ISSN 0960-7870

BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY

INFORMATION 150

JUNE 2022

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OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY

Chairman Michael Chapman
Tel: 0115-965-2489
E-mail: chapman481@btinternet.com

8 Pinfold Close
Woodborough
NOTTINGHAM NG14 6DP

Honorary Secretary Michael S. Oliver
Tel. 020-8954-4976
E-mail: micksheila67@hotmail.com

19 Woodcroft Avenue
STANMORE
Middlesex HA7 3PT

Honorary Treasurer Graeme Perry
Tel: 07773-406201
E-mail: graeme@gjperry.co.uk

62 Carter Street
UTTOXETER
Staffordshire ST14 8EU

Enquiries Secretary Michael Hammett
and **Liason Officer with the BAA**
Tel: 07963-821141
E-mail: mike9bc@gmail.com

9 Bailey Close
HIGH WYCOMBE
Buckinghamshire HP13 6QA

Membership Secretary Dr Anthony A. Preston
(Receives all direct subscriptions, £20-00 per annum)*
Tel: 01243-607628

11 Harcourt Way
SELSEY, West Sussex PO20 0PF

Editor of ***BBS Information*** David H. Kennett
(*Receives all articles and items for* BBS Information)
Tel: 01608-664039
E-mail: davidkennett510@gmail.com
(this email address is the best one to try)

7 Watery Lane
SHIPSTON-ON-STOUR
Warwickshire CV36 4BE

Web Officer Richard Harris
E-mail webmaster@britishbricksoc.co.uk

7 Kensington Appartments
Redland Court Road
BRISTOL BS6 7BQ

The society's **Auditor** is:
Adrian Corder-Birch DL, FSA
Tel: 01787-472345
E-mail: acb@corderbirch.co.uk

Rustlings, Howe Drive
HALSTEAD,
Essex CO9 2QL

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British Brick Society web site:

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Joseph Fambrini's house at 95 Monks Road, Lincoln, showing the products of his business, Fambrini & Daniels, makers of 'Imperishable Concrete Artificial Stone', such as commemorative plaques, lintels, decorative pieces for windows, and cills. The building is now a medical centre.
Photograph: Ken Redmore

Editorial:
History Curricula: the Great War, Buildings, and Poetry,

In Memoriam: Terence Paul Smith
8 October 1945 - 5 February 2022

In the introductory remarks to his paper, 'Battle in the Brickstacks: An Aspect of World War I', pages 8-22 in this issue of *British Brick Society Information*, the late Terence Paul Smith comments that he learnt about the Great War from studying its poetry and its memoirs in lessons for 'A level English Literature' (then called 'A level English') rather than in any formal History lesson. Like myself, his sixth-form education was in the early 1960s when the Great War was simply considered far too recent to be seen as History.

The Great War was how those who fought in it or were its contemporaries called it. The description appears on the many memorials erected in the towns and villages of Britain and Ireland to the numerous individuals of the millions who did not return from fighting in the trenches, at sea, or in the air. The Great War is also your Editor's personal preference for how to refer to the conflict of 28 June 1914 to 11 November 1918. When Sir Edward Grey (1862-1933), the Foreign Secretary, was made aware of military movements in the days following the assassination on 28 June 1914 of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian nationalist, he said 'Roll up that map, we will not be needing it for five years'; sadly, he was not far wrong.

In the early 1960s, the five schools' examination boards in England and that in Wales were, like university History departments, were extremely cautious in thinking about extending the History curriculum too far into the twentieth century. At the beginning of the 1960s, there were still a few university lecturers and schoolteachers practising who had *actually* fought in the Great War, by which I mean had served in the trenches, at sea, or in the air: in the mid-1960s, I knew a man, not quite 70 years old when I first met him, who had been an early flyer. And, certainly, many men in both types of institution who had served in the armed services in the Second World War. Of those who taught Terence and myself at Luton Grammar School in the late 1950s and early 1960s, one had been conscripted in the Great War but did not see action and at least five had been in different branches of the forces in Second World War. Experiences in the Second World War, both personal and professional, of one of the latter continued to traumatise him even two decades after the conflict had ended. The man taught History and particularly European History at 'O level' and 'A level'. Given the curriculum and the examination requirements of answering questions from at least two areas of the examination paper in the European History 1453-1914 paper for 'A level History', in teaching the periods from 1713 to 1789 and 1815 to 1914, he studiously avoided the period from the French Revolution (1789) for a quarter of a century onwards including the subsequent Anglo-French wars from 1792 to 1815: Austerlitz, fought on 2 December 1805, was something about which I learnt many years after leaving school. Teaching followed the examination syllabus, where political circumstances and the diplomatic negotiations rather than the military history dominated. The other History teacher was the man who had been called up for service in the Great War: he did not serve at sea but it was the Merchant Navy tie which he wore every year on 11 November.

In an earlier issue of this periodical, Terence had commented on the moving solemnity of the service held after morning break each 11 November, when a very young school, founded only in 1904, remembered those of its alumni who did not return from either the Great War or the Second World War and whose names were inscribed respectively on a small wooden tablet within a tabernacle and a prominent large, rectangular stone at the principal boys' entrance to the school. On that day, the head boy stood on the stage and read out the names of all those who in the words one wounded soldier from the Italian campaign of the Second World War said, 'When you get home, tell them that we gave our Today for their Tomorrow'.

At the school's centenary celebrations, which both Terence and I attended, a former head boy, Alan Root (*b.* 1937), did the honours. However, on that day in 2004, the ageing alumni of the boys' grammar school and alumnae of Luton High School for Girls, their ages then ranging from middle fifties to late eighties, were not required to file past in class order, youngest first. That had been the custom each 11 November in a school which had absolutely no military tradition.

In the early 1960s, too, military history was a rather niche subject and certainly not particularly integrated into general thinking about historical matters and especially not into History curricula at any level, general school teaching, school examinations, or university curricula.

Even in the early 1960s, History examination curricula were still dominated by the ideals of the constitutional historian Bishop William Stubbs (1825-1901) and his pupils that the proper study of the subject was about the advance or retardation of society through the detailed study of constitutional development, political negotiations, and diplomatic relationships rather than social and economic relationships. As with military History, bricks and buildings were absent from almost all History curricula.

Despite the work of E.A, Freeman (1823-1892), papers involving the Norman Conquest rarely asked questions about castles or cathedrals. Neither were questions about the Norman preparations for and tactics at the Battle of Hastings (14 October 1066) included. Examination about nineteenth-century England did not delve into the building of cotton mills or railways; despite the publication of J.R. Kellett, *Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities,* in 1969, little was taught about their effect on the environment: the early poems of Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) would have been a more likely source for those who had studied Victorian literature.

Equally, it should not be forgotten that *The Making of the English Working Class* by E.P. Thompson was only published in 1963.

History perceived as an academic subject certainly did not include ideas about the creation of the built environment, whether in the Middle Ages or later. Even as late as the 1960s, architectural history was written by those who had trained as architects: John Summerson (1904-1992) and Martin S. Briggs (1882-1977) being notable examples. Other architects wrote to understand buildings they were called upon to restore: John Alfred Gotch (1852-1942) and Albert Richardson (1880-1964).

Only as the twentieth century dawned were there the fleeting beginnings of a change of emphasis and personnel, but only with isolated professors, led by a man with strong Lincolnshire connections: Alexander Hamilton Thompson (1873-1952). Hamilton Thompson was the leading building historian of his generation and a man who was equally deeply knowledgeable about the social and ecclesiastical history of medieval England. His Ford Lectures for 1933, subsequently published as *The English Clergy and their Organization the Later Middle Ages,* Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1947, demonstrate the depth of his knowledge and understanding. Over the period of the Great War, the *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society,* **11,** 1913-20, pages 193-345, had published his 'The Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle 1480-1484', which he had personally transcribed prior to their publication: personal transcription for publication was the great speciality of the Professor of History at the University of Leeds from 1925 to his retirement in 1939 and beyond. Multiple volumes of bishops' registers from the dioceses of Durham, Lincoln and York bear witness to an industrious spirit, working in archive offices then without photocopiers, which had yet to be invented, and also more than half a century before computers arrived.

As far as this writer is aware, Kirby Muxloe was only the fourth paper to transcribe medieval or Tudor building accounts. Earlier ones were two from the late sixteenth century — J. Evans, 'Extracts of the Private Account Book of Sir John More of Loseley [Surrey] in the reign of Queen Elizabeth', *Archaeologia,* **36,** 1855, pages 284-310, and Mrs Frances Christina Baldwyn-Childe, 'The Building of the Manor of Kyre Park, Worcestershire (1588-1618)', *The Antiquary,* **21,** May and June 1890, pages 202-205 and 261-264, and *The Antiquary,* **22** July and August 1890, pages 24-27 and 50-53 — and one from the fifteenth century: A.F. Leach, 'The Building of Beverley Bar', *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society,* **4,** 1896, pages 27-37, which printed building accounts of 1410.

There have been a few more published building accounts in more recent years: W.D. Simpson, 'The Building Accounts of Tattershall Castle, 1434-1472', *Lincolnshire Record Society,* **55,** 1960, being a notable Lincolnshire example. Norfolk examples include H.D. Barnes and W.D. Simpson, 'The Building Accounts of Caister Castle A.D. 1432-1435', *Norfolk Archaeology,* **30,** 1952, pages 178-188. An earlier publication from Norfolk is H.F. Bradfer-Lawrence, 'The Building of Raynham Hall by Sir Roger Townshend, *d.*1637', *Norfolk Archaeology,* **23,** 1923, pages 93-146, with the accounts printed on pages 106 to 136.

In being taught European History at both 'O level' and 'A level', I have no recollection of ever actually studying the causes of the Great War, which today remain disputed. Did the great powers blunder into it? Was there an unstoppable momentum towards War? Was it Germany's fears of encirclement? Russia was allied to both France and Britain. Was it Russia's fears of encirclement? Japan was allied to Britain and France. Was it the decay of nineteenth-century imperial ideals? Possibly not, but when the peace treaties were signed, three European land empires — Austria, Germany, Russia — had either broken apart or been changed politically out of all recognition. The victors — if they may be called such, for in total war there are no victors, only one vanquished, humanity — were supposedly Britain, France and the United States of America. They retained their imperial possessions and, indeed, where the first two were concerned saw their colonial dependencies increase. Was it, as my parents' generation was told at school, that the Kaiser wanted to rule the British Empire? Simplistic and probably unlikely except, perhaps, in his own mind, but Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941; *r.* 1888-1918) was Queen Victoria's eldest and probably her favourite grandchild: she died in arms. He was the eldest son of her eldest child, Princess (later Empress) Victoria (1840-1901).

Or was it simply human error? No one nation would back down and kept on to 'the Ram of Pride', as one war poet so eloquently:

> But the old man would not and slew his son,
> And half the seed of Europe, one by one.
> (Wilfrid Owen, 'The parable of the old man and the young': mid-1918)

For Britain, the immediate *causus belli* was quite simple: by marching into Belgium on 4 August 1914, Germany had broken its guarantee of neutrality for Belgium under the Treaty of London (1830) to which the German Empire was party as the successor state to the Kingdom of Prussia. The other guarantors were Austria, Britain, France, and Russia, in 1830 constituting the great powers of Europe.

In 1914, there had been no general European War for a century. In 1972, a man who had fought in the Great War told me, 'The last thing we expected to be [in 1914] was soldiers'; he survived, minus his left arm. That expectation was not uncommon across Europe. In the early 1960s, as with schoolmasters approaching retirement, there were many men still alive who had gone through the horror of the trenches or wastefulness of the Gallipoli campaign or seen big ships pounded by German or British torpedoes at the Battle of Jutland (1916) go down practically with all hands. In the early 1960s, the Great War was just too raw.

I suspect that it continued to be for the four final decades of the twentieth century. In the paper which follows his Obituary, Terence Paul Smith comments on the long shadow of the First World War. In the early 1980s, living in a village outside Great Yarmouth, I attended the funerals of two veterans of that war: both men had been awarded the Military Medal.

In contrast to the History curriculum, as Terence points out, that for 'A level English' did include works from and about the Great War, one poet and either a play or a memoir. Here, my set texts were the poems of Wilfrid Owen (1893-1918) and a play neither whose author nor the title of which at sixty years remove I cannot now remember. Terence instances *Journey's End*, the 1929 play by R.C. Sherriff (1896-1975) and *Goodbye to All That* (1929), the semi-fictionalised memoirs of Robert Graves (1895-1985) as his set books in 1964. In the Autumn Term of the academic year 1961-62, in teaching about war and the 'pity of war', Donald Sutcliffe, who for seven years had fought in the Second World War, only incidentally touched on the poems of Wilfrid Owen. We got the message: *war is characterised by horror.*

The horror appears every night in news bulletins on our television screens, from the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, from where the damaged brick-built church in Malyn is one minor example of the damage inflicted: Malyn is a city approximately 70 miles (100 km) north-west of Kyiv. More serious damage shows whole cities crushed beneath the onslaught: 'We make a desert and call it peace', wrote Tacitus, almost two millennia ago. Today we see that every night.

The University of Cambridge academics who drew up the choice of books for the paper on 'Modern English Literature' and set the examination were far more adventurous than their History colleagues. In addition to compulsory papers on the plays of William Shakespeare — one comedy, one tragedy, one history play — and another considering important late medieval and early modern poets, always including Chaucer and Milton, with, in my case, Dryden, there was a paper on a later period, with a choice of Eighteenth-Century Literature, the Romantics, Victorian Literature, or Modern English Literature. The time frame of 'Modern English Literature' was 1900 to *circa* 1955 with two novels — *Sons and Lovers* (1913) by D.H. Lawrence (1885-1930) and *The Go Between* (1953) by L.P. Hartley (1895-1972) were the set books for 1962 — together with two plays, one of which was *The Family Reunion* (1939) by T.S. Eliot (1888-1965), and two poets, where apart from Wilfrid Owen, the other was W.H. Auden (1907-1973).

In March/April 1918, the painter John Nash CBE RA (1893-1977) recorded an action in which he had taken part three months earlier. On 30 December 1917, the 1st Battalion, The Artists' Rifles were ordered *Over the Top* in a counterattack at Welsh Ridge on the way to Cambrai, south of the Béthune/La Bassée sector of which Mr Smith writes; eighty men left their trenches, only twelve returned unscathed. No fewer than 68 men were killed or wounded in the operation. In the snow, the enemy were wearing white suits; the British were wearing khaki greatcoats. The artist survived because he was wearing a white shirt. John Nash called it 'legalised murder'.

Seeing *Over the Top* (London: Imperial War Museum) as the opening picture in the 'Hampshire at War' exhibition in Southampton Art Gallery in 2014, one must agree with the truth of John Nash's sentiment.

Submitted in November 2021, with some corrections to the endnotes arriving in January 2022, 'Battle in the Brickstacks: An Aspect of World War I' was Terence's final submission to *British Brick Society Information.* It seems only right to publish it to follow his Obituary.

Knowing that the paper was to be submitted, a first draft of the Editorial was written in September 2021 in anticipation of the arrival of the paper. The sentiment about war, *war is characterised by horror,* was in the original draft of the Editorial. The clause originally had *was* as the verb. But with the war in Ukraine now nightly filling news bulletins on our television screens, it felt right to make the change to *is.* The final sentence in Terence's paper and note 74 were part of the revisions to the endnotes.

DAVID H. KENNETT
Editor, *British Brick Society Information,*
15 September 2021 and 23 April 2022

Obituary: Terence Paul Smith
8 October 1945 – 5 February 2022

With the death of Terence Paul Smith, at the age of 76, the British Brick Society has lost the last surviving member of the group of four who established the society in the early 1970s. Terence did not quite live to see the golden jubilee of the society: the initial discussions between Ron Firman, Laurence Harley, Geoffrey Hines, and a very young Terence Smith which founded the British Brick Society took place in the Easter Term 1972, towards the end of Terence's first year as a postgraduate student at Cambridge: he was then aged 26. Terence served as the Editor of *British Brick Society Information* from 1983 to 1990 and guest edited a number of issues subsequently. He was the society's Chairman from 1986 to 2006 and again from 2009 to 2011.

The younger son of Harold and Gladys Smith, respectively a painter and decorator and a highly-trained milliner, Terence was born in a bedroom with a direct view of the Hart Hill Water Tower in Luton, about which he later wrote: *British Brick Society Information,* **132,** February 2016, pages 21-23.

Terence's initial career ambition had been to become an architect, in pursuit of which he spent an unhappy Autumn Term in 1964 at Oxford Polytechnic (now Oxford Brookes University) following his schooldays at Luton Grammar School for Boys (1957-1964); his later education took comprised a first degree at St David's College, Lampeter (1965-1968), and as a postgraduate at St John's College, Cambridge (1971-1974). Terence held a BA in Philosophy from Lampeter, an MA in the Philosophy of Science from Prifysgol Cymru awarded in 1968, and an MLitt in the Philosophy of Religion from the University of Cambridge. His formal career was initially as a schoolmaster, teaching English and general Humanities subjects, first in Sittingbourne (1968-1971) and then at Dartford Grammar School for Boys (1974-1993) where he was Head of Religious Studies. His 'A level' teaching was focused on the papers on Islam and on the Philosophy of Religion, rather than the more traditional areas of Biblical Studies. Although a member of the Humanist Society, he had a greater knowledge of the Bible than many professed Christians.

In 1994, Terence joined the Museum of London Archaeological Service as a building materials specialist and remained in post until his retirement in 2007.

The interest in bricks began early in his life; in his paper, 'Battle in the Brickstacks: An Aspect of World War I', pages 8 to 23 of this issue of *British Brick Society Information,* Terence has written:

> [My] sixth-form days coincided with my nascent interest in bricks, stimulated by the relevant chapter of the first edition of Alec Clifton-Taylor's superb study of English building materials, borrowed from Luton Central Library.

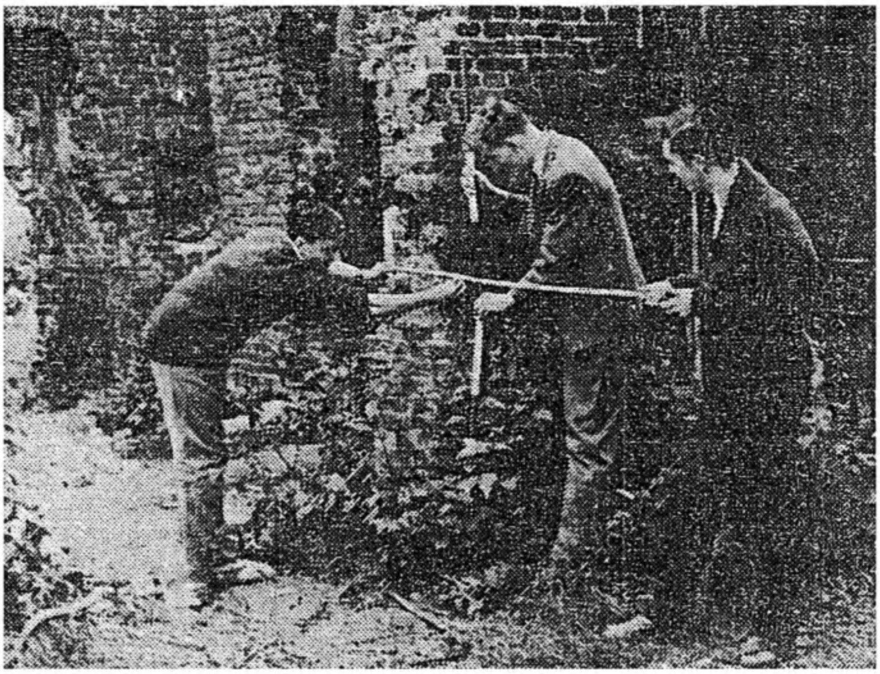


Fig.1 Terence Paul Smith supervising the clean-up of Someries Castle, near Luton, in August 1963. Terence is on right.

He later owned copies of the first and the subsequent editions of Alec Clifton-Taylor's book, *The Pattern of English Building*, as he did of many books on buildings and architecture, but also the poetry, novels, and stories of the Great War: he had read at least 65 of them, including one in Dutch and another translated from French. In many ways, his paper returns to the scholarly area which was his initial reason for going to St David's College, Lampeter, to read English Literature: in 1964, he had been awarded the school's prize for the highest grade in 'A level' English as well as that for 'A level' Archaeology. His appreciation of the finer points of English Literature was reflected in an earlier paper, 'Suburban Sahara Revisited: Charles Dickens and the Brickfields', *British Brick Society Information*, **122,** December 1912, pages 9-26. Because of the need to study three subjects in one's first year at university, as with the requirements of Prifysgol Cymru, Terence took courses in Philosophy and Theology and found both interesting. Hence, in his final two years, he read Philosophy although he had toyed with the idea of reading joint honours in Philosophy and Theology.

During his sixth-form years, mostly in academic year 1963-64, he organised the cleaning up of the area around the mid-fifteenth-century brick building known as Someries Castle. It was the subject of his first published paper: 'Someries Castle', in *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal*, **3,** 1966. The building, probably begun in the late 1440s — although a case can be made out for the early 1440s — would lead to further studies of fifteenth-century brick buildings, including 'Rye House, Hertfordshire, and Aspects of Early Brickwork in England' *Archaeological Journal*, **132,** 1975, pages 111-150, and a further study of Someries Castle: 'The Early Brickwork of Someries Castle, Bedfordshire, and its Place in the History of English Brick Building', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, **39,** 1976, pages 42-58. In 1985, his monograph, *Brick Building in England, 1400-1450*, appeared as *British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, **138**.

In his years in Dartford, much of his research concentrated on Mathematical Tiles, an artificial form of ceramic building material designed to look like brick and affixed to timber-framed buildings, particularly on their upper storeys, where these were jettied and had been underbuilt in brick. On this, by walking the Kent countryside, he collected a great deal of information, nearly all of which remains unpublished.

Early in his years in Dartford, the main focus of his research on bricks and brick buildings switched from the fifteenth century to the twentieth, a development signified by his paper, 'Three Brick Churches by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott', *British Brick Society Information*, **38,** February 1986, pages 9-13 with drawings of the appearance of the Roman Catholic church of the Assumption at Northfleet, Kent; the Anglican church of St Andrew, Blenheim Crescent, Luton, Bedfordshire; and St Alban the Martyr, North End Road, Golders Green, London, again for the Church of England. Drawings of brickwork details of the two first-named are also included in the figures. Even towards the end of his life, he remained a superb draughtsman.

Churches remained a major interest: yet to be published are two papers, 'Practice Profile: Nugent Francis Cachemaille-Day FRIBA (1896-1976): A Response to Clare Price' and 'London Churches in *100 Churches, 100 Years*: A Further Assessment'. When appropriate illustrations have been accumulated, it is intended to include these papers in future issues of *British Brick Society Information,* to be devoted to 'Brick in Churches' in 2023 and early 2024.

In his Dartford years, he travelled much, particularly in the Netherlands, but also twice visiting Israel. His study of 'Brick and its Uses in the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century' remains in typescript. It was written in the early 2000s and is believed to still be in his flat in Walthamstow.

Although his success in school and public examinations in languages other than English was limited, he taught himself Dutch so as to be able to read Johanna Hollestelle, *De steenbakkerij in de Nederlanden tot omstreeks 1560,* saying, 'I leant Dutch because I wished to read a book'; later he produced a translation of Ms Hollestelle's work for his own and others' use.

Terence wrote much: over 100 papers, mostly on bricks and brick buildings, but early in his working life also on philosophical subjects and on Anglo-Saxon churches. In his late twenties and early thirties, in addition to papers on bricks, he wrote on vernacular buildings, particularly on timber-framed buildings, including timber-framed church porches. Apart from his earliest paper in *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* and the other papers mentioned above, Terence also made contributions to later issues of *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal,* as well as to issues of *Hertfordshire Archaeology, Archaeologia Cantiana,* the annual volume of the Kent Archaeological Society, *Lincolnshire Archaeology and History,* and the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.* To the study of Lincolnshire brick buildings, he contributed 'Hussey Tower, Boston: A Late-Medieval Tower House of Brick' to *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology,* **14,** 1979. Terence was a frequent contributor to *British Brick Society Information.* A Bibliography of his work on bricks and brick buildings is to be compiled.

Outside of bricks and brick buildings, Terence's interests were reading poetry and listening to music, particularly classical choral music: he was particularly fond of Mozart's *Requiem,* although his taste ran to the symphonies of Charles Ives, Sergei Prokofiev, and Dimitri Shostakovich whilst equally appreciating the singing of Ella Fitzgerald. More recently, living for the last seven years of his life in Walthamstow, he had taken up birdwatching at the nature reserves in the Lea valley. During his Dartford years, he had produced school plays, recruiting his mother to produce the straw hat for performances of *The Italian Straw Hat.*

He was a generous friend, and I shall miss him. We first met in the Autumn Term of 1957, when he and another first-year pupil, Andrew Riches, initiated discussions on the revival of Luton Grammar School's Archaeological Society, then moribund after the previous cohort of interested pupils had departed for national service and/or university in 1953 and 1955. He and I subsequently ran the society in the early 1960s before each of us took the train from London Paddington through the Severn Tunnel to different institutions in Wales, he to Welsh-speaking Ceredigion, much further west from Offa's Dyke than I at Cardiff.

Terence was fortunate in his schooldays. Unlike many highly-selective boys' schools, the pursuit of sport was not unduly emphasised at Luton Grammar School for Boys and those who were not sporty, members of the left back behind the goal brigade in the Association Football term, were quietly permitted to abandon the idea of physical prowess once they reached the sixth form.

We overlapped for six of our seven years at Luton Grammar School: I was a year ahead of him. For many of those years, he and I walked up Stockingstone Road to part at Round Green, he to his parent's house off Hart Lane and I to ride my bicycle to a house on the last road out of Luton. Post-graduation and before 1980, our lives intersected more closely when I still lived in Luton and he would return to the town to see his parents. For many years thereafter we kept in contact more by telephone conversations, mostly on Sunday mornings, rather than by actually meeting. Terence last came to a British Brick Society meeting at the Annual General Meeting held in Faversham in 2012; illness prevented him attending the Annual General Meeting in St Albans and leading the walk at Roman Verulamium in 2018, which I know he would have enjoyed.

Terence was unmarried; his parents had died in 2001 and 2007 and his brother in 2017.

DAVID H. KENNETT
28 March 2022

Battle in the Brickstacks: An Aspect of World War I

Terence Paul Smith

And no more bloody brickstacks — God Almighty,
I'm back again at last to dear old Blighty
Robert Graves[1]

My introduction to the First World War ('The Great War' as it was called until a Second erupted only two decades later) came not from History lessons but from studying 'A-level' English as a pupil at Luton Grammar School for Boys in the early 1960s.[2] Our set books included two concerned with that war: R.C. Sherriff's play *Journey's End* and Robert Graves' 'autobiography' *Goodbye to All That.*[3] The word 'autobiography' is placed within scare quotes here because, even more than most such works, it is as much fiction as fact.[4] This should be borne in mind throughout a reading of Graves' work.[5] Those sixth-form days coincided with my nascent interest in bricks, stimulated by the relevant chapter of the first edition of Alec Clifton Taylor's superb study of English building materials, borrowed from Luton Central Library.[6] I was therefore particularly intrigued by Graves' mention of fighting around some brickstacks on the Western Front. There was also a (not very good) photograph of the brickstacks.[7] With their flat tops and eroded sides, they somewhat resemble those geographical features known (from Spanish) as *mesas* — and most familiar from 'westerns' filmed in south-west USA; but not all photographs show this appearance (fig.1).

The brickfields were situated around the villages of Cuinchy and Givenchy, south and north respectively of the La Bassée Canal — strictly the Canal d'Aire à la Bassée — some 5 miles (8 km) east of the town of Béthune (fig.2), itself 20 miles (32 km) south-south-west of Lille and in Départment Nord in Flanders, that is French Flanders. The area called '[The] Brickstacks' lay east of the village of Cuinchy itself (fig.3). It was especially significant in the Battle of Loos (pronounced somewhere between English 'loss' and 'loose'), which lasted from 25 September to 6 November 1915.[8]

Brickmaking in the area exploited the brickearth overlaying various deposits above chalk (fig.4).[9] One topographical map shows the exact position of 'Brickstacks' and two other 'Brickfields' as well as an area named in French as *Les Briques* within about 5 miles (8 km) of Cuinchy brickstacks, whilst a trench map of 10 June 1916 (fig.3) shows the stacks as variously arranged rectangles in the area labelled 'Brickstacks' east of Cuinchy village.[10] From the abaraded nature of the stacks in Graves' 1960 photograph it is not clear whether they were fired clamps, unfired clamps, or stacks awaiting (pre-war) sale. Nor is this clear from figure 1. (But see further below.)

Robert Graves (1895-1985) (fig.5) first mentions the brickstacks in a letter of 28 May 1915, which he includes in his book, but, as he explains, with place names, not allowed in the original letter, restored.[11] 'In trenches,' he writes, 'among the Cuinchy brick-stacks. Not my idea of trenches'; the 'trenches have made themselves rather than been made, and run inconsequently in and out of the big thirty-foot [9-metre] high stacks of bricks; it is most confusing'. 'The Germans are very close; they have half the stacks of bricks, we have the other half. Each side swipes down from the top of its brick-stacks into the other's trenches'. The fighting was obviously hellish, but there is some light relief in the narrative: 'The company sergeant-major stands behind Number Eleven brick-stack and shoots at sausages with a rifle as they come over; trying to explode them in the air. He says it's better than pigeon-shooting. He hasn't hit one yet' (p.96).[12] On 9 June 1915 his company were 'in a nasty salient, a little to the south of the brick-stacks, where casualties are always heavy' (p.98).

Later in the year (but with no date given) he was back at 'Cuinchy brick-stacks. My company held the canal-bank frontage, a few hundred years to the left of where I had been … at the end of May' (p.116). On this occasion, so Graves claims, 'we had orders to shout across No Man's Land and make the enemy take part in conversation. The object was to find out how strongly the German front trenches were manned after dark. A German-speaking officer in the company among the brick-stacks shouted through a megaphone: "*Wie geht's*

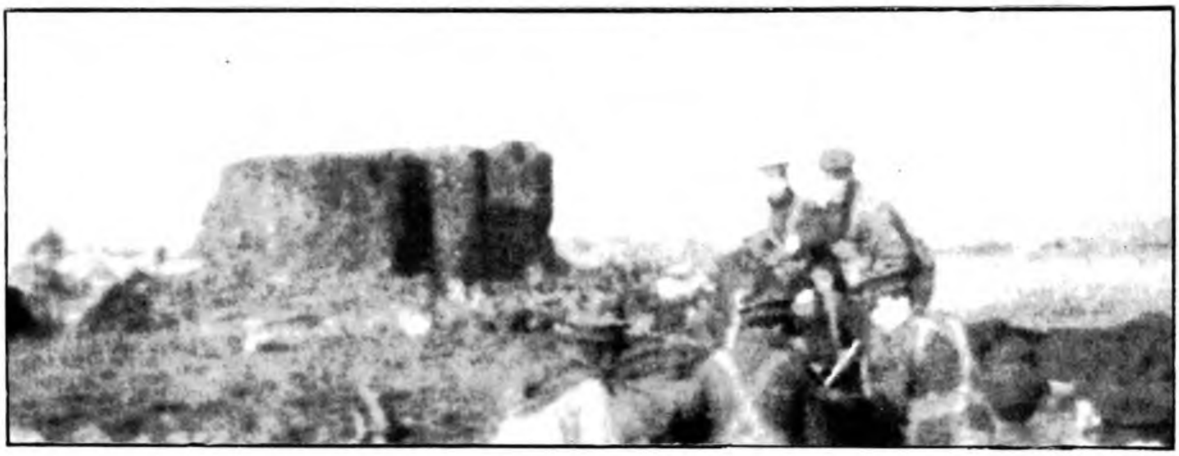


Fig.1 One of the brickstacks at Cuinchy, with soldiers in the foreground.

Ihnen, Kameradn?"'/ Somebody shouted back in delight: "*Ach, Tommee, hast du den deutsch gelernt?*" A little bit later, the conversation continued. 'One of [the Germans] shouted out: "*Les sheunes* [*sic* for *jeunes*] *madamoiselles de La Bassée* [*sont*] *bonnes pour coucher avec. Les madamoiselles de Béthune* [*sont*] *bonnes, aussi, hein* ?" Our spokesman refused to discuss sex' (p.118).[13]

There is a further reference to 'the brick-stack sector', this time north of the canal at Givenchy, but no details are given (p.133). Finally, he tells us that the 'Second Battalion' of the Royal Welch was, in July 1915, 'in trenches at Givenchy, on the other [north] side of the canal from the Cuinchy brick-stacks' (p.170). There are accounts of fighting but nothing specifically relating to brickstacks, which also existed at Givenchy.

A fellow poet, Edmund Blunden (1896-1974) (fig.6), a lieutenant in the Royal Sussex Regiment, published a (probably more reliable) prose memoir.[14] He began an account of his experiences as early as 1916, but this was later abandoned.[15] It has several references to the brickstacks, as first very brief.[16] Then comes a fuller consideration.

> The company now moved into the front line. We were now proudly — but with chattering teeth — defending the ill-famed Brickstacks. Of all battlefields this was perhaps the most grotesque and gripping. Brute, squat and monstrous, out of a flat wilderness queasy with gamboge, darnel and festering heliotrope poppies, and waled [= wealed] with dirty white trench outlines, upstood a score of brickstacks ... . [I]n the present impasse, the Germans and o urselves shared them equally ... . These maltreated masses of red brick covered a multitude of people and things. Each had a number ... . Inside, stifling creepholes twisted up to "secret" machine-guns and lookouts.[17]

'An intolerable landscape,' Blunden calls it: 'sickly yellow and sallow, upheaved and brutalised, scrawled with leprous white, and smutched with cinder-black — and, as though the bricks were still burning, heat-fumes of blue shrouding the few acres visible'.[18]

The mention of 'red brick' and the fumes resembling those from 'still burning' bricks suggests that Blunden may have thought of the brickstacks as fired clamps, abandoned at the outbreak of war. When not at school at Christ's Hospital, Sussex, Blunden lived in the attractive Kentish village of Yalding, where his father was headmaster of the local school. An acute observer of the world around him, was he aware of clamp-firing of bricks, traditional in Kent? He was clearly aware — as many are still not — that bricks are burned (or fired), not *baked*. But in fact, the stacks were *not* clamps: see below.

It was among the brickstacks that Blunden had his 'first view of the Minnie, who [*sic*] appeared to be much fonder of the Brickstacks than we were'.[19] The origin of this term is reflected in Blunden's final reference to 'the midnight deluge of mienwerfers n our headquarters beneath the brickstack [that is the officers' dugout shelter under one of the stacks], every one there but my [then] ignorant [because inexperienced] self, expecting

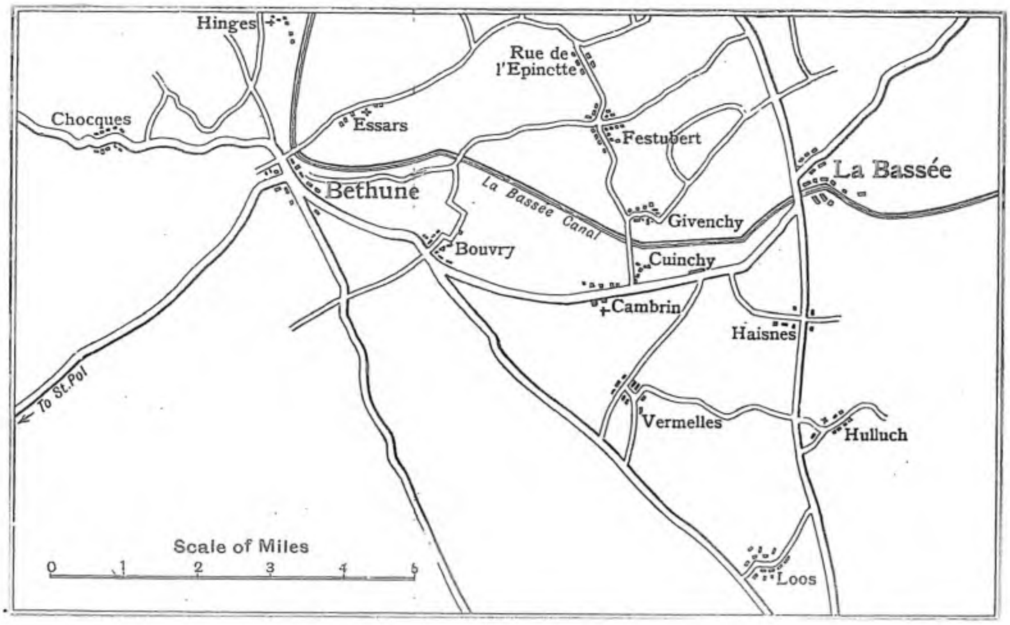


Fig.2 The locations of Cuinchy and Givenchy, either side of the La Bassée Canal.

to be buried alive next minute'.[20] Presumably, the brickstacks offer considerable protection to dugouts created underneath them. But the fighting was clearly savage, and in a later essay Blunden refers to 'unholy Cuinchy'.[21]

In his published memoir, Blunden offers fewer details than those of the abandoned manuscript.[22] 'Cuinchy,' he claims, was 'a slaughter-yard'. 'The front ... ran through an extensive brickfield. With many massive four-square brickstacks, fused into solidity; of these ... about a dozen lay in our lines, and about the same number in the German lines... . [S]uch of them as were occupied were approached by insecure, narrow windings though a wicked clay' (p.28) — that, presumably, from which the bricks were manufactured in peacetime. There is reference, too, to his first experience of a *minenwerfer* bomb, which he at first 'likened to a small black cask wabbling [*sic*] over and over in the air ...'. It 'pounced down with speed and a corner of the brickstack flew back in violence of dust and smoke', and 'one of our soundest officers was killed at the entrance to the brickstacks. I still [more than a decade on] hear the voices of his friends, sharing the news, shocked and sad' (p.29).[23] As in the abandoned account, Blunden mentions the officers' dugout: 'the black hole under the brickstack' (p.32).

Of the poets who survived the war — and some, of course, did not — only Graves and Blunden, so far as I am aware, wrote prose works which mention the brickstacks.[24] But some less 'literary' writers, not all of whom survived, did consider them.[25]

Bernard Adams (1890-1917), a promising Classics student at St John's College, Cambridge, was a lieutenant in the Welsh Regiment, but died of wounds in February 1917. He left an account of his war experience.[26] This includes his time in the Cuinchy/Govenchy region, with a laconic reference to the brickstacks: at early-morning 'stand to' one morning, he records 'each man taking up the position allotted to him along the fire-platform. Some brick-stacks grow out of the mist in front, and ruined cottages loom up in the rear, and what was a church' (p.24).[27] The last phrase, presumably, refers to the 'Church (Ruins)' shown on the 1916 trench map (fig.3). He also mentions 'a long mazy journey down the communication trench, which is six feet [1.8 metres] deep at least, and mostly paved with bricks from a neighbouring brickfield' (p.25). This was unusual, trench bottoms normally having wooden duck-boards.[28] The bricks were clearly *fired* products: green (unfired) bricks would be useless for paying trenches, simply reverting to mud in the wet conditions. This still leaves uncertain whether the bricks came from fired, but not dismantled, clamps or from stacks of bricks assembled pre-war and awaiting sale and distribution. But a close-up photograph from a different source makes it fairly clear that they were the latter.[29] And this would seem to confirm Peter Doyle's assertion that in 'the brickfields at Cuinchy [were] stacks of bricks compiled during peacetime operations of the area'.[30]

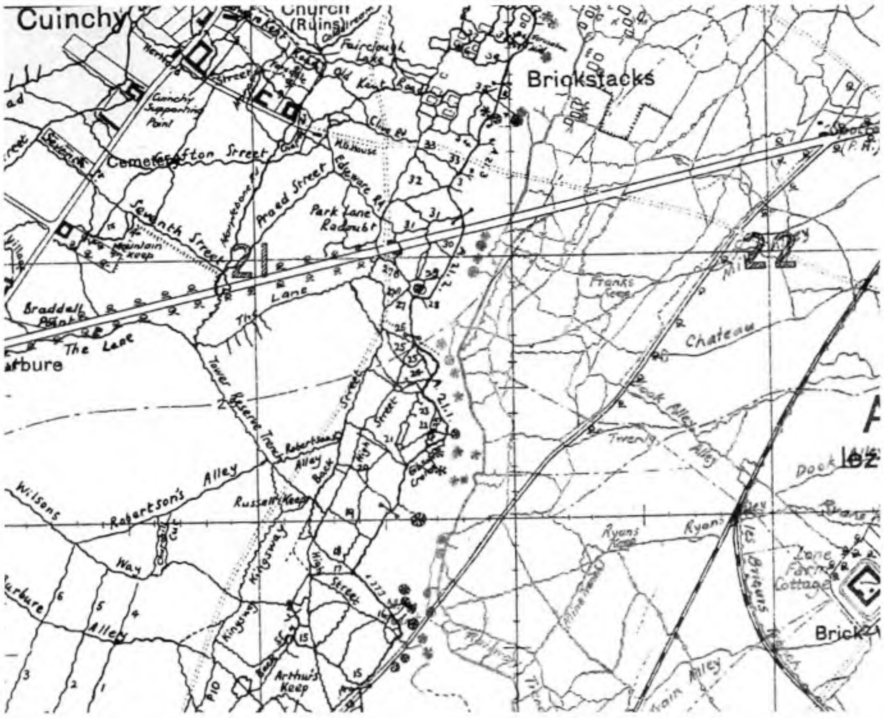


Fig.3 1916 trench map showing brickstacks east of Cuinchy village.

Rather later Adams, mentions ‘carts carrying bricks’, following an order of ‘“Fall in the brick-party”.’ There is also mention of ‘six Tommies filling ‘a sand-bag each with bricks’, which they empty into a lorry. ‘The supply is inexhaustible, and in half an hour ... the corporal refuses to take more, declaring we have the regulation three-ton load, so I stop work and prepare to depart’ (pp.42, 43). These bricks, however, were almost certainly salvaged products from, destroyed buildings rather than from the brickstacks. Some of them, at least, ‘were for a horse-stand in a muddy yard’ (p.46).

More directly relevant to the brickstacks are comments in a work compiled by a distinguished medical officer in the Royal Welch Regiment, Captain J.C. Dunn DSO, MC and Bar, DCM. This, modestly published anonymously, gathers comments from a number of soldiers together with (extensive) contributions of his own.[31] The first reference is to ‘a small brickfield’ at Cambrin, ¾ mile (1.2 km) south-west of Cuinchy (fig.2); it contained a pump, which, it is said, ‘was a boon’ — presumably to grubby soldiers (p.142). It was at Cambrin, in January 1916, that the Germans blew a large mine. ‘One man was blown on to the top of a near-by brickstack’; he was presumably a British soldier, since the same paragraph mentions ‘three-score or more’ casualties and also notes that a ‘few civilian casualties included the mayor of Cambrin’ (p.175). La Bassée ‘was nearly all single-storey, red brick cottages in rows, damaged by shell-fire’ (pp.142-143). The red bricks, presumably, were the products of the local brickfields.

At Cuinchy, whereas Graves and Blunden claimed that the Germans and British shared the brickstacks ‘almost equally’ (*supra*), here it is said, presumably reflecting the fluctuations of war, that the

> Germans had what benefit of contour there was, and they held three-fifths of the brickstacks from which the [battle] sector took its best-known name. These large, compact piles, roughly 35 feet [say 10.5 metres] square by 18 feet [5.5 metres] in height, were adapted as observation, sniper, and machine-gun posts. In and beneath them were dugouts [as also mentioned by Blunden] giving perfect cover, but many men on the surface were injured by flying fragments of bricks. To the stacks the area owned at all times a grandeur that I [Dunn] never saw on any other part of the organized front. It was a witching grandeur under the moon’s light, or when a falling rocket’s ghostly glare glided over their deep shadows, but terrible in the red, smoking fury of a strafe in the dark (p.143).

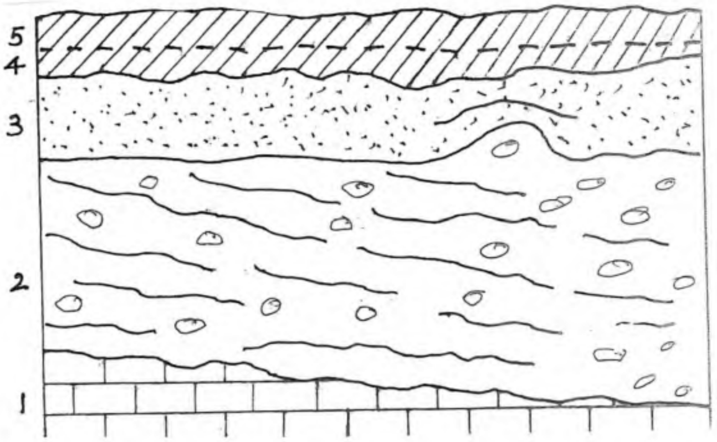


Fig.4 The geology of the relevant area of French Flanders: 1. chalk; 2. sands and gravels; 3. sand; 4. clay-with-flints; 5. brickearth.
After L. Lefèvre, *Architectural Pottery*, fig.6.

There is an ambivalence here — grandeur/horror — that those of us with no experience or this (or any other) war may find intriguing but can never fully appreciate.

The geology of the Cuinchy brickmaking area (*cf.* fig.4) is reflected in a mention of digging trenches: 'Deep trenches could be dug because there was natural drainage in its medium loam [brickearth] or clay, sand, and chalk' (p.145).

At Annequin, a little south-west of Cambrin, where the battalion was billeted on 15 January 1916, 'working-parties in the Brickstacks found life so strenuous that respite was hoped for in the front line, even there' (p.177).

The wish was granted five days later; on 20 January, there 'was quiet as we were taking over Cuinchy ...'. But it proved to be no 'respite'. 'The front line in the Brickstacks was enfiladed by a battery of howitzers on the left; stretches of it [the front line] had to be vacated again and again ... . Less destructive on the whole than the howitzers, but more upsetting was a large Minenwarfar well covered [= concealed] from our artillery by a brickstack , which [the *Minenwarfer* that is] threw a bomb 2½ to 3 feet [0.7-0.9 m] long: "flying pig" was one name it got' (p.77).[32]

The battalion was again in 'the Brickstacks' in late February, but their days there were 'quiet tours for the Brickstacks' (p.182). And then came Spring, with scenes that the nature-loving soldier/poets Edmund Blunden and Edmund Thomas (born 1878, killed at Arras on Easter Monday, 9 April 1917) might have relished: 'In a garden at "Kingsclere", the Brickstacks H.Q., ... anemones, primulas, and violets raised their heads above a veil of snow' (p.183).[33]

But it was not to last: 6 March 1916 was a 'bitter night, a bright cold morning. After dark we went into the Brickstacks. The weather changed. Soon we were living in mud and icy water, and the trenches were falling in'. Nine days later 'in the Brickstacks a Battalion Canteen [much needed] faltered into being' (p.184). Finally on 5 May 1916 comes the comment, 'Glad to be relieved ... . We turned out backs on the Brickstacks, scene of much jollity [*sic*] and much that was tragic' (p.198).[34]

Captain Dunn has been noted as a very modest officer. Another was Captain Alexander Stewart (1880-1965), who served with the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), and whose war memoirs have been published by his grandson.[35] On 18 April 1916, his diary records 'Leave Béthune for the trenches at [Cuinchy] Brickfields. Arrive Brickfields 8 p.m.' (p.41). A little later, he explains:

> The Brickfields was a large are where at one time bricks had been manufactured. There were enormous pyramids [in fact, *truncated* pyramids — the *mesa*-like features mentioned above — or rectangular blocks: see fig.1] of bricks, [the stacks being] larger than a big house, with the trenches running round

> them on one side and joining them up. There were also a lot of craters about the place and all the ground was very much mined by us and the Boche. Counter mining was being done all the time. There was one brick stack that, it was rumoured, might go up at any time. It was not healthy on the stack as the Boche sometimes dropped Howitzer shells on top of them. In the trench behind a stack was the safest place (p.43).[36]

There is just one further, brief, mention: on 27 April 1916: 'In trenches at Brickfields. Out wiring [that is arranging barbed-wire obstacles]' (p.46).

Of the well-known World War I poets, most were (junior) officers, although there were two privates: Isaac Rosenberg (1890-1917)[37] and Ivor Gurney (1890-1937) (fig.7).[38] So too amongst the writers of prose accounts. But Private Arthur Leonard (known as Len) Smith, who was born in 1892, grew up in Walthamstow, and enrolled in the City of London Regiment in 1914. He long survived the war and died in 1974, aged 83. Smith, an accomplished artist, kept a diary, which he illustrated with his own sketches, with photographs, some of which he coloured, and with cigarette cards.[39]

He sailed for France on 17 March 1915, and on Thursday 1 April — an ominous date for anyone superstitious — he and his fellows were moved to a line 'in the centre of the district known as GIVENCHY brickfields [north of Cuinchy and the canal] — a place of dreadful repute mostly tenanted by our Guards and on the enemy's side [by] the Prussian Guards. A truly "hotspot" we'd heard it called (and it was). There was a rumour so far — we were not there yet' [p.51]. But a little later he notes: 'We found "the brickfields" at GIVENCHY all we'd been told to expect — there was [*sic*] constant expectations of raid, and Very lights galore' [p.54].[40] In a final relevant reference he records that his (the seventh) battalion of the City of London Regiment 'arrived at out special bit of the line, which was part of the famous brickfields, and relieved the Sixth Battalion who certainly seemed very glad for us "to hold the baby" — they had had a rough time and gave us dark hints as to what to expect' [p.66].[41]

Another artist, who also served as a private (in the Royal Welch), was David Jones (1895-1974). In the note to the epigraph of this contribution I noted that the poem quoted was the only one of a very large number that I have read to mention the brickstacks. Perhaps, however, one should include Jones' *In Parenthesis* (1937), for this curious, rambling work — mostly prose but with several interspersions of free verse passages — is often considered *poetry*.[42] At just one point, Jones says of his battalion 'we established a definite superiority in the neighbourhood of the Brick-stacks — by a typical ruse he [= the Germans] entered our forward posts in the Richebourg sector — but were mostly easily ejected'.[43] Although no location is stated for the 'Brick-stacks', they were probably at Givenchy, about 4¼ miles (7 km) south of Richebourg. Jones served there in April 1916 and produced a pencil drawing of the devastated village of Givenchy. It was, we are told, 'the most desolate place he had seen'; 'Five days at Givenchy in April [1916] cost [the battalion] five dead, nineteen wounded'.[44]

The Irish Guards were also involved in fighting around the brickstacks, and their contribution was recorded by Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) in the first volume of his account of the regiment in World War I.[45] The background to his writing of this particular regiment is melancholy, the work almost one of expiation. When was declared on 4 August 1914 Kipling's only son, John, was a schoolboy (at Wellington College, Berks.) and just three weeks short of his seventeenth birthday. When that significant day arrived, he attempted to enlist, but was rejected because of his chronic (and inherited) myopia.[46] His influential father, however, was able to pull strings, and the boy soon obtained a commission in the Irish Guards. As Lieutenant John Kipling, he was killed during the battle of Loos in September 1915.[47]

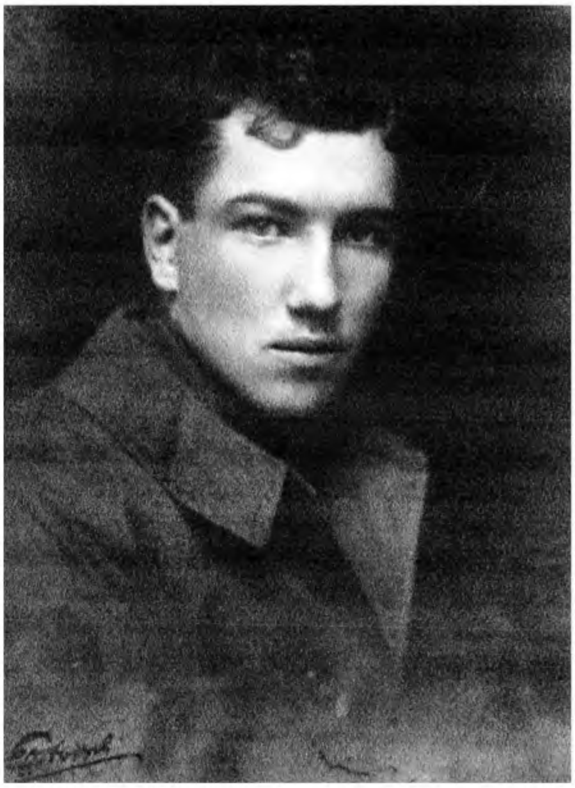
John Kipling was killed near Loos, some 5 miles (8 km) south of the La Bassée Canal. But in January 1915 others of the Irish Guards left La Bassée and 'joined the French line among the tangle of railway tracks and brick-fields near Cuinchy. Owing to the mud, the salient was lightly manned by half a battalion of the Scots Guards and half a Battalion of the Coldstream [Guards]. Their trenches were wiped out by an artillery attack and their line fell back half a mile [0.8 km] to a partially prepared position among the brickfields and railway lines between the Aire-La Bassée Canal and the La Bassée-Béthune road' (p.74). 'The Companies were disposed between the La Bassée-Bétune road and the railway, beside [and probably immediately south of] the ... Canal. The centre of their line consisted of a collection of dull plum-coloured brick-stacks, which might [*recte* may] have been originally thirty feet [9 metres] high. Five of these were held by our people and the others by the enemy — the whole connected and interlocked by saps and communication trenches new and old ...' (p.76).[48]

Fighting continued, 'running irregularly though the brickyard ...'. 'Of the dozen or more solid stacks of bricks, four or five connected by a parapet of loose bricks and known as the Keep, were in out hands. The other eight, irregularly spaced, made an awkward wedge into our line. They were backed by a labyrinth of German trench work, and, being shell-proof, supports could be massed behind them in perfect safety. The nearest were within bombing distance of the Keep ...'. (p.78).[49]

On 6 February 1915 a 'combined attack' with the Royal Engineers 'swept through the brick-stacks in and out of the trenches ...' (p.80). 'For a while,' a little later, 'the days and nights were peaceful, as peace was counted round the Brick-stacks'; and there is further confirmation of the use of (obviously *fired*) bricks in the bottoms of trenches: 'such main arteries [of the trench system] as "Old Kent Road" trench [were] paved with bricks from the stacks' (p.92).[50] Later in the same month there 'were reports that the enemy was now mining under the Brick-stacks, so a mining company was formed, and an officer experimented successfully in firing rifle-grenades point blank from the rifle, instead of parabolically which allowed the enemy time to see them descending. This was for the benefit of a few persistent snipers seventy yards [or metres] away who were effectively removed and their dug-out set ablaze by the new form of attack' (p.83-84).[51]

In a final reference, Kipling notes that in 'the first week of July' 1915 the Irish Guards were 'returned to their own old trenches at Cuinchy — the fifty-times-fought-over line [amongst the brickstacks] that ran from the La Bassée Canal to within a hundred yards [or metres] of the La Bassée-Béthune road' (p.104). But no further details are given.

Later, fighting in the area was less severe. At the beginning of 1918, the 6th Battalion The Manchester Regiment moved into the trenches at Cuinchy, which by that time 'was now relatively quiet'.[52]



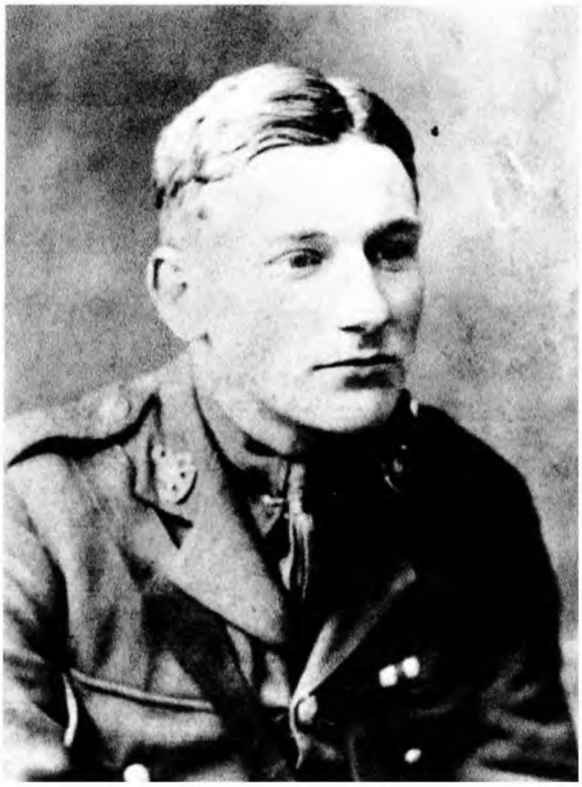


Fig.5 (left) Robert Graves in uniform.
Fig.6 (right) Edmund Blunden in uniform.
Fig. 6 © Edmund Blunden Estate; Fig. 5 copyright unknown.

The brickstacks constitute a comparatively minor aspect of the war — to say which is not to trivialise the suffering and loss on both sides of the conflict. I have considered only published accounts. Archival material (at the Imperial War Museum and elsewhere) could provide a topic for a postgraduate research thesis.

The brickstacks were mentioned, shortly before his death by the historian Guy Chapman (1889-1972). Having fought in, and written about, the war, he was concerned about whether memory of it would persist: 'One wonders how much longer such a book as [Chapman's own] *Vain Glory* will have meaning to a generation which had never head of Hannecamps, Tower Hamlets, Vimy Ridge. The Brickstacks and the rest'.[53] But his misgivings were unfounded. The abundant literature — fiction and non-fiction — shows no sign of abating. The poet Vernon Scannell (1922-2007) was born *'apree la gar'*, to use the Tommies cod French for *après la guerre.*[54] He served in World War II and later neatly expressed the situation regarding the earlier conflict: 'Whenever war is spoke of / I find / The war that was called Great invades the mind'; and each Remembrance Sunday, 'I remember / Not the war I fought in / But the one called Great / Which ended in a sepia November / Four years before my birth'.[55] Some other later poets have reflected on the 1914-1918 war, most famously perhaps Philip Larkin (1922-1985) in his 'MCMXIV', although there are several others too.[56] And there is now the moving short poem, beautifully illustrated by David Roberts, by the former Poet Laureate, Carol Ann Duffy (*b.*1955), on the Christmas Truce of 1914.[57]

Further to the theme of persistence of what two writers refer to as 'modern memory',[58] one may note that at the time of writing the two works mentioned in my opening paragraph are still in print. So too are several significant works from the inter-war period, some translated into English from other languages.[59] And in this same connexion it is instructive to reflect on the amount of First World War fiction published half a century and more after the end of that conflict. Not to boast, for it is nothing to boast about, but just to underline the point, I have read 65 novels (one translated from Dutch, one from French), including thirteen written for children published in the half century since 1970.[60] One of them, interestingly, mentions 'the guns firing at Givenchy', 'the Cuinchy sector', and 'the brickstacks', where 'souvenirs' were to be had — 'such as a bullet in the head'.[61] It is the only novel I know of which mentions the brickstacks. Their mention these final paragraphs, which form a kind of coda to the foregoing text, back to the real concern of this contribution: the battle in the brickstacks.[62]

A further sign of the perduring interest in the First World War, at least in England and Wales, is its inclusion in the National Curriculum for these two countries. Because two of the sources for the battles in the brickstacks — those by Graves and Blunden — are so readily available it might well form a topic for a school project within a wider consideration of the war. At any rate, it would pedagogically be more responsible than the cop-out of showing pupils the 1989 BBC Television series *Blackadder Goes Forth,* which 'is now played to school classes by History teachers'.[63] If it is to be shown in schools at all, its place is in Media Studies, *not* in History lessons.

Be that as it may, there is no likelihood, as Guy Chapman feared half a century ago, that the war itself will be forgotten any time soon. For some while yet, at least, 'We will remember ...'.[64] Even with the proposed school project, it is unlikely that anything more than a superficial study of the battle of the brickstacks — such as the present consideration — will be the preserve of specialists, perhaps including that potential post-graduate student envisaged above. But the 'war that was called Great' will continue to cast what Prof. David Reynolds has called its 'long shadow'.[65]

No enduring reminder is the abundance of war memorials, even if, as Ian Hislop observes, there 'are so many ... that it is easy to stop seeing them ... . There are roughly 36,000 memorials to the dead of the Great War in Britain ...'.[66] In addition, of course, there are those, in honour of all the belligerent nations, in areas where the First World War was fought, the best-known, because most easily visited, being those of the Western Front. They vary enormously. On the one hand are the largest, notably Sir Edwin Lutyens' red brick and white stone Memorial to the Missing of the Somme at Thiepval in the Département of that name in northern France, dominating the landscape around it.[67] Elsewhere, for example in the region of the brickstacks, including Givenchy, may be far more modest, even if not artistically distinguished.[68] Some, indeed, descend to the level of kitsch, a judgement which has even been applied, implausibly, to Thiepval.[69] Whatever one makes of that judgement, and however one reacts to kitsch, one may well endorse the fictional Christopher Cate's opinion regarding a local war memorial, a simple obelisk because nothing more could be afforded: 'nor would that be proper: remembrance should be austere'.[70]

But that very austerity could itself be problematic. It was on a return visit to France that Vera Brttain (1893-1970) — who lost a brother, a fiancé, and friends in the war and knew its horrors from service as a VAD (Voluntary Aid Detachment) nurse — came to question 'our post-war frenzy for memorials — as though we could somehow compensate the dead by remembering them regardless of expense'.[71] Similar thoughts were prompted to a 1933 visit to some of the War Graves, including the brick and stone Thiepval in its by then carefully tended landscape: 'And I thought what a cheating and what a camouflage it all is, this combined effort man and nature to give once more then impression that war is noble and glorious, just because the aftermath can be given the appearance of dignity and beauty after fifteen years'.[72] She might have added with Wilfrid Owen (1893-1918), 'My subject is War and the pity of War'.[73]

My subject too has been the *pity* of war.[74] And yet, 'pity' is too inadequate a term to capture *all* that the war involved and a more forceful word is required.[75] In 1899, Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) wrote words strangely vatic of the conflict that would erupt a decade and a half later, and of which the fierce fighting at the brickstacks may be seen as synecdochic; and with them this contribution may aptly conclude: 'The horror! The horror!'[76]

EDITORIAL NOTE

The paper is printed as the later Terence Paul Smith wrote it incorporating his revisions to the endnotes. There are five additions by myself within individual endnotes, indicated by text within square brackets [—] (DHK).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. R. Graves, 'Return' (written, July 1916) in C. Mundye, ed., *Robert Graves: War Poems,* Bridgend: Seren. 2016, p.286: I quote exactly, with apologies to any offended by the profanity of this jejune couplet. Of well over 200 World War I poems that I have read (not all concerned with the Western Front), this is the only one to mention the brickstacks which are the subject of this contribution. Another by Graves, 'I Hate the Moon', (Mundye, 2016, p.78 with note at p.301), has the subtitle '(*After a moonlight patrol near the Brickstacks*)' but does not otherwise mention them. But see further below on David Jones. Of *studies* of the poets that I have read only one mentions them: M. Egremont, *Some Desparate Glory: The First World War the Poets Knew,* London: Picador, 2014, though I have used my second-hand American edition: New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014, pp.75, 114, 119; this consistently misspells the regiment to which Robert Graves (1895-1985), David Jones (1895-1974), and Seigried Sassoon (1886-1967) all belonged as 'Royal Welsh': it should be 'Royal Welch' — spelled thus though pronounced *Welsh.* It is different from the Welsh Regiment, with which Graves sometimes served.

2. And *pupils* we were back then. [In the early 1960s, the only Students in the world were the senior members of The House (Christ Church College, Oxford), such as Sir Roy Harrod, Reader n Economics, and Dr J.N.L. Myres, Bodley's Librarian. Junior members of a university were undergraduates. (DHK)]

3. Sherriff's play was first performed at the Apollo Theatre, London, on 9 December 1928, with a young Laurence Olivier (1907-1989) in the lead role; first published in 1929, it is available London: Penguin Books, 2000. At school we used the 1957 revised version of *Goodbye to All That,* in its paperback edition: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960. This differs from the original: London: Jonathan Cape, 1929, reissued, ed. and annotated F. Brearton, as *Good-bye to All That: An Autobiography* (the original title); this uses Roman numerals for the chapters, changed to Arabic in the second edition. Because, at the time of writing, it is the most readily available, my references are to the (frequently reprinted) 1960 paperback. The 1929 original does not include the photographs.

4. Graves was a Classicist and would have known the paradox attributed to Epimenides the Cretan (*fl.* sixth century BC?), who supposedly stated, 'All Cretans are liars,' which, if true, would make his own statement false. Graves, 1960, p.235, gives his own version in claiming that the war left, he states, with 'a difficulty in telling the truth'. As mischievously as Classically erudite, he would have relished the ironically titled 'True Story' by Lucian of Samosata (120-post-180), which states 'I'm telling all sorts of lies on a manner both persuasive and deceptive': Loeb Classical Library, *Lucian,* Vol.1, ed. and trans. A.M. Harmon (1913), reissued Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1990: my translation of Greek text, p.248. (Harmon's is occasionally coy, reflecting its date: at pp.252-253 'hoisted their jury masts' euphemises *orthōsantes ta aidoia* — somewhat pointlessly, since the context makes clear the playfully priapic meaning!)

Lucian adds to his joke by insisting, 'I'm telling the truth' and claiming 'I myself have never knowingly [*sunēpistamēn*] told a lie': pp.280, 336. *Cf.* Graves' Lucianic avowal in his first edition, as n.3, *supra*, p.444: 'No incidents ... are invented or embellished (!); not in Graves, 1960.

5. The best-known critique of Graves' is P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975, pp.218-219 and *passim*. His principal accusation concerns Graves' description of machine-gunners rapping out the rhythms of popular songs by removing cartridges from the ammunition belt.: Graves, 1960, p.143. Fussell correctly observes (p.207) that removing cartridges simply causes the gun to jam. But Graves seems just mistaken about the *method* rather than (in this instance) making up the story. By skilful triggering, a gunner could indeed create rhythms. As Tony Ashworth comments in *Trench Warfare 1914-1918: The Live and Let Live System*, pbk edn, London: Pan Books, 2000, p.245, n.60: 'Numerous instances of musical machine-gunners appear in the literature'; *cf.* the main text at pp.116-117. D. Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory*, London: Bloomsbury, 2007, is a better cultural/literary assessment; rather less focused is S. Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*, London: The Bodley Head, 1990. More strictly 'lit crit' are B. Bergonzi, *Heroes' Twilight: A Study of the Literature of the Great War*, 3rd edn, Manchester: Carcanet, 1966, and R. Stevenson, *Literature and the Great War 1914-1918*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. *Cf.* D. Reynolds, *The Long Shadow: The Great War and the Twentieth Century*, London: Simon & Schuster, 2013.

6. A. Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building*, London: Batsford, 1962, chapter 9; subsequent editions down to the 4th definitive, edn, ed. J. Simmons, London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987.

7. Graves, 1960, pl.4a.

8. For the region in this wider context see the maps in A. Livesey, *The Viking Atlas of World War I*, London: Viking, 1994, p.69, and in P. Doyle, *Loos 1915*, Brinscombe Port, Stroud: Spellmount, 2000, p.81, fig.29, p.111, fig.43. The battle is the principal focus of Alan Clark's potboiler, *The Donkeys*, London: Hutchinson, 1961, pbk edn, London: Pimlico, 1991, which shows Cuinchy and Givenchy on the map at p.103 but does not otherwise mention them or the brickstacks. The title is a 'conversation' between General Erich von Lundendorff and his chief of staff, Max Hoffmann (spelled 'Hoffman' by Clark): 'The English soldiers ... are lions led by donkeys'. Much later, Clark admitted that he invented the exchange: Reynolds, 2013, pp.330-331; *cf.* Todman, 2007, pp.100, 101.

9. L. Lefêvre, *Architectural Pottery*, trans. K.H. Bird and M. Binns of *La Céramique du Bâtiment* (which actually translates as *Building Ceramics*), London; Scott, Greenwood & Son, 1900, p.13. My figure 4, based on the Lefêvre's figure 6 of the Somme Valley, is relevant to northern France, including French Flanders, more generally.

10. Reproduced, respectively, Doyle, 2012, p.100, fig.37, and in G. Bridger, *The Great War Handbook*, Barnsley: Pen & Sword Family History (2009), new format edition, '2013 & 2014' (*sic*), p.86; about 1½ miles (2.3 km) south-east of Cuinchy village the trench map shows a further 'Brick W[orks]' (the second word truncated by the edge of the map) within the curve of 'les Briques Trench', which follows the railway line; 'les Briques' still appears on French road maps, though the railway has gone.

11. Page references are included in parentheses in my text; as is mention in n.3 *supra*, they are to the most readily available paperback edition. Throughout, I use 'brickstacks' with lower case initial and no hyphen, except in quotations with different usages.

12. 'Sausage' in this context means a German mortar bomb; but the word was also soldiers' slang for a sausage-shaped observation balloon. For both usages: C. Moore, *Roger, Sausage & Whippet: A Miscellany of Trench Lingo from the Great War*, London: Headline, 2012, pp.127, 176. The sergeant-major story is entertaining but, as always with Graves, one has to wonder whether it is fact or fiction.

13. 'How are you, comrades?'; 'Ah, Tommy, so you have learned German?' (the 1929 edition has 'Ah' for German '*Ach*'); 'The young ladies of La Bassée [are] good to sleep with. The young ladies of Béthune [are] good, too, eh?' (The translations are my own.) La Bassée and Béthune were on the German and British sides respectively of the Front Line. This is another entertaining Graves story; whether it actually happened is a different matter! The switch from German to French is not explained. [As Terence noted, Graves was a Classicist. English education in the pre1914 era was heavily orientated to classical and modern languages; he would therefore have learnt both German and French as part of his schooling. I had intended to discuss the point with Terence. (DHK)]

14. E. Blunden, *Undertones of War*, London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1928; reissued, introd. H. Strachan, London: Penguin Books, 2010. This includes a supplement of 32 poems; one, at pp.221-227, is titled 'Another Journey from Béthune to Cuinchy, but does not mention the brickstacks, though it does capture (*ll.*111-112) the precarious situation: '... a crump [=a heavy shell] any moment / May blow us to bits'. There is a summary account of Blunden's experience in P. Slowe and R. Woods, *Fields of Death: Battle Scenes of the First World War*, London: Robert Hale, 1986, pp.93-97; at p.96, a map of the power station later built on the brickstacks site, with photograph at unnumbered pl.10 between pp.64 and 65.

15. Entitled *De Bello Germanico,* echoing Julius Caaesar's *De Bello Gallico* (Blunden studied Classics at Christ's Hospital, Horsham, Sussex, where he was a pupil 1909-1915), it was discarded though a limited edition was privately published from Hawkstead, Suffolk, in 1930; it is now available in E. Blunden. *Fall In, Ghosts: Selected War Prose,* ed. and introd. R. Marsack, Manchester: Fyfield Books / Carcanet, 2014, pp.1-45. Robyn Marsack is also the editor of *Edmund Blunden: Selected Poems,* Manchester: Carcanet, 1982.

16. Two bare mentions, with no detail, appear in Blunden, 2014, pp.11, 21.

17. *Ibid.,* pp.38-39.

18. *Ibid.,* p.39.

19. *Ibid.,* p.40. 'Minnie' was the Tommies' term for the bomb launched from a German *Minenwerfer,* literally 'mine-thrower' but in fact a trench mortar; the personification of 'Minnie' in this passage occurs at line 14 of the poem 'Trench Nomenclature' in Blunden, 2010, p.221; and also in Marsack, ed., 1982, p.62. The bomb was also known as a 'Christmas pudding', a 'plum pudding', or a 'sausage': *cf.* n.12, *supra.* There are good illustrations in H.P. Willmott, *World War I,* London: Dorling Kindersley, 2003, pp.106-107. Because of the part played by this weaponry amongst the brickstacks, I toyed with entitling this contribution 'Bricks and Mortars'; but on reflection, the pun seemed too flippant for so sombre a subject.

20. Blunden, 1914, p.43.

21. 'War and Peace', published in *Nation & Athenaeum,* 6 November 1926, reprinted in Blunden, 2014, pp.46-48; this ref. at p.47.

22. Blunden, 2010; page references in my text are to this edition.

23. This gentlest of men was haunted by such thoughts, and bad dreams, throughout his life: see, e.g. A. Judd and D. Crane, *First World War Poets,* London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2014 edn, pp.60-63; alcohol provided some solace: those of us who have not lived through such horrors may pity but may not judge.

24. Perhaps, of course, because they did not experience fighting there. Sassoon's fictional autobiography does not mention them: *Memoires of a Fox-Hunting Man* (1928), *Memoires of an Infantry Officer* (1930), *Sherston's Progress* (1936), collected edition as *The Complete Memoires of George Sherston,* London: Faber and Faber, 1937, reissued 1972; he was, though, in the area — around La Bassée Canal — in 1915: pp. 245, 246-247, 248, 249, 250. David Jones presents a possible exception, depending on whether one thinks his contribution is or is not a *prose* work: see further below.

25. One decided *literary* work mentions 'the sound of guns' from somewhere beyond Estaires, Givenchy, or Festubert perhaps', and also refers to La Bassée and Béthune, but does not mention the brickstcks: R.H. Mottram (1883-1971), *The Spanish Farm,* London: Chatto & Windus, 1924, pbk edn, London: Penguin Books, 1936, pp.34, 212, 224; Mottram served in French Flanders during the war.

26. B. Adams, *Nothing of Importance: A Record of Eight Months at the Front with a Welsh Battalion, October 1915 to June 1916,* London: Methuen & Co., 1917, reprinted Uckfield, East Sussex: The Naval & Military Press, [2016]. The book is mentioned, with the author called *Bill* Adams, in the first edition of Graves' 'autobiography'; the reference is omitted from the revised edition: see the reprinted 1929 edition (as n.3 *supra*), pp.250-251. With p.460, n.3 to Chapter XVIII. 'Bill' seems to be how he was known: see Sassoon writing to Graves, quoted in Hynes, 1990, p.209. Page references to Adams 1917/2016 are included in parentheses, within my text.

27. 'Stand-to [your arms]' was called each day pre-dawn and pre-dusk, in anticipation of the most likely times for enemy attacks. If, after an hour, nothing happened then 'Stand-down'' was called: Bridger, 1913 & 1914, pp.105-106. The 'fire-platform' (or 'fire-stop') was the raised part of the trench bottom, on which men stood ready to fire through gaps ('loops')in the parapet. There are especially helpful diagrams from the author and illustrator Trevor Yorke, *The Trench: Life and Death on the Western Front 1914-1918,* Newbury: Countryside Books, 2014, pp.22, 23, though at p.35 he misunderstands the term 'Stand down'.

28. But an officer mentioned 'good bricked up trenches' at Blangy, near Arras: '... your footsteps could easily be heard as you walked along them. So could those of the German sentries ...': quoted in Ashworth, 2000, p.118.

29. P. Liddle, *Britain's Great War Experience: Life at Home and Abroad 1914-1918,* Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2014 edn, p.230, top; this is an interesting picture showing three veterans on a return visit to what is termed 'Brickstack Fort' only three months after the Armistice of 11 November 1918; at p.50 left is a photograph of soldiers, one using a trench periscope, in a trench at 'Brickstacks' in 1915; the stacks themselves are not included.

30. Doyle, 2012, pp.107-108; Cuinchy is also mentioned but with no reference to the brickstacks, at pp.11, 131, though at the first and in the index at p.158, it is misspelled 'Cuincy'.

31. (J.C. Dunn), *The War the Infantry Knew 1914-1919, A Chronicle of Service in France and Belgium ... by One of their Medical Officers,* 1938, reissued London: Abacus, 1994; the various contributors are listed at pp.xv-xvi, and in the text are identified by initials. Dunn, a self-effacing man, was written of warmly in Graves, 1960, pp.173, 178, 181,196, 210. He is also referred to, though not named (for no-one is given an *actual* name), in Sassoon, 1972, p.301 and *passim.*

Confirming what Adams says (*supra*), there are two references, at pp.106, 129, to brick paving of trenches in the area of the brickstacks. These, and references in my text, are to the 1994 edition.

32. The howitzer (German *Haubitze*) was a gun firing shells larger than, though with slower speed but greater elevation, that those from field-guns: Yorke, 2014, pp.55-59; Willmott, 2003, pp.168-169.

33. Edward Thomas was a complex character, is not easy to warm to. For Thomas and the war: M. Hollis, *Now All Roads lead to France: The Last Year of Edward Thomas*, London: Faber and Faber, 2011; Hollis' title comes from the poem 'Roads', l.53, available in R.G. Thomas, ed., *The Collected Poems of Edward Thomas*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981 pbk edn,, p.90; also in E. Longley, ed., *Edward Thomas: The Annotated Collected Poems*, Thartset, Northumberland: Bloodaxe Books, 2008, p.107. Not a *war poet* in the strictest sense, though he was certainly a soldier-poet mentioned by his friend Robert Frost (1874-1963): 'To E.T.', L.8, in E.C. Latham, ed., *The Collected Poems of Robert Frost*, London: Vintage Books, 2001, p.222.

34. This is the final entry on Cambrin, Cuinchy, Givenchy, but there later references to a 'half-flooded claypit at La Briqueterie' (November 1916; p.280) and to bombs dropped 'into the brickfield' (October 1918; p.553); but neither location is made clear.

35. C. Stewart, ed., *Captain Alexander Stewart: A Very Unimportant Officer: My Grandfather's Great War*, London Hodder & Stoughton, 2008, pbk edn, 2009; this work collects Alexander Stewart's diary entries with comments by the editor. The book's title includes Alexander Stewart's own modest description of himself: 'The experiences of a very unimportant officer in France and Flanders during 1916-1917': p.15. Page references in my text are to the paperback edition.

36. The use of 'Boche' for the Germans may reflect Stewart's view of the enemy in this fiercely contested sector. The British had four terms for the Germans, apparently with increasing levels of disparagement: 'Jerry', 'Fritz', 'Boche', 'Hun'.

37. Isaac Rosenberg, painter and poet, was killed by a German raiding party on 1 April 1918. I. Parsons, ed., *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg: Poetry, Prose, Letters, Paintings and Drawing*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1979.

38. Ivor Gurney, musician and poet, survived, but his early mental instability was exacerbated by his war experiences and he died, insane, in the City of London Pauper Lunatic Asylum at Stone, near Dartford, Kent, where he was regularly visited by Helen Thomas, widow of Edward Thomas (*supra* with n.33) and as selfless as the latter was self-*absorbed*: see her 'Ivor Gurney', reprinted in H. Thomas with M. Thomas, *Under Storm's Wing*, Manchester: Carcanet, 1988, pp.239-241; an 'asylum' would now be called a hospital, but in the 1920s and 1930s, as Helen Thomas writes (p.239), 'the Dartford Asylum ... looked like —as indeed it was — a prison'. By happy coincidence, Helen Thomas' maiden name was the beautifully appropriate *Noble*. [Also K. Kennedy, '"A Place One Can Go Mad In", Ivor Gurney, Dweller in the Shadows', in K. Kennedy and H. Lee, eds, *Lives of Houses*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020, pp.202-212. More recently, K. Kennedy, *Dweller in the Shadows: Ivor Gurney — Poet, Composer*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021. For the asylum (1861-66: J.B. Brunning), a symmetrical building in brown stock brick, see J. Newman, *The Buildings of England: Kent: West and the Weald*, 3rd edn, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012, p.569; the asylum is now called 'Stone House Hospital'. (DHK)] See also n.46 *infra*.

39. The diary has been attractively published, with much colour, as L.T. Smith, *Drawing Fire*, London: Collins, 2009. Much of the text is typeset but some is on facsimile of Smith's handwriting. There are no page numbers, so I have supplied my own, counting the title page as p.1; they are referred to in my text within square brackets. There is an engaging pencil drawing of Len Smith in uniform by a fellow artist, and 'one of my pals', Horace G. Rose, at p.4.

40. Very (or Verey) lights, named after their inventor, US naval officer Edward W. Very (1847-1910), were flares used for signalling or, during night-time activities, for illumination.

41. A different matter of relevance to BBS is the painting of canvases to resemble brickwork as a form of camouflage: [the original hand-written manuscript gives no indication of the author or title of the source] for 'unnumbered pp.278-279, 285'.

42. First published in 1939, *In Parenthesis* has been reissued by its original publisher in its 'Poets of the Great War' series: London: Faber & Faber, 2014; excerpts from it are sometimes included in anthologies of World War I poetry, e.g. B. Gardner, ed., *Up the Line to Death: The War Poets 1914-1918*, revised edn, London: Methuen, 1986, p.136; A. Motion, ed., *First World War Poems*, London: Faber & Faber, 2003, pp.54-59; T. Kendall. Ed., *Poetry of the First World War: an Anthology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp.201-206; Edmund Blunden, in the Bibliography to his booklet *War Poets 1914-1918*, Harlow: Longmans, Green & Co. for the British Council and The National Book League, 1969, p.40 categorises the work as '*Verse and Prose*', *cf.* Bergonzi, 1996, p.92, and Stevenson, 2013, pp.75, 172-173.

43. Jones, 1939/2014, p.115.

44. T. Dilworth, *David Jones: Engraver, Soldier, Painter, Poet*, London: Jonathan Cape, 2017, pbk edn London: Viking, 2019, p.39, with reproduction of the pencil drawing at p.38, fig.3. Jones, 1939/2014, p.116, mentions 'Cuinchy lock' and 'the tow-path' of La Bassée Canal, but no details are given. No less laconic, but refreshingly less pretensious,

is another private (later corporal), George Coppard in *With a Machine Gun to Cambrai,* London: HMSO, 1969, which mentions Béthune, Cuinchy, Givenchy a few times but has only a single reference, at p.62, to the brickstacks: 'The enemy continued to shell the Givenchy and Cuinchy brickfields heavily'; this was in December 1915.

45. R. Kipling, *The Irish Guards in the Great War: The First Battalion,* vol. 1 (1928), reissued Staplehurst, Kent: Spellmount, 1997. References in my text are to the 1997 edition. Fussell, 1975, p.171, aptly describes the work as 'one of Kipling's most honourable and decent'; all royalties, moreover, went to military charities.

46. Ivor Gurney was similarly turned down at first but was accepted in 1915: P.J. Kavanagh, 'Introduction' to his *Collected Poems of Ivor Gurney,* corrected edn,, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, p.6. At least two other writers, (Sir) Hugh Walpole (1884-1941) and Aldous Huxley (1894-1963), were rejected on account of poor eyesight: Stevenson, 2013, pp.82, 115.

47. I have tried to be objective in relating this story, but am haunted by a photograph of a manic-looking Kipling steering his yacht *Bantam* and with his clearly anxious son, aged thirteen or fourteen, standing behind him: D. Crane, *Empires of the Dead: How One Man's Vision Led to the Creation of WWI's War Graves,* London: William Collins, 2013, pl.5: the 'One Man' was (Sir) Fabian Ware (1869-1949). Whatever one thinks of the father's involvement there can be no doubt that John *wanted* to enlist. The story of Rudyard and John Kipling is told in T. and V. Holt, *'My Boy Jack': The Search for Kipling's Only Son,* 3rd edn, Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007, *passim,* esp. pp.34-78. The relationship is captured in David Haig's play *My Boy Jack,* first performed at Hampstead Theatre, 13 October 1997, subsequently filmed for ITV, 2007, and available London: Nick Hearn Books, 1997. The title of both works is taken from Kipling's poem 'My Boy Jack', though this is not about John, who was never called Jack — the name of the boy's pet terrier: Holt and Holt, 2007, pp.xvii, 107: the poem is printed at p.xii, and is fairly widely available, e.g. Motion, 2003, p.127; Kendall, 2013, p.29. In 1915, John Kipling was listed as 'missing', his body not found. In 1992, a researcher at the Commonwealth War Graves Commission claimed to have identified it. Some, but not all, have been convinced: for a persuasive sceptical argument: Holt and Holt, 2007, pp.205-224, 227-237; brief comments in Doyle, 2012, p.132, and in N. Oliver, *Not Forgotten: The Great War and Our Modern Memory,* pbk edn with new Preface, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2018, p.113.

48. *Cf.* the dimensions mentioned above.

49. It will be clear from Kipling's account and from others considered above that it is impossible to gain a clear idea of how many brickstacks there were and of their distribution between the two sides. The trench map (fig.3) appears to show twelve. Jones 1939/2014, pp.64, 77, 86, mentions the 'Pioneer Keep', but it is by no means certain that this was the 'Keep' mentioned by Kipling. But the latter may well be '"Brickstack Fort", Cuinchy' visited by the three veterans in January 1919: Liddle, 2014, p.230, caption to top photograph.

50. The trench nicknamed 'Old Kent Road' is shown on figure 3, just left of the word 'Brickstacks'.

51. There appears to be a *non sequitur* here: what had the latter part of the photograph to do with the reported mining?

52. J. Hartley, *6th Battalion The Manchester Regiment in the Great War,* Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2010, p.191.

53. Quoted in D. Winter, *Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War,* London: Allen Lane, 1978, pbk edn, London: Penguin Books, 1979, p.265. The book referred to is G. Chapman, *Vain Glory,* London: Cassell, 1968.

54. Moore, 2012, p.14.

55. V. Scannell, 'The Great War', ll.1-3, 39-43, in *New & Collected Poems 1950-1980,* London: Robson Books, 19080, pp.62-63; also in Motion, 2003, pp.146-147. Elsewhere and in prose, he noted the 'almost obsessive interest in World War One' in his boyhood: *The Tiger and the Rose: An Autobiography,* London: Robson Books, 1971, p.71; *cf.* his *Dreams of Mornings: Growing Up in the Thirties,* London: Robson Books, 1992, pp.71-72.

56. P. Larkin, 'MCMXIV' in *Collected Poems,* London: Faber & Faber, 2005, p.99; also in Motion, 2003, p.143, and A. Bennett, ed., *Six Poets Hardy to Larkin: An Anthology,* London: Faber & Faber with Profile Books, 2014, pp.194-195 with brief comment p.195. Other poems are included in Motion, 2003, pp.143-160; in E. Black, ed., *1914-1918 in Poetry,* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979, pp.123-127; and more recent offerings in C.A. Duffy, ed., *1914: Poetry Remembers,* London: Faber and Faber, 2013.

57. C.A. Duffy, *The Christmas Truce,* London: Picador, 2011. For the story behind the poem: M. Brown and S. Seaton, *Christmas Truce: The Western Front December 1914,* revised and expanded edn, London: Pan Books, 2001. The poem is referred to in M. Morpurgo, *Our Jacko,* a moving World War I-based story for children (2014), reissued with superb illustrations by David Gentleman, London: Walker Books, 2018.

58. Fussell, 1975; Oliver, 2018.

59. One French work was actually published during the war: *Le Feu* by Henri Barbusse (1873-1935), published in Paris in 1917 and in London in the same year as *Under Fire*; a new translation by Robin Buss is now available, London: Penguin Books, 2003, reissued in Penguin Classics 2014. Almost certainly, the best-known foreign work is *All Quiet on the Western Front* by Erich Maria Remarque (1898-1970), published in German as *Im Westen nichts Neues* (literally

'Nothing New on the Western Front') in 1929 and in English, under the familiar (if incorrect) title, in the same year. A new translation, by Brian Murdoch, is now available, London: Jonathan Cape, 1994, pbk edn London: Vintage Books, 1996: for convenience it uses the familiar title.

60. Naturally, they vary in quality from the excellent downwards. Two by the same writer, one for adults and one for children, I found embarrassingly unconvincing in plot, characters, and details. The other 63 above — half a dozen only just but some *well above* — the pitiable level of those offerings. Most, though not all, involve the Western Front.

61. M.E. Pearce, *The Sorrowing Mind,* London: Macdonald and Jane's Publishers, 1975, pbk edn London: Warner Books, 1993, pp.40, 42.

62. In an earlier draft of this contribution, the coda was even longer, and included films, television productions, paintings, and music. But *British Brick Society Information* is not the place for most of it. But see n.74, *infra.*

63. J. Paxman, *Great Britain's Great War,* London: Viking, 2013, p.9. The final scene of the last episode of the series is almost unbearably moving. But it represents a tiny fraction of the whole: in the printed scripts just 0.4 per cent of the entire six episodes: R. Curtis *et al., Blackadder: The Whole Damn Dynasty,* London: Michael Joseph, 1998, pp.348-452. The rest though quite entertaining, give or take some schoolboy smut, is just one rehearsal of what we might call *the Haig convention* — the view, dominant since the 1960s, that the Staff from the Commander-in-Chief downwards were mindless and callous donkeys (*cf.* n.8 *supra*)., most familiar from Joan Littlewood and Theatre Workshop's *Oh What a Lovely War* (1963, original version available London: Bloomsbury, Methuen Drama, 2006; filmed as *Oh! What a Lovely War,* directed by Richard Attenborough, 1969). That view has been questioned by a number of historians, principally, Prof. Gary Sheffield in *The Chief: Douglas Haig and the British Army,* London: Aurum Press, 2011, reissued as *Douglas Haig: From the Somme to Victory,* London: Aurum Press, 2016; see also P.H. Liddle, *The 1916 Battle of the Somme: A Reappraisal,* London: Lee Cooper, 1992, and G. Corrigan, *Mud, Blood and Poppycock: Britain and the First World War,* London: Cassell, 2003, *passim.* The issue is complex and the published literature — let alone the archival material — vast, and those who are not specialists in the subject —— which is to say nearly all of us — do well to tread warily.

64. These words, familiar from the annual Remembrance Sunday ceremony at the Cenotaph in Whitehall are from the poem 'For the fallen' (written September 1914) by Laurence Binyon (1869-1945); stanza 4 (*ll.* 13-16) reads 'They shall grow not old as we that are left grow old: / Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. / At the going down of the sun and in the morning / We will remember them'. The poem is much anthologised, appearing in sixteen collections of First World War poetry on my shelves, as well as being in P. O'Prey, ed., *Poems of Two Wars: Laurence Binyon,* London: Dare-Gale Press, 2016, pp.25-26.

65. Reynolds, 2013, title and pp.419-435.

66. Foreword to Oliver, 2018, p. xi; *cf.* his text at pp.81-93. See also J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History,* Canto Classics pbk edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp.78-116. The last line of stanza 4 of Binyon's poem appears on many local monuments, though probably less frequently than 'Lest we forget' and 'Their name liveth for evermore', the first from Rudyard Kipling's 1897 poem 'Recessional' *l.*6, repeated *ll.* 12, 18, 24, the second from the Apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 44.14 (AV), which was chosen by Kipling for use on the Stones of Remembrance designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) and included in all but the very smallest of the cemeteries in France and Belgium by the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission: G. Stamp, *The Memorial to the Missing of the Somme,* London: Profile Books, 2006, pbk edn 2007, revised pbk edn 2016, pp.78-79; but note that the 2016 revisions affect the pagination but the index is unchanged so that all post-page 96 indexal references are erroneous. For the War Graves Commission: Crane, 2013: for a novelist's take on the subject: R. Edrie, *Field Service,* London: Doubleday, 2015. Interestingly, all these quotations occur on monuments close to where I live: that from Binyon at Wanstead E11 (though apparently added after World War II), that from Kipling at Walthamstow E17, and that from Ecclesiasticus at Newbury Park, IG2. All these memorials are of stone, or at least stone-faced, as is most common. But see D.H. Kennett, 'The Great War Remembered in Brick and Terracotta: Buildings and Memorials', *BBS Information,* **140,** November 2018, pp.13-20.

67. Stamp, 2016 (or earlier edition). I do not share Stamp's warm approbation of the monument, whilst his book shows a number of flaws. I was preparing a critical review article for these pages when I learned of the author's death, aged only 69, in December 2017; the project was therefore abandoned. One may, however, question his claim that Lutyens managed to design a triumphal arch without any triumphalism: 'there is no triumph about the arch at Thiepval ...' (p.7 in all editions). Its sheer scale and the ineluctable associations of its *form* make this implausible. One may compare Geoff Dyer's more judicious assessment: 'By contrast to the missing it commemorates the Thiepval Memorial is palpably here unmissable ...'; 'there is no humility about it ... no regret': *The Missing of the Somme,* pbk edn., Edinburgh and London: Canongate, 2016. P.157.

68. T. and V. Holt, *Major and Mrs Holt's Definitive Battlefield Guide to the Western Front — North,* 4th edn., Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2018, pp.148-150, and *cf. passim.*

69. M. Facknitz, 'Kitsch, Commemoration, and Mourning in the Aftermath of the Great War', in K. Kurschinski, *From Memory to History: The Great War,* Waterloo ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015, p.355. The author, somewhat pusillanimously one might think, attributes the judgement of Thiepval to others; apparently they apply the term *kitsch* to the painting *Gassed* by John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) and the peom 'In Flanders Fields' by John McCrae (1872-1918). Both works are available in several places, but conveniently together in R. Giddings, *The War Poets,* London: Bloomsbury, 1988, pp.55, 57. For the poem and it author see also H. Verleyden, 9th edn., Brugge: De Klapoos, 2014; poet and poem are central to Sir Michael Morpurgo's moving story *Poppy Field,* London: Scholastic Children's Books, 2018. Lines from the poem were adapted as the inscription on the Territorial Army war memorial at Whipps Cross, Walthamstow E17; *cf.* n.66 *supra.*

70. J. Masters, *By Green of the Spring,* London: Michael Joseph, 1981, pbk edn., London: Sphere Books, 1982, p.497. The book is the third of John Masters' First World War *Loss of Eden* trilogy.

71. V. Brittain, *Testament of Youth,* London: Victor Gollancz, 1933, pbk edn., Glasgow: Fontana in association with Virago, 1978, p.371.

72. V. Brittain, 'Diary Entry: Summer 1933' in V. Brittain, ed. M. Bestridge, *Because You Died: Poetry and Prose of the First World War and After,* London: Virago, 2008, p.157. These thoughts were incorporated in her *Testament of Friendship,* London: Macmillan & Co., pbk edn., Glasgow: Fontana in association with Virago, 1981, pp.360-361.

73. Wilfrid Owen, 'Preface' to a proposed collection of poems, probably written in May 1918, thus about six months before he was killed on 4 September 1918, just a week before the Armistice, in J. Stallworthy, *The Poems of Wilfrid Owen,* London: The Hogarth Press, 1985, reprinted London Chatto & Windus, 1990 and many times subsequently, p.192: at p.125, *l.*25, the same phrase is used in Owen's poem 'Strange Meeting'; in the Preface he wrote '... War and the pity of it': D. Graham, *The Truth of War: Owen, Blunden, Rosenberg,* Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1984, p.160, n.24; was he reflecting (consciously or otherwise) the war poem 'The Pity of It' (April 1915) by Thomas Hardy (1840-1928)? Hardy's poem is available D. Wright, ed., *The Selected Poems of Thomas Hardy,* London: Penguin Books, 1978, p.282. For all its acerbity — more Sassoon than Owen — *Oh What a Lovely War* presents a peculiarly anodyne picture of the war. By contrast, the more accomplished *Journey's End,* though not depicting the full horrors of the war — scarcely feasible in a stage production — does capture something of its *pity.* It was for this reason that the cast of the 2004 production received a congratulatory letter from no less a theatrical luminary then the late Harold Pinter (1930-2008): R. Gore-Langton, *Journey's End: The Classic War Play Explored,* London: Oberon Books, 2013, p.xi. A more powerful drama, in its exploration of the effects — physical, psychological, and communal — of the war, is Sean O'Casey's *The Silver Tassie* (128), available in *Sean O'Casey: Plays 2,* London: Faber and Faber, 1998, pp.163-269. Owen's telling phrase forms the title of Prof. Niall Freguson's long, and controversial, study of the conflict: *The Pity of War,* London: Allen Lane, 1998; at p.xxxii he aptly describes *Oh! What a Lovely War* (using the title of the film version: n.63 *supra*) as 'that quintessential "message for the sixties" that wars could always happen so long as power was in the hands of upper-class twits'. No less redolent of that decade is A.J.P. Taylor, *The First World War: an Illustrated History,* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1963, Penguin Books, 1966, with its facetious tome and sometimes adolescent figure captions, notably at p.28; a hugely popular 'bestseller', it is still in print at the time of writing.

74. *Pity* is an aspect of the war that the brick and stone triumphal arch at Thiepval could not hope to convey (*cf.* n.67 *supra*) but which is so poignantly expressed through a different medium: the Cello Concerto in E Minor Op.85 (1919) by Sir Edward Elgar (1857-1934).

75. *Cf.* 'The full reality of war was much too complex to be viewed through the eyes of pity alone': J.H. Johnston, quoted in Bergonzi, 1996, p.200.

76. J. Conrad, *Heart of Darkness,* serialised 1899, published in book form in *Youth ... and Two Other Stories,* Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1902; numerous subsequent editions; in *Heart of Darkness and the Congo Diary,* O. Knowles and R. Hampson, eds, London: Penguin Books, 2007, the words (from part III) occur at p.86; *cf.* pp.88, 92, 96. Blunden, 1969, p.25 applies the word 'Horror' to the war; so too (with lowercase initial) did the war artist Paul Nash (1889-1946) in a letter to his wife, 16 November 1917: D. Haycock, *A Crisis of Brilliance: Five Young British Artists and the Great War,* London: Old Street Publishing, 2009, p.277; Paul Nash's paintings capture the horror, as recognised in the caption to *Wire* (1919), in R. Tolson, introd., *Art from the First World War,* London: Imperial War Museum, 2014, p.45; others of his paintings are at pp.29, 34-35, 43. [Nash's 'Wire' is also illustrated Haycock, 2009, unnumbered pl.10 top, paired with Richard Nevinson (1889-1946), 'Paths of Glory' (1917). Both paintings are in the Imperial War Museum, London. (DHK)]

Fambrini & Daniels – Manufacturers of 'Imperishable Concrete Stone,' Excelsior Stone Works, Monks Road, Lincoln.

Arthur Ward

INTRODUCTION

It is not recorded when Joseph Fambrini [or Fambrina] (1815-1890) came from Italy to settle in Lincoln, but he stayed long enough to establish a successful business, marry and later become a 'Naturalised English Subject', dying in the city in 1890, aged seventy-five years.

Initially Joseph appears to have set up trade as a plasterer – his trade cited on his marriage certificate in 1846 – later expanding to the manufacturer of a range of plaster products; later cement-based products. When his grandson, Joseph Daniels (1855-1927), joined the business they expanded into making ornaments, Joseph Daniels' occupation being a modeller. In conjunction with his business in the manufacturing of plaster and plaster products, Joseph Fambrini was also a publican, initially at 'The Steam Packet' (Boston Packet), 58 Waterside North, Lincoln, and later at a Dram Shop at 26 Melville Street, Lincoln, from where he also traded his business in the manufacture of plaster products.

As business expanded Joseph built his family house, Villa Firenza, on Monks Road. The company, Fambrini & Daniels, further expanded into manufacturing artificial stone - 'Imperishable Concrete Stone,'- trading from new premises comprising workshop and offices on Canwick Road, Lincoln. These were built between 1878 and 1892 on land they owned and used as a stone yard. In 1913 the company ceased trading as Fambrini & Daniels, passing to The Lindum Stone Company, which ceased trade in 1949. Joseph Daniels remained in Lincoln until his death in 1927, aged seventy-two years.

The legacy of the Fambrini family lives on in the city's fabric, both in the buildings they occupied and provided products for. One ambiguity though remains to be solved: was their works on Melville Street or Canwick Road called 'Excelsior Works' or was it at another location?

EARLY YEARS

In 1815, either in or near Florence in Italy, Joseph Fambrini was born. The first record of Joseph in Lincoln is of his marriage in 1846 to Mary Ann Row, a widow. (Mary's previous marriage in 1837 was to William Row, who died in 1844.) Mary lived at Maud's Hill Terrace in the parish of St. Michael. Their marriage took place in the then parish church of St. Michael-on-the-Mount on 4 October of that year. Joseph is a bachelor, 32 years old and trading as a plasterer, and his wife is 29 years old. The marriage record shows that Joseph may, at that time, have been lodging at his future wife's premises, Maud's Hill Terrace, as both give the same address. Mary Ann's father (or father-in-law) Thomas Row is recorded as a brazier and Joseph's father, Thomas, as a farmer, though the location of his farm is not given. Had the Fambrini family already settled in Lincolnshire?

In the 1849 *Post Office Directory* and 1850 Slater's *Directory for Lincolnshire,* Joseph is registered under plasterers as a manufacturer, trading from No. 8 Broadgate, Lincoln. He would have been 35 years of age. By 1850 Joseph had had time to register his trade and secure premises and purchase equipment, this against competition from four other plasterers and one modeller. As a manufacturer of plaster, Joseph would now appear to be a source of supply to others undertaking plastering services. Joseph's wife, Mary Ann, is also recorded at 8 Broadgate as a straw bonnet maker.

White's *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Lincolnshire*, 1856, is the first record of Joseph Fambrini living at the 'Steam Packet Inn', Waterside North, while plying his trade as plasterer. By 1861, Joseph (aged 46) is still recorded as living at 'The Steam Packet' Inn, 62 Waterside North, Lincoln, with his wife Mary Ann, nephew Thomas Issott, grandson James Daniels, a female servant and a lodger. All except Joseph were born in Lincoln; his birthplace is recorded as Italy. He is described as publican and still trading as a plaster manufacturer. Joseph could now have expanded to undertaking work 'in the field' as his lodger, an employee, William Baily, was a plasterer. Morris's *Directory of Lincolnshire,* 1863, lists Joseph Fambrini as moulder and plaster manufacturer, Boston Steam Packet Inn, Waterside North, Lincoln. This indicates that he had started to expand into making and producing plaster items as opposed to dry products to be mixed by a plasterer on site. He may also have had provision for slaking lime at his premises, as, at that date, the plaster used would have been lime-based, not the material we associate with plastering today in modern building work (except where lime plasters are still used in renovation work).

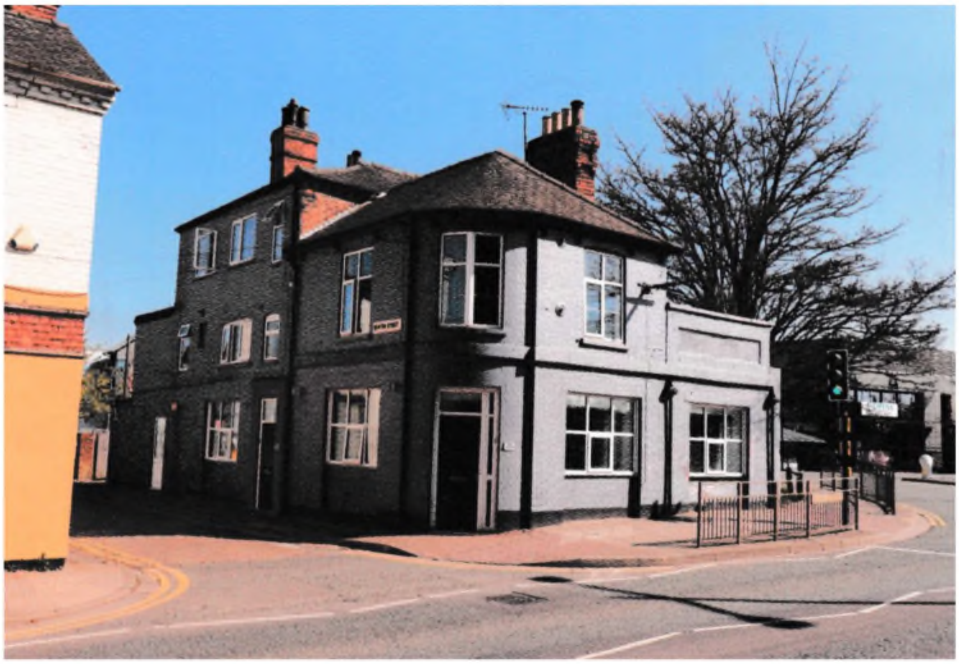


Fig.1 26 Melville Street, Lincoln, later the 'Crown and Cushion' inn, now student accommodation. Joseph Fambrini was both the publican and ran his plaster-making business from here

BUSINESS EXPANSION

In 1869 Joseph was occupying premises on Melville Street, Lincoln. Melville Street was constructed sometime between 1842 and 1851 and properties were developed along it. An application submitted by the architect William Watkins (1834-1926) to the City of Lincoln Council's Engineers Department, under the provisions set out in the Public Health Act of 1858, and dated 2 February 1869: Mr Fambrini is seeking to: 'Turn Workshops into Dwellings and a Dram Shop'. The premises later became 'The Crown and Cushion', later 'Sippers', and most recently student accommodation. The 1871 Census for Lincoln records Joseph Fambrini as living at 26 Melville Street, with his wife Mary Ann, and plying his trade as modeller and figurine maker, plaster manufacturer and supplier. Joseph, now aged 58, had become a 'Naturalized English Subject': his application under the UK Naturalization Act 1848 was approved on 28 September 1869. His grandson, Joseph Daniels, aged sixteen, is a modeller and, Emma Harmstrong (or Armstrong), aged seventeen is a general servant (domestic). A further application to the City Council, again submitted by the architect William Watkins, identifies Joseph Fambrini applying for 'Area Grates' on Newton Street in connection with 'Enlargement of Cellars.' One can assume this to be in connection with works to 26 Melville Street, which abuts Newton Street, and the use of the premises as a dram shop and dwellings. White's 1872 *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Lincolnshire* lists Joseph Fambrini as modeller, manufacturer of plaster of Paris, Roman and other Parian cements, etc., and victualler of the 'Crown and Cushion', 26 Melville Street. He had certainly expanded his business and diversified, although he had previously occupied the 'Steam Packet' Inn on Waterside North, which may have been as a tenant and not as owner, unlike now at Melville Street. As his wife's occupation is not stated on either census, no conclusion can be made as to her involvement in the licence trade.

Business must have been good for the Fambrini family. In 1876 Joseph applied to the City Council for the erection of a dwelling house on Monks Road, Lincoln. The application was made by Drury and Mortimer, a local architectural practice. The property when eventually constructed was named Villa Firenza and now 95

Monks Road, but originally numbered both 56 and 57 Monks Road. The house (figs.2-4) still stands today at the junction of Monks Road and Baggholme Road at the south-east corner. Typical of Joseph to call his house a 'Villa,' being of Italian descent and wishing, a bit 'tongue-in-cheek' to see it as his link to home. Even the design has a little bit of Italian in it – a turret on the corner. By 1881 the Census shows the Fambrini family: Joseph aged sixty-six; Mary Ann aged sixty-two and grandson Joseph Daniels, now aged twenty-six and plying his trade as a modeller, living at 56 Monks Road. By now Joseph Fambrini is recorded as a modeller, employing one man and four lads.

TABLE 1
FAMBRINI & DANIELS: CENSUS DATA.

1850. 8 Broadgate.

Joseph Fambrini	Plaster Manufacturer.
Mary Ann Fambrini	Straw Bonnet Maker.

1851. No mention in Census.

1861. 62 Waterside North, 'Steam Packet Inn'.

James Fambrini	M	Head	46	1815	Plaster Manufacturer.		Italy
Mary Ann Fambrini	FM	Wife	42				Lincoln
James Daniels	M		6		Grandson	Scholar.	Lincoln
Mary Kent	FM		25		House Servant		Washingborough
William Baily	M		45		Lodger	Plasterer	Lincoln
Thomas Issott	M		22	1839	Nephew	Tinner & Brazier.	Lincoln

1871. Melville Street.

Joseph Fambrini	M	Head	58	1813			Italy
Mary Ann Fambrini	FM	Wife	52	1819			Lincs.
Joseph Daniels	M		16	1855	Grandson		Lincs.
Emma Harmstrong	FM		17	1854	Servant		Lincs.

1881. 56 Monks Road,

Joseph Fambrini	M	Head	66	1815		Modeller	Italy*
					Employing 1 Man and 4 Lads.		
Mary Ann Fambrini	FM	Wife	62	1819			Lincoln
Joseph Daniels	M	S	26	1855	Grandson.	Modeller.	Lincoln
Frances Knott	FM	S	19	1862	Servant.		Branston

* Note: By this date he had become a Naturalized British Subject. Joseph Fambrini died on 23 April 1890 aged 75 years.

1891. 57 Monks Road.

Mary Ann Fambrini	FM	Head	71	1820	Living on own means.		Lincoln
Joseph Issott	M		63	1828	Son-in-Law	Tinner & Brazier	Lincoln
Jane Revill	FM		69		General Servant, Domestic		Lincoln

Note: Mary Ann Fambrini died on 9 May 1896 and was cremated on 12 May 1896. Joseph Issott, Mary Ann's Son-in-Kaw remained at 57 Monks Road until his death on 11 December 1914, aged 86.

1891. 4 Baggholme Road.

Joseph Daniels.	M	Head	36	Cement & Concrete Manufacturer	Lincoln
Elizabeth Daniels	FM	Wife	28		Toynton

1901. 4 Baggholme Road.

Joseph Daniels	M	Head	46	Cement/Concrete Masonry Manufacturer.	Lincoln
Elizabeth Daniels	FM	Wife	37		Toynton

Note: I cannot find any further record of either Joseph or Elizabeth, except that Joseph died on 18 December 1927, aged 72, and is buried in St. Swithin's Cemetery, Lincoln.

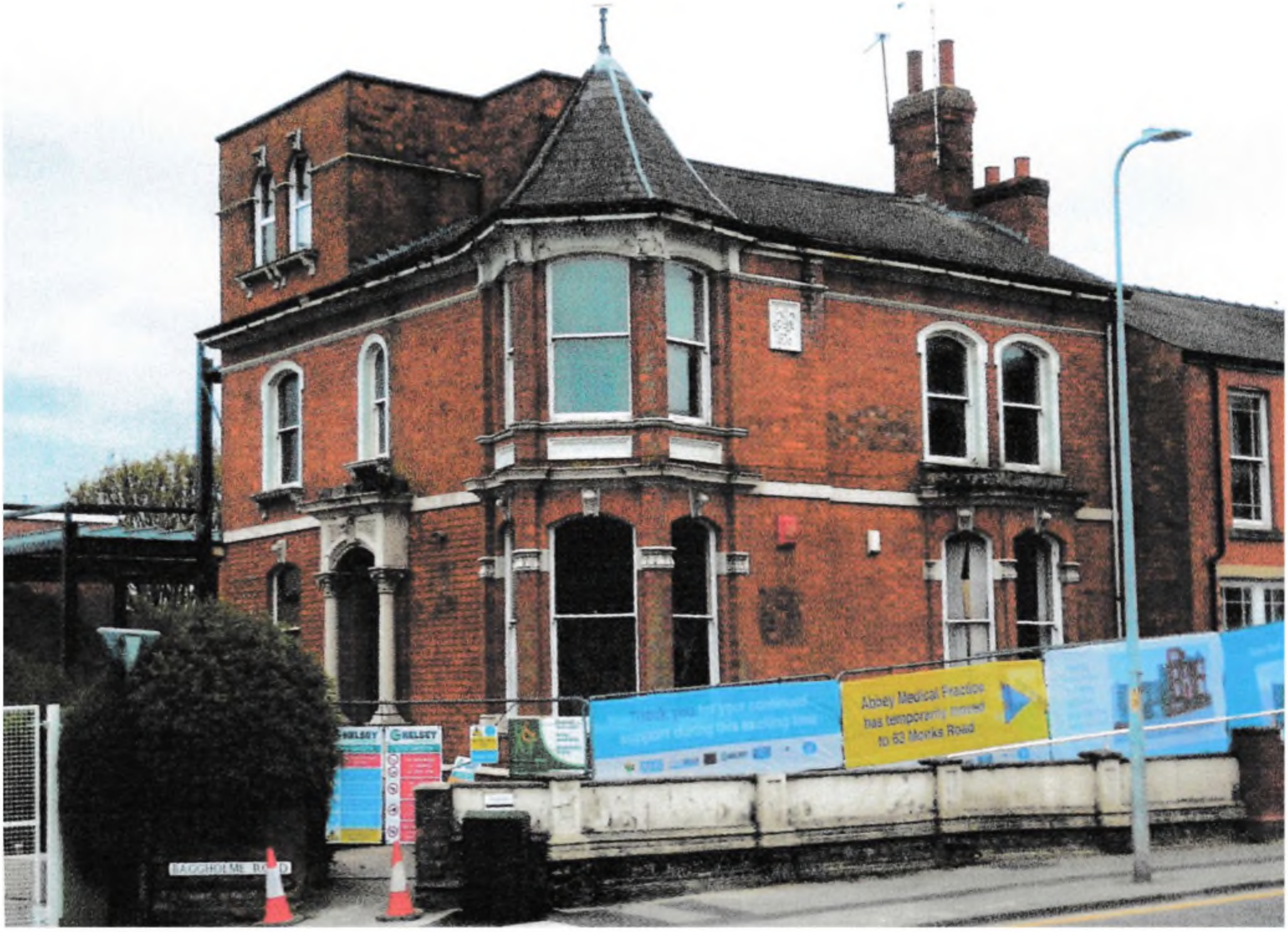

Abbey Medical Practice has temporarily moved to 63 Monks Road

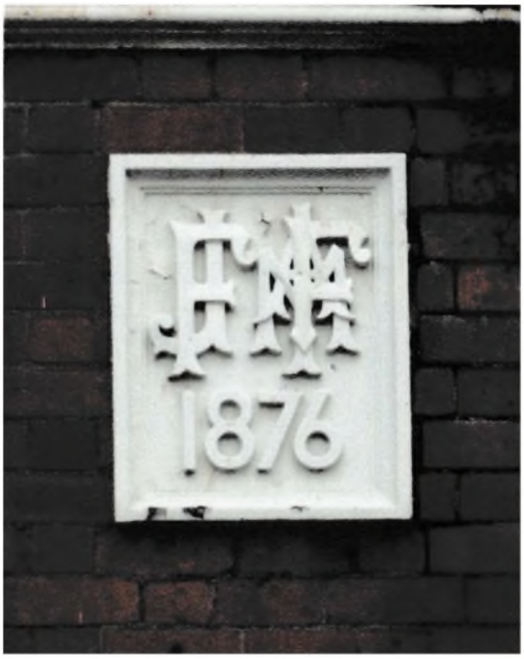
Fig.2 Joseph Fambrini's house on Monks Road, now a medical centre.

Two years after Joseph Fambrini had made his application for his house on Monks Road, an application was lodged for a workshop on a site on Canwick Road. This application was made by Drury and Mortimer, architects, on behalf of Joseph Fambrini. Although it is not possible to precisely date when Joseph Fambrini acquired property on Canwick Road, electoral registers for the City confirm that he had a stone yard there in 1881. The register also indicates he owned two houses on Melville Street. The1869 application to 'convert workshop to dwellings' must have been implemented. It is worth noting that Canwick Road was laid out in 1856 and soon after that Joseph Fambrini may have acquired land for the stone yard.

One can assume that his business was still run from both premises on Melville Street/Newton Street as well as the stone yard on Canwick Road, as it does not appear that the Canwick Road application of 1878 submitted by Drury and Mortimer was implemented. The 1883 Padley plan of the city clearly indicates the Fambrini Monks Road dwelling on a 'tight' site with no adjoining workshop or accessible area adjacent from which the business activities could be undertaken.

However, there is reference to premises on Monks Road in 1886 under the name 'Excelsior Stone Works', where 'Imperishable Concrete Stone' is being manufactured. Or was this just their residential premises being used as a business address? The properties of 'Imperishable Concrete Stone' are extolled in an article initially published in the *Railway Supplies Journal* and reprinted in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 23 February 1886, reappearing again in the 26 February edition. The article likens the material to Portland Stone.

Some of the buildings cited in the *Railway Supplies Journal* are identified further on in this article (see 'Imperishable Concrete Stone', below).



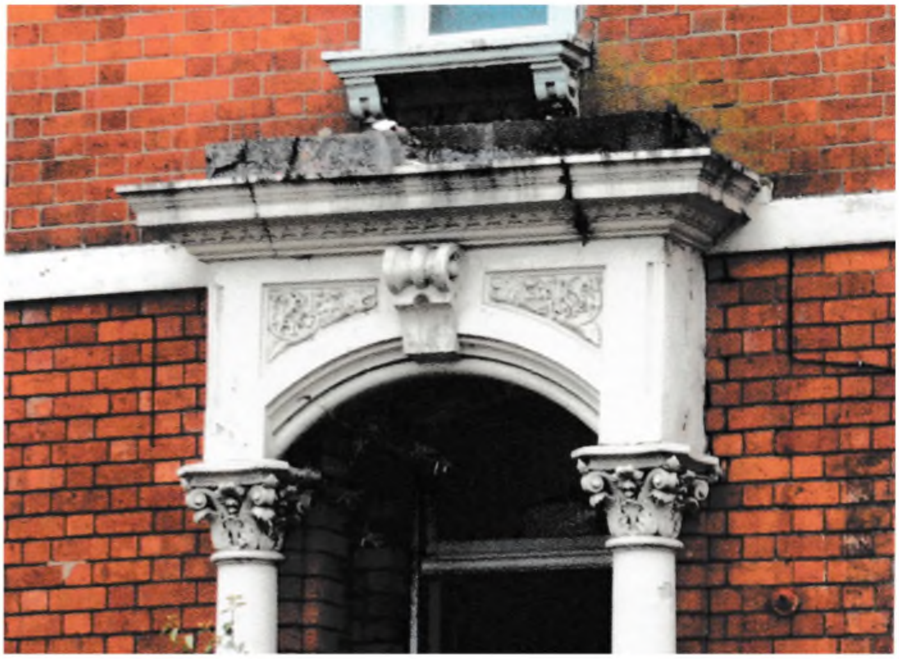


Fig.3 (top) Plaque JF & MAF on the house at 95 Monks Road, Lincoln.
Fig.4 (above) Artificial stone by Fambrini & Daniels above the principal entrance to 95 Monks Road, Lincoln. Note the cill of the window above.

1889 Joseph Daniels was again employing William Mortimer, architect, to submit an application for 'Office and Workshops' at 85 Canwick Road. This was approved with a condition that 'the walls be 14 inches thick'. Mortimer's practice ledger indicates that this work cost £256 13s 9d and undertaken by G Cowen, contractor, the final payment being made on 3 May 1889.

Shortly after Joseph Daniels had secured approval for new premises on Canwick Road, his grandfather, Joseph Fambrini had passed away. His death was recorded on 23 April 1890. He was 75 years old. His personal and estate of £484 9s. was passed to Mary Ann Fambrini, his widow the relict and sole executrix. Joseph Fambrini, on his death was registered as 'Artificial Stone Manufacturer.'

A year after his grandfather died, Joseph Daniels, now aged thirty-six, moved out of the family house on Monks Road. He married Elizabeth Rutter of Toynton, Lincolnshire, and set up home at 4 Baggholme Road, registering his trade in the 1891 Census as cement and concrete manufacturer.

Joseph Fambrini's widow Mary Ann remained living at their Monks Road 'Villa' until her death on 8 May 1896, aged seventy-seven, six years after her husband's death. She left, after probate, £821 5s 8d, which passed to Fredrick Henry Harrison, Iron Founder, St. Marks, Lincoln. (The reason for Harrison being the recipient of Mary Ann's estate and his relationship to her has not been explored.) Mary is buried in St Swithin's Cemetery off Canwick Road in Lincoln. Joseph and Mary Ann did not have any children. After Mary Ann died the family home was occupied by Mary Ann's son-in-law, Joseph Issott, until his death on 11 December 1914; after probate on 7 January 1915, Joseph Issott left £105 5*s.* 10*d.* to a Lizzie Foster. Joseph Daniels did not go back to assume residency, remaining at Baggholme Road.

THE BUSINESS PASSES TO JOSEPH DANIELS

Joseph Daniels continued the family business after his grandfather's death under the name Fambrini and Daniels. In 1891 he entered a partnership with Frederick Webster. Following a dispute, Fambrini v Webster, reported in the *Lincolnshire Echo* of 19 January 1901, their partnership ended in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice over of an alleged misunderstanding of how Webster's draw-down of weekly wages as a partner was calculated, and whether this included profits. A sum of 35s per week was stated. The partnership

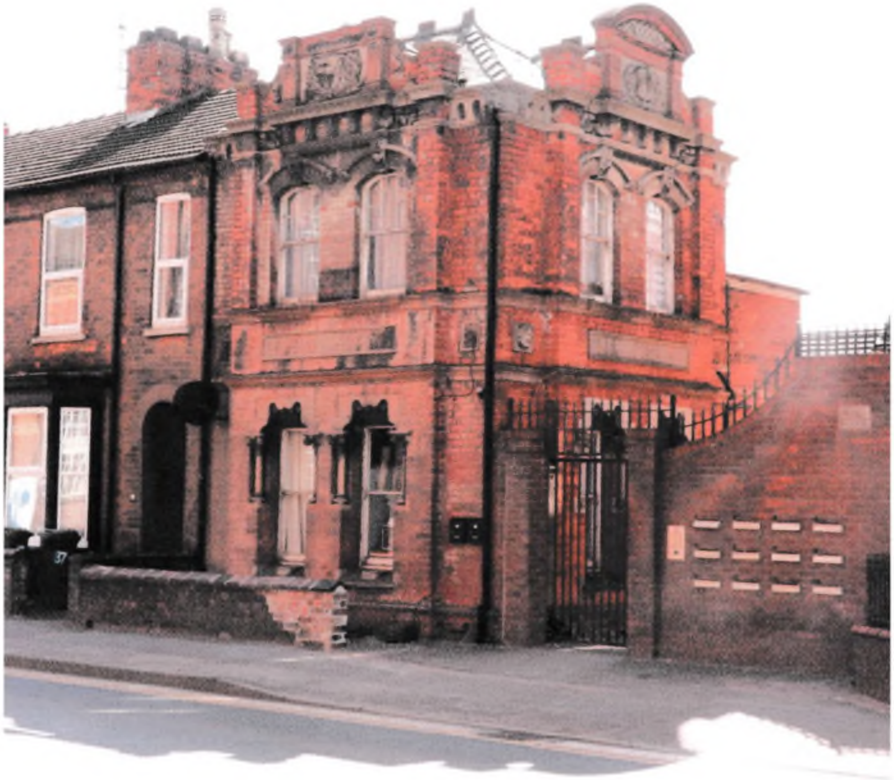
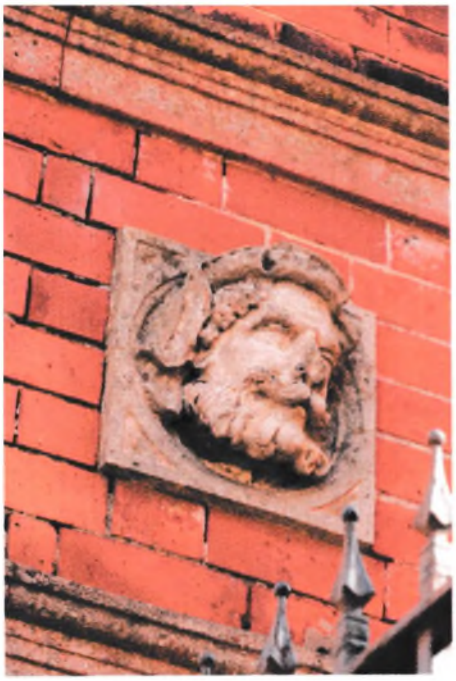


Fig.5 The offices of Fambrini & Daniels at 85 Canwick Road, Lincoln. The carved head, possibly of Joseph Fambrini (fig.6) is at the front in the central area of the side elevation. The rainwater head (fig.7) is on the right-hand side of the street frontage; it can be compared to that shown in figure 11.

was dissolved in 1901, with Webster being awarded a payment of £78 19s 8d, a substantial sum. The 1901 Electoral Register for Lincoln shows Fred Webster living at 34 Orchard Street and owning a Stone Yard on Canwick Road with Joseph Daniels of Baggeholme Road. After this date ownership appears in Joseph Daniels' name only.

Two further applications for his property on Canwick Road were submitted to the City Council through the architects William Mortimer and Sons, one for a workshop in 1892 and another for additions to a workshop in 1899. This latter application was in the names of Fambrini and Daniels. Joseph was now trading as Cement and Concrete Masonry Manufacturer, according to the 1901 Census. Joseph and his wife were still living in their family home, 4 Baggholme Road, Lincoln.

Joseph traded at 85 Canwick Road until the company was taken over by the Lindum Stone Company some time in 1913. He died on 18 December 1927, aged 72 years and was buried in St. Swithin's Cemetery, Lincoln. The Lindum Stone Company ceasing trading in 1949.



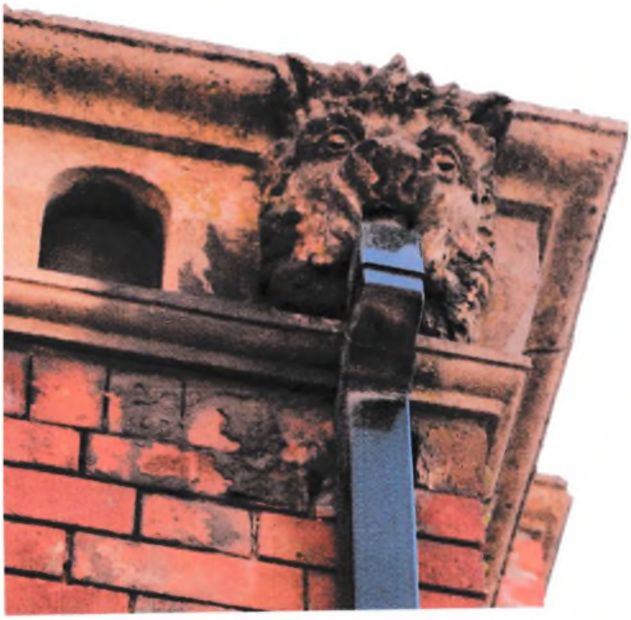


Fig.6 (left) Carved head, possibly of Joseph Fambrini, at the front of the central area of the firm's offices at 85 Canwick Road, Lincoln.

Fig.7 (right) Rainwater head above drainpipe on right-hand side of the firm's offices at 85 Canwick Road, Lincoln.

PROPERTY OCCUPIED AND BUILT BY FABRINI AND DANIELS

The properties occupied by the Fambrini family, and from where they lived and/or plied their trades, are still evident in the Lincoln townscape. 'The Steam Packet Inn' on Waterside North was demolished *circa* 1972 but the block of property containing 26 Melville Street, later 'The Crown and Cushion' remains, as well as Villa Firenza, 95 Monks Road, where William Mortimer was a near neighbour at No. 71. The property at 85 Canwick Road — the Offices, with a segmental pediment carrying a datestone of 1889 — is listed Grade II. Unfortunately, as part of an application to erect flats in the yard to No. 85, the workshop to the rear was demolished. The office has also been converted to residential use.

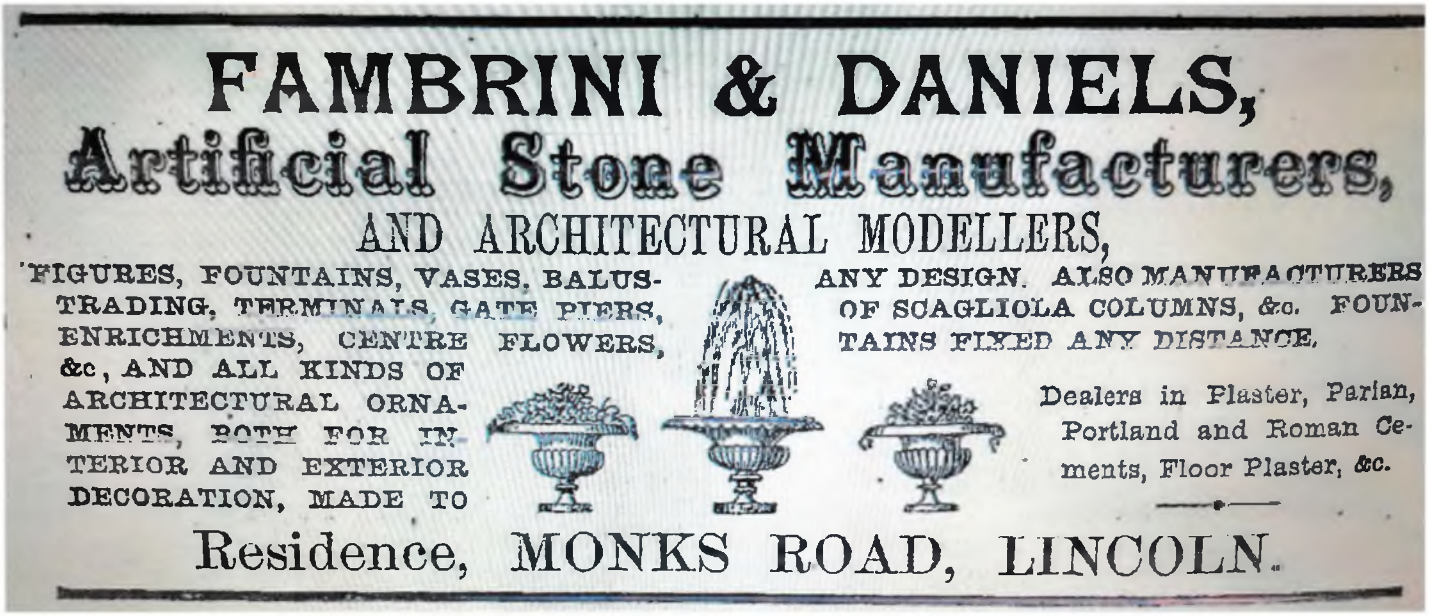
FAMBRINI AND DANIELS — THEIR TRADES

The wide variety of trades that Fambrini and Daniels undertook over a period of more than 60 years (from 1846 to 1913, when Joseph Daniels' business passed over to The Lindum Stone Company) was principally based on lime in its many forms. The skill of modeller, attributed principally to Joseph Daniels, may have been one that he achieved through his natural talent. However, during the 1880s there was an ardent desire in Lincoln for a School of Art for new premises at which a full range of artistic skills could be taught. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* of Friday 25 January 1884 reported that the School of Art Committee had reached favourable terms with the Corporation over a suitable site and that the Collections Committee had commenced raising subscriptions. It is recorded that Fambrini & Daniels gave a subscription of five guineas. The article also referred to the 'miserable buildings at present being used are totally inadequate.' Joseph Daniels appears to have already been registered at the current school (established in 1863), having been awarded a free studentship when he was 16 years old. He is recorded as winning a second prize for 'Machine Drawing from Actual Measurements'. The new School of Science and Art was opened in 1886 on Monks Road.

The skill of a modeller was to design set pieces, either a moquette or pieces from which moulds could be made and from which multiple copies could be produced, for example as we denote later in their trade as

Figurine Makers. This would account for the use of Plaster of Paris to make items to satisfy the market for ornaments, much loved of the Victorians.

Fambrini and Daniels' main trade is that of Artificial Stone (concrete with stone aggregate or finish), a product that was much in competition with terra cotta and faience, both of which required certain clays and kiln firing to produce a wide range of items, though principally used for embellishing the facades of buildings to meet the architectural styles prevalent in the late Victorian period. Compared to terra cotta and faience, artificial stone could be produced by a cold process (i.e.: as in the making of cement and concrete or as stated earlier – plaster cast figures: figurines) and therefore did not shrink, thereby giving a greater degree of accuracy in size and shape, as well as coursing in with brickwork, which itself was not standardised by this time. It was more robust to transport and for handling on site as well as achieving a greater compressive strength. Like terracotta and faience, it could be used to fireproof the façade or internal areas of property. The company also manufactured scagliola, use to replicate natural materials such as polished marble. Examples of its use can be seen on the former Masonic Lodge (1878) on Unity Square.



FAMBRINI & DANIELS,

Artificial Stone Manufacturers,

AND ARCHITECTURAL MODELLERS,

FIGURES, FOUNTAINS, VASES, BALUSTRADING, TERMINALS, GATE PIERS, ENRICHMENTS, CENTRE FLOWERS, &c, AND ALL KINDS OF ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENTS, BOTH FOR INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR DECORATION, MADE TO ANY DESIGN. ALSO MANUFACTURERS OF SCAGLIOLA COLUMNS, &c. FOUNTAINS FIXED ANY DISTANCE.

Dealers in Plaster, Parian, Portland and Roman Cements, Floor Plaster, &c.

Residence, MONKS ROAD, LINCOLN.

Fig.8 Advertisement for the products of Fambrini & Daniels, Artificial Stone Manufacturers, from Kelly's *Directory of Lincolnshire*, 1876.

An advertisement in the Kelly's *Lincolnshire Directory* of 1876 (fig.8) gives an insight into the breadth of products produced by the company both for the building trade as well as those to grace the interior of Victorian homes with a penchant for collecting and displaying ornaments.

A further insight into the breadth of the companies' products can be gleaned from a court case of 14 December 1880 in which the plaintiffs, Fambrini and Daniels, sought the recovery of costs (£10 10s. 4d.) for articles produced for J.T. Priestley, Builder. These included cills and sinks, indicating their supply to the building trade was far ranging, not just embellishments in the form of architectural decoration, but essential items too.

'IMPERISHABLE CONCRETE STONE'

One specific article published in the *Railways Supplies Journal* and reprinted in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* of 23 and 26 February 1886 under the heading 'IMPERISHABLE CONCRETE STONE' gives the best explanation of the material Fambrini & Daniels produced, as well as listing some of the structures where used, including the dwelling built for the Fambrini family in Monks Road. The premises from which it was manufactured was stated as 'Excelsior Stone Works,' Monks Road, Lincoln.

TABLE 2

FROM PLASTERER TO ARTIFICIAL STONE MANUFACTURER: THE BUSINESS CAREER OF JOSPEH FAMBRINI

Year	Age	Address Occupation	Source and Notes
1846	32	Maud's Hill Terrace Plasterer	Marriage Certificate
1849 and 1850	34 35	8 Broadgate Plasterer and manufacturer	*Post Office Directory for Lincolnshire,* 1849 Slater's *Directory* of *Lincolnshire,* 1850
1856	41	'Steam Packet Inn', Waterside North Publican and plasterer	W. White, *Directory of Lincolnshire,* 1856
1861	46	'Steam Packet Inn', 62, Waterside North Publican and plaster manufacturer	Census return, 1861
1863	48	'Boston Steam Packet Inn' 62, Waterside North Publican and plaster manufacturer	Morris, *Directory of Lincolnshire,* 1863
1869	54	Melville Street	Application to City Council, Engineers' Department 'Turn workshops into dwellings and a dram shop', 2 February 1869.
1871	56	26 Melville Street Modeller and figurine maker, Plaster manufacturer and supplier	Census return, 1871
1872	57	26 Melville Street Modeller, manufacturer of plaster of Paris, Roman and other Parisian ornaments. Victualler, 'Crown and Cushion'.	W. White, *Directory* of *Lincolnshire,* 1872
1881	66	56 Monks Road Modeller and employer	Census Return, 1881
1883	68	85 Canwick Road	Building application to City Council (? not implemented) at existing stone yard.
1886	71	95 Monks Road	'Excelsior Stone Works' making 'Imperishable Concrete Stone' Possibly the house was used as a business address
1890	75	95 Monks Road Artificial stone manufacturer	Death certificate

Note: All addresses are in Lincoln.

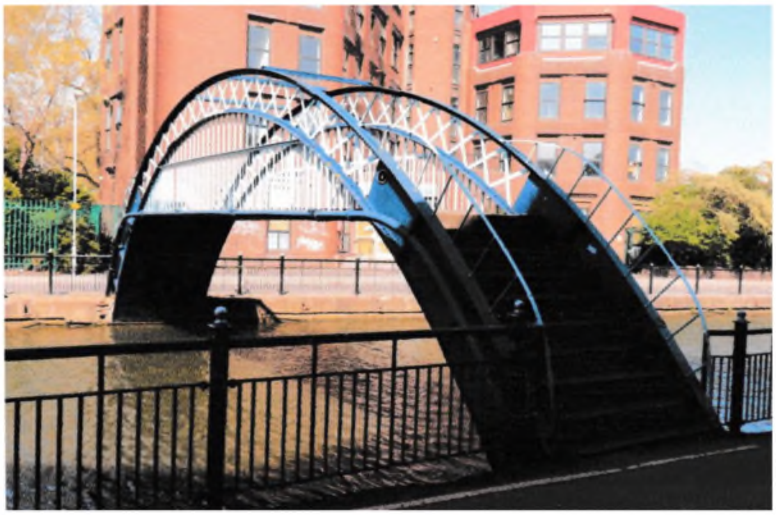


Fig.9 The Montague Street Bridge, Lincoln, with alternate steps by Fambrini & Daniels, erected in 1878.

Fambrini and Daniels are recorded, in the press at the time, to have undertaken a wide variety of commissions; the full complement of their output will never be known unless their trade ledgers showing commissions are found and examined. However, as stated, the press did give recognition of work at Hull in the provision of artificial stone for the façade of the New Grand Opera House designed by the London-based theatre architect Mr Frank Matcham (1854-1920), built at the cost of £20,000 in 1883. A large fountain was paid for by the Trustees of The Orphanage Asylum of Scotland at Bridge of Weir, near Glasgow in 1894. This is reported to have had a seven-foot diameter basin that was successfully cast in red concrete in one piece and transported to, and erected on site, successfully. Other theatre work included the executing of all the cement and plaster and stonework on the exterior of the new City Theatre, Sheffield, erected by Mr Alexandra Stacey in 1893 on a plot at the junction of Tudor Street and Arundel Gate. The City Theatre, demolished only four years after construction, following closure in 1897, sat on the site now occupied by the Lyceum Theatre constructed in 1897 and opened on 11 October that year.

One early commission in Lincoln was for the supply of concrete and artificial stone for the steps of the Montague Street Bridge, erected in 1878 over the River Witham at the end of Montague Street and designed by the City Surveyor, Mr Henderson. The contract was for £369 10s. Messrs Porter and Co. of Lincoln were the contractors; Mr Fullalove executed the masonry work. There are ten steps at each end of the bridge, half being Yorkstone, the remainder artificial stone as supplied by Fambrini and Daniels. At the time it stated that Mixture', an elixir that brought him fortune and sold world-wide), designed by Albert Vicars with construction on site overseen by superintendent local architect William Mortimer. Fambrini and Daniels' artificial stone elements were used to embellish its façade. Both buildings are still viewable today, the latter listed grade II.

Looking at the Architects: Watkins; Mortimer and Drury, as used by Fambrini and Daniels in respect of submitting applications to The City of Lincoln Council for their business, and the timespan, one can assimilate detailing used in other buildings they designed to compare detailing and possible use of Fambrini and Daniels products. We know that William Watkins favoured terracotta for detailing on his building facades and that on Mortimer designed buildings architectural detailing used 'artificial stone': their house, 95 Monks Road (1876) (fig.2); workshops at 85, Canwick Road (1899) (fig.5); Odd Fellows' Hall on Unity Square (1878) (fig.9); and Bracebridge Hall (1883). The latter two displaying a 'cornucopia' of the many architectural details the company made.

William Mortimer's practice ledgers exist. Looking through these you can identify several properties: The Liberal Club on St. Swithin's Square and Baptist Church, Mint Lane, which could be assessed for architectural detailing supplied by Fambrini and Daniels, along with a vast amount of application for terraced 'the merits of the latter will be fairly tested.' Two other local commissions were for the Odd Fellows' Hall building on the north side of Unity Square designed by William Mortimer in 1878 for which Fambrini and Daniels supplied the stonework for the ornamentation on the elevations as well as for specific architectural elements. At Bracebridge Hall, for Francis Clark (1842-1888), the creator of the world famous 'Clark's Blood

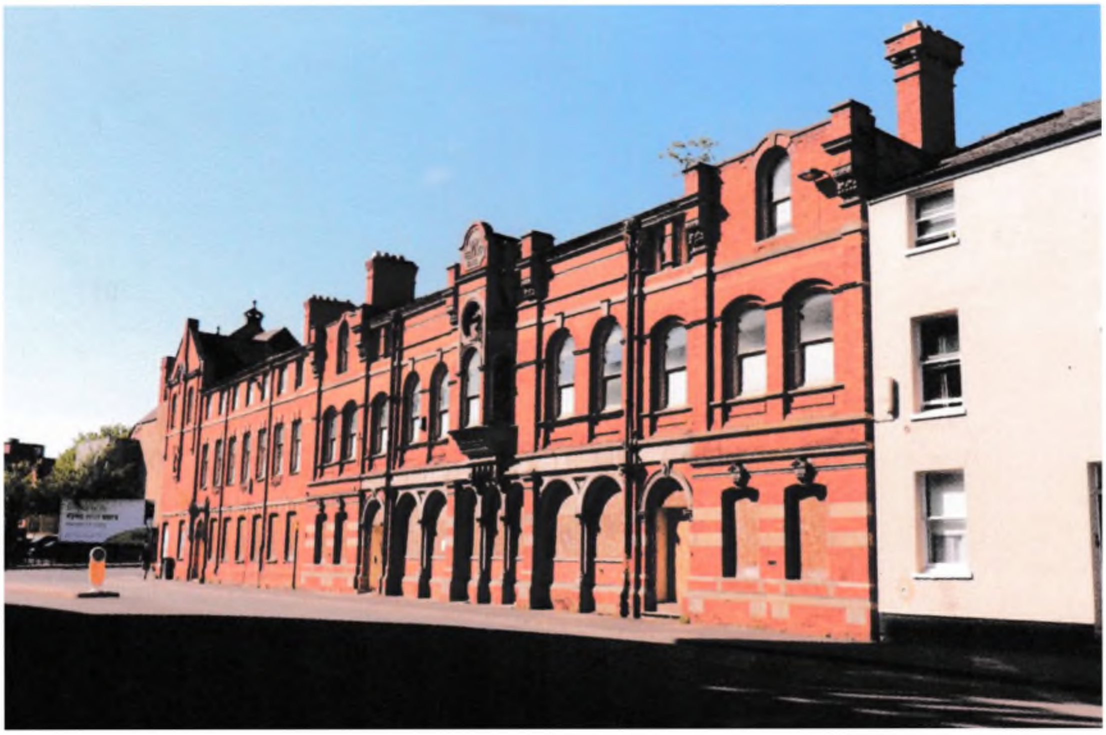


Fig.10 The Odd Fellows Hall, Unity Square, Lincoln: general View. The main building was designed by William Mortimer in 1878 with the addition to the left added in 1894. The rainwater head (fig.9) is to the left of the central portion of the original building.

Mixture', an elixir that brough him fortune and sold world-wide, designed by Alber Vicars with construction on site overseen by local superintendent architect William Mortimer; housing in the city passed through their practice. Unfortunately, many of Mortimers' buildings have been demolished or lost through fire damage: The Temperance Hall, St. Swithin's Square; Stands at the Racecourse and other Masonic Rooms; memories consigned to photographs or archived drawings. A challenge for another research project to address how extensive the use of 'artificial stone' has been used?

In addition to architectural details, Fambrini and Daniels supplied, as we have seen, other products such as fountains and household products. Again, how many gardens and parks do their products adorn? In 1887 Fambrini and Daniels supplied a plaster cast model of Her Majesty the Queen (Victoria - one assumes) as one of almost 100 prizes for entry into a fund-raising exercise, being undertaken by the Art Union, for furnishings for the new School of Art, as reported in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 5 August 1887. In the 27 September edition the result of the Prize Draw was published: the statue was won by Mr Johnson of Lincoln County Hospital. Is it still somewhere in the County Hospital today given that much of the original fabric has been demolished! Some 3,291 tickets were sold, raising a sum (profit) of £420 10s 4d for the School of Art.

Commissions for tendering for Granite Concrete Paving for Skegness Cattle Market appear in a news article in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*. In this instance their price for supply was unsuccessful!

We can see that the company had connections not only through Lincoln and Lincolnshire builders and architects, but their products were also sought to embellish buildings across the country, many unfortunately demolished, others, as stated, still standing, though some under threat of re-purposing or neglect.

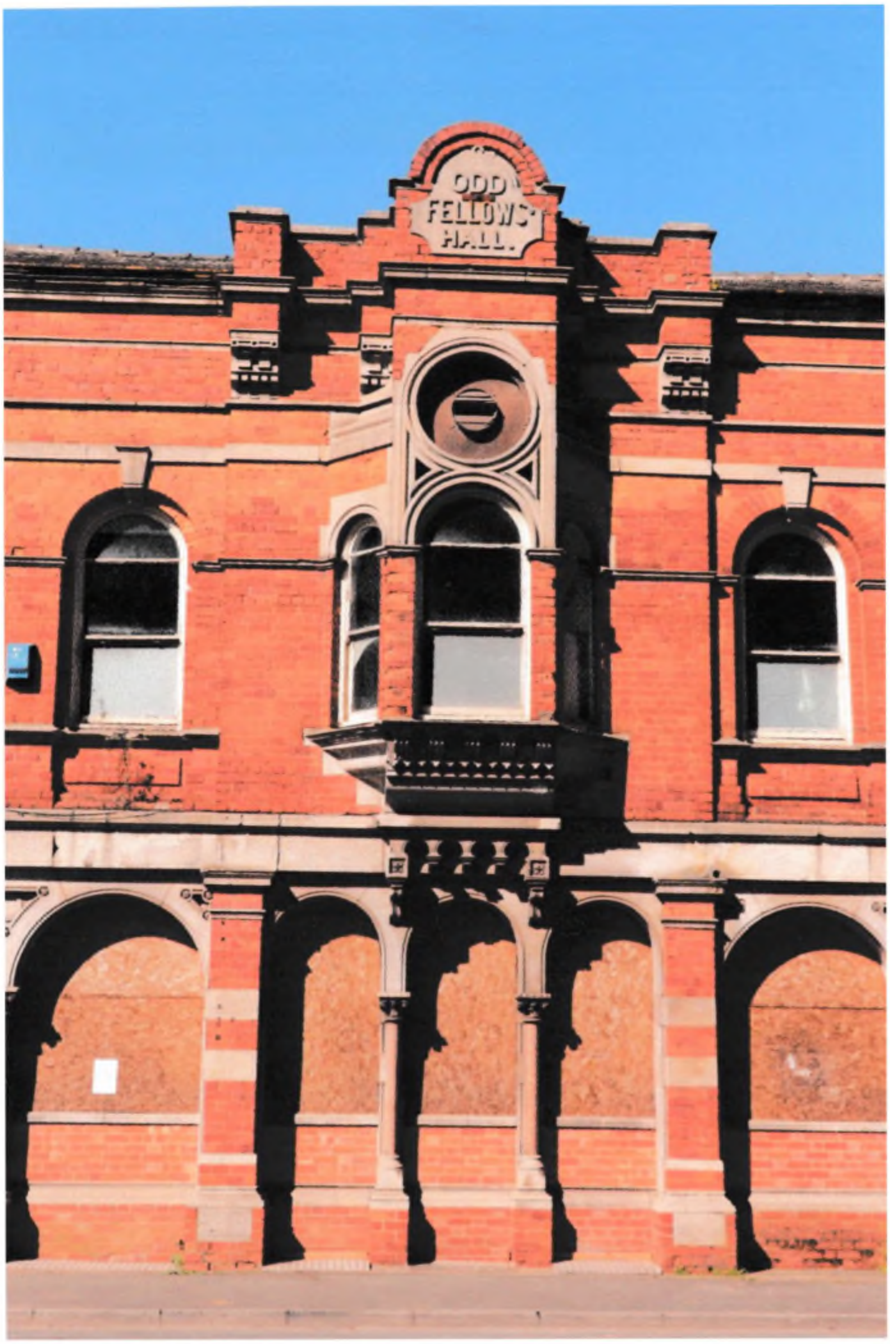
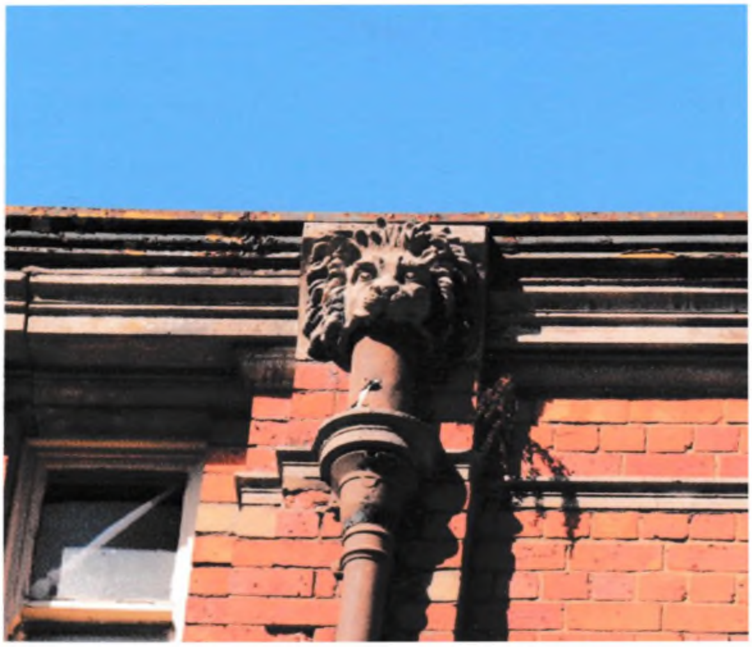


Fig.11 (left) The central portion of the Odd Fellows Hall, Unity Square, Lincoln, with architectural fittings by Fambrini & Daniels.

Like any company Fambrini and Daniels advertised items for sale in the local press – for example: Fitters Lathe and a Stone Breaker, etc. This latter item identifies that their trade was based on stone, mostly limestone as aggregate for the cement/concrete and for manufacture of plaster. Was this purchased locally: Lincoln sitting on a vast bed of Oolitic limestone as used in the construction of many of its earlier buildings and as embellishment elements in later brick constructions. 'Imperishable Concrete Stone' could replicate the stone detailing and offer more besides.



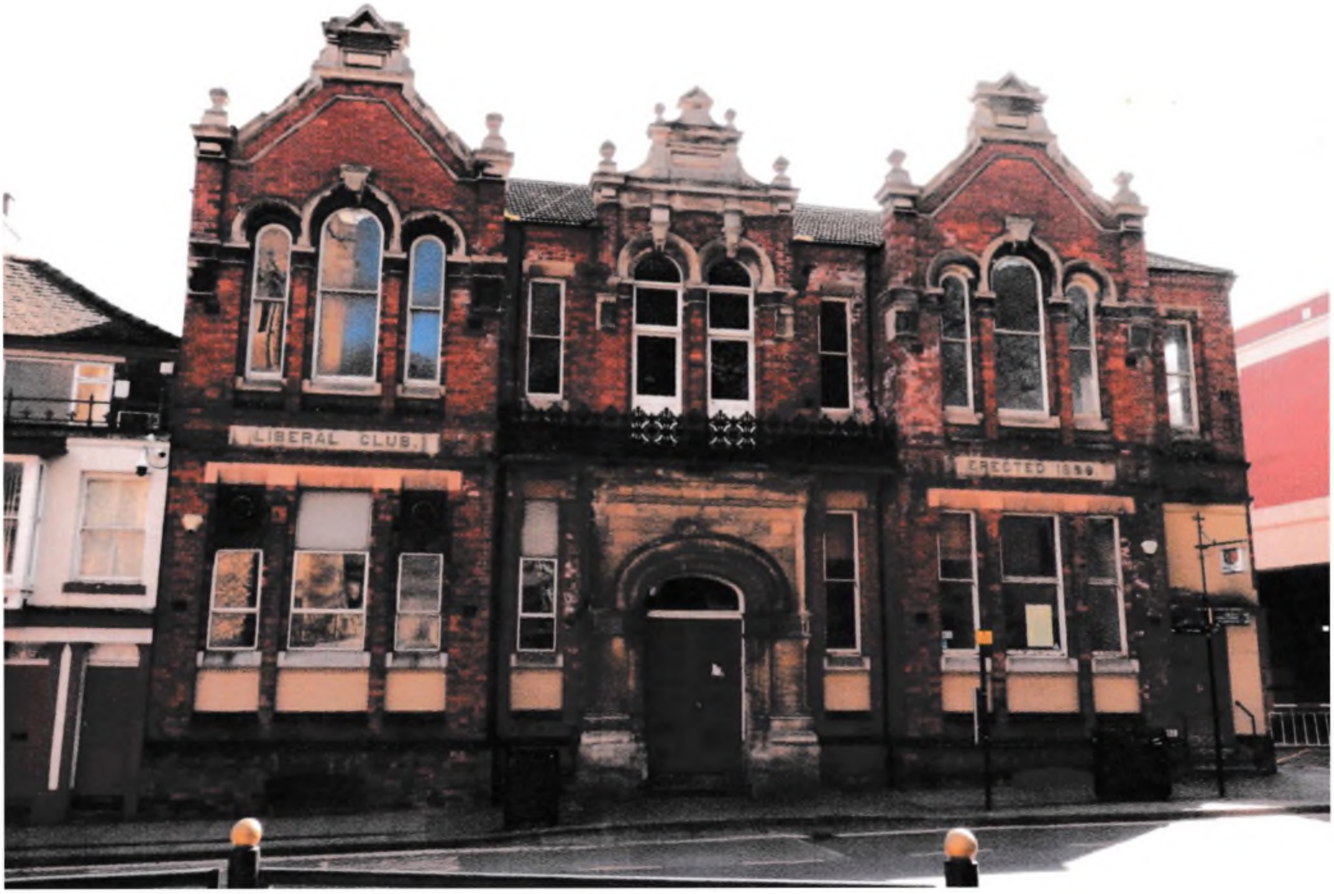

LIBERAL CLUB.
ERECTED 1889

Fig.12 (top) Rainwater head at the Odd Fellows Hall, Unity Square, Lincoln. It can be compared to the rainwater head at 85 Canwick Road, Lincoln (fig.7).

Fig.13 (above) The Liberal Club.

CONCLUSION

We may not know why Joseph Fambrini came to England sometime in the late 1840s and settled in Lincoln to establish a trade as plasterer and plaster manufacturer, the skills for which he would have learned in his native Italy, especially in a city like Florence. However, the partnership, whilst also continuing to produce plaster and plaster products went on to produce 'Imperishable Concrete Stone' (Artificial Stone), a product more robust than terracotta or faience, and not being based on clay, did not shrink on drying and was easier to transport. It also had a commercial edge over both. Its finished appearance and the ability to use it in moulds competed with that of terracotta and faience, suiting the clients' requirements to embellish their buildings as was the fashion of the Victorian period, along with that of embellishing their interior décor with ornamentation made of glazed and painted plaster figurines. They could supply both markets.

As we know some of Lincoln's architects used Fambrini manufactured products in buildings and other structures as opposed to terracotta or faience favoured by the likes of William Watkins (1834-1926) who sought supplies from either Hathern or Dalton; delivering buildings of a Free Renaissance and Queen Anne style made fashionable by Waterhouse and Chamberlain for clients who had done the 'Grand Tour' or been influenced by those who had. His use of terracotta can be seen on buildings such as the former Constitution Club, Silver Street/Broadgate and two ornate buildings on High Street: the former Peacock and Willson Bank and the former Brown, Hewitt, and Co. premises; both now in retail use.

The company, first established by Joseph Fambrini around 1849 continued trading as Fambrini and Daniels from when his grandson joined. After the death of Joseph Fambrini in 1890, Joseph Daniels ran it until 1913; it continued through to 1949 under the name of Lindum Stone Company, reaching its centenary in that year. Given the longevity of the company it is unlikely that we will know the full extent of the buildings their products embellished; their clients, many of whom may have been builders or contractors, and the number of homes where their figurines etc. were, or still are, on display. One thing we do have is a self-styled portrait of Joseph Fambrini is displayed at 85 Canwick Road.

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Edward Gripper's Early Years in Nottingham 1852-1858

Jeffrey A. Sheard

INTRODUCTION

Edward Gripper must have the credit of the modern development of brick making in Nottingham, however, his early years in Nottingham were shrouded in mystery. Information now available on the British Newspaper Archive has made it possible to form a much clearer picture of his business activities after 1850. The first article from the newspaper archive introduces Mr William Whitehead, whose primary occupation was an auctioneer. However, with his finger in many pies, he was also the freeholder and manufacturer of bricks, 'with three admirably run yards situated on Beacon Hill', located in the St Ann's district close to the town of Nottingham.

The article provides valuable information regarding the plant and equipment used to manufacture bricks before steam power was introduced in 1852 by Edward Gripper. Nottingham brickmakers had already made inroads towards the "Holy Grail" of all-year-round brick production. This was absolutely necessary to meet the ever-increasing demands of the growing industrial town. The auction takes place upon the former brickyard of Mr William Smith located at Mapperley Park, which was later renamed Alexandra Park to commemorate the marriage of Prince Edward to Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1871. An advertisement in the *Nottingham Journal*, 18 May 1855, reads:

TO FARMERS, BRICKMAKERS, BUILDERS AND OTHERS

> To be sold by Auction, on Tuesday, the May 22nd, 1895, at Eleven for Twelve O'clock Precisely, by Mr. W. WHITEHEAD, upon the premises, Mapperley Park, Nottingham, the entire PLANT and STOCK-IN-TRADE of the BRICKYARD formally belonging to Mr. W. Smith, the ground being required immediately for the setting out as villa sites. The plant consists of a excellent CLAY MILL, worked by horse-power; large CLAY HOVEL, covered with half-inch boarding; BRICKMAKING SHED, 98 feet by 19 feet; Ditto, 92 feet by 19 feet, Ditto, 80 feet by 19 feet, all covered with pantiles, nearly new. Extensive Flues with furnaces, dampers, and chimney; two large Kilns with droughts, & The STOCK of nearly 200,000 common bricks, 20,000 Cants, 40,000 Culverts; quantity of half-rounds, quarter-rounds, floor bricks, saddle copings, circulars &c.---The whole of the plant being new within the last three years, and the Stock good, the opportunity is a favourable one for parties building.
>
> 2, Albert Street, Nottingham

Inclement weather conditions were the bane of traditional brickmakers and the accepted period for brickmaking was Lady Day to Michaelmas Day (25 March to 29 September). Michaelmas Day was also a traditional holiday to celebrate the gathering of the harvest. Nottingham's seasonal brickmakers often worked in the malting trade during the winter months; malting barley for brewing purposes is a similar occupation all about kilns and critical temperatures. Horse-drawn clay mills had been introduced to the area as early as 1820, followed later with heated drying floors; covered brickmaking sheds and enclosed Kilns with flues.

Land released after the 1845 Enclosure Act was purchased by many speculators for building land, industrial and housing. A popular investment was to buy land on the clay fields, situated on the hilly terrain of the north-eastern outskirts of the town, and then install a brick maker or brickmaking company who would pay rent until the clay had been exhausted. It was commonplace in Nottingham for earlier brickyards to remove only the top clay. This would remain the case until the powerful machinery needed to process the deeper more challenging compact clays were introduced. After the top clay reserves had been exhausted, brickmaking ceased the freeholder would then be left with a ready prepared and levelled building plot, perfect for selling on or developing at a healthy profit.

During a previous research adventure in 2009 to the clay hills (Hungerhills) situated at the rear of Alexandra Park provided evidence of brickmaking on the site which was overwhelming.

The area was scattered with hundreds maybe thousands of reject bricks, fused together in large blocks, known as burrs. The evidence of over fired brick burrs pointed to a catastrophic kiln meltdown. It can take weeks or months to hack and chisel out the contents of a kiln when the temperature has been misjudged and overheated. I later developed a theory that the brickyard, now clearly attributed to William Smith may have been Edward Grippers first yard in Nottingham.

Alexandra Park was situated on land that was formally the southern section of Mapperley Common adjacent to the Hungerhill Gardens, a 75-acre Grade II Listed Site. In the 1840s, the Hungerhill area was established as 'Pleasure Gardens' to provide space for the middle classes to get away from the dirt and grime of the expanding industrial town. The Mapperley Common or Wastes is a ribbon of land that was situated on the eastern side of what is now Woodborough Road, which stretched from the Hungerhill Gardens to Porchester Road. The Wastes had been associated with brickmaking for hundreds of years both officially and unofficially. The actual date is unclear but the whole of the Mapperley Common was purchased by John Smith a member of the prosperous family of Nottingham Bankers, possibly after the 1879 Basford Enclosure Act.

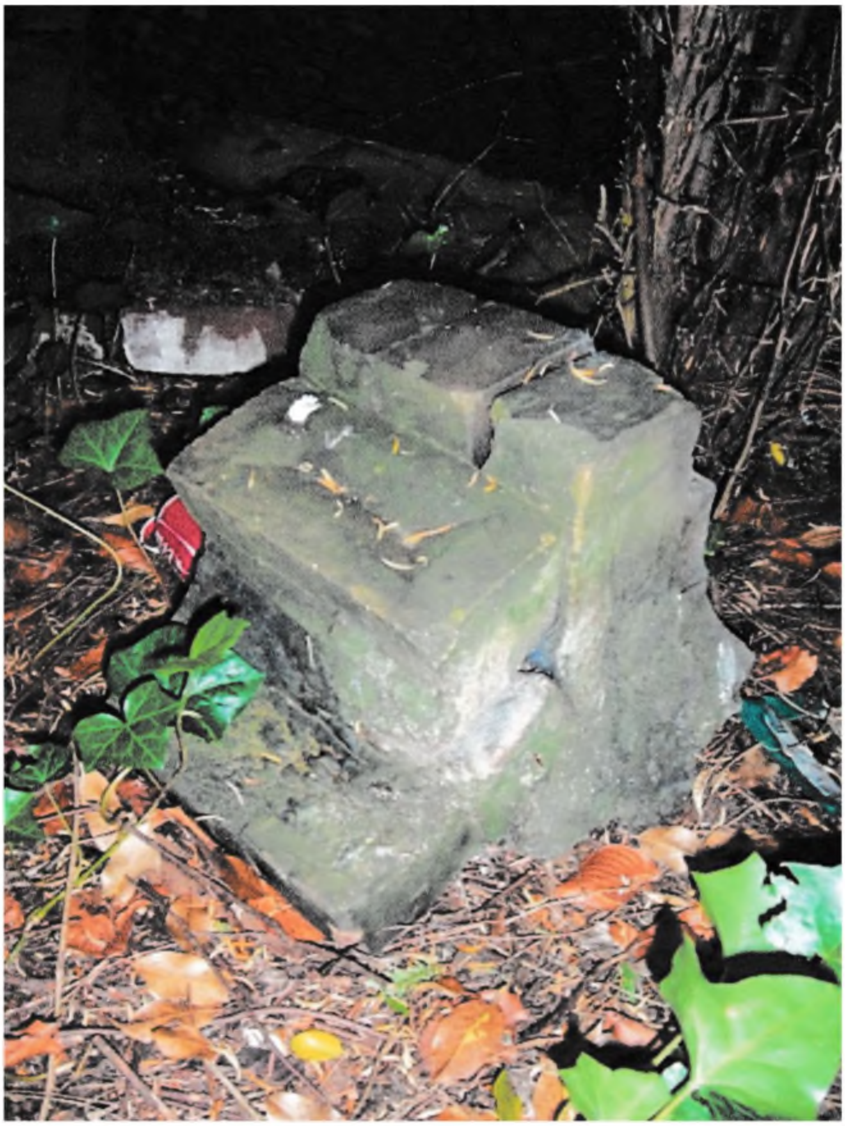

Fig.1 Brick Burr, one of hundreds found in the Hungerhills to the rear of Enderliegh House, Alexandra Park.

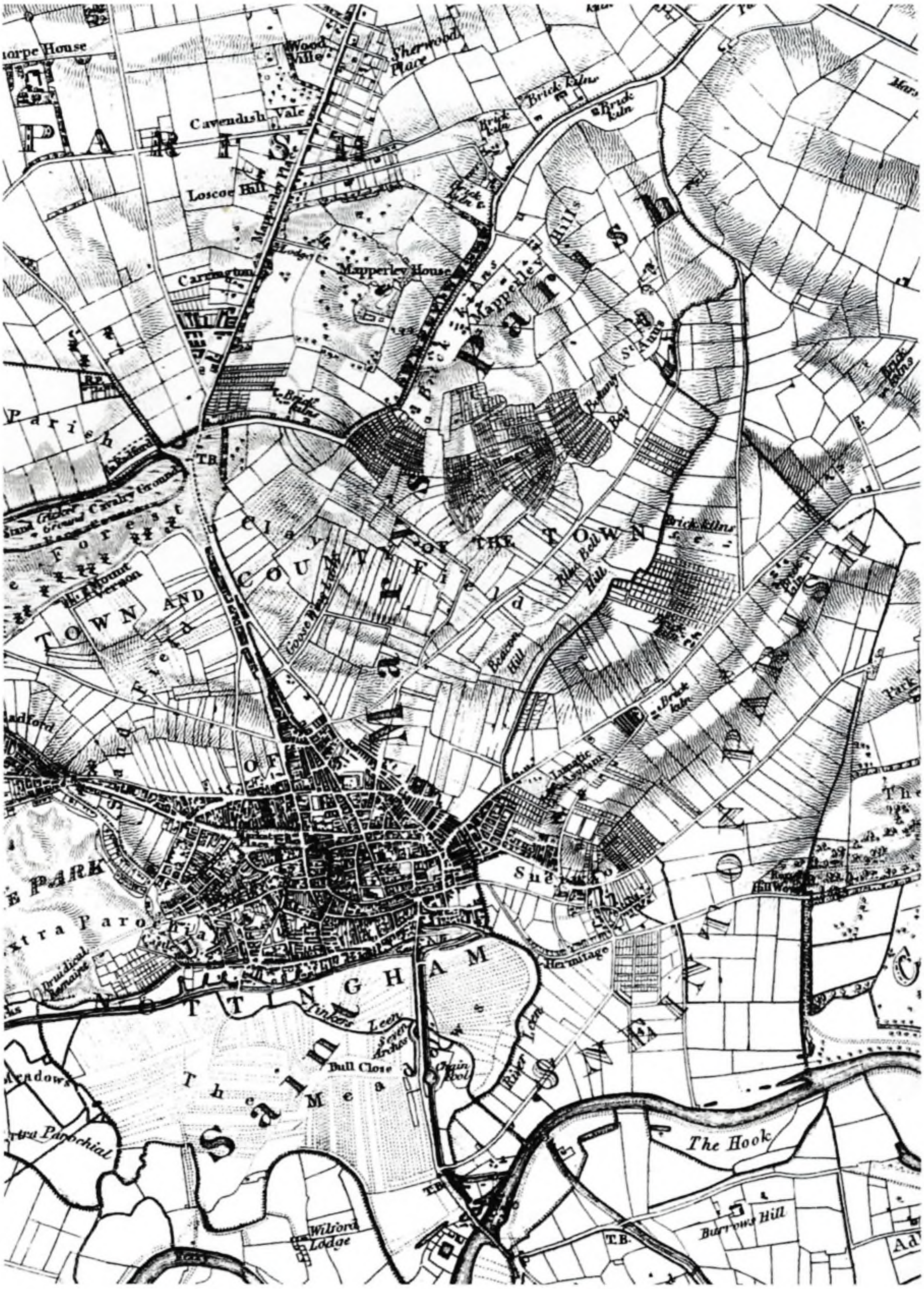
Cavendish Vale
Wood Ville
Sherwood Place
Brick kiln
Brick kiln
Loscoe Hill
Mapperley Place
Carrington
Mapperley House
Mapperley Hills
Brick kilns
St Anns
Brick kilns
Brick kiln
Blue Bell Hill
Beacon Hill
Lunatic Asylum
Forest
Mount Vernon
TOWN AND COUNTY OF
Clay Field
Sand Field
PARK
Extra Parochial
NOTTINGHAM
Hermitage
River Leen
Tinkers Leen
Seven Arches
Bull Close
The Meadows
The Hook
Burrows Hill
Wilford Lodge
T.B.

Fig.2 Sanderson's Map of 1835, *Twenty Miles around Mansfield,* unusually includes brickmaking sites and kiln locations. Interestingly, brick kilns (top centre around Mapperley Hills) are shown on the Mapperley Common area well before the extensive 1845 Enclosure Act. There are also a large number of brick kilns concentrated further to the south-east along Carlton Road.
Nottingham Local Studies Library

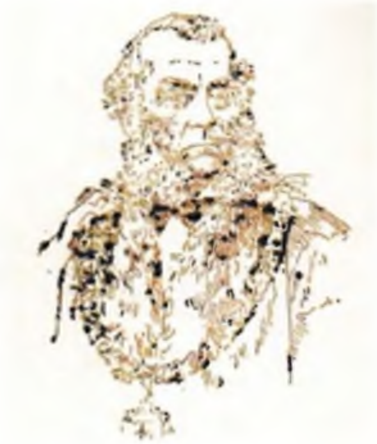

Fig.3 Alderman Edward Gripper. Mayor of Nottingham 1880-1881.
Nottingham Local Studies Library

EDWARD GRIPPER

Edward Gripper (junior) was born in 1815 into a small Quaker Community in Layer Breton, Essex. His father was a landowner and farmer, a very active member of the local Society of Friends. The Gripper family lived at Layer Breton Hall and worked 256 acres of farmland. Edward Gripper received an excellent commercial education and was the manager of his father's estate and farm for many years, employing a considerable staff; 19 men and six boys are shown in the 1851 census. He worked with his father until 1850-51, he then made the decision to leave his native Essex give up farming and look for pastures new. He moved to Nottingham and invested in a pioneering Steam Powered Brickmaking Process. The family farm was later sold, and his remaining family moved to smaller accommodation, the White House, in Layer Breton.

Fig .4 Layer Breton Hall Essex 2010
Author

With the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the future of farming looked rather bleak. In 1850 two newspaper articles appeared in the Essex Herald, proclaiming that Edward Gripper was now an 'Appraiser and Estate Agent'. The second article is aimed directly at poachers and anyone sporting on the land without authority. 'Anyone doing so would be deemed TRESPASSERS and dealt with as the law directs'.

So was Edward suffering some kind of midlife crisis? Or had he mapped out his future in a purposeful and calculated way? Edward Gripper's name next appears on December 10th 1852, In the Nottingham Review, under the headline, 'Scarcity of Houses in Nottingham'. The article refers to the high prices charged for rent and the very high demand. There were eighty-four applications for one house situated in the select Derby Road area of Nottingham. 'The demand for houses of every class is on nearly a similar scale'.

The article then continues under the subheading, 'The Brick Manufacture':

> It will be some consolation to builders and others, whose operations are retarded throughout the country by the supply of bricks being deficient, to learn that companies have been formed in the most eligible localities that could be selected, for the purpose of manufacturing them in steam factories, by a new patent process. One of these establishments has for more than twelve months past been in operation on a small scale at Huntingdon, where six men and four boys are making sixty thousand bricks a week, no alterations in weather in the slightest degree interfering with their operations. Under the same patent, and on an improved scale, immense works are just being put down at Arlesey, also on the Great Northern Line, a little more than twenty miles south of the metropolis, where about a million-and-a-quarter will be made weekly for the London Market. Other works are in progress at Cambridge, where 120,000 a week will be made, at Rugby (120,000), Leicester (600,000), Liverpool (500,000), Manchester (600,000), Birmingham (600,000), Derby (120,000), Nottingham (360,000), Doncaster, for the great Yorkshire towns (800,000). The Nottingham firm trading under the name of Edward Gripper and Company has commenced active operations. We understand they will have a large supply of bricks ready for sale early in the ensuing spring. The company's works will occupy forty-six acres at Mapperley. As the clay of which the patent brick is made must necessarily be ground very fine and is then forced by immense mechanical pressure through the moulds, a brick is therefore produced that when burnt will ring like china and is 'as sound as an acorn'. Another great advantage the patent brick possesses over the common brick is that being perforated, one-third of the clay is thereby taken out of it, enabling one horse to cart six hundred of them along an ordinary road, instead of only four hundred, to the place where they may be required for use. When put into work, the perforations form so perfect a key for the mortar that a single brick wall is said to be as strong as an ordinary nine-inch wall. When placed under hydraulic pressure, the-patent brick will bear three times the weight of a solid wall before it breaks or is crushed. To the eye, the face of a patent-brick is as beautiful as are the faces of the pressed bricks, or more so, the brass dies through which they pass, about a dozen at a time at the rate of 2,000 per hour, imparting to them a glossy smoothness the pressed brick seldom gains. Mr Beart of Godmanchester, is the patentee. As this adaption will give a great stimulus to building operations, much additional labour will thereby be created for the working classes, and none will be more benefited by it than brickmakers themselves. Instead of their employment, as previously being uncertain, and their occupation cheerless and demoralizing, there is now a certain prospect for them having work to attend all year round, ten hours a day, every working day alike (all clay getters excepted) within the works or factories, which may be rendered as comfortable for the operatives employed as any workshop in the United Kingdom. A still greater privilege to be conferred by this process upon the workmen and boys employed will be that the arrangements made entirely preclude the necessity of Sunday work, leaving them opportunities they have not hitherto enjoyed for mental and spiritual cultivation.

Edward Gripper first appeared in the local trade directories in 1853. It seems an incredible achievement that Gripper could leave the family business of farming at the age of 38 and, within just a few years, be in charge of one the most productive brick companies in Nottingham. His ground-breaking introduction of steam power and automation increased production and lowered the cost of bricks while improving the product. Nottingham was now a boomtown, and Gripper was definitely in the right place at the right time. Over 158 factories had been built between 1851 and 1857 for the lace and hosiery industries alone. The grandest buildings are still to be seen in the Lace Market.

One observer commented that 'Nottingham had become the Manchester of the Midlands'.

Wylie's *Old and New Nottingham,* 1853 states 'that an estimated 21 million bricks were brought into Nottingham and its suburbs the previous year'.

The exact location of Gripper's first brickyard in Nottingham was unclear; another quote from Wylie's account states simply: 'A company under the name Messrs' Gripper and Co have purchased an extensive piece of land on the Mapperley-Hill, where gigantic preparations for brick and tile manufacturing are being made'. Unfortunately, Mapperley Hill is 1.5 miles long, so this information is somewhat vague. The clue that eventually clinched the exact location was that Gripper's brickyard occupied an area of 46 acres. The actual area occupied by what become known in later years as the Mapperley Middle Yard, situated in the area referred to as the 'Brickmaking Estate', situated to the northwest side of Woodborough Road. The Mapperley Middle

Yard was flanked on both sides by two other brickyards, Samuel Cartledge's Yard off Private Road and Huthwaite's, farmer and brick manufacturer, trading under the name of Mapperley Brick Company, Scout Lane.

The date indicated for Gripper's arrival in Nottingham is significant; 1852 was one year after the Great Exhibition of the Arts and Manufactures of All the Nations in Hyde Park, London. Robert Beart is known to have displayed his Patent Brick Manufacturing Process, as is depicted on page 41 of *The Exhibition Catalogue.*

Constructing and establishing Mapperley Middle Yard as a going concern by December 1852 seems a gargantuan task, even for a man with Gripper's talents. Maybe he was introduced to Beart's patented steam-driven process before the 1851 Great Exhibition? It is still unclear how Gripper made contact with his future business partners, John Green Hine and Thomas Chambers Hine. In the Nottingham section of *Hunts Mining Statistics,* 1858, J. G. Hine is quoted as the freeholder, Gripper, the brick manufacturer.

I stumbled upon an interesting snippet of information possibly connecting Edward Gripper and T. C. Hine during some earlier research also in 2009. Alfred Stapleton's History of Mapperley refers to a row of 16 brickmakers' cottages, situated on Woodborough Rd, directly opposite Mapperley Middle Yard. According to Stapleton's History of Mapperley, the terraced row 'Fern Cottages' were reputed to have been designed by T C. Hine.

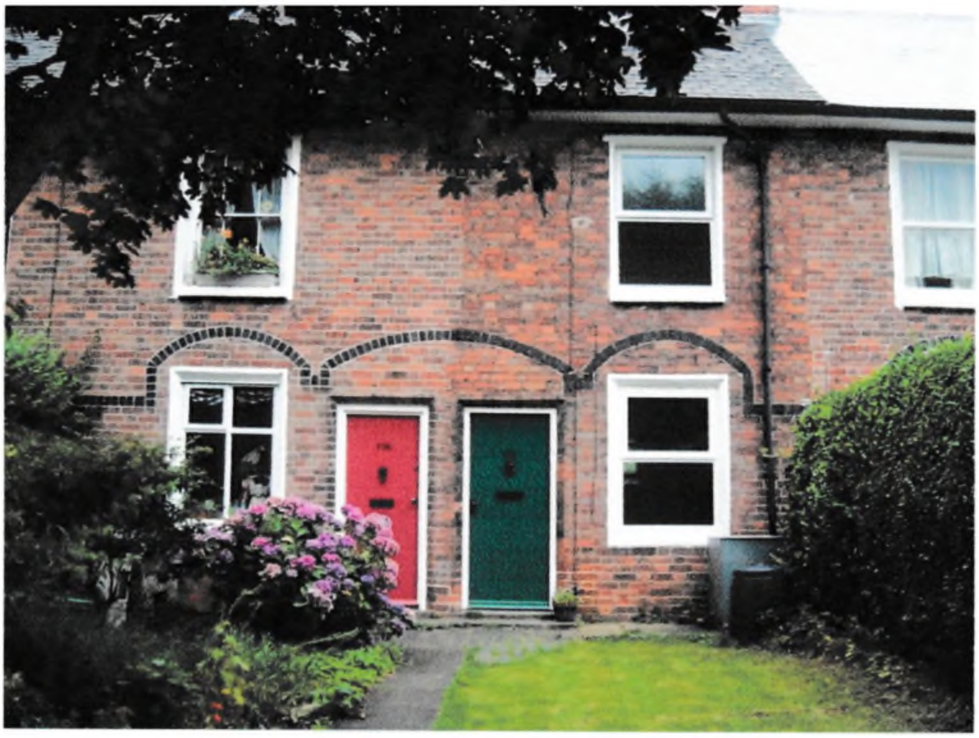

Fig.5 Fern Cottages Woodborough Rd, Nottingham. The distinctive blue brick string course would have involved an extreme amount of work for the bricklayers, bricks having to be cut to size above and below the arching. A sure sign an architect was involved with the project!
Author

The following information was found much later 2021 in the publication *Perry's Bankrupt Gazette,* 18 February 1854: 'Partnerships Dissolved: Edward Gripper and Edward Gripper, Junior of Layer Breton, Farmers. September 29th, 1855'.

The next snippet of information was a real eye-opener! Published in the same newspaper, *Perry's Bankrupt Gazette,* 6 October 1855: 'Partnerships Dissolved: Hine John Green, Edward Gripper, Jun. and Thomas Chambers Hine, of Mapperley, in Basford, and elsewhere, Brick and Tile Makers as regards T.C. Hine, September 10th, 1855'.

Fig.6 Thomas Chambers Hine, FSA, Architect
Nottingham Local Studies Library

THOMAS CHAMBERS HINE

Alexandra Park, Nottingham has a fascinating history and association with T.C. Hine and his brother John Green Hine, both of whom were responsible for the area's development during the 1850s. The following information is compiled from the website of the Mapperley and Sherwood History Group and gives a real insight into the brother's business activities during the period.

The Hine Family were a prosperous old family from Beaminster in Dorset. Jonathon Hine (senior) came to Nottingham in 1795, he started out as a framework knitter and rose to become a senior partner in Chambers, Wilson & Morley, later to become the famous I & R Morley Company. In 1803 he married Mary Chambers, daughter of Thomas Chambers. Ten years later, in 1813, their eldest son, Thomas Chambers Hine, was born. Instead of joining the family firm, he was articled to a London architect, returning to Nottingham in 1834 to establish his own practice, initially in partnership with a local builder, William Patterson. By the 1850s, he was regarded as Nottingham's best and busiest architect. By 1850 Nottingham's lace trade was at its zenith, with many nouveau-riche manufacturers seeking homes outside the town to display their new wealth and status.

With this opportunity in mind, Thomas Chambers Hine had his eye on a particular piece of land (Alexandra Park) formally part of the southern section of Mapperley Common. The Hine brothers drew up an ambitious provisional plan for plot 163, shown on Frederick Jackson's 1861 Enclosure Map, but they immediately started to run into difficulties. Less than six months after purchasing plot 163, in January 1854, Thomas accepted the post of surveyor to develop the Duke of Newcastle's Park Estate; this occupied his attention for the next 30 years; his office was responsible for 200 of the 650 houses constructed. Thomas almost immediately sold his interest in plot 163 to his brother John who took out two large loans to buy out his brother. By October 1855, John was in serious financial difficulties and unable to meet the loan repayments; it looked as if the intended development would not proceed.

T.C. Hine had already established a reputation for developing rather unprepossessing sites. Still, the proposed estate was possibly not so attractive to clients because, although Woodborough Road had been created; until it was levelled in 1886, it was so steep that horse-drawn carriages could only reach the entrance to the estate with difficulty. On the other hand, the Park Estate in Nottingham was more attractive because, in addition to being more accessible, it was extra-parochial and not subject to the Poor Law Rate or other local taxes. In 1857, John Hine managed to start the first four large houses at the southern end of the estate: Enderleigh, Fernleigh, Springfield and Sunnyholm. These four houses were designed by T C. Hine and were strategically positioned with views down Trough Close and over Hungerhill Gardens. Enderleigh was intended as John Hine's family home, but he never lived in it, and in 1862 he moved away to London. However, he held onto the undeveloped land (west of Albert Road and north to Ransom Road) until 1881, when it was sold.

The following newspaper article announces the dissolving of the partnership of John Green Hine and Edward Gripper and appears in the *London Gazette* on 2 March 1858. The date corresponds with the development of the first four houses in Alexandra Park. It looks possible that J. G. Hine sold the freehold of the Mapperley Middle Yard to Edward Gripper to help finance the new development.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Co-partnership heretofore subsisting between us the undersigned, Edward Gripper the younger, of the town of Nottingham, Gentleman, and John Green Hine, of the same town, Gentleman, as Brick and Tile Makers, at Mapperley, in the parish of Basford, in the county of Nottingham, and elsewhere, under the style or firm of Edward Gripper and Co., was dissolved as from the 1st day of January last. — As witness our hands this 27th Day of February 1858.

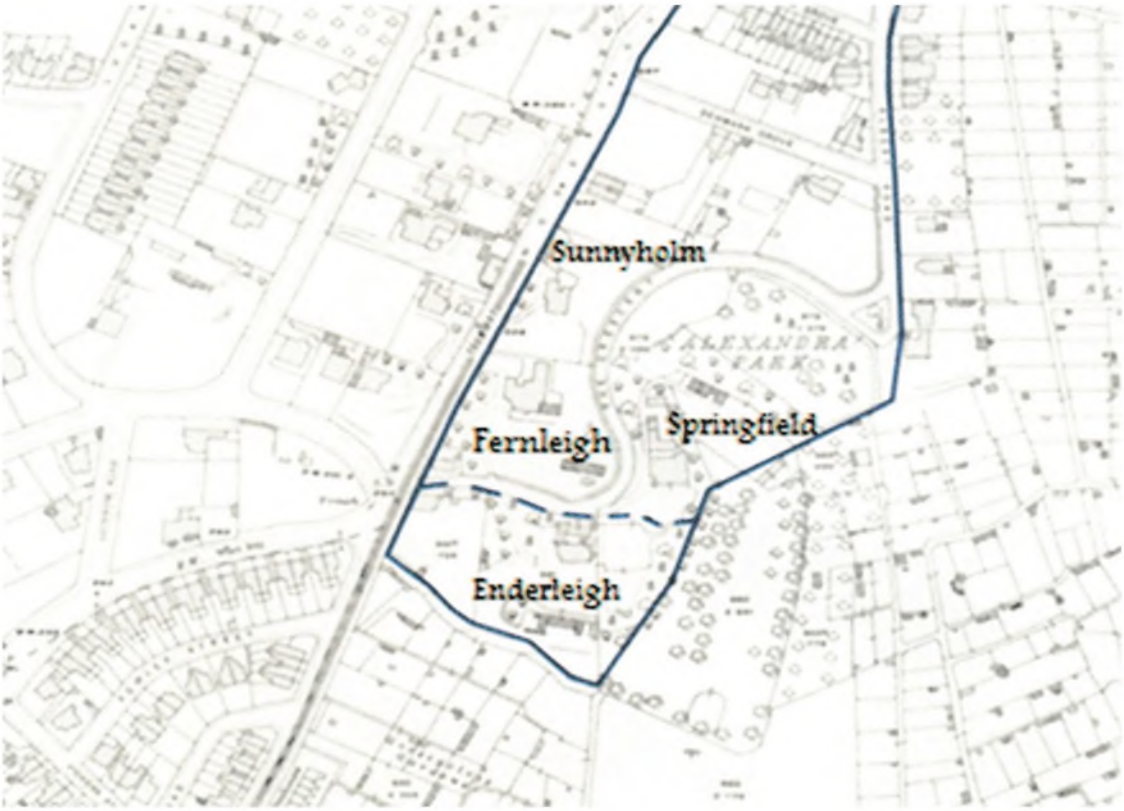

Fig.7 Map of the southern section of Alexandra Park, the blue outline corresponds precisely to the former Mapperley Common. The dotted line is the north boundary of Enderleigh, a sunken plot well below the level of the other houses, the former brickyard of William Smith.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With thanks to Christine Drew and fellow members of the Mapperley & Sherwood History Group for the reproduction of information on Alexandra Park and the Hine Brothers.

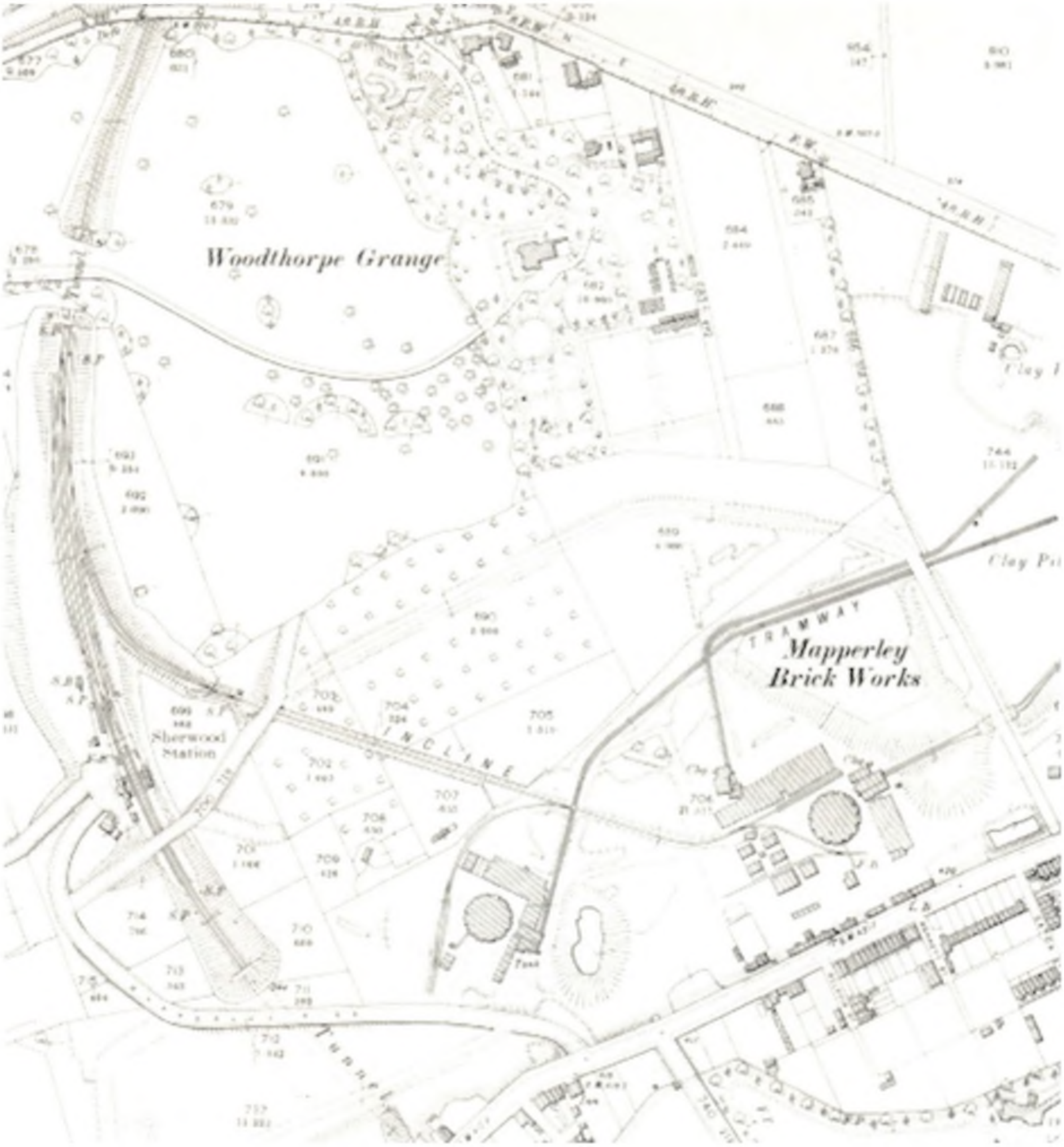
Woodthorpe Grange
Mapperley Brick Works
Tramway
Incline
Sherwood Station
Clay Pit
Tunnel

Fig.8 Mapperley Middle Yard Nottingham Established 1852 by Edward Gripper. Closed 1969 as part of the restructuring of the Nottingham Brick Co and the relocation to Dorket Head
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A Small Town Brickyard in the 1920s: Evidence from a Wages Book

Ken Redmore

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Lincolnshire coastal village of Mablethorpe – later a town – had a population of less than 200, but it was growing steadily. Sea bathing and the supposed health benefits of sea air attracted increasing numbers of visitors and permanent residents, and soon after 1900 the population had reached 1000. Growth continued over the next hundred years and today's town has a population of almost 8000.

There was probably no permanent brickyard in Mablethorpe until the 1870s.[1] Two are marked on the large-scale Ordnance Survey map of 1889, one of which had a short lifespan and was already out of use by the time this map was published. The other yard, the subject of this paper, continued making bricks for about 100 years, for much of the time under the ownership of the Mablethorpe Brick and Tile Company. It was one of very few Lincolnshire yards to stay in business after the Second World War.

For the first few years of its operation the brickyard fired three small updraught kilns and employed at least seven men (three brickmakers and four labourers).[2] Later, in the early 1900s, the yard maintained only two kilns, also of the updraught Scotch type, before these were replaced by three enclosed updraught kilns. Eventually, probably from the 1960s, the yard ran three single-chamber downdraught kilns. The brickyard closed in about 1980.[3]

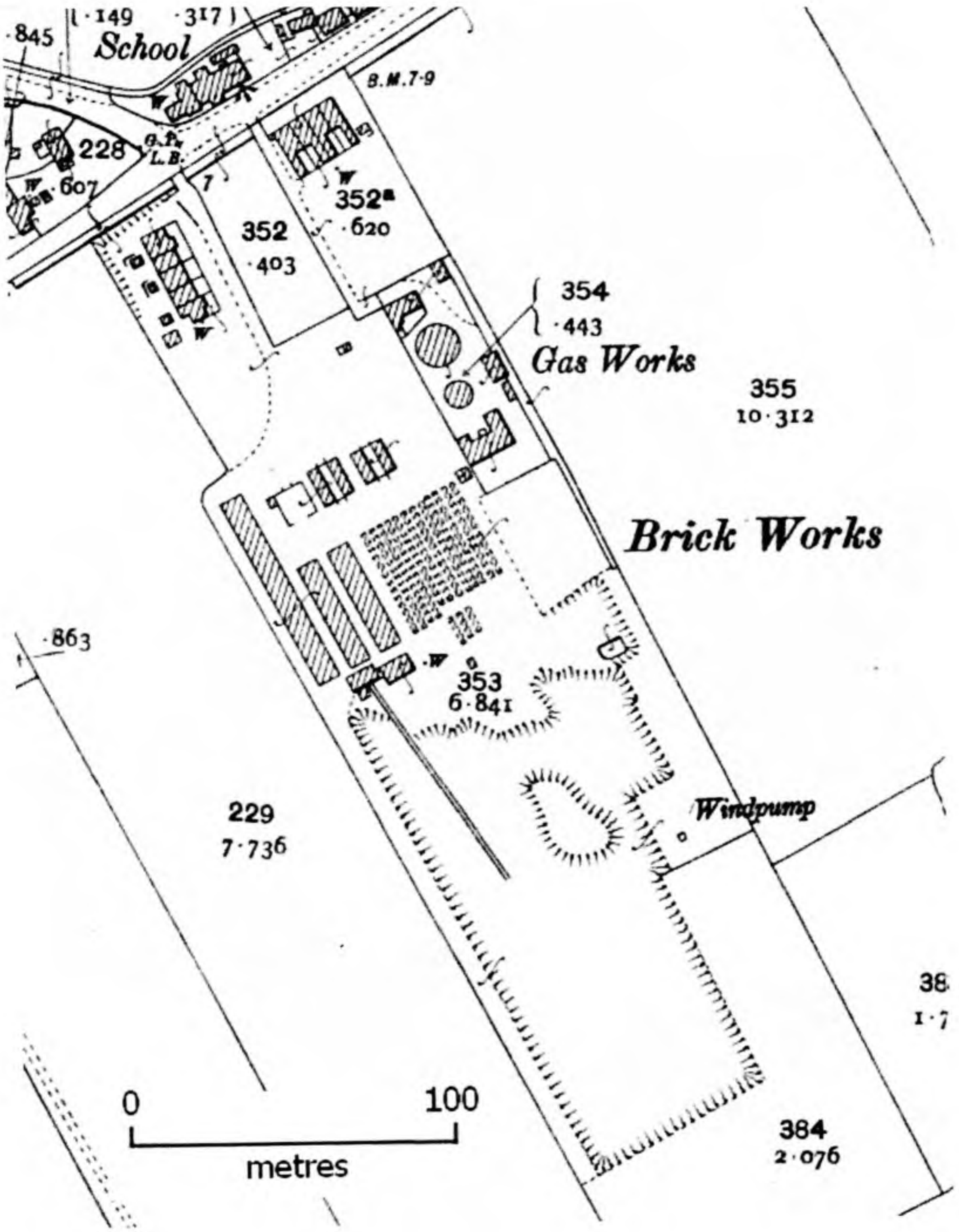
A copy of the yard's wages book for the period December 1921 to July 1927 has survived.[4] For each week throughout this five-and-a-half-year period the book recorded the tasks undertaken by each employee and the wages received. Regrettably, other documents for this period, such as the company's sales ledger, are not available to give additional information about the yard and its business. Local newspapers, which are often a useful source, make no mention of the company throughout the 1920s. Nevertheless, the wages book, together with contemporary large-scale maps, can be used to build up a good picture of the brickyard, its products and the men who worked there.

OPERATION OF THE BRICKYARD

Mablethorpe brickyard lies on the western edge of the settlement close to the principal road leading away from the coast and about 0.5km (0.8 miles) from the railway station.[5] During the 1920s, when the wage book was in use, the yard's brick pit was about 1.3ha (3.12 acres) in area, with a wind pump to drain it. (The pit was eventually extended to about 7ha (17.3 acres) and an engine-driven pump was used.[6]) The large-scale maps of the first half of the twentieth century show a tram rail leading out of the pit up a long ramp towards a building in the brickmaking area. Tubs of clay would have been drawn up the rail by a mechanical hoist housed in the building, but in the 1920s digging the clay and loading the tubs were still manual tasks. The wages book records men 'digging clay' in an unbroken spell from mid-November to early April each winter.

References in the book to 'cleaning mill', 'starting mill on Sunday' and 'grinding' indicate that the yard had a pugmill in the 1920s which was almost certainly driven by an engine.[7] No further information can be gleaned about the treatment of the clay in preparation for brick and tile making apart from a single mention of 'turning clay' during one week in March 1926.

The central task of making bricks and tiles took place from mid-April through to early November each year. One man (Bowyer) was employed most of the time in making common bricks. The magnitude of his weekly output (usually between 15,000 and 25,000 bricks) indicates that the yard had a brickmaking machine, though there are no details of its size or type.[8] A second man (Hackford) was the only other brick maker at the


·845
1·149
·317
School
B.M.7·9
228
G.P.
L.B.
·607
352
·403
352a
·620
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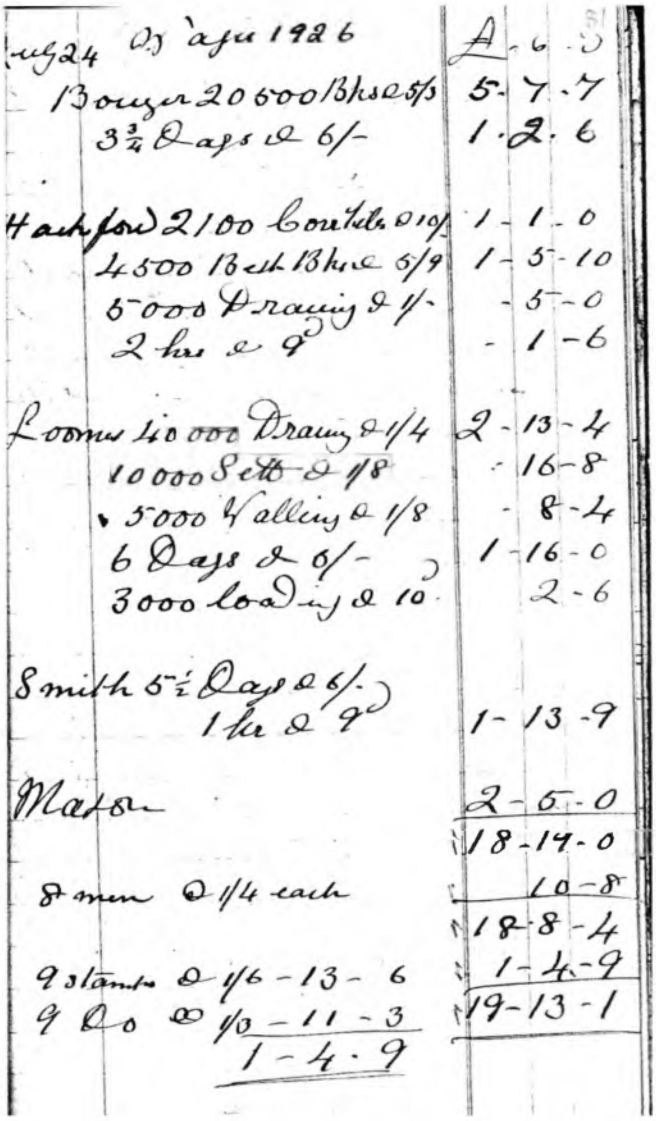
·443
Gas Works
355
10·312
Brick Works
·863
353
6·841
229
7·736
Windpump
38
1·7
384
2·076
0
100
metres

Fig. 1. Mablethorpe Brickworks: extract from Ordnance Survey County Series 1:2500, second edition, 1906.

works. His output included all the 'best bricks' made by the yard and any tiles, pipes and specials that were needed. It is clear from the quantities produced that the yard also had machines for making tiles and pipes. The occasional mention of 'pressing' in Hackford's tasks – paid at the same rate as brickmaking – identifies one type of brickmaking machine in use.

Details of the brick and tile drying operation are unknown. Large-scale maps of the site show several large rectangular buildings, clearly representing the yard's drying sheds or hacks; these are unlikely to have been heated artificially here in the 1920s.[9] Some of the large-scale maps also show a group of long, thin, hatched rectangles edged by broken lines, probably each about 1m wide and 30m long. These features are also seen in the aerial photograph of the 1950s (Fig.4). The terms 'walling' and 'brick walling' occur from time to time in the book, which may refer to the stacking of green bricks in low open rows with temporary covering



uly 24 Days 1926	£ s d
Bouger 20500 Bks @ 5/3	5-7-7
3¾ Days @ 6/-	1-2-6
Hackford 2100 Contiles @ 10/	1-1-0
4500 Best Bks @ 5/9	1-5-10
5000 Drawing @ 1/-	-5-0
2 hrs @ 9d	-1-6
Loomes 40000 Drawing @ 1/4	2-13-4
10000 Setts @ 1/8	-16-8
5000 Walling @ 1/8	-8-4
6 Days @ 6/-	1-16-0
3000 loading @ 10d	2-6
Smith 5½ Days @ 6/- 1 hr @ 9d	1-13-9
Mason	2-5-0
	18-14-0
8 men @ 1/4 each	10-8
	18-8-4
9 stamps @ 1/6 -13-6	1-4-9
9 Do @ 1/3 -11-3	19-13-1
1-4-9	

Fig. 2. Mablethorpe Brickyard wages book, record for week ending 24 July 1926: sample page.
See opposite for record in typescript.

to create the thin rectangles shown on the maps and in the photograph. This supposition is supported by the rate of pay for walling (1*s.* 8*d.* per thousand) which is similar to that for setting a kiln. However, if this is the correct interpretation of the term, it is surprising that the occurrence of 'walling' in the wages book is very infrequent. There remains some uncertainty about the use of the word.

At the time of the wages book the brickyard had two intermittent, updraught kilns of the open-topped Scotch type. Tasks of 'helping to cover kiln', 'earthing' and 'taking earth off kiln' recorded in the book indicate kilns of this design. Coal is mentioned as the fuel. The 1908 plan suggests the two kilns were of unequal size, and this is confirmed by the wages books which regularly refers to 'little kiln' and 'big kiln' from 1922 through to 1924, when the number of pieces set in the two kilns were given for each firing through the summer. The smaller kiln was set with between 36,000 and 37,500 pieces and the larger one between 39,000 and 42,000. It seems likely that the two kilns had sixteen and eighteen fire holes respectively.[10] At the very end of the period covered by the book (July 1927), the construction of a new kiln, which was to be gas fired, was recorded. This was very likely to have been an enclosed or arched updraught kiln.[11]

The skilled tasks of setting and drawing the kilns occupied most of one worker's (Loomes) time; in fact, it appears that he and no-one else was responsible for setting. This man occasionally did other work during the brickmaking season, and from time to time one of the brickmakers (Hackford) was recorded as drawing fired bricks or tiles from the kilns.

July 24, 1926

		£	s	d
Bowyer	20,500 Bricks @ 5/3	5	7	7
	3 ¾ Days @ 6/-	1	2	6
Hackford	2,100 Corrugated Tiles @10/-	1	1	0
	4,500 Best Bricks @ 5/9	1	5	10
	5,000 Drawing @ 1/-		5	0
	2 hrs @ 9d		1	6
Loomes	40,000 Drawing @ 1/4	2	13	4
	10,000 Setting @ 1/8		16	8
	5,000 Walling @ 1/8		8	4
	6 Days @ 6/-	1	16	0
	3,000 Loading @ 10d		2	6
Smith	5 ½ Days @ 6/-			
	1 hr @ 9d	1	13	9
Mason		2	5	0
		18	19	0
	8 men @1/4 [insurance]		10	8
		18	8	4
	9 stamps @ 1/6			
	9 do. @ 1/3	1	4	9
		19	13	1

Fig. 2. Mablethorpe Brickyard wages book, transcript of the record for week ending 24 July 1926.

From the dates when brickmaking, setting and drawing first appear each year in the wages book, it is possible to estimate the time taken to dry bricks (about two weeks) and to complete the firing cycle (again, about two weeks). After the brick making season ended in early November a number of bricks would still require to be dried and fired. It is therefore unsurprising that the book records setting and drawing two or three

require to be dried and fired. It is therefore unsurprising that the book records setting and drawing two or three

times across the two months of December and January, though the dates for these activities were well spaced apart. Apart from the lengthier drying times of early winter, the later firing dates may indicate a response to customers' orders, or possibly the firing cycle had to take account of the yard's capacity for storing bricks. In any case, the yard would need to have as many bricks as possible fired and stacked ready for the first customers of the spring, since the first bricks of the new season would not be ready until the middle of May.

'Loading' was a task assigned to the more skilled men at the yard. This was distinct from setting and probably refers to loading a lorry or a rail wagon with fired bricks. (A newspaper advertisement for the company in 1932 offered 'prompt delivery by road, rail or at works'.)[12] The number of items loaded is significant but far less than the output of the yard, which suggests that most customers were local and collected bricks from the yard using their own transport and labour.

A number of men (one or two in 1922, but four or more in later years) had unspecified tasks; presumably they were the labourers who moved clay and bricks – both 'green' and fired - around the site as required and may have helped run the pug mill and the yard's machinery. One further employee – always mentioned last in the weekly accounts – was the foreman (Mason). The only 'hands on' work he was recorded as doing was the occasional night shift to watch the kiln and ensure firing progressed as it should. For this he was paid six shillings, the same payment received by other workers who took on overnight duty. Apart from supervising the work of the yard, one assumes that the foreman's daytime job was to deal with customers and all external communications. It was probably this man who wrote the entries in the yard's wages book.

PRODUCTS OF THE BRICKYARD

It is very likely that the entire output of bricks and tiles from Mablethorpe's brickyard in the 1920s was taken up by local firms building houses for the growing town. During the period covered by the wages book, over 90% of the yard's output was in bricks and the remainder was split in roughly equal quantities between roof tiles, floor tiles and drainage pipes. The number of new houses built in Mablethorpe in the late 1920s was about 30 each year and this corresponds closely to the output of the yard as far as bricks are concerned.[13] From the relatively small output of roof tiles it would seem that concrete tiles were being used more frequently than clay tiles for new buildings in the town.

In the first full year covered by the wages book (1922) the yard fired a little over half a million pieces, of which 79% were common bricks, 12% best bricks, and the remainder tiles and pipes. In the final full year (1926) this had increased to 900,000, of which 70% were common bricks, 15% best bricks and 7% seconds. The only special bricks mentioned throughout the period were small numbers of plinths, sills and cants.

Pantiles are the traditional Lincolnshire roofing material and a few of these (3,750) were made by the yard in 1922 but none at all in subsequent years. They were far outnumbered by corrugated tiles, clearly the preferred choice alongside concrete tiles for this twentieth-century seaside town.

The yard made relatively small numbers of drainage pipes; in one year it was over 30,000, but in another year none were made. This may suggest that pipes were supplied to drain new housing plots and other sites in the town when required, and that the yard had no significant involvement with agricultural land drainage at this time.[14]

BRICKYARD WAGES AND FINANCES

Men at the brickyard were paid in two distinct ways. Those who made bricks or undertook other skilled tasks were paid at piece rates, whereas those with general jobs around the yard were paid at hourly or daily rates. In many instances a man's weekly wage was made up of a mixture of the two payment methods because it appears that the skilled workers had often to lend a hand with more basic labouring tasks in this small brickyard.

In the first year covered by the book, Bowyer was paid six shillings for every thousand common bricks he made. This rate dropped to five shillings at the beginning of the next season and was then raised by threepence in 1924, staying at that level until the end of the book. The rate for best bricks, made by Hackford, started at seven shillings per thousand and from 1924 onwards was five shillings and ninepence. (Rates for other items made by the yard are given in Figure 3.)

There is a puzzling aspect to the rates paid for brick making. Bricks described as seconds were made in moderate quantities each year from the beginning of the 1923 season. The rate for these (made by Bowyer) was six shillings per thousand, which, surprisingly, was a higher rate than that for either common or best bricks. This calls into question the yard's terminology of brick quality.

The terms 'best', 'common' and 'second' are commonly used to categorise bricks after firing. The position of a brick in the kiln, for one thing, affects its colour and physical qualities, especially when the kiln is an updraught type. Defects in the clay mix can distort or damage a brick during firing. Thus, some bricks (best bricks) are suitable for facing work, while others of inferior quality (common, seconds) are used for walls that are less visible. But in this brickyard the terms were applied to bricks at the time they were made, not after they had been fired.

A clue to the use of these terms at Mablethorpe is given where the wages book distinguishes between 'common clay' and 'best clay' in the record of winter digging in 1926. Having clay of variable quality can be understood. It is likely therefore that the two varieties of clay required different brickmaking processes. Probably the clay from one area of the pit was slop-moulded and that from a drier part was pressed or sand-moulded. The more complex or slower processes would be more expensive to operate and would be reflected in different rates of pay.

Item	Number made					Rate *
	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	
BRICKS						
Common bricks	410500	502750	510850	600500	644884	5/3
Best bricks	65150	102050	93500	133700	138150	5/9
Second bricks		15250	33250	65523	68460	6/-
Air bricks			900	2200	540	6/9
TILES						
Corrugated tiles	12700	18500	7500	12480	8750	10/-
Pantiles	3750					12/-
Ridge tiles		500				n/a
PAVING						
Floor bricks	3850	4100	1500			6/-
Paving tiles	1200	10000	15000	17000	16425	4/6
PIPES						
2.5-in pipes	13000		20500	6500	16500	4/-
3-in pipes	10285		10000	3175		5/9
4-in pipes			1100	1160		7/-
5-in pipes					1000	9/-
SPECIALS						
Sills					3160	6/-
Plinths			2500	1000	1500	6/-
Cants					2000	5/9

Fig. 3. Mablethorpe Brickyard products and rates of pay. Rates of pay (shillings/pence) are per thousand items in 1924; otherwise 1922 (pantiles) or 1926 (5-ich pipes and sills)

Throughout the period covered by the book there were two rates of pay for both setting and drawing a kiln. On some occasions in 1922 the men were paid 2*s.* 6*d.* for every thousand bricks set in the kilns and at other times only 2*s.* 0*d.* The following year rates of pay for this task dropped but remained at two levels, 2*s.* 1*d.* or 1*s.* 8*d.* Drawing the kilns, requiring less skill, began at 1*s.* 6*d.* and 1*s.* 0*d.* per thousand, dropping to 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 0*d.* Taking one year, 1924, as an example, about 60% of the pieces set were at the higher rate, and drawing from a kiln attracted the higher rate for over 90% of the pieces. (The total numbers set and drawn in the year were very similar, as might be expected, and they also correspond closely to the numbers of bricks and tiles made in the year.) It is difficult to suggest a reason for the two rates. They are not explained by different rates for the two dissimilar kilns because on many occasions the same man during the same week was paid at two different rates for setting a kiln, and it is highly unlikely that the yard's two kilns were being set at the same time. Nor could the explanation be different rates for setting bricks as opposed to tiles since over 90% of the pieces fired were bricks while only 60% of items being set attracted the higher setting rate.

Mention was made above that some men undertook both piece work and daily paid work in the same week. This was frequently the case with Bowyer, the brickmaker, and occasionally so with Hackford and Loomes, the other two skilled employees. The week ending 23 August 1924 was a typical week for Bowyer: he made 22,500 bricks (for which he was paid £5 18*s.* 2*d* at 5*s.* 3*d.* per thousand) and worked 2¼ days (13*s.* 6*d.* at 6*s.* 0*d.* per day) and one night (6*s.* 0*d.*). Four weeks later Bowyer made an almost identical number of bricks in the week (23,000) but was only paid for one day's work above this. It is difficult to understand when and why his work switched from piece rate to daily rate. The arrangements are even more puzzling when in another week, in September 1924, the book records Bowyer making 7500 bricks (£1 19*s.* 5*d.*) and working eleven and a half days (£3 10*s.* 6*d.*) plus one night (6*s.* 0*d.*).

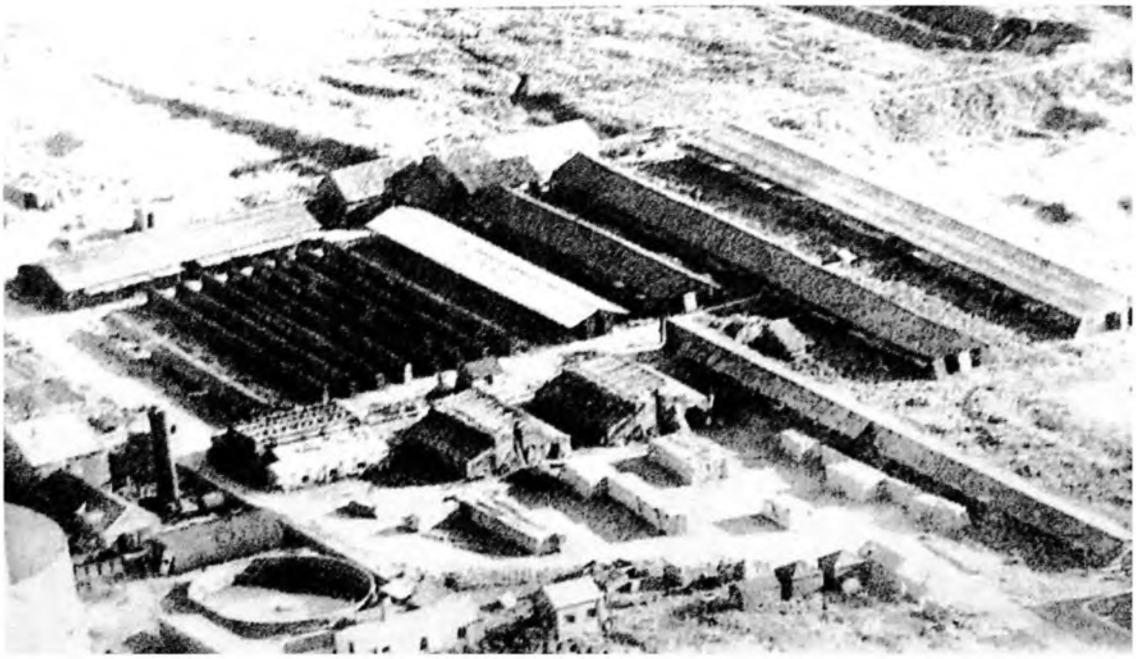


Fig. 4. Mablethorpe Brickyard from the north-east. Various elements of the brickyard shown here are considered in the text. The circular structures and chimney in the left foreground are part of the town's gasworks. (Aerial photograph, 1950s).

There are many other instances where the two components of Bowyer's weekly work suggest he was receiving payment for more work than one man could do in six days. The explanation must be that Bowyer was subcontracting work to at least one other person, perhaps members of his family, who would receive their wages through him. This supposition is strengthened by the record of winter working in the clay pit. Throughout January and February 1924 Bowyer regularly received wages for more than twenty days each week. For example, on 9 February he was paid £7 4*s*. 0*d*. for 24 days 'on clay', while the other workers identified in the wages book that week were paid for just 5 or 6 days. Bowyer probably had a gang or family group working with him and who, as far as the wages book was concerned, received payment through him.

The annual wages received by the men reflect Bowyer's abnormal arrangement. In 1925 he was paid a total of £245. At the same time Mason, the foreman, paid at an invariable weekly rate with the occasional addition of a night shift, took home £122. The other two skilled men, Hackford and Loomes, were paid £102 and £163 respectively, while a general labourer in the yard received £65, at 6 shillings per day, for working through the summer's brick making season.

In the absence of sales details for this brickyard it is impossible to estimate the financial performance of the company. In terms of wages paid out the average cost of the yard's products can be calculated. For instance, in 1925 £848 7*s*. 8*d*. was paid out in wages and 862,198 pieces were made and fired, giving an average 'wages cost' of slightly under of £1 per thousand bricks or tiles. This figure remains constant throughout the five years covered by the book despite the considerable increase in production over the period.

A contemporary advertisement (23 August 1923) from the neighbouring brickyard at Sutton on Sea quoted the following prices: common bricks, 55*s*. 0*d*. per thousand; pantiles, £6 per thousand.[15] If similar figures held true for the Mablethorpe brickyard, then the salaries of the workers, taking account of all the brickyard's operations from raw clay to fired brick, represented between 30 and 40% of the sale price of the item.

Following the National Insurance Act of 1911, health insurance was mandatory for all workers under a scheme to which the employee, the employer and the State made fixed contributions.[16] Payments relating to this scheme were recorded each week throughout the wages book in a line headed 'insurance'. In 1922, where a figure of 1*s*. 2*d*. per employee was recorded, rising to 1*s*. 4*d*. from the beginning of 1926. This figure was deducted from the total wage bill, thus representing contributions taken from the men's wages. On several occasions the book records that no insurance contribution was paid by one of the brickyard workers.

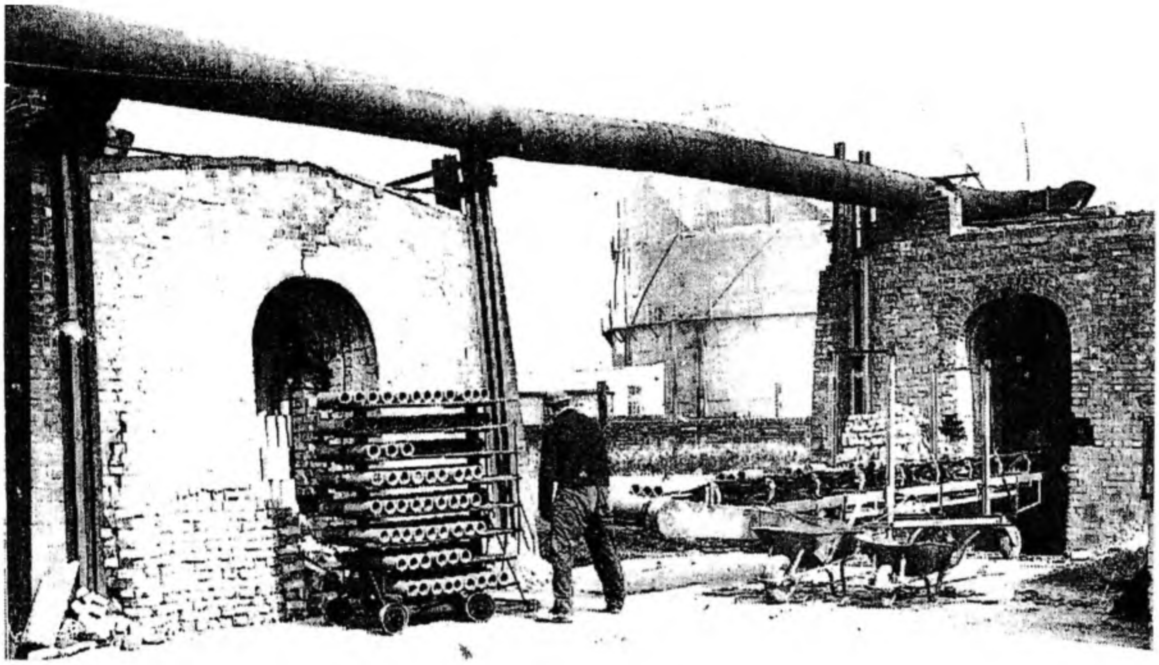


Fig. 5. Mablethorpe Brickyard. Firing of drainage pipes in downdraught kilns. The structure in the background between the two kilns is a gasholder on the adjacent gasworks site. (Undated photograph).

In the entry for the week ending 25 April 1925 two further lines appear in the weekly accounts, one headed 'H. Stamps' and the other 'Unemp. Stamps'. Thereafter, until the end of the book, both lines recur each week and both simply headed 'Stamps'. The sums recorded alongside these words again relate to the number of employees, starting at 10*d.* and 1*s.* 7*d.* per man in 1925, changing to 1*s.* 3*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* respectively from the beginning of 1926. As the abbreviations imply, these contributions were related to the national health and unemployment insurance schemes.[17] Contributions were recorded through the purchase of stamps provided by the employer and stuck in pre-printed cards. The weekly sums recorded in the book were added to the wages bill and are thus assumed to be the employer's contributions to the schemes.

WORKERS IN THE BRICKYARD

During the brickmaking seasons of 1922 there were at most six men working in the yard: two brickmakers, a kiln setter and drawer, two general labourers and a foreman. Equally often during this period only four men appear in the wages book, with no mention being made of the two general labourers. The output of the brickworks increased by 75% over the next four years and in 1926 the work was done by seven or eight men: two brickmakers and one kiln setter, as before, plus three or four labourers and the foreman. But as in the earlier years, there were many weeks when the total workforce was lower, in these instances only five.

During the winter seasons of clay digging in 1922/23 and 1923/24 only three men appeared on the pay roll (though, as we have seen above, Bowyer often had what appeared to be an extra work force of 3 or 4 working with him). In the final winter season covered by the book the number of regular diggers had risen to ten or more. Mason, the foreman, it might be noted, was on the pay roll at the same weekly rate of £2 5*s.* 0*d.* throughout the winter as he was during the summer.

Over the five and a half years covered by the book no fewer than 22 men were entered as workers at the yard. Mason, the foreman, was ever present; Bowyer, the brickmaker, was only absent for a handful of weeks in 1926. The other brickmaker, Hackford, was almost always present during the brickmaking season.

but missed much of the winter clay digging work. Loomes' work pattern was similar to Hackford's; overall he was present for about 80% of the time. The pattern of work for other employees was much more sporadic. Not a single general labourer worked at the yard for the whole five-year period. Some appeared and worked solidly for two or three months before disappearing. Others worked for longer periods, were absent for several weeks and then re-appeared for a while. One or two were recorded regularly as doing a few hours work from time to time but never completing a full week.

Census returns throw light on the background of some of the workers at the brickyard.[18] Two of the men, Hackford and Loomes, had been working in the Mablethorpe brickyard for at least ten years. Hackford, born in Louth, was in his mid-50s at the time of the wages book. Loomes, the skilled kiln setter, originating in Burbage, Leicestershire, had reached 60 years of age by the end of the period covered by the book. Mason the foreman, a man in his 50s, was from a brickmaking family in Naseby, Northants; he had previously worked in the yard at Fulstow between Louth and Grimsby. Bowyer was a few years younger than the others and was born in Stevington in Bedfordshire. He had worked successively at Fulstow and Little Coates, north of Grimsby, before moving to Mablethorpe.

A more extensive study of census returns and other sources would clarify the circumstances of the other men who appeared only fleetingly in the wages book. Possibly some were casual labourers who switched to and from other manual work in the town, while others may have had previous brickyard experience and then, after a spell at Mablethorpe, moved on to work in other brickyards.

CONCLUSION

The wages book for Mablethorpe brickyard is a valuable source of information about brickmaking in the 1920s. It appears to be carefully compiled and seemingly fulfils its primary aim of making an accurate record of the company's outgoings on wages. However, the book is probably less reliable as a record of the full range of work undertaken in the yard and how this was managed. Several tasks appear fleetingly or erratically for no apparent reason. The processes of pressing and walling, for example, were only mentioned very occasionally as piece-rate paid work undertaken by the skilled workers. It is quite possible that some of the general labourers also took on these jobs. These men were always paid at daily rates regardless of the work they did and thus there would have been no need to identify the particular tasks they were engaged in.

Problems of interpretation also arise in the use of unfamiliar terms, some of which are discussed in this article. A more detailed study of the text, especially by an individual with practical brickmaking experience, might be beneficial.

The steep rise in output of the yard and the increase in workforce over the short period covered by the book has been mentioned. No doubt this was in response to increased demand or market opportunity. At the same time, it has been noted that rates of pay for both piece work and general labour dropped significantly in 1923. No attempt has been made in this article to relate these changes to the harsh economic circumstances of this period.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The earliest mention of a brickmaker in a census return for Mablethorpe is 1881. However, advertisements for brickmakers in the town were placed in the *Stamford Mercury* in 1866 and 1871. The first was looking for a 'Slop Brickmaker' (apply to Mr Browne) and the second for a brickmaker 'used to Clamping and Kiln-burning' (apply to Mr Bennison, builder, Sleaford).
2. The Ordnance Survey County Series 1:2500 map of 1889 depicts three kilns side by side on the northern side of the site. The 1881 Census return for Mablethorpe includes a brickyard foreman, two brickmaker journeymen and four men described as brickyard labourers. They are listed in five consecutive households, presumably occupying the terrace of 5 cottages at the entrance of the brickyard which were in use until at least the 1950s.
3. The sequence of kilns is established by the large-scale Ordnance Survey maps of 1889, 1906, 1932 and 1951. An undated aerial photograph (Fig. 4, probably from the 1950s) shows three small, enclosed updraught kilns. A later photograph (Fig.5) depicts three small downdraught kilns and a chimney. The exact date of closure of the yard has not been identified.
4. A photocopy of the wages book for the Mablethorpe brickyard was in the possession of the late David Robinson. It is not known how this was obtained or where the original document is located.

5. The branch line from Louth to Mablethorpe was opened in October 1877; it closed for goods traffic in 1954. The entrance to the brickworks was on the south side of the junction of High Street with Alford Road at TF 500847. It was adjacent to the town's gasworks.

6. Measurements of area are estimated from the relevant Ordnance Survey maps. The *Lincolnshire Standard* newspaper of 7 March 1953 reported that 76 million gallons of sea water had been pumped from the brick pit following the damaging coastal flood of 31 January that year. The report stated that 'the remaining 3 ft of water in the pit would be dealt with by the static pit pump which had been submerged for over three weeks'. (Two additional points of interest: firstly, the brickyard is over half a mile from the seafront, an indication of the extent of the 1953 flood; secondly, in order to hold 76m gallons of water, the brick pit (area 7 hectares) would have had an average depth of about 5 metres.)

7. In March 1881 the brickyard placed an advertisement in the *Stamford Mercury* for 'a good hand-moulder, also a machine man capable of doing all kinds of brickyard work', indicating that from an early date the brickyard had some machinery on site.

8. The yard appears to have used machines for making bricks and tiles by extrusion and also, on some occasions, bricks by pressing. Small machines in use throughout the industry at this time could have been hand- or machine-powered.

9. From the aerial photograph of the site (Fig.4) it would appear that the drying hacks were simply large sheds with open or curtained sides, as seen at the Barton upon Humber tileries and elsewhere. There is no suggestion of a source of artificial heating such as chimney.

10. The majority of updraught kilns in small brickyards in Lincolnshire, whether of the open or closed type, had eight fire holes on each side. The load taken by the larger kiln was about 10% greater than the small one, suggesting that it had nine fire holes each side.

11. The aerial photograph of the site dating from the 1950s (Fig.4) clearly shows three enclosed or arched updraught kilns with two lines of short chimneys or vents in the roof of each kiln. There is no freestanding chimney on the site, which would have been necessary for downdraught operation. However, the use of gas as the fuel for updraught kilns is very unusual, though not impossible after modification of the fireholes and combustion arrangements.

12. *Boston Guardian*, 3 Dec 1932

13. It is estimated that about 15,000 bricks would be required for a small bungalow of the type built in Mablethorpe in the 1920s.

14. Shortly after the period covered by the wages book, in the early 1930s, the company placed advertisements in the local newspapers for land drain tiles (2½-inch, 3-inch, 4-inch and 6-inch, of 'exceptional quality, straight and strong'). Bricks and other products of the yard were not mentioned, suggesting a change in the brickyard's market after the 1920s.

15. The small brickyard at Sutton on Sea, 2½ miles away, had a single vaulted or arched updraught kiln, which is still standing. The brickyard ceased making bricks in the 1930s.

16. The National Insurance Act of 1911 was a key element in the social policy of the Liberal Government under Lloyd George. The health insurance scheme set up by the Act provided sick pay of 10 shillings per week and free medical treatment. The mandatory contributions from employee, employer and the State were, in 1911, 4 pence, 3 pence and 2 pence respectively.

17. Unemployment insurance, introduced at the same time, applied to selective trades or industries. The duration of the benefit received – initially seven shillings per week – was dependent on the number of contributions made (employee 2½ pence, employer 2½ pence and State 1¾ pence per week). It appears that the unemployment scheme was extended to brickmaking in 1925 and that the level of contributions increased considerably.

18. The locations and family details of the four principal men at the brickyard have been checked in the Census returns for 1911, 1901 and 1891.

Submission dates for future issues of *British Brick Society Information*

BBS Information, **151,** September 2022: please submit items for inclusion by Wednesday 20 July 2022.
BBS Information, **152,** February 2023: please submit items for inclusion by Wednesday 14 December 2022.
BBS Information, **153,** June 2023: please submit items for inclusion by Wednesday 29 March 2023.
BBS Information, **154,** September 2023: please submit items for inclusion by Wednesday 23 August 2023.

Please contact the Editor, *British Brick Society Information,* if you have any queries regarding these dates and would like a possible *short* extension thereto.

Thank you,
DAVID H. KENNETT
Editor, *British Brick Society Information*

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID H. KENNETT is the Editor of *British Brick Society Information.* A retired lecturer in Sociology, he holds degrees in Archaeology, in Construction Management and Economics, and in Technology and Society from Prifysgol Cymru, Bristol Polytechnic, and Salford University, respectively. His brick interests centre on the relationships between building patronage, the building patron's wealth, and the resulting buildings; applying construction management skills to the documentary evidence about buildings; and on the use of brick in religious buildings.

KEN REDMORE is a retired local government officer with a degree in Chemistry. He taught in secondary schools and a college of education before joining Lincolnshire County Council working in curriculum development, school administration and capital construction projects. Since retirement he has developed his interests in industrial archaeology, especially agricultural engineering, the gas industry and nineteenth-century brick making. His articles 'Some Brick Kilns and Brickmakers of East Lincolnshire' and 'A Semi-Continuous Kiln at East Halton, Lincolnshire' were published in *British Brick Society Information,* **108,** September 2008, and *British Brick Society Information,* **149,** February 2022, respectively.

JEFFERY A. SHEARD worked for many years in the construction industry, after gaining qualifications through further education and hands-on experience progressed to site management. After early retirement and with a passion for local history, he began researching Nottingham's Brick Industry, culminating in 2011 with the publication *Clay Stealers to St Pancras Station.* A History of Nottingham's Brick Makers, *The Engineers and Contractors: Victorian Innovations and Construction Methods for The Great Central Railway* followed more recently in 2021 and is available from Five Leaves Bookshop, Nottingham.

†TERENCE PAUL SMITH trained in Philosophy, and taught in schools before joining Museum of London Archaeology Service as a building materials specialist. A co-founder of the British Brick Society, he has been its Chairman and Editor of *British Brick Society Information.* He wrote on bricks, tiles, brick buildings.

ARTHUR WARD is a retired architect and town planner, primarily for City of Lincoln Council. Initially working as an architect, designing numerous social housing schemes across the city, qualification as a town planner led to his role as Head of Heritage. Responsibilities included supervising work on listed buildings and scheduled monuments, overseeing conservation areas and listed building grant aid schemes; and later managing the City's Archaeological Unit. Since retirement he has been a member of the Lincoln Cathedral Fabric Advisory Committee. He continues his interest in conservation, researching the life and careers of local architects, builders, and manufacturers of building products.

British Brick Society Information: a 'Brick in Churches' issue in 2023

Terence Smith left two relatively substantial papers on the uses of brick in churches, the first of which, 'Practice Profile: Nugent Francis Cachemaille-Day FRIBA (1896-1976): A Response to Clare Price', it is intended to make the basis of a 'Brick in Churches' issue as *British Brick Society Information,* **152,** February 2023. As a tribute to his long-standing friend, the Editor of *British Brick Society Information* will be completing his paper 'Car-Manufacturing Towns in Contrast: Brick and the Building of New Churches in Oxford and Luton, 1907-1945'. There are also a number of items, all less than a page in length, which includes at least three potential contributions to a 'Brick in Print: Churches' section. To make an issue of 52 or 56 pages, the currently available material needs fleshing out with at least two more pieces, which need not be long articles but one could be.

Members who feel that they could contribute to the issue are invited to contact the Editor, *British Brick Society Information,* by post at 7 Watery Lane, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire CV36 4BE or by email at *davidkennett510@gmail.com,* preferably the latter, by Tuesday 23 August 2022, and to submit completed articles and notes on or before Wednesday 14 December 2022; this information will also be given in *BBS Information*, **151,** September 2022.

DAVID H. KENNETT
Editor, *British Brick Society Information*

BRITISH BRICK SOCIETY
MEETINGS in 2022

Saturday 18 June 2022
Annual General Meeting
Lincoln
Meeting in Bailgate Methodist church. With afternoon visit to Upper Town, on the flat, including the brick buildings within Lincoln Castle and the Cathedral Quarter.
Contact: Mick Oliver, *mickshelia67@hotmail.com*
19 Woodcroft Avenue, Stanmore Middlesex HA7 3PT

Wednesday 6 July 2022
Brickworks Visit
Bulmer Brick & Tile Company Ltd, The Brickfields, Bulmar, Sudbury, Suffolk CO10 7EF.
See enclosed flyer for details
Contact: Mike Chapman, *Chapman481@btinternet.com* phone: 0115-9652489

Late September or early October 2022
Brickworks Visit
The Ibstock Lodge Lane Works in Cannock, Staffordshire
Contact: Mike Chapman, *Chapman481@btinternet.com* phone: 0115-9652489

It is hoped to include two visits to brickworks in the 2023 programme: due to Covid-19 restrictions no brickworks was open for works visits in either 2020 or 2021. Visits to Alcester, Warwickshire; Evesham, Worcestershire; Abbots Bromley and the Ridwares, Staffordshire; Risley and Ockbrook, Derbyshire; Cardiff Bay; and Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire are being planned for future years. At the 2021 Annual General Meeting on Zoom it was agreed to hold the next southern Annual General Meeting in Bridport; this will now be held on Saturday 17 June 2023.

All meetings are subject to attendance at the *participant's own risk.* Whilst every effort is made to hold announced meetings, the British Brick Society is not responsible for unavoidable cancellation or change.

Full details of future meetings will be in the subsequent BBS Mailings
The British Brick Society is always looking for new ideas for future meetings.
Suggestions of brickworks to visit are particularly welcome.
Offers to organize 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.