

ISSN 0960-7870

BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY

INFORMATION 130

MAY 2015

'BRICK IN CHURCHES' ISSUE



OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY

Chairman Tel: 0115-965-2489 <i>E-mail:</i> pinfold@freenetname.co.uk	Michael Chapman 8 Pinfold Close NOTTINGHAM NG14 6DP
Honorary Secretary Tel: 020-8954-4976 <i>E-mail:</i> micksheila67@hotmail.com	Michael S Oliver 19 Woodcroft Avenue STANMORE Middlesex HA7 3PT
Honorary Treasurer Tel: 01889-566107 <i>E-mail:</i> graeme@gjperry.co.uk	Graeme Perry 62 Carter Street UTTOXETER Staffordshire ST14 8EU
Enquiries Secretary and Liason Officer with the BAA Tel: 01494-520299 <i>E-mail:</i> bricksoc@mh1936.plus.com	Michael Hammett ARIBA 9 Bailey Close HIGH WYCOMBE Buckinghamshire HP13 6QA
Membership Secretary <i>(Receives all direct subscriptions, £12-00 per annum*)</i> Tel: 01243-607628	Dr Anthony A. Preston 11 Harcourt Way SELSEY, West Sussex PO20 0PF
Editor of BBS Information <i>(Receives all articles and items for BBS Information)</i> Tel: 01608-664039 <i>E-mail:</i> kennett1945@gmail.com <i>Please note new e-mail address.</i>	David H. Kennett BA, MSc 7 Watery Lane SHIPSTON-ON-STOUR Warwickshire CV36 4BE
Printing and Distribution Secretary Tel: 01903-717648 <i>E-mail:</i> buckland.books@tiscali.co.uk	Chris Blanchett Holly Tree House, 18 Woodlands Road LITTLEHAMPTON West Sussex BN17 5PP
Web Officer <i>E-mail:</i> webmaster@britishbricksoc.co.uk	Richard Harris Weald and Downland Museum Singleton CHICHESTER West Sussex
The society's Auditor is: Adrian Corder-Birch DL <i>E-mail:</i> clerk@siblehedinghampc.org.uk	Rustlings, Howe Drive HALSTEAD, Essex CO9 2QL

* *The annual subscription to the British Brick Society is £12-00 per annum.
Telephone numbers and e-mail addresses of members would be helpful for contact purposes, but these will not be included in the Membership List.*

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Cover Illustration

The former Unitarian, later Presbyterian, Chapel in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, built in 1704, is where the British Brick Society held its Annual General Meeting in 2014, is a very fine example of the bricklayer’s art. This year the society’s Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday 30 May 2015 at the Black Country Living History Museum whose buildings include a former nonconformist chapel.

Editorial: From Place of Worship to Residence

In mid-March 2015, as the final editing of this issue of *British Brick Society Information* was taking place, notice appeared in the 'Snooping Around' column of *Guardian Weekend* entitled 'Converted Churches' including two extremely interesting brick-built churches of widely differing dates and built for different denominations, one of which links with one of the churches considered an article in this issue of *BBS Information*; the other was once a village church of England's established church.

The article on 'Brick and its Uses in Churches: Soho, City of Westminster' includes comment on the French Protestant church built between 1891 and 1893 at the west end of the north side of Soho Square and said to be the favourite building of its architect, Sir Aston Webb (1849-1930). The first of the buildings discussed in this Editorial relates closely to Aston Webb's building. In both of the late Nicholas Antram's books — N. Antram and R. Morrice, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Brighton and Hove*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008, and N. Antram and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex East with Brighton and Hove*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013, the latter with an author's preface dated May 2012 — the French Protestant church, Queensbury Mews, Brighton, is still in use as a place of worship. In March 2015 the building was on the market as a two-bedroom residence, which from the on-line particulars, suggests that the conversion was not done in anticipation of this sale but that the building had been a dwelling for over a year: there are references in the particulars to an owner who had been living there for some time.

The French Protestant church in Brighton was designed in 1887 by Brighton architect, John George Gibbins (1843-1932), and built over the following eighteen months. When built it was a small building, in red brick with stone dressings. Of three bays, with the central one on the west side (ritually north) taller and rising to a gable. All three windows on this side are two-light but the centre one has an arch at its head and is divided by a transom. The two other windows are beneath straight hoods marked by a single row of a darker brick which goes all the way round the building. The entrance at the south end of the tall, steep gabled roof is marked by "a circular window with quatrefoil tracery". Above the roof is a lantern and there are consecration crosses as roof finials, presumably of terracotta on the gables at each end of the main roof and over the central gable on the west side. Internally the half-octagonal chancel was entered through a plain round arch; the pulpit remains set a single step above the nave.

In its present form, the building has a substantial basement, possibly made out of a former baptism tank and new internal arrangements include the insertion of a mezzanine at the building's south end, allowing for a study on the ground floor and a bedroom above. There has been a small extension on the end of the apse to provide space for a kitchen with a roof terrace above. The asking price for this bijou residence is a cool one million pounds!

The Soho Square and Brighton buildings were the only two "purpose-built French churches in England": the well-recorded 'French' Protestant congregation in Norwich used an existing building, the former church dedicated to St Mary-the-Less, Queen Street, Norwich, a medieval building which was already redundant at the time of the Reformation. Like London, Norwich had several churches which went out of use between the Black Death and the reign of Henry VIII. In 1544, the Diocese of Norwich leased the building to the city corporation, who in 1564 turned it into a cloth hall for Walloon weavers, French-speakers from the area which is now southern Belgium. Use of the building changed again in 1637 when the Walloon Protestants took it over as their church building and continued to worship there until 1832: a plaque proudly proclaims 'L'Eglise Wallonne de Norwich 1637-1832' and another plaque in English recording the same information has the word 'French' struck out and replaced by 'Walloon'. An important group of members of the congregation were the Martineau family of Norwich. The building was used for worship by the Swendborgians between 1832 and 1869 and by the Catholic Apostolic Church, or Irvingites, between 1869 and 1953; the requirements of each of these necessitated various internal alterations. In 1997 and 2005, various publications indicate that the building was in secular use as the Centre for Dutch and Flemish Studies, principally containing a series of exhibitions in cases with portraits of Dutch Protestants guarding the chancel. This centre appears not to have any connection with the University of East Anglia.

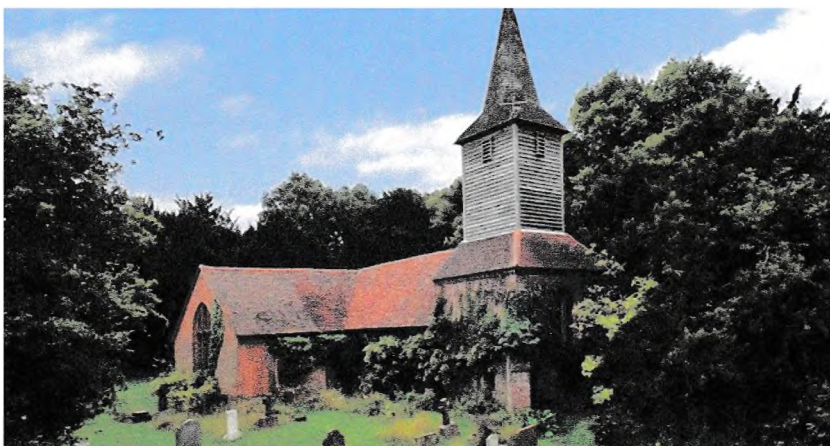


Fig.1 The former All Saints church, Langdon Hills, Basildon, Essex, now converted into a single-bedroom residence, from the west, showing the north transeptal chapel probably built in 1621 and rebuilt in 1834 and the west tower rebuilt in 1841-42.. The main body of the church was originally built in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The other brick-built church in the magazine column is a much less recent conversion from place of worship to residence. All Saints, Old Church Hill, Langdon Hills, Basildon, Essex, was closed in 1973 and in due course sold and converted into a house by Colin Dollimore of Trevor Dannant & Partners. On the eve of its closure, Jane Wight wrote that the church of St Mary the Virgin and All Saints, Basildon-cum-Laindon was not “in a good state, though flaking of plaster inside reveals brick detail (chancel and nave early C16 brick, including windows). E window of 3 lights with 6 panel tracery. Ogee-arched niches beside altar: hooded, as exterior of windows, with boss-like label stops”.

All Saints has a complex building history; the present brick building has the same footprint as an earlier one constructed in flint rubble, traces of which remain at the base of the early-sixteenth-century brick walls of the former nave and chancel. Also surviving from the earlier church is a thirteenth-century brass now represented only by its slab and an indent. The sixteenth-century building is in an orange-red brick and had brick windows and a crown-post roof above the nave. Two decades into the seventeenth century a large north transept or chapel was built; there is a painted date, 1621, in the spandrel of the two-bay arcade separating the transept from the main body of the church. Roger Talbot of Romford, Essex, was the architect for the rebuilding of the transept in 1834. He preserved the arcade and used brick, including for the north window. In 1841-42, a different architect from a different town in Essex, T.B. Crowest of Billericay, was engaged to rebuild the brick west tower with its timber-framed belfry and spire, both covered with clapboarding. The various internal features which survive are all seventeenth century in date: the painted date in the arcade spandrel, a royal arms of 1660 painted on plaster in the space above a tie beam crossing the chancel arch where once the rood had been, a pargetted inscription and painted decoration of 1666 above the wall plate on the north side of the former nave, and a communion rail of 1689, a piece which from its style could have been contemporary in its execution with the former transept.

This church conversion is somewhat cheaper than that in Brighton; the Basildon church has a guide price of £375,000; the house was under offer as the final editing of this journal was in progress.

Mention of Brighton allows one to draw attention to a significant twentieth-century Church of England building now converted into flats. Its architect, Harry Goodhart-Rendel (1887-1959) was perhaps the last ‘gentleman-architect’; a country squire by inheritance, a talented musician with a MusBac from the University of Cambridge, he was more than the gifted amateur: he had undergone professional training (with church-architecture-specialist Charles Nicholson) and was the president of the Royal Institute of British Architects from 1937 to 1939.



Fig.2 The former All Saints church, Langdon Hills, Basildon, Essex from the east.

Goodhart-Rendel's first church was St Wilfrid's, Elm Grove, Brighton, where it stands proud on the eastern hills at their northern end. Designed in 1932 and built over the next two years, St Wilfrid's closed for worship in 1980. Not quite a decade later, the building was adapted for domestic use, with twenty-four flats squeezed into this tall structure in 1989. Kenneth Claxton of Hunter & Partners was the architect responsible for the conversion.

Goodhart-Rendel's building consisted of a nave crowned by a mansard roof and a chancel which is exceedingly high and had the bells situated above it. The chancel had a saddleback roof, with gables to north and south, and very tall windows flooding the sanctuary with light. Internal buttresses to the nave are pierced at ground level to provide passage aisles and rise through the lower part of the mansard to meet the roof lines. Beside the north side of the nave was garden space, secluded from the street by a relatively low wall and the extended porch. Also on the north side were a transpetal chapel and vestries. Nicholas Antram has commented that although an early work, St Wilfrid's shows many indications of the fine detailed brickwork associated with Goodhart-Rendel's buildings.

In the conversion, Claxton retained the tower as an atrium and used the north passage aisle as a sheltered space having removed the windows. However, Goodhart-Rendel's interior no longer exists and the fittings, many designed by Goodhart-Rendel have been dispersed.

British Brick Society Information, **130**, April 2015, is the sixth issue of this periodical in the last twenty years to be devoted to aspects of the use of 'Brick in Churches'. Earlier issues on 'Brick in Churches' were *BBS Information*, **71**, June 1997; *BBS Information*, **77**, June 1999; *BBS Information*, **123**, February 2013; whilst *BBS Information*, **92**, September 2003, was also an issue devoted to 'Brick and its Uses in Churches' although it was not so named on the cover. *BBS Information*, **110**, July 2009, had 'Westminster Cathedral Issue' on the cover and the articles and reviews examined the Roman Catholic cathedral and other churches of all denominations.

It is extremely unlikely that *British Brick Society Information*, **130**, April 2015, be the last time when an issue considers 'Brick in Churches'. The availability of space has meant that articles on 'Browne Willis and the Use of Brick in the Churches of North-East Buckinghamshire' and on 'Brick and its Uses in Churches: The Archdeaconry of Cleveland, Yorkshire, 1660-1836' have been held over. Research is in progress on the use of brick in Methodist Chapels in South Warwickshire for a paper for a future issue of *British Brick Society Information* examining 'Brick in Churches'.



Fig.3 The former All Saints church, Langdon Hills, Basildon, Essex: the brick tracery of the sixteenth-century east window from the interior. Note the presence of niches for statues, a pre-Reformation building practice. Both this photograph and that reproduced as figure 2 show that the base of the window has been raised.

This issue of *British Brick Society Information* contains the work of only two contributors, Terence Paul Smith and David H. Kennett, and at present the only material received or notified as forthcoming for issues to be published in 2015 and 2016 is from these two authors. Next year, 2016, it will be half a century since both authors published their first papers, in *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal*, 3, 1966.

The Editor would like to see future issues of *British Brick Society Information* contain articles, notes, reviews and contributions to the 'Brick in Print' section which will have been written by a variety of authors other than Mr Smith and himself. In particular, it would be excellent if in one of the next three issues of *British Brick Society Information*, the only contributions by the editor are the Editorial and perhaps a single item in 'Brick in Print' or short book review.

There will be one more issue of *British Brick Society Information* in 2015, to be sent to members in late August or early September 2015. Contributions are invited and, preferably, should be available to the editor by 25 July 2015.

DAVID H. KENNETT

Editor, *British Brick Society Information*,
Easter 2015

Book Review: *Brick and the Preacher Men*

Deidre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*,

Leicester: University of Leicester: Leicester Archaeological Monograph, **23**, 2013,

xvi + 409 pages, 233 figures,

ISBN 978-0-9574792-0-3, price, paperback, £38-00

Between their foundation in the thirteenth century and their dissolution in the 1538, the buildings of the four main preaching orders of friars in England and Wales constituted an important element of the landscape of many towns. In some parts of eastern England, except for the churches, their buildings were often built of brick. However, as with the churches and other buildings of the various monastic orders unless an alternative use could be found, the friars' buildings were mostly swept away in the two decades following their surrender in 1538 and 1539. Coventry is unusual in having retained part at least of both the Carmelite and the Franciscan friaries (pp.118-125) but having lost the substantial church and the claustral buildings of its monastic cathedral: all these buildings, like the town walls which partly survive, were constructed in the local red sandstone.

In producing *In the Company of Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Deidre O'Sullivan has assembled a considerable amount of information relating to the buildings erected by the Augustinian, Carmelite, Dominican, and Franciscan friars¹ as well as those of the much shorter-lived Friars of the Sack and Pied Friars. However, because other orders of friars had no preaching function, she omits consideration of the buildings of the Crutched Friars and the Trinitarian Friars, whose buildings were many fewer. Her book is divided into five sections; 'Section 1: Towards an Archaeology of Medieval Friars' (pp.1-31) is a general introduction which includes a bar chart of foundation dates, divided by twenty year intervals (p.5). This demonstrates that foundations fall off to under ten in two decades after 1300. The sixty years between 1241 and 1280 were the main concentration of houses being established. Four maps show where new foundations were established before 1250 (p.6), between 1251 and 1300 (p.9), between 1301 and 1349 (p.10), and after 1350 but before 1500 (p.15); those in the last decade and a half of the fifteenth century being the six houses of the Observant Franciscans, an order favoured by Henry VII. The remaining four sections are inventories of each building arranged by location with friaries given in alphabetical order, divided Appleby to Coventry (pp.32-125), Dartmouth to Llanfaes (pp.126-213), London to Oxford (pp.214-283), and Plymouth to York (284-362). Each entry gives the town, the order, the county (both pre-1974 and modern), the site's grid reference, its foundation date, and founder followed by an account of the surviving and excavated remains; historical summary for the house; details of the dissolution and, where extant, the dissolution survey; together with a brief post-dissolution history, not usually going beyond the sixteenth century and finally a note on the house's seal which is illustrated. Where available, plans of the known buildings are provided. Many illustrations of buildings, including drawings of lost structures, are given: a useful example is the pre-1940 appearance of the cloister of the Franciscan house at Great Yarmouth shown beside a present day photograph (p.354) or the eighteenth-century appearance of the Augustinian house at Kingston-upon-Hull (p.192). Some of the surviving buildings are illustrated in colour, as at Clare, Suffolk, an Augustinian house (pp.114-116), or the scant remains surviving from the much larger buildings of the three friaries at King's Lynn (pp.184, 186 and 190).

At the end of each entry, O'Sullivan has brought together considerable bibliographies for each individual house, including unpublished documentary material, published accounts of the history, archaeology and architecture of every individual house, and unpublished surveys undertaken by archaeological units. This is a prodigious undertaking and there are very few omissions. Two missing publications stand out. In 2007, Caroline M. Barron and Matthew Davies re-edited the *Victoria County History* accounts of *The Medieval Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*,² reviewing the nine friaries of London and the single Middlesex house at Hounslow. Herein, the individual introductions to each house bring up to date our knowledge of their development. As a guide to *Medieval English Friaries*,³ Mike Salter's small book of 2010 provides a useful introduction to what survives and what

does not, although it is heavily reliant on the accounts in the 'Religious Houses' section of individual counties in the *Victoria County History*, many of which were written in the decade and a half before the Great War.

One small defect of O'Sullivan's work could be the lack of town plans. The writer has good knowledge of the location of the fragmentary remains of the three friaries within the walls of Great Yarmouth but then he did live in a nearby village for well over a decade. Helpfully, the maps in another recent publication by Mike Salter, *Medieval Walled Towns*⁴ can supply this lacuna.

Whilst on the subject of the friaries of Great Yarmouth, there is a major source which Deidre O'Sullivan has not used: the picture map now in the British Library,⁵ which was probably drawn up in the late 1580s.⁶ The immediate history of Great Yarmouth's three houses in the sixteenth century prior to their surrender is somewhat different. The Franciscan house fronting South Quay (pp.353-355) was intact at the surrender in early December 1538 and in the 1580s, its church, of white stone, presumably some form of limestone, is shown as roofed in a red material, presumably tile, and this building is relatively untouched although the claustral buildings are less easily discerned on the picture map. On the map the church of the Carmelite house (pp.351-352) in the northern part of the town is shown unroofed; the buildings of the house had suffered a major fire in 1509 but an unknown number of friars continued until December 1538 and it appears that limited rebuilding took place. In contrast, the Dominican house (pp.352-353) on a large site in the south part of the town adjacent to the town wall is nowhere to be seen on the map. Its church burnt down in 1525, and whilst friars remained it appears that no attempt at rebuilding was made. Indeed prior to the surrender of the house, the site was already being treated as a source of building materials and after 1539, the stones from the walls of the church used to repair the town walls.

Great Yarmouth, a relatively poor town in the late medieval period, was reliant on outside finance for the introduction of brick.⁷ Hence the scant remains from the Carmelite and Franciscan friaries have limited use of brick; part or all of the use of brick may be from the reuse of the sites after 1538. In Whitefriars Court, on the site of the Carmelite buildings, has a brick wall incorporating two archways on an east-west wall and one archway in a segment at an obtuse angle at its western end.⁸ Brick in the remains of the Franciscan house could be the south wall of an aisle to the church or part of a post-dissolution structure.⁹ There is also brick patching in the cloister walls but this is probably post-medieval. The brick footings observed from time to time on parts of the large Blackfriars site may have nothing to do with the friary, unlike the fragmentary remains in stone from the church discovered during the building of the fire station. The brick footings could be as late as the use of the site as a petrol station in the middle decades of the twentieth century.

Because most of the friaries built their church and their domestic buildings relatively early in the Middle Ages and rarely saw the need to totally update their accommodation, brick is not readily associated with the preacher men. The surviving portion of the Dominican house at Beverley, Yorks.E.R., (pp.38-50) was the final stop on the walk following the society's 2013 Annual General Meeting: it and the post-medieval buildings built on to it are partly of brick. In nearby Kingston-upon-Hull, the Augustinian friary (pp.191-193) had a church whose enlarged quire was rebuilt of brick on stone footings and further extended eastwards in brick. Domestic and claustral buildings were initially timber-framed on brick footings and sills, with brick also used for the baking and brewing ovens. When the quire was extended an enlarged cloister was rebuilt in brick on stone foundations. The nave, the west tower and the west range were incorporated in post-medieval buildings used as an inn during the eighteenth century and demolished in 1796. An engraving of its south side made after demolition (reproduced p.192) appears to suggest that at the time of its pulling down, this building was brick but this is not specifically stated.

In Suffolk, the surviving range from the house of the Crutched Friars at Little Whelnetnam¹⁰ is early-sixteenth-century brick to the outside world but timber-framed to the inner court: as noted this is not an order considered by O'Sullivan. But at Clare, 14 miles south of Little Whelnetnam, the remains from the medieval Augustinian friary (pp.113-117) are built of flint with stone dressings, of timber-framing with infill of wattle-and-daub and covered with plaster, or of planks externally covered with plaster; brick is conspicuously absent.

Medieval towns often had enough churches: the Editorial in this issue of *British Brick Society Information* records one pre-Reformation example of deconsecration in Norwich and there are others both urban and rural. Few friary churches survive as a place of worship. An exception is that of the

Augustinians in London, the nave of which was granted to Dutch Protestant refugees in 1550 (pp.214-216).¹¹ The Dutch walled off the east end of the nave in brick and continued to worship there until the building was destroyed in October 1940; the congregation now worships in a new building erected between 1950 and 1957 on the site.

O'Sullivan's work and particularly its comprehensive references will be mined by scholars working on individual friaries for at least a generation. The depth of the material uncovered on each house is very much to be welcomed.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. These are more formally known as the Austin Friars, the Whitefriars, the Blackfriars, and the Greyfriars respectively.
2. C.M. Barron and M. Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, London: University of London, School of Advanced Study, Institute of Historical Research, 2007. For the nine in London see pp.116-148 and that at Hounslow, pp.291-3. For London friaries see also B. Watson and C. Thomas, 'The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London: An Archaeological and Architectural Review', in N. Rogers, ed., *The Friars in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium*, Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2010, pp.265-297.
3. M. Salter, *Medieval English Friaries*, Malvern: Folly Publications, 2010.
4. M. Salter, *Medieval Walled Towns*, Malvern: Folly Publications, 2013.
5. P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England*, London: The Public Record Office and the British Museum, 1993, pp.18-19; P. Barber and T. Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art*, London: The British Library, 2010, pp.50-51; the southern part of the map of the town is also illustrated H. Clarke *et al.*, *Sandwich, the 'completest medieval town in England': A study of the Town and Port from its Origins to 1600*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010, p.159.
6. The map shows the ravelin built as an addition to the defences in anticipation of the Spanish Armada in 1588 but only in brown as a mound of earth thrown up against the wall and lacking red to indicate the brick facing it was given before construction was complete.
7. The writer will be exploring the interaction of outside finance and the uses of brick in Great Yarmouth in his contribution to the British Brick Society's session at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in July 2014; publication of 'Brick Patronage in a Poor Town: Great Yarmouth in the Late Middle Ages', will appear in a future issue of *British Brick Society Information*.
8. The site is also known by its address, 6-12 George Street, Great Yarmouth; George Street is one of the three north-south streets in the walled town famous for its narrow east-west streets, the 143 rows.
9. B. Riley, *Great Yarmouth Row Houses and Greyfriars Cloisters*, Swindon: English Heritage, 2011, is the latest work on the most extensive remains of a friary in Great Yarmouth.
10. Salter, 2010, p.66. See also the brief note in N. Pevsner, rev. E. Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk*, 2nd edn, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974, pp.342-3. J. Bettley, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk: West*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, announced as due for publication in April 2015, was not yet available when this review was written.
11. See also Barron and Davies, eds, 2007, pp.133-136 with pl. after p.154; and Salter, 2010, p.67.

Brick and its Use in Churches: Soho, City of Westminster

David H. Kennett

INTRODUCTION

Soho. The clearest identity in London. North of Leicester Square, east of Regent Street, south of Oxford Street, west of Charing Cross Road with all the boundaries meeting commercial meeting-places, so that the area shakes hands with its neighbours.¹

Thus the late Ian Nairn defined Soho in the mid-1960s. In the same account, he also remarked that

Soho splits itself in the middle, east and west of Wardour Street. East is High Soho, a chequerboard of streets ..., which are hard to tell apart, as formal as a minuet though far less innocent. ...

West of Wardour Street, Low Soho is cosier, shabbier, more winding and more mixed up ...²

The area visited by members of the British Brick Society on Saturday 18 May 2013 was Nairn's High Soho.³ Wardour Street was first recorded in 1585 as Colmanhedge Lane.⁴ The parish of St Anne, Soho, created out of the originally rural parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields in the second half of the seventeenth century, had the lane as its western boundary;⁵ the area west of this was part of another new parish, St James, Piccadilly, the southern part of which was visited by the society in October 2007.⁶

Soho was first developed in the late seventeenth century, part of the general building boom which followed the rebuilding of the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666, an event which was also a catalyst for the westward expansion of the built environment of the growing city.⁷ Originally agricultural land owned by religious houses — Abingdon Abbey and St Giles's Hospital — the area was converted for Henry VIII into hunting grounds for Whitehall Palace: hence the call "Soh-Ho". Soho is first recorded as a place name in 1636, but after 1560, land grants made by Elizabeth I ensured it became farm land for almost a century: apart from Leicester House and Newport House, two large mansions, few houses are shown on the map made by Faithorne and Newcourt, which was surveyed between 1643 and 1647. St Anne's parish was formed in 1676 and by the time Blome's parish map was drawn *circa* 1690, the land east of Colmanhedge Lane was almost completely built up. Building in Soho Square began in 1677 and all of the forty-one houses completed by 1691. Richard Frith, builder and citizen, and Cadogan Thomas, timber merchant, were the promoters and contractors. In 1682, they also began Monmouth House for the ill-starred James Scott, Duke of Monmouth (1649-1685), the illegitimate son of Charles II, on a site between Greek Street and Frith Street, two streets which enter Soho Square from the south. Although bought as an unfinished shell in 1717 by Sir James Bateman, it was pulled down in 1773. Bateman Street and Bateman's Buildings now occupy the site of Monmouth House.

Despite its aristocratic origins in the late seventeenth century, Soho attracted a variety of immigrants almost from the beginning. This has an effect on the need for churches of different branches of the Christian Religion. By 1677, the Greek merchant community had become sufficiently numerous to require a church, and sufficiently prosperous to build one, if not to sustain itself. In 1682 — three years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes — this became the church of the French Protestants of Savoy and is depicted in Hogarth's engraving, 'Noon', of May 1738.⁸ These French Protestants remained there until 1822 when the church became Anglican in 1850. However, the building was replaced in 1872. A seventeenth-century estates map of Soho reserves space for both St Anne's church and the Greek church. The Irish came in the late eighteenth century and the church built for them is thriving. Modern Soho includes Chinatown, with its restaurants and food shops.

THE CHURCHES

Seven of the eight church buildings surviving in Soho remain in use as churches. The seven comprise one for the Church of England, St Anne's Soho; three for the Roman Catholic Church: Our Lady of the Assumption and St Gregory, Warwick Street, Notre Dame de France, Leicester Place, and St Patrick, Soho Square; the French Protestant Church, also on Soho Square; the Congregational Orange Street Chapel; and the non-denominational chapel attached to the House of St Barnabas, Soho Square. Not now in ecclesiastical use is the former Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, on Charing Cross Road, in 2000 in use as a bar but seemingly now closed; the demolished Congregationalist Craven Chapel, Marshall Street, was remodelled as offices in 1930 but its school building survives with an unaltered façade.

The churches of Soho are described with the only surviving one for the Church of England and the two Anglican ones which have been demolished preceding the three for the Roman Catholic Church. The Huguenot church precedes the former buildings of the nonconformist denominations. The opportunity is taken to describe ancillary buildings connected with the religious centres such as schools and accommodation provided for the clergy.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: ST ANNE, SOHO

The original church for the new *faubourg* was dedicated to St Anne and its churchyard occupied land between Dean Street and Wardour Street to the east and west, and behind buildings on the south side of Old Compton Street to the north. The churchyard was converted into a garden in 1891-92.

St Anne's church was built between 1677 and 1686. Designed in the office of Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), construction of St Anne's supervised by William Talman (1650-1719). Augustine Beare, a glazier, and Richard Campion, a carpenter, were the first churchwardens, with Campion apparently responsible for much of the brickwork, although a bricklayer, Alexander Williams of St Giles, was also employed in the initial building phases. Jeffrey Wood, a haberdasher who also dealt in building materials, at one point supplied 19,000 bricks for £25.



Fig.1 Painting of St Anne's church, Soho, in August 1945 by R.G. Matthews. This shows the extent of the bomb damage and also the internal red bricks. In the final century of its life, the exterior of the seventeenth-century church and its eighteenth-century tower were covered with stucco although the stone quoins of the east end were left proud.



Fig.2 St Anne's church, Soho, showing the 1803 tower by S.P. Cockerell incorporated in the modern housing scheme.

A steeple was added in 1718 to Talman's design, which in 1802-03 was replaced by the present tower designed by Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1753-1827). Amongst the workers on the tower were a stonemason, John Day of Clapham, and bricklayers, John Nicoll, Isaac Saunders and John Wetherall. The final bill for the tower was £6,148 6s. 8³/₄d. but this was only presented after the architect's death: it excluded the architect's commission at 5% which was £307 8s. 0d. This bill did not include a further £850 known to have been spent on the tower.

In 1830-31, Robert Abraham (1774-1850) remodelled the nave and may have been responsible for the stucco covering it received at some point in the nineteenth century. The church was bombed in 1940 and its ruins were demolished in 1953.¹⁰ A year after the bombing, the ruined nave was laid out by Jacques Groag, who in 1945 had sketched plans to consolidate the walls as a war memorial. After the demolition, three plans were put forward during the succeeding quarter century, culminating in the present reconstruction within a mixed-use scheme built in 1989-91 to designs by the Westwood Partnership (Jan Pitt and Julian Luckett).

The scheme retains Cockerell's tower which is a mixture of yellow bricks and stone. Below the bell-stage, Cockerell's tower is brick, with battered buttresses to north, west and south. The yellow

brick is laid in Flemish Bond. The buttresses end in a stone band, cut by shallow arches on the underside. Above the stone band a brick portion containing a plain oculus. The tall bell-stage is completely of good quality stone, although curious in its details, not least in the use of Tuscan columns in the angles of the openings and with chamfered corners. The top is circular: three stone steps below the cylindrical spire culminating in protruding clockfaces to the four points of the compass. Ian Nairn thought that the upper part caught the spirit of Soho, or perhaps more accurately its reputation, just perfectly:

Nothing could represent the seamier side of Soho better than this louche presence, its bottle-green top winking invitations to an astral striptease, the louvres and the obscene, bulgy columns hiding god knows what perversions in the belfry. Pure, too, in the sense that a person can be pure evil. Architecturally, it has no ancestors; the nominal architect's other buildings are placid except for Sezincote, the Moorish country house in Gloucestershire. The body of the church was blitzed and [in 1966] is to be rebuilt; the tower must always remain, as an emblem of deeper pressures than mere beauty or ugliness.¹¹

The other surviving portions of the original church complex are the entrance to St Anne's Watch House on Dean Street, built in 1801 for a man to watch over the churchyard so as to combat body snatching, and a small section of the east wall adjacent to the house.

The scheme built in 1989-91 incorporates Cockerell's tower and, at the east end incorporates a small chapel for the parish, the entrance passage to which incorporates the dedication stone of the original church, the foundation stone laid of 1801 for the former churchyard watch house, designed by Cockerell, and the dedication stone of the new church. The new building includes the rectory, premises for the Soho Society, twenty flats for the Soho Housing Association, and, facing Dean Street, commercial offices.



Fig.3 Our Lady of the Assumption and St Gregory, Warwick Street, Soho, is the only eighteenth-century Roman Catholic church remaining in London. The west front and much of the interior is as the architect, Joseph Bonomi, designed it in 1789 but the east end was remodeled by J.F. Bentley in 1874-75 and 1900.

DEMOLISHED ANGLICAN CHURCHES

Some churches have been completely demolished. The former Anglican church dedicated to St Mary occupied the site of the church built for the Greek merchant community in the 1670s, which from 1682 to 1822 was used by a Huguenot congregation, the French Protestants of Savoy;¹² it was rebuilt by the Church of England in 1869-74 to designs by Carpenter & Slater but was demolished when St Martin's School of Art was built in 1936, a building now being refurbished as flats.¹³ The High Anglican church designed by Richard Herbert Carpenter (1841-1983) and William Slater (1819-1872) was an impressive structure of red brick with stone used only sparingly in the very tall building. The side walls were of six bays divided by tall buttresses ending in gablets. The east window was five stepped lancets set high up and rising into the gable. The adjacent clergy house was tall and thin, of five storeys and attics, with garret windows set in the twin gables at the front. There was a three-storeyed school of three bays adjacent on the north side of the clergy house.¹⁴

St Thomas', Kingly Street, was built in 1702 and the interior was remodelled internally in the early 1820s by Thomas Hardwick (1752-1829). Charles Robert Cockerell (1788-1863) altered the west end at about the same time, but in or before 1903, the west end, which faced Regent Street, was demolished for the Linen Hall, built for Robinson & Cleaver of Belfast to designs by G.R. Crickmay & Sons. A new entrance facing Tenison Court was built in 1903 to the designs of W.J. Parker (fl.1868-1903).¹⁵ The church remained in use until 1973 but has since been demolished; nos.12-13 Kingly Street, of 1887 by Lansdown & Harriss was its vicarage.¹⁶ No trace of these buildings remains.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: OUR LADY OF THE ASSUMPTION AND ST GREGORY

The church dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption and St Gregory, Warwick Street, is the only surviving eighteenth-century Roman Catholic chapel in London. Following the Gordon Riots of 2-3 June 1780, it was rebuilt in 1789-90 to designs of Joseph Bonomi (1739-1808), from whose work the west front and the basic form of the interior remain. In 1788, Bishop James Talbot, the Roman Catholic priest responsible for London, had acquired leases on two houses, formerly the Bavarian Embassy, in Gordon Square, and their grounds which included the former embassy chapel which had been burnt down. The new church opened on 12 March 1790, the feast of St Gregory.

Bonomi's church¹⁷ had a modest brick front, of five bays, the central three of which are pushed forward by one header's width and distinguished by a pediment above three rounded-headed window spaces which are blank. The red brick is laid in Flemish Bond. On the first floor, the outer bays each have a glazed window. On the ground floor there are three round-arched entrances with stone doorcases separated by two square windows, the fittings of which are thought to be more recent replacements of the earlier, nineteenth-century replacements.

The interior has four full-height clerestory windows and two half-height ones on the north side and two full height and two half-height ones on the south side; owing to the presence of adjacent properties, there are no windows at ground floor level. Internally remodelled twice in the nineteenth century, it became a parish church¹⁸ in 1854 following work by John Erlam in 1853: he created the coved ceiling. An apse for the sanctuary was created at the east end in 1874-75 and after 1900 new mosaic decoration was installed in the apse. J.F. Bentley (1839-1902) was responsible for the work in both campaigns. The Stations of the Cross are circular Wedgwood plaques in light green.

The church was founded in 1730 as the chapel attached to the Portuguese embassy, at that date at nos. 23-24 Golden Square, immediately beyond the east end.¹⁹ No 24 Golden Square was built in 1675 and refronted *circa* 1730, during the period when it was in use as the Portuguese Embassy, 1724 to 1747; between 1739 and 1744, the Marquis Plombal was the ambassador between 1739 and 1744 and would have worshipped in the original chapel. In 1959, the building at no.24 was rebuilt to designs of Nichols & Dixon Spain behind the eighteenth-century front; it was originally four storeys with a basement and an attic but a second attic was added in the twentieth century. The house is in dull buff-coloured bricks laid in Flemish Bond. The windows are edged in red brick. Since 1788, no.24 Golden Square has been the presbytery with the parish hall now in its basement. The adjacent

house, no. 23, was built in 1684 and extended upwards by an additional storey in about 1820. The ground floor is marked by a large, relatively modern shop window.

As the embassy of a friendly power, the residents of the Portuguese Embassy enjoyed freedom of worship and this continued when the church became the chapel of the Bavarian Embassy, another community of Roman Catholics. Up to the abolition of the state of Bavaria in 1871, the church received an annual subscription from the king of Bavaria.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: NOTRE DAME DE FRANCE

The French Catholic Church, Leicester Place, was originally built in 1865-68 to designs by L.A. Boileau (1812-1896) utilising the site and the form of Robert Barker's Panorama of 1793-94. The panorama was circular in plan; it was designed by Robert Mitchell (*fl.c.* 1770-1809). Within the circle, Boileau placed a rectilinear arrangement of iron columns, iron ribs, and iron arches supporting both a set of four balconies and an iron and glass dome.²⁰ The builders were Messrs Wood of Mile End Road, London, supervised by A. Sauvee of 62 King William Street. Boileau's church was bombed in November 1940 and although given running repairs, it was demolished in 1950.

Discussions on the future of the church led by Fr Deguerry, the priest installed in 1948, determined on a new church but one following the form of the previous one. Hestor O. Corfiato (d.1963), of Corfiato, Stewart Lloyd Thomson & Partners who also taught at the School of Architecture in University College, London,, incorporated the new church within Mitchell's circular form but used concrete rather than iron for his ambulatory of twelve giant, unfluted, virtually untapered round piers. These support a concrete and glass lantern over the central space and a flat glass ceiling over the ambulatory.²¹

The church is included within a housing scheme; hence above the entrance to the church, the dominant impression of the two upper floors is of the normal fenestration of a block of flats. The entry to the church, however, is made explicit. This is concave with a triple unit doorcase resembling a Venetian window on a grand scale set below a large relief of the Virgin ascending up into heaven. The relief was carved by Georges Saupique of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris; his pupils carved the jambs of the doors below.

The building uses are thin, 2-inch Stamford bricks laid in Flemish Bond.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: ST PATRICK, SOHO SQUARE

St Patrick's church, on the east side of Soho Square, was initially another conversion from a much older, secular building, Carlisle House, which had been built before 1685 with its north wall alongside the road east out of Soho Square, Sutton Row. Behind Carlisle House, which became nos. 21 and 21a, Soho Square, an assembly rooms was built on its garden in 1761: the first floor was used for dances and soirées, with a supper room on the ground floor. In 1791, the Roman Catholic Church bought the building complex, including both the assembly rooms and the two houses, for use as a mission chapel to the Irish who had begun to inhabit Soho; its first priest was the Rev. Arthur O'Leary (*d.* 1802) whose monument is in the church. The church authorities removed the floor between the supper room and that above it and for the following hundred years used the heightened room as the church which was consecrated on 29 September 1792, the feast of St Michael and All Angels.

The initial conversion in 1791-93, using the assembly rooms for worship, included rebuilding no.21a Soho Square as a three-bay presbytery is faced in buff brick laid in Flemish Bond.

Fig.4 (opposite) The Eglise Notre Dame de France, the Roman Catholic church in Leicester Place, was rebuilt after the Second World War as part of a housing scheme. Above the church are five floors of flats. H.O. Corfiato was the designer of the complex which incorporates an unusual circular worship space. The first church on the site, designed by L.A. Boileau in 1865, was on the site of a late-eighteenth-century panorama.





Fig.5 St Patrick's Roman Catholic church on the east side of Soho Square was originally founded to provide spiritual sustenance to the Irish immigrants of the area in the late eighteenth century. Rebuilt in 1891-93, on the site of the former mission, the striking campanile fronts the narthex leading to the elliptical worship space, which follows the outline of the former assembly rooms which were adapted for the first church. The red brick building was designed by John Kelly of Leeds.

A century later, in 1891-93, John Kelly (1840-1904) of the Leeds practice of Kelly & Birchall replaced the mission chapel, erecting a tall brick campanile on the site of what had been no.21 Soho Square and installing a long, three-bay narthex to the new church which has a broad nave, five bays long, and shallow side chapels replacing the aisles.²² It was consecrated on 17 March 1893, the feast of St Patrick, as befits its dedicatee. The north wall of St Patrick's is in red brick laid in English Garden Wall Bond with red brick pilasters supporting a series of blank arches. On the north side beyond the campanile, there are two lunettes as clerestory windows to the narthex, then a lower bay so as to permit clerestory windows in the west wall of the nave, followed by a series of lunettes to light the north side of the nave.

Founded to serve Irish immigrants, St Patrick's now provides weekly masses in both Spanish and Portuguese as speakers of both languages are among the numerous residents of Soho.



Fig.6 The Eglise Protestante Française de Londres was designed by Aston Webb for the French Huguenot congregation in London in 1891. It is one of only two churches specially designed for the French Protestants in England: the other, now in secular use, is in Brighton. The facade is constructed in plum coloured brick and light red terracotta.

THE HUGUENOTS: THE FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH, SOHO SQUARE

French Protestants first established a congregation in London in the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553), establishing themselves in St Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street, in the heart of the City of London, under the terms of asylum granted in 1550 and remained there until 1840. After various temporary homes, the French Protestant congregation bought nos.8 and 9 Soho Square in 1889 with the intention of constructing a new permanent base.

The present church building, whose formal title is Eglise Protestante Française de Londres, was erected on the site of nos.8 and 9 Soho Square, on its north side in 1891-93 to the designs of Sir Aston Webb (1849-1930): it is said to have been the architect's favourite work.²³ The building contains worship space for a congregation of 400, a library to the left of the entry, and a vestry on the ground floor with living space for the pastor on the upper floors and schoolrooms in the basement. Higgs & Hill were the contractors; their tender was £10,194.

In designing the church, Webb freely used a Franco-Flemish Gothic style with five round arches on the ground floor, the central one of which is the entrance to the church and that to the east includes entry to the domestic accommodation. The three upper storeys of the façade, divided into seven bays, appear to resemble those of an Edwardian office block, fronting as they do the pastor's home. The arrangement here is 1-1-2-1-2-1-1, but with the five central bays beneath a gable above the

centre of which is a lantern. The second and sixth bays are square oriel towers capped by cupola; the central bay is a half-octagon oriel, not extending into the gable.

The materials used for the street front at no.9 Soho Square, in its north-west corner, are plum-coloured brick and light red terracotta. The aisled interior ending in an apse is faced in buff terracotta. Both the font and the pulpit are in terracotta.

In 1897-98, Webb designed a school for the French Protestant community on Noel Street, the extension eastwards of Great Marlborough Street; the school was demolished after the Second World War and its war memorial of 1920 by Adrien Montagu transferred to the church.²⁴

THE HUGUENOTS AND CONGREGATIONALISTS: ORANGE STREET CHAPEL

On the southern edge of Soho is the Orange Street chapel, built for the Congregationalists in 1927-29 on the site of an earlier chapel; the architects were Kieffer, Flemising & Keesey. This small building replaced a Huguenot chapel of *circa* 1693 which had been taken over by the Church of England during the eighteenth century: the Rev Augustus Toplady was the incumbent in 1776. It became Congregational in 1783. The south front of the 1920s building is stuccoed with a round-headed entrance breaking the pediment. The chapel is not orientated; what its east side is also covered in stucco. The nature and colour of the brickwork cannot therefore be discerned.²⁵

The chapel was one of the buildings seen by members on the visit to Pall Mall and St James's Square in October 2007.

THE HUGUENOTS: THE GREEK CHURCH, CHARING CROSS ROAD

In 1682, a group of French Protestants from Savoy moved to Soho, taking over the recently-erected Greek church on Charing Cross Road, begun in 1677. This distinct congregation vacated the building in 1822 and it (now demolished: see above) was transferred to the Church of England in 1850 as St Mary's church. In 1936, the rebuilt church was demolished for the new building of the St Martin's School of Art.

As noted above, part of the church with the Huguenot congregation leaving after a service was sketched by William Hogarth (1697-1764) in May 1738 in 'Noon'.²⁶ However, the print is so indistinct in its depiction of the church building that it is not possible to comment on the brickwork, neither its bond nor its colour.²⁷

NON-DENOMINATIONAL: THE CHAPEL AT THE HOUSE OF ST BARNABAS

On the south side of Soho Square at the eastern corner with Greek Street is the House of St Barnabas, a charitable organization which since 1846 has provided temporary shelter for homeless women: this organization has occupied no.1 Greek Street since 1862. The building was erected as a shell in 1744-46 by a bricklayer, Joseph Pearce;²⁸ his speculation was designed to attract a wealthy client for whom the interior could be modeled to his taste. Pearce found such a client a decade later in Richard Beckford, the younger brother of the better-known Alderman Beckford; the interior created for the younger Beckford is largely intact. This large house was in private hands until the mid nineteenth century when it was acquired by the Westminster Commissioners for Sewers, who added offices at the rear; between 1855 and 1861, the Metropolitan Board of Works occupied the house, making superficial alterations to the interior.²⁹

Soon after acquiring no.1 Greek Street in 1862, the House of St Barnabas commissioned Joseph Clarke (1819/20-1912) to provide a chapel at the rear of the building as part of a much larger expansion. Of the projected buildings, the chapel was the only part realised. Clarke's building is parallel to Manette Street. Built of alternating bands of white stone and red sandstone, in an early French Gothic style, although actually relatively small, Clarke's chapel appears as a much more substantial structure due to its eastern apse and paired apses both north and south. Internally, shafts of

grey marble and red marble flank the altar. Above the clerestory, the original roof tiles were banded, echoing the stone below. Clarke employed Edward Corder as the builder; the tender for the sanctuary and the apses was £1,013.³⁰

FORMER AND DEMOLISHED NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES

Soho has one former nonconformist chapel with its manse and the school building of another extant. The more complete of the two is the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church on Charing Cross Road, designed in 1886-87 by James Cubitt (1836-1912).³¹ Externally of white stone from Yorkshire dressed with Ancaster stone, the interior is a smaller version of that of the Union Chapel, Islington, built a decade earlier in brick.³² The design is a central square space with galleries on three of the four sides. In the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, the central dome is supported by brick squinches of Fareham reds. The church had an attached manse, no. 136 Shaftesbury Avenue; also designed by Cubitt. The house has a four-storeyed front rising to an attic gable built of red brick laid in Flemish Bond.³³

In the western part of Soho, the Congregational Church built a large chapel on Marshall Street in 1821-22 to designs by Robert Abraham (1774-1850). Known as the Craven Chapel after the third Lord Craven who financed the laying out of the street in 1733, the chapel was in ecclesiastical use for just less than seventy years until 1898 when it and the associated school buildings were converted into commercial premises.³⁴ The chapel was three bays wide and six bays deep but was extremely basic in its design; in 1847, in a discussion of Congregational chapels, it was described thus: 'even the Craven Chapel [has] a very meagre approach to architectural direction'. Within the last decade and a half, the church since been demolished and the converted premises rebuilt.

Robert Henry Burden (*d.*1913) who practiced at 307 Oxford Street, London, between 1868 and his death, designed the three-storeyed school above lettable vaults in 1873: a date stone remains in the gable. The building is in stock brick with red brick accents; Flemish Bond was used for both colours. The central three bays beneath the gable are pushed forward with recessed single bays at either side; the latter have flat roofs. The left-hand single bay with the stairs is four storeys high and contains the stairs; its fenestration is four sets of three recessed single-light windows separated from those below by a square recessed panel of stock brick edged with red brick. The right-hand single bay is two storeys; the raised ground floor contains an entrance and there are two sets of blank windows on the first floor. As noted, the building was constructed with lettable vaults: their presence is indicated by an entrance to the right of the ground floor and by the use of blue engineering brick laid in English Bond.

As befits a Victorian school, the three storeys are for different age groups and the two upper ones for different genders. Two tall lights illuminate the ground floor for the infants (aged five to seven). Girls aged seven to ten (later eleven and then twelve) occupied the first floor with three large windows; this floor has now been subdivided horizontally, an indication of the height of Victorian schoolrooms. The boys aged seven and above were on the top floor whose front reached up into the gable. The central window, below the datestone, is raised into a half-octagon.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

ABBREVIATION

SL *Survey of London*. The relevant volumes are F.H.W. Sheppard, ed., *Survey of London*, **33-34**, *The Parish of St Anne Soho*, London: University of London at the Athlone Press for the London County Council, 1966; and F.H.W. Sheppard, ed., *Survey of London*, **31-32**, *The Parish of St James, Westminster Part II, North of Piccadilly*, London: University of London at the Athlone Press for the London County Council, 1963. Pagination is continuous in the two volumes of each set and the plates take up the final third of the second volume of each set.

1. I. Nairn, *Nairn's London*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966 and reprint, 2014, p.74; I. Nairn,

revisited by P. Gasson, *Nairn's London*, London: Penguin Books, 1988, p.57.

2. Nairn, 1966/2014, p.74; Nairn, revisited Gasson, 1988, p.57-8.
3. *BBS Information*, **125**, October 2013, p.15-17.
4. S. Bradley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 6: Westminster*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003, p.432.
5. *SL*, **33**, pp.20-26. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.385.
6. *BBS Information*, **107**, June 2008, p.35.
7. *SL*, **33**, pp.27-34; the maps referred to in this paragraph are reproduced in the plates of *SL*, **34**. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, pp.385-435, for an introduction to the area and its buildings. The dates in this paragraph are taken from this source.
8. The Hogarth print has been reproduced several times, most recently, J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing*, London: The Bodley Head, 2012, pl.15, where it is dated 1736.
9. On the day the group saw five of the eight surviving religious buildings: the exceptions being Our Lady of the Assumption and St Gregory, Warwick Street; the former Welsh Presbyterian church, Charing Cross Road; and the Orange Street chapel which was seen on an earlier meeting in London.
10. *SL*, **33**, pp.256-277, with pls.10-15. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.391-2, with pl.70. Earlier accounts in the series: N. Pevsner, *The Building of England: London 1: The Cities of London and Westminster*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957, p.424-8 with pl.83a; N. Pevsner, revised B. Cherry, *The Buildings of England: London 1: The Cities of London and Westminster*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973, p.485-6, with pl.133. Dates and other 'facts' in the preceding two and a half paragraphs are taken from the accounts of the church in *SL*, **33** and Bradley and Pevsner, 2003.
11. Nairn, 1966/2014, p.74. For Sezincote, Glos., see D. Verey and A. Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*, 3rd edn, London: Penguin Books, 1999, pp.597-600 with pl.97.
12. *SL*, **33**, pp.279-287.
13. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.388.
14. *SL*, **33**, p.287
15. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.388; Pevsner, 1957, p.437; Pevsner, rev. Cherry, 1973, p.501-2 with note on p.501 that "the church had been declared redundant".
16. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.417.
17. *SL*, **31**, pp.168-172, with fig.21 and pls.12c and 13. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.393; Pevsner, 1957, p.433-4; Pevsner, rev. Cherry, 1973, p.497-8.
18. In the early twenty-first century, the church achieved unwarranted national attention. Quietly for six years to the end of 2012, once a fortnight, pastoral care, including a special mass, was given to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons by the parish priest; from 1 February 2013, pastoral care, without the accompanying mass, was transferred to the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, Mayfair. But the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender group found a new home in the Anglican church of St Anne's. The Church of Our Lady of the Assumption has become the centre for the Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham, the body of former Anglicans who on doctrinal grounds object to the ministry of ordained women priests and have defected from the Church of England to the Roman Catholic Church. See *The Guardian*, 3 January 2013.
19. *SL*, **31**, pp.15-159

20. *SL*, 34, pp.482-486, with plan. Pevsner, 1957, p.433, gives an account of Boillieu's church.
21. *SL*, 34, pp.482-486. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.392-3; Pevsner, rev.Cherry, 1973, p.497.
22. *SL*, 33, pp.73-79. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.393-4 with sketch of west front on p.427, lower group derived from the much larger street views *SL*, 33, pp.46-49. The campanile of St Patrick's church is the building immediately to the right of the gap indicating Sutton Row. Earlier accounts, Pevsner, 1957, p.434, and Pevsner, rev. Cherry, 1973, p.498. See also, J.M. Robinson, 'Italy in the City: St Patrick's, Soho Square, London W1', *Country Life*, 15 February 2013, pp.54-55.
23. *SL*, 33, pp.62-63, fig9, pl.21. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.394, with sketch of street frontage on p.427, upper drawing, derived from the views at a much larger scale in *SL*, 33, pp.46-49. The French Protestant Church is the second building from the left. Earlier accounts: Pevsner, 1957, pp.438 and 573; Pevsner, rev.Cherry, 1973, pp.502 and 654.
24. Pevsner, 1957, p.508. Pevsner, rev. Cherry, 1973, p.579. Neither entry is helpful.
25. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.394. Not noted in either Pevsner, 1957, or Pevsner, rev. Cherry, 1973.
26. White, 2013, pp.137-140 for the Huguenots in eighteenth-century London; the Hogarth print showing the church is reproduced, *ibid.*, pl.15. Unfortunately G. Treasure, *The Huguenots*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013, pbk 2014, only takes the story in France up to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and does not deal with the denomination in England.
27. Joseph Pearce does not appear in H.M. Colvin, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1660-1840*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995; he may be related to a contemporary named Matthew Pearce (d.1775), *ibid.*, p.746).
28. *SL*, 33, pp.88-106. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, pp.428-431 with cross-section.
29. *SL*, 33, pp.105-106; pl.20 shows the banded roof tiles.
26. *SL*, 34, pp.308-309. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.394-5. Not noted in either Pevsner, 1957, or Pevsner, rev. Cherry, 1973.
27. The exterior of Union Chapel was seen by a small group of members in 2010 when under scaffolding. For an account of the building see B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 4: North*, London: Penguin Books, 1998, p.664, with photograph of interior, p.95.
28. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.395.
29. *SL*, 31, pp.200-201. Bradley and Pevsner, 2003, p.421 .

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, EAST HYDE, LUTON: An Early Work in Brick by Benjamin Ferrey

Terence Paul Smith

INTRODUCTION

In the early nineteenth century the parish of Luton, centred on the medieval church of St Mary, covered a large, mostly rural, area. Joseph Allen, Bishop of Ely – to which diocese Luton belonged between 1837 and 1914 – initiated the project of providing Anglican church accommodation for some of the outlying hamlets, beginning with that of East Hyde, on the Hertfordshire border south-east of the town. The result, erected in 1840–41 and consecrated on 24 May 1842, was the church of Holy Trinity on Lower Harpenden Road (NGR: TL128173), an early work in brick by the architect Benjamin Ferrey (fig. 1).¹ It was erected on a site provided from his Luton Hoo estate by the Marquess of Bute, who also donated £600 towards the costs of building.²

BENJAMIN FERREY

Benjamin Ferrey was born, the son of a draper, at Christchurch, Hants. (now Dorset) on 1 April 1810 and was educated at Wimborne Grammar School, Dorset. In 1826 he moved to London to become a pupil at the drawing school run by Auguste Charles Pugin (1769–1832) — father of the architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52). During his pupillage he travelled with the Pugins in England and France, drawing many historical buildings. In 1833–34 he studied architecture with William Wilkins (1778–1839). He then set up in practice at 84 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, in partnership, until 1836, with Thomas Larkins Walker (c.1811–1860). Thereafter, he developed an extensive practice. He moved around London more than once: by 1840 he had moved within Great Russell Street to no. 85, but in 1849 was at 1 Trinity Place, Charing Cross; by 1876 he had two London addresses: 15 Spring Gardens, St James's and 57 Charing Cross, both of which are also given as his addresses in the year of his death, although he died, on 22 August 1880, at 55 Inverness Terrace, Bayswater. He is buried at Highgate Cemetery. Between 1846 and 1853 he also had an address at The Grove, Fair Mill, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.

His first major commission was for a group of villas and a Classical-style hotel at the Westover Estate in Bournemouth, Hants. (1836), but he soon became an enthusiastic and prolific exponent of the Gothic Revival; from 1841 until his death he was Diocesan Architect to the Diocese of Bath and Wells. One of his innovations was 'Stamped or incised stucco', devised in 1857 as a means of creating inexpensive ornament, and employed in, for example, St Mary, Maulden, Beds., where Ferrey rebuilt all but the west tower and part of the north wall of the medieval church in 1858–59.³ He retained an affection for the Pugins – though disapproving of the younger's youthful bohemian lifestyle and coarse language, as well as of his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1835 – and in 1861 he published his *Recollections* of them.⁴ His son, Edmund Benjamin Ferrey (c.1845–1900), worked in the office between 1862 and 1869, before joining Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811–79) and then setting up in independent practice. In later years, father and son collaborated on, for example, the red-brick Early English church of St Luke (1874–5) at Burton, Hants. (The two men shared addresses in the 1870s.)

The elder Ferrey's approach was always scholarly and archaeological, and he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1863 and, earlier, in 1839, of the Institute of British Architects. Founded in 1834 and receiving its charter of incorporation in 1837, the institute became the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1866. In 1870 Ferrey was awarded its Gold Medal. His stone-built Decorated church of St Stephen, Rochester Row, Westminster (1847–50) is generally regarded as one of the first scholarly Gothic Revival churches. This historical approach is already apparent at East Hyde, although here the inspiration is Romanesque rather than Gothic (fig.1).⁵



Fig. 1 Holy Trinity Church, East Hyde: west front.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

The church comprises a wide unaisled nave with a semi-circular apse containing the sanctuary at the east end and with a gallery and a turreted narthex at the west (fig. 2).⁶ It is built of brick and includes several moulded brick specials (and a little carved stone) to create its various neo-Norman features (fig. 3). Entrance is through the narthex, based on the mid-twelfth-century staircase to the pilgrims' hall at Canterbury Cathedral Priory, but here translated from stone to brick and with the side walls pulled forward, as it were, to form a straight line with the entrance (fig. 1). The central arch has a pair of circular piers constructed from radial headers and standing on simple brick plinths. The scallop capitals are of Bath stone but the abaci are of chamfered bricks. The round arch includes an inner roll moulding and an outer billet moulding created by alternating standard bricks with projecting bullnose-on-flat headers – that is, bricks with a quarter-round moulding along one header face; the arch is under a square-profile hood-mould. To each side of the arch is a range of much smaller arches on colonnettes formed from paired semi-circular bricks. They stand on brick bases with offsets topped by beads and have brick scallop capitals with abaci of chamfered bricks. The round arches are of two plain orders. The heads of the arches are at a common level but the bases are staggered upwards from the central piers, the slopes between the rising bases being topped with Welsh slate. The slope of the north range follows a stair, constructed from York stone, which rises to the gallery doorway, which is round-headed and of a single order. From outside, the south range hints at a similar stair but in fact masks a low pent-roofed extension to the southernmost third of the nave. Across the top of the narthex is a two-course corbel-table using projecting bullnose-on-flat headers alternating with non-projecting standard bricks. Within the narthex the west doorway has a shouldered arch within a larger round-headed arch, all constructed from cant bricks, including specially moulded members at the foot and head of the shoulder.

Above the pent roof of the narthex the gable has a triplet of three round-headed arches – the taller central one a window, the two outer ones blind – within a slightly projecting panel. There is a broad flat eaves-cornice beneath the coping, which is of saddle-back coping-bricks. At the apex is a stone cross, once badly damaged but now restored.

The narthex is flanked by square turrets, with sunk three-quarter mouldings up their three exposed angles and with simple round-headed windows. The outermost angle of each turret incorporates a large Bath stone block at its base. The south turret finishes with a low pyramidal roof,

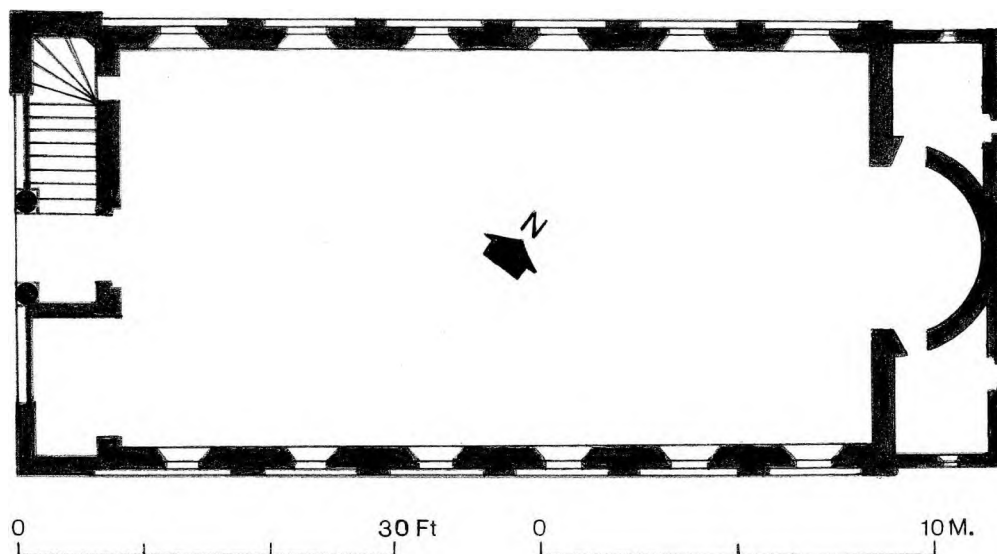


Fig. 2 Holy Trinity Church, East Hyde: plan.

but the north turret – which has slightly thicker walls (fig. 2) – continues as an octagonal bell-turret with narrow round-headed and louvered openings constructed from cant bricks and with square-profile hoods. Above them is a corbel-table similar to that on the west front and a low spire with a wrought iron cross at its top.⁷

The north and south walls (fig.3) have six tall round-headed windows of a single order constructed from voussoir-bricks and with square-profile hoods. They are set within shallow recesses, each with a corbel-table at its head similar to that on the west front.

The east end finishes in an apse with three windows similar to those of the side walls though not set in recesses. Above them is a corbel-table like others in the building and, above that, an caves-cornice of bullnose-on-flat headers with a single course of standard bricks above. The apse is flanked, below window-level, by low pent-roofed vestries (of rather awkward shapes: fig. 2), each with a round-headed window in its end (north or south) wall and a simple round-headed doorway in the east wall. There are also internal doorways from the sanctuary. The end walls have low parapets with saddle-back brick copings.

Plinth bricks and plinth external and internal returns are used to form a low offset around the building.

The interior brickwork of the narthex, including the interior halves of the piers, shows extensive traces of buff paint, now mostly scraped off. Similar traces are evident on the walls beneath the slopes of the colonnette ranges to each side of the entrance archway. It is uncertain whether the paint was a primary feature – though I am inclined to doubt it.

In 1866 internal alterations included the raising of the floor at the east end with encaustic tiles and the decorative stencilling, in colour, of the apse. The latter was covered over during redecoration in 1965.

THE BRICKS

The bricks used in the church are Luton Greys, actually red or plum-coloured but with a greyish surface tinge (most evident when viewed from a distance of a few feet) resulting from the crushed flint used in lieu of moulding sand.⁸ They were made extensively in Luton and surrounding areas, including parts of Hertfordshire ('Luton Greys' being a useful *generic* term), in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The standard bricks in the church measure $8\frac{3}{4}$ –9 × $4\frac{1}{4}$ – $4\frac{1}{2}$ × $2\frac{1}{2}$ –2 in (222–229 × 108–114 × 64–67 mm) and are laid in English Bond. Some stretcher faces show pressure marks



Fig. 3 Holy Trinity Church, East Hyde: south face of nave.

which are not common in Luton Greys: most are longitudinal but a significant number are diagonal, indicating that both ways of hacking the bricks were in use at the yard and confirming the diagonal hacking of bricks as late as c.1840.⁹ A number of the bricks have kiss marks, some lateral, others diagonal, showing that two ways of setting the bricks in the kiln – diagonal and rectilinear – were followed; the two types occur in approximately equal numbers. Several of the brick faces, headers especially, are overfired and are virtually black whilst a few headers are accidentally vitrified: all are used randomly in the walling, with no attempt to create diaper or other patterns.

The builder of the church was John Gray of Luton.¹⁰ Interestingly, the Marquess of Bute, who provided the site for the church and contributed to its costs, owned a brickyard, shown on a Tithe Apportionment Map of 1842 and worked, in that year, by one John Grey.¹¹ It is at least possible that Gray and Grey were in fact the same person and that the yard – which lay on the east side of London Road south of Cutenhoe Road (NGR: TL091196), less than 3 miles (5 km) from the church – was the source of the Holy Trinity bricks.¹²

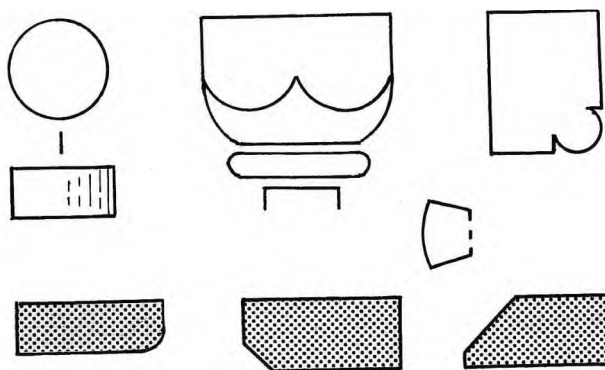


Fig. 4 Some of the brick specials used to create architectural features in Holy Trinity Church, East Hyde.

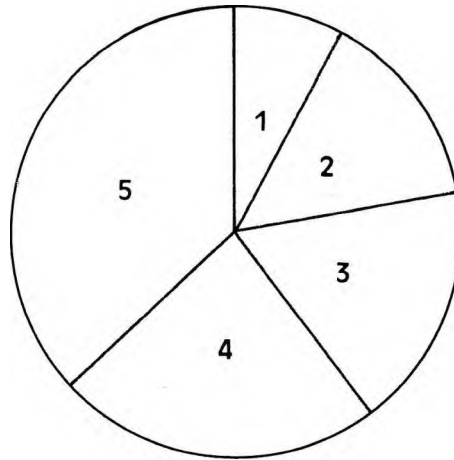


Fig. 5 Relative costs of Bedfordshire's 1840s Anglican churches.
1: East Hyde; 2: Bedford, St Cuthbert; 3: Clophill; 4: Linslade; 5: Bedford, Holy Trinity.

THE CHURCH: ASSESSMENT, STYLE, COST

A local clergyman, Rev. F.C. Hamlyn, writing in 1958, referred to the 'attractive West front' of the church, but a decade later (Sir) Nikolaus Pevsner dismissed it as 'a distressing display'.¹³ If the latter judgement seems somewhat harsh, one has to admit that the building is a callow performance, in no way proleptic of what Ferrey was to achieve in later years. The south colonnette range of the narthex, in particular, is a discomfiting conceit, its form hinting at a stair which is not actually present, its openings lighting mere wasted space. Space is wasted too in the awkwardly shaped vestries. Perhaps the best succinct assessment comes from Luton's first historian, Frederick Davis: the church, he wrote in 1855, 'is not remarkable for any architectural beauty, but it is simply and substantially built, and well adapted to the wants of this formerly neglected district'.¹⁴

In assessing the building, one needs to remember that Ferrey was working with limited funds: the church was built at a cost of only £1,000. One may compare this with the costs of the four other Anglican churches built *de novo* in Bedfordshire in the 1840s (fig. 5): Holy Trinity, Bedford (1839–41): £4,774; St Cuthbert, Bedford (1846–7: a complete rebuilding of a medieval church, now the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of St Cuthbert): £1,850; St Mary, Clophill (1848–9: a replacement on a new site of a medieval church): £2,257; and (in Buckinghamshire when built) St Barnabas, Linslade (1849): £3,000.¹⁵

The restricted budget may even account for the choice of style, for in 1839 the architect John Shaw Jnr (1803–70) published *A Letter on Ecclesiastical Architecture*, in which he urged the use of Romanesque on the grounds that it was cheaper than both Gothic and Classical; he also advocated the use of exposed brick, both externally and internally, again for reasons of economy.¹⁶ It may be significant in this regard that the cheapest of the four Bedfordshire churches mentioned in the previous paragraph (St Cuthbert, Bedford) is the only one in a neo-Norman style. Figure 6 shows the costs of these four churches and of East Hyde, and illustrates the relative cheapness of the two Romanesque churches.¹⁷ The style became quite popular in 1840s England: Shaw himself used an Italianate version of it, in London Stock brick, at St Peter-in-the-Forest, Walthamstow, Essex (now London E17) in 1840, whilst Ferrey went on to use it, in stone and on a much grander scale than at East Hyde, at St James the Great, Morpeth, Northumb. in 1844–46.¹⁸ Even earlier than Shaw's *Letter*, G.E. Hamilton (*fl.* 1828–49) had provided Romanesque exemplars in an 1836 book of designs for rural churches.¹⁹ Some neo-Norman churches pre-date not only Shaw's *Letter* but also Hamilton's designs, for example Christ Church, Royal Leamington Spa (1825, demolished) by Peter F. Robinson (1776–1858), whilst the Romanesque Revival can be traced back even to the late eighteenth century.²⁰

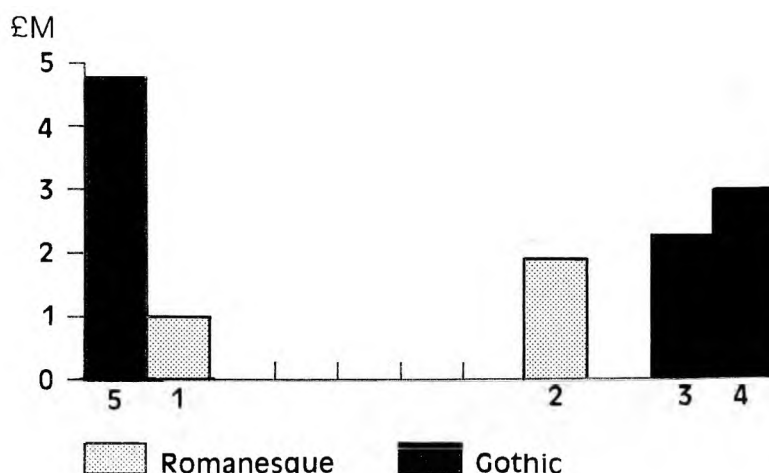


Fig. 6 Costs (in thousands of pounds) of Bedfordshire's 1840s Anglican churches. Years run from 1839 to 1849 with individual churches placed in year of commencement: all were finished in the 1840s; key to numbers as fig.5.

THE USE OF BRICK

The chief interest of the building lies in its brickwork, and especially in its use of specials, not least because these – apart from plinths and plinth returns – are far from common amongst Luton Greys. Some of them at least must have been made specifically for the building (today's 'special specials') rather than obtained from stock. But even with these, the use of brick rather than stone would have lessened the cost of the building. Those employed, it may be noted, would not have been difficult to produce. Some, such as the plinth bricks, cants, and bullnose-on-flat headers, would require no more than modification of a standard brick-mould by the insertion of an appropriately shaped block of wood. Others, such as the scallop capitals of the colonnettes, would require purpose-made moulds, but these would not involve – as more complex forms with undercutting *would* involve – removable components within the moulds. The use of several different specials in the neo-Norman church at East Hyde is of interest since one of the advantages of the Romanesque – contributing to that relative cheapness that John Shaw urged – was that its details could be created using very few or even *no* specials.

The church was completed in the very year that the Cambridge Camden Society was insisting, in a pamphlet published anonymously but in fact by John Mason Neale (1818–66), that brick was an unsuitable material for church building. The statement – not calculated to appeal to members of the British Brick Society! – is worth quoting in full: 'Brick ought on no account to be used [for churches]: white [that is, buff or yellow] certainly is worse than red, and red than black: but to settle the precedence in such miserable materials is worse than useless'.²¹ This dismissive attitude was soon to change radically: 'The first cautious advocations of brick and strong polychromy appeared in *The Ecclesiologist* in the late 1840s'.²² Brick became an important material for Anglican churches in the second half of the century, used by most of the great practitioners, and resulting in some very powerful buildings, for example by J.L. Pearson (1817–97) and James Brooks (1825–1901). One must, however, reject the claim by Michael J. Lewis that this was due to the material becoming 'affordable' following repeal of the Brick Tax 'in 1849' (*recte* 1850).²³ For after 1819 (by the Second Church Building Act) the Brick Tax no longer affected Anglican church building: one of the provisions of the Act was that Customs and Excise Duties on building materials (including bricks) should be repaid for *all* new church buildings – not just those erected under the aegis of the Commission.²⁴ Even without this financial advantage, brick, at least in many districts and especially

in the south and east of England, would still have been cheaper than stone. Brick was, indeed, much used for Anglican church building in the first half of the nineteenth century, and one or two examples, apart from East Hyde itself, have been mentioned in my text or notes; John Shaw Jnr's letter of 1839, as noted above, urged the use of brick, and his own churches followed this advocacy.²⁵ It is important not to confuse the vociferous Ecclesiological Society with the various builders of Anglican churches, many of whom shared neither its High Church outlook nor its architectural strictures, especially in its early years. The architect R.D. Chantrell (1793–1872), for one, called the *Ecclesiologist* 'a mischievous tissue of imbecility and fanaticism'.²⁶

ENVOI

Even in the second half of the century, however, with brick then acceptable to ecclesiologists, the latter – never over-exercised in forgiving those who trespassed against them – would scarcely have approved of East Hyde: they disliked Romanesque, which was more favoured by Low Church Anglicans and Nonconformists; and to 'the *Ecclesiologist* the style – not to mention its advocates – was "almost pagan"'.²⁷ Moreover, the church has both a shallow chancel *and* a gallery – each anathema to ecclesiologists.²⁸ 'Even architects themselves,' it has been observed, 'were divided into goats and lambs, with Butterfield, Richard Carpenter [1812–1855] and Benjamin Ferry [*sic*] marked as "approved" while poor Charles Barry [1795–1860] was placed on the "condemned" roster'.²⁹

The church, which is listed Grade II, was declared redundant and closed in 2008. Fortunately, it has found reuse by the Luton Greek Orthodox Community of St Charalambos, to whom it has been rededicated.³⁰

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The best account of the building history is in C. Pickford, ed., *Bedfordshire Churches in the Nineteenth Century*, Part IV, *Appendices and Index*, Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc., 80, 2001, pp.885–7 with tabulated data at p.961, although at p.886 this repeats one misleading statements in the brief description in N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968, p.81, which also has two significant omissions – including the fact that the church is built of brick! Better, though still not faultless is C. O'Brien and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014, pp.154–5. There is a reproduction of the architect's own plan on the Incorporated Church Building Society's website at <http://www.churchplanonline.org>: click on 'Simple Search', then on 'Search by Place', then on 'L', and scroll down to and click on 'LUTON, Holy Trinity, Fast Hyde (Bedfordshire)'. The church was built as a chapel-of-ease to St Mary's, becoming a separate parish church only in 1859: Pickford, 2001, pp.885–6; also H. Cobbe, *Luton Church: Historical and Descriptive*, London: George Bell and Sons, and Bedford: F. Hockliffe, 1899, pp.251, 269; W. Austin, *The History of Luton and its Hamlets*, Newport, IOW: The County Press, 1928, vol. 2, p.142 (where the architect is called 'Mr. Benjamin Ferrer'); Rev. F.C. Hamlyn, *The Story of the Churches in Luton*, Luton: Staddons, The Crescent Press, n.d. but 1958, p.39; and P.L. Bell, *Belief in Bedfordshire*, Bedford: Belfry Press, 1986, p.123, which also provides, at pp.105–23, the background story to Anglicanism in nineteenth-century Bedfordshire. Historically, Luton belonged to the huge Diocese of Lincoln, but in 1837, as part of the Archdeaconry of Bedford, it was transferred to Ely, and in 1914 to St Albans: J. Godber, *History of Bedfordshire 1066–1888*, Bedford: Beds. County Council, 1969, pp.500, 560; the Diocese of St Albans was created in 1877.

2. The Marquess of Bute's involvement must act as a corrective to the assertion that Anglican expansion in Luton began only 'after the Butes left the Hoo and sold the [ecclesiastical] living' in 1848, in J. Dyer and J.G. Dony, *The Story of Luton*, 3rd edn, Luton: White Crescent Press, 1975, p.118, where, in a single paragraph, the church is dated both to 1841 and to 1859! This is due to slipshod revision of the first edition, Luton: White Crescent Press, 1964, p.134, which gives 1859 – when Holy Trinity became an independent parish church – as the date of *building*.

3. C. Pickford, ed., *Bedfordshire Churches in the Nineteenth Century*, Part II, *Parishes Harlington to Roxton*, Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc., 77, 1998, pp.473, 479, n.18. This innovation is mentioned in J. Gwilt, *An*

Encyclopædia of Architecture: Historical, Theoretical, & Practical, revised W. Papworth, London, New York, and Bombay (now Mumbai): Longmans, Green and Co., 1899, pp.706, §2245a, 1153, no.369, where, however, Maulden is given as 'Macclean Church, near Amphthill' – a compositor's error from handwritten copy presumably. See also B.F.L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: a Study of the Gothic Revival in England*, new edn, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1969, p.112.

4. B. Ferrey, *Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin* [sic: Welby was his second, not his third, name] and his Father Augustus Pugin with Notices of their Works, London: Edward Stanford, 1861, reissued, introd. C. and J. Wainwright, London: Scolar Press, 1978. For the Pugins see, now, R. Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, London: Allen Lane, 2007; this also contains occasional information about Ferrey.

5. For Ferrey's life and career I have used principally G.H. Burnet, revised R. Hill, 'Ferrey, Benjamin', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 19, *Fane–Flatman*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp.435–7; but also E.N. Kaufman, 'Ferrey, Benjamin', in A.K. Placzek, ed., *Macmillan Encyclopaedia of Architects*, vol. 2, *Eads to Lewis*, New York: The Free Press, and London: Collier Macmillan, 1982, p.53; the entry 'Ferrey, Benjamin' in A. Felstead, J. Franklin, and L. Pinfield, *Directory of British Architects 1834–1900*, London: Mansell for the RIBA, 1993, pp.305–6; and P. Howell, 'Ferrey, Benjamin', in J. Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 11, *Ferrara to Gainsborough*, London: Macmillan, and New York: Grove, 1996, pp.21–2. I have tracked Ferrey's moves in London from successive editions of *Kelly's Post-Office London Directory*. His father served as Mayor of Christchurch and Ferrey himself, together with E.W. Brayley, published *The Antiquities of the Priory of Christchurch*, at which building he later did restoration work: N. Pevsner and D. Lloyd, *The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967, pp.169 note, 170, 176.

6. Here and throughout, cardinal points are used in their *liturgical* sense, with the altar assumed to be at the east; the church is actually oriented to the north-east.

7. This asymmetrical arrangement is somewhat similar to, though of course on a much smaller scale than, that of the Romanesque west front of Rochester Cathedral, although there the taller tower is on the south. The present appearance is due to an 1888 restoration by J.L. Pearson (1817–97), which attempted to reproduce the medieval façade. Eighteenth-century alterations and demolitions ensured that Ferrey cannot have seen the original, but so scholarly an architect is almost certain to have seen illustrations of the west front before these changes, for which see J.P. McAleer, 'The Significance of the West Front of Rochester Cathedral', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 99, 1983, pp.139–58, esp. pp.145–7; at p.144, plate 1B reproduces an early eighteenth-century engraving from B. Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York...* (etc), 3 vols, London: H. Gosling, 1727–42: it seems reasonable to assume that the erudite Ferrey was familiar with this work.

8. For these bricks see A. Cox, *Survey of Bedfordshire: Brickmaking: a History and Gazetteer*, Bedford: Beds. County Council, and London: RCHM (England), 1979, pp.33–4; also T.P. Smith, 'Fabric-Marks, Finger-Prints, and Other Features: Bricks in High Town Methodist Chapel, Luton', *BBS Information*, 77, June 1999, p.13; for aspects of their manufacture see: J. Dyer, *The Stopsley Book*, Dunstable: The Book Castle, 1998, pp.186–7. From some distance the bricks appear red at East Hyde; in other instances they may appear purplish-red or even brown. Appearance varies with the ambient light and with whether or not the bricks are wet from rain. As with all bricks, moreover, overall colour of the brickwork also depends on the colour of the mortar.

9. For examples of both types – though not in Luton Greys – even later in the nineteenth century see: T.P. Smith, 'Christ Church, Luton and Pressure Marks in its Nineteenth-Century Bricks', *BBS Information*, 101, July 2006, pp.24–29; also T.P. Smith, 'London Stocks: Drying Procedures and Pressure Marks', *BBS Information*, 97, July 2005, pp.20–23.

10. Pickford, 2001, p.961.

11. Cox, 1979, pp.878; the kiln is probably that shown on A. Bryant's *Map of the County of Bedfordshire* of 1826.

12. Nineteenth-century builders quite often ran their own brickyards: for examples in Luton, see Cox, 1979, pp.86–9.

13. Hamlyn, [1958], p.39; Pevsner, 1968, p.81; retained in O'Brien and Pevsner, 2014, p.155. According to

Timothy Mowl, himself an authority on the Norman revival, Pevsner ‘despised and scorned’ the style: T. Mowl, *Stylistic Cold Wars: Betjeman versus Pevsner*, London: John Murray, 2000, pp.7–8. On the other hand, Pevsner regarded the eclectic Romanesque St Mary, Wreay, Cumberland (now Cumbria; designed c.1835, built 1840–42), by the female amateur architect Sara Losh (1785–1853), as amongst the ‘best in church architecture during the years of Queen Victoria’ and characterises it as ‘a most impressive and in some ways forward-pointing building’: N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland & Westmorland*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967, p.40; there is (for Pevsner volumes of the time) an unusually full description of the church at pp.210–12 with pl.64; there are good colour photographs at <http://www.visitcumbria.com/car/chc2.htm>. For further description of Wreay church see M. Hyde and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumbria Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, pp.704–7 with pl.82 (interior). And see now, J. Uglow, *The Pinecone: the Story of Sarah Losh ...*, London: Faber and Faber, 2012, pp.246–8 and several unnumbered plates.

14. F. Davis, *The History of Luton, with its Hamlets, Etc.*, Luton: J. Wiseman, 1855, p.30, repeated in the same author’s *Luton, Past and Present: its History and Antiquities*, Luton: W. Stalker, 1874, p.89; although the narthex is not perhaps so very ‘simply’ built. The Vicar of Luton, the Rev. Thomas Sikes, must have been satisfied with Ferrey’s work, because in 1848 the architect was engaged to advise on improvements to the mother church, St Mary’s, itself: Pickford, 1998, p.440.

15. Pickford, 2001, pp.952, 959, 971. The architects were: Holy Trinity, Bedford: John Brown of Norwich and London (1805–76); St Cuthbert, Bedford: James Woodroffe of Bedfordshire (*fl.* 1838–50); Clophill: Thomas Smith of Hertford (1798–1875); and Linslade: Benjamin Ferrey. There were subsequent additions of varying extent to all four churches. The average (mean) cost of individual churches erected under the aegis of the Church Building Commission in 1840–41 was £3,306; over the decade (1839–40 to 1848–49) the averages ranged from £2,744 in 1841–42 to £4,104 in 1843–44: M.H. Port, *600 New Churches: the Church Building Commission 1818–1856*, new edn, Reading: Spire Books, 2006, p.247, Table 3.

16. H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, 3rd edn, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, pp.862–3; Port, 2006, p.267. The full title of Shaw’s work, which was privately published in London, is *A Letter on Ecclesiastical Architecture, as Applicable to Modern Churches, Addressed to the Right Rev. the Bishop of London*. It followed his use of the style, in London Stock bricks, at Holy Trinity, Gough Square, London EC4 (1837–38, demolished 1913). Twelve years earlier, the architects Atkinson & Sharp – Peter Atkinson Jnr (c.1776–1843) and Richard Hey Sharp (1793–1853) – had advocated Romanesque on similar grounds: ‘This stile [*sic*] of building offers advantages of great durability and economy ...’: Port, 2006, p.266, quoting Church Building Commission, Minute Book 23, 27 February 1827; but unlike Shaw’s *Letter*, this was not a published statement.

17. The diagram, of course, requires caution and certainly does not constitute anything like proof, since the churches were not all the same size: East Hyde, the cheapest, for example, was also the smallest; it was also the only one to be built in brick. Nor does the diagram take account of changing costs over the decade.

18. The Walthamstow church has had a vicissitudinous history, with alterations, extensions, World War II damage, subsequent extensive rebuilding, and more recent arson damage: Shaw’s work survives on the south and east: the complex building history is outlined in B. Cherry, C. O’Brien, and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London, 5: East*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Buildings Books Trust, 2005, p.747. There is a good photograph in P.C. Plummer and W.H. Bowyer, *A Brief History of Courtney Warner & Warner Estate, Walthamstow, Leyton, Woodford*, Walthamstow: Walthamstow Historical Society, Monograph New Series 31, 2000, p.16. Others of his Romanesque churches have fared even worse, having been demolished, sometimes following war damage: the greatest loss is Christ Church, Watney Street, London E1 (1840), the interior of which was quite striking though its exterior was exceptionally dreary: there are good photographs in Port, 2006, pp.235, 265. Shaw is now best known for his later Renaissance style buildings, notably Wellington College, Sandhurst, Bucks. (1855–9). Ferrey’s Morpeth church, built for the Church Building Commission, was, at £5,435, almost 5½ times the cost of East Hyde: Port, 2006, p.340. For a description of St James, Morpeth, see N. Pevsner and I.A. Richmond, revised by J. Grundy, G. McCombie, P. Ryder and H. Welfare, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2nd edition, 2002, p.395, with pls. 103 (exterior), 104 (interior).

19. G.E. Hamilton, *Designs for Rural Churches*, London: John Weale, 1836; Sara Losh’s church at Wreay, mentioned in n.13, was designed – though not built – before Shaw’s letter.

20. T.H. Cocke, 'Pre-Nineteenth-Century Attitudes in England to Romanesque Architecture', *JBAA*, 3rd series, **36**, 1973, pp.72–97 and esp. pp.93–5. On the Romanesque revival see also Port, 2006, pp.266–8; Port's (first edition) data concerning Classical, Romanesque, and Gothic churches built under the aegis of the Church Building Commission are usefully shown in graphic form in R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1989, p.433, fig. 123.
21. [J.M. Neale], *A Few Words to Church Builders*, Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, 1841, p.9, reprinted in facsimile in C. Webster, ed., *'temples ... worthy of His presence': the Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society*, Reading: Spire Books in association with the Ecclesiological Society, 2003, p.141. Neale was a founder of the Camden Society in 1839 (it changed its name to the Ecclesiological Society in 1845), which issued a number of his polemical pamphlets. He is perhaps better known as the writer of a number of hymns, including 'All Glory, Laud and Honour' and 'O Happy Band of Pilgrims'. Dogged by ill health, yet an indefatigable worker and a prolific author, he died aged only 48. He was, incidentally, godfather to the Anglo-Catholic architect Sir Ninian Comper (1864–1960); A. Symondson and S.A. Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper: an Introduction to his Life and Work*, Reading: Spire Books, and London: The Ecclesiological Society, 2006, p.31. For the influence of other county and diocesan architectural societies see C. Webster, 'Architects and Clergy in Early-Victorian Britain: a Useful Alliance or a Threat to the Profession?', *Ecclesiology Today*, **37**, December 2006, pp.81–92.
22. R. Dixon and S. Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1978, p.201. The Society's brick and polychrome 'show church', All Saints, Margaret Street, London, by William Butterfield (1814–1900), was planned in 1849, started in 1850, and completed in 1859.
23. M.J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2002, p.110, caption to fig. 97. The same point, though not restricted to churches, is implied in Dixon and Muthesius, 1978, p.15.
24. Port, 2006, pp.214–18; in 1822 a further Act extended such repayments to rebuilding or enlarging of existing churches so long as this resulted in increased accommodation, although in 1840 this was restricted to work costing more than £400. In the case of non-Commissioners' churches the money was repaid to the parish; in the case of Commissioners' churches it was used to purchase Exchequer bonds to augment the Commission's own resources; where the Commissioners had made only a grant towards costs the reimbursement was shared between them and the parish in proportion to their respective contributions.
25. Many of these were mean, visually unattractive buildings, but there were some notable exceptions: for an example of 1840–41, though with the Commission in this instance contributing only 5.2 per cent of the cost, see T.P. Smith, 'Cambridge: St Paul's Church, Hills Road', *BBS Information*, **103**, April 2007, pp.16–18.
26. Quoted in Clarke, 1969, p.100; cf. Webster, 2006, pp.88–9; for other hostile reactions to the ecclesiologists' approach, including that of the great architectural historian Robert Willis, see C. Webster, 'Introduction', in Webster, 2003, pp.39–40. For Chantrell see, now, C. Webster, *R.D. Chantrell (1793–1872) and the Architecture of a Lost Generation*, Reading: Spire Books, 2009.
27. Lewis, 2002, p.98.
28. See Neale, 1841, p.30, in Webster, 2003, p.162: 'If every thing else [in this pamphlet] is forgotten, and two points only [are] remembered, THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF A DISTINCT AND SPACIOUS CHANCEL, and THE ABSOLUTE INADMISSIBILITY OF PUES [*sic*] AND GALLERIES in any shape whatever, I shall be more than rewarded' (capitals as in original; ecclesiologists generally spelled 'pew' as 'pue', reflecting the origin of the word in Old French *puye*: they used the word to refer to *box-pews*, not to the benches, now commonly called 'pews', of which they approved); East Hyde also offended ecclesiological sensibilities in not being 'correctly' oriented to the east. Morris, 1989, p.436, aptly refers to the 'architectural McCarthyism of the Cambridge Camden Society'; see also P. Howell, *Victorian Churches*, RIBA drawings series, Feltham: Hamlyn/Country Life Books, 1968, p.15, C. Webster, 'Introduction', in Webster, 2003, pp.13–44, *passim*, and Lewis, 2002, p.92.
29. Lewis, 2002, p.92; Ferrey's appearance on the *approved* list is an indication of his development after East Hyde.
30. See, e.g., www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2177483 and www.seekinghyde.org.uk. St Charalambos (or Charalampos, which means 'Joyful Light' in Greek) does not appear in D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of*

Saints, 4th edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977; but several websites give details. He was a priest in the city of Magnesia in Asia Minor (now Turkey) in the second century. He was martyred in Pisidian Antioch in 202, when, according to hagiographic tradition, he was 113 years old! His feast day is 10 February.

A LOST EXAMPLE OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORTH EUROPEAN BRICK TRACERY IN LUTON

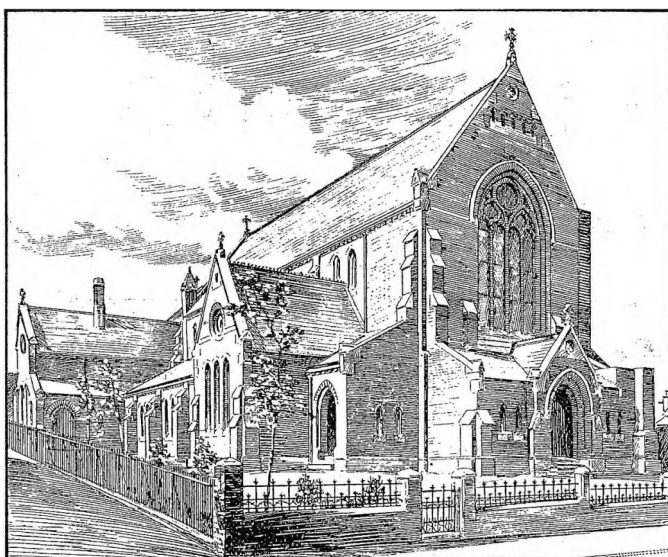


Fig.1 St Paul's church, Luton (demolished), drawing by E. Buckner, c.1899; note, at far right, the bottom stage of the never completed south-west tower.

St Paul's church, Hibbert Street, Luton — demolished for structural reasons and replaced by a new building on a nearby site in 1990 — was designed by Thomas N. Laslett (*fl.* 1888-91) of London. Built of brick with stone dressings in 1890-91 (with minor additions in 1898), it had a vicissitudinous design history, Laslett's first project being hugely over-ambitious. That is a matter for another occasion, perhaps. Here, a drawing of *circa* 1899 by E. Buckner (fig.1) is reproduced to show an unusual nineteenth-century replication, in its west window, of curvilinear brick tracery of the medieval north European Brick Gothic' region, to be viewed alongside early Tudor examples in Smallhythe church, Kent (1516-17). Brick tracery of *any* kind is rare enough in Gothic Revival churches in Britain, let alone of this distinctive pattern, but that it existed is confirmed by photographs which would not reproduce as well as the clear line drawing in figure 1. Do members know of any other examples?

T.P. SMITH

Book Review: *A Light from Northern Climes*

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

On 21 December 1891, All Saints, the principal church in Hertfordshire's county town of Hertford, burnt down. The roof was lost and remnant structure judged unfit for repair. A new building was needed and on the advice of James Brooks (1825-1901) a select group of London-based architectural practices specialising in church work were invited to submit a portfolio of designs and the same courtesy was extended to one firm from far away: Paley, Austin & Paley of Lancaster. The vestry meeting, perhaps on Brooks' advice, chose the latter.

At Hertford between 1893 and 1895, the firm provided a church initially with a four-bay nave, to which a fifth was added in 1904-05, and three bays for the chancel under a continuous queen post roof. The stone used was northern, red Runcorn sandstone from Weston Point, Cheshire; Smith Brothers, the contractors, came from Burnley, Lancashire; the wood carving was the work of James Hatch & Sons, a Lancaster joinery firm much used by their neighbours.

Hertford was a rare southern foray by this essentially Lancastrian firm whose main area of work extended from the southern edge of Cumberland to the plains of south Cheshire and who rarely strayed across the other side the Pennines: their work in the West Riding is more or less confined to west of the route of the Settle to Carlisle Railway (see Brandwood's map on page 3), although on the east coast of Yorkshire, there is work in Bridlington in 1846 and a series of jobs in Scarborough in 1880, 1885, 1893, and culminating in St James' mission church in 1894.

As the success at Hertford shows, Paley & Austin, to use the name by which the firm is most commonly reported, was a county town practice very distant from London but with a strong claim to national fame. In 1835, Edmund Sharpe (1809-1977) began to practice architecture in Lancaster, founding a firm which lasted for over a hundred years. Three years later, Sharpe took on Edward Graham Paley (1823-1895) as an articulated pupil. A decade after the practice began it became Sharpe & Paley. Sharpe withdrew in 1851 but the practice retained his name until 1856. In 1867, a new man with much experience, Hubert Austin (1841-1915), joined Paley and a year later the style became Paley & Austin. Paley's younger son, Harry Anderson Paley (1859-1946), became an articulated pupil in 1877 and after passing the examinations of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1885, became a partner in the firm in following year when its title changed to Paley, Austin & Paley. When E.G. Paley died in 1895, the style was again changed to Austin & Paley, under which it continued until 1944 or 1945 although Hubert Austin died in 1915. Harry Paley, for two decades the sole principal, died in 1946.

In the course of over a century, there were only four principals: Edmund Sharpe, E.G. Paley, Hubert Austin, and H.A. Paley. After an introduction (pp.1-6), Brandwood divides his study into five chapters. The first (pp.7-47) looks at 'Edmund Sharpe: architect and scholar'. 'Developing the Practice: Edmund Graham Paley' (pp.48-79) is the subject of the first of two chapters on the elder Paley; the second, 'Paley & Austin, 1868-1886' (pp.80-133) examines the first two decades of the association of the two men. Chapter 4 with the title 'Paley, Austin & Paley/Austin & Paley, 1886-1915' (pp.134-177) is a consideration of the work of the last three decades of Hubert Austin's life. The final chapter looks at 'The last years of the practice: Harry Paley' (pp.178-187). In Appendix 5 (pp.210-259), Brandwood has assembled an impressive list of details, mostly from secondary sources, concerning the construction history of each of more than two thousand projects. To a large degree this overcomes the lack of a surviving archive for the practice.

This review will concentrate on the churches designed by the practice although they did domestic work and built commercial buildings in Lancaster and Barrow-in-Furness, where the practice maintained an office. Taking two or three significant brick buildings, this review will consider the period of each man's dominance separately.

Edmund Sharpe practised alone for a decade between 1835 and 1845 and whilst the elder

Paley was his partner for six years after 1845, the older man remained the senior partner until he left architecture in 1851. After 1851, Edmund Sharpe enlarged his interests in railway construction, quarry ownership and management, sanitary reform, and political reform, moving on to encompass tramways in Geneva and a railway in south-east France between Perpignan and Prades. Sharpe's trams were horse-drawn; modern electric trams still run on the routes he laid out in Geneva. Brandwood provides information on these ventures in 'Appendix 1: Edmund Sharpe: engineer, businessman and reformer', (pp.188-195).

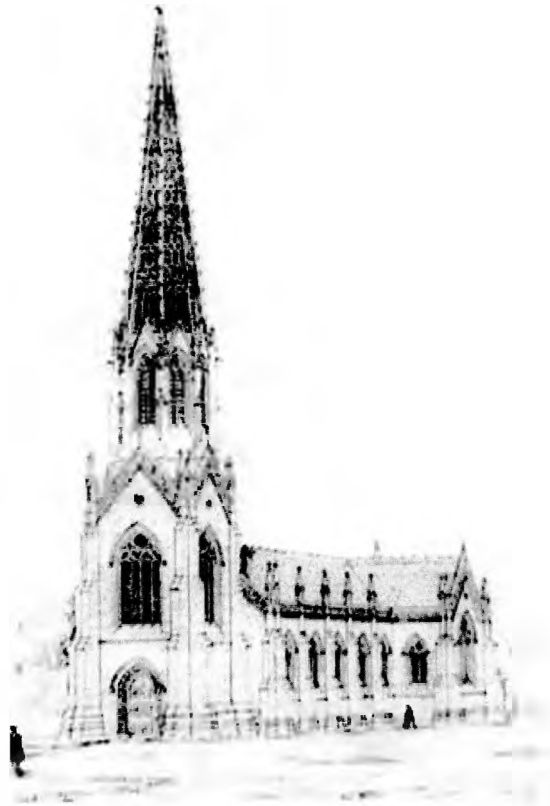


Fig.1 St Stephen and All Martyrs, Lever Bridge, Bolton, Lancashire. Designed 1841 and completed in 1845, Edmund Sharpe's first and best-known 'pot church' of terracotta had an openwork spire based on that at Feiburg-im-Bresigau, Germany. The spire has been removed but the church is still in use.

In the history of architecture, Edmund Sharpe is best remembered for his Lancashire 'pot churches', an attempt to use terracotta for church building. St Stephen and All Martyrs, Lever Bridge, Bolton, was designed in 1841, built during the next three years, and consecrated on 26 June 1845; and Holy Trinity, Rusholme, Manchester, was put up in 1845-46. There is also one late 'pot' church: St Paul, Scotforth, designed in 1874-75. Scotforth was Romanesque in style, echoing Sharpe's church work of more than thirty years earlier; the other two employed German Gothic antecedents, not least a Lever Bridge, whose now demolished openwork spire is a copy of that on the cathedral at Freiburg-im-Bresigau, Baden-Württemberg. Lever Bridge also has bench ends of terracotta and the backs of the bench pews included terracotta panels as inserts. In 1846, terracotta angels were used to provide new ornament in repairs to the hammerbeam roof at Bridlington Priory, Yorkshire East Riding. These angels were made by the firm of Willcock & Co of Manchester, by then owned by John Fletcher, the

owner of Ladyshore Colliery, near Bolton, and Sharpe's brother-in-law. Fletcher had promoted the church at Lever Bridge as a means of advertising the construction material made as a by-product of his coal mine. Patron and architect were pioneers in the use of terracotta.

Brandwood's chapter on Edmund Sharpe (pp.7-47) details the man's parentage, family and social connections, his education, and his extensive continental tour. In it we find details of Sharpe's early contact with Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), a pioneer in the use of iron in church architecture and an early systematizer of medieval English church architecture. After ten terms at St John's College, Cambridge, and with a respectable degree, Sharpe spent almost three years (1832-35) abroad, absorbing details of the architecture of great many parts of Germany and two transects of France under the auspices of a Worts Travelling Scholarship. One does wonder if the extended period of travel in his mid-twenties in later life gave Sharpe the taste for being an executive gypsy willing to try new places and new ventures: significantly none of Geneva, Perpignan or Prades had featured in his early tour.

Sharpe's mother had been widowed in October 1823, when Edmund was fourteen. The county town was where Martha Sharpe retired to bring up her four children, having the assistance of her sister-in-law, Sarah Whittaker, also a widow. Returning to Lancaster, with the extensive social connections provided by his family, gave Edmund Sharpe the perfect start in his architectural practice but he seems to have been a man with far wider ambitions, not always realised. He did not publish his early research on German and French churches, became involved in a dispute over the correct nomenclature and more precise dating of the development of English medieval architecture, and moved on to railway building. Yet it was his work as an early scholar concerned with the history of English architecture that was specifically recognised by the award of the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1875; this was just before Sharpe set out for his final research tour to the Charante, France, and north Italy: he died in Milan on 6 May 1877.

When Edmund Paley died in 1895, *The Architect & Contract Reporter* devoted seven pages of its issue of February 1895 to his obituary and included illustrations of six of Paley's churches in Lancashire, including Holy Trinity, Bury, St John the Evangelist, Turncroft, Darwen, and St Mark, Preston. Edmund Paley had practised alone for seventeen years from 1851 to 1868 and continued to be a driving force in the practice until at least 1886. A sociable man, his personal connections and contacts brought commissions to the firm. Throughout *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, Brandwood is very good at examining the family and social connections which brought in work to the practice.

Brick does not figure much in the early churches of Edmund Paley, although there are many built of stone. One from 1860 and another from soon after Austin joined him have stone exteriors but exposed brick in the interior. The earlier one, built in 1860, is St Peter, Quernmore, an estate church a four miles east of Lancaster: it was rebuilt for new owner of the eighteenth-century house and park at Quernmore Park, William Garnett. Internally, the aisled church has red brick above the arches and filling the aisle and east walls. As befitted a rural parish, the Quernmore church was quite modest in size; not so the expansive St John the Evangelist, Cheetham, Manchester, a commission of 1869 which took two years to build. This dominates the surrounding area, with a bold south-west tower, wide aisles, and a clerestory extending round the apsidal east end. As with so many Paley & Austin churches, there is only a minimal division between nave and chancel, indicated primarily by two steps with a low pulpit to the north. Banking money paid for the Cheetham church.

By the time the Cheetham church was commissioned, Hubert Austin had joined Paley and his influence on the work on the practice quickly became apparent. In church work Austin would be the principal designer for not quite half a century.

Before Austin joined the practice, Edward Paley had begun work on his second church in the new town of Barrow-in-Furness: St George's, the first church, was built of a local stone, Green Kirby slate. The new church, dedicated to St James, was a very different proposition: built in red brick, both inside and out, with only minimal yellow limestone dressings. Originally with bare brick inside, the upper part of the arcade walls have been covered in white plaster, as have the other interior walls but the arches of the arcades and the chancel arch stand out in a variety of red brick specials, thus providing a splendid contrast. The asymmetric tower, placed at the east end of the south aisle, rises high and is capped by an octagonal spire reaching far into the sky. Was the idea behind the steelworkers' church to overawe the working class? And was the spire an early contribution by Hubert



Fig.2 St James, Barrow-in-Furness, designed in 1867 and completed in 1869 has a wide nave with clerestory, aisles, a polygonal apse, and an asymmetrically-placed south-east tower capped by a spire. The red brick interior was originally matched by an unplastered interior; today the red brick arches of the six-bay arcades and the chancel arch contrast with the plain white of the rest of the church.

Austin to the work of the practice? Nikolaus Pevsner certainly thought so. Austin had joined the firm in the final months of the design stage of this church. His towerless St Clement, Ordsall, crammed between the close-knit terrace houses certainly gave the impression of seeking to overawe the people in their small terraced houses. If the spire at St James' was Austin's idea, the use of a polygonal apse was a favourite device of E.G. Paley.

Much less elaborate than the Cheetham or Barrow churches are ten brick churches completed in the decade between 1875 and 1885; in Lancashire these are single churches in Bolton, Daisy Hill, and Leigh, and two in Salford; plus three in Scarborough; and individual churches in the Cheshire towns of Knutsford and Crewe. St Thomas, Halliwell, Bolton, of 1874-75 was the first "of an extremely fruitful period in which Paley & Austin explored a great range of possibilities for building churches in brick" (p.106). In addition, in these ten years, in expanding town of Barrow-in-Furness, the firm built temporary churches dedicated to the four Evangelists, each of the four timber-framed with brick infill and designed to be replaced as funds permitted. Apart from the last four, no two buildings are the same although there are relationships between them. The church at Halliwell set the tone: height, uninterrupted interiors, aisles lower than the nave, clerestory, square east end, and a tower only if funds permitted: several were proposed, few were built and even fewer completed. Terracotta may be used in place of stone for the dressings and the window tracery.

We are particularly fortunate in having a great many details about the two churches built to overawe the long terraces of small houses surrounding them in Ordsall and Broughton. Members of the British Brick Society viewed St Clement, Ordsall, on the society's visit to Salford in 1995: the

present isolation within an enclosed car park belies the church's original situation within the densely packed dwellings of the men who worked on Salford Docks. Of brick supplied by the Knutsford Brick & Tile Company, one distinguishing feature of St Clement's is the fleche above the division between nave and chancel, but this was one of the few High Church commissions undertaken by the firm: the fleche houses a bell to be rung during mass. Even so there is the usual minimal division between chancel and nave: in this case a low wall of brick and openwork terracotta. The twin west doors are surmounted by a terracotta roundel.

These brick churches show how despite a limited budget it is possible to build well, provide sufficient seating capacity for the area, and in areas where living conditions were harsh and paid work uncertain demonstrate that life is not governed by bread alone.



Fig.3 St Clement, Ordsall, Salford, set within the older houses of the dockworkers who worked on Salford Docks at the end of the Manchester Ship Canal, is one of ten brick churches designed by the practice between 1875 and 1885. Without a tower, the west end is adorned with much terracotta around the doorcase. The provision of a fleche is unusual in the practice's work, but the style of worship practised here was more high church than most of the Anglican congregations for whom the firm designed.

More middle class areas like Knutsford in Cheshire and Birkdale, on the outskirts of Liverpool where a brick church was built in 1890-91, might have been exempt from late Victorian England's harsh underside but spiritual uplift was still the intention.

However, Austin's churches of the last thirty years of his life were mostly executed in stone, as at Hertford, with which this review began, or St George, Heavily, Stockport, of 1892-97, Austin's "largest, grandest and most expensive church" (p.153). It is worth noting that Austin, like Paley

before him, could handle stone just as well as he could build in brick or design a timber-framed roof. Hubert Austin was a exceptionally gifted designer of buildings, if a man who largely eschewed the social side of architecture. A partner from 1868 and influential in designs made in the 1870s and early 1880s, he came into his own after 1886 and was the dominant partner for almost thirty years until his death on 22 March 1915, nine days short of his seventy-fourth birthday.

Harry Paley who ran the practice for its last three decades was rather overshadowed by his father and by Austin. However, in the two and a half decades during which he ran the practice, despite the very different economic circumstances to those which had been the case with his predecessors, he could be proud of his church work. New churches in Lancashire included St Stephen, Blackpool, which still lacks its intended west tower; St Hilda, Bilsborrow, where the tower was built; St Luke, Orrell, again left incomplete as the tower was not built; and St Stephen, Wigan. All of these are in stone. His last completed church was St Thomas, Blackpool, where the exterior is in red brick but the interior is bare sandstone.



Fig.4 St Barbara, Earlsdon, Coventry, one of Harry Paley's designs for the practice in the 1930s was built of red brick and reconstituted Hall Dale stone. Economic circumstances meant that the final, western bay of the nave and a western baptistery alcove were never built. The church maintains a thriving congregation. Illustration is from a contemporary advertisement for the manufacturers of the reconstructed stone used in the building.

In red brick with artificial stone dressings are two churches in Coventry: Geoff Brandwood can find no explanation as to how the first of these two jobs came to the firm (p.183), although in 1846 Sharpe had designed the demolished pot church dedicated to St Thomas (built 1848-49); here the connection is through a university friend. St Barbara's church in Earlsdon, a suburb in the south-west of the city, was first mooted in 1927 and built in 1930-31. It was followed by St Barnabas on the other side of the city, in Foxhill in the northern part of the city. At both churches, a local man, Harold T. Jackson, accepted the position of 'advisory architect' and clerk of works and at St Barnabas he designed the furniture.

The two Coventry brick churches share characteristics with St Thomas, Blackpool: each is an essay in the Perpendicular style; nave and chancel appear as one, although there is a subtle division indicated on the exterior on the roof; and the west end is incomplete, due to the global economic situation meaning that raising funds for church building became progressively more difficult.

Earlier this review referred to the global economic circumstances of the 1920s and 1930s making church building difficult as there was so little spare money; the financial circumstances caused Hubert Austin's son Geoffrey to leave architecture after the Great War and seek a different career. In contrast, despite the Long Depression, an series of bank crashes and quite severe economic downturns interspersed with short-lived recoveries between 1873 and 1896, economic difficulties were minimal for the patrons of church building in the lengthening shadows of the autumnal glow which followed the Victorian summer. This produced a feeling of economic well-being which could never end and allowed non-metropolitan practices like Paley & Austin to flourish and produce work which was just as accomplished as that of well-known London architects.

One thought often occurs to this reviewer, and Geoff Brandwood's work has reinforced it: the history of English architecture is far too frequently written from a metropolitan perspective. There have been and, doubtless, still are practices in towns a hundred miles or more from London whose work is as good as, if not better than, their metropolitan contemporaries. For example, in Victorian England, the practice of Weightman, Hadfield & Goldie of Sheffield produced work of high quality, mainly for their own Roman Catholic Church. In the 1920s and 1930s, individual partners of Bradshaw Gass & Hope of Bolton could more than hold their own in the field of town halls against any of the London specialists.

But Paley & Austin were on a higher plane than the others quoted. In 1901, the German scholar Hermann Muthesius collected and extended his series of essays in *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* into a book, *Die neuere kirchliche Baukunst in England*. Seven architects were singled out: six were London-based practices, the seventh was Paley & Austin. There can be no higher praise. Also from a user's point of view, a Paley & Austin church does have an appropriate sense of the beauty of holiness; one senses a gentle peace and these churches feel uncluttered. The worshipper does not always get this in a Victorian church, whether new or rebuilt: the church where this reviewer has knelt at communion for the past seventeen years — St Edmund, Shipston-on-Stour (1855: G.E. Street) — is a prime example of one where architecturally there is something that jars.

Whilst this review has chosen to focus on the firm's work for Church of England patrons, like all provincial architectural practices, Paley & Austin did design for whoever commissioned them. The largest church designed by Edward Paley is St Peter's, Lancaster, now the city's Roman Catholic cathedral. And, as the comments on Barrow-in-Furness have hinted, secular work was equally a part of the firm's work, although in a review in an issue of *British Brick Society Information* which is devoted to 'Brick in Churches' it seemed appropriate to concentrate on the practice's ecclesiastical work.

Geoff Brandwood has produced a volume worthy of a firm which never sought national honours but whose work stands as a worthy testament to their endeavour, their sense of purpose, and their feeling for materials.

DAVID H. KENNETT

Book Review:

'Look ... upon this picture, and on this ...'

Michael Yelton with photographs by John Salmon,
Anglican Church-Building in London, 1946-2012,
Reading: Spire Books, 2013,
332 pages (6 blank at end), numerous unnumbered black and white photographs,
ISBN 978-1-904965-44-2, price £29-95, hardback.

This book is a sequel to a volume covering 1915-1945 and, the author claims, 'is in a similar format' (p.5).¹ Strictly, the *format* is different — rectangular portrait rather than square — and it is the *arrangement* — brief introduction followed by lengthy gazetteer — that is the same.

The Introduction explains that the area chosen for study is Greater London, 'not only because it is clearly defined and widely understood, but also [because] it corresponds generally to the built-up metropolitan area'; and for reasons of space, consideration is limited to *Anglican* churches (p.5). The latter restriction is unexceptionable, although it does lead to omission of some significant brick (and other) buildings, such as the Danish Seamen's Church, Stepney (1959, Holger Jensen with Armstrong & McManus; Lutheran, now London City Mission) or Most Holy Trinity, Bermondsey (1960, H.S. Goodhart-Rendel; Roman Catholic).

Three church building types are distinguished at page 7: the replacement of buildings damaged in World War II or later; provision of new churches in developing areas; and replacement of large, 'usually Victorian, edifices by smaller ... constructions' more suited to the diminished congregations of the time; but in the Gazetteer are some of a fourth type not noted by the author: *restorations* of damaged churches.

The author's Christian (indeed Anglo-Catholic) position is reflected in his comment on an externally unprepossessing church (Christ Church and St Stephen, Battersea, 1959: Thomas F. Ford), which *internally* 'has acquired ... a sense of welcome and of holiness' (p.7, cf. p.293). The latter sense is unavailable to a humanist reviewer — even to one long familiar with Rudolf Otto's attempt to define so nebulous a concept — and other, doubtless subjective, criteria must be used.² That, of course, does not preclude appreciation of some church buildings. In what follows, my own judgements — which is to say my own *prejudices* — are sometimes expressed. More objective, I believe, are my strictures on the writing and production of this book.

Yelton correctly identifies the problems of the immediate post-war era as 'lack of money' and 'a shortage of building materials', together with the fact that the 'age of rich private donors, which largely disappeared in 1914, had by this time gone completely' (p.8). He also recognises that the post-war Church of England — failing, one may add, to learn from Victorian experience — was hugely over-optimistic about the need for new churches, an aspect discussed at pages 9-10, with some telling examples, including St Mary, Charlton, which 'was not constructed until 1961, was vacated as early as 1974 and then demolished' (p.10).

The churches are considered within each modern (post-1965) borough. Principal entries give dedication and district, status (in use, demolished, disused, etc.), location, nearest station, construction date, and architect(s) where known. These details are not given for the 'Other Churches' at the end of some sections. References are given, where applicable, to the relevant 'Pevsner', to *Sixty Post-War Churches*,³ and to a few other sources, with details of abbreviated references listed at page 17.

Descriptions vary in length, from two lines to 41 lines. Unlike 'Pevsner', Yelton nearly always names building materials, and from this and the photographs it is clear that the new churches are overwhelmingly of brick; sometimes we are even helpfully told that the bricks are red or yellow, or dark or pale. They are sometimes used to create sculptural effects, most strikingly on one face of Little St Peter, Cricklewood, 1953 by Braddock & Martin-Smith.⁴ More muted are the Latin crosses composed of slightly projecting vertically laid stretchers at Risen Christ and All Souls, Clapton Park, 1977 by Freddie To; and at St Luke, Cranham Park, 2002 by John Marsh of MFB Partnership. At All Saints, Orpington, 1957-58 by Geddes Hyslop, brick and flint are combined, with, in one face, brick diaper in flint walling.

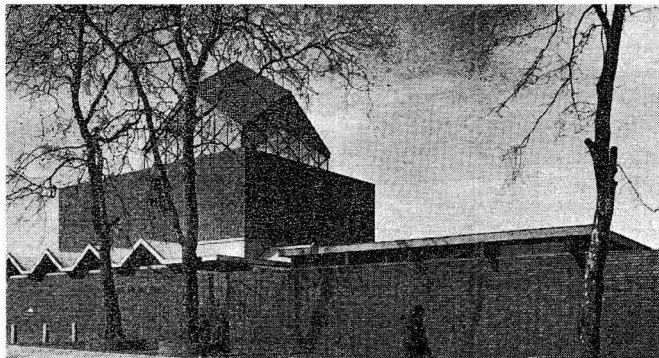
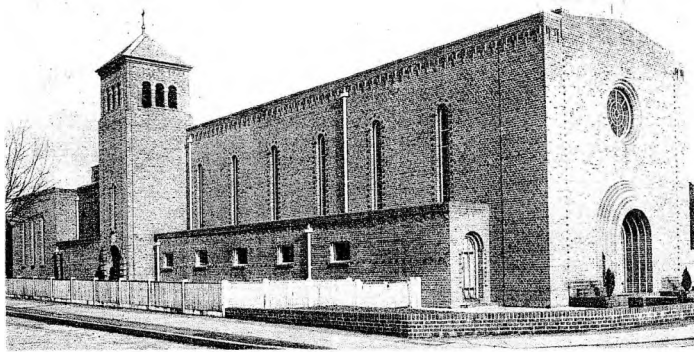


Fig.1 (above) All Saints, Queensbury, Barnet, 1954, Romilly Craze.

Fig. 2 (below) St Paul, Bow Common, Tower Hamlets, 1956-1960, Maguire & Murray.

The sixty-six years covered by the book constitute a long period, and much happened in it, architecturally and liturgically. The buildings therefore exhibit a range of styles, most conveniently appreciated in two facing photographs: hence the title of this review, from *Hamlet*, III.iv.53-54. At page 37 is St Mary, Welling, 1954 by Thomas Ford, a conservative building ‘with some nods to early Christian buildings, and a Lombardic tower’; it might be taken for an inter-war church. By contrast, at page 36 is St Andrew, Sidcup, built a decade later to a design by Braddock, Martin-Smith & Lipley, aptly described by John Newman as ‘ingenious, fashionable, and slightly absurd’.⁵

The same contrast may be shown by two other churches, both making much use of brick, here illustrated by two differently sourced photographs. All Saints, Queensbury, 1954, by Romilly Craze of Milner & Craze (fig.1) is in a minimally modernised Romanesque; St Paul, Bow Common, 1956-60 by Maguire & Murray (fig.2) is an uncompromisingly modern building both architecturally and liturgically.

The latter, Yelton notes at page 12, ‘was a consequence of changing attitudes rather than a catalyst for them’. Influences were from *avant-garde* Continental churches, which, with a few non-European buildings, Robert Maguire and Keith Murray celebrated, slightly later, in a polemical book.⁶ Yet they designed only one other London church and ‘very few elsewhere’ (p.6). Contemplation of the second London building — St Joseph the Worker, Northolt, 1967 — leads this reviewer to conclude that their lack of widespread involvement is not to be regretted. The influence of St Paul, Bow Common is clear in St Mary and St Nicholas, Perivale, 1968 by Laurence King — in fact a far more accomplished building.

The liturgical concerns which so exercised Maguire, Murray and others were presented to English readers — though not *many* of them, one imagines — by Rev. Peter Hammond.⁷ To an

outsider it is curious, even comical, to witness Anglicans — and Roman Catholics post-Vatican II — earnestly discussing the ‘correct’ position of an altar: against the ‘east’ end or pulled forward; and is the priest ‘at one’ with his congregants by facing them or, like a non-sacerdotal Muslim imam, by joining them in facing the *same* direction? But this is not the place to pursue such arcane matters. So let us return to the buildings. Of course, to consider them all would be to write a review as long as, or even longer than, the book reviewed! A few remarks must therefore suffice.

Many inter-war architects of traditional bent such as Sir Edward Maufe and Thomas F. Ford continued in their accustomed style. Romilly Craze sometimes attempted to be up-to-date, as at St Cuthbert, North Wembley, 1958, though there are clear Classical echoes in the building; at St Thomas, Kensal Town, as late as 1967, he made another attempt, but seems to have lost his nerve by topping the building with medieval crenellations! By contrast, N.F. Cachemaille-Day was, in the inter-war years, in the vanguard of church architects: after the war his work became somewhat less mannered — which is not to say that it is always attractive: All Saints and St Stephen, Walworth, 1959, is an egregious composition which ‘resembles a warehouse from the front’ (p.241). But St Mary, West Twyford, 1958, and St James, Clapham Park, 1957-58, are powerful brick buildings.

As for that turning-point of *circa* 1960, one may again contrast two buildings also appearing on facing pages: 158 and 159. The slightly earlier St Mary, South Ruislip, 1959 by Laurence King, displays a sort of attenuated post-Festival-of-Britain flibbertigibbet quality.⁸ And a crucifix — not just a cross but a *crucifix* — at the west end is one thing; but to make of it, as here, a central mullion and a transom strikes me as bad taste, verging on *kitsch*. St Nicholas, Hayes, 1961 by Anthony Lewis is a more substantial and far superior building, its inspiration clearly from inter-war German and Swiss churches, though here translated from raw concrete to warmer brick in typically English manner. Lewis designed a similar church at Yeading: St Edmund of Canterbury, 1961. This reviewer — who was excited, aged 16, by a postcard of St Anthony, Basel/Bale (1926-27, Karl Moser) bought at the city’s SSB Bahnhof — would have welcomed more in this considerate mode.⁹

Alas, 1960s trendiness — and sometimes, one suspects, self-centredness (‘Do your own thing’ was a byword of the time) — was dominant, giving such spiky and restless gincerackery as St Barnabas at St Paul’s Cray, 1962-64 by E.F. Sterling; St Richard, Ham, 1966 by Ralph Cowell; St Paul, Newington, 1959-60 by Woodroffe Buchanan & Coulter; and St Saviour, Paddington, 1976 by Biscoe & Stanton.

The last, however, is perhaps better considered a (proleptic) Post-Modern building, and some other churches of recent decades may also be so classified. Most celebrated has been St Paul, Harringay, 1988-93 by Peter Jenkins, though enthusiasm for it is hard to understand: externally, it resembles something built by a child using painted wooden components (and presumably influenced by the explicit ‘Toy Brick’ houses near Tokyo, 1978-84, by Takefumi Aida) whilst inside there is a disturbingly upside-down-looking window. I suspect — and hope — that St James, Alperton, 1990 by Anthony Rouse, a remarkable church described as ‘conservative’, will satisfy long after the appeal of St Paul has (pun irresistible) palled.

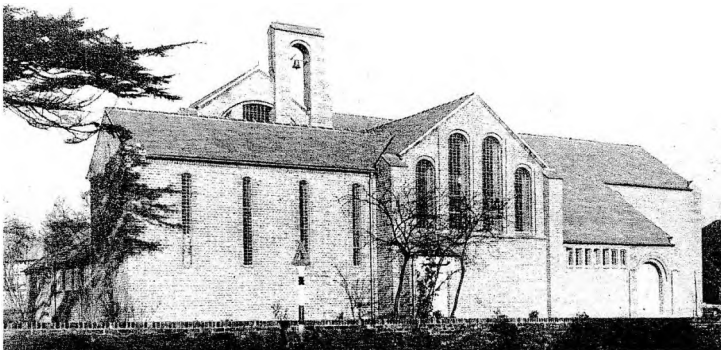


Fig.3 St Mary, Isleworth, Hounslow, 1954, H.S. Goodhart-Rendel.



Fig. 4 St Anthony, Basel/Bale, Switzerland (1926-27: Karl Moser), which, with its raw concrete interpreted in brick, influenced some British churches, including two mentioned herein.

As regards production of the book, the black-and-white photographs, though on high-grade art paper, are frequently of poor quality, sometimes so much so that inclusion seems pointless, for example at page 31 bottom and page 284 top. Comparison of that at page 94 bottom with the attractive jacket illustration makes clear that this loss of quality is due to over-reduction of *colour* photographs. More perplexing, the entry on St Mary, Isleworth, 1954 by H.S. Goodhart-Rendel actually shows the *wrong* building (p.167); I here give a correct illustration (fig.3).

Nor is this the only example of inattention. At page 50 the impression is given that Orpington is in Middlesex rather than in Kent; and *cf.* my second paragraph above. Architectural terms are sometimes used erroneously: within just the first few pages of the *Gazetteer*, for example, narrow *round-headed* windows are called 'lancets' (p.22; at p.42 similar openings are termed 'slit windows', itself incorrect); the square 'clerestory' at page 23 is actually a *lantern*; and the 'high pinnacle' at page 28 is an open-work *fleche*. There are several redundant prepositions, notably 'a tower with spire *above*' (p.197, my italics: where *else* could it be?), and some other oddities of language: the columns of St Mary, West Twyford do not — nothing *could* — 'taper *outwards* towards the roof' (p.95: my italics); of course, they *taper* towards the floor or *splay* outwards towards the roof. And *what*, exactly, is meant by destruction 'by fire *or the like*' (p.5, my italics)? There is also evidence of inadequate proof-reading, resulting, I suspect, from over-reliance on spell-check. There is a list of architects and their works at pages 309-319, which is useful but at page 315 (as in the *Gazetteer*) misspells Humphrys, of Humphrys & Hurst, as Humphreys. A full index is slightly marred by at least one erroneous page number (for Barking, St Paul) and one page number not given at all (Walthamstow, St Stephen).

Some of these criticisms may seem carping, except that the author is a Circuit Judge and one might hope for more attention to language and detail — the more so in a book priced at just five pence short of £30: which prompts the question why it was published in so extravagant a form. An A5 paperback with wrap-round text — avoiding much wasted space (incredibly, no fewer than 56 pages are squandered!) — and with omission of some of the photographs would have been both cheaper and more convenient as a guidebook — which this work essentially *is*. Hard covers may be flattering but here are inappropriate and self-indulgent.¹⁰

TERENCE PAUL SMITH

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 M. Yelton and J. Salmon, *Anglican Church-Building in London, 1915-1945*, Reading: Spire Books, 2007.
- 2 R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, ET of *Das Heilige ...*, 1917, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923; paperback edn, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959.
- 3 Incorporated Church Building Society, *Sixty Post-War Churches*, London: ICBS, 1956.
- 4 The brick sculpture, in the east face, was not part of the original design: see drawings in ICBS, 1956, p.89. The church is deconsecrated and is now incorporated in an old people's home.
- 5 Yelton ascribes the words to the 'editors of Pevsner', but in fact they first appeared in J. Newman, *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969, p.504; subsequently included (and acknowledged) in B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 2: South*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983, p.149.
- 6 R. Maguire and K. Murray, *Modern Churches of the World*, London: Studio Vista, 1965; their own Bow Common church is considered at pp.90-93. The same authors also contributed to P. Hammond, ed., *Towards a Church Architecture*, London: Architectural Press, 1962. (For a recent account of Bow Common church see G. Adler, *Robert Maguire & Keith Murray: Twentieth-Century Architects*, London: RIBA Publishing, 2012, pp.16-29; St Joseph the Worker, Northolt, is considered at pp.93-96 in ch.3 'Churches', pp.69-106. DHK)
- 7 P. Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1960; also the essays in Hammond, 1962.
- 8 In 1976, Graham Hutton wrote of some post-war churches which 'seem to proclaim their (perhaps very temporary) contemporaneity'; E. Smith, O. Cook, and G. Hutton, *English Parish Churches*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1976, p.215; it was a prescient as well as a perceptive remark.
- 9 'After 1933 the Nazi regime increasingly prevented architectural experiment in Germany, ... especially in church building. Consequently the pioneer work was continued in Switzerland ...': Maguire and Murray, 1965, p.41. Since there is space enough, that postcard (which survived a fire at my Luton flat) is reproduced above as fig.4. Nikolaus von Frankenberg informs me that this view is no longer possible.
- 10 In a review of the book by Robert Drake, his 'only criticism' is the poor quality of the black and white photographs compared with 'the promise of the cover [*recte* jacket] with its excellent colour photograph': *Ecclesiology Today*, 47 & 48, July 2013, p.146. Alas, there is much more to criticise!

BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY

MEETINGS in 2015

Saturday 30 May 2015

Annual General Meeting

Black Country Living History Museum, Dudley, West Midlands

With visit to the brick buildings of the museum after the meeting.

Saturday 27 June 2015

London Meeting

Battersea

Battersea Power Station is infamous but the former borough has much more to interest the brick enthusiast. Battersea Old Church is eighteenth century and there is a fine 1890s brick church by James Brooks. At the foot of Lavender Hill is a fine brick-built department store (Arding & Hobbs); brick public buildings by Edward Mountford are the public library, the former town hall now arts centre, and the former Battersea Polytechnic whose shell is preserved in the conversion to expensive housing.

Saturday 25 July 2015

Summer Meeting

Brick Churches in north-east Buckinghamshire and other brick buildings in the area

Bletchley, Fenny Stratford, Bow Brickhill, are all due to the patronage of Browne Willis, the local landowner; Willen church was designed by the scientist Robert Hooke for his tutor at Westminster School. There are also interesting rural railway stations.

Saturday 19 September 2015

Note the **new date**

Brickworks Meeting

The York Handmade Brick Company, Alne, North Yorkshire

*Details of the Annual General Meeting and the Visits in June and July 2015
are in this mailings*

Details of the September Meeting will be included in the August 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 Michael Chapman, Michael Oliver or David Kennett.

Changes of Address

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

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