during his tenure of the see of Lincoln between 1472 and 1480, formed part of a much larger complex including a chapel, a great hall, a great chamber, and a cloister. According to John Leland, the sixteenth-century topographer, Rotherham began the tower and restored the great hall:

> Spaldwik and Bukden given out of the fee of S. Etheldrede to the Bisshop of Lincoln for the jurisdiction of the Bisshop of Ely in Cambridgeshir.
>
> Rotheram Bisshop of Lincoln buildid the new brike towr at bukden. He clene translatid the haul, and did much coste there beside.[3]

Rotherham's successor, John Russell completed the tower and built the surviving gatehouse. In the early sixteenth century, Bishop William Smith rebuilt the west end of the chapel.[4]

The building footprint of the tower at Buckden measures 50 feet 6 inches (15.40 metres) by 27 feet (8.23 metres) and is three storeys high over a basement. Built of red brick with stone dressings, the tower has a chamfered plinth and an embattled parapet. There are four corner towers: staircases in the north-east and north-west ones, a garderobe in the south-east tower and cupboards in the south-west. The large and prominent chimney stack serves plain fireplaces on each of the three floors. Even today, Buckden Palace remains a formidable building.

It is one of perhaps a dozen large brick-built solar towers, the earliest examples of which in England are those built by Richard, Duke of York, at Hunsdon, Herts.,[5] demolished in the early sixteenth century, and that surviving at Tattershall Castle, Lincs.,[6] built by Ralf, Lord Cromwell. Both of these date to the 1440s. The Lincolnshire connection is important: other surviving brick-built solar towers include Skirbeck Tower[7] and Hussey Tower,[8] both at Boston and both built in the 1450s. An example from the 1460s is that whose foundations have been discovered at the Bishop of Winchester's palace at Esher, Surrey.[9] William Waynflete was the bishop responsible. A Lincolnshire man as his surname suggests, Waynflete was, moreover, the executor of Lord Cromwell.

The Career of Thomas Rotherham

Before considering Thomas Rotherham's full involvement with construction in general and particularly with brick buildings, we need to note the prominent features of his career.[10] After holding the sees at Rochester, 1468-1472, and at Lincoln, 1472-1480, Thomas Rotherham was elevated to the archbishopric of York on 7 July 1480 and held the see to his death on 29 May 1500 at the episcopal palace at Cawood, Yorks. W.R.

Episcopal advancement in the fifteenth century was often the reward for a political, governmental and diplomatic career. Rotherham was Lord Privy Seal from 1467 to 1474 and thereafter Lord Chancellor from 1474 to 1483. Rotherham was also Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1469 and then almost continuously between 1472 and 1492.

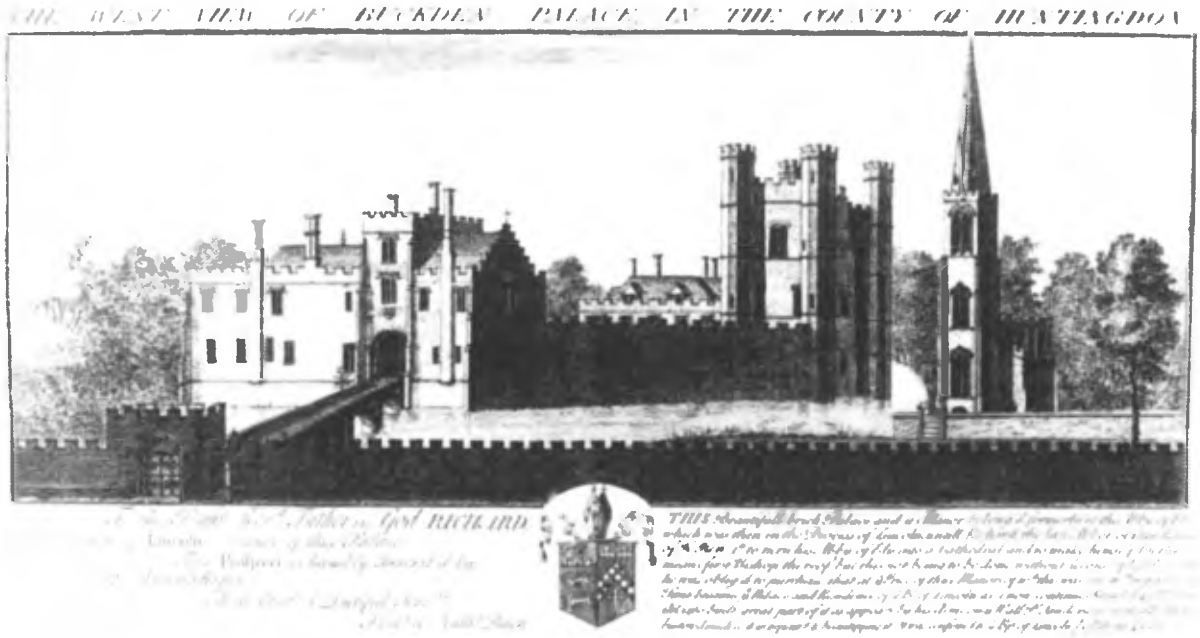

Fig. 1 Buckden, Huntingdonshire: the view drawn by the brothers Buck in 1730, showing the now surviving elements of the great tower, begun by Thomas Rotherham, the exterior of the curtain wall and the gatehouse range, with in the background the now demolished range containing the great hall. The now filled-in moat is prominently shown.

THE BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF A BISHOP

The buildings of a bishop can be characterised under six different areas.[11] The episcopal dignity was initially enhanced by building at the cathedral palace, although unlikely in the late fifteenth century, if no other reason than good quality maintenance was usually all that was required. More probable for a bishop was constructing or improving buildings on the episcopal manors and work at the London house. As with the cathedral palace, work on the cathedral is unlikely in Rotherham's time but rebuilding and/or enhancing individual churches occurs. Educational work can be pre-episcopal, be financed while a bishop or left to his posthumous benefactions. It can involve both school foundation and university building. Some bishops, including Thomas Rotherham, were involved in civic foundations and buildings for personal or family use. Finally there are considerations of a permanent memorial.

EPISCOPAL PALACES

Nothing is known of Thomas Rotherham's involvement, if any, with building when Bishop of Rochester: the see is a poor one, its annual income was £411 in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535. His other two sees were much richer: Lincoln was £1878 (gross; £1642 net) and at York, the gross episcopal income rose well above £2000 (see below).

In the Lincoln diocese, there were eight archdeaconries, each with one and often two or even three episcopal houses. Buckden Palace is the only known piece of building activity by Thomas Rotherham in his eight years in the see. For comparison, his successor, Bishop Russell in thirteen and a half years (July 1480 to December 1494) completed the buildings at Buckden

and refurbished the single surviving range at Lyddington, Rutland, while earlier in the fifteenth century, Bishop William Alnwick, in twelve and a half years (May 1436 to December 1449), built at the Lincoln Palace and at Lyddington.

The York diocese had five archdeaconries, but in two, the archdeaconries of Richmond and Cleveland, no episcopal palaces are known: the archdeacon of Cleveland lived in a house just outside York.[12] Apart from the minster palace at York, of which Rotherham made some use but not a great deal, and those at the sub minsters at Beverley, Ripon and Southwell, in the 1480s and 1490s, the archdiocese had five other palaces which Rotherham used. Three of these were within half a day's ride from York: Bishopthorpe, Cawood, and Rest Park in Sherburn-in-Elmet, all Yorks. W.R. Each had direct water communication by the River Ouse with York. A fourth palace in the West Riding, at Otley, was 30 miles west of the main group. The other was Scrooby, Notts., just off the Great North Road, and a day's ride from York.[13]

Although his register[14] shows that Rotherham used the palaces at Beverley, Otley, Rest, Ripon, and Sherburn-in-Elmet, no major building activity financed by him is known at any of these. This is not to say that maintenance and small-scale repairs were not effected.

Fig. 2 Bishopthorpe Palace, the two gables on the left are part of the range built by Thomas Rotherham in the 1480s. An external wall from his L-plan range can be seen above and to the right of the bay window in the centre.

At Bishopthorpe, which is the present archiepiscopal palace and diocesan offices, Thomas Rotherham built the long north range in brick, which now forms the private residence of the archbishop. Whilst this was completely refenestrated in about 1750, there is a clear outline of the fifteenth-century work, which includes Rotherham's arms on the outside south wall of the kitchen at the east end. The great kitchen is complete with a massive, 12 feet wide, fireplace on the north wall. Next to this is the present dining room, whose plaster ceiling was inserted in the 1660s by archbishop Frewen. The north wall has external evidence of a large window as does the exterior of the original south wall. The west wall of the dining room retains a medieval fireplace. Beyond this is a smaller room, now used as a cloakroom, and then there is a substantial area, completely internally remodelled at various dates between *c.*1750 and the extension of *c.*1835 but which has both an original brick undercroft and a pair of original roof trusses. Large

medieval fireplaces exist on the north wall of the original 1480s work and on the east wall of a short adjoining range on the south side at the west end. Externally there is diaper work using vitrified headers on the north and west walls of Rotherham's build. [15]

Bishopthorpe had been purchased by archbishop Grey in 1241 and he built the chapel at the south end of the complex. Immediately north of this is the great hall, also probably his build. Beyond this was originally the services area with a kitchen beyond (the latter now replaced), rebuilt by archbishop Thoresby in 1364-65 who placed the great chamber above the service rooms. This chamber is now the private sitting room of the archbishop. In front of Grey's work is the eighteenth-century buildings by Peter Atkinson which serve as the diocesan offices. The work done for Grey and Thoresby and the eighteenth-century building was constructed in stone.

The visible building history of Cawood begins with the surviving stone gatehouse built by John Kempe, archbishop from 1426 to 1451. Attached to this were brick ranges, of which the southern one survives and the northern one was rebuilt as the present, late-eighteenth-century, house. These ranges have been variously ascribed to Kempe and now less probably to one of his successors: William Booth, archbishop 1452-1464, George Neville who held the see from 1464 to his death in 1476. On the other hand, they could have been work commissioned by Thomas Rotherham. A further candidate to be the patron is Thomas Savage, archbishop between 1500 and 1507, who is known to have built at Cawood.

What is striking about Cawood is not the surviving portion but what appears to be a brick solar tower shown in an illustration provided by Francis Drake in *History and Antiquities of York* in 1736, reproduced here (fig. 2). It was doubtless this edifice, in the 1530s more complete than it was two hundred years later, that caused John Leland to describe Cawood as 'a very fair castel'. If this is a solar tower, Rotherham, who spent the last twenty months of his life at Cawood and had made much use of it before this would seem to be the most likely to be the patron of this particular building. Drake's illustration also shows the outer wall adjacent to the river Ouse and the ruins of a stone-built chapel. The river wall of large, rough-hewn stone blocks survives and is virtually intact. [16]

At Scrooby, a single brick wing survives which from its appearance was clearly a gatehouse range. Much is recorded both by Leland in the sixteenth century and by Robert Thoroton, historian of Nottinghamshire, in the eighteenth century. Leland first:

> In the mene tounlet of Scroby I markid 2 thinges, the paroche chirch, not bigge but very welle buildid *ex lapide polite quadrato*.
> The second was a great manor place standing withyn a mote, and [be]longging to th archbishop of York, buildid yn to courtes, wherof the first is very ample, and al builded of tymbre, saving the front of the haule that is of brike, to wich *ascenditur per grados lapidos*. The ynner courte building, as far as I marked, was of tymber building, and was not in cumpace part the 4 parte of the utter courte. [17]

Leland thus informs us that the palace is large, built on a moated site, and that the main buildings are timber-framed with only the hall built of brick. Thoroton takes the story forward:

> Here, within memory, stood a very fair oakacem a far greater house of receit [retreat] and better seat for provision than Southwell and had attending to it the North Soke, consisting of very many towns hereabouts. It hath a fair park belonging to it. Archbishop Sandes (died 1588) caused it to be demolished for his son, Sir Samuel Sandes; since which the house hath been demolished almost to the grounds. The church (a fair one, if not ruinous) is appropriated to the Archbishop of York. Mr Francis Sandes is the present tenant. [18]

Thoroton suggests that the bishop had a good-sized park, within a large area of his land.

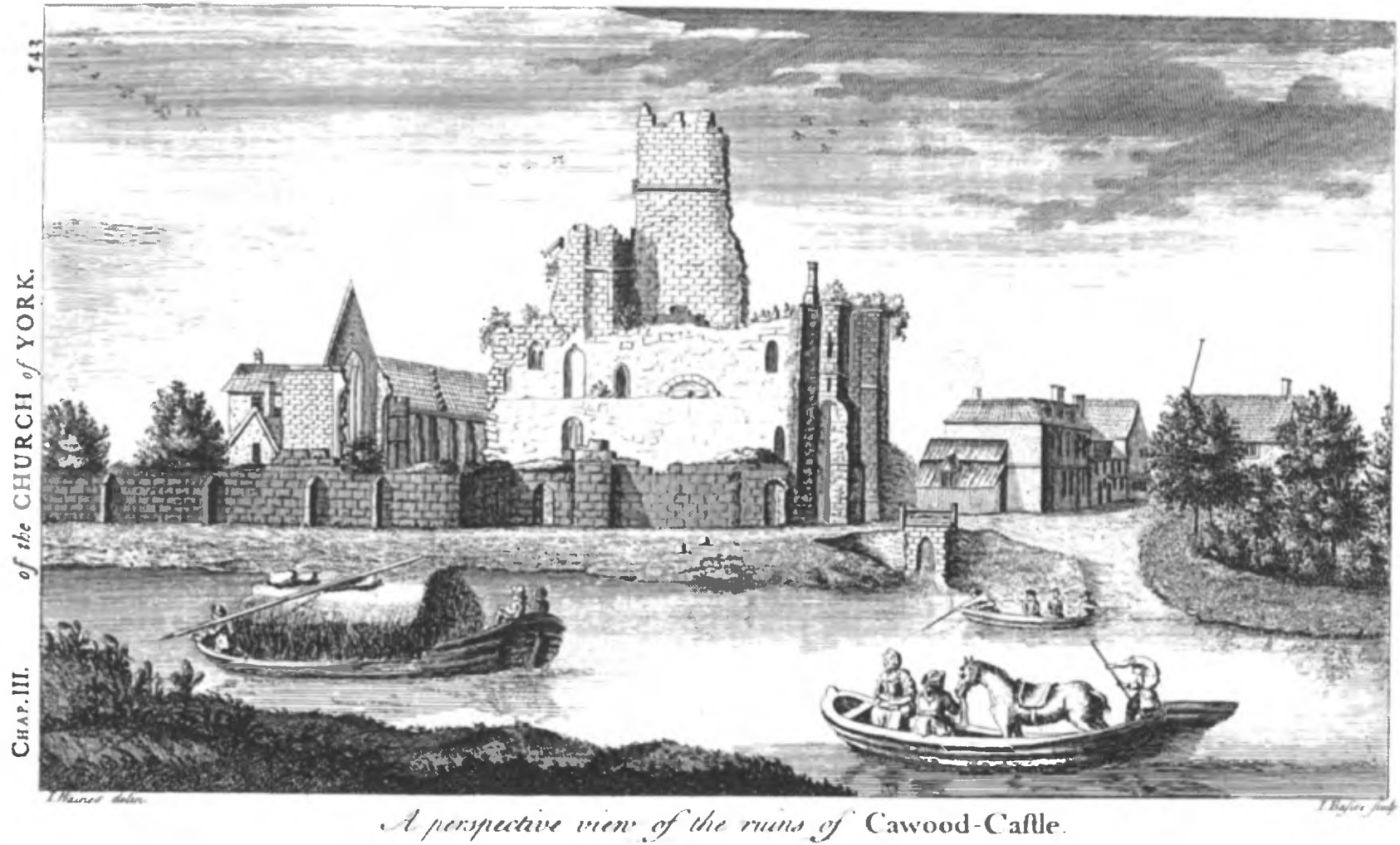

Fig. 3 The episcopal palace at Cawood Castle, Yorkshire West Riding, as depicted in Francis Drake, *Eboracum*, in 1736. The river wall which is stone-built survives. The tall structure in the centre is suggested as a brick-built solar tower for which Thomas Rotherham may have been responsible.

Thoroton notes that much of the medieval bishop's palace was demolished in the mid sixteenth century and later that further demolition has taken place subsequently. The Elizabethan house is recorded as 8 hearths in 1664 and 9 hearths in 1674: in both years a Francis Sandys was the occupier.[19]

The stone outer walls of the two-storeyed, medieval palace at Southwell survive to the height of the wallplates and the north-west portion, with the state chamber on the first floor, is roofed and in use today. This lay north of the completely demolished hall whose service passage to the south is extant. Beyond this Archbishop Rotherham built a detached kitchen which no longer survives. Southwell Palace had been constructed by Archbishop Thoresby in the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century, new work was done under the patronage of one of the two Booth brothers. William Booth held the see from 1452 to 1464 and Lawrence Booth, his much younger half-brother, for four years, from 1476 to his death in 1480. Both were buried in a now demolished chapel attached to the south side of the nave of Southwell Minster. Later work was done when Cardinal Thomas Wolsey resided there in political disgrace in 1530. In his twenty years in the see, Thomas Rotherham spent part of most years at Southwell.[20]

From 1480 to 1529, the archdiocese of York possessed two London houses. In his active years, Thomas Rotherham had lived at both. The better-known is York Place, surrendered by Cardinal Wolsey on 22 October 1529. Here Wolsey had almost rebuilt the palace, itself much refurbished and partly rebuilt by Archbishop Neville, in office 1464 to 1476, who was Lord Chancellor until 1472. But neither rebuilt the kitchens or other service areas. These are thought to be the work of Thomas Rotherham. The documents record Rotherham building at York Place but does not give any indication of the particular location of his work.[21]

The other London house was Bridge Court, Battersea, begun as a personal project by Lawrence Booth when Bishop of Durham and completed after he became Archbishop of York. Booth bequeathed the house to the archdiocese. The site is known: it was later called York House, York Road, the buildings now there are used as a candle factory. The house is commemorated in Bridgecourt Road, a short lane leading from York Road to the River Thames. Several documents were signed by Rotherham when at Battersea.[22]

Some conclusions may be drawn from the known building activities of Thomas Rotherham, both as Bishop of Lincoln and as Archbishop of York. In the eight years at Lincoln, one structure, albeit a very substantial one, compares with activity at two different buildings for a predecessor and his immediate successor in their slightly longer episcopates. At York, the record is fuller and more extensively researched. Certain is building activity at Bishopthorpe, Southwell and York Place, London. Probable is work at Cawood and Scrooby. Work at between three and five palaces in six weeks under twenty years seems not too distinct from the episcopal average when remembering that the late 1490s were years of increasing personal infirmity and probably some loss of enthusiasm for building, even though the single published volume of his register suggests no let up in the necessary work of a bishop and metropolitan, at least until the last eighteen months of his life.[23]

EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS

In 1443, as a twenty-year-old, Thomas Rotherham became a scholar of King's College, Cambridge, of which he was to be a fellow from 1446 to *circa* 1460, holding the offices of Bursar in 1447-48 and Vice-Provost for two years, 1456-1458. The 1440s and 1450s were the years when the original collegiate buildings of brick were erected north of great chapel: of these brick buildings only the gatehouse survives.[24] The building of King's College occurred at a crucial time in Rotherham's life, between the ages of 20 and 37. It could be that his taste for building, and specifically for building in brick, began this early, before he obtained the personal

wealth to be able to indulge his ambitions.

As Bishop of Lincoln, and thus Visitor to Lincoln College, Oxford, he provided new statutes for the college on 11 February 1480 and completed the stone-built south range, thus completing front quad. Rotherham is regarded as the second founder of the college. Founded in 1427 by Rotherham's predecessor, Richard Fleming, who died in 1431, little was done in the founder's lifetime, only the gatehouse, or west, range. Much of the building work on the north and east ranges was the work of the Dean of Wells, John Forest, done before 1437, whilst Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Wells between 1443 and 1465, had built the original master's lodge in the south-east angle.[25]

Rotherham served as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1469 and then for most of the period from 1472 to 1492. As such, between 1470 and 1474, he completed the east range of the Old Schools[26] and gave it a library of 200 books. Rotherham was added to the list of benefactors of the university in 1475. Rotherham's range was demolished in 1754 for the present Palladian-style building planned by James Burrough but executed by Stephen Wright who also designed the elevations. Rotherham built his range in brick, almost immediately following the south range of 1457-70 which again is built of brick. However, the two earlier ranges — the Divinity School of 1365 to *c.* 1400 in the north range and the west range of *c.* 1430 to *c.* 1460 — are both of rubble. The buildings of the three surviving medieval ranges were altered in the eighteenth century by James Essex and internally in 1935 by Murray Easton.[27]

Rotherham was also for eight years the Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, but like his predecessor, Lawrence Booth, master from 1450 to 1480, a non-resident one. No building activity at Pembroke College is known from the second half of the fifteenth century. Alone of his appointments, the college is omitted from Thomas Rotherham's last will.[28]

Thomas Rotherham is well-known for the founding of the Perpetual College of Jesus in his home town of Rotherham on 22 January 1483.[29] This was a school led by a provost to preach and two, later three, fellows to teach, respectively grammar, singing and useful arts of writing and arithmetic, the last-named for boys wishing to pursue a commercial career. A substantial brick building was erected in the mid 1480s, from which one half of a four-centred arch survived until 1972.[30] The foundation was a chantry which Rotherham endowed with lands in Rotherham itself and the manors and churches at Laxton, Notts., and Almondbury, Yorks W.R. The provost was to preach at both of these as well as at Rotherham itself and nearby Ecclesfield. Rotherham gave the school no fewer than one hundred books.

Rotherham's school building was later used as a malting house and subsequently became an inn. As a chantry foundation, the school was dissolved under the Chantries Act of 1547 which disbanded all chantries, but in the 1550s it was refounded as Rotherham Grammar School, and for a long time the school used the town's bridge chapel. The school gained new buildings in 1886 and these buildings are used today for the Thomas Rotherham College, a sixth-form college formed in 1966.

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS

Work at churches is building in stone. Whilst at Cambridge, Rotherham was involved with the major repairs to Great St Mary, the church overlooking the market place: his rebus appears on the west tower.[31] At Laxton, Notts., Rotherham added a clerestory to the nave in the 1480s.[32] At All Hallows, Almondbury, Yorks W.R., an indulgence of 1486 was granted with proceeds to be used for the rebuilding of the church.[33] It is probable that Rotherham was responsible for the new clerestory at St Wilfrid's, Scrooby, which was built in the 1480s and 1490s.[34] Finally, we may note that Rotherham was a prime mover in the total rebuilding of the Norman church of All Saints' at Rotherham itself.[35] On 28 July 1480, within three weeks of his translation to York, he

had founded a perpetual chantry with a single chaplain, using the newly-built south chapel; it was endowed with lands worth £20 per annum.[36] His fundraising for the rebuilding certainly included the building of the spire above the crossing tower and possibly work in the chancel.

It is unknown whether he was involved in the rebuilding of the parish church of St Mary's in Luton, Bedfordshire,[37] where he had purchased a substantial estate at an unknown date, probably in the summer of 1471.[38] The post-1470 work at the church involved raising the transepts, inserting a clerestory above the nave, and the renewal of aisle windows.

CIVIC BUILDINGS

When Bishop of Lincoln, Thomas Rotherham was involved in the founding of four guilds or fraternities in towns in the southern part of the diocese.[39] Two were in Bedfordshire: the Guild of the Holy Trinity attached to St Mary's parish church, Luton, and the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at St Andrew's church, Biggleswade. The latter was an episcopal manor, whose lands were part of the emoluments of the bishop; ecclesiastically Biggleswade was a bishop's peculiar, meaning it was outside the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Bedford. The other two guilds were in Hertfordshire: the Fraternity of St Andrew in the parish church of St Mary, Hitchin, and the Fraternity of St John the Baptist at St Mary's church, Ashwell.

A timber-framed building is known for the guild in Luton, on a substantial property on the south side of the lower part of Castle Street. The building later became the 'Lion Inn', and was subsequently called the 'White Lion Inn' and is now the 'White Hart' public house. Changes in ownership of the adjacent property, held by Robert Skittlethorpe in the Hearth Tax of 1664, can be traced through the Luton Court Rolls to the tithe map of 1842.[40] The building erected for the Guild of the Holy Trinity was timber-framed. Luton was the ultimate poor market town in the fifteenth century. Despite its wealthy backers and its membership of persons with high social status, the guild may not have felt the need to build in brick. The guild concentrated its artistic efforts on its beautiful ornamented register.[41]

The timber-framed market house at Biggleswade began life as the guild house[42] and the timber-framed guild house survives in Ashwell.[43]

DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

As noted, sometime in summer 1471, Thomas Rotherham purchased a large estate in Luton, which had been the lands of John, Lord Wenlock, who had been killed on the field of battle at Tewkesbury, on 4 May 1471. Here, Thomas Rotherham established his younger brother, John Rotherham, as a member of Bedfordshire's county gentry before 22 October 1472.[44] A year earlier, John Rotherham had ceased to be Controller of the Customs at Sandwich, Kent. John Rotherham died in 1492; and in his will, made between 6 and 24 August 1498, the archbishop granted his nephew, also called Thomas Rotherham, full title to the freehold of the lands the latter and before him, John Rotherham his father, had leased.[45]

The major house on the estate was an early brick building, Someries Castle, where John Rotherham went to live. Someries Castle had been begun by Sir John Wenlock in 1448.[46] However, within a few years, construction of the courtyard house was abandoned, at least temporarily. This may be due to a lack of substantial sums of cash with which to pay the workmen. No fewer than three times — in 1456, in 1457 and again in 1459 — Wenlock petitioned the crown for the repayment of a loan made before 1449 of the sum of 1550 marks (£1033 6*s*. 8*d*.).[47] Building would certainly have ceased when Wenlock was attaindered of high treason in December 1459 and all his goods were forfeit to the crown.[48] However, Wenlock had backed the winning side in 1460 and regained his lands with the accession of Edward IV as

king.[49] But in the early 1460s, Wenlock appears to have been more concerned with erecting a large chapel on the north side of the chancel of Luton parish church for his place of burial.[50] It is possible that in the 1460s Wenlock built the chapel at Someries Castle; the quality of the brickwork in the chapel is markedly different to that of the adjacent gatehouse. However, its substantial size suggests that Bishop Rotherham is more likely to have been responsible.[51] This chapel is of the size found in episcopal manors[52] and twice the length of those in contemporary gentry houses, as for example the stone-built Chapel of St Modwena surviving at Pillaton Hall, Penkridge, Staffs., a substantial brick house.[53]

FUNERARY PROVISION

Thomas Rotherham was buried in York Minster, and by the early eighteenth century, following a major fire in 1735, his tomb was positioned among his fellow archbishops beneath the east wall of St Peter's Minster.[54] His tomb chest has returned to its original place in the south-east chapel of the north transept.[55] Following further fire damage in 1895, the tomb was repaired at the expense of Lincoln College. Originally, it had a wooden effigy, from which the head survived the fire of 1735.[56]

An almost identical tomb chest was provided by the archbishop for his widowed mother, Alice, Lady Rotherham, when she died in 1491.[57] This was originally placed in the centre of the north chapel of Luton parish church. It is a place of honour to face the altar. The tomb chest with its brass was moved to its present location, under the east canopy of the tomb erected for John, Lord Wenlock, in 1912, when the organ, formerly in the north chapel was removed to the south chapel, more properly known as the Hoo chapel.

PAYING FOR THE BUILDINGS

After 1472, when his building work begins, Thomas Rotherham enjoyed a substantial income. Both the bishopric of Lincoln and the archbishopric of York gave him amongst the highest incomes in the land, something of which contemporaries were highly aware. On 9 March 1484, John Fitzherbert was instructed to deliver a demand for £200 to the archbishop of York, a vast sum equalled only by the demand made on the bishops of Winchester and Bath and Wells.[58] A little over a generation after Rotherham's death, Lincoln and York were the seventh and fifth highest episcopal incomes and certainly provided sufficient to pay for an ambitious building programme. The Bishop of Lincoln had an income of £1878 in 1535: no figure from Rotherham's episcopate or even his lifetime is available. At York, the archbishop in 1535 enjoyed a gross income of £2077.[59] When Rotherham was in political disgrace in 1483, his tenants were ordered to pay their rents to the agents of King Richard III on the archbishop's behalf and an account was rendered for the financial year ending 29 September 1482. This gave the estate income as £2017 from which expenses of £505 were deducted, leaving a surplus of just over £1500.[60]

But for a large part of his career, Rotherham had rather more than the substantial episcopal stipend. As Lord Privy Seal from 1467 to 1474, he had an annual pension of 360 marks (£240). The purchase, probably by private treaty, of the Wenlock estates, at some point between May 1471 and October 1472 might be explained by this as could the building in the same years of Old Schools in Cambridge. As Lord Chancellor the emoluments were even more substantial: a pension of 500 marks (£333 6s 8d).

After the Treaty of Picquigny in 1475, negotiated with Louis XI of France, he received an annual pension for life of 1000 crowns (£250). This pension could well account for a succession of enterprises: building work and endowments of Lincoln College in the 1470s, the chantry at Rotherham in 1480, the substantial endowment of College of Jesus at Rotherham after

1483. The accumulation of the pension might explain the substantial sums which in his will Thomas Rotherham bequeaths to various benefices, dioceses and educational bodies with which he had been associated in what was a long life. Certainly there is no doubt, that in Simon Thurley's telling phrase, Thomas Rotherham was "an ambitious and prolific builder",[61] not least as a patron of building in brick.[62]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

Abbreviations used:

BE *The Buildings of England*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books (unless otherwise stated for the publisher).

Cal Pat R H.C. Maxwell Lyte (editor), *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1461-1485*. 3 volumes, London: HMSO.

JBAA *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*

ODNB H.G. Mathew and B. Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004.

RCHM, Royal Commission Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historic Monuments of ...*

VCH *Victoria County History of England*

1. Standard accounts of the life of Thomas Rotherham are H.L. Bennett, *Archbishop Rotherham Lord High Chancellor of England and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge: a sketch of his life and environment*. Lincoln, 1901; H.L. Bennett in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1897, **49**, 301-303; R. Horrox in *ODNB*, **47**, 903-905. Information about Rotherham's life is taken from one or other of these sources and may not subsequently be referenced.

2. RCHM, *Huntingdonshire*, 1926, 34-38 with plan on p.35 and pls. 26 (the tower), 28 and 29 (the gatehouse). W.D. Simpson, 'Buckden Palace', *JBAA*, 3rd ser., **2**, 1937, 121-132.

3. L.T. Smith (ed.), *Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales*, reissued London: Centuar Press, 1964 (original publication, 1906-1910), volume **2**, 29.

4. N. Pevsner, *BE: Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon ...*, 1968, 215-216, with pl. 59. See also the items cited in note 2.

5. RCHM, *Hertfordshire*, 1910, 128.

6. W.D. Simpson, 'The Affinities of Lord Cromwell's Tower House at Tattershall', *JBAA*, 2nd ser., **40**, 1935, 177-191; N. Pevsner and J. Harris, *BE: Lincolnshire*, 1964, 390-394, with plan and pls. 34-35; W.D. Simpson, *The Building Accounts of Tattershall Castle, 1435-1472*, [being *Lincoln Record Society*, **55**, 1960]; M.W. Thompson, *Tattershall Castle*. London: Ministry of Works guidebook, 1974; N. Pevsner and J. Harris revised by N. Antram, *BE: Lincolnshire*, 2nd edition, 1989, 745-749 with plan and pls. 64-66.

7. Pevsner and Harris, 1964, 633; Pevsner, Harris and Antram, 1989, 278 (under Fishtoft).

8. Pevsner and Harris, 1964, 475; Pevsner, Harris and Antram, 1989, 169 with pl. 63; T.P. Smith, 'Hussey Tower, Boston: a Late Medieval Tower-House of Brick', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, **14**, 1979, 31-37.

9. Excavation recorded on a Channel 4 'Time Team' programme in 2008; no literature known to the present writer.

10. See Bennett, 1901 and Horrox in *ODNB* for further details.

11. M.W. Thompson, *Medieval Bishops' Houses in England and Wales*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, gives an overview of the building of residences by bishops in the middle ages. The various categories used by Thompson are followed here.

12. References in the register of the Rotherham's vicar general (= chief administrative officer) one of whom was also Archdeacon of Cleveland; see E.E. Barker, (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Rotherham at York* [being *Canterbury and York Society*, **67**, 1976]. The published portion of the register is silent on building matters.

13 A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500 Volume I Northern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 298-303 for a general survey of the buildings in Yorkshire owned by the Archbishops of York.

14 The present writer has compiled a draft itinerary for Thomas Rotherham between 1480 and 1500 from the published *Rotherham Register* (Barker (ed.), 1976) and anticipates using the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* for 1467 to 1474 to compile a similar itinerary for these years. Rotherham's registers as Bishop of Lincoln are extant but remain unpublished.

15 Emery, 1998,298-299 with pls. 146 and 147 and fig. 71 (plan); E.A. Gee, *Bishopthorpe Palace an architectural history*. York: York Minster Publications, 1983. An earlier account is M. Watson, 'Bishopthorpe Castle' in R.S. Rait (ed.), *English Episcopal Palaces Province of York*. 1911.

16 Emery, 1998, 325-327; see also F. Drake, *Eboracum or the History and Antiquities of the City of York*. London: William Bowyer, 1736; reprinted Wakefield: EP Publishing Ltd, 1978, 542; see also the illustration in Drake, 1736/1978, opposite 442, showing a view through the open gate into the interior where the lower portion of the tower is clearly visible. The quotation from Leland appears Smith (ed.), 1906-10/1964, **4**, 12.

17 Smith, 1906-10/1964, **1**, 34.

18 R. Thoroton, revised by John Throsby, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*. Nottingham: John Throsby, 1790-96; re-issued Wakefield: EP Publishing Ltd., 1972, **3**, 439.

19 W.F. Webster (ed.), *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax 1664 and 1674*. [being *Thoroton Society Record Series*, **37**, 1986 and 1987], 47 and **133**.

20 P. Dixon and N. Coates, *Southwell Minster A History and Guide*. Southwell: The Minster, nd but 2008, 34-35 (for the palace), and 24-25 (for Booth chapel).

21 S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace The Architectural History of the Royal Apartments 1240-1690*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, 4 and 10; S. Thurley, *The Whitehall Palace Plan of 1670* [being *London Topographical Society*, **153**, 1998]; S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace The Official Illustrated History*. London: Historic Royal Palaces and Merrell, 2008, deals solely with Wolsey among the episcopal owners.

22 Thurley, 1999, 10.

23 Barker (ed), 1976. The published register of Thomas Rotherham as Archbishop of York covers half of the larger of the two extant manuscript volumes but none of a second, smaller volume. Publication of the other portions remain pending. See n. 12 and 14 above.

24 RCHM, *The City of Cambridge*, 1959, 12 and 17 with plan on p.13; N. Pevsner, revised E. Radcliffe, *BE: Cambridgeshire*, 1970, 92 and 201-202.

25 RCHM, *The City of Oxford*, 1939, 66; N. Pevsner and J. Sherwood, *BE: Oxfordshire*, 1974, 145-149 with plan; G. Tyack, *Oxford An Architectural Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 49-50 with the Loggan print of 1675 (on 50), showing Rotherham's work as the central range of the three shown as the verticals.

26 RCHM, *Cambridge*, 12 and plan on 13; M. Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 169 shows the coloured plan of Old Schools in 1574 with Rotherham's work marked as Building A.

27 RCHM, *Cambridge*, 11-18 provides a history of the building of Old Schools, summarised Pevsner, 1970, 199-202, esp. 201.

28 Rotherham's will exists in two manuscript copies. That in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge published by Arthur F. Leach in *Early Yorkshire Schools Volume II* [being *Yorkshire Record Society Publications*, **33**, 1903], 149-160, is the more complete than the probate copy, York Minster Library, Dean and Chapter Probate Register II, published by J. Raine in *Testamenta Eboracensia IV* [being *Surtees Society*, **53**, 1868], 138-148. Leach also provides a summary translation of the Latin original.

29 *Cal Pat R. 1476-1485*, 324. Leach, 1903,104-231 prints original documents concerning Jesus College, Rotherham, between 1480 and 1739. A summary account of its history by A.F. Leach is given *VCH Yorkshire*, **1**, 1907, 454-457. See also R.B. Dobson, 'The educational patronage of Archbishop Thomas Rotherham of York', *Northern History*, **31**, 1995, 65-85.

30 In 1972, the present writer was sent a photograph of the arch by a civic authority in Rotherham, the present whereabouts of this photograph, following seven house moves between 1977 and 1997, are unknown.

31 Pevsner, 1970, 218 for 1491 start date to the tower. RCHM, *Cambridge*, 275-280, a William Rotherham, mason, is recorded as working on the tower in 1514, *ibid*., 275.

32 N. Pevsner, *BE: Nottinghamshire*, 1951, 95.

33 N. Pevsner, revised E. Radcliffe, *BE: Yorkshire The West Riding*, 1967, 79.

34 Pevsner, 1951, 155.

35 Pevsner, 1967, 418-420, with pl. 11.

36 Pevsner, 1967, 418-420, the south chapel is to be seen on the left on pl. 11. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1476-1485*, 209 for the foundation of the chantry.

37 N. Pevsner, *BE: Bedfordshire* ... ,1968, 114-115, underplays the complexity of the construction history of Luton parish church.

38 The manor of Greathampstead Someries and other lands in Luton, together with lands elsewhere in Bedfordshire and beyond had previously belonged to John, Lord Wenlock, killed at the Battle of Tewkesbury on 4 May 1471. Thomas Rotherham issued a quitclaim (= renounced beneficial interest in) these lands on 14 May 1475, but retained the freehold: see *Calendar Close Rolls 1468-1476*, 409-410 no. 1465, and Rotherham's will, Leach, 1899, 149-160.

39 *Cal. Pat. R., 1467-1476*, 446-7 (Luton, 12 May 1474), 485-6 (Biggleswade, 12 February 1475), 542 (Hitchin, 7 June 1475), 597 (Ashwell, 26 August 1476).

40 The note by J.H. Blundell of Toddington, the posthumous editor of William Austin, *A History of Luton and its Hamlets*, Newport, IOW: The County Press, 1928, 208 note 16a, ascribing the location to the present 'Red Lion' hotel on the other side of Castle Street is an error as can be noted from Luton Court Rolls, now in Bedfordshire County Record Office. Blundell *loc cit.* notes a deed of 1638 referring to 'the messuage or tenement called "the Lyon" *alias the Brotherhood House*" (Blundell's italics) but was obviously unaware of the name change from 'White Lion' to 'White Hart'.

41 Luton Guild Register is much studied: R. Marks, 'Two Illuminated Guild Registers from Bedfordshire' in M.P. Browne and S. McKendrick (eds.), *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters: Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, 120-141. The original publication is H. Gough, *The Register of the Parish Church of Luton*, London: Chiswick Press, 1906. The quality of illustrations is high: see the image of Thomas Rotherham celebrating mass before Edward IV, his queen and his mother and other guild members reproduced in black-and-white, Austin, 1928, opp. 204.

42 Pevsner, 1968, 56.

43 N. Pevsner, *BE: Hertfordshire*, 2nd ed., 1977, 76; RCHM, *Hertfordshire*, 1910, 40, building 9, there dated to the seventeenth century.

44 No documentary evidence for the acquisition by Thomas Rotherham of Wenlock's property is known to the present writer. John Rotherham was first sworn as a justice of the peace for Bedfordshire on 22 October 1472, see *Cal. Pat. R., 1467-1477*, 607. He was made Collector of Customs at Sandwich on 8 November 1470 and reappointed on 12 June 1471 but was replaced on 10 October 1471 by Richard Barne, which may suggest a move to Bedfordshire in the intervening four months. John Rotherham was High Sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1476, see J. Godber, *History of Bedfordshire 1066-1888*, Bedford: Bedfordshire County Council, 1969, 164.

45 Leach, 1899, 159. Rotherham tells us that he completed his will on St Bartholomew's Day [24 August] 1498 and this was his 75th birthday.

46 T.P. Smith, 'Someries Castle', *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal*, **3**, 1966, 35-51; T.P. Smith, 'The Early Brickwork of Someries Castle, Bedfordshire and its Place in the History of English Brick Building', *JBAA*, **129**, 1976, 42-58.

47 J.S. Roskell, 'John, Lord Wenlock of Someries', *Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*: **38**, 1958, 12-48, see p. 32 for details of the loan.

48 Roskell, 1958, 35.

49 Roskell, 1958, 35-39.

50 Pevsner, 1968, 114-115, with pl.56 for Wenlock's tomb; further photographs of the tomb screen are *VCH Bedfordshire*, **2**, 1908, pl. opp. 368 and D.H. Kennett, *Portrait of Bedfordshire*, London: Robert Hale, 1978, pl. 39.

51 Opinions have varied as to who commissioned the building of the brick chapel at Someries Castle: Smith, 1966, points of the difference in the brickwork between the gatehouse and the chapel and suggests Rotherham as the sponsor, but in his 1976 article, he favours Wenlock as the builder, albeit using a different group of workmen to those employed before.

52 Thompson, 1998, provides a number of plans for comparison.

53 L.M. Midgley and M.W. Greenslade, 'Penkridge', in L.M. Midgley (editor), *VCH Staffordshire*, **5**, 1959, 134 with print of c.1800 opp. 105; H. Thorold, *Staffordshire*, London: Faber and Faber, 1978, photograph on 136 is a modern view: the chapel is to the left of the gatehouse.

54 For tomb placement in 1735 see Drake, 1736/1978, pl. opp.519 (plan of York Minster). An inaccurate drawing of the tomb is given *ibid.*, 447.

55 N. Pevsner, *BE: Yorkshire: The East Riding and York*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972, 108; N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *BE: Yorkshire: The East Riding and York*, 1995, 147.

56 The head is illustrated B. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages' in G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster*. Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1977, pl. 10.

57 Pevsner, 1968, 11. The original position of Alice Rotherham's tomb is well attested. *VCH Bedfordshire*, **2**, 1908, 372 notes "until modern times this tomb stood in the middle of the Wenlock chapel". The church plan, *ibid.*, 367, shows it under the tomb screen erected by Wenlock. The present writer has examined the tombs of Thomas Rotherham in York and Alice Rotherham in Luton on successive days and was then (in 1972) struck by their close similarity.

58 R. Horrox and P.W. Hammond (eds.), *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, London: Richard III Society, **3**, 1982, f.276b-f.277. The Archbishop of York heads the list of the ecclesiastics amerced.

59 The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* London: Records Commission, 1810, gives gross figures for episcopal incomes in 1535.

60 Horrox and Hammond (eds.), 1982, ff.324-327b, on pages 217-225 (in the original Latin) and 225-232 (in an English translation).

61 Thurley, 1999, 10.

62 Revised paper completed 31 January 2010. The paper extends a presentation made at the 43rd International Medieval Congress at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2008. At some point in the future, the author hopes to present a fuller account, with plans of all the buildings, in brick, stone or timber-framed, with which Thomas Rotherham can be shown to have been associated.

St Thomas Becket Church, Fairfield, Kent

Dick Bolton, David Cufley, Tim Tatton-Brown, David Winter

INTRODUCTION

In *Brick Society Information*, **111**, November 2009, David Kennett asked if any member could shed light on the isolated brick church dedicated to St Thomas Becket which had been illustrated on the cover of the issue of *Country Life* for 6 July 2006. John Newman's description in *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald* which noted the church under the parish of Fairfield was repeated:

> The diminutive, dumpy church set down pat on the marshes is a sweet sight. Red and blue brick walls, steep red-tiled roofs beautifully lichens. Low chancel, short nave with shingled west bellcote. Square casement windows. Inside the massive crown-post roofs are overwhelming, the chancel tie beams only 7 ft from the ground. The church was entirely timber-framed, later cased in brick. It is not easy to feel confident of the date of the building. The proportions are Norman rather than anything else, the structure typically late medieval. A timber church existed in 1294, when it was reported to be in poor condition. In 1913, W.D. Caröe completely reconstructed the church and renewed most of the timbers.

Newman goes on to comment on the pulpit and box pews as eighteenth-century and the font as possibly late medieval or of the 1660s.

In response to that query, replies were received from four members, either living in Kent or with strong Kent connection: Dick Bolton of Wickhambreaux, David Cufley of Hextable,

Derek Winter of Appledore which is the adjacent parish, and Tim Tatton-Brown, who was formerly with the Canterbury Archaeological Trust. I thank them for their responses and interest.

Some of the information provided is duplicatory; thus the note which follows combines information from each of the four correspondents.

ST THOMAS BECKET CHURCH, FAIRFIELD, KENT

The church is now in the care of the Romney Marsh Historic Churches Trust and is administered within the benefice of St Peter and St Paul, Appledore. The correct dedication is to St Thomas Becket; the 'a' is a Victorian embellishment without historical foundation.

The original church was timber-framed with lath and plaster walls. By 1294, this was in poor condition and which may indicate a possible construction date a century or so earlier. David Cufley comments that James Anthony Syms in *Kent Country Churches Continued An Undiminished Infatuation*, 1987, states

> There was a church on the site from 1200s but of timber frame and plaster. The church was liable to flooding and the timbers rotted. The church was repaired many times as Halsted remarked in the 1700s.

Joan Campbell, via Derek Winter, reports that the lath and plaster was replaced by bricks in the eighteenth century. This accords with notes made by Dick Bolton who notes that there are eighteenth-century bricks in the south wall and the chancel; bricks of the late eighteenth century, possibly of about 1750, in the porch, and bricks of *circa* 1800 in the north and west walls.

All correspondents point to a thorough reconstruction under the supervision of the specialist church architect, W.D. Caröe (1857-1938), in 1912-13 reusing bricks from the existing structure and retaining the timber-frame. There are thin tiles to corbels, and these may replace eighteenth-century brickwork. The windows and frames are from the time of Caröe's reconstruction of the church.

The drawings and documents from the 1912-13 reconstruction are thought to be in the archive of Caröe & Partners, 18 Deane House Studios, 27 Greenwood Place, London NW5 1LB. A measured survey of the church, mainly of the timbers at wallplate level was made some years ago by Tim Tatton-Brown and is on file at Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 92a Broad Street, Canterbury CT1 2LU; the Kent church surveys done by Tim Tatton-Brown are also on line, via Kent Archaeological Society or the Kent County Council Sites and Monuments records. A further online listing is at www.imagesofengland.org.uk., site number 406940; it was listed in 1959.

Place bricks – their making, properties and use

Lawrance Hurst

Most terrace houses in London dating from before the late nineteenth century incorporate two types of bricks – facing bricks and place bricks. The facing bricks, used for the external faces of the front and rear walls, the exposed flank walls and the party walls projecting above the roof, at least from the late seventeenth century, were usually the familiar yellow London stocks, which were known as ordinary grey stocks, sometimes combined with red and/or finer bricks for the arches and jambs of openings. Much has been written about the facing bricks and other visible ornamentation, but this note is about the inferior less costly bricks generally used for backing external walls and for all internal & party walls, known as place bricks, and amounting to about 80% of the total number of bricks in a typical terrace house. To summarise - stocks were used for all the brickwork exposed to view in the finished construction; the remainder were all place bricks.

They are said to be called 'place bricks' because they were originally not made on a stock or pallet, but were turned straight out of the mould on to the ground where they were left to dry before being built in to a clamp for firing. Later they were made in the same manner as stock bricks, but of inferior ingredients. Several contemporary sources state that place bricks were those on the outside of the clamp and therefore under fired, but this cannot be true because it implies that they were made of the same materials and were almost a by-product of stock bricks, and would not meet the demand for the much greater quantity of place bricks that were required. Under firing actually results in orange (or salmon) coloured bricks which were known as samel bricks, which were as weak as place bricks but not made with inferior materials.

At times when development in London was proceeding apace, place bricks were required in much greater quantity than any other type of bricks and must have been purpose made, perhaps by brick makers who specialised in their manufacture, but I have not discovered contemporary references to this branch of the trade.

Nathaniel Lloyd quotes the Ordinances of Corporations Act of 1504 (19 Henry VII. c.7), which sheds light on their manufacture:

> Notwithstanding Acts of Parliament, Orders and Ordinances, persons within fifteen miles of the City of London dig clay at unseasonable times of year, make bricks of bad stuff and unsizable dimensions, and do not thereof mix great quantities of soil called Spanish and in burning thereof use small ashes and cynders, commonly called breeze, instead of coals and burn the bricks, commonly called Grey Stock Bricks in Clamps, and the bricks commonly called Place Bricks in the same Clamps, on the outside of the said Grey Stock Bricks, by means whereof great part of the bricks now usually made are so hollow and unsound that they will scarce bear their own weight. And whereas there is at present no provision made by any law for the dimensions of bricks, etc .... and all bricks shall be burnt in kilns or in distinct clamps, the Place Bricks by themselves and the Stock Bricks by themselves.

and then enacted:

> All earth . . . shall be dug and turned between the first of November and the first of February; no part made into bricks until after the first of March and no bricks made for sale between the first of March and the twenty-ninth of September. No Spanish shall be mixed with brick earth, nor any breeze used in the burning and all bricks shall be burnt in kilns or in distinct clamps, the Place Bricks by themselves and the Stock Bricks by themselves.[1]

and this was reiterated in the Brickmaking Act 1725 (12 Geo. I. c. 35) but, later, in the Brickmaking Act 1729 (3 Geo. II. c. 22) it was evidently found to be unworkable or unenforceable, so it allowed: "Stock-Bricks and Place-bricks may be burnt in one and the same Clamp".

Neve, writing in 1703, says of stock bricks: "These differ not from Place bricks in form, their difference lying concealed in the Quality of the Earth; they are made upon a Stock..." [2] and later, "Now Workmen tell me they are forced to have above one method in making bricks not for fancy sake but out of pure Necessity."

Batty Langley, in 1749, writes:

> The Kinds of Bricks used in and about London are the following, viz. Place Bricks Grey and Red Stock Bricks, and Paving Bricks. Place Bricks are the most ordinary Sort that are made, and are therefore used in Foundations, Party Walls, Insides of Fronts, &c. of which there are two Kinds, viz. The common ordinary Sort, and another Sort, which is made with something more Neatness, after the Manner of a Grey Stock Brick, which are sold at a Shilling per Thousand more than the common Sort, and are called Place Bricks, made Grey Stock Fashion.
>
> These Sort of Bricks, when thoroughly burnt, for the Uses aforesaid, are as good as Grey Stocks, and cheaper; but if they are not so, but are what is called Samel, they will crush in lofty Buildings, and cause Settlements, which in some Buildings have been their Ruin; and therefore, in Contracts for Place Bricks, it should always be stipulated, that all Samel Bricks be excluded [3]

The differences in manufacture between place bricks and grey stocks are described in the entry for bricks in Owens's Dictionary, published 1763:

> Making of BRICK. With regard to the manner of making bricks, we have place-bricks, generally made on the eastern part of Sussex; so called because of a level smooth place just by where they struck or moulded. In this place, the bearer-off lays the bricks firmly down in ricks or rows, as soon as moulded, where they are left till they are stiff enough to be turned on their edges, and drest, i.e. till their inequalities are cut off; when they are dry, they carry them to stacks, or places where they row them up, like a wall of two bricks thick, with some small intervals betwixt them, to admit the wind and air to dry them. When the stack is filled they are covered with straw on the top, till they be dry enough to be carried to the kiln to be burnt.
>
> Stock-bricks are of the same form with place-bricks, though different in the quality of their earth, and manner of making. They are made on a stock, that is, the mould is put on a stock, after the manner of moulding or linking of tiles; and when one brick is moulded, they lay it on a piece of board, a little longer than the brick, and on that brick they lay another like piece of board, and on this, another brick, till after this manner they have laid three bricks on one another; and so they continue to strike and place them on the stage, as they do tiles, till the stage is full, then they take each three successively, and carry them to the stacks, and turn them down on the edges, so that there will be the thickness of a thin piece of board betwixt each brick. When the stack is filled with one height of bricks, from one end to the other, they begin to set them upon those first laid on the stack; by that time they will be a little dried, and will bear the others; for they are moulded of a very stiff earth. When they come to set a second, third, &c. height or course, they cater them a little, as they call it, to prevent their reeling. When the stack is as high as they think fit, they cover them with straw, as they do place-bricks, till they be dry enough to burn. This way is more troublesome than that of making place-bricks; but they are forced to have recourse to it in many places, where, if they laid their bricks abroad in a place to dry, as they do place-bricks, the nature of the earth is such, that they would burst to pieces. [4]

and Isaac Ware, writing in 1756 writes:

> Grey Stocks are made of purer earth and better wrought, and they are used in front in building, being the strongest and handsomest of this kind; the place bricks are made of the Clay, with a

> mixture of dirt and other coarse materials and are more carelessly put of hand, they are therefore weaker and more brittle, and are used out of sight and where less stress is laid upon them.[5]

A letter quoted by Nathaniel Lloyd dated 1683 says

> We make two sorts of brick, viz., Stock bricks and Place bricks. The Stock bricks are made solid, strong and so hard, that we have laid them under a Loaden Cart wheel, and yet they will not break.[6]

But place bricks were not all of poor quality, as is evidenced from the craftsmen's accounts for the building of Christ Church, Spitalfields in which the contract in July 1714:

> provided for their 'useing in the said Works good and sound bricks hard and well burnt, picking out such as are semel or soft burnt Bricks, and such as are shatterd or shaken in the making or burning, which are to be laid aside and Carried out of the Works, To the End that none but hard and sound place Bricks be used in the building (except where direction shall be given to use the Grey Stock Bricks amongst them) all which sorts are to be of the best and soundest Materials.[7]

and James Campbell confirms that place bricks were used in conjunction with stocks by Christopher Wren in the construction of the vaults over the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral in 1676-1679.[8]

These confirm that place bricks were a product in their own right at that date, and indeed also in the nineteenth century, when the Globe Pit Brickfield in Thurrock "produced stock bricks including shipping stocks, grey stocks and common stocks. Paviors and place bricks were also produced"[9] but by the end of Queen Victoria's reign, they had become a by-product of the various grades of clamp-burnt bricks, as is shown by the references to them in *Rivington's Building Construction* (1904):

> Classification of clamp-burnt bricks. -The subjoined list of the names for clamp-burnt bricks, adopted in a Kentish brickfield supplying the London market, may be taken as a specimen.
> The bricks are divided generally into three classes - Malms, Washed, and Common, according to the manner in which the earth for them is prepared. For the third or Common class the earth is not washed at all. All three classes are moulded and burned in exactly the same manner, and are then further sorted into a number of varieties according to the manner in which they have been affected by the fire-
>
> The classes are subdivided as follows, with their price per thousand at brickfield:-

Malms:	Cutters	140/-
	Best Seconds	70/-
	Mean do.	80/-
	Brown Facing Paviors	55/-
	Hard Paviors	50/-
	Shippers	32/6
	Bright Stocks	37/6
	Grizzles?	19/-
	Place	16/-
Washed	Shippers	28/6
	Stocks	20/-
	Hard Stocks	20/-
	Grizzles	17/-
	Place	13/-

Common	Shippers	28/-
	Stocks	24/-
	Grizzles	16/-
	Rough Stocks	16/-
	Place	12 /-

> The prices above mentioned serve only to show the relative value of the different classes of bricks. The actual market rates vary of course from time to time, and depend upon seasons, etc.
> Seconds are similar to cutters, but with some slight unevenness of colour.
> Bright fronts are the corresponding quality from "washed" earth.
> Facing Paviors are hard-burnt malm bricks of good shape and colour used for facing superior walls.
> Hard Paviors are rather more burned, and slightly blemished in colour. They are used for superior paving, coping, etc.
> Shippers are sound, hard-burned bricks, not quite perfect in form. They are chiefly exported, ships taking them as ballast.
> Stocks are hard-burned bricks, fairly sound, but more blemished than shippers. They are used for the principal mass of ordinary good work.
> Hard Stocks are overburnt bricks, sound, but considerably blemished both in form and colour. They are used for ordinary pavings, for footings, and in the body of thick walls.
> Grizzle and Place bricks are underburnt. They are very weak, and two out of five "common" or unwashed place bricks are allowed to be bats, the stones left in the unwashed earth making them very liable to breakage.
> These two last-mentioned descriptions are only used for inferior or temporary work, and are commonly covered with cement rendering to protect them from the weather when intended to be permanent.[10]

In the discussion to a paper delivered to the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1860 it was reported:

> Mr Dines, Visitor, said the experiments he had made with bricks had been principally with reference to the crushing force. He believed that, when walls gave way, it was more often owing to the mortar than to the bricks. The crushing weight varied exceedingly: good stocks would bear thirty tons, but some bricks would not crush with a pressure of eighty tons. The common place bricks of London would bear five tons ..... [11]

This confirms what most people working on old buildings in London discover, that many of the place bricks they encounter are the soft friable red bricks of which most party walls, internal walls and the backing to external walls faced in yellow or red stocks are built, and they are usually laid in a weak non-hydraulic lime mortar. Place bricks usually disintegrate into small pieces when dropped, or, if they fall whole, they will crush to dust when trodden on. Mr Dines is reporting that these bricks crush under a stress of less than 2 N/mm^2, so the usual allowable basic stress of 0.42 N/mm^2 for walls built of unknown bricks laid in a weak lime mortar is certainly not too pessimistic. (This is the metric equivalent of the allowable basic compressive stress of 4 tons/ sq ft given in the LCC By-Laws 1938) [12]

People working on old buildings in London will also have discovered that the half brick facing skin of ordinary grey stocks tends to part from the place brick body of the wall. This discontinuity in the wall is due to several causes. First the use of bats for most of the headers in the facing skin, to save the more costly stocks and to make use of the bricks broken in transit, secondly the difference in bed joint width, finer in the facing skin, meaning that the courses only occasionally coincide, and lastly the different type of mortar in the two parts of the walling.

TABLE 1

PRICES OF PLACE BRICKS (AND GRIZELLES FROM 1895), OF ORDINARY GREY STOCKS AND OF WALLS

Date	Author		Place bricks & grizzles	Ordinary grey stocks	s/p s/g	All place bricks (ap)	Half & half (hh)	hh/ap	All stocks (as)	as/ap
			s/1000	s/1000		£.s.d/rod	£.s.d/rod		£.s.d/rod	
1749	Batty Langley		14	18	1.29	4.13.6	5.12.0	1.28		
1755	Salmon		14	20	1.43	5.5.0				
1804	Crosby's	1760-1790	17	22	1.29	7.5.6	8.13.6	1.19		
		1790-1803	30	39	1.30	10.16.0	12.16.6	1.19		
1826	Kelly's?		32	42	1.31	13.8.9	14.15.9	1.10	16.2.9	1.20
1838	Skyring's		32	40	1.25	16.4.0	17.0.0	1.05	17.16.0	1.10
1839	Laxton's		33	42/6	1.29	11.0.0	12.2.6	1.10	13.9.0	1.11
1851	Kelly's		28	35	1.25	10.14.9	11.18.7	1.11	12.16.3	1.19
1857	Weale?		30	38	1.27	11.16.0	12.16.0	1.08	13.10.0	1.14
1862	Atchley's		32	40	1.25	12.10.0	13.5.0	1.06	14.0.0	1.12
1863	Laxton's		36	40	1.11	12.12.0	13.11.0	1.08	14.5.0	1.13
1870	Skyring's		30	40	1.33	13.13.0	14.10.0	1.06	15.13.0	1.15
1878	Laxton's		43	52	1.21	15.0.0	15.15.0	1.05	16.13.0	1.11
1895	Laxton's		32 g 34	40	1.25 1.18	13.15.0	14.5.0	1.04	14.17.6	1.08
1901	Laxton's		44 g 45	50	1.14 1.11	15.19.0	16.10.0	1.03	17.2.6	1.07
1907	Laxton's		32/6 g 35	40	1.23 1.14	15.13.0	16.4.3	1.04	16.17.0	1.08
1915	Laxton's		33/6 g 43	49	1.46 1.14	16.11.6	17.10.0	1.06	17.17.6	1.07
1930	Laxtons	Flettons	64	105/6	1.65					
1936	Laxton's	Flettons	62/6	87/6	1.40					
1950	Laxton's	Flettons	97/9	247/3	2.53					

Notes to table

After 1895 Laxton only gives costs of walling for grizzles, rather than place bricks, and in this connection Mitchell (1903) differentiates between them:

Grizzle — Underburnt, but sound and of good form; used for inferior or temporary work, and where not subjected to heavy loads.

Place — Underburnt, weak; containing stones, causing them to be very liable to breakage; for inferior or temporary work. Sometimes place bricks are used in the panels of brick-nogged partitions for the purpose of retarding sound.[15]

This implies that grizzles are what were formerly known as samel bricks, and that place bricks were by that time no longer used in walling, and perhaps were hardly made any longer, but were surprisingly referred to on 25 November 1952 by the Minister of Works, who said, in an answer to an MP's question: "Place bricks may be roughs or commons." [16] but what was meant by any of the terms is not explained.

By 1930, Flettons were, in relation to stocks, cheaper than place bricks had ever been.

By 1950 cheaper facing bricks, such as sand faced Flettons, had become available and stocks as facings were at the top end of the market.

* * * * * * * *

According to Batty Langley (1749): the inside mortar "is generally made with pit sand, which requires more or less lime, as it abounds more or less with loamy particles", whereas outside mortar "should be made with the sharpest Grit-sand that can be had, as being best able to withstand the Insults of Rains &c. which Loamy Sands, cannot so well do – and which therefore should not be used in any Part of a Building, that is exposed to the weather." [13]

It is sometimes surprising where place bricks are to be found. When the stucco was removed from one of the external walls at St John's Lodge, one of the large mansions in the middle of Regent's Park, dating from the first half of the 19th century, it revealed place bricks laid in lime mortar, except for the arch over an opening, and the opening reveals, which were both of London stocks laid in Roman cement mortar.[14] The bricklayer had clearly realised that if he tried to cut place bricks to build the jambs and arch, they would shatter at a blow from his trowel, so he used stocks. This goes to show that place bricks can be found anywhere they will be concealed behind stucco or plaster or panelling, even in what would be expected to be the highest class of house construction.

Place bricks were significantly cheaper than stocks, as is shown by the following table.

The ratio of costs, falling from stocks costing a third more down to not much over a tenth more, is not in my experience an indication of an improvement in the quality of place bricks or a reduction in the quality of stocks, but suggests an increasing cost of labour in relation to the cost of materials.

The ratio of the costs of walling shows why the inferior weaker place bricks were used for all the concealed walling.

Prices stated for ordinary grey stocks are for the cheapest stocks; best facing stocks & malms were of course more expensive. Hence the walling cost ratios will increase when better facings are chosen.

It will be interesting to learn if any members of the Society can shed further light on these theories about the making, use and costs of place bricks, or on the makers who specialised in place bricks or on the author or on the author of the quotation from the Owens's Dictionary.

REFERENCES

1 Nathaniel Lloyd, *A history of English Brickwork* , London H Greville Montgomery, 1934, reprinted for the Antique Collectors' Club 1983, pp 33-35

2 Richard Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser*, 1726, p 42, quoted Lloyd, 1934, p 21

3 Batty Langley, *The London Prices of Bricklayers' Materials & Works*, 1749, pp 1-2

4 *A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, By a Society of Gentlemen, The second edition, printed for W Owen, London, 1763, pp 377-8

5 Isaac Ware, *The Complete Body of Architecture*, 1756, p 59, quoted Lloyd, 1934, p 23

6 Lloyd, 1934 , p 19

7 Records of the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches Contracts I, pp 12,17, reproduced in Appendix Craftsmen's accounts for the building of Christ Church', *Survey of London volume 27: Spitalfields and Mile End New Town* (1957), pp 289-296

8 J W P Campbell, *Building St Paul's*, London Thames and Hudson, 2007, p 106

9 Scheduled Monument Record no 15462 – Essex County Council

10 *Rivington's Building Construction, vol 3*, 6th edn, 1904, pp 105 and 106, reprinted in facsimile by Donhead

11 *Transactions Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1860-61, p 135

12 London Building (Constructional) By-laws 1938

13 Batty Langley, 1749, pp 33 and 37

14 Personal observation when St John's Lodge was in course of conservation and extension c 1990

15 C F Mitchell, *Building Construction*, vol 2, 4th edn, 1903, p 84

16 *Hansard* 25 November 1952 vol 508 cc36-7W 37W

Price books

In addition to the ten annual volumes of *Laxton's Builders' Prices* listed in the table, the following have been consulted

Batty Langley *The London Prices of Bricklayers' Materials & Works* (1749)

William Salmon, *The London & Country Builder's Vade Mecum* (1755)

Crosby's Builders' New Price Book for 1804

The Practical Builder's Perpetual Price-Book (c 1826) *published by* Thomas Kelly

Skyring's Builders' Prices (1838 and 1870)

Kelly's Practical Builder's Price Book (1851)

The Builder's and Contractor's Price Book published by John Weale (1857)

Atchley's Builders' Price Book for 1862

Brick Queries

From time to time, the British Brick Society receives enquiries about bricks, brickmaking, other ceramic building materials, and brick buildings. These are printed when space is available in *British Brick Society Information*. Responses are also included when these are forthcoming.

The queries included here relate mainly to the use of brick in churches rather than to a wider conspectus of brickmaking, bricks and brickwork.

DHK

LUTYENS AND LONG BRICKS

Christopher Hussey in his *Life of Lutyens*, London: Country Life, 1950, page 492 and following, notes that Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) wrote to his resident architect in New Delhi:

> I have used 3 ft bricks in England. They cost about £5 each, the difficultly being drying them and lifting them prior to burning.

I have tried to trace these and failed. Can any member shed light on their place of manufacture or know of any building by Lutyens where they were used.

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BRICK IDENTIFICATION

Brickmarks — lettering or symbols moulded in the frogs or plain bed face of a brick — are a regular subject for enquiries to the British Brick Society as to who made the brick, where and when. Some are familiar, others need a search, but some remain a mystery. Recently, questions have been asked five unusual marks from brick for which no obvious source is known.

1. Wisbo

The lettering is impressed in red/brown multis used for York House Officers Mess at RAF Duxford, Cambridgeshire, a building constructed in the 1930s.

2. BLUBLUF *The letters are in a shallow rectangular frog*

Karl Gurcke in Alaska is researching the firebricks imported into North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many are from Great Britain, but this one, found in Portland, Oregon, associated with an 1882 house, has yet to be identified.

3. C & M

Lettering on what looks like a firebrick thought to have been made in Tyneside.

4. Borholm 903

Bricks with this mark have been found with others, made by two Scottish firebrick manufacturers, blocking the entrance to an underwater cave in the Philippines. There is a Baltic

island which is Danish territory and Danish resort town with the same name and associated number. Were the bricks made there? And how did they get to the Philippines?

5. A. Hamilton Patent *Letters in a shallow frog. Note the reversed Ns.*

The suggestion is that these bricks, from a building on the Isle of Harris, built 1861/62 were made by the Garrabost (Stornoway) brickworks, which existed in 1851 and from then possibly until the late 1880s.

Some Stornoway bricks are marked Lews Brick, but many are unmarked.

Can any member confirm that these are Stornoway bricks? If so why would they be marked A. Hamilton Patent rather than Lews Brick?

Who was A. Hamilton, and what was his patent for?

If any member can identify any of the makers with these marks or suggest an answer to the subsidiary questions, please contact me.

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A TILE WITH A DRAWING OF A SHIP

Some years ago we collected some roof tiles off an old farm building near Stafford to use on a new barn. When we were sorting and cleaning the tiles we found that one of them had a picture of an old two-masted warship inscribed on it. We do not know how old the barn was and the tiles may have been on another building before that one as there was a mixture of tiles on the barn from which we obtained the tiles. We thought that some had been recycled.

We recently took the tile to the Hanley Museum and Art Gallery in Stoke-on-Trent who suggested that we contacted Alan Swale of the Tiles and Architectural Ceramics Society, who via Chris Blanchett suggested that we contact the British Brick Society.

We would like to imagine that it was drawn by the tilemaker during his lunch break to show a less well-travelled fellow tile maker what a ship looked like and that maybe he had been a sailor on a warship.

Chris Blanchett kindly informed us that he had come across similar tiles on rare occasions and suggested that it may have been made during or after the Napoleonic Wars (fought 1802-1815), possibly by a former sailor or even a prisoner of war.

The tile is displayed on our wall. We would be interested to receive any information that British Brick Society members could supply.

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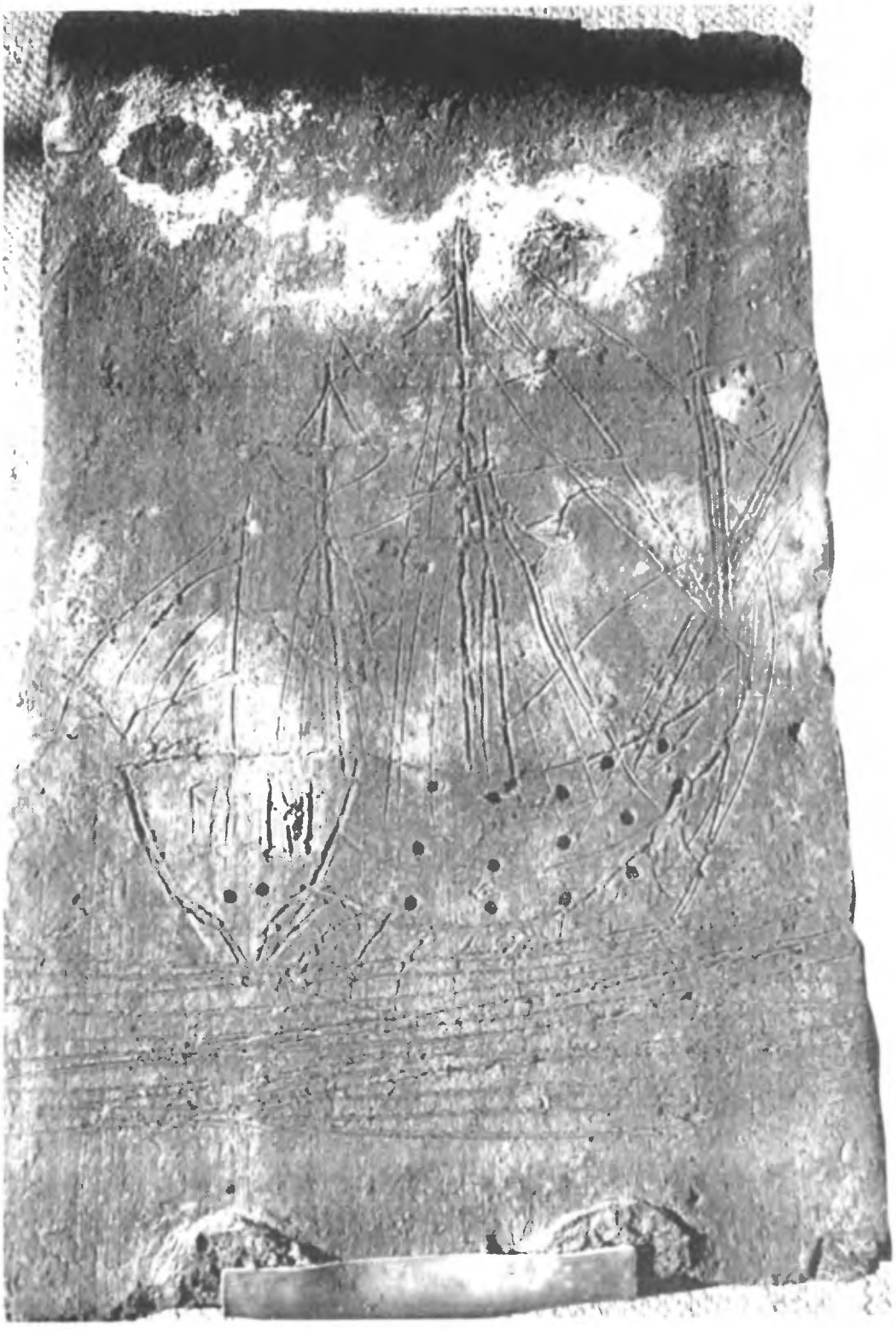

Fig. 1 The tile with a drawing of a ship from a barn in Staffordshire

BRICK IN PRINT

Between June and November 2009, the Editor of the British Brick Society received notice of a number of publications of interest to members of the society. This is a now regular feature of *BBS Information*, with surveys usually two or three times a year. Members who are involved in publication and members who come across books and articles of interest are invited to submit notice of them to the editor of *BBS Information*. Web sites are also included. Unsigned contributions in this section are by the editor.

DAVID H. KENNETT

1. Kaye Alexander, 'Royal Shakespeare Theatre Bennetts Associates is remodelling the RSC's home in Stratford-upon-Avon',
The Architects Journal, 4 June 2009, pages 35-40.

This 'technical and practice' article records the stripping back of the exterior of the theatre to the original building envelope of 1928-32, designed by Elizabeth Whitworth Scott (1899-1963), which involves the removal of the later riverside restaurant beside the west bank of the river Avon. The total rebuilding of the theatre interior is also happening.

Scott's external envelope is kept: a statement of the importance of brickwork in the Expressionist tradition. The Art Deco foyer is kept: period features of the early 1930s retain their significance. The interior, which is not the original, is being recast, made slightly smaller and claimed to be more intimate, with a thrust stage, not a proscenium arch.

What is new is the tower, which took shape in 2009 beside the theatre. It is a renewal of the most prominent feature of the Dodgshun and Unsworth theatre of 1886 which after the fire in 1926 was not replaced. Tapering to a glass and steel viewing platform overlooking town and river, the tower has a York stone plinth but it is built of load-bearing brick. The architects, Bennetts Associates, choose a hand-made product from Coleford Brick. To create the three-inch batter, the brickwork contractor, Lesterose, has used a frame of piano wire fixed to the steel base of the viewing gallery and stretched taught to the ground which initially was clearly visible above the protective sheathing under which work was completed.

In the town where Shakespeare was born and, where as a member of the urban gentry owning its largest house, he died, Scott's theatre — despite the unpleasant remarks of Walter Gropius and Nikolaus Pevsner — stands as one of the truly great pieces of brick architecture of its decade: in the early morning, a joy to behold from the school bus at it crosses Clopton Bridge. We may hope that with refurbishment and cleaning, the theatre, enhanced by the new tower, may ceased to be the focus of so much of the residual, not always local, dislike.

2. Kathryn Bradley-Hole, 'A Landscape Reborn Rycote Park, Thame, Oxfordshire',
Country Life, 22 July 2009, pages 48-55

Rycote was a large brick house built by Lord Williams of Thame in the sixteenth century which perished in a fire in 1745, and from which most of the building materials were sold off in 1807. One corner-turret of brick with stone quoins remains outside the fine new brick house. The latter has good quality brickwork with much use of diaper.

The article is primarily about the restoration of the landscape, including the large Capability Brown lake and the gardens. There are four good photographs of the house, which can be seen from the road to the famous chapel.

3. Nicholas Cooper, 'A Jacobean Masterpiece for Free, Aston Hall, Birmingham', *Country Life*, 25 August 2009, pages 54-60

Birmingham in 1864 was the first city to acquire a country house and its park as a civic amenity. Since 1848, the enterprise had been run as a museum and park by a committee of local men, mostly artisans. By the time Queen Victoria opened the museum in June 1858, the house was well over two hundred years old

Aston Hall was built for Sir Thomas Holte (1571-1654) using local brick with all-over diaper in darker brick and stone dressings. Plans were drawn up in 1618 by John Thorpe but these were modified in execution, certainly on the first floor, by local builders. It took until 1635 to be completed. A late Jacobean house but one with a difference, it is an early example of the double-pile house. On the ground floor of the south front is a loggia but a discontinuous one as the chapel intrudes to form a two-bay projection.

Misfortune struck the house almost as soon as it was completed: on Christmas Day 1643, parliamentary forces attacked and took first the church, where Sir Thomas and his successors are buried, and then the house, killing or wounding a score of the defenders before discovering "a store of rich pillage, goods, money and plate", leaving the house somewhat denuded of equipment, as Sir Thomas' 1654 inventory shows. The fabric was also damaged, particularly on the east front, where the oriel window of the high end of the hall and the original door at the screens passage were replaced by a flat five-bay façade with a central entrance. With mullions, the replacement was in keeping with the conservative style of the original work.

Other accounts of Aston Hall are given by G. Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses*, Chichester: Phillimore, 1994, pages 18-22, and N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, *The Buildings of England: Warwickshire*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966, pages 149-153. There is a brief introduction to John Thorpe's work, including a small photograph of the exterior of Aston Hall, *Country Life*, 16 September 2009, 96-97 in the series on 'Great British Architects'.

Aston Hall is open Tuesdays to Sundays from 12.00 noon to 4.00 p.m. but is closed on match days at weekends (either Saturday or Sunday) when Aston Villa are playing at home: the hall is within 100 metres of the football ground. There is a local rail service every ten minutes from Birmingham New Street and buses from central Birmingham.

Country Life, 25 August 2009, pages 44 to 49, is an account of the gardens of High Hall, Badwell Ash, Suffolk, a fragment from a once much larger Elizabethan brick house, to which a wing was sympathetically added in the early twentieth century. Three of the photographs show views of the house.

4. J[ames] E[vans], 'Queen Anne's Summerhouse', *Discover Bedfordshire*, **23,** Winter 2009/10, pages 27-29.

Shuttleworth Park is a tourist attraction with various amenities at Old Warden, close to the A1 in Bedfordshire. The centre is the yellow-brick, Jacobean-style Shuttleworth House of 1872 by Henry Clutton (1819-93). But elsewhere in the park is Queen Anne's Summerhouse (fig. 2). Samuel Ongley (died 1726), the then owner of the estate was knighted by Queen Anne in 1712. 'His gift back to the realm — and the Queen herself —', the article notes, 'was to name [a new summerhouse] after her', although there is no evidence that she ever visited it.

This intriguing building is square in plan with a three-quarter round turret at each corner, giving access to a roof terrace; the absence of fenestration gives the turrets a severe appearance. But this essentially medieval form is belied by the lack of any defensive elements — even toy ones — and by the Classical treatment of the entrance, the round-headed windows, and the balustraded parapets. It is built of high quality rubbed bricks in Flemish Bond and with very fine joints. Dressings are of white stone and white-painted wood. At least one of the turrets is of

exposed brickwork internally, with a newel stair partly of brick (but with wooden treads) and partly of timber.

In 1927 the building was described as a 'shooting lodge', although it was noted that it 'does not appear to be used at all'. From the 1950s it was 'allowed to slip into a desperate and dilapidated state'. It has now been beautifully restored by the Landmark Trust at a cost of £920,000, aided by a Heritage Lottery Fund contribution of £350,000. It is now available for self-catering holidays for one or two persons: details are available on www.landmarktrust.org.uk, by e-mail at bookings@landmarktrust.org.uk or on 01628-825925.

The building, incidentally, is one of several omissions from Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968, although the main Shuttleworth House is briefly described at pages 131-2. More seriously, perhaps, G. Headley and W. Meulenkamp, *Follies, Grottoes and Garden Buildings*, London: Aurum Press, 1999, p.115 confuses the summerhouse with the main house. This short article provides a useful corrective to both. It appears in a 'freebie' magazine which will not be readily available to most BBS members; but it may be accessed free of charge at www.discoverbedfordshire.co.uk.

T.P. SMITH

5. Malcolm Hislop, *Medieval Masons*,
Oxford: Shire Archaeology, 2009,
64 pages, 46 illustrations
ISBN 978-0-78480-461-1, price £6-99

Concerned almost exclusively with stonemasons, this useful addition to the Shire Archaeology series first appeared in 2000 and was reprinted in 2009. Many of the tools used and the techniques employed in building stone walls were transfered by late medieval building craftsmen to brick buildings. After an Introduction, individual chapters cover Documentary Evidence; Design; Preparation [of the stone] including quarrying; Construction; Identifying the work of individual masons, including masons' marks. There is a useful glossary and a good index.

6. Dougie Killock and Christopher Phillpotts with Duncan Hawkins, 'In the Brickfields: Archaeological Investigations at Latham's Yard, Leeside Wharf, Clapton',
London Archaeologist, **14**, 4, Spring 2009, pages 101-104.

In 2006, Pre-Construct Archaeology conducted an archaeological evaluation of a former brickmaking site at Latham's Yard, Leeside, Clapton, London E5. Although no specific brickmaking structures were found, there was clear evidence of dumped waste material from such manufacture. After outlining the archaeological data, the article briefly considers nineteenth-century brickmaking methods before discussing the history of brickmaking in this part of London. This began in the eighteenth century and continued through the next. In 1865, land was leased to James and Alfred Stroud for ten years at a rent of £160 *per annum*, although the Strouds also had to pay a 'royalty' of 3*s.* 3*d.* on every thousand bricks produced. The bricks were to be no more than 9 × 4½ × 3 inches (230 × 115 × 75 mm). A stretch of canal connected the brickyard with the River Lee. By 1901 the yard had disappeared and the site was used for other industrial purposes. Though adding little that is not already known about nineteenth-century brickmaking in the London area, the article does provide some specific local details.

T.P. SMITH

Fig. 1 The summerhouse at Shuttleworth Park, Old Warden, Bedfordshire

7. Sebastian Payne, 'RHX: a Brick Precisely dated for £100?'
British Archaeology, September/October 2009, page 31.

A project led by Moira Wilson at Manchester University (and to which I once contributed in a very small way) aims to provide a method of accurately dating ceramic materials, including bricks and tiles. Provisional results have been published by M.A. Wilson, M.A. Carter, C. Hall *et al.*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Society A*, **465**, pp.2407-15. In the short article noted here, Sebastian Payne, chief scientist at English Heritage, outlines and reviews the dating method.

It is known as Rehydroxylation (RHX) dating. Basically, clay contains absorbed liquid water but also chemically bound water (CBW) and other minerals. The latter is driven off during firing, but is slowly replaced once the artefact has cooled, the rate of replacement apparently depending on time and ambient temperature. Crucially, it appears to be hardly affected by the amount of available water, so that it does not matter whether the artefact has been water-logged or has been in very dry conditions.

The method consists of heating the artefact to 105°C to drive off any absorbed liquid water and then heating further to *c.*500°C. The loss-weight between these two temperatures is the amount of CBW taken up since the last firing. 'Once it is cool again, the CBW uptake can be calculated by measuring the rate of mass gain over two to four days, after initial equilibration ...' The age of the artefact can be estimated by extrapolation, so long as the temperature during measurement equals the average temperature to which it was exposed during its lifetime.

As Sebastian Payne notes, this last point is the principal potential source of error. 'The thermal history of the roof tiles or bricks on the south side of a house is likely to be rather different from [that] on the north side.' (One might add the difference between, say, bricks used

in a chimney and those used in an icehouse.)

'If these apparent problems can be overcome, and if RHX dating produces reliable and reasonably precise dates at low price, as appears possible, it could be very useful' — *extremely* useful one might indeed say. It may encourage a more positive view of ceramic building materials amongst *some* field archaeologists. It will be interesting to see the future results of this continuing project.

T.P. SMITH

8. Simon Roffley, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife*,
192 pages, 29 colour plates, 89 black and white illustrations
Stroud, Tempus, 2008
ISBN 978-0-7524-4571-7, price £17-99 (paperback)

Simon Roffley's patch is Hampshire and the south-west counties of England rather than Essex, Hertfordshire, and Suffolk, counties where the *brick* chantry chapel is more commonly found. His only foray into Suffolk are Long Melford, represented by a plan of the east end (fig. 38), and the Spourne chapel at Lavenham (fig.34). As far as one is aware, Lavenham church has no brick in its structure, but the structure of Long Melford church is a mixture of brick and local stone, except for its separate lady chapel which is completely of stone. Roffley's black and white photographs of medieval brick structures include the east end and tower of Old Basing church, Hants. (fig.35), and the almshouses at Ewelme, Oxon. (fig. 28), visited by the society during its Annual General Meeting in 1984.

This book follows the author's earlier *The Medieval Chantry Chapel An Archaeology*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007) which considers the physical remains from Hampshire, Wiltshire and Somerset. In *Chantry Chapels*, the author provides a valuable background account that does need to be enlarged by local studies from other areas, and especially from those areas where *brick* chapels are more frequent.

9. Gavin Stamp, 'How we remember them',
Country Life, 11 November 2009, pages 54-56.

Appropriately this brief article was published on Armistice Day. All men who fell in the Great War would receive equal recognition; such was the high principle that guided the thinking of the Imperial War Graves Commission.

The Imperial War Graves Commission was fortunate in its choice of architects: Sir Edwin Lutyens, Sir Reginald Blomfield, Sir Herbert Baker and Charles Holden; and also in the man who headed it, Sir Fabian Ware. Baker's work is not illustrated but the cemetery at Corbie by Holden shows how Lutyens' Stone of Remembrance neatly complements Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice. Also, there were and are the memorials to those who have no known grave. At the Menin Gate at Ieper/Ypres by Blomfield, the last post is still sounded every evening.

Brick, which was rarely employed in Britain for war memorials, was used by Lutyens in the Memorial to the Missing of the Somme at Thiepval: a photograph contemporary with its completion is included in the article. Whether one's guide is Lawrence Binyon or Wilfred Owen, "the poetry is in the pity".

10 Gavin Stamp, 'Battersea Power Station',
C20 The Magazine of the Twentieth Century Society, Autumn 2009, pages 4-5 and cover.
Jon Wright, Casework Reports #2 Battersea Power Station - A Casework Perspective',
C20 The Magazine of the Twentieth Century Society, Autumn 2009, pages 7-8.

The former Battersea Power Station is one of the best-known of twentieth-century British brick buildings, and the only one (is it?) to be featured on a pop music album sleeve (Pink Floyd, *Animals*, 1977). In his article, Gavin Stamp outlines the development of the design, which was for the London Power Company (LPC). The specification, for a coal-fired electricity station, was drawn up by the LPC's engineer-in-chief, Dr Leonard Pearce, and a design was prepared by the Manchester engineering firm of C.S. Allot & Sons. It was to be built in two phases, Battersea A and Battersea B. The final design was made in 1931 and completed in 1934 and Battersea A was commissioned the following year; Battersea B was begun in 1944, but the fourth chimney was not added until 1955. J. Theo Halliday (1883-1933), of the Manchester architectural practice Halliday & Agate, proposed a steel-frame structure clad with brick. Theo Halliday was also responsible for the splendid Art Deco interior of Battersea A using terracotta from Shaws of Darwen; Battersea B is much plainer. The reaction of LPC to considerable opposition to a coal-fired power station so close to the metropolitan centre, Stamp asserts 'was to wheel in a knighted architect' (p.4) — Sir Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960). More plausibly, David Kennett informs me, Theo Halliday's untimely death in 1933 led his partner G. Gordon Agate (1868-1950), then nearing retirement and without relevant experience, to contact the Royal Institute of British Architects as he was reluctant to take on the project. It was then that Scott became involved.

At first, Scott rejected the columnar chimneys in favour of square chimney towers, but later — regrettably, some of us may feel — 'became happy with the column form and liked the ribs - like [classical] fluting - which was originally required by the ... system of construction, although the chimneys as constructed are reinforced concrete monoliths' (p.4). Scott's achievement was to provide a bold composition of juxtaposed blocks and planes using Blockley bricks from Gloucestershire laid in a straw-coloured mortar. The style, with minimal decoration, Stamp observes, 'might be described as Jazz Modern', and he notes that 'John Betjeman called it "restrained Jazz"' (p.5), which is, I suppose, true enough in a sort of Paul Whiteman, Bing Crosby sense of 'jazz'. Stamp outlines the efforts of the Twentieth Century Society to save the building, whose last turbine was shut down in 1983.

This issue is pursued in Jon Wright's (not always carefully expressed) article. There have been several attempts to find a new use for the building, but so far all have foundered. Wright traces the various schemes and notes the listing of the building as Grade II in 1980; it became Grade II* on 4 October 2007. He adds that 'three years later [*sic*; I write in September 2009, not quite *two* years later], very little work has taken place' (p.8). The future of the building remains uncertain, and the Twentieth Century Society 'continues ... to fight for a building that everybody loves ' (p.8) — a curiously reckless exaggeration. There are those who do *not* like it and many (let's face it) who are just indifferent to its fate. And, after all, if *everybody* loved it what need would there be to fight for it? Who would be the opponents? The Twentieth Century Society hardly advances its case (and does itself no credit) by such hyperbole — nor, as I believe, by its insistence (echoed by some other concerned organisations) that the chimneys must be kept at all costs: they are not especially attractive, they jar with the rest of the structure, they impart a restless quality, and Scott's composition would be no worse — and would, arguably, be *better* — without them. Conservation issues involve compromise; in the present case, such compromise might even result in an improved appearance. If the alternative is the demolition of the *whole* building — and that is not an impossibility — then the loss of the chimneys may, perhaps, be a price worth paying.

T.P. SMITH

11. Sophie Unger. 'Red or Yellow? The Changing Colour of Roman London's Roof-Line', *London Archaeologist*, **12,** 4, Spring 2009, pages 107-113.

'Roman London,' this article begins, 'changed considerably during the 3rd and 4th centuries' and it 'seems that *Londinium* evolved into a city filled with villas, gardens and temples rather than [as earlier, with buildings for] official business or trading activities' (p.107). The article examines this issue through the medium of ceramic building materials recovered from archaeological excavations. An important source for such materials was a manufacturing site at Harrold, Bedfordshire, during the second phase of activity there in the third and fourth centuries. Products comprised principally roofing tiles — *tegulae* and *imbrices* — but also box-flue tiles, used in hypocaust heating systems, and bricks. They are in a distinctive shelly fabric in pale yellow or orange-brown colour, contrasting with the predominantly red fabrics used earlier in London.

The article discusses the reasons for this change, which involved transport of materials to London across 84 km (52 miles). One suggestion — first made by my former colleague Ian Betts — is that the more local yards went out of business due to an economic downturn and that, later, builders had perforce to source materials from further afield. A second possibility, also suggested by Ian Betts, is that there may have been, in the relevant period, a move to a more centralised, less dispersed, manufacture consequent upon a procuratorial attempt to regulate the industry. A final possibility is that the advent of new materials may have been due to no more than a change in fashion on the part of well-to-do individuals, who were able to display their wealth by use of the distinctive lighter-coloured roof tiles.

The article also discusses the topic of transport. Possibly, due to the erection of a riverside wall, *c.*255, materials 'could not have been brought into London *via* the river ... and road would have been the only other option' (pp.112-113). The Harrold materials, 'with their ... high proportion of shell inclusions [were] particularly advantageous for distribution by road' due to their lighter weight (p.113; an endnote credits this observation to *me*, which was a surprise — but then as Shakespeare's Henry V remarks, 'Old men forget'!)

The decline in use of the Harrold materials (and not just in London) was perhaps a consequence of the rise of stone roofing as 'a fashionable competitor to ... ceramic roofing tile' (p.113). A further conjecture, originally put forward by Trevor Darvill and Alan McWhirr, is that the decline was due to a tax on ceramic materials, obviously affecting more than just the Harrold products. (But there is no *direct* evidence for such a tax, and it would be an odd fiscal policy to impose a duty so severe that it totally undermined the very industry on whose products it was levied!)

This article, which is a shortened version of an MA dissertation for UCL Institute of Archaeology (2007), is a valuable contribution to the study of ceramic building materials in late Roman London and south-east England more generally.

T.P. SMITH

Changes of Address

If you move house, please inform the society through its Membership Secretary, 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 address.

BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY
MEETINGS IN 2010

Saturday 12 June 2010
Annual General Meeting
Reading
To include a tour of brick buildings in the town in the afternoon.

Saturday 17 July 2010
Summer Meeting
Brickworks Visit:
W.H. Collier works at Marks Tey, Essex

A weekday in August 2010
Late Summer Meeting
We hope also to arrange a visit to either the Blist's Hill Brickworks in Ironbridge, Shropshire, or the brick-built lime kilns in the quarry at Llanymynech Rocks on the Anglo-Welsh border between Shropshire and Monntgomeryshire.

A Saturday in late September or early October 2010
London Autumn Meeting
Either Hampstead Garden Suburb or a walk downhill from Canonbury to Moorgate.

Projected future visits include:

1. Early brick houses in West Norfolk
   To include some of East Barsham Manor, Oxburgh Hall, Great Gressingham Priory and Methwold Vicarage (these are all on or near the A1065 road from Fakenham to Mildenhall)
2. The Tilbury Forts

Details of the Summer Meeting are included in this mailing.
Details of meetings in late Summer and Autumn will be included in the June 2010 mailing

The British Brick Society is always looking for new ideas for future meetings.
Suggestions of brickworks to visit are particularly welcome.
Offers to organise a meeting are equally welcome.
Suggestions please to Terence Paul Smith, Michael Oliver or David Kennett.

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