

Judgement, Taste, Propriety and Economy

or

The Elements of Success in Architectural Practice in
Victorian England's Manufacturing Towns:
the Case of Mallinson and Healey of Halifax and
Bradford

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis constitutes the first study of the Mallinson and Healey architectural partnership of 1845-1862/3, which dominated the building of churches, schools and parsonages in the west of the West Riding during the most contested phase of the Gothic Revival. Extant day-books from 1854 to 1857 allow detailed examination of the minutiae of the partners' working lives and practices and the conditions for professional success in Britain's early Victorian manufacturing towns.

The study fills a number of gaps in the existing knowledge of how provincial architects operated in this period, and challenges the tendency to treat provincial architecture as merely a pale imitation of its metropolitan counterpart or to confine attention almost entirely to descriptions of buildings and their architectural styles, with little or no account of the particular constraints and opportunities that moulded them. A clear focus on the *practice* of architecture in all its elements avoids some of these shortcomings and demonstrates that the provincial architect's business differed from that of his metropolitan confrère, not simply in degree, but in kind.

These differences included the need to avoid factionalism and to be acceptable to everyone within thirty miles who might discover a desire to build, a willingness to work long hours coupled with a consciousness of the importance of providing a local service in small jobs as well as large since one often led to the other, a readiness to assist the client in the raising of capital (e.g. through grant applications), a reputation for the effective use of money by concentrating on essentials and avoiding gimcrack attempts to reach beyond the budget, and a knowledge of the vagaries of ecclesiological fashion held in subjection to sound construction and a contemporary understanding of originality. This was the formula for success and Mallinson and Healey had discovered it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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That said, this thesis would obviously not have been written at all without the help and direction of my supervisors, Professor Rohan McWilliam of Anglia Ruskin University, for whose encouragement and advice I am grateful, and, in particular, my principal supervisor, Professor Martin Hewitt, formerly Dean of Music, Humanities and Media at Huddersfield University when this project began, then Pro Vice Chancellor at Anglia Ruskin University and currently Research Professor of History at ARU, who took upon himself the serious challenge of teaching an old dog new tricks and carried it along the turnings of his own career path, leading me in the process deeper into academia than I had ever once dreamed of venturing. I owe him especially a huge debt of gratitude and can only hope that that which follows might meet at least *some* of his *less extravagant* expectations.

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PREFACE.

'This church', declared *The Bradford Observer* in its report of the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone at St. John the Baptist's, Clayton, on Tuesday, 29th May 1849:

'is remarkable for what the Vicar, in his address, calls 'decent simplicity'. It is a *village* church, devoid of ornamental decorations, but of proportions which at once give it a character which cannot be mistaken. Considering the pecuniary means at the disposal of the architects, for the supply of the required amount of accommodation, it speaks no little for their judgment [sic] and taste in the design of a building which contains all the elements of architectural propriety, combined with the most rigid attention to economy.'¹

This was no journalistic exaggeration. A very substantial church, containing five hundred and ninety-two free seats and two hundred and ten for rent, was to be erected here for £1,903,² equivalent to £2.7s.5d a sitting. It was a figure to contrast with the estimates the Crown Architects had produced when asked by the Treasury in 1818 how much it would cost to build churches in England's burgeoning manufacturing towns, sometimes with church accommodation for as little as one tenth of the population.³ Robert Smirke (1781-1867) thought a church to accommodate nineteen hundred could be built for £24,000, or £12.12s.8d a sitting,⁴ John Soane (1753-1837) considered two thousand could be seated comfortably for £33,000, equivalent to £16.10s.0d a sitting,⁵ and John Nash (1752-1835) produced a variety of designs in Gothic and Classical styles, all to seat two thousand, for estimates between eight and ten thousand pounds, or four and five pounds a sitting. Yet Nash, for his part, 'scarcely played fair', for besides adding an additional £1,920 for pews, pulpit and reading desk as if they were optional extras, his cheapest design was 'hardly more than two-dimensional' and all were notable for 'that papery thinness familiar in a number of late eighteenth century Gothic churches'.⁶ Thus, even after allowance is made for the various cost-saving ideas introduced during the following three decades, Mallinson and Healey's achievement was still a remarkable one.

¹ *The Bradford Observer*, 31st May 1849. A shortened version of this account can also be found in *The Builder*, VIII (1849), p. 269.

² M.H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches - the Church Building Commission, 1818-56* (Reading: Spire Books, 2006 edition), p. 343.

³ For example, in 1851, Bradford Municipal Borough, with a population of 103,778, had Church of England accommodation for just 10,026, and even when all the Nonconformist places of worship were taken into account, the figure was still only 32,287. Cited by Tony Jowett in *Victorian Bradford*, ed. D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowitt (Bradford: City of Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1982), p. 43.

⁴ Port, *Six Hundred new Churches*, p. 61.

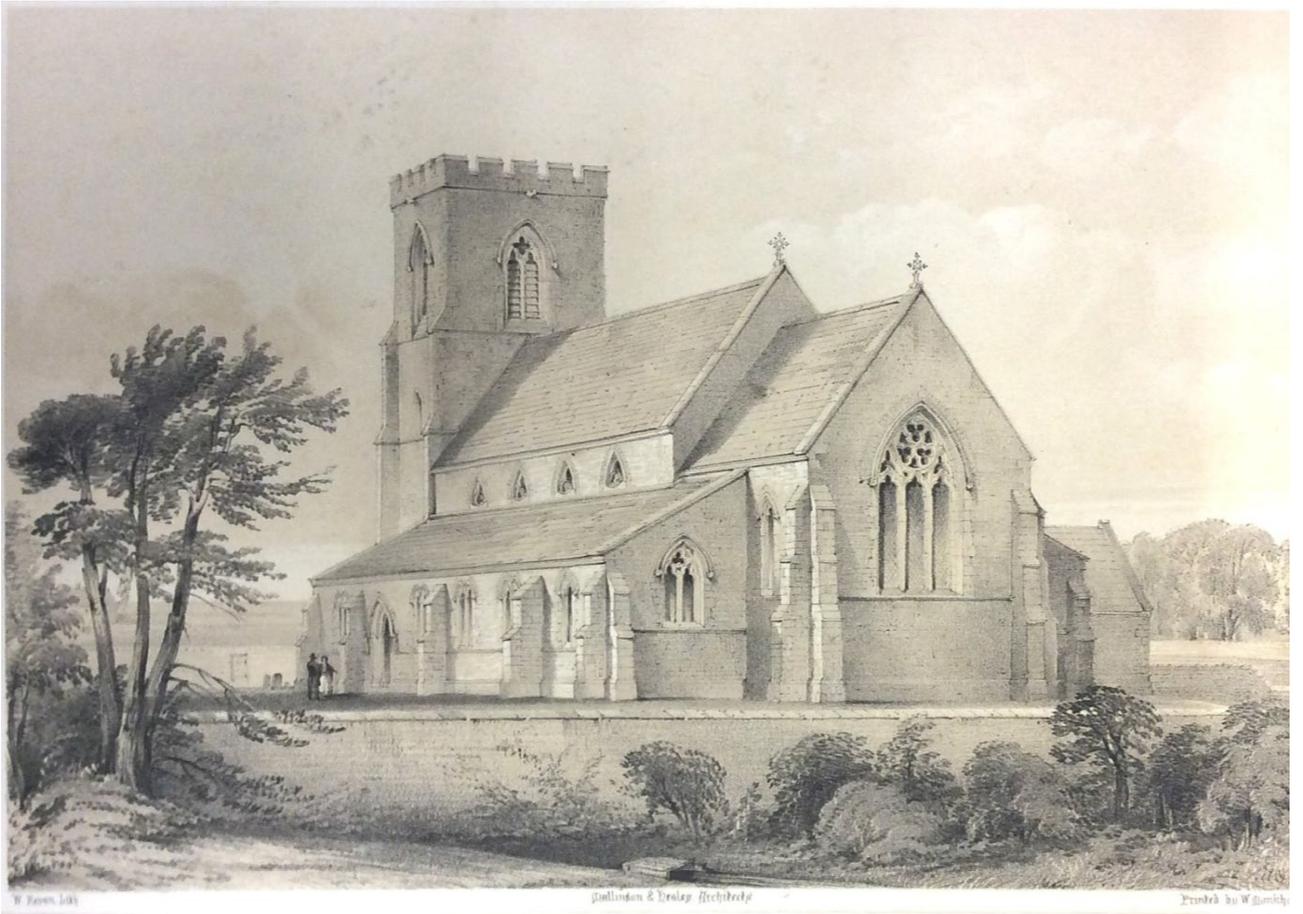
⁵ Port, *Six Hundred new Churches*, p. 63.

⁶ Port, *Six Hundred new Churches*, p. 65.

St. John the Baptist, Clayton, completed in 1850, is one of more than six hundred 'Commissioners Churches',⁷ so-called for being grant-aided by the Church Building Commission. Since the purpose of these grants was to initiate the erection of as many new churches as possible, preference was shown towards parishes able to make significant contributions themselves, and many of the resulting buildings were notable for flimsy construction, a complete lack of ornament and, in the worst cases, the rapid onset of structural failure. Even so, better architects produced better results of course, and here at Clayton, Thomas Healey designed a solid and imposing structure for an absolutely paltry sum. Comprising a W. tower, aisled nave, and chancel with shorter chapels, its elaborate interior today is the result of extensive adornment in coloured marbles by the pre-Raphaelite artist, Gaetano Meo, paid for by the local mill-owner, Harrison Benn, and carried out under the direction of Healey's grandson, Francis H. Healey,⁸ in 1913, yet when the mind's eye has stripped these away, we are still left with a worthy and 'proper' church in the Victorian middle to high Anglican sense, that would amply have fulfilled contemporary ecclesiological expectations: the chancel is well developed, providing a suitably reverent separation of the altar from the congregation; the well-proportioned and all-essential tower rising in three stages to battlements announces to every passing Nonconformist that this is none other than the (true) House of God; the fenestration throughout is simple but subtly and attractively varied; the five-bay nave arcades are formed of sturdy octagonal piers with large capitals supporting double-flat-chamfered arches; and the strong collar-braced nave roof and scissor-braced chancel roof are framed in timbers with decent scantlings. It is all a massive advance on Mallinson's Holy Trinity church, Queens' Head, of 1843, just two miles up the hill to the west, and if this represented the new partners' statement of intent, it would have been difficult to see how they could have bettered it. To produce so much for so little, with no office staff save a single assistant, while undertaking so much else, was little short of astonishing. Small wonder, perhaps. neither partner was destined for a long life.

⁷ See Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, pp. 331-347, for a complete list.

⁸ Francis H. Healey, *Thomas Healey, Architect*, a paper read to the Ecclesiological Society, 16th March 1953.



St. John the Baptist's, Clayton:
(i) *above*, as designed in 1850; and (ii) *below*, today, from the southeast.



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PART ONE: EXORDIUM.

1. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY.

The Study of the Victorian Provincial Architect and Mallinson & Healey's Credentials as Good Subjects.

The study of Victorian architects, although an ever-growing field, is notable for its largely consistent model: a résumé of the individual architect's ancestry is followed by a still briefer consideration of his education and training, and the rest of the work is devoted to a (usually chronological) review of his buildings, accompanied by a sometimes lengthy and inevitably speculative account of his artistic, philosophical and/or religious development which the writer considers underlay the changes in style and approach displayed in his *oeuvre*. This is not an approach without justification: indeed, when the principal or only surviving evidence for the architect's life and work is those buildings themselves, accompanied, no doubt, by an entirely random sample of extant plans, elevations, estimates, grant applications, bills, etc., it is difficult to see how it can be otherwise. Yet it leaves some fundamental questions unanswered: what were the practical obstacles the architect had to overcome in establishing himself in independent business; how did he build up the kind of client base that could sustain him in bad times as well as good; how was his typical working day comprised and what specific factors helped or hindered smooth working; perhaps most importantly, what standard of living could he hope to enjoy from all the trouble and effort involved if all went well and how could he protect himself against the possibility that things might go badly? It will be the examination of the life of the early Victorian provincial architect at this very basic level with which this thesis is principally concerned. If other studies of Victorian architects can be considered to comprise the *architecture of the subject*, the object of this study will be to provide some underpinning.

James Mallinson and Thomas Healey, whose careers will be examined here, were born and educated in the West Riding, Mallinson spent his entire working life there, and Healey lived away for just sixteen years altogether, while he was Head Clerk to Harvey Eginton in Worcester. The only buildings outside Yorkshire for which their partnership seems ever to have been responsible were the humble little church of St. James, Dale Head, unspecified cemetery buildings in Bacup and almshouses in Grindleton (all in Lancashire), and Shinfield parsonage, Wokingham (formerly part of Berkshire), but within the three Ridings of Yorkshire, and during the years from 1845 until Healey's premature death in 1862, the firm was responsible for over a hundred substantial new buildings, including at least fifty places of

worship and about thirty each of schools and parsonages.¹ Since three-quarters of these were confined within the mediaeval parishes of Bradford and Halifax, the partners had a major impact on the built environment of those towns and their associated townships, which makes it all the more remarkable that references to them in the twentieth and twenty-first century literature on the region are so very slight. Pevsner, indeed, made no mention of the practice in the introduction to his *Yorkshire West Riding* volume of *The Buildings of England* series (1967),² and Derek Linstrum afforded it just four passing references of barely half a dozen words each in the main text of his *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture* (1978),³ together with two-thirds of a column inch for Healey and about one and a half inches for Mallinson in the 'select biographical list of Yorkshire architects' which serves as an appendix. Nonetheless, neither the quantity, nor even the quality, of the buildings erected is the full or even chief reason Mallinson and Healey provide such excellent subjects for the present study, for it is not difficult to find other neglected, provincial Victorian architectural firms in other parts of the country, of equal, or almost equal, worth. Indeed, at the opposite end of the West Riding there was William, Thomas James, and Charles Burrows Flockton, father, son, and grandson (fl. 1830-1935), who together with their various partners, built several hundred buildings in Sheffield and its environs, and none of whose members Linstrum mentions at all.⁴ Mallinson and Healey, have more to offer to the advancement of provincial architectural history because their practice was a very active but stable one, comprising throughout its existence the same two men with never more than one or two assistants (in the latter case, Healey's two elder sons), thereby ensuring that all the work came directly from their heads and hands. Moreover, and perhaps most critically, the firm can boast, beside at least fifty extant buildings and a considerable volume of correspondence, plans and elevations, four day-books, covering the years 1854-57, in which are recorded every visit the partners made, every visitor they received, every letter they wrote, and exactly what they did and when, down to such minutiae as the times of trains caught or missed and the sums spent on candles or sealing wax. The preservation

¹ This was a lot for an individual practice. Even the highly prolific George Gilbert Scott only designed 23 parsonages, although Benjamin Ferrey certainly designed more. (See Timothy Brittain-Catlin, *The English Parsonage in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Reading: Spire Books, 2008), p. 267.)

² Nikolaus Pevsner and Enid Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding* (London: Penguin, 1967). Peter Leach has since ensured a little more justice has been done in his volume of the new two-book edition for the sub-county, in which he devotes a full paragraph to the pair, whom he introduces as 'the most important [local architects] in the field of church design [in the area].' Nikolaus Pevsner & Peter Leach, *The Buildings of England - Leeds, Bradford and the North* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, London, 2009).

³ Derek Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture* (London: Lund Humphries, 1978).

⁴ But see Nikolaus Pevsner and Ruth Harman, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding: Sheffield and the South* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 43, 46, 53 & 55 among many others.

of such detail makes it possible to address a range of issues that can only be inferred or surmised in the case of other practices elsewhere.

There is in addition the issue of the *dates* of the practice in relation to the Gothic Revival. Pugin published *Contrasts*, which first set the ecclesiological cat amongst the architectural pigeons, in 1836,⁵ and the formation of the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society) followed three years later; Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* appeared in 1849,⁶ and it was this succession of events above all, that initiated the most contested phase of the Gothic Revival, which only began to lose some its heat from the early 1860s.⁷ However, whereas Mallinson and Healey were at work throughout this period of maximum agitation, the more substantial studies of provincial Victorian architects carried out hitherto, tend to miss this chronological target to a greater or lesser degree, as in the case of Christopher Webster's book on Chantrell,⁸ which makes a limited but rare attempt to examine the nuts and bolts of the practice but which examines a time that is largely too early, and Geoff Brandwood's work on Sharpe, Paley and Austin,⁹ which discusses a period that is predominantly too late. Mallinson and Healey's partnership, in contrast, was - in the entirely literal sense - *central* to the course of the Gothic Revival, which consequently has the potential to endow its study with additional significance.

* * * * *

The Course and Historiography of the Gothic Revival to c. 1865.

For all the eclecticism of Victorian art and architecture, it is the Gothic Revival with which the stamp and fashion of the reign is most commonly associated. Charles Locke Eastlake (1836-1906) wrote the first history of the movement while it was still very much in progress (1872),¹⁰ but it was left to the young Kenneth Clark (1903-83), over half a century later, to

⁵ A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts, or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar of the Present Day, Showing the Present Decay of Taste* (published by the author, 1836).

⁶ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1849).

⁷ Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 117.

⁸ Christopher Webster: *R.D. Chantrell (1793-1862) and the architecture of a lost generation* (Reading: Spire Books, 2010).

⁹ Geoff Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2012).

¹⁰ Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1872).

be next to take up this, by then, unfashionable subject,¹¹ and another decade passed before his namesake, Basil F.L. Clarke (1907-78) produced his 'lonely pioneering effort', *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*,¹² which examined in detail for the first time, the most important architectural genre of the age, namely the four thousand or so, built or rebuilt Anglican churches that brought a little distinction to some of the burgeoning towns' dreary suburbs.¹³ From that point onwards, falteringly at first but later with increasing frequency, books appeared on specific aspects of the style or its more significant proponents, although Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-83), who was seriously conflicted in his attitude to Victorian architecture in general, writing in 'Victorian Prolegomena' in 1963, was still unable to refrain from dismissing the Gothic Revival as 'aesthetically indefensible', damned by its willingness 'to produce what the prospective patrons wanted', and its unwillingness to embrace modernity in the form of iron and glass.¹⁴ His grudging recognition of Sir George Gilbert Scott's Midland Grand Hotel beside St. Pancras Station, in *The Buildings of England* (1952),¹⁵ was undermined by his condemnation of it for hiding 'the engineer Barlow's trainshed which, with its 243 feet had the widest span ever up to that time achieved by man',¹⁶ so it was probably little wonder the building was proposed for demolition three years later (by British Rail), and fortuitous that by this point, the waters of architectural fashion had crept back over the sands sufficiently for the building to be saved and awarded Grade 1 listed status under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 before the deed could be carried out. The first book of real substance celebrating one of the great Victorian ecclesiastical architects then followed four years later, when Paul Thompson published his architectural biography of William Butterfield (1971),¹⁷ who for many years past had been the most mocked of all the Revivalists, derided for his polychromatic 'holy zebra style' which now distinguishes him as one of the nineteenth century's most original architectural voices.

¹¹ Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1928).

¹² Basil F.L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century* (London: S.P.C.K., 1938). The description of Clarke's book is taken from Frank Kelsall's article, 'Not as Ugly as Stonehenge - Architecture and History in the First Lists of Historic Buildings', *Architectural History*, 52, 2009, pp. 1-29 (p. 23).

¹³ Chris Brooks, Introduction to *The Victorian Church*, ed. Chris Brooks & Andrew Saint (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 9.

¹⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Victorian Prolegomena' in *Victorian Architecture*, ed. Peter Ferriday (London, Jonathan Cape, 1963), pp.21-36. This book, much lauded at the time of its publication (e.g. by Carroll L.V. Meeks in 'Book Reviews', *Victorian Studies*, 9/1, 1965, pp. 69-72) can be seen today to have been a deeply unsatisfactory compendium of mostly very slight essays, mired in the prejudices of the times. One essay was even considered by the architectural historian David Watkin to have been an elaborate fake. (See Frank Kelsall, 'Not as Ugly as Stonehenge', p. 15.).

¹⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - London except the Cities of London and Westminster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1952), pp. 366-367.

¹⁶ Pevsner, 'Victorian Prolegomena', p. 28.

¹⁷ Paul Thompson, *William Butterfield* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971).

Anthony Quiney's book on John Loughborough Pearson then appeared in 1979,¹⁸ and today, important biographies on some of the other important and influential nineteenth century architectural practices issue from the publishing houses at regular intervals and have included in the last fifteen years, books by William Whyte on Thomas Graham Jackson (2006),¹⁹ Gill Hunter on William White (2010),²⁰ Michael Hall on George Frederick Bodley (2014),²¹ and Geoff Brandwood on Temple Lushington Moore (2019).²²

All these men apart from Chantrell, were *metropolitan* architects, however, and Chantrell was London-trained (in the office of John Soane) before recognising an opportunity in the rapidly growing manufacturing town of Leeds and moving there in 1819 to spend the most active part of his career within its purviews, not to return until 1847.²³ It was to be expected that he would take with him a metropolitan mindset therefore, and something similar may have been true of Sharpe, Paley and Austin, partners in the firm of constantly shifting proprietorship in Lancaster (fl. 1835-1910): Edmund Sharpe (1809-77) was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and had travelled extensively in Germany and France before opening his Lancaster office in 1835;²⁴ Edward Graham Paley (1823-95) was the son of another St. John's alumnus and was himself educated in London until the age of fifteen;²⁵ and Hubert James Austin (1841-1915), though born in Darlington, received the most important part of his architectural training in Scott's London office in Spring Gardens, where he worked on his master's unsuccessful competition entry for the Law Courts and the designs for the Midland Grand Hotel.²⁶

Such men, therefore, were unlikely to be fully representative of architects who were *born* in the provinces, *educated* in the provinces, *had not had* the means to go on sketching tours

¹⁸ Anthony Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1979).

¹⁹ William Whyte, *Oxford Jackson - Architecture, Education, Status and Style, 1835-1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁰ Gill Hunter, *William White - Pioneer Victorian Architect* (Reading: Spire Books, 2010).

²¹ Michael Hall, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).

²² Geoff Brandwood, *The Architecture of Temple Moore* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019).

²³ Webster, R.D. *Chantrell*, pp. 80 & 143.

²⁴ Brandwood:, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, pp. 7-19.

²⁵ Brandwood:, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, pp. 48-56.

²⁶ Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, pp. 80-89.

on the Continent, and had spent their *entire working lives* in the provinces once their training was complete, and yet even for provincial architects defined in the widest sense, Chantrell and Sharpe, Paley & Austin excepted, the literature is largely confined to papers, articles in academic journals, single chapters in books, or, at best, short monographs, among the most substantial of which are the books by Anthony J. Pass on Thomas Worthington of Manchester,²⁷ and by Brian E. Torode on John Middleton of Cheltenham,²⁸ while the former include Brenda Poole's paper on John Colson of Winchester (1820-95),²⁹ and Canon Brian Carne's article on Thomas Fulljames of Gloucester (1808-64).³⁰ Papers and articles are naturally constrained by space but so they are often also by limited research objectives and/or a serious lack of documentary evidence,³¹ which sometimes appears to reduce them to a gazetteer of buildings.³² Yet, as previously suggested, some works on the major metropolitan men display the same tendency, notwithstanding the high-flown treatment that may accompany them. 'Architectural biography' in Andrew Saint's words, 'has favoured the imaginative approach because here the individualism natural to the purer arts finds its easiest outlet... [and] when imagination is accorded priority, what actually happens in the architectural process is frequently falsified'.³³ Some of the areas that deserve more detailed attention are set out below.

* * * * *

On Architectural Apprenticeships, c. 1820-50, and the Opportunities and Difficulties facing the Newly Trained, Provincial Architect.

²⁷ Anthony J Pass, *Thomas Worthington: Victorian Architecture and Social Purpose* (Manchester: Manchester Literary & Philosophical Publications, 1988).

²⁸ Brian E Torode, *John Middleton - Victorian Provincial Architect* (Zagreb: Accent, 2008).

²⁹ Brenda Poole, *John Colson: a Hampshire Architect of the Victorian Age* (Hampshire Paper No. 20) (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 2000).

³⁰ Brian Carne, 'Thomas Fulljames, 1808-74 - surveyor, architect, and civil engineer' (*The Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 113/1995, pp. 7-20).

³¹ Indeed, Geoff Brandwood confesses to this problem even in respect of the major firm of Sharpe, Paley and Austin. (Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, pp. 5-6).

³² Among the many examples that provide a context for this study, both in showing what has and what has not been discussed previously in the literature, one can compare, in addition to the books and articles cited in the main text: (i) Christopher Webster on Thomas Taylor of Leeds (1777/8-1826); (iii) Thomas Faulkner and Andrew Greg on John Dobson of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1787-1865); (iv) Robin Freeman on Owen Browne Carter of Winchester (1806-59); (v) Christopher Webster on William Wallen of Huddersfield (1807-53); (vi) G.B. Howcroft on George Shaw of Saddleworth (1810-76); (vii) Geoff Brandwood and Martin Cherry on the Goddard family of Leicestershire (fl. 1827-1918); (viii) Ken Brand on Thomas Chambers Hine of Nottingham (1813-99); and (ix) Christopher Webster on William Hill of Leeds (1827-99). All these booklets and book chapters are referenced in the bibliography.

³³ Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1983), p.163. Saint illustrates his point with the example, 'What truly occurred when Frank Lloyd Wright built a house is soon forgotten when it becomes the mere object of aesthetic experience'.

Charles Dickens (1812-1870) penned by far the most familiar literary portrait of a 'corner-street' Victorian architect in his picaresque novel, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, in which one is introduced to Seth Pecksniff, 'Architect and Surveyor', who 'never designs or builds anything' but makes his money by 'ensnaring parents and guardians and pocketing premiums'.³⁴ Satire this may be, but satire depends for its effect on the mannered exaggeration of commonly acknowledged behaviour or characteristics, and many aspirants to the profession of limited means were doubtless articulated to men in the early Victorian years in whom some of these traits were recognisable, as George Wightwick recounted from his own experience in an article in *Bentley's Miscellany* (1852).³⁵ Indeed, the probably well-intentioned but largely talentless Walker Rawstorne, to whom James Mallinson was apprenticed, may have been another.³⁶

Moreover, money was inevitably critical in determining whom a pupil might reasonably expect for a master. Apprenticeships did not come cheap. Canon Brian Carne recorded that Thomas Fulljames's placement with Thomas Rickman in 1822 cost his uncle a premium of 200 guineas (i.e. a 'one-off' payment) plus £63 annually for Thomas's board and lodging,³⁷ while Brian Torode's research into the life of John Middleton showed it was not only the income of a family that could determine a son's fortune but also his position within it.³⁸ This is reflected in the parallels that can be drawn between the experiences of Sir George Gilbert Scott and James Mallinson on the one hand, both of whom were *third* sons, and John Middleton and Thomas Healey on the other, who were *only* sons - or rather, in Healey's case, the only *surviving* son. Scott's father, the Rev. Thomas Scott, was perpetual curate at Gawcott, Buckinghamshire,³⁹ and likely to have been in receipt of a very meagre stipend that was never likely to allow him to send more than his eldest son to school and then on to Cambridge,⁴⁰ and so when Scott - who had twelve siblings altogether and had been home-educated after a fashion - was fifteen, his uncle in London was tasked with seeking out an architect to whom he could be articulated. 'It was a sine-quâ-non that he should

³⁴ Charles Dickens, *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1872), p. 12.

³⁵ George Wightwick, 'The Life of an Architect' (*Bentley's Miscellany*, 32, 1852), p. 25.

³⁶ See chapter 2, end note 5.

³⁷ Carne, *Thomas Fulljames*, p. 8.

³⁸ Torode, *John Middleton*, pp. 9-11.

³⁹ Sir George Gilbert Scott, ed. Gavin Stamp, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 23-24.

⁴⁰ Typically a curate's salary fell within the range between £50 and £135 p.a. but was more usually somewhere towards the lower end. See Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth century Church and English Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 125-130.

be a religious man', Scott wrote, 'and it was necessary that his terms should be moderate'.⁴¹ Scott was taken to London and placed with a Mr. James Edmeston. Next morning he was invited out by Edmeston to see some of his mentor's works 'when - oh, horrors! the bubble burst, and the fond dream of my youthful imagination was realized in the form of a few second-rate brick houses, with cemented porticoes of two ungainly columns each!'⁴² In contrast, John Middleton, who was born in York, although orphaned at the the age of fourteen (in 1834) after his father - a shopkeeper - and mother had died within eleven months of each other, was taken under the wing of an unmarried uncle, who became John's legal guardian, sent him first to a private school just behind his home, then between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, to York Collegiate School, where the fees were £10 per annum, and finally placed him in the office of James Piggott Pritchett (1789-1868), who, together with John Harper (1809-42), was responsible at the time for 'the best work [being carried out] in the city'.⁴³ By now, Middleton was able to pay the premium himself from a trust set up for him by his father, but although Torode does not say what that was, the fact that the trust was equal to the task was surely attributable to Middleton's fortuitous lack of siblings rather than the amount of money made from shopkeeping.

On the completion of his apprenticeship, a young man naturally aspired to establish himself in business. '[A]t least till 1850', wrote Andrew Saint, 'there were still too few large buildings erected to keep a whole profession afloat upon design alone'.⁴⁴ It was thus very helpful to be based in a rapidly expanding town such as Halifax or Bradford and precisely *how* helpful emerges in this thesis in the contrast between the volume of business executed by Mallinson and Healey's partnership in the West Riding on the one hand with the unhurried existence of Harvey Eginton in Worcester on the other (chapter three). It may also provide the explanation for Chantrell's decision to relocate to Leeds. Nevertheless, '[t]he bread and butter of very many Victorian architectural practices - and not just poor ones - still consisted of tasks today allotted to other professions: arranging leases, assessing rents, measuring property, taking out quantities and so forth... [albeit] as fast as they could afford to do so, architects shed these less congenial tasks'.⁴⁵ Their relative absence from an architect's portfolio might therefore be one way to measure his success, while another, applicable in this case to the viability of the *profession as a whole*, might be to investigate how many

⁴¹ Scott, ed. Stamp, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, p. 53.

⁴² Scott, ed. Stamp, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, p. 55.

⁴³ Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave, *The Buildings of England - York and the East Riding* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 90.

⁴⁴ Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, pp. 57.

⁴⁵ Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, pp. 57-58.

firms existed side-by-side within a geographical area and how many of them ultimately failed. George Elwick listed only eight English architects in his *Bankrupt Directory* who were declared bankrupt between 1820 and 1843,⁴⁶ but since very few practitioners actually styled themselves as 'architects' in this period, that is not especially reassuring. William White, in his directories of Leeds and the West Yorkshire clothing districts, recorded thirteen architects within the Riding in 1842,⁴⁷ but forty-five in 1854 (after allowing for fourteen duplications),⁴⁸ a difference that almost certainly owed more to a change of designation than a sudden influx of professional men, given that the exponential urban development of the region had been underway since at least 1820. This is reinforced by Webster, who examined the number of self-declared architects in Leeds alone and found none in 1798, one in 1800 and again in 1809, four in 1814, six in 1822 and 1830, ten in 1837, eleven in 1843, thirteen in 1847, nineteen in 1851 and twenty-three in 1853.⁴⁹ Part of this change can almost certainly be ascribed to men increasingly assuming the title of 'architect' after labouring for years in the building trades, as when Thomas Jackson, who appeared as plasterer in the 1793 directory (although he had already produced a few building designs), styled himself as architect in the directory for 1800, and William Lawrence, who was listed as a joiner and cabinet maker in 1798 and 1800, and as a raff merchant in 1807, made the same transition in 1809.⁵⁰ Individuals such as these may have led K. Theodore Hoppen to underestimate when he wrote that 'in 1850 there may have been as few as 500 'proper' architects in the whole country',⁵¹ although, of course, it depends on what is meant by 'proper'. 'Constantly in the nineteenth century,' wrote Priscilla Metcalf, 'there was this attitude of anyone-can-play'.⁵²

'What this meant [for the architect] in terms of income was sufficiency rather than wealth', wrote K. Theodore Hoppen, 'with [fees of] 5 per cent of total costs plus expenses becoming typical... [and] the profession [being] kept afloat... [by] the sheer quantity of building work undertaken'.⁵³ Of course every care taken to keep prices low, however essential in order

⁴⁶ George Elwick, *Bankrupt Directory, being a Complete Register of All Bankrupts, from December 1820 to April 1843* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1843).

⁴⁷ William White, *Topography and Directory of the Borough of Leeds and the Whole of the Clothing Districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Sheffield: Robert Leader, 1842).

⁴⁸ William White, *Directory of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield..., and all the Villages in the Yorkshire Clothing Districts* (Sheffield: Robert Leader, 1854).

⁴⁹ Christopher Webster, 'The Architectural Profession in Leeds, 1800-50 - a case-study in provincial practice (*Architectural History*, 38, 1995, pp. 176-191), p. 177.

⁵⁰ Webster, 'The Architectural Profession in Leeds', pp. 177-178.

⁵¹ K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 417.

⁵² Priscilla Metcalf, *James Knowles - Victorian Editor and Architect* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 119.

⁵³ Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 419.

to gain the contract, nevertheless had a deleterious effect on the architect's eventual commission. This was summed up W.A. Pite's insightful phrase in his obituary for Sir Arthur Blomfield, written in 1899, when he spoke of the inevitable destiny of every architect who 'excelled in the charitable but unremunerative art of keeping down the cost'.⁵⁴ Average annual earnings are difficult to assess, in part because for most there was no such a thing as an *average* working year. Nor is it any easier to identify a *typical* architect, for when one seeks to do so, the literature proves to be largely case specific. Thus for example, Thompson found that Butterfield's earnings reached a peak of 'roughly £2,200' p.a. in the late 1870s 'chiefly due to a few very large buildings, such as Keble College and Melbourne Cathedral [then under construction; but]... as these tailed away in the early 1880s his income dropped sharply to less than £1,000 a year'.⁵⁵ However, the largely unknown and infinitely inferior William Culshaw of Liverpool, accumulated a stupendous £120,000 during the course of his lifetime,⁵⁶ notwithstanding that the *Daily Post* could write in his obituary, '[a]lthough Mr. Culshaw combined with his principal business of surveyor and valuer, the profession of architect, he did not shine in that capacity, preferring rather that work in which had special aptitude', and the *Liverpool Mercury* went further and said that 'he had little taste for architecture, and his practice... must be regarded as purely appurtenant to his employment as a surveyor'.⁵⁷

* * * * *

On the Development of a Client Base.

What were the factors that determined business success however? Clients were the first requisite, and the different 'categories' of men who might have needed an architect are examined in chapter five. A provincial architect could not afford to ignore, much less alienate, any potential patron within his purview, and the importance of being well regarded by all men, or at least the great majority, can hardly be overstated. Of course, once an architect had a small oeuvre of recognisably well-constructed local buildings to his name, attracting further business became easier. For architects at an early stage, and in the absence of any generally recognised professional qualifications, membership of a

⁵⁴ W.A. Pite, from his obituary for Sir Arthur Blomfield (1829-99), cited by Basil F.L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 192.

⁵⁵ Thompson, *William Butterfield*, p. 45.

⁵⁶ Joseph Sharples, 'William Culshaw (1807-64) and Henry Sumners (1825-95) - rebuilding Victorian Liverpool' in *The Practice of Architecture*, ed. Christopher Webster (Reading: Spire Books, 2013, pp. 48-78). Sharples gives the amount as 'under £140,000'. In fact, probate was re-sworn in June 1878 at the slightly more modest sum of 'under £120,000'. (Calendar of Probate.)

⁵⁷ Sharples, 'William Culshaw and Henry Sumners', p. 51.

professional organisation could be a satisfactory substitute. Barrington Kaye was the first to examine in detail the rise of the architectural profession in Britain, its financial implications, and the part played by a recognised formal training and membership of an exclusive society.⁵⁸ The Institute of British Architects (later the Royal Institute of British Architects) was established in 1834, but many members of 'the old guard' never became reconciled to it since membership of a professional body seemed to them at odds with their position as *artists*. Butterfield, for example, 'felt more at home as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, to which he was elected in 1881'.⁵⁹ That was all very well for men of unchallengeable reputation, but lesser souls felt the need for official accreditation.⁶⁰ Another possibility was a record of an apprenticeship with a known and respected master, but in reality, not even an expensive pupillage was any firm guarantee of a new recruit's competency. Indeed, two and a half decades before *Martin Chuzzlewit* was published, R. Sandeman had quipped, 'The Pupil to a Profession if he pays no Premium learns something, if a small Premium, a little, if a large Premium he learns nothing'.⁶¹

Fortunately, for architects who did not attract sufficient business or who longed for greater financial security, there were other possibilities whereby one could make a living. Thus Andrew Saint suggested that '[t]o be an estate surveyor to an extensive landlord or a district surveyor supervising local building standards was devoutly to be desired',⁶² and this was underscored by John Corfield's investigations into the career of Thomas Smith of Hertford (1798-1875), who was appointed County Surveyor for Hertfordshire in 1837 on a stipend of £50 p.a., which rose in stages to £140 by 1868, where it remained until his death, and who, in 1847, took on the additional surveyorship for Bedfordshire, for an extra £80 p.a., and held that post until the combined workload overwhelmed him.⁶³ Similarly Brian Carne, for his part, recorded that Thomas Fulljames (1808-74) was appointed County Surveyor to Gloucestershire in 1831, aged just 23, at an annual salary of twenty guineas plus

⁵⁸ Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in England*, pp. 57-83.

⁵⁹ Thompson, William Butterfield, p. 61.

⁶⁰ Henry Byerley Thomson, writing in the *The Choice of a Profession* in 1857 (London, Chapman & Hall), drew a distinction between the 'privileged' and 'unprivileged' professions. The membership of the former, which included the church, the law, the armed services and the public service, was regulated by law, whereas membership of the latter, which included painters, architects, engineers and educators, was theoretically open to all, which made it essential that anyone who hoped to succeed in one of these should acquire an 'established reputation' from a master of some renown and from his subsequent conduct, and that he should guard it jealously thereafter, conscious that it was the only guarantee he could give the public of his professional skill and competence.

⁶¹ R. Sandeman, 'On the proper education of the architectural pupil' (*Essays of the London Architectural Society*, 2, 1846), pp.80-84. Cited by Kaye.

⁶² Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, p. 58.

⁶³ John Corfield, *Thomas Smith, 1798-1875* (Hertford: Hertford & Ware Local History Society, 1998), p. 2.

expenses,⁶⁴ but was able to add the post of Diocesan Surveyor to his portfolio a year later while further supplementing his income by taking a succession of pupils, and Brenda Poole presented a variation on this increasingly familiar theme when she noted that after John Colson (1820-95) had completed his pupillage and spent barely two years altogether working in turn for T.H. Wyatt and Benjamin Ferrey, he entered into partnership with John Brown, County Surveyor of Norfolk and surveyor to Norwich Cathedral. Poole queried *Brown's* motivation for accepting such an inexperienced partner, but provided the answer in the very same sentence: the premium was £1,000.⁶⁵

Other architects made their way in the world by the sheer number of clients they served in one small job after another. Thus Joseph Sharples found the success of William Culshaw (1807-74) and Henry Sumners (1825-95), arose from the turning out of hundreds - indeed, thousands - of mundane domestic and industrial buildings, designed to a basic formula. The pair developed the very helpful habit of writing their clients' names on their drawings, from which it is apparent that most of their commissions came from the 'mercantile elite', many of whom were related to one another,⁶⁶ albeit that in the end, familial or business ties probably still 'counted for less than clients' direct knowledge of their work, with many no doubt making the safe choice of a firm whose buildings were familiar from neighbourhood examples'.⁶⁷

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On the Establishment of Efficient Work Routines.

A competitive business was also built on efficient work routines. According to Barrington Kaye, an architect 'is required to survey land, to devise plans, elevations and sections for design and to draw them up, to estimate the cost of the works, to supervise their erection, and to draw up the necessary contracts between himself and his client', all of which activities, however, with the single exception of making designs for buildings, can be delegated, 'the surveying to a surveyor, the actual drawing out of the plans to a draughtsman, the estimation of costs to a quantity surveyor, the supervision of the erection

⁶⁴ Carne, 'Thomas Fulljames', p. 10.

⁶⁵ Poole, *John Colson*, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁶ Joseph Sharples, 'William Culshaw and Henry Sumners', pp. 73-74.

⁶⁷ 'Artistic reputation has a rapidly accumulative quality', wrote Eastlake in assessing the merits and demerits of James Wyatt (1746-1813). 'Everybody had employed him and therefore everybody continued to do so.' (Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, p. 93.)

of building to a clerk-of-works, and the contractual side of his business to a lawyer or clerk'.⁶⁸ Indeed, what was true when Kaye was writing (1959), is usual practice today: thus the architect responsible for an initial concept, say for a small housing development, will commonly pass his (probably computer-generated) designs over to another professional to produce the working drawings and have little if any involvement in the project thereafter.

Mallinson and Healey, in contrast, were their *own* land and quantity surveyors, their *own* draftsmen, and frequently their *own* clerk-of-the-works. Indeed, this was hardly surprising for as late as 1919, the Nottinghamshire architect, Harry Gill (1858-1925) could write, 'In the life of a provincial architect, a contract approaching £20,000 is an episode. For the most part his time is spent on work which at pre-war rates would average rather under £1,000 than over that figure. A clerk of works is a luxury, and, consequently, an architect has to pay frequent personal visits to the work in progress.'⁶⁹

Mallinson also carried out quantity surveying on buildings designed by others, as he did in 1856 for Messrs. Pickard and Ogden, builders of Laisterdyke (Bradford), at Ilkley Hydropathic Establishment which the contractors had just completed to the designs of Cuthbert Broderick (1821-1905),⁷⁰ notwithstanding that I.B.A. rules forbade this.⁷¹ Chapter six of this thesis will examine precisely what the partners were doing, day by day, in the mid-1850s - not 'in the round', not from the sun-lit uplands of their retirement as they reminisced upon their life's work, but from eight o'clock in the morning until after ten o'clock at night, Monday to Saturday, fifty-two weeks a year, excluding only Christmas Day or whenever illness intervened. Robert Kerr, writing in *The Newleafe Discourses*, pleaded in 1846 for the architect to 'be relieved from the inspection of sewers and cesspools and wells, and the shoring up of old houses, and the rating of dilapidations, and the ventilation of foul cellars, and the fitting up of stables, and the curing of smoky chimneys',⁷² but there is

⁶⁸ Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain*, p. 28.

⁶⁹ Harry Gill, 'The Mutual Relations of the Architect, Builder and Workman' (*Journal of the Society of Architects*, 12/5, June 1919, pp.107-108), p. 107.

⁷⁰ This may have represented an attempt by the builder to get a harsh contract reassessed on the time-honoured basis of measure and value 'de novo', in the way Geoffrey Tyack describes John Pritchard worrying that the builder at Ettington Park was hoping to do in 1862. ('A Victorian Architectural Correspondence', *Architectural History*, 22, 1979, pp. 78-87 p. 85.)

⁷¹ M.H. Port, 'The Office of Works and Building Contracts in Early Nineteenth-Century England' (*The Economic History Review*, 20/1, April 1967, pp. 94-110), p. 110. Neither Mallinson nor Healey appear to have been members.

⁷² Robert Kerr, *The Newleafe Discourses on the fine art manufacture* [sic] (published by the author, 1846).

nothing to indicate in the documentation that Mallinson and Healey cared very much *what* they did, for certainly some of the smallest jobs were done for the clients they knew best and who might have avoided asking the partners to undertake anything that could have been taken as a slight.

The breakdown of architectural contracts into individual workaday tasks has largely been neglected in the literature. This even includes the written works of the protagonists themselves, foremost among which are Sir George Gilbert Scott's *Personal and Professional Recollections*, published posthumously in 1879, and Arthur Edmund Street's *Memoir of George Edmund Street*, published in 1888,⁷³ perhaps because men such as Scott and A.E. Street considered these details commonplace and not worth recording or perhaps because they preferred to cultivate the impression that far from having to grapple with the daily trials and tribulations of lesser mortals, a renowned metropolitan architect sprang to battle like Athena, prenatally equipped for every task.

Christopher Webster first considered Chantrell's office in Leeds in an article published by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain in 1995,⁷⁴ and returned to the topic in his subsequent biography of this pioneering practitioner.⁷⁵ Chantrell's first pupil 'appears to have been... Healey', he wrote, who would have had ample opportunity to observe Chantrell's habit 'scrupulously to... avoid... any activities such as building or dealing in materials which the more high-minded architects of the period saw as sully[ing] the profession's status'. Webster's research suggests Chantrell's practice would have been considered a cut above Mallinson and Healey's however, since '[a]lmost every project beyond the minor ones... enjoyed the service of a clerk-of-the-works... [although] in most cases, their identity is unknown'. Moreover, lest it be thought that Webster was making an unjustifiable assumption here, in fact he names three of them, including William Jordan, who oversaw the construction of St. Matthew's church, Holbeck, and was paid £224 for his trouble, a figure to compare with Chantrell's total commission on the job of just of £157! (Webster concludes, not unreasonably at this price, that 'it is likely that many design decisions were delegated to [Jordan].') Although only twelve miles by road from Bradford, such practice will be found a world away from Mallinson and Healey's usual minute personal oversight of any tolerably reachable job, and seems particularly extravagant when one

⁷³ Arthur Edmund Street, *Memoir of George Edmund Street, 1824-1881* (London: John Murray, 1888).

⁷⁴ Webster, 'The Architectural Profession in Leeds'.

⁷⁵ Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, pp. 163-181.

considers Holbeck was scarcely two and a half miles from Chantrell's office in Saddle Yard, Briggate. Nor was Jordan a lone example. Another clerk-of-the-works found by Webster to have been employed by Chantrell was a certain John Wade, to whom, along with his other duties, was delegated the task of drawing up the pew rent plan for Emmanuel church, Lockwood (Huddersfield), and who 'was paid a staggering £410' fifteen years later for his work at St. Paul's, Armitage Bridge. This suggests one of three possibilities: (i) that Leeds c. 1825-45 contained many more available men of talent than Halifax and Bradford in the fifteen years immediately following; or (ii) that Chantrell had a remarkably complaisant attitude towards his creations; or (iii) that Mallinson and Healey, in their turn, were unwilling or unable to forego the competitive edge that the engagement of such an expensive clerk-of-the-works necessarily entailed. Indeed, perhaps a combination of all three factors were in play, albeit, as previously stated, Chantrell probably brought with him to Leeds, a metropolitan mindset. Even so, it is a sharp warning that the results of historical research can be heavily skewed by the case study selected, and it highlights not only the care that is needed, but also the sheer difficulty of selecting a 'characteristic' example, if one hopes to extrapolate one's findings across a wider field. This will be drawn out in the conclusions to this study for while the examination of a single architectural practice can illuminate the general conditions and constraints under and within which provincial architects laboured, the extent to which it can accommodate every individual's personal circumstances is obviously very limited. It is not to be expected that all men will achieve the same fortune when not only their education and aptitudes, but also their starting points in life, differ very widely.

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On the Access to Capital.

'Nineteenth century architecture', wrote J. Mordaunt Crook, 'richly repays analysis couched in economic, social and religious terms',⁷⁶ but if so, the financial analysis is definitely the poor relation for it has not received the attention paid to the other two. To turn to K. Theodore Hoppen again, '[a]rchitects needed very large sums of money in order to realise their ideas',⁷⁷ and 'this artistic singularity' led them to 'to see themselves and to be seen by others as belonging to a recognized profession'.⁷⁸ This was effected by a number of drivers, not least that the growing 'importance of being able to face commissioning committees of

⁷⁶ J. Mordaunt Crook, 'The pre-Victorian architect: professionalism and patronage' (*Architectural History*, 12, 1969, pp. 62-78), p. 62.

⁷⁷ Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 416.

⁷⁸ Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 417.

middle-class men primarily concerned with cost, obliged architects to increase their managerial skills'.⁷⁹

The building of a church involved the architect at all stages, for even at the outset, building committees were rarely capable of completing the elaborate returns grantors required, and if the application was to the Church Building Commission, then in M.H. Port's words, 'An unknown architect had [first]... to provide testimonials of his ability, besides presenting his plans to the several scrutinies the Board always demanded'.⁸⁰ He would have done so conscious of 'the effect of rejection of his design upon [his] reputation'.⁸¹ The Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) was a still more difficult body to deal with, whose obstructiveness, intentional or otherwise, will emerge later on. However, probably the most demanding bodies to whom one might apply were the Queen Anne's Bounty Office and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who together were the principal source of funding for the building of parsonages and who were studied exhaustively by G.F.A. Best in 1964.⁸² Their onerous requirements are set out below. Yet problems with grantors were not the only difficulties an architect might encounter in the pursuit of the necessary capital, for if the cash ran out while construction was underway, a building could be left bereft of its principal intended adornment, to the long-term detriment of the architect's artistic reputation. An example of this is illustrated by Anthony Quiney in his consideration of John Loughborough Pearson's plans for St. Peter's, Vauxhall, where the contrast between Pearson's original design⁸³ and the photograph of the church as built,⁸⁴ is stark in the extreme. Doubtless Pearson would have designed the building quite differently if he had known the true financial situation at the outset. As it was, the failure to complete the work also led to a very poor return on his labour. Quiney does not say how much the church was originally expected to cost but J. Mordaunt Crook has recorded that the tower and spire had been expected to rise to 220 feet,⁸⁵ suggesting this would have been a building costing £25,000 at the

⁷⁹ Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 418.

⁸⁰ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 101.

⁸¹ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 102.

⁸² G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars -- Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

⁸³ Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, p. 69.

⁸⁴ Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, p. 67.

⁸⁵ J. Mordaunt Crook, appendix to Charles L. Eastlake's *A History of the Gothic Revival*, p. <119>.

minimum. In fact, Quiney found the remnant that was built to have cost £8,003.7s.2d, on which Pearson's received a commission of just £400.⁸⁶

That is 5% of £8,000 of course, and this brings this discussion back to Hoppen's comment that as architecture came to be regarded increasingly as a profession, so there came into being a recognised scale of fees. This is reinforced by Christopher Webster in his enlightening study of Robert Dennis Chantrell, through a letter he found, sent by Chantrell to Charles Winn of Nostell Priory in 1851.⁸⁷ In it, Chantrell explained his methods of pricing and disclosed what he considered to be some of the elements of good practice. It was usual, he said, to charge '5% on the amount of the tradesmen's' bills being all of new materials,' before adding a few words on how he calculated his expenses and going on to outline the reasonable expectations of the client, including '[i]f an order is given for the work to cost £700 and I design one to cost £1,500 I have no right to charge for the design'. However, a transparent system of fees was only one of the new responsibilities Hoppen lays on the emerging architectural profession. Architects had also an increasing duty to provide reliable estimates and to make every endeavour to control costs during the construction process itself. Building committees 'abhorred unpleasant surprises',⁸⁸ which was one of the forces Akira Satoh identified in bringing about 'the spread of the fixed price contract and [the rise of] the single contractor'.⁸⁹ Contracts 'by measure and value', which had been usual throughout the eighteenth century, now gave way to contracts 'by the lump', and for some building types (chiefly public and governmental works), multiple contracts with individual trades were being superseded by a single contract with a general builder, who might or might not subcontract the work in any department(s) he was unable to undertake himself. These developments gave greater financial assurance to clients that there would not be any significant cost overruns and Satoh shows how, in turn, they abetted the competitive principle.⁹⁰

Clients usually (though not invariably - see chapter eight) expected architects to make every effort to keep prices low. Local knowledge facilitated this. What was a reasonable price to pay for skilled or unskilled labour in the immediate neighbourhood? Where could suitable

⁸⁶ Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, p. 81.

⁸⁷ Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 163.

⁸⁸ Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 421.

⁸⁹ Akira Satoh, *Building in Britain - the Origins of a Modern Industry* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1986), pp. 30-53.

⁹⁰ Satoh, *Building in Britain*, pp. 262-266.

stone or timber be acquired at the cheapest possible price? (which in the case of stone was often the same thing as knowing the location of the nearest reliable source). The local architect would also be more likely to spot a tender submitted at an unrealistically low price, suggesting the contractor hoped to make it pay by shortcutting on the work.

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On the Display of Taste and Propriety under Budgetary Constraints.

Barrington Kaye drew a distinction between the 'artist-architect', unwilling to forsake his architectural vision even at the cost of losing his client, and the 'professional-architect', conscious he had to earn a living and, if necessary, prepared to follow his client's orders,⁹¹ and there was a degree to which this conflict was reflected in the contrast between the renowned nineteenth century metropolitan architect, exemplified, perhaps especially, by Butterfield, and his provincial cousins, although on which side of the dividing line Sir George Gilbert Scott might be deemed to have fallen after his surrender to Lord Palmerston in the battle over the Foreign Office, is perhaps a moot point. Church builders, ecclesiastics and architectural dilettantes in mid-nineteenth century England often appear in the literature to have been preoccupied - obsessed even - with 'taste' and 'propriety', and these precepts were heavily implicated in the heated controversies that raged over style, with the Cambridge Camden Society and its periodical, *The Ecclesiologist*, aggressively promoting the superiority of the Flowing (Curvilinear) Decorated, fl. 1315-50 (particularly in its early days), as the physical representation of the acme of religious faith during the Middle Ages, and Ruskin, equally dogmatically, insisting that the only 'truthful' - and hence the only moral - style was the geometric of the Early English/Decorated transition, prevalent c. 1280-1315.⁹² To sail these waters successfully, the artist-architect needed first to establish himself as the arbiter of taste, from where, to quote the Hon. Sir Edmund Cust (1794-1878), he could 'assume... a claim to direct exclusively a mystery which not even one of his own craft, much less an amateur or one of the public [could] presume to gainsay or control'.⁹³ Yet if the provincial architect, by comparison, was considerably less likely to be able to establish such a position, his difficulties might sometimes have been eased by the reduced local cogency of these shifting credos in the first place, when clients were drawn from sequestered patrons in the shires or overburdened industrialists in bustling manufacturing

⁹¹ Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain*, p. 31.

⁹² '[I]n building as in morals' opined the *Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal*, 'it is good to be honest and true' [the author's italics], October 1850, pp. 332.333.

⁹³ The Hon. Sir Edward Cust, *A letter to the Right Honourable Sir Edward Peel, Bart., M.P., on the expedience of a better system of control over buildings erected at the public expense; and on the subject of rebuilding the Houses of Parliament*, cited by Barrington Kaye in *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain*, pp. 84-85.

towns.⁹⁴ Chapter nine of this thesis considers this issue, for whereas the assumption is generally made that as matters stood among the cognoscenti of the metropolis, so (perhaps after a short interval) they stood across the country as a whole, the example of Mallinson and Healey suggests this was not necessarily so. Moreover, if geographical detachment alone did not provide sufficient opportunity for provincial architects in the industrial regions to take a rather more relaxed approach to the latest ecclesiological fads and fancies, there was often also - shocking though it is to tell - the effect of their, and their clients', inevitable social intercourse with Dissent. This was not what the Camdenians anticipated or expected: '[i]n a world full of doubt, [the Ecclesiologists'] intolerance was their strength, and they knew it', wrote Kenneth Clark.⁹⁵ '[T]o think', J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb had written eighty-five years earlier, 'that any Churchman should allow himself to build a conventicle, and even sometimes to prostitute the speaking architecture of the Church to the service of their bitterest enemies!'.⁹⁶

Nonetheless, when it came to propriety, the 'honesty' of structure and the avoidance of shams still carried significant clout, for whereas it might reasonably have been expected that a provincial architect's experience of grappling with an habitually tight budget would have been a sure incentive for him to indulge in architectural deceits of every conceivable kind, if only to conceal the poverty of his materials, it will be seen that Mallinson and Healey were largely blameless in this regard and only committed one regular deception, which was to stain Memel fir to appear as oak. This was a commonplace: even Butterfield did it,⁹⁷ and he did more besides. Indeed, in the words of Paul Thompson, 'Daring and deceit reached their climax in Butterfield's roofs',⁹⁸ albeit that was in the form of their construction.

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Methodology and the Arrangement of this Thesis.

⁹⁴ The Ecclesiological Society's membership list for 1846 shows how heavily the Society drew its support from the south and the midlands. Its only members known to have been familiar to Mallinson and Healey were R.D. Chantrell, the Rev. Joshua Fawcett of Low Moor, and E.B. Wheatley-Balme of Mirfield. (See the Society's membership list appended to *The Ecclesiologist* Volume II (New Series)).

⁹⁵ Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, p. 163.

⁹⁶ J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb in the introduction to their translation of Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (Leeds, T.W. Green, 1843), p. xxii.

⁹⁷ Thompson, *William Butterfield*, pp. 178-179.

⁹⁸ Thompson, *William Butterfield*, p. 170.

Historical methodology, according to Zeynep Celik and Diane Favro, 'is not an abstraction of method from content[, but rather] it is the content which gives form to [the] methodology',⁹⁹ and the content driving the methodology of this thesis is to be found, first and foremost, in the study of the four surviving day-books. Moreover, it is important to recognise that '[w]hile architectural historians... can do primary research on site, they must extend their explorations to locate information on contemporary usage, politics, economics, and cultural issues',¹⁰⁰ and this idea was taken up and developed by William Whyte, eighteen years later:

'An architectural historian may [should?] also investigate the process of design, of construction, and of use. The evolution of a building from conception to habitation occurs in a number of overlapping stages. In the first place, historians need to investigate the architect or architects of the building... [I]t must [also] be remembered that an architect does not work on his... own... The impact of Christopher Wren's draftsmen on his work is well known. The relationship between Victorian architects and their craftsmen was similarly seminal. To study one without the other would distort an understanding of both. An architect also will have to respond to the demands of the client or clients.'¹⁰¹

This study, therefore, draws on the methods of the architectural historian but is also in many ways a business history. My purpose is to understand how Mallinson and Healey operated as a business enterprise within the economic and religious parameters of the times.

Fig. 1 illustrates the first page of the 1854 day-book and exemplifies (albeit in atypically careful handwriting) the 1,239 similar pages that log the partners' activities over six days a week and fifty-two weeks a year, from Monday, 2nd January 1854 to Thursday, 31st December 1857. Inevitably, some pages are more detailed than others, and while the page for Monday, 2nd January 1854 is of reasonably average length, others are longer and more compressed. Making effective use of this information, however, was not a simple matter in carrying out this research and necessitated at the outset the very lengthy process of drawing up an extensive index of every place, person, job, or anything else of potential importance, always with the awareness that the index would drive the direction of the study thereafter, since items not included would be liable to be overlooked. Nonetheless, with that qualification, once the index was completed, it then became possible to locate specific subjects quickly and easily, and feasible for the first time to draw out facts and figures for

⁹⁹ Zeynep Celik and Diane Favro, 'Methods of Urban History' (*Journal of Architectural Education*, 41/3, Spring 1988, pp. 4-9), p.4.

¹⁰⁰ Celik and Favro, 'Methods of Urban History', p. 6.

¹⁰¹ William Whyte, 'How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture', *History and Theory*, 45 (May 2006), pp. 153-177.

tabulation. A copy of the index has been deposited at the West Yorkshire Archive's Calderdale office, where these day-books are kept.

Other relevant documentation on Mallinson and Healey's practice is spread among the five offices of the West Yorkshire Archive Service, the North Riding and East Riding Record Offices, the R.I.B.A. Collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum, and the Church of England's two record offices at Lambeth Palace and Bermondsey, currently being relocated and absorbed into a new purpose-built archive at the former site. The Lambeth Palace Library holds the records of the I.C.B.S., and the R.I.B.A. Collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum together with the W.Y.A.S. offices for Bradford and Calderdale (in Halifax) hold most of the surviving drawings, plans and elevations.

'Primary research on site', in this case the visiting of all Mallinson and Healey's extant churches, was made possible through the kind co-operation of the incumbents and churchwardens who opened normally locked buildings and allowed the writer time to inspect them. Buildings are potentially the best source of information on style and construction, provided care is taken to distinguish and strip away in one's mind's eye any significant later additions and alterations, and in those (unfortunately) rare cases where a church has retained the majority of its original furnishings and/or something of its Victorian internal arrangements, they can also illustrate more forcefully than documentation, aspects of nineteenth century religiosity and social attitudes. In this regard, it was extremely fortunate and wholly providential that the writer was able to visit the important and (at the time) excellently preserved church of Holy Innocents, Thornhill Lees, just a few weeks before it was closed and declared redundant. Documents in record offices are generally conserved with the most fastidious care and attention; buildings rarely enjoy remotely comparable protection, even when they have been awarded 'listed' status. Finally in this regard, the author is conscious that any set of sources, however detailed and extensive, can be interpreted by different students in different ways and the author presents his exposition, fully aware that other approaches are possible, from which somewhat different conclusions might emerge. The study of past lives, can never be exhaustive.

This thesis is arranged in two parts, in which part one is largely *descriptive* and part two, essentially *analytical*, although clarification is necessary of the sense in which I use these terms. Part one, which includes this introductory chapter, is *descriptive* insofar as it seeks to provide the 'what' of Mallinson and Healey's partnership, which is to say, the more readily demonstrable facts: *what* was the geographical, religious and professional context in which

their business was established (chapter two); *what* were the circumstances of the partners' upbringing, training, and business experience prior to 1845 and *what* was the nature of the work they subsequently undertook (chapter three); and - last but not least - *what* can be discovered about the level of success they achieved (chapter four)? In furnishing the answers, chapter two also provides a brief exposition of the rôle of the various grant-awarding bodies on which the viability of the erection of many of the partners churches, parsonages and schools depended, and chapter four, which is the most speculative, endeavours to estimate Mallinson and Healey's average annual income and to draw out the standard of living they appear to have enjoyed.

Part two is essentially *analytical* in the sense that it attempts to address the 'how' of the partners' success by drawing *deductions* from the available evidence: *how* do the partners appear to have developed a suitably wide-ranging client base in order to ensure they had a regular and sufficient supply of commissions (chapter five); *how* did they organise their daily tasks to maximise working efficiency when they had often taken on more work than they could conveniently manage (chapter six); *how* did they and their clients raise the necessary capital to pay for the construction of their buildings given that only a minority were paid for by single donors (chapter seven); and *how* did they seek to facilitate the work by keeping costs to a reasonable minimum (chapter eight)? That leaves the remaining three chapters of this thesis to examine the *how* and *why* of the more art-historical issues with which this thesis is necessarily concerned: *how* far did the fierce, topical debate about architectural propriety and building style impinge upon architects in the manufacturing towns, and if there were differences between their experience and that of their confrères in the metropolis, then *why* (chapter nine); *how* and *why* did the exigencies of provincial practice affect building construction (chapter ten); and *how* and *why* was the partners' work able to satisfy client demands for originality when, at the same time, they displayed no very clear idiom of their own (chapter eleven)? The thesis then concludes with an afterword and summary, the first part of which provides a brief account of James Mallinson's and Thomas Healey's sons' career after Thomas Healey's death.

NOTE: All photographs are the writer's own. Plans and elevations are reproduced with permission from the archives specified in the list of illustrations.

Monday 2^d January 1854.

Letter to C. R. Scholes in reply Swosbury appeal. Engaged until 4 p.m. preparing approximate rateable value of Railway in Swosbury Township. By 4.55 p.m. train to Wakefield. Found Mr. Parfild at the George. Engaged with him upon figures in Elland appeal. Letter to Mr. Dr. Barber in the morning about same. all night at Wakefield.

J. H. Inspected at Manchester Road Schools. met Mr. Hollings and Mr. Hodgson. there most of the morning. Letters to Mawer to send his account and to Mr. Baldwin with account for lithography Mr. Leutcliffe's Monument by 4.30 Coach to Skley at Mr. Snowdon's all night.

B. C. At full size details Tracery Lower Windows Pellon Church. Jamb, Gilt Mullions &c to do. and detail of Cornice and coping to parapet to do. commenced.

Fig. 1, the first page of the day-book for 1854, dated Monday, 2nd January.

2. THE SETTING.

'The parish of Halifax covers an area of 124 square miles or nearly 80,000 acres. In 1574 it was stated by Camden to have contained a population of about 12,000 souls, and such was then the native, unreclaimed sterility of the soil in general, that he asserts there were more human beings, than beasts of all sorts besides, in that extensive tract of country.'

Yorkshire Gazette, 17th January 1829, p. 3.

Historical Geography and the Religious Context.

The parish of Halifax was the largest in Great Britain at the dawn of the Victorian era. It dwarfed neighbouring Bradford, with 25,289 acres, yet that too was vast compared with almost anywhere in the south. The county of Rutland, which contained over fifty parishes, comprised 97,500 acres in total.

Moreover, the topography of these great moorland tracts was challenging in all seasons, and journeys to the mother church, rarely attempted in normal times, could be long and arduous when they were. Lying across the Pennine Chain, the two erstwhile parishes form part of a deeply dissected plateau, rising to an average height around 450m. (1,500 feet), cut through by a succession of east/west trending valleys descending to below 50m. (160 feet). In the north and west, the fells formed of Carboniferous grits and sandstones are windswept, acidic, barren and intractable; in the south and east, the overlying Coal Measures give rise to heavy, sometimes boggy soils, capable of reclamation for agriculture, but often holding greater potential for heavy industrial development.

This was thus a region transformed during the industrial revolution, and by the clothing industries in particular. 'The worsted industry was flourishing in Yorkshire as early as the middle of the thirteenth century.'¹ It was 'apparently forsaken... in favour of the staple kerseys and dozens',² but reappeared in the late seventeenth century and grew rapidly in scale and importance with the development of mechanisation from around 1770. John James, writing in 1866, described the development of the clothing trades in Bradford from an eighteenth century cottage industry to a position where, by 1850, 35,124 children and adults were employed, spinning and weaving in the mills, a figure 'prepared from the

¹ Eric Sigsworth, *Black Dyke Mills - a History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1958), p. 1.

² Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), p. 264. Cited by Sigsworth.

Returns of the Factory Inspectors of the House of Commons',³ while Lunds' *Directory* just six years later recorded 33,597 people involved specifically in worsted manufacture in the borough as revealed by the 1851 census, compared to 17,666 in all other trades together.⁴ This went hand-in-hand with a population growth in Bradford from 29,794 in 1801 to 149,543 half a century afterwards, and in Halifax, from 63,434 to 141,113. These populations were divided between thirteen discrete townships in Bradford parish and twenty-three in Halifax,⁵ many of which would have been little more than isolated farmsteads during the Middle Ages but several of which, by 1851, had coalesced into congested, pestiferous slums. Speculative builders might take sole responsibility for the hastily erected, back-to-back and terraced workers' housing springing up everywhere in narrow grid-row streets or enclosed yards without water or sanitation, but there was clearly a desperate need for the specialist architect across-the-board.

However, the greatest cause of anxiety for many of the great and the good was the shortage of church accommodation for the labouring poor, as articulated by the Archbishop of York in 1861. It was, he said, 'important that those... who live in disregard of religion, curbing neither their passions nor their appetites, careful for the present but careless for the future, should have their spiritual wants attended to, and their hearts made to yearn for those blessings promised in the gospel, which are able to give them peace here and peace thereafter'.⁶ This was merely the most recent formulation of a long-standing concern. Unease over the Established Church's lack of provision in the burgeoning towns and cities had been voiced by the Prince Regent as far back as 1818, following which Parliament passed the Church Building Act of that year and Commissioners were appointed to distribute the one million pounds (later one and a half million) set aside under the Act to support the building of new churches in 'parishes with a population exceeding [10,000] in which there was not church room for one-fourth, or in which more than 4,000 lived over four miles from the nearest church'.⁷ Thus church construction assumed the position of a national priority even while it was becoming ever more evident that with the dramatic growth in the urban population, even the heroic efforts being made to rise to the challenge only

³ John James, *Continuation and Additions to the History of Bradford* (Bradford: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1866), pp. 231-232. 31,524 is the sum of the figures given in the table on p. 232. Notice that females outnumber males by approximately 2:1.

⁴ J. & C. Lund, *Lunds' Bradford Directory* (Bradford: J. & C. Lund, 1856), p. 9. Curiously, however, these figures show males slightly outnumbering females, by 16,881 to 16,716.

⁵ White, *Directory, 1842*, pp. 318 & 381.

⁶ The Most Reverend Charles Longley in the *Yorkshire Gazette*, 2nd February 1861.

⁷ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 41. There is a misprint here, however, for '1,000' should read '10,000' (cf. Port, p. 38).

amounted to running to stand still. This is exemplified by the townships incorporated into Bradford borough in 1847 - Bradford itself, Bowling, Horton and Manningham - which had a combined population in 1801 of 13,264 and were served solely by the parish church with a seating capacity of 1,200,⁸ corresponding to a provision of a mere 9.0%, and for which in 1851, after a huge increase in population and the building of several new churches, the figures were respectively 103,788 and 10,026,⁹ equivalent to a provision of 9.7%. The Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society had been established during this period (in 1838) and had already distributed grants totalling £5,180 for the building of churches and parsonage houses and for the endowment of the former by 21st March the following year.¹⁰ Many more churches were built over the next few decades, yet the 1861 meeting in York, addressed by Archbishop Longley (after his translation from Ripon via Durham), returned to the same problem and now proposed the setting up of the *York* Diocesan Church Building and Endowment Society, with similar aims to the Ripon Society, attracting immediate contributions from some of those assembled after 'the [continuing] spiritual destitution of the West Riding' had been lamented by Lord Wenlock, and the failure of the West Riding coal-owners to show the same concern as the East Riding landowners to supply the spiritual wants of the population, had been deprecated by the Hon. Admiral Buncombe, M.P.¹¹

Moreover, it was also widely recognized that where the Established Church was absent, Dissent flooded in. In 1842 there were three places of worship for the Church of England in Halifax including the parish church, one for the Roman Catholics, and (probably) twelve for Nonconformists.¹² Bradford had six places of worship for the Established Church including the parish church, one for the Roman Catholics, and nineteen for Nonconformists.¹³ That was not entirely an accurate reflection of their respective memberships admittedly, but the only religious census ever undertaken was that carried out in 1851 when ministers of religion were asked to complete returns of the numbers of attendees at morning, afternoon and evening services on Sunday, 30th March. Much has been written about the shortcomings of this survey: not all ministers co-operated and even where the census was completed in full, it was impossible to know what percentages of

⁸ This figure is taken from Mallinson & Healey's undated and unexecuted plans for the church's rearrangement, drawn up c.1850. (Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives, DB1/C3/13.)

⁹ Tony Jowitt, 'The Pattern of Religion in Victorian Bradford' in *Victorian Bradford*, ed. D.G. Wright & J.A. Jowitt (Bradford: City of Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1982, pp. 37-61), p. 43.

¹⁰ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 6th April 1839, p. 6.

¹¹ *The York Herald*, 2nd February 1861, p. 11

¹² White, *Directory, 1842*, pp. 383-4.

¹³ White, *Directory, 1842*, p. 320.

their congregations had attended (and thus been counted) more than once during the day. Indeed the returns for Halifax were particularly incomplete and unsatisfactory, but the fuller returns for Bradford recorded 10,155 attendances for the Church of England, 4,028 for the Roman Catholics, and 30,122 for the Nonconformists, giving a total of 44,305.¹⁴ The Church of England's share was 22.9%. Clearly there was work to do whenever the money could be found.

* * * * *

The Confraternity of Grantors.

The Commissioners appointed under the 1818 Church Building Act were originally only empowered to divide large parishes into smaller ones with the consent of the patron and the diocesan, but a church could be constructed anywhere and designated a chapel-of-ease as that did not diminish the endowment of the mother church.¹⁵ Accordingly, a set of conditions was drawn up and attention turned to the designs of churches that would be considered acceptable. Economy was essential but 'buildings [would need to] be clearly recognizable as those of the Established Church: a tower would be necessary, perhaps even a spire'.¹⁶ The maximum sum to be awarded to an individual building was set at £20,000. 'General undertakers' would not usually be permitted but 'every artificer [should] be separately contracted with to perform the work belonging to his trade'.¹⁷ The choice of the site and the architect was to be left to the parish but all plans submitted to the Commission would have to be passed before the Crown Architects for their approval (replaced after 1832 by the Commissioners' own surveyor).¹⁸ Such oversight was considered necessary as a generally low opinion was held of local architects. Besides, the Commissioners had no desire to part too readily with Government money, but rather hoped to eke out the funds to achieve maximum effect. With the passage of time, this would be taken ever more towards extremes, for while grants became smaller and smaller, there was to be no corresponding diminution in the Commissioners' interference. Thus there arose, over three and a half decades, the six hundred or so, 'Commissioners' Churches', some well and substantially built, many others with the thin, starved appearance that so enraged Pugin in 1836:

'The church commissioners... require a structure as plain as possible, which can be built for a trifling sum, and of small dimensions, both for economy and facilities of

¹⁴ Jowitt, 'The Pattern of Religion', p. 43.

¹⁵ 'The modes, therefore, by which the commissioners would effect the purposes of the act, were threefold:— First, by the complete ecclesiastical division of parishes; secondly, by the district division of parishes, not affecting the endowments of the present benefice; and thirdly, by the building of parochial chapels.' (The Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Hansard*, 37, 16th March 1818.)

¹⁶ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 49.

¹⁷ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 50.

¹⁸ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 51.

hearing the preacher, the sermon being the only part of the service considered; and I hesitate not to say, that a more meager, miserable display of architectural skill was never made... than in the mass of paltry churches erected under the auspices of the commissioners... - a disgrace to the age, both on the score of their composition, and the miserable sums that have been allotted for their construction.'¹⁹

However, the Commissioners were not the only people Churchmen could turn to for help with church building or restoration. The Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) had been constituted under the auspices of the Church of England a few months before the Church Commission was set up and before it was evident whether the Government would take any action if its own, with the aim of promoting 'public worship by obtaining additional church-room for the middle and lower classes' (in which, needless-to-say, only Anglican worship was envisaged), to which end it was to seek subscriptions and award grants in appropriate cases, not exceeding £500 or a quarter of the cost of the project, whichever was less.²⁰ After the Commission was established, the Society declared it would focus *its* efforts on helping parishes where the Commission would or could not,²¹ and since the Commission's terms of reference prevented it from giving money to parishes with 'not more than' 10,000 inhabitants, a substantial part of the Society's efforts was concentrated on those with less.²² Nonetheless, any hopes applicants might have had that the Society would be easier to work with than the Commission were never likely to be fulfilled, not least because the Church Commissioners' own grumpy architect, John Henry Good, who succeeded the Crown Architects in 1826 and continued in post until 1857, was also the ICBS's examining architect from 1829-1848.²³

As for the Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society, this obviously existed purely to assist church building within its jurisdiction, but for any project that was eligible, it often proved the most generous.²⁴ From 1841 it became the Society's practice to hold its annual general meeting conjointly with the Ripon Diocesan Board of Education, established that year 'to

¹⁹ Pugin, *Contrasts*, pp. 27-28.

²⁰ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, pp. 27-28.

²¹ Although as the years went by, this seems to have been honoured in the breach almost as often as the observance. Two churches illustrating this by Mallinson and Healey are St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd, to which the Church Commissioners gave £300 and the ICBS, £230, and Christ Church, Barkisland, where the Commissioners' £150 was topped by £180 from the ICBS.

²² Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 38.

²³ Gill Hedley, *Free Seats for All* (London: Umbria Press, 2018), p. 80.

²⁴ Grants awarded by the RDCBS to churches by Mallinson and Healey included £375 to Christ Church, Barkisland, more than the Church Commissioners and the ICBS put together, and £500 each to St. Philip's, Girlington, St. Luke's, Broomfields, and St. Mary's, Laisterdyke.

promot[e], improv[e] and extend... popular education according to the principles of the Established Church'.²⁵

When it came to other types of buildings associated with the Established Church, however, there were other bodies to approach. Thus in the case of parsonages, where ancient buildings urgently needed renovating and new ones were required as the Church sought to reduce pluralism, an incumbent might seek an interest-free loan from the Queen Anne's Bounty Office, originally established in the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14) to redistribute royal taxes on ecclesiastical benefices known as the First Fruits and Tenths, which had long been misappropriated.²⁶ The money was expected to be repaid at 5% per annum.²⁷ Then associated with Queen Anne's Bounty Office from 1835, if only because it had similar objectives, was the Ecclesiastical Commission,²⁸ embodied that year under the style of the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Commission and tasked with overseeing a fairer distribution of the Church's income.²⁹ This was highly controversial: interference by a secular Parliament in the property rights of the Church met enormous resistance, notwithstanding that it was generally recognised there were some extreme inequalities. The Cathedrals Act of 1840 established the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Common Fund, which, in exceptionally vague language, was to be used to make 'additional provision... for the cure of souls in parishes where such assistance is most required, in such manner as shall... be deemed most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church'.³⁰ The Ecclesiastical Commissioners set out their 'Rules and Instructions respecting Parsonage Houses, to which strict Attention [was] particularly requested' in a document published in 1859.³¹ Architects had to submit: (i) 'a block plan of the site, with the points of the compass marked, showing the position of the house, and the directions of the drains, etc., together with sections indicating the slope of the ground (if any), and a description of the substratum on which the house is to be built, whether loam, sand, clay, chalk, rock, or otherwise'; (ii) 'a plan of each floor, including basement and attics (if any)'; (iii) 'a plan of the roofs'; (iv)

²⁵ *The Leeds Mercury*, 4th December 1841, p. 4..

²⁶ G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars*, pp. 21-34.

²⁷ Timothy Brittain-Caitlin, *The English Parsonage in the Early Nineteenth Century*, p. 19.

²⁸ It is important not to confuse the Ecclesiastical Commission with the Church Commission, which were entirely distinct bodies with different objectives and income derived in different ways.

²⁹ Best, *Temporal Pillars*, pp. 296-347. But see also William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 1830 (London: Penguin edition, 2001), p. 21.

³⁰ Best, *Temporal Pillars*, p. 351.

³¹ Bradford, WYA, BDP33/15/2.

'an elevation of each front'; and (v) 'two sections, at the least'. There then followed details about how the specification was to be set out, the materials to be used for the building, the required thickness of the walls and scantlings of all the timbers, and even the number of coats of paint to be applied (four). The award of a grant had to be truly necessary to justify the work and trouble applying for one created.

Provision was made for Church schools through the auspices of the National Society, founded in 1811, which obtained its funds through the dutifulness of church-goers, as William Cobbett had complained in 1823³² in typically sardonic language and whose hopelessly optimistic aim was to establish a church school in every parish throughout the land. To this end, grants were awarded to parishes subject to three conditions: (i) that money would only be given to *supplement* local effort, not replace it; (ii) that new schools had to be opened free from debt; and (iii) that building sites had to be freehold or, as a minimum, held on a sufficiently long lease to satisfy the committee.³³ Stipulations affecting architects included that they should enclose a minimum floor area of six square feet per child (which although extraordinarily cramped by today's standards, was considered generous at the time) and that ceilings should be at least nine feet high (raised to ten feet in 1825).³⁴ This regime was modified in 1834 when the government began to provide the Society with an annual subsidy - an award which had the inevitable long-term effect of diminishing both the Society's and the Church's influence and authority.

Thereafter, until the passing of William Forster's Education Act of 1870, it would doubtless have proved just as difficult to accommodate the conflicted but inexorable rise in demand for better standards in literacy and numeracy, as it would to have made adequate provision for religious worship or the decent lodging of the clergy, even had the population been stable, which it manifestly was not.³⁵ As matters stood, with the population of England and Wales rising from 9.9 million in 1801 to 17.9 million five decades later, these things were completely unachievable without what would then have been considered a wholly unacceptable level of government interference. Moreover, the difficulties were underscored, if not necessarily exacerbated, by Robert Peel's perfectly sensible New Parishes Act of 28th July 1843, under which, with the agreement of the diocesan only, and

³² Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, pp. 139-40.

³³ Henry James Burgess, *Enterprise in Education* (London: S.P.C.K., 1958), pp. 29-30.

³⁴ Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, pp. 31-32.

³⁵ Although Cobbett would not accept the fact. See *Rural Rides*, pp. 36, 48-49, 139 & 149-50.

with the purely token concession that the incumbent should be given the opportunity to object, 'Parishes, Chapelries, and Districts of great Extent, and containing a large Population, wherein or in Parts whereof the Provision for Public Worship and for Pastoral Superintendence is insufficient for the Spiritual Wants of the Inhabitants thereof'³⁶ could be subdivided into new parishes, which then, of course, needed churches, parsonages and schools of their own.

* * * * *

The Climate of Professional Competition.

There was, therefore, a lot of work available for architects in West Yorkshire in the 1840s and '50s, and one might reasonably expect professional men quickly to have been drawn in. However, although it is difficult to assess the precise level of competition faced by an architect in the sub-county during these years, standards were inevitably low in a profession anyone could join, and there were certainly less men who were hopeful of breaking into the ecclesiastical field than were making the attempt in the domestic or industrial.

No methodology meets all possible objections where establishing a *negative* is concerned, but probably the best demonstration of the shortage of competent church architects involves counting the churches built within the historic boundaries of the West Riding between 1818 (the year of the million pound grant) and 1844 (the year before Mallinson and Healey entered into partnership) and considering them individually to see who built them,³⁷ and this exercise reveals that about one hundred and twenty-eight churches (depending upon which 'restorations' or 'rebuilt' are thought to justify inclusion) were designed within this period by forty-two different architects or architectural firms of whom twenty-eight were

³⁶ *New Parishes Act, 1843*, paragraph ix.

³⁷ This information can be obtained reasonably adequately from *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding* if the latest two-volume edition is used in conjunction with the previous one-volume (1967) edition. The former comprise: (i) Nikolaus Pevsner and Peter Leach, *Leeds, Bradford and the North* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009); and (ii) Nikolaus Pevsner and Ruth Harman, *Sheffield and the South* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2017). These volumes provide a comprehensive survey of all nineteenth century churches built in the West Riding and still extant at their respective publication dates. However, since a considerable number of churches were closed and/or demolished during the second half of the twentieth century, the one-volume edition, by Nikolaus Pevsner and Enid Radcliffe (London: Penguin, 1967) which *did not* attempt a comprehensive survey, is needed to identify many of those. This still omits, of course, churches demolished before 1967 and churches not included in the 1967 edition, which were demolished before the research for the 2009/17 editions was undertaken.

responsible for one church only,³⁸ five were dead by 1845,³⁹ five more were based outside the West Riding,⁴⁰ and the remaining four were Robert Dennis Chantrell of Leeds, who had designed twenty churches to date but would shortly be relocating to London,⁴¹ Joseph & Robert Potter of Sheffield, who designed three, J.P. Pritchett of York & Halifax, who designed nine, and Walker Rawstone of Bradford, who designed six. This, to put it no higher, does not suggest a business environment crowded with established ecclesiastical architects where any new entrant into the profession would struggle to raise his head.

Moreover a similar conclusion is reached when an examination of the contemporary trade directories is made. William White's *Directory... of the Yorkshire Clothing Districts* for 1842 records a grand total of twenty-six men describing themselves as 'architects' in the five towns of Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds and Wakefield together, nine of whom are among the forty-two men referenced above, while of the remaining seventeen, none seem to have designed any churches at all.

All this runs counter to the generally accepted notion that significant architectural contracts in the Victorian period were awarded through hotly subscribed competitions. This may have been the case in London and was, admittedly, also true of some of the more important *municipal* buildings erected contemporaneously in the provinces. Thus there were an unspecified number of entries in Halifax to the competition to design the public baths in 1857,⁴² and in Bradford to the competitions to select an architect for the Bradford 'Peel'

³⁸ Viz: (i) Thomas Anderton (?); (ii) William Anderton (?); (iii) A.H. Cates of York; (iv) John MacDuff Derrick of Oxford, London & Dublin; (v) John Dobson of Leeds; (vi) Rev. John Fearon of Hebden; (vii) John Freeman (?); (viii) Matthew Habershon of Derby; (ix) Matthew Ellison Hadfield of Sheffield; (x) Lees Hammerton of Wakefield; (xi) John Harper of York; (xii) Thomas Hellyer of the Isle of Wight; (xiii) W.J. Hindle (?); (xiv) George Fowler Jones of York; (xv) George Knowles of Leeds; (xvi) John Lister (?); (xvii) Perkins & Backhouse of Wakefield; (xviii) Joseph Mitchell (?); (xix) Thomas Richardson (?); (xx) H. Rogerson (?); (xxi) Anthony Salvin of London; (xxii) Sir George Gilbert Scott of London; (xxiii) Benjamin Broomhead Taylor of Sheffield; (xxiv) William Wallen of Huddersfield; (xxv) Lewis Vulliamy of London; (xxvi) Henry Ward (?); (xxvii) Watson & Pritchett of York; and (xxviii) 'a young lady in the neighbourhood' (of Dacre, near Harrogate).

³⁹ Viz: (i) Peter Atkinson junior of York (d. 1843), who had designed fourteen churches; (ii) William Hurst & partners of Doncaster & Sheffield (d. 1844), who had designed eleven; (iii) John Oates of Halifax (d. 1831), who had designed ten; (iv) Thomas Rickman of Birmingham (d. 1841), who had designed four; and (v) Thomas Taylor of Leeds (d. 1826), who had designed ten. (Total 49.)

⁴⁰ Viz: (i) Ignatius Bonomi of Durham, who had designed three churches; (ii) John Clark of Edinburgh, who had designed two; (iii) R.S. & H. Sharp of York, who had designed four; (iv) Sharp, Paley & Austin of Lancaster, who had designed two; and (v) George Webster of Kendal, who had also designed two. (Total 13.)

⁴¹ Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 143.

⁴² *The Leeds Mercury*, 15th August 1857, p. 4.

Monument in 1853⁴³ and for the new Horton College in 1858.⁴⁴ There were thirty-two entries for the competition to design Bradford Town Hall in 1869, although significantly here, 'nearly half [were] from London, some from even further afield and very few from West Yorkshire'.⁴⁵ Moreover the competition may have been largely spurious anyway since the award went to the Bradford firm of Lockwood and Mawson (formed in 1849) as some of their more perspicacious co-entrants may have suspected it would all along. A letter published in *The Bradford Observer* on April 24th, 1862, addressed this concern directly:

'I may point to one or two disadvantages to which competitions are undoubtedly open... 1st. It is evident the cream of the profession won't compete, because such men, having already large businesses flowing in spontaneously, can't waste their time on uncertainties, and even if the competition is limited, the objection applies equally; 2nd. The only supposition upon which competition can be desirable is, that they are really open, or, if limited, that not a particle of bias be allowed to operate. Will each member of the committee pledge himself that he will not look at a single sketch, plan, or motto, before the competition day? nor acquaint himself with the authorship of a single plan before the final decision has taken place? Because unless this, and the whole of this, is absolutely adhered to, competitions are illusions.'⁴⁶

However, when it comes to finding any evidence for *ecclesiastical* architectural competitions in West Yorkshire, this proves to be very slight. A competition for a new Independent chapel at Lister Hills, Bradford, attracted 'several designs' in 1851,⁴⁷ but the only proven competitions held for the Church of England in which Mallinson and Healey were involved appear to have been at Llandeilo (Carms.) in 1845, Heptonstall in 1849,⁴⁸ Bacup (Lancs.) in 1859,⁴⁹ and Bramley in 1860/61.⁵⁰ Certainly the industrialist, Edward Akroyd, did not hold one when he decided to build All Souls', Haley Hill, in 1856; nor did the Conservative politician, Sir Francis Sharp Powell, when he was contemplating building All Saints', Horton,

⁴³ *The Leeds Times*, 21st May 1853, p. 2.

⁴⁴ *The Bradford Observer*, 5th August 1858, p. 8. There were more than forty entries and the winner was H.J. Paull of Cardiff.

⁴⁵ Jon Burgess, *Lockwood and Mawson of Bradford and London* (unpublished doctoral thesis, de Montfort University, Leicester School of Architecture, 1998), pg. 89.

⁴⁶ 'J.A.H., Woodbank' to the editor of *The Bradford Observer*, 22nd April 1862. *The Bradford Observer*, 24th April 1862, p. 7.

⁴⁷ *The Bradford Observer*, 2nd October 1851, p.4.

⁴⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, New Series 36, April 1849.

⁴⁹ For unspecified cemetery buildings. There were only three entries, of which Mallinson and Healey's was one. (*The Bradford Observer*, 17th February 1859, p. 5)

⁵⁰ On this occasion, Mallinson and Healey comprised one of three firms invited to submit entries, the others being Lockwood & Mawson and Perkins & Backhouse. Perkins & Backhouse were awarded the contract. (*The Leeds Intelligencer*, 5th January 1861, p. 5.)

in 1860, and these buildings were, architecturally, the most important Victorian churches erected in Halifax and Bradford by a comfortable margin. That is not to say that such competitions may not have been more usual in other parts of the country, and at Llandeilo, for instance, no less than '[f]ifty-two architects entered the hopelessly organised competition of 1846 for a large Gothic church at under £3.000', Mallinson and Healey among them - understandably, since this was advertised at the very outset of their partnership, when they would obviously have been intent on establishing themselves. Even then, however, no great amount of time was wasted on this speculative venture for Healey simply sent off a lithograph of the church he had just designed for Mytholmroyd, viewed from a different angle, and, naturally enough, with all references to its original destination removed.⁵¹

Of course it is another significant step from all this circumstantial evidence to the conclusion that the building of new churches in Halifax and Bradford parishes in the period 1818-45 was actually *constrained* by the lack of architects available to design them, but what is beyond dispute is that very few *were* built. John James spoke of the 'pause of twenty years' in church building in Bradford between the opening of Christ Church, Darley Street, in 1815, and the opening of St James's, Manchester Road in 1836 to the designs of Walker Rawstone.⁵² Halifax is less well provided with contemporary local histories but there seems only to have been one church erected there in this period - St. James's of 1831 (demolished), designed by John Oates.⁵³ Moreover, of the one hundred and four churches *The Buildings of England* records as constructed in the West Riding between 1845 and '63, eighteen (17.3%) were designed by known London architects, thirty-three (31.7%) were designed by Mallinson and Healey, and only twenty-eight (26.9%) were designed by all other known West Yorkshire architects together (table 2 below). Thus a shortage of local architects could always be supplemented by men from the metropolis and elsewhere, but that too suggests a lack of native talent and it probably appeared more reasonable to engage an architect from a distance if one proposed to build on a grand scale.

Table 2: Churches Built in the West Riding, 1845-63, recorded in the West Riding volumes of *The Buildings of England*, excluding buildings designed by Mallinson & Healey.
(West Yorkshire architects are shaded in grey.)

⁵¹ Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach and Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 248. The competition was won by Edward Davis of Bath but the job was eventually passed to Sir George Gilbert Scott.

⁵² James, *Continuation and Additions to the History of Bradford*, p. 183.

⁵³ Port, *Six Hundred new Churches*, p. 344.

ARCHITECT	CHURCHES	ARCHITECT	CHURCHES
ATKINSDON, J.B. & W. (York) [1]	Carlton (1862)	HUGALL, J.W. (Cheltenham) [2]	Ackworth (1855)
BACON, H.F. (?) [1]	Mickelfield (1860)		Spofforth (1855)
BONOMI & CORY (Durham) [2]	Dewsbury (1848)	JONES, George Fowler (York) [1]	South Milford (1846)
	Oxenhope (1849)	LAMB, E.B. (London) [1]	Blubberhouses (1851)
BOYCE, P. (?) [1]	Maltby (1859)	MITCHELL, Joseph (Inverness) [1]	Heeley (1846)
BURLEIGH, C.W. (Leeds) [1]	Horsforth (1847)	MOFFAT, W.B. (London) [2]	Askern (1852)
BUTTERFIELD, W. (London) [6]	Cautley (1847)		Fenwick (1852)
	Cowick (1853)	SHARP, PALEY & AUSTIN (Lancs) [1]	Rylston (1853)
	Huddersfield (1853)	PEARSON, J.L. (London) [1]	Eastoft (1855)
	Pollington (1853)	PERKINS & BACKH'SE (Leeds) [5]	East Morton (1849)
	Baine (1854)		Cullingworth (1851)
	Hensall (1854)		Burley (1853)
CATES, A.H. (York) [2]	Grewelthorpe (1845)		Farsley (1853)
	S. Stainley (1845)		Bramley (1861)
CHANTRELL, R.D. (Leeds) [4]	Halifax (1847)	POWNHALL, F.H. (Middlesex) [1]	Carlton-in-Craven (1859)
	Armitage Br'ge (1848)	PRITCHETT, J.P. (York) [1]	Brampton Bierlow (1853)
	Keighley (1848)	RAILTON, William (London) [1]	Meanwood (1849)
	Middleton (1852)	RAWSTORNE, Walker (Bradford) [1]	Eccleshill (1846)
CHILD, Charles (of Halifax) [1]	Todmorden (1846)	RUSHWORTH, T. (?) [1]	Greetland (1860)
CORSON, W.R. (Leeds) [1]	Greenhow (1857)	SALVIN, Anthony (London) [1]	Aberford (1861)
CROSSLAND, W.H. (Huddersfld) [2]	Huddersfield (1862)	SCOTT, George Gilbert (London) [6]	Wakefield (1846)
	Ossett (1862)		Weeton (1851)
DERICK, J.M. (Dublin) [1]	Leeds (1845)		Bilton (1855)
DOBSON, Jeremiah (?) [1]	Gomersal (1850)		Cadeby (1856)
DYKES, W.H. (?) [1]	Outwood (1857)		Doncaster (1858)
EATON, JOHN (?) [1]	Denshaw (1862)		Haley Hill (1859)
FLOCKTON & SON (Sheffield) [3]	Sheffield N. (1849)		Huddersfield (1859)
	Sheffield City (1854)	SHAW, George (Saddleworth) [1]	Friezland (1848)
	Netherthorpe (1856)	SHAW, Thomas (Leeds) [1]	Embsay (1852)
FRANCIS, Horace (?) [1]	Balby (1847)	TROTMAN, Ebenezer (?) [1]	Fairburn (1846)
GRIMTHORPE, LORD [1]	Doncaster (1858)	WALLEN, William (Huddersfield) [3]	Milnsbridge (1845)
HADFIELD, M.E. (Sheffield) [3]	Ulley (1850)		Oakworth (1846)
	Chapel'town (1859)		Shepley (1848)
	Charlestown (1860)	WALTON, W. (?) [1]	Milnsbridge (1845)
HAWKINS, Rohde (Sheffield) [2]	Gargrave (1852)	WILSON, James (Bath) [1]	Whitley (1860)
	Birstwith (1857)	TOTAL : 71 CHURCHES, inc. 28 by	West Riding architects

Finally, there was, of course, also a potentially self-perpetuating aspect to this lack of skilled professionals in a society of limited mobility, played out in the absence of opportunities for good local apprenticeships. Indeed, the single exception in West Yorkshire during the second quarter of the nineteenth century would surely have been a pupillage with Robert Dennis Chantrell in Leeds, and as Chantrell is known to have taken two, three, sometimes four pupils at a time, then on the basis that the normal length of service was six or seven years, approximately eleven or twelve young men passed through Chantrell's office between 1819 and 1847, among whom were two of Chantrell's own sons.⁵⁴ What an apprentice would have learnt from Chantrell might easily not have been learnt from a lesser man elsewhere, including not only Chantrell's concept of professionalism but also his way of managing projects over a relatively wide geographical area, his efficient oversight of office staff and direction of contractors.⁵⁵ By developing a reputation for solid and even-handed business practices, Chantrell ensured he was always busy, being called upon to

⁵⁴ Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 165. Chantrell had four sons altogether.

⁵⁵ Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, pp. 174-180.

design some thirty-four churches across the country (including complete rebuilds and unexecuted designs), five parsonages and seven schools during a twenty-eight year period, as well as to manage a very full portfolio of domestic work, restorations and repairs, and the frequent carrying out of inspections on behalf of the ICBS.

* * * * *

Conclusion.

Thus it can be seen that by the mid-1840s, the demand for new churches was firmly established and could reasonably be projected to continue into the future, while equally importantly, the shortage of local architects competent to undertake the work had also become clear. Yet this situation had arisen in spite of the local practitioners several innate advantages: (i) he was familiar with the problems and opportunities presented by the regional terrain and topography or, when unacquainted with a potential building site, could easily become so; (ii) he could take advantage of his local knowledge to find significant economies (for example, in obtaining suitable building materials from the nearest available source); (iii) he held out the prospect of more frequent and substantive liaisons with the client; and (iv) he could provide closer supervision of on-going construction work, including a rapid response to any unforeseen problem that might suddenly occur. These obvious gaps in the capacities and understanding of more distant confrères were crying out for exploitation. Moreover, it was also apparent that this was an area of operations where new entrants into the architectural profession might have most difficulty gaining a foothold and where established practitioners, known and approved by the relevant, often conservative grant awarding bodies, were in a particularly strong position. For anyone who could obtain such acceptance, or had fortuitously inherited it from an approved master, this therefore presented an obvious path to follow; and if, in setting up a new practice, one was, notwithstanding, uncertain about one's abilities to fulfil one's new rôle, there could be no better way of bolstering one's position than to take as partner a man whose experience and skill lay precisely in this critical area.

3. THE EMERGENCE OF A PARTNERSHIP.

'The architects are Messrs. Mallinson and Healey of Bradford and Halifax, and the edifice will no doubt be such as will give architectural beauty - 'a joy forever' - even to the forbidding neighbourhood of Low Moor: for no gentlemen in this part of the country have done more than they to add grace and beauty to the landscapes in their district by ecclesiastical architecture in its simplicity and purity.'

Yorkshire Gazette, 24th November 1855, p. 8.

Notice of the laying of the foundation stone at St. Mark's, Low Moor.

An Inadequate Provincial Apprenticeship.

James Mallinson was born on the 18th February 1818, the third son and child of Hugh Mallinson (b. 1776/7?), landlord of the Wellington Hotel, Brighouse, and Ann Avison (born 1790), who were married in St. John's church, Halifax, on the 6th May, 1810. The couple had four children: John (born 2nd December, 1812), who eventually succeeded as landlord at the Wellington Hotel in turn to both his father and mother; William (born 17th December, 1815); James, the future architect, baptized at St.-Anne's-in-the-Grove, Southowram, on the 15th March, 1818; and another Hugh (born 18th February, 1821).¹ The only clue to James Mallinson's education and professional training is to be found in a bald statement of his father's death in the local newspaper for 27th July 1839, suggesting the son was already better known to the readership than the father: 'On Monday last, aged 62, Mr. Hugh Mallinson, of Brighouse, of consumption, and father of Mr. Mallinson, late with Mr. Rawsthorne, architect of Bradford'.²

This can only have been Walker Rawstorne (d. 1867), who was in practice in Halifax Road, Bradford, in 1835³ and at North Parade in 1844,⁴ and who regularly seems to have had an 'h' unwantedly inserted in his name.⁵ Rawstorne designed or enlarged at least nine

¹ *Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion*.

² Hugh Mallinson died of tuberculosis on 21st July 1839, but whereas the notices of his death in *The Leeds Intelligencer* and *The Leeds Times*, in their respective editions for Saturday 27th, recorded his age as 62, *Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion* says he was only 57.

³ Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture*, p. 383.

⁴ *The Bradford Observer and Halifax, Huddersfield & Keighley Reporter*, 31st October 1844, p. 8.

⁵ On each of the Saturdays in December 1836, Rawstorne placed an advertisement for an 'articled clerk' in *The Leeds Intelligencer*. He had previously advertised for one in *The Leeds Times* on Saturday, 18th October, 1834 (p. 1), when he gave his address as Bowling Place, and since Mallinson was still working for Rawstorne, it seems certain Rawstorne took several pupils simultaneously, which in view of the relatively modest size of his practice, suggests this was done

churches in West Yorkshire, including St. James's, Manchester Road, Bradford (1836),⁶ where Mallinson and Healey later built a school, and St. Paul's, Buttershaw (1838),⁷ St. Mary's, Burley-in-Wharfedale (1841),⁸ and St. Luke's, Eccleshill (1842),⁹ for which the partners later built parsonages. Rawstorne's only recorded church built outside the county, at Burnley in Lancashire, illustrated to perfection his seriously outmoded style, for although not designed until 1846, it was planned like an eighteenth century 'preaching house' of the type Pugin and the Ecclesiologists had spent the previous decade railing against, comprising a simple square for the nave and no chancel save only for a shallow, lens-like recess housing the altar table at the east end.¹⁰ This was, admittedly, seven years after Mallinson had left Rawstorne's office and the only churches known to have taken shape on the drawing board during the period of his apprenticeship were St. James's, Manchester Road, St. Paul's, Buttershaw, and possibly the unexecuted reconstruction of the parish church of St. Andrew's, Keighley. Mallinson's age on departure (if he left in 1839, he was twenty-one or nearly so) suggests he served seven years with Rawstorne, for it was usual for pupils to enter apprenticeships at the age of fourteen or fifteen: Robert Dennis Chantrell was fourteen when he was articulated to Sir John Soane in 1807,¹¹ as was John Loughborough Pearson when he was apprenticed to Ignatius Bonomi in 1831.¹²

Rawstorne was first engaged by the building committee at Keighley on 22nd April 1839 and given the brief of improving the church and increasing the accommodation. The Incorporated Church Building Society offered a conditional grant of £400 towards the reconstruction but J.H. Good criticised the proposed form of the roof, declaring the rafters and purlins to be too far apart and demanding amendments and the resubmission of the plans. This may have been prophetic of the problems Mallinson would have a few years

less to ease his workload than as a means of generating income.

⁶ Demolished.

⁷ The church is extant although actually situated in neighbouring Wibsey.

⁸ Lambeth Palace Archive, ICBS 2888. The nave is a simple rectangle and the erstwhile chancel, since replaced, was originally just a small eastward extension, less than one-eighth the length of the nave.

⁹ LPA, ICBS 3124. The upper stages of the tower have been removed and replaced by an open wooden structure, topped by a pyramidal roof.

¹⁰ LPA, ICBS 3792.

¹¹ According to Christopher Webster, Chantrell's father paid John Soane 100 guineas a year for Chantrell's apprenticeship from 1807-14, to include his 'board, lodgings and wearing apparel', which was a lower fee 'than most father's paid'. 'Soane usually had no more than four or five pupils at any one time and these young men enjoyed what was, without doubt, the most thorough education available in England at this time.' Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 55.

¹² Anthony Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, p. 10.

later at Holy Trinity, Queen's Head. Rawstorne made the required changes, but then the building committee decided the contractor's estimate for executing the work (of £3,500) revealed the improvidence of the entire scheme in view of the mere 430 extra seats expected to be created, and gave the job to Chantrell. Webster's observations on Rawstorne's plans and drawings are that they 'reveal an old-fashioned design: the inelegant elevations emphasise the two-storey nature of the interior [resulting from the addition of galleries], there are huge transepts and a shallow chancel.'¹³ However, this is mild criticism beside Pevsner's censure of Rawstorne's churches at Manchester Road and St. Jude Street, Manningham (both still standing when the West Riding volume of *The Buildings of England* was first published in 1959), and even allowing for Pevsner's usual fastidiousness, it is evident Rawstorne's office was far from the ideal training ground for a prospective church architect destined to pursue his career during the most earnest and contested phase of the Gothic Revival.

* * * * *

Independent Business in Brighouse.

Mallinson made the decision, on leaving Rawstorne's office, to establish his own independent business in his native town of Brighouse. The population of Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse was only 5,411 in 1841, and that of Rastrick, on the opposite bank of the River Calder, just 3,459, but there were no other self-declared architects in either and only one other land surveyor,¹⁴ and Mallinson may have considered his best prospects lay among people he knew. His first recorded job, in August 1840, saw Mallinson, 'Architect and Land Surveyor', working as a letting agent,¹⁵ but his apparent indecision about his most appropriate career description and/or direction is suggested in his next appearance in the press, in December the same year, when he styled himself simply as a 'land surveyor' in an advertisement drawing attention to a mill site he had surveyed and divided into lots in readiness for an auction.¹⁶ However, by 16th October 1841 he was an '*Architect* and Land Surveyor' again, albeit only in a similar notice relating to another estate.¹⁷

¹³ Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, pp. 211-213.

¹⁴ White, *Directory of Leeds and the Clothing Districts, 1842*, pp. 427 and 436. The other land surveyor was John King.

¹⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, August 29th 1840, p. 1.

¹⁶ *The Leeds Mercury*, 5th December 1840, p. 2.

¹⁷ *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 16th October 1841, p. 2.

This was also the time when Mallinson received a formative lesson likely to have deterred him from taking part in architectural competitions in future years. A correspondence reproduced between Mallinson and other interested parties describes how he along with eleven others, entered a competition to design the pump room at High Harrogate in June 1841, only to find that upon seeing Mallinson's competition entry set out on display, one of the other candidates, apparently known locally and favoured by some of the adjudicators, promptly added the central feature of Mallinson's design (a dome) to his own work and resubmitted it, whereupon it was duly chosen.¹⁸ Thereafter neither Mallinson's indignant remonstrances, nor the letters from his few supporters on the committee, succeeded in overturning this overtly corrupt decision and Mallinson had eventually to content himself with publishing the exchange of letters, together with the names of the committee members who were for and against the decision, along with their occupations, in order, perhaps, to show that he was supported by the local incumbent, a magistrate, the proprietor of the Cheltenham pump room, a 'gentleman', a wine merchant and an innkeeper, and opposed by a wine merchant, four innkeepers, a milkman, a plumber, a baker, a druggist, a porter, and a coach-builder.

Fortunately Mallinson's first big break came soon after this debacle, probably through his connection with Rawstone, when in 1842 he received the commission to design a new church at Queen's Head,¹⁹ a bleak hilltop settlement a thousand feet above sea level, where John Foster (1799-1878) had established a worsted business now expanding rapidly under the style of Black Dyke Mills.²⁰ The building (fig. 3a(i)) would eventually be paid for by a combination of grants from the Church Building Commission, the Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society and the ICBS, and 'the exertions of several resident gentlemen', among whom 'Mr. [John] Foster... deserve[d] especial mention'.²¹ Industrialist and architect would have met, if not before, during the planning and construction of the building,²² and as discussed below, the Foster family would subsequently rank among

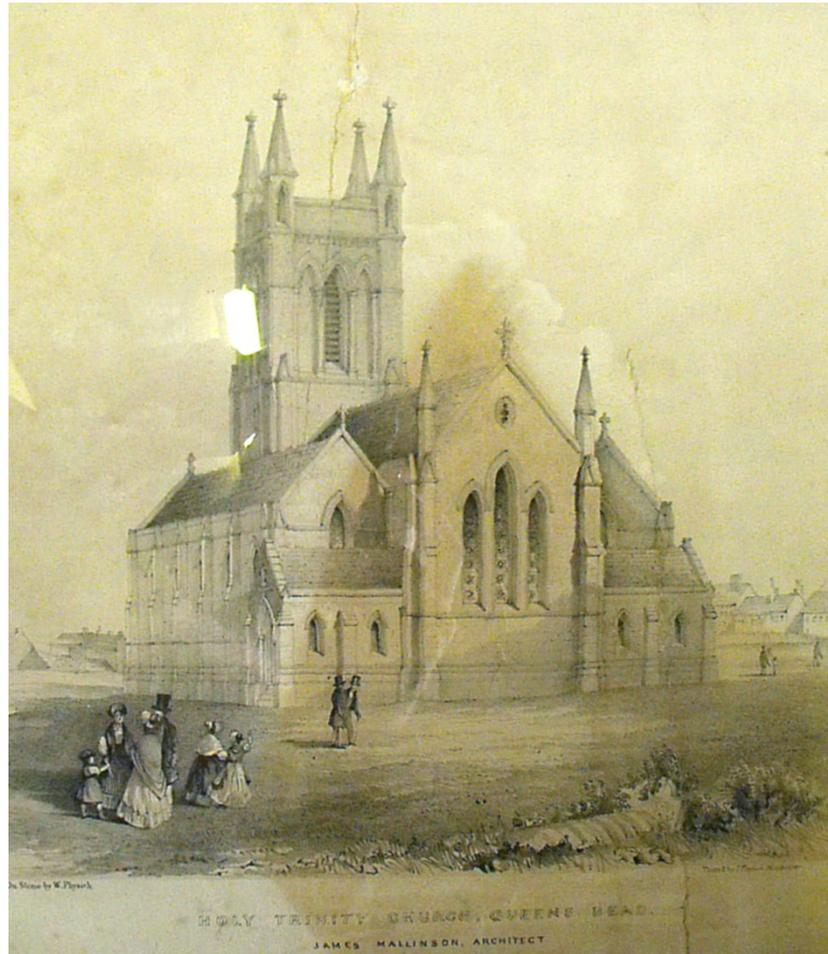
¹⁸ *The Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal*, 5, 1842, p. 65.

¹⁹ Queen's Head is the present-day Queensbury, now within the Unitary Authority of Bradford but formerly part of the township of Northowram in the parish of Halifax. Its name was changed to Queensbury at a public meeting on May 5th 1863, in a motion moved by the then incumbent, the Rev. J.C. Hyatt, who was unhappy that a district of growing importance should be named after the local public house. See Rev. A. Ridings & B. Holdsworth, *The Parish Church of The Holy Trinity, Queensbury, Centenary Souvenir, 1845-1945*, p. 4.

²⁰ Sigsworth, *Black Dyke Mills*, p. 135.

²¹ *The Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield & Bradford Advertiser*, 30th August 1845 (reproduced in notes in the church, p. 13). Foster chaired the committee and headed the subscription list, albeit his donation was only £50. Bradford, WYA, 15D95.

²² They were certainly both present at the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone on Easter Monday, 17th April 1843. *The Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield & Bradford Advertiser*, 22nd April 1843 (reproduced in notes in the church, pp. 11-13).



Figs. 3a(i) -

Holy Trinity, Queensbury:

3a(ii),

(i) *above*, the church as designed in 1843; and (ii) *below*, the present-day interior view looking east, showing the proportions of the nave arcades and the form of the roof.



Mallinson's most loyal clients (and specifically *Mallinson's*, rather than Mallinson and Healey's), engaging him on work at Black Dyke Mill, c. 1850, on Harrowins House and its stables and porter's lodge, built for John's eldest son, William, in 1853, '54 and '55 respectively, on Sandbed workers' cottages in 1853, on Northowram Hall, rebuilt for a younger son, Abraham Briggs Foster, in 1862, and possibly in 1865, three years after Thomas Healey's death, helping to secure Mallinson's appointment on Queensbury National School.²³

Mallinson's drawings for Holy Trinity church, Queen's Head, appear not to have survived, but the lengthy specification is extant and describes in detail the work of the excavators and masons, carpenters, plasterer, plumber and glazier, and painter, before concluding with a list of conditions.²⁴ The document was copied out in the large, firm hand of Mr. B(?) Clarke, Mallinson's assistant, and still Mallinson and Healey's only regular employee over a decade later before he eventually left for Newcastle in March 1856.²⁵ The church was raised from start to finish inside a year but the consecration was delayed until 29th August, 1845. It was:

'...built in the style which prevailed in the 13th century, generally termed early English [sic], and consists of a nave and aisles, chancel, north porch, sacristy or vestry, and tower at the west end. The nave and aisles have open boarded roofs of lofty pitch, consisting of trusses filled with tracery over each pillar of the nave: the entire timbers are exposed to view, after the ancient method, and are stained of a dark hue; the roof of the chancel is vaulted. The interior length of the church is 84 feet, and the width 48 feet 6 inches.'²⁶

Only a part of this building survives to the present day for the chancel and vestry were enlarged by Thomas Henry and Francis Healey in 1885 and the tower was found to be in a dangerous state in 1906, necessitating dismantling and rebuilding (in a different position), having been judged 'to have been somewhat faulty in construction when [first] erected'.²⁷

²³ See Bradford WYA 61D95/13 for the extensions at Black Dyke Mills and for Harrowins House, Sandbed Cottages and Northowram Hall, and WYB 129/46 for Queensbury National School. All of these except the last are signed 'Mallinson and Healey' while the last are signed by Mallinson alone. For Harrowins House stables and porter's lodge, see D/B 9th May 1854 and 25th April 1855.

²⁴ Specification for Holy Trinity church, Queen's Head, 1842. Bradford, WYA, 15D95/1/4.

²⁵ D/B, 22nd March, 1856: 'B.C. Left this day. Address, Mr. J. Green, 58 Grey St., Newcastle. Balance due, 14s.11½d'.

²⁶ *The Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield & Bradford Advertiser*, 30th August 1845 (reproduced in notes in the church, p. 14).

²⁷ Ridings & Holdsworth, *The Parish Church of The Holy Trinity, Queensbury*, pp. 5-6.

This leaves Mallinson's nave and independently-gabled aisles available for inspection (fig. 3a(ii)). The piers supporting the six-bay arcades appear too slender for their height and the impression of flimsy construction is exacerbated by the roofs, which are framed with tie beams supporting king posts and five pairs of queen posts of inadequate scantlings, rising to principal rafters without collars and just a single pair of purlins to prevent transverse movement, halfway up the pitch. It certainly *looks* insubstantial, even though it has stood the test of time, but the original workmanship was undoubtedly substandard for the Rev. John Carter Hyatt complained in his appeal for help in building a parsonage that 'for many years before my appointment as Curate in 1858 the Church had become perfectly useless, for the rain penetrated its roof, and the floor rotted, so that not only was there no congregation,... but the fabric of the Church itself was unfit for decent performance of Divine Worship'.²⁸ Possibly this was a conscious exaggeration in a letter aimed at eliciting sympathy, but it was a poor commendation of a building completed only fourteen years before.

Perhaps the building's failings, therefore, were the result of inadequate oversight of the workmen as construction proceeded, or perhaps they were the result of accepting too low a tender from a carpenter or tiler who then skimmed the job to avoid working at a loss.²⁹ The system of contracting in gross also made it essential that the architect drew 'up the specification... to cover every part of the design and all contingencies, complete with working drawings, and clear of ambiguities before operations were begun',³⁰ and although Mallinson's specification seems fairly comprehensive, a lack of experience could have left omissions here. The run-off of rainwater, however, was to be ensured by making the fall of the gutters 'not less than one inch and a half in every ten feet'. The building's specification lays out that the roofs were to be covered with:

'[the] very best Northowram river Grey Slates upon Laths of good red wood Deal, 22 out of a Plank, nailed to Spars with wrought Iron Nails soaked hot in oil. The Slates are to have 3 ins. lap at the Eaves and 2 ins. at Ridges, the intermediate courses diminishing gradually upwards and hung with Oak pegs... The Ridges to be covered with good sound Ridge Stones worked truly to the Pitch of the Roofs according to

²⁸ Open letter from the Rev. John Carter Hyatt, dated '1860'. Bradford, WYA, 15D65/1/6.

²⁹ See M.H. Port, 'The Office of Works', and especially pp. 97-98 where Port quotes Sir Christopher Wren's letter to the Bishop of Oxford (25th June 1681): '[in competitive tendering, contractors] do often injure themselves; and when they begin to find it, they shuffle and slight the work to save themselves'.

³⁰ M.H. Port, 'The Office of Works', p. 98. Port is referring here to the so-called 'bill of quantities', the first use of which in England, M.E. Burrows traced to 1835 ('Henry Isaac Stevens - Derby Architect, 1806-1873' (*Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 103, 1983, pp. 133-1360) p. 134), and which he considered was in general use by 1850.

Drawings to be given hereafter, and laid cement [sic], well jointed and put together in a satisfactory manner.'

And yet it leaked, virtually from day one.

Fortunately Mallinson received three other significant commissions before any shortcomings at Holy Trinity had had time to show up, namely for a new church at Wyke and for National Schools at Manningham³¹ and Elland. Mallinson was working on the designs for St. Mary's, Wyke, in 1844 but progress appears to have been slow. The site was a long time in preparation as 'its stability [was] endangered by the mines which have already been opened or may be opened near it',³² but Mallinson seems to have been partly responsible for the delay himself for a letter to the ICBS from the incumbent, the Rev. William Houlbrook, in January 1845, complained of Mallinson's failure to complete the work promptly and apologised for his own miscalculation of the church's expected accommodation.³³ J.H. Good, in his reply, did not respond to either of these points directly but stated that before any grant could be awarded, (i) the plans would have to be amended to increase the thickness of the clerestory walls and (ii) an additional drawing would have to be submitted to his office showing the proposed construction of the aisle roofs on a scale of half an inch to the foot. This was possibly no more than his customary display of awkwardness but Mallinson may also have been struggling a little. He was contemporaneously drawing up plans and elevations for Elland National School, the original set of which in neat Tudor style, are signed and dated March 1845 (fig. 3b(i)),³⁴ yet neither this nor the church appears to have been completed until after Mallinson formed his partnership with Thomas Healey in June or July since a second set of drawings of the school also exists, dated August 1845 and signed by Mallinson *and* Healey (fig. 3b(ii)).³⁵ Additions included a bell-côte over the cross-gabled central bay, a decorative chimney stack at the southwest angle, a fan-light above the door, and a dripstone over the three-light transomed upper window, to say nothing of a datum line. It is, of course, impossible to tell whether these alterations were designed by Healey or represented second thoughts by Mallinson but the second set certainly shows greater refinement.

³¹ See *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 16th March 1844, p.5. Presumably this commission came about as a result of Rawstone's designing of St. Jude's church the previous year.

³² Rev. William Houlbrook to the ICBS, 30th November 1844. LPA, ICBS 3529.

³³ Rev. William Houlbrook to the ICBS, 8th January 1845. LPA, ICBS 3539.

³⁴ Halifax, WYA, WYC:1185/9/1-8.

³⁵ London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Archive, PB432/18, 1-6.

St. Mary's, Wyke was not finally complete until 1847. Again, it is difficult to rule out a possible contribution from Healey but whatever the true situation, the building is a definite advance on

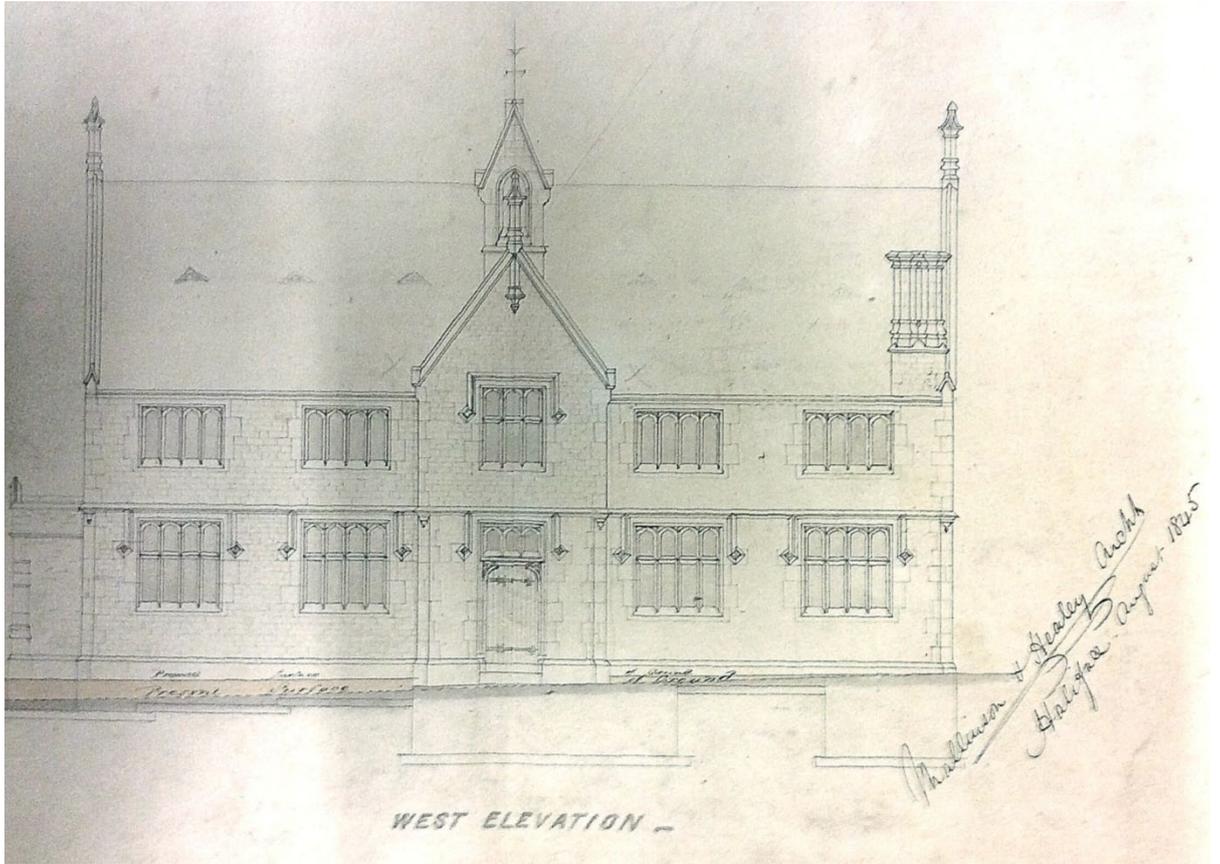
Holy



Trinity, Queen's Head. The proportions are better: the nave is not as tall and the piers

Figs. 3b(i) - 3b(ii), Elland National School (west elevation):
 (i) above, signed James Mallinson, March 1845;

and (ii) *below*, signed Mallinson and Healey, August 1845.



of the four-bay arcades are broader in relation to their height. As for the nave roof, although there is an affinity with Holy Trinity, it betokens greater stability due to the inclusion of two pairs of purlins, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way up the pitch, and collar beams connecting the lower purlins instead of tie beams crossing between the wall plates, lifting the support higher towards the ridge. Moreover, also at Wyke, the structural challenge has now been met of surmounting the tower with a spire and an aesthetically successful one at that. The church consists of a three-bay chancel with a N. organ chamber and vestry and a small S. chapel, a five-bay nave with lean-to aisles and a N. porch, and a southwest tower and short broach spire occupying the westernmost bay of the S. aisle (figs. 3c(i) & 3c(ii)).

On 10th May, 1845, James Mallinson married Mary Waddington, the youngest of three daughters of Samuel Waddington, landlord of the Black Swan, at St. Martin's, Brighouse.³⁶ Probably he expected shortly to have a family,³⁷ and he would doubtless have reflected on the pressures he was experiencing, his income, and his prospects for the future. This may have appeared the time to expand his business. By some means or other, he evidently knew of another Yorkshireman who needed to advance himself and who for the past sixteen years had been helping to design churches in Worcestershire.

* * * * *

A Firmer Foundation..

Thomas Healey was born in 1809 and it is important to recognise how early in the history of the Gothic Revival this actually was. Arguably the three greatest leaders of the movement, Sir George Gilbert Scott, Augustus Pugin and William Butterfield, were born in 1811, 1812 and 1814 respectively, and it was Butterfield, Healey's junior by five years, who wrote in an autobiographical note many years later:

'[My] choice of a vocation in life was made before any accurate and detailed study of church architecture had been made. There were then, in fact, no practicing church architects of any repute, except Pugin, who was beginning work - Rickman's catalogued examination of English churches was a useful pioneer but no more.'³⁸

³⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 17th May 1845, p. 5..

³⁷ www.calderdalecompanion.co.uk/mmm.88.html#666 In fact, the couple were to remain childless.

³⁸ Cited by Thompson. Butterfield was referring to Thomas Rickman's *An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England* (Oxford: Parker & Company, 1817), to which he did scant justice.



**Figs. 3c(i) -
Mary's, Wyke:**
(i) *above*, the

the southwest; and (ii) *below*, the interior view looking west,
showing the proportions of the nave arcades and the form of the roof.

3c(ii), St.
church from



This is of relevance in another respect also, for Butterfield and Healey's paths ran together for a while in the late 1830s. Unsurprisingly, Healey's early life and training passed with little notice, but a few bare facts have been handed down.³⁹ Thomas Healey was the only one of four children born to Thomas Healey Senior (b. 1771) and Martha, his wife (b. 1765), to survive into adulthood. Both parents came from Flockton, between Huddersfield and Wakefield, while *his* future wife, Elizabeth Bedford, would come from neighbouring Emley. Thomas and Elizabeth produced four sons and one daughter - Thomas Henry (b. 1839) and Francis (b. 1840), who would continue their father's practice after his early death, Edward (b. 1842), Alfred (b. 1844), and Elizabeth (b. 1846). Thomas Healey Senior's occupation is unrecorded but he seems to have been a man of reasonable means, for it appears he was a governor (along with Thomas Bedford, Elizabeth's father) of the Classical and Commercial Academy, Wakefield,⁴⁰ and he was able to afford a pupillage for his son in Chantrell's prestigious office in Leeds when Healey was in his mid teens.⁴¹

Chantrell had moved from London upon receiving his articles and set up business in Leeds in 1819, where not only was he perfectly placed to play a significant rôle at the heart of a rapidly developing manufacturing town, but, as it transpired (surprisingly after his Classical training with Sir John Soane) to fashion himself as a leader in what Webster calls 'the slow drift towards Gothic' taking place over the next couple of decades. Webster considers that surviving Gothic drawings suggest Healey accompanied his master on tours to Gothic churches across Yorkshire as the latter sought to make up the deficiencies in his own professional training.⁴²

Healey received *his* articles in 1829 at the age of twenty and followed Chantrell's example by moving almost immediately - in his case, to Worcester. His new master was his exact contemporary, Harvey Eginton (1809-49), described by Gordon Barnes as 'the only worthwhile architect practicing in the city at that time' and one of eleven men appointed by the ICBS in 1848 to sit on their Architects' Committee of expert advisors, and here Healey remained for a full sixteen years in the subordinate position of head clerk.⁴³ It seems a long

³⁹ Paper read by Francis H. Healey. Francis H. Healey was the grandson of Thomas Healey and the son of Edward Healey.

⁴⁰ *The Leeds Intelligencer & Yorkshire General Advertiser*, 12th July 1819, p. 1.

⁴¹ Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 165.

⁴² Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 165. (No source is given.)

⁴³ Gordon Barnes, *Frederick Preedy* (Evesham: Vale of Evesham Historical Society, 1984), p. 9.

while, but there is no evidence to suggest that Healey had a thrusting nature and he may have enjoyed the professional camaraderie, not only with Eginton, but also with the even younger men who occasionally took up posts in the office, among whom were Frederick Preedy (1820-98), the later glass painter who worked for Eginton from 1835 until the latter's premature death,⁴⁴ and William Butterfield (1814-1900), who spent about eighteen months there, 1838-9, after completing his pupillage with E.L. Blackburne, the architect of Clement's Inn. Paul Thompson describes the time following Butterfield's departure from Blackburne's office as 'the most useful part of his education... The name of his Worcester principal is unknown, but there was only one church architect of any reputation working in the town at that time - Harvey Eginton.'⁴⁵ Eginton, in Thompson's view, 'was an unusually serious and competent gothic [sic] designer [for this date, whose] details were remarkably careful'. However, of equal or greater importance were the opportunities the position gave Butterfield to spend 'in the company of a *sympathetic head clerk of archaeological tastes* [my italics],... measur[ing] and draw[ing] the cathedral and examin[ing] the [other] buildings of the county', although one imagines the benefits flowed both ways.⁴⁶ Butterfield was renowned in later life for reserve and abstemiousness, but he can reasonably have been expected to have been an inspiring and merry fellow traveller for Healey in this early period, and Healey, for his part, would doubtless have had some valuable professional experiences to share.

Harvey Eginton's career is even less well chronicled than most in this period, but about seventeen churches can be ascribed to his practice, either in whole or in part, plus one unexecuted design and seven restorations. Unfortunately it is impossible to divine the extent to which Healey, although in no way unequal to Eginton in either training or age, might have influenced these buildings - all the plans and elevations are signed by Eginton alone - but, at the very least, he would have been immersed in them as they passed through the office, and he was probably called upon to make visits to the sites to monitor building progress. Designs vary widely and there are a few failures: St. Philip & St. James's, Whittington (Worcestershire) (1840), for example, is not a happy invention with its hungry, free-standing western bell-turret, topped by a bell-stage too narrow for the bell-openings and surmounted by a Lilliputian spire. However, the majority are remarkable for their date. St. Michael & All Angels', Broadway (also Worcestershire) (1839), built two years before Sir George Gilbert Scott's first surviving church of St. George, Camberwell, is a proud Gothic building in First

⁴⁴ Barnes, *Frederick Preedy*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Thompson, *William Butterfield*, pp. 59-60.

⁴⁶ In an earlier essay, Thompson had written '[Butterfield] found his feet as a pupil in Worcester, where he measured and sketched the cathedral and the churches of the country-side in the company of the head clerk of the office'. (Paul Thompson, 'William Butterfield' in *Victorian Architecture*, ed. Peter Ferriday, pp. 167-174 (p.168).)

Pointed (Early English) style, with a tall W. tower rising to double-lancet bell-openings and crocketed pinnacles at the angles, surmounting square bases with blank trefoiled arches on the outer faces. All Saints', Broseley (Shropshire) (1842) is nobler still, this time designed in Third Pointed (Perpendicular) style: the tower rises in four stages supported by angle buttresses terminating in pinnacles, the bell-stage has a pair of two-light, transomed bell-openings in each wall and openwork battlements above, and the rest of this all-embattled church comprises a five-bay aisled nave, a two-storey S. porch adjoining the second bay from the east (sic), and a short chancel with a southwest vestry. Internally, the tall nave arcades are supported on compound piers with shafts to north and south rising up between pairs of two-light clerestory windows positioned over the spandrels, to give the appearance of supporting the wall posts of the nave roof. This is all very impressive so early in the Revival and shows that Eginton, and probably also Healey, had visited, examined and understood the design principles behind a wide range of mediaeval churches, notwithstanding their youth and limited experience.

Mallinson and Healey formed their partnership in the summer of 1845.⁴⁷ The precise date can be determined within a narrow range for the terminus *ante* quem is some time in August, as indicated by the revised drawings for Elland National School, signed by both partners, referred to above, and the terminus *post* quem is the 21st June, when a sale by auction was announced, to take place 'on Friday next, the 27th day of June, 1845, beginning at ten o'clock in the morning', of 'household furniture, elegant chimney glass and effects, the property of Mr. Thomas Healey, at Dwelling House, College Churchyard, Worcester, who is removing [i.e. not yet removed] to a distance'.⁴⁸ Healey must surely have been ready for a new challenge, but he may besides have needed more money, for he now had four sons. His move to Bradford would have taken him nearer his own family and his wife's, and that may have added to the attraction.

* * * * *

The Route Ahead.

How was this partnership destined to work in practice? In the first place, surprisingly enough, Healey still appears to have taken the secondary place, in spite of his nine years seniority and greater and better professional experience. Mallinson's name preceded

⁴⁷ Webster is wrong on this point for he gives the year as 1847. (Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 165.)

⁴⁸ *The Worcester Herald*, 21st June 1845, p. 3.

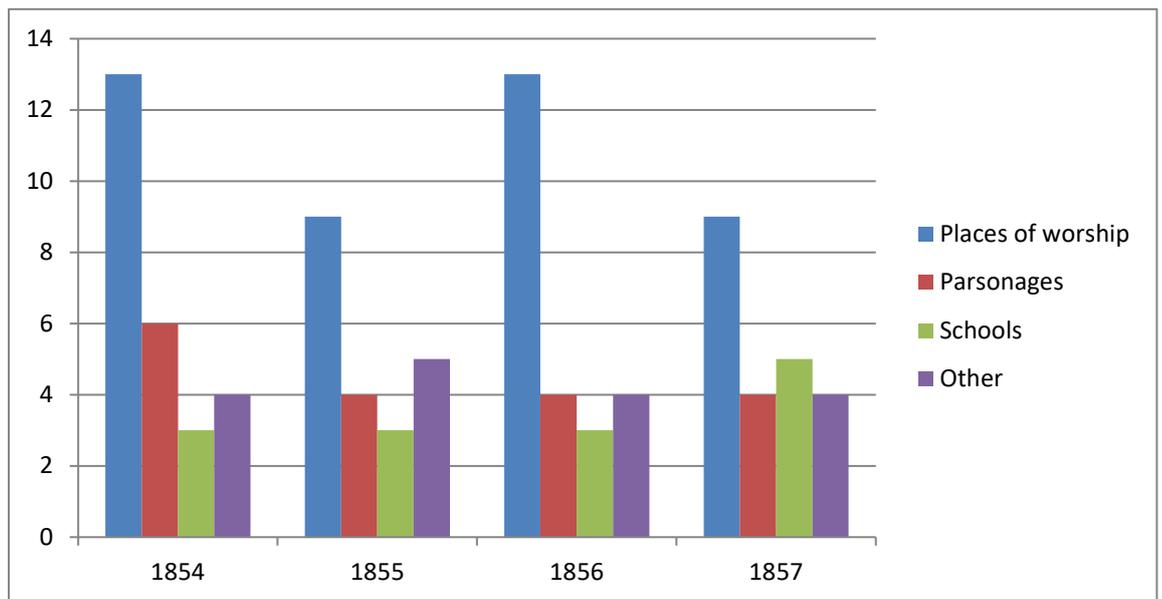
Healey's in the title of the firm and Mallinson was based at what was, in effect, 'head office', where the day books were kept and the practice's only assistant, Mr. Clarke was based. The address was 15, Mount Street (later, Balmoral Place), Halifax; Healey's office address in Bradford was 64, Tyrell Street, which is today one of the more impressive streets in the city's former Victorian business district, a few minutes walk from Interchange Station.

Secondly, it is evident that the partners were perfectly willing from the outset to embrace a very eclectic range of projects, including some only loosely connected with architecture at all, and although the construction of churches - then generally regarded as the most elevated building genre - occupied the largest proportion of their time, they obviously considered themselves under no constraints, unlike their London confrères, to eschew either secular work or work for the Nonconformists. Indeed, the extremely varied nature of their undertakings is evident from the first entries in the 1854 day-book covering the first week of January of that year when Mallinson was engaged preparing a rateable value for the railway in Dewsbury, appearing in Wakefield as a witness in a compensation case arising over the value of land compulsorily purchased by the Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway Company in Elland (which necessitated an overnight stay), and acting as 'umpire' in an unexplained dispute between Watson, Perkins & Co., stained glass manufacturers of Dunfermline, and a Mr. D. Denton, examined at The New Inn, Halifax. He also inspected plasterwork recently completed at Zion Methodist Chapel, Halifax, and prepared bills for the plastering of cottages in Luddendenfoot. Meanwhile Healey made three inspection visits to view on-going construction work at Manchester Road Schools, Bradford, another to inspect a potential site for a 'hydropathic establishment' in Ilkley, where he also examined the church roof (and which also required an overnight stay), and a fifth to Burley-in-Wharfedale parsonage, where building operations had been suspended due to frost. In between, he continued to draw up designs for a new parsonage at Copley (Sowerby Bridge), a new school at Boroughbridge, and a cross for the church at Cundall. The division between the partners' work is impossible to draw precisely, but while Mallinson and Healey can be seen to have shared inspection visits to construction sites more or less equally, it is clear Healey spent more time designing and drawing in the office and Mallinson, more out and about, liaising with clients and the general public, conducting surveys and making valuations, and providing expert testimony in land and building disputes.

It was an arrangement that obviously worked well if the sheer volume of the partners' achievement is accepted as an indicator. The histogram below shows the numbers of on-going building projects recorded in the surviving day-books, of sufficient significance

to be referenced on ten or more pages (days). The columns marked 'other' (shaded purple) aggregate the partners' industrial and domestic work and include three miscellaneous commissions - viz. the construction of a building society lodge, the re-paving of Mill Lane, Brighthouse, and the partial rebuilding and re-ordering of three contiguous shops in Old Market, Halifax. Mallinson's work as a surveyor, valuer, etc., is not included.

Diagram III(a): histogram showing the number of projects undertaken by Mallinson and Healey on which one of the partners spent at least part of ten separate working days.



Tables 3a(i) & 3a(ii) are therefore drawn up to take this last into account also, by tallying the days *every single* task is mentioned, once again grouping work by building type but now adding in Mallinson's surveying, valuing and legal commitments in row 12. The figures are converted into percentages in columns 3 & 4, where those in blue include Mallinson's surveying and legal work and those in black do not. Commissions classified merely as 'places of worship' in the histogram are subdivided in the tables into Anglican churches, Dissenting chapels and miscellaneous cemetery buildings, while the former 'other' category is split between industrial buildings, shops, other commercial buildings, private houses and workers' housing. Conducting the exercise for 1854 *and* 1857 enables some limited assessment to be made of the respective results' potential variability. It is important to stress, of course, that the *numbers of references* to work expended on different building types are not necessarily proportionate to the *amount of time* these genres occupied.

Table 3a: Tally of all tasks listed in the day-book:

(i) for 1854;

Jobs by type	Refs.	%	adj.
Churches	426	32.9	30.5
Nonconformist chapels	95	7.3	6.7
Cemetery buildings	167	12.9	12.0
Parsonages	225	17.4	16.1
Schools	145	11.2	10.4
Industrial buildings	122	9.4	8.7
Shops	16	1.2	1.1
Other commercial buildings	6	0.5	0.5
Private houses	15	1.2	1.1
Workers' houses	53	4.1	3.8
Miscellaneous	23	1.8	1.7
Non-attributable work			7.3
	1,293	99.9	99.9

(ii) for 1857.

Jobs by type	Refs.	%	adj.
Churches	533	39.3	38.5
Nonconformist chapels	21	1.5	1.5
Cemetery buildings	25	1.8	1.9
Parsonages	80	5.9	5.8
Schools	269	19.9	19.4
Industrial buildings	134	9.9	9.7
Shops	156	11.5	11.3
Other commercial buildings	6	0.4	0.4
Private houses	66	4.9	4.8
Workers' houses	7	0.5	0.5
Miscellaneous	58	4.3	4.2
Non-attributable work			2.1
	1,355	99.9	100.1

In fact, although a comparison between the tables reveals many differences, they are nevertheless relatively modest when the effect a single job could make is considered. Thus the large drop in the number of references to cemetery buildings in 1857 compared to 1854 was due solely to the completion of work at Haley Hill, and the corresponding increase in references to shops was entirely the result of a single commission from Peter Thompson to alter three shops in Halifax, previously mentioned. For similar reasons there are smaller but noticeable changes in the figures for Nonconformist chapels, private houses and workers' cottages. As for the balance between parsonages and schools, although this can be seen to have more than reversed in 1857, together the two building types comprised 26.5% of the references in 1854 and a comparable 25.2% in 1857. Also in 1857, Mallinson was evidently less involved in surveying or acting in arbitration disputes, which was probably due to happenstance rather than policy. The 4.2% of references to miscellaneous activities in 1857 picks up the increasing amount of time spent on the design of church furniture by Healey, which probably reflects what was then the growing belief that architects should assume the responsibility for the furnishings and fittings of their churches as well as their

form and structure.

Finally, table 3b goes back to the information used in the histogram (i.e. the tally of work undertaken by the firm across all four years, 1854-7, subject to the condition that tasks are mentioned on ten or more pages of the day-books), but this time, classifies projects by where they were executed.

Table 3b: Tally of the tasks undertaken by the partners 1854-7, on which, as a minimum, one of them spent at least part of ten separate working days.

Jobs by place	Refs.	%	adj.
Boroughbridge	135	3.1	3.0
Bradford parish	972	22.0	21.0
Cleckheaton	24	0.5	0.5
Dewsbury	511	11.6	11.1
Halifax parish (inc. Brighouse)	1,969	44.6	42.8
Hornsea	192	4.4	4.2
Keighley	47	1.1	1.1
Leeds	315	7.1	6.8
Stockport	32	0.7	0.7
Stockton-on-Tees	69	1.6	1.5
Wakefield	147	3.3	3.2
Non-attributable work			4.5
	4,413	100.0	100.2

The high proportion of the work shown to have been carried out in Halifax parish is largely a reflection of the parish's size. More interesting, perhaps, than the concentration of work around Bradford and Halifax are the smaller clusters elsewhere (as also seen plotted on the contemporary map opposite) - for example, around Boroughbridge in the northeast, along the general line of the Calder Valley from Dewsbury to South Ossett (a distance of about 3 miles trending southeast), and (beyond the boundaries of the map) in a little triangle on the Holderness coast, between Hornsea and Mappleton (2½ miles), running inland as far as Withernwick. These suggest common sources emanating from particular individuals who either recommended the partners to friends or relations, or who had personal experience of their work before moving further afield. An example of the first kind appears to have been the Rev. James Palmes, incumbent of Weeton, for whom Mallinson and Healey built Weeton school and teacher's house in 1855-6 at the charge of Lord Harewood,⁴⁹ and who was also the younger brother of the Rev. William Lindsey

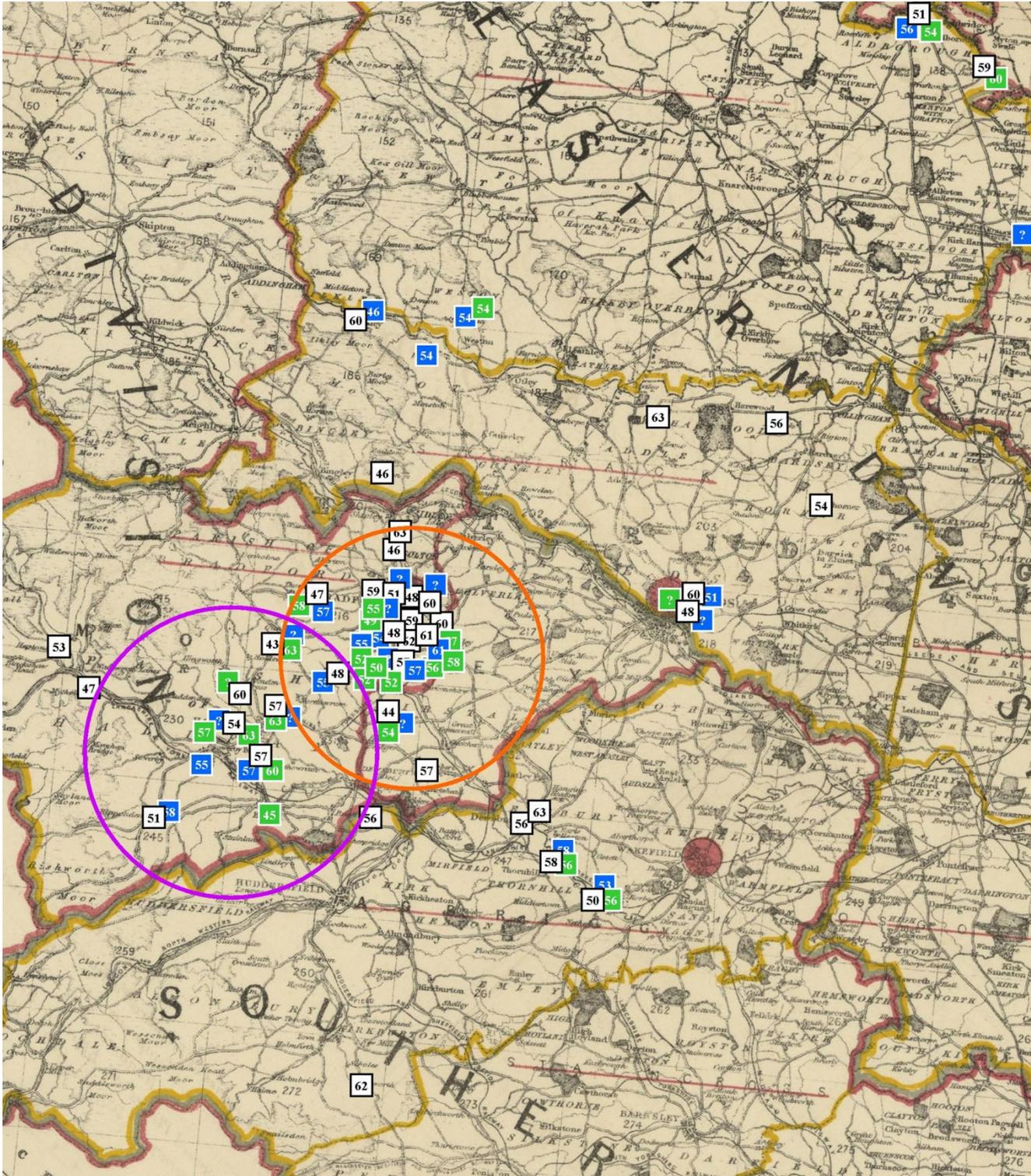
⁴⁹

D/B, 12th May 1855.

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Map III(b), of West Yorkshire, c. 1850, showing the positions and dates of churches (white squares), parsonages (blue squares) and schools (green squares), designed by Mallinson and Healey.

(Scale \approx 1:250,000 or 4 miles to 1 inch.)



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Palmes, rector of Hornsea and Rural Dean of North Holderness.⁵⁰ The most outstanding example of the second kind was the Rev. Benjamin Bayfield, who moved from Ripponden to Shinfield (Wokingham, formerly part of Berkshire) in 1847, and who asked Mallinson and Healey to design a new vicarage for him immediately on, or even before, his arrival.⁵¹ Another was the Rev. William Randall, for whom the partners built All Saints' church, Richmond Hill, Leeds, during his incumbency in 1848-50. By 1857 Randall had taken up the living of Heaton Reddish in Stockport and in December of that year he wrote to the Reverend George Ainslie, the newly appointed secretary at the ICBS, supporting his building committee's choice of Mallinson and Healey as architects for their proposed new church, declaring that 'the same architects built a church for me six years ago in Leeds, larger and for less money, and there is not a flaw in it to this day'. In fact, notwithstanding that Thomas Healey spent the best part of a fortnight working on the plans and specification,⁵² the church was never built as the parish proved unable to raise the necessary funds, but the process whereby a provincial architectural practice might spread its agency, is illustrated nonetheless.

Personal contacts, therefore, were probably the chief geographical determinant of the partners' places of operation, but another that should, perhaps, not be ignored was the relative accessibility of the villages and townships as the railway network expanded. In 1845 the only completed lines likely to have been much help to the partners would have been the Manchester and Leeds Railway, which approached Leeds very circuitously along the Calder valley via Sowerby Bridge, North Dean (Greetland), Brighouse, Wakefield and Normanton, and its short (1¾ mile) extension from North Dean to Shaw Syke Station, Halifax (since demolished). The first line to reach Bradford was opened in 1846 when the Leeds and Bradford Railway completed another contour-hugging line, this time following the Aire Valley and Bradford Dale from Leeds via Kirkstall, Shipley and Manningham, to terminate at Bradford Midland (now Forster Square) station. For the next four years, the only way to travel from Halifax to Bradford by train, for anyone actually attempting such a thing, would have been along the almost impossibly convoluted route south to North Dean,

⁵⁰ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 7th April 1888, p.5. Or could the recommendation have passed the other way, for Healey was already discussing the restoration of Hornsea parish church (probably never carried out) with Rev. William Palmes in July 1854 (D/B, 24th July 1854), and he first inspected the semi-derelict churches at Mappleton and Witherwick as early as May (D/B, 2nd May 1854)? Alternatively Weeton school may simply have languished awhile in the planning.

⁵¹ Timothy Brittain-Catlin, *The English Parsonage in the Early Nineteenth Century*, p. 116, but see also *The Leeds Times*, 27th January 1844, and *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 5th July 1847.

⁵² D/B, 9th, 21st & 25th February, 30th & 31st March, 6th & 17th April, 23rd, 25th, 26th, 28th & 29th August, 13th October, 5th & 21st November, and 11th December 1857.

east and northwest to Wakefield and Leeds, and finally west-northwest and south to Shipley and Bradford. The direct Lancashire and Yorkshire line from Halifax to Bradford, which was far more challenging to construct, opened as far as Low Moor in 1848, before reaching Bradford two years later. This route terminated at Bradford Exchange station (now Bradford Interchange), uphill and 300 yards south of Bradford Midland Station, thereby leaving Bradford without a through line, a handicap from which it suffers to this day. The line from Low Moor to Mirfield for connections to Wakefield, opened in 1848, and the line from Leeds to Bradford via Pudsey was completed in 1854 and terminated at a third station, Bradford Adolphus Street (demolished), until 1867, when the line was extended to Bradford Exchange. Finally during these years, a more direct route from Bradford to Wakefield via Gildersome and Ardsley was opened in 1857.⁵³ All these lines except the last, exist to the present day, but many intermediate stations have vanished.

Mapping this developing network on to Mallinson and Healey's list of works therefore (appendix 3) provides another possible explanation for the relative lack of commissions undertaken in the early years of the partnership, and of those undertaken in the period 1845-50, apart from the three that were far away (Llandeilo, Shinfield and Danby, where neither Mallinson nor Healey may ever have set foot), only Mytholmroyd would have required a difficult journey for Healey, though not for Mallinson. Indeed, the chief transport problem during these years for the partners was probably travelling from one of their offices to the other.

* * * * *

Conclusion.

The prospects for Mallinson and Healey's partnership in the early Victorian West Riding were set fair by the complementary nature of their skills and personalities. Mallinson's indifferent vocational training and lack of professional experience was offset by Healey's apprenticeship with the foremost Gothic Revivalist in northern England in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, and his subsequent rôle as head clerk in an archaeologically advanced church building firm in Worcester, while what may have been in Healey, the impediment of a retiring nature, was compensated by a gregarious partner who was always ready to deliver a speech when one was required or to take the chair at a meeting. Moreover, both partners had worked with or trained under architects whom the Church Building Commission and the Incorporated Church Building Society considered acceptable, whatever posterity's judgement of Walker Rawstone may subsequently have

⁵³ Bernard Warr, *Railways of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Marlborough: The Crowood Press, 2021), pp. 96-131, and especially pp. 98-103.

been, which facilitated access to a specialist line of business, somewhat akin to a protected professional order, where local competition was thin and the potential rewards, more assured. How profitable was this business model therefore and what level of income did it generate for the partners in the years ahead?

4. A MIDDLE CLASS LIVING.

'We have members eminent in every branch of the profession... We have other members coming well on in the ordinary and diversified duties of an architect's life; others fully employed in ecclesiastical works; others in arbitrations and valuations; one or two well known as authors; and one whose architectural publications (now coming out) may serve as a model for all works of a similar class. Let us all, then, strive, each in the particular walk he has chosen, to help each other to maintain the honour of our profession, and advance the interests of our art.'

Newcastle Courant, 15th January 1864, p. 5.
Report of the annual meeting of the Northern Architectural Association,
describing the membership.

General Remarks.

To what sort of life-style could a provincial architect aspire in early Victorian England? The passage above was written in 1864 after matters had improved substantially during the previous three decades. George Eliot, writing in *Middlemarch*, published in 1872 but set forty years earlier, portrayed a much less rosy picture of the prospects of enjoying a middle class lifestyle while working in one of the emerging professions.¹ The success of Mallinson and Healey's venture was inevitably going to depend on attracting sufficient business, and here a vicious circle could potentially play out: in order to build a prestigious architectural practice, recognised for undertaking predominantly high class work (and no class was higher than ecclesiastical work), it was necessary to be seen as thriving men of enterprise, but no architect could thrive who failed to attract clients. Moreover, even if one was generally well patronised, a supplementary means of achieving a financial return was needed, both to tide one through the unpredictable intervals that could occur between the completion of major projects and to cover periods of national economic downturn. National commercial crises occurred in 1847 and 1857, but the very thin year Mallinson and Healey seem to have experienced in 1847 was probably due simply to the firm's recent establishment, while 1857 seems not to have been any noticeably less busy than the years on either side. Here may have lain another benefit of a wide client base: captains of industry might have been financially hamstrung by a shortage of liquidity in periods of recession, but landowners or grant-awarding bodies, scarcely or not at all. As for the gaps between major building projects, this is where Mallinson's miscellaneous work as a surveyor, valuer, land-agent, etc., would surely have shown its worth, as also the partners' apparent willingness

¹ In, the character of Lydgate, who tried to establish himself in the medical profession. *Middlemarch* was published in instalments in 1871-72 but was set around the time of the Great Reform Act.

to spend an occasional day or two attending to a smoking chimney or flooded cellar. In any event, before seeking to identify the elements of Mallinson and Healey's success, it is natural to ask just *how successful they really were*, for which the obvious first line of enquiry is to seek to ascertain their average annual income. Income tax was originally introduced during the Napoleonic wars, from 1799 to 1802 and then again from 1803 to 1816, but after its second reintroduction in 1842 (by Peel), it proved too convenient a means of raising revenue to be repealed a third time, and it was levied throughout Mallinson and Healey's partnership at the rate of sevenpence in the pound (< 3%) on incomes above £150 until 1854 and above £100 thereafter. However, very few *personal* tax returns of this date were preserved, and the relatively small number that have survived, have not, thus far, been systematically filed and made accessible. This makes it necessary instead to attempt an estimation, and two possible methods suggest themselves which can be pitted against one another.

* * * * *

Estimating the Firm's Income, 1845-62.

(i) Method A.

The first necessitates the drawing up of a more or less comprehensive list of the places of worship, schools and parsonages designed by the firm and the estimation of a reasonably reliable cost for any for which the *actual* cost is not known, by reference to similar buildings elsewhere. From this it is obviously possible to calculate their approximate cost in total.²

² See appendix 3 for a list of Mallinson and Healey's buildings with approximate dates of completion. These do not necessarily reflect the years Mallinson and Healey received payment for them of course, but since the object here is only to calculate their *overall* sum, this is of no consequence.

The jobs where the cost is not known, therefore, and for which estimations were made were as follows:

- (i) for any school, £1,000, except Mount Pellon School and teacher's house at £1,500, Brighouse National School at £1,500, the large Manchester Road School, Bradford, at £2,000, and Danby school, school house and parsonage, also at £2,000;
- (ii) for any 4-bedroom parsonage or where the number of bedrooms is not known, £800, for a 5-bedroom parsonage, £900, and for a 6-bedroom parsonage, £1,000, except for Bradford vicarage, also at £1,000;
- (iii) for the repairs, alterations, re-pewing etc. at Elland Independent Chapel, £200, at Zion Independent Chapel Halifax, £500, at Low Moor Wibsey Chapel (Holy Trinity), £500, at Infirmary Street Baptist Chapel, Bradford, £1,000, and at Halifax parish church, £1,000;
- (iv) for St. John's, Langcliffe, £1,500, for All Saints', Mappleton, £1,500, for St. Peter's, Arthington, £2,000, for Bradford Scottish Presbyterian Church, £2,000, for St. Mary & All Saints', Cundall, £2,000, for St. Mark's, Low Moor, £2,000, and for St. Thomas's, Charlestown, £2,000;
- (v) for the chancel at All Saints', Ilkley, £800, for Copley cottages and parsonage, £1,000, for Haley Hill cemetery chapel, £4,000, and for all other cemetery buildings, £1,000.

Excluding buildings designed after Thomas Healey's death, insofar as they can be determined, this appears to amount to £160,000 taken to two significant figures.

As discussed previously, architects' commission on building projects in the mid-nineteenth century seems generally to have been charged at the fixed rate of 5%, but where Mallinson and Healey's returns are quoted separately to the building costs themselves in the ICBS archives, they often appear to have been closer to 6% (table 4), probably as a result of 'extras' considered additional to the basic contract (as discussed in the case of Barkisland in chapter 7), and so this figure has been used in calculating Mallinson and Healey's earnings. This provides an *estimated total commission* on the £160,000 figure of £9,600, equivalent to £560 p.a. over a seventeen year period.

Table 4: Commission Earned on Individual Buildings by Mallinson & Healey, where known.

Building or part building	Final cost, excluding site, commission & architects' expenses	Commission only	Percentage of total cost
Christ Church, Barkisland	£1,450	£72.10s.0d	5.00%
Christ Church, Mount Pellon	£2,091.11s.3d	£102.10s.0d	4.90%
St. Peter's, Thorner	£1,180	£70	5.93%
St. John's, Clifton	£1,137	£63	5.54%
All Saints', Salterhebble	£2,070	£125	6.04%
St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees	£2,500	£145	£5.8%
St. Philip's, Gillington	£1,300	£70	5.38%
St. Stephen's, Bowling	£2,125	£120	5.65%
St. John's, Tong Street	£815	£50	6.13%
St. Mary's, Quarry Hill (alterations)	£605	£30	4.96%
St. John's, Welburn	£1,600	£90	5.63%
St. Andrew's, Bugthorpe	£560	£35	6.25%
St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick	£978	£60	6.13%
St. Luke's, Broomfields	£2,570	£135	5.25%
St. Michael's, Catwick	£890	£60	6.74%
Holy Trinity, Hepworth	£1,505	£80	5.32%
St. Mary's, Westow	£710	£40	5.63%
St. Mark's, Dewsbury	£2,750	£150	5.45%
TOTALS	£26,836.11s.3d	£1,498	5.58%

Of course, Mallinson and Healey were also responsible for other types of buildings but unfortunately the surviving evidence does not allow an adequate list of them to be compiled save for the years covered by the day-books, when every job, no matter how small, appears to have been referenced every time it crossed the partners' desks. During this period they seem to have undertaken ten substantial miscellaneous jobs altogether,³ excluding those not executed, and perhaps as many as sixty minor tasks such as checking progress on, or

³ See appendix 2.

giving final approval to, assorted builders' work carried out to the designs of others (usually for mill owners), assessing dilapidations (mostly for newly appointed clergy), and providing general advice on renovation and repairs for clergy, industrialists and house-holders. Taking these two forms of business in reverse order, what might be considered Mallinson and Healey's consultancy work seems to have occupied Mallinson in particular for approximately 500 part days during 1854-57, although it is impossible to endow this figure with very much accuracy, whereas the time taken on the construction projects is rather easier to tally and appears to have accounted for about 630 part days, of which the most time-consuming jobs were the alterations undertaken at Haley Hill Mill for Edward Akroyd (155 part days), the alterations at Wellington Mills, Halifax, for Samuel Cunliffe Lister (92 part days), the remodelling of three shops in Old Marker, Halifax, for Peter Thompson (80 part days), the extension of Birks Hall, Ovenden, for Mr. & Mrs. Gott (60 part days), and an on-going series of tasks at Brighthouse Gas Works, including the construction of a cottage for the manager (58 part days). In seeking to convert these figures into cash terms, therefore, if three part days were equivalent, on average, to one full working day, for which the partners anticipated a return in the region of, say, £1.10s.0d,⁴ then 1,130 part days was roughly equivalent to 380 full days, which might have earned the partners £570 spread over the four years, at about £140 per year, raising the firm's annual income to £700. This still takes no account of Mallinson's earnings as a surveyor and valuer, or of the income from his work for the courts, which - to judge from his apparent willingness to drop whatever else he was doing and turn to instead - one might suppose was more lucrative. Yet even when this is included, it is difficult to postulate a joint income for the partners in excess of £800 p.a. or £400 each, assuming the profits were divided equally. This was a figure Mallinson may have been able to supplement with dividends paid out on his investments (see below). Healey, on his part, seems unlikely to have received anything similar.⁵

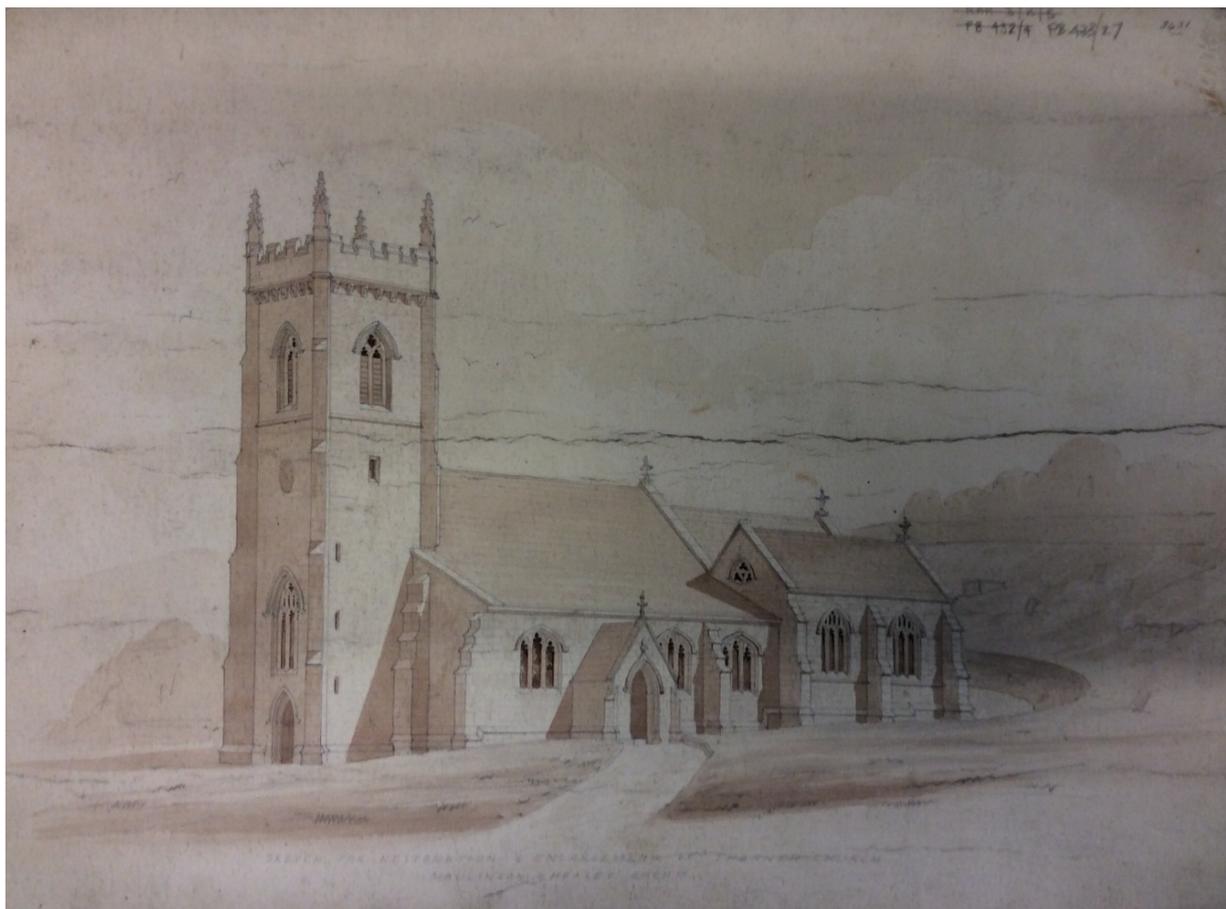
(ii) Method B.

This estimate, however, can be compared with that obtained by adopting another approach, albeit this inevitably presents problems of its own. A few of Mallinson and Healey's building

⁴ The more renowned Robert Dennis Chantrell, working in Leeds, charged two guineas a day for small jobs in 1838, 'and rather less earlier in his career' (Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 174). Mallinson and Healey might have hoped for a slightly greater daily return than £1.10s.0d therefore, but given how conscious they were of the need to be price competitive, then if so, probably not by very much.

⁵ Middle class incomes in England c.1850 ranged from around £100 to £800, giving a mean of about £450. See H.M. Boot, 'Real Incomes of the British Middle Class, 1760-1850' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 52/4 (November 1999), pp. 638-668. However, '[i]n 1858 the *Times* asked whether £300 was a sufficient income to support a married gentleman' (J.C. Bennett, "And One for My Friend the Barmaid": Pew-renting and Social Class in English Anglican Churches in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' in *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 86/2, June 2017, pp. 167-185 (p. 174).)

projects on which their commission is recorded or able to be reliably estimated, fall entirely



within the years covered by the day-books, and thus the approximate

Figs. 4a(i) - 4a(ii), St. Peter's, Thorer (£1,180 + £70 architects' commission):
(i) *above*, architects' drawing, viewed from the southwest (Victoria & Albert Museum);

and (ii) *below*, the building today, viewed from the south.



number of days the partners spent on them can be assessed in the manner adopted above. Dividing the commission earned by the number of days taken to earn it, therefore provides an example of a daily rate of return Mallinson and Healey must have considered acceptable, and multiplying this figure by 300, which was the approximate number of working days in their year after deducting Sundays and allowing a few absences for illness (chiefly by Healey), furnishes a maximum annual income they could have expected if every day had been equally productive.

Thus to take three cases:

(i) St. Peter's church, Thorner (figs. 4a(i) - 4a(ii)). Mallinson and Healey estimated that they would earn £70 commission on the enlargement and partial reconstruction of this church and the day-books show that the partners spent roughly 51 days on the work when the time taken on site visits is added to the time spent preparing the plans, elevations and specifications etc. This is equivalent to a daily rate of £1.8s.0d and 300 days spent on other work for the same return would have produced an annual income of £420.

(ii) Calverley Infant School. Here the day books provide both the permitted cost of the building,⁶ which was to fall within the range £500 - £550, and the number of days the work occupied, which was about 16. Assuming the higher figure to have been nearer to the eventual cost, the commission would have brought in £27.10s.0d, and the daily rate of remuneration, would have been £1.14s.4d, giving a projected annual income of £515.

(iii) St. Mary Magdalene's church, East Keswick (figs. 4b(i) - 4b(ii)). This small building was designed and erected quickly in 1856 although it remained unconsecrated for another five years. Mallinson and Healey received £60 commission on a project that cost £978 and the day-books indicate they spent no more than about 23 days on the work altogether, making this a particularly profitable job, yielding a daily return of about £2.12s.2d, the equivalent of £782.12.2d annually.

These examples show the variable nature of Mallinson and Healey's commissions: unsurprisingly some proved much easier to plan and execute than others. However, combining these examples by dividing the total commission they brought in by the total number of days they occupied (i.e., dividing £157.10s.0d by 90) produces an average

⁶ D/B, 10th November 1854.

daily return of £1.15s.0d, equivalent to £525 over a 300-day year. If this was the *maximum* sum Mallinson and Healey could anticipate therefore, assuming no projects



Figs. 4b(i) - 4b(ii), St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick (£978 + £60 architects' commission):
(i) *above*, the building today, viewed from the south;
and (ii) *below*, a page from the building accounts (Lambeth Palace Library).

Subscriptions for the Building of the Chapel of Ease at
East-Norwich, on the Parish of Norwich. 1856.

The Earl of Norwich (late)	£	100.	0.	0
Compt. of Norwich		50.	0.	0
do. do.		20.	0.	0
Vicount Scarsellu (son of Earl of H)		50.	0.	0
Rev. Miles Atkinson (Vicar)		100.	0.	0
Charles Mells Esq.		20.	0.	0
Rev. Thomas Atkinson		20.	0.	0
William Atkinson Esq.		10.	0.	0
Rev. T. H. Seaton		10.	0.	0
A Friend		500.	0.	0
Rev. E. H. Knowles		2.	2.	0
Rev. J. E. Meddleton		1.	1.	0
W. Markland Esq.		2.	2.	0
W. St. John Esq.		5.	5.	0
Mr. W. Stephens		5.	0.	0
Miss Lendon		1.	0.	0
Miss Burns		1.	0.	0
Rev. H. H. Wood		3.	0.	0
Rev. J. Rogerson		1.	0.	0
Rev. J. Dalton		2.	10.	0
Rev. A. de Wilson			10.	0
Miss Tealhead		10.	0.	0
Rev. George Scarsellu		10.	0.	0
		500.	92.	5.

were aborted (which occasionally they were) and no time was lost due to bad weather, visiting people who turned out not to be in, or having to redo work following changes of mind by the client, then the sum obtained for the partners' annual income by method A, appears reasonable. Of course, this comes before any allowance is made for expenses.

* * * * *

Expenses.

For the calculation of these, the day-books supply a wealth of information, though less for Mallinson than for Healey, who one is sometimes reduced to treating the same. Most notably, while Mallinson and Healey's *variable* daily costs are recorded to the penny, there is no evidence at all of any *fixed charges* Mallinson incurred, and as the Halifax office appears, in some senses, to have operated as 'head office', it is possible its cost was greater than for its counterpart in Bradford. Rent for the Bradford office, paid annually at the year end, was unstated in 1854 and '55, but £7.10s.0d for each of 1856 and '57.⁷ The 'District and Lamp rate', paid on the same date, was £1.19s.4d in 1854, £1.18s.6d in 1855, and unstated in 1856 and '57,⁸ raising the possibility it might then have been included in the rent. Either way, £10 p.a. was probably sufficient to have covered the two.

The second problem involves the need to distinguish between those expenses the partners could probably have passed on to their clients and those they could not. When, for example, was a train journey a necessary consequence of an on-going job, and when was it a speculative visit made to discuss a business proposition that was destined never to become a chargeable account? An attempt to make these difficult and sometimes subjective distinctions has been made for the first day of each month 1854-57 (which includes forty-one working days after Sundays are excluded), selected as a sample, for which the expenses that *could* have been passed on, seem to have amounted to about £3, and those that could not, to approximately £6.10s.0d. When the exercise is repeated for the *second* day of each month (of which, again, forty-one were working days), the corresponding figures are £4 and £6. £6.10s.0d paid out over forty-one days averages 1/8½d per day, which over 300 days, amounts to £25.12s.6d, or somewhere in the region of £15 per partner, on top of which Healey paid a further £1 a quarter for office cleaning 1854,⁹ rising to one guinea in

⁷ D/B, 31st December 1856 and 31st December 1857.

⁸ D/B, 30th December 1854 and 31st December 1855.

⁹ D/B. 5th April 1854.

1855,¹⁰ suggesting (assuming Mallinson's expenses were similar) the £15 should be raised to about £20.

As for Mr. Clarke's salary (and, subsequently, Healey's sons' wages, which in view of their young age and very irregular hours, might, between them, have amounted to something similar), this is given away by an easily overlooked note in parenthesis declaring 'Total 55 [hours worked during the past week] = £1.0s.7½d',¹¹ which is 4½d an hour - a rate consistent with Chantrell's advice to Charles Winn when he wrote, '[m]any clerks may be obtained who can make very good copies of drawings at 20/- to 25/- per week'.¹² In fact, Mr. Clarke, whose precise hours of working are recorded from 30th October 1854 onwards, rarely worked as many hours as this, so his salary was probably nearer to £40 p.a. than £50, costing each partner another £20.

Deducting £10 and two lots of £20 from Mallinson and Healey's estimated income of around £400 p.a., obviously reduces this to £350, which would have been comparable to the £380 p.a. 'the austere Philip Webb' is believed to have made during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³ Webb (1831-1915) lived and worked in London but was unmarried and reportedly once told his friend, Sydney Carlisle Cockerill (1867-1962) that 'he could not afford to keep a wife'.¹⁴ £350 p.a., even in the industrial north, was probably only a lower middle class income that might sometimes have left the partners, when in company with some of the manufacturers in Halifax and Bradford, struggling to maintain appearances. Even so, it was about nine times Mr. Clarke's salary, who could hardly have been unaware of the gulf existing between them.

* * * * *

The Evidence for Mallinson and Healey's Life Style.

¹⁰ D/B, 31st March 1855. It seems remarkable that Mrs. Heap, the cleaner, could wait so long for her wages, or, if she received them in advance, that she could manage her housekeeping on this basis. Still more amazingly, in 1856 she appears to have been paid annually, when the rate had dropped to £2.6s.0.d (D/B, 31st December 1856) (unless that was for a half-year). Perhaps she could *not manage*, because the day-book for 1857 mentions payment only to the 'woman cleaning' and the payment this time was £2.5s.0.d (D/B, 31st December 1857).

¹¹ D/B, 2nd February 1856.

¹² Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 164.

¹³ Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 420.

¹⁴ <https://www.laurasbeau.co.uk/news-and-blog/news/5-things-you-didnt-know-about-philip-webb/>

How do the partners seem to have lived therefore, and what, if anything, can be deduced about their houses, possessions, or leisure activities, insofar as they had time for any? In 1854, Thomas Healey lived at 15, Sawrey Place, Bradford,¹⁵ and James Mallinson at 15 (sic), Union Street, Halifax,¹⁶ but while Healey was still at the same address when he died in 1862,¹⁷ Mallinson moved first to 1, Harrison Road, some time between 1858¹⁸ and 1866,¹⁹ and subsequently to 7, Balmoral Place, between 1866 and 1871,²⁰ which seems to suggest his increasing gentrification.

One immediate qualification must be that Mallinson and Healey most probably *rented* these houses rather than owned them. Healey certainly seems to have rented in Worcester, judging from the advertisement in *The Worcester Herald* when he left for Bradford in 1845 (chapter 3). If he continued to rent in Sawrey Place, then it is relevant to note that the rent for number 10 was £24 p.a. in 1869.²¹ The town council only adopted the road in 1864; it was previously paved but unsewered.²² However, an advertisement in the same year for an unspecified property in the street (but conceivably Healey's former house) described it as a 'capital house... fitted with gas [by that date at least] and with good water from a well... and also supplied with soft water', and Healey may have been able to afford better accommodation than Mallinson when their partnership was first formed, due to his sixteen years with Eginton. The same advertisement boasted that the property 'was situate in one of the most healthy localities in the town' and that there was a large garden to the rear.²³ At different times during the 1850s, other residents in the street included John Glover, tea dealer at number 2, Mary Ann Seaman, widow of Charles Seaman, surgeon, at number 13, Miss Walker, who ran a school at number 21, and at unspecified houses, Elizabeth Atkinson, almswoman and former milliner, Mrs. Calvert, widow of the Rev. John Calvert, Independent minister, Mr. John

¹⁵ *White's Directory*, 1854, p. 431.

¹⁶ *White's Directory*, 1854, p. 573.

¹⁷ *Bradford Observer*, 13th November 1862, p. 8.

¹⁸ William White, *Directory and Topography of the Boroughs of Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield and Wakefield*, etc. (Sheffield, Robert Leader, 1858), p. 676.

¹⁹ William White, *Directory of Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, Wakefield, Dewsbury*, etc. (Leeds, William White, 1866), p. 712.

²⁰ *Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion*.

²¹ *The Bradford Observer*, 22nd June 1869, p. 1.

²² *The Bradford Observer*, 27th October 1864, p. 7, & 17th December 1863, p. 3.

²³ *The Bradford Observer*, 3rd December 1863, p. 8.

Townsend, wool-stapler, and George Smith, timber merchant.²⁴ Presumably these people belonged to a similar financial class to Healey, if not in every case the same social one.

Union Street, Halifax, where Mallinson lived for most of the 1850s, seems chiefly to have been taken up with commercial and municipal premises. The courthouse was located there, Ms. Culpen's dressmakers' shop was next door, where a 'Variety of Stays [was] always in Stock', Mr. J. Anderson dealt in fancy goods at number 26, and Eliza Highley ran 'a ladies' show warehouse' at number 32.²⁵ The implications for the value of residential property in the road are difficult to judge, but Mr. John Foster, builder, lived there, as did William Woffinden, corn dealer, neither of whom would probably have been counted among the professional class.²⁶

Mallinson can probably be assumed to have rented his house at 1, Harrison Road, because a few years after he vacated it, the same property was advertised for letting in the local press, the rent itself, unfortunately, not being stated.²⁷ Harrison Road contained the town's Assembly Rooms, 'a fine art gallery', a police station and an Independent chapel. John Edwards, solicitor, had his office in the road, Mr. Johnson, surgeon, dwelt at another unspecified number, and Mr. Simeon Mosely, dentist, lived immediately next door to Mallinson at number 3.²⁸ These were likely to have been considered a better class of people. Finally, Mallinson definitely rented his house in Balmoral Place (a short street of five-bedroom, architecturally pretentious town houses, which, if some have since suffered by being converted into flats, still retain a semblance of their former glory), because he owed £20 in rent at his death as well as £8.15s.9d in unpaid "borough rates". That seems unremarkable, yet Mallinson also owed an astonishing £59.7s.6d as "Rent for Offices", which suggests he was still maintaining some very substantial business premises indeed. Meanwhile, in Balmoral Place, Mrs. Jackson advertised for a 'good plain cook' in 1878, and 'a good General SERVANT' was wanted for 'a family of two' at number 13 in 1884.²⁹

²⁴ *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, 16th February 1856, p. 2, and *The Bradford Observer*, 15th February 1857, p. 5, 19th July 1855, p. 1, 17th January 1856, p. 5, 4th April 1856, p. 5, 17th November 1859, p. 8, & 8th March 1860, p. 5.

²⁵ *The Halifax Courier*, 15th December 1855, p. 1, 15th January 1853, p. 1, & 15th April 1855, p. 1.

²⁶ *The Bradford Observer*, 30th December 1858, p. 8, & 3rd March 1859, p. 8.

²⁷ *The Halifax Courier*, 16th January 1869, p. 8.

²⁸ *The Bradford Observer*, 15th October 1863, p. 8, *Sheffield Independent*, 18th September 1867, p. 4, and *The Halifax Courier*, 10th October 1868, p. 2.

²⁹ *The Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer*, 21st October 1878, p. 1, and *The Yorkshire Post*, 26th February 1884, p. 2.

Christopher Taylor Rigge, corn merchant and Mallinson's fellow warden at the parish church also lived in the street, and other residents included George Deardon and Joseph Smithson, who were both manufacturers.³⁰

So much for the partners' houses, but can the day-books offer any clues to their possessions or leisure activities? Here the most obvious absence in both men's lives was any private means of transport. This accords with Geoffrey Best's assertion that 'few men with incomes below £600 a year could keep up even the most modest two-wheeler [carriage].³¹ Fortunately, of course, the railways were rapidly stretching their iron fingers across the West Riding during the 1840s and '50s, and it was an unusual day when Mallinson did not take the train to somewhere or other, although the inconvenience of having to work around the railway timetable must often have been considerable, as when he missed the 9.00.p.m. train from Brighouse on New Year's Eve 1855, and had to travel back via Lightcliffe, arriving home as the new year dawned.³² Other forms of transport were adopted on an ad hoc basis, and Mallinson at least was a perfectly competent horse rider, even though he did not own one. Thus, for example, on 26th April 1856 he took the train from Halifax to Leeds and travelled on to Harewood by horse, and on 2nd October the same year, he took the train to Brighouse and accompanied Mr. Higham, by horse, to Brighouse. The distance was very short, so perhaps it is significant that Mallinson took the trouble to record it. A more common option when travelling beyond the railway network was generally to take a coach, as Healey did on 4th November 1854 (a Saturday) when he travelled 'with [the Rev. W. Palmes] *by mail* [from Hornsea] to Hull and by train to Bradford, and Mallinson did on 14th July 1856 when he took the '4½ p.m. *Bus* to Brighouse' or on 1st August following, when he travelled '*By Cab*' to Mount Pellon (my italics). Nonetheless, an inevitable part of most weeks included many miles of walking.

There is little real evidence of Mallinson and Healey's other possessions or lack thereof, or of the furniture and fittings in their houses, including such essentials to the modern mind as water closets and a source (it would obviously have had to be gas) for cooking, lighting and heating water for washing. 'By the fifties', according to Geoffrey Best, 'gas lights were normal in middle- and upper-class houses in most towns and cities',³³ but what about the

³⁰ *The Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer*, 1st July 1876, p. 2, *The Halifax Guardian*, 15th February 1868, p. 8, and *The Bradford Observer*, 10th February 1870, p. 3.

³¹ G.F.A. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75* (London: Weidengeld & Nicholson, 1971), p. 36.

³² D/B, 31st December 1855.

³³ Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875*, p. 42.

1840s, and where did the 'middle-class' begin'? Also, did 'most towns and cities' include Bradford and Halifax? Healey's office in Tyrell Street lay right in the commercial heart of the town yet he was still working by candlelight on December 31st 1857, when he paid 2/- for candles and 10/6d for coal.³⁴ Mallinson owed £2.15s.0d at his death for Venetian blinds he had recently purchased, but other outstanding payments were due for food and consumables: £2.5s.0d to the butcher, £5.2s.0d to the chemist, £14.1s.4d to the draper, £20 to a dressmaker, and a convivial £31.4s.0d to the wine & spirit merchant. Mallinson had also recently undergone a recent eye operation, which conceivably contributed to his death, since he owed £50 for that. Attention from the doctor during his final days had led to £27 being due due to him.

Mallinson and Healey's leisure activities were certainly not much of a draw on their income during their partnership years for the very simple reason they were so extraordinarily unusual. Apart from Christmas Day and Good Friday, their only non-working days were obviously all Sundays, when it was virtually compulsory for all respectable people to attend morning service at the least, and for Mallinson during his churchwardenship, probably evening service too. That confined leisure time to Sunday afternoons when, in any case, most 'frivolous' activities were proscribed. Healey did, admittedly, take three days off work in August 1856 to attend the Bradford Musical Festival,³⁵ but the only holiday he took during the years 1854-57 was a long weekend in Windermere in autumn 1855.³⁶ Mallinson's only holiday during the same years was taken during the first week of September 1854, when he (and presumably his wife) travelled by train to Liverpool and on to Rhyl by boat on Saturday 2nd, visited Prestatyn on the 3rd and Rhuddlan Castle on the 4th, and then took a short cruise around the coast to Penrhyn castle and slate quarry on the 5th and Caernarfon on the 6th, arriving at the last in time to travel on to Llanberis for the night so that Mallinson could climb Snowdon next morning and descend via the Pyg Track to the east, in time to return to the boat that evening, before it sailed back to Llandudno on the 8th and thence to Blackpool on the 9th, from where he travelled home by train on Sunday 10th, arriving in Halifax at 10.15.p.m., in time for work the next day.³⁷ It sounds, perhaps, rather hectic and expensive, and certainly nothing similar was undertaken during the three following years.

³⁴ D/B, 31st December 1857.

³⁵ D/B, 26th, 27th & 28th August, 1856.

³⁶ D/B, 26th, 27th, 29th & 30th October 1855.

³⁷ D/B, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th & 11th September 1854.

* * * * *

Probate Records.

Of course one other way to gain insight into someone's wealth and social position during life, is to examine their probate records after death. Healey's will was proved at Wakefield on 11th December 1862 upon the oath of his widow, Elizabeth, when his estate was valued at under £2,000.³⁸ Mary Mallinson's affidavit, on the other hand, sworn before Edward Hill at the County Court in Halifax on 22nd May 1884, assessed Mallinson's estate at a net value of £7,436.17s.8d, where £7,169.16s.5d was held in stocks and shares, £178.14s.1d was cash in the bank, £15 was cash in the house, £22.9s.0d was rent owed to him on "the deceased's own Real and Leasehold Property", a further £30.2s.3d was due to him in miscellaneous debts, £295 was the estimated value of his household effects, and £25.12s.6d was the estimated value of his books and office furniture, against the sum of which his own debts amounted in all to £256.10s.2d.³⁹ However, although the final total is a reasonably handsome one, the problem for the purposes of this thesis is obviously the date. This was twenty-two years after Thomas Healey's death and twenty-one after the firm of Mallinson and Healey had been wound up,⁴⁰ and Mallinson had obviously done other work since. He had, in particular, been in partnership with William Swinden Barber (1832-1908) for seven or eight years, from 1863 or '64 to 1871,⁴¹ after which, when he was still only 53, he seems largely to have dropped from notice,⁴² which seems curious in the light of the extensive office premises he appears to have been renting. He might have inherited money around this time, or to have been able to rely henceforward on the dividends from his investments.

Mallinson's stocks and shares were held chiefly in railway companies.⁴³ The price he had originally paid for them is also stated in the affidavit and certainly in this respect he made

³⁸ Calendar of Probate.

³⁹ The apparent discrepancy of £43.6s.5d in these accounts was the cost of Mallinson's funeral expenses.

⁴⁰ The latest evidence that the firm was still in business under that name is to be found in *The Bradford Observer* for 20th August 1863, p. 1, in an advertisement putting the building of St. Barnabas's, Heaton, out to tender.

⁴¹ *The Leeds Times*, 18th March 1871, p. 2.

⁴² But see the afterword to this thesis.

⁴³ Viz., the Great Northern Railway (£915.14s.6d.), the Great Western Railway (£910.0s.0d), the Midland Railway Company (£777.4s.0d), the London and North Western Railway (£586.8s.10d), the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (£477.18s.4d), the North British Railway Company (£282.10s.0d), the Railway Debenture Trust Company (£235.0s.0d), and the Leeds Tramway Company (£135.0s.0d).

no very great fortune, the best return coming from the Great Western Railway Company, where his investment made a final profit of 71½%, while other holdings did much less well, such as the Great Northern Railway Company shares, which realised a profit of only 13¾%. That was still better than his holdings in the South Blackpool Jetty Company, however, which returned a loss of 15%. Taken altogether, Mallinson's original investments in stocks and shares appears to have been in the region of £5,700, suggesting an overall profit of around 20%. Perhaps he had not held many of them long. By the time of his death, forty-four years had passed since he had first set up business in Brighouse, so if the money he invested had been put aside evenly during that period, he would have needed to have saved about £130 a year. That may not have been an impossible sum for him to bank during his partnership with Healey, even from an average annual income of just £350, considering he had no children and just one dependent niece. Healey's position, of course, was quite different for he had five hungry children to clothe and feed.

* * * * *

Conclusion.

Mallinson and Healey ran a conspicuously busy architectural practice. By their clients and the wider public, they were consequently assumed to be financially successful and in receipt of a steady and probably overestimated income, and the confidence this induced ensured they were the "go-to" architects for any regional ecclesiastical work, including schools and parsonages.

For the partners, on the other hand, matters naturally appeared rather differently. There was a success borne of long hours and hard work, and they were obviously very conscious of the fact. The generating of a middle class income was not only necessary if they and their families were to live in moderate domestic comfort but also if they were to be able to keep up the *appearance* of thriving businessmen in their own right, able to associate on equal or nearly equal terms with the majority of their clients, and to be taken seriously as knowledgeable and respected members of the rising professional classes. This was potentially critical. An inability to do so ran the risk of creating a loss of trust, undermining their position, and precipitating a downward spiral.

PART TWO: THE ELEMENTS OF SUCCESS.

5. THE CULTIVATION OF A COSMOPOLITAN CLIENT BASE.

'Go into the office of [an attorney], ask his charge for preparing a conveyance, and he is shocked almost out of his propriety at such an unprofessional question being put to him. Of course he cannot tell, though the title may have passed under his eye scores of times before. A nice little play is enacted, the applicant is fascinated into good humour, and both are gracious at parting. The innocent is assured that only 'the usual charges' will be made. Usual..! Lawyers' bills engender a deal of bad blood between them and clients; architects' charges do not, because they are paid by commission. Between the architect and client warmth and affection exist after the bill is paid.'

The Liverpool Mercury. Thursday, 22nd July 1858, p. 2.

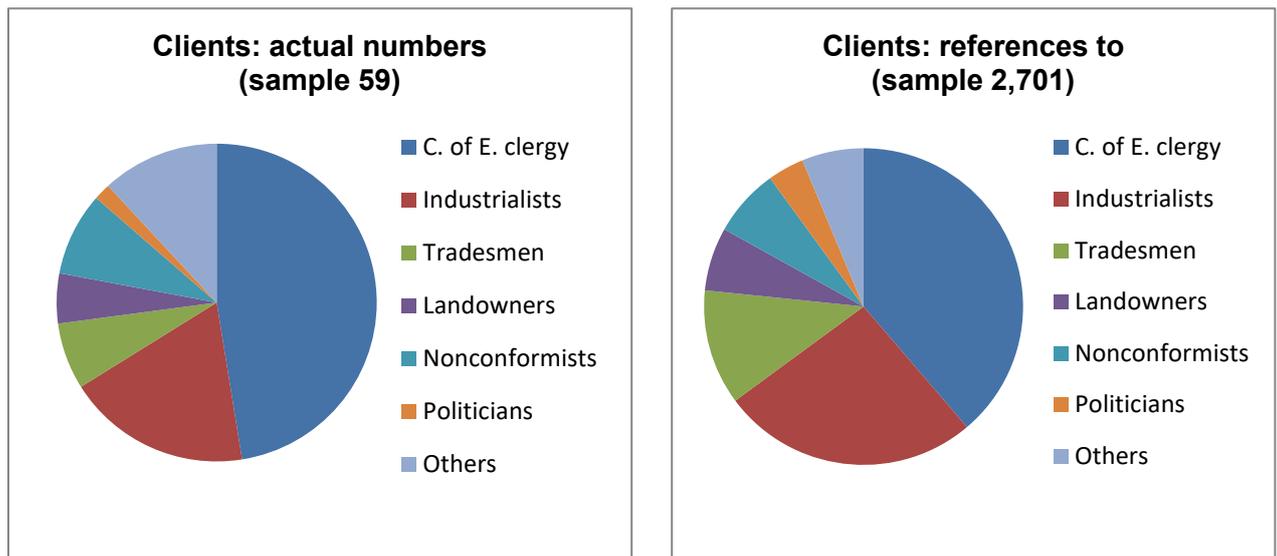
General Remarks.

A provincial Victorian architect with serious intentions, needed a different approach to prospective clients to his illustrious confrères in London. A renowned metropolitan man could direct his appeal to anyone across the country who admired his distinctive style and wanted something similar. He could develop a portfolio spread widely but thinly, and it was of very little consequence if as many or more people *disliked* his work as liked it if he had as many commissions in hand as he could manage. A provincial architect's position was altogether different. Logistically confined, perhaps, within a thirty mile radius of his office, the number of potential clients within reach was unlikely to be such as to enable him to alienate any with equanimity, and he was well advised not to allow himself to become too closely identified with any particular faction but rather to hold himself in as ambiguous a position as it was reasonably feasible to do.

Cognisant of this necessity, Mallinson and Healey drew their clients from almost every rank and profession of men, and occasionally women, who were ever likely to want to build. Only a proportion of these were the respective patrons: others were chairmen of building committees or individuals holding respected positions, most frequently in the Church, who hoped to spend other people's money for them. That was of no real consequence. The relative importance of these different categories of people to the partners during the period 1854-57, can be gauged from the number of contacts they recorded with them in the day-books, albeit the status of some is unclear and/or dependent on the rôle they were playing on a given occasion. With this in mind, seven categories are distinguished in the pie charts below, where it can be seen that while

clergymen comprised almost half the total number (28 out of 59 = 47.5%), they generated a smaller proportion of the work (38.8%), while the reverse was true for the industrialists. The most ill-defined group is undoubtedly the Nonconformists, since all those concerned were also prominent in manufacturing or commerce (mainly the latter). Placing these men in the most relevant category often requires making difficult judgements.

Diagram V: pie charts showing (a), the number of clients mentioned on ≥ 12 pages (days) in the day-books, grouped by rank or vocation, where each client is counted once only, irrespective of the number of times his name occurs; and (b) the *total number of references* to clients in the different categories.



* * * * *

Gentlemen of the Cloth.

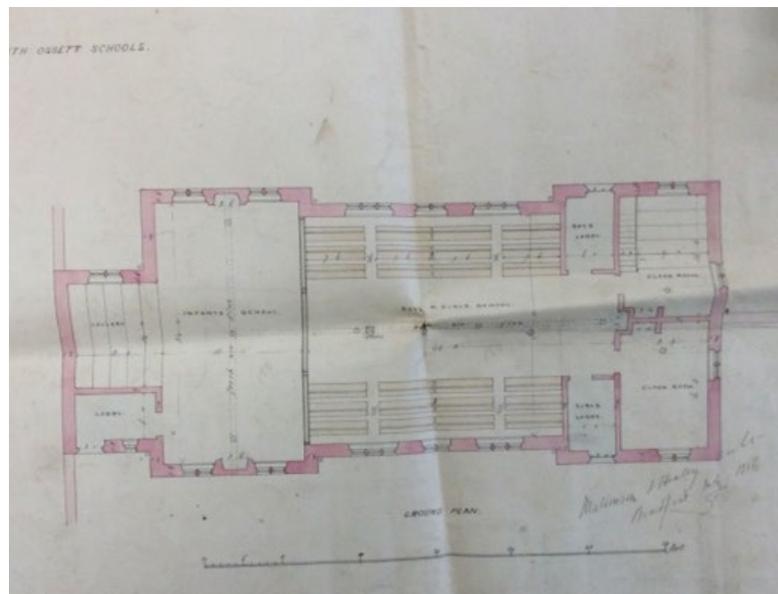
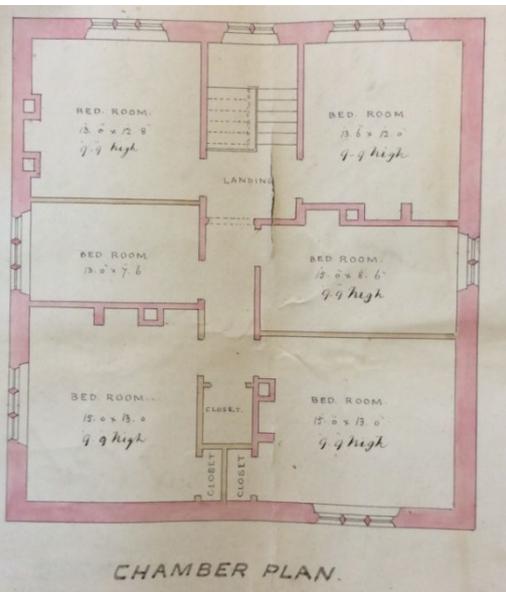
In the words of David Roberts, 'Most clergymen [in early Victorian England] thought that society was quite nicely put together'. God in his wisdom had ordained that a few men should be rich and the majority should be poor so that the poor might find salvation in learning the virtues of sobriety, industriousness, contentment and obedience, and the rich might have opportunity to practise Christian stewardship and charity, and through their exemplary lives, to inspire those beneath them.¹ The rôle of the clergy was to console the afflicted, ameliorate destitution, admonish the selfish, and save those who were lost: God called them to tend His flock, not to try to remake society.²

¹ David Roberts, *Paternalism in Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 152.

² Roberts, *Paternalism in Victorian England*, p. 150.



Figs. 5a(i) - 5a(iii), Christ Church, South Ossett: (i) *above*, the church (built (1850);
(ii) *below left*, the parsonage (1853), chamber plan, unsigned;
and (iii) *below right*, the school (1856), ground plan, signed Mallinson & Healey, Bradford.



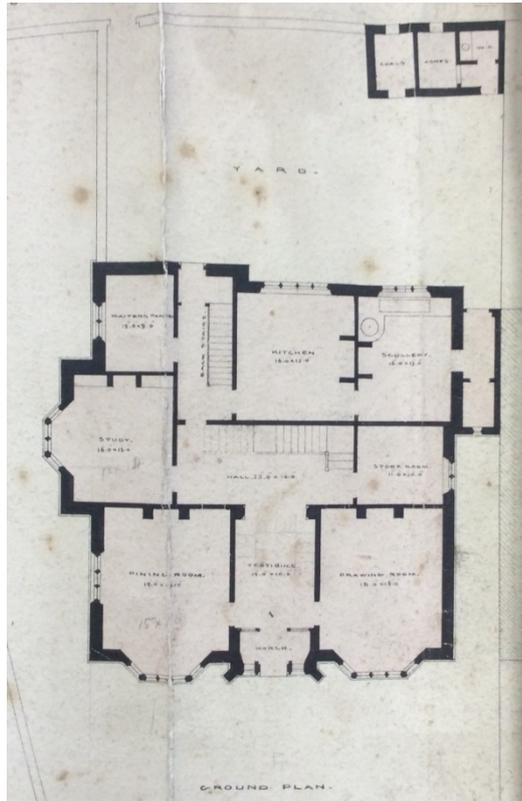
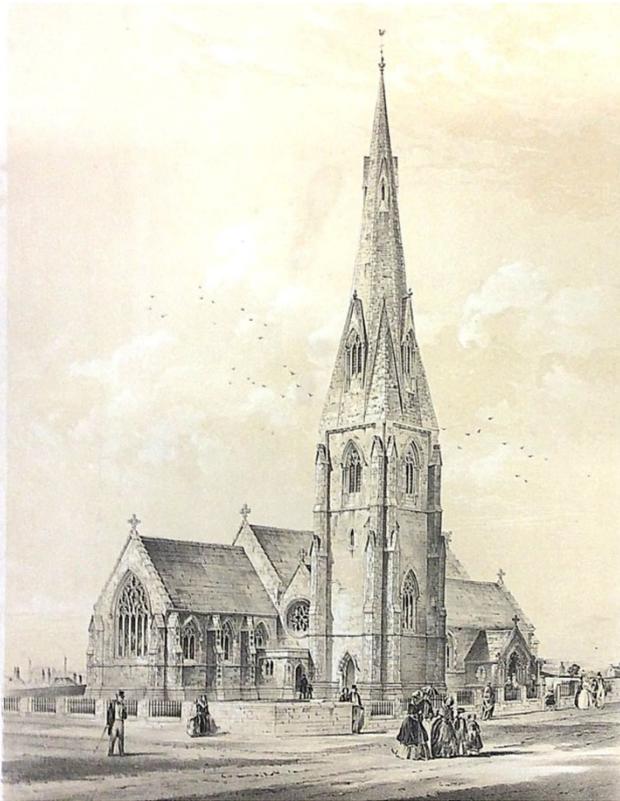
Of course it followed that to achieve so much, the clergy first needed to exist in sufficient numbers. When Reverend Dr. W.F. Hook was appointed Vicar of Leeds in 1837, the population of his parish was fast-approaching 150,000, and although he had three assistant clergy in Leeds township itself and perpetual curates in eight outlying chapelries, only he and two of his in-township assistants possessed full cure of souls.³ A similar state of affairs prevailed throughout the West Riding. Yet when additional clergy were appointed, they needed a church or chapel-of-ease from which to operate, they needed accommodation for themselves and their families, and in the minds of some at least, if they were to build a sustainable congregation, they probably needed a school. Here, then, arose a range of opportunities for the ecclesiastical architect: first and most importantly, a church needed to be built, then if relations between the architect and incumbent remained good, a commission for a parsonage and school might follow. Clergy rarely paid the bulk of the costs of these buildings themselves, but they pleaded the cause of the architect with grantors and building committees, and from their elevated positions, their recommendations were often decisive. This certainly seems to have been the case with some of Mallinson and Healey's reverend clients, who came from across the Anglican spectrum. Thus the partners designed all three of these buildings for the Rev. D.C. Neary of Christ Church, South Ossett, and the Rev. Knight Gale of St. Andrew's, Listerhills, whose Evangelical credentials were displayed by membership of the Church Missionary Society in Neary's case,⁴ and by the delivery of some very intemperate anti-Catholic remarks at the 'Great Protestant Meeting' in Bradford on 10th October 1850 in the case of Knight Gale,⁵ but they also worked around the same time for the Rev. John Bickerdyke of St. Mary's, Quarry Hill, one of the clergymen appointed by Dr. Hook in 1848 when he was trying to repopulate Leeds with High Churchmen more in accordance with his taste,⁶ whose church they restored in 1850 and for whom they designed a new parsonage in 1851. Of course it can only have helped in attracting business that both Mallinson and Healey were diligent church-goers themselves, but to have been equally acceptable to High men and Low, probably required some careful diplomacy. Mallinson worshipped at Halifax parish church and was chosen as vicar's warden by Archdeacon Charles Musgrave in 1855, '56 & '57. He took the chair at the annual parish meeting on 26th March 1857 when Canon Musgrave was unwell and his credentials as a Church of England man were clearly beyond reproach. Nonetheless, as a relaxed latitudinarian, neither he nor Healey appear to have taken any noticeable position in the heated debate over the 'correct' form of Anglican worship.

³ Harry W. Dalton, *Anglican Resurgence under W.F. Hook in Early Victorian Leeds* (Leeds: The Thoresby Society, 2002), pp. 10-11.

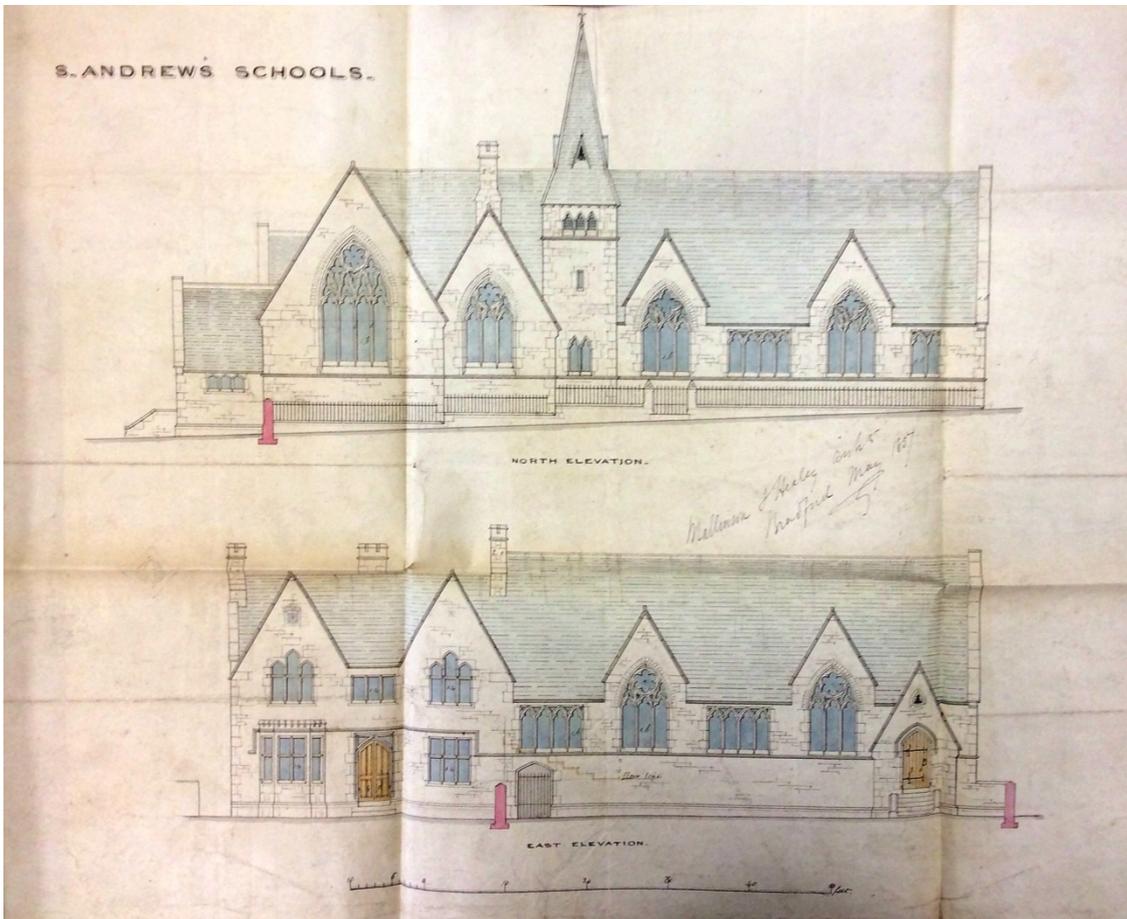
⁴ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 12th August 1854 (p. 7).

⁵ *Supplement to the Leeds Intelligencer*, 14th October 1854 (p. 1).

⁶ Dalton, *Anglican Resurgence under W.F. Hook in Early Victorian Leeds*, p. 70.



Figs. 5b(i) - 5b(iii), St. Andrew's, Listerhills (North Horton): (i) *above left*, the church (1851);
 (ii) *above right*, the parsonage (1853), ground plan, signed Mallinson & Healey;
 and (iii) *below*, the school (1857), north and east elevations, signed Mallinson & Healey, Bradford.



Mallinson and Healey designed the rather modest church of Christ Church, South Ossett, thirteen miles southeast of Bradford, in 1850, and the parsonage and school & teacher's house followed at three-yearly intervals (figs. 5a(i) - 5a(iii)). The church is pseudo-cruciform in plan (i.e. it has transepts but no true crossing) and has a short W. tower and S. porch but no aisles. It is still in use although it has been stripped bare within. The parsonage seems to have been enormous by comparison and was probably a reflection of the size of Rev. Neary's family. The chamber plan shows six bedrooms but no water-closet,⁷ but this was not a matter of niggardliness or short-cutting for when Henry Hunt at the Queen Anne's Bounty Office wrote to the Rev. Neary to say that before the Governors offered a loan, they would expect the plans to be amended to include at least one water closet, the Rev. Neary wrote back to say that it would be more trouble than it was worth, due to 'the difficulty of procuring water in all this neighbourhood'. Indeed, the school plan may also show this was still an area of pioneer settlement, for the building comprised just two main classrooms at right angles to one another, one each for the infants and older children, which, unusually at this time, boys and girls were obviously expected to share.

Neary is mentioned forty-eight times in the day-books, usually to record sending him a letter. The nearest railway station to Ossett was a mile and a half away at Horbury until a branch line arrived in 1862.⁸ Healey made eleven inspection visits to the township during 1854-7 (on two of which he found Neary was away), and Mallinson made three, while Neary visited Healey twice and Mallinson, once, on the last occasion when the primary reason for the trip was to visit Canon Musgrave. This was, therefore, an architect-client relationship conducted mostly at arm's length, but it appears to have been amicable, even if there was little opportunity for 'warmth and affection' to develop to a very great extent. It may be significant, therefore, that neither Mallinson nor Healey seem to have felt it necessary to 'adopt' Neary as their *particular* client for both men seem to have attended to him indiscriminately according to their convenience.

The Rev. Knight Gale, in contrast, was scarcely more more than round the corner from Healey, and his vision for his church and school on Listerhills Road, was on a grander scale altogether (figs. 5b(i) - 5b(iii)). Yet he can only be proved to have visited Healey in his office thirteen times during 1856-7 while his school was under construction, while

⁷ Morley, WYA, WYL555/46.

⁸ David Joy, *A Regional History of the Railways in Great Britain - South and West Yorkshire* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1984), pp. 86 & 89.

Healey called three times on him, leaving two occasions when Healey found it more convenient to write a letter. The church (fig. 5b(i)) had been erected in 1851 and consisted of a long, six-bay nave with independently-gabled aisles, a chancel, and a tall, angle-buttressed northeast tower surmounted by a tapering broach spire lit by two tiers of gabled lucarnes. The aisle arcades were carefully fashioned of arches bearing two sunk quadrants supported on piers composed of four shafts with fillets, separated by hollows. This was an important building therefore, as was the school, although neither remain to be examined today except from their plans and assorted drawings. The north and east elevations of the school (fig. 5b(iii)) were enlivened by four cross-gables and the former also boasted a tower with a broach spire rising above the entrance. Windows were designed in elaborate Second Pointed (Decorated) style and there was subtle variation in all parts as, for example, in the height and width of the gables, the changes in the roof-line, and the ground floor windows in the master's house, one of which was a bay window while the other was flat. Finally, the parsonage (fig. 5b(ii)) was also a cut above the average: the drawing room, dining room and study all boasted large bay windows, and there were five bedrooms on the first floor, besides a dressing room, bathroom, separate water closet, and a housemaid's linen closet. Money, it appears, had not been short here.

* * * * *

Captains of Industry.

Mallinson and Healey's clients from among the manufacturing class were relatively few in number but included several of real importance, notably (i) John and William Foster of Black Dyke Mills, discussed in chapter three, (ii) Edward Akroyd of Haley Hill, (iii) Charles Hardy of the Low Moor Ironworks Company, who was a major patron of the Church in and around Bradford and who built St. Mark's, Low Moor, entirely at his own expense, and (iv) Messrs. Hague, Cook & Wormald of Dewsbury Mills, who were largely responsible for Holy Trinity, Thornhill Lees. Thus by no means all the work commissioned by industrialists, was industrial in nature, and some of the 'big names' that *did* ask Mallinson (for it was usually him) to do something at their Works, often only had a small job in mind. For example, Samuel Cunliffe Lister's name appears in the day-books, but only in connection with alterations he wanted made to an existing warehouse (probably the addition of an extra storey).⁹

However, to focus instead on these men's apparently altruistic undertakings, either for their work force or the wider community, it seems unlikely that piety was always their

⁹ D/B, 9th September 1856.

principal motive,¹⁰ for since a tradition of paternalism still held strong among at least some landowners, it was always liable to rub off on aspiring captains of industry who wished to be seen to emulate them. The outstanding 'industrial squire' in West Yorkshire was, famously, Sir Titus Salt, who began building his model village of Saltaire in 1850 on a green-field site four miles north of Bradford,¹¹ but he was anticipated by Edward Akroyd at Copley (1849-53) in the Calder Valley, south of Halifax, in an exercise Akroyd later repeated at Akroydon (1861-68), a few hundred yards from his home at Bankfield, Northowram. Lucy Caffeyn examined these and other developments in workers' housing in the West Riding in some detail for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in 1986,¹² but was unable to find the name of any architect who might have been involved at Copley.¹³ It is interesting therefore, that Mallinson and Healey's day-book for 1854 opens with three references to attempts by Mallinson to sign off the contractor's and plumber's accounts at 'Copley cottages', for work presumably completed the previous year, and while it is impossible to tell from this scant evidence, precisely what rôle the partners had played in this 'first effort to take working-class housing out of the hands of those speculators who wanted nothing better than slums',¹⁴ it is evident that the partners were perfectly willing to design workers' housing to oblige an established client, as witnessed by their plans and elevations for Sandbed Cottages, Queen's Head, erected for John and William Foster at Black Dyke Mills in 1853.

The evidence for William Foster's character is unsurprisingly only circumstantial. Cudworth, who was usually diligent in his praise of anyone important 'round about Bradford', had little to say of him or his father beyond emphasising their energy and assiduousness in business,¹⁵ and Sigsworth's comment about the 'sterner and even choleric side to [William's] nature' and his excessive consciousness of the position he had come to occupy in society,¹⁶ was written seventy years after William's death, by a writer

¹⁰ Charles Hardy of the Low Moor Ironworks Company was a striking exception.

¹¹ Jack Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist - Titus Salt and the Growth of Nineteenth Century Bradford* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1983), p. 285.

¹² Lucy Caffeyn, *Workers' Housing in West Yorkshire, 1750-1920* (London: H.M.S.O., 1986).

¹³ The architect at Akroydon was W.H. Crossland, with some input from George Gilbert Scott.

¹⁴ Pevsner & Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire: the West Riding*, p. 64.

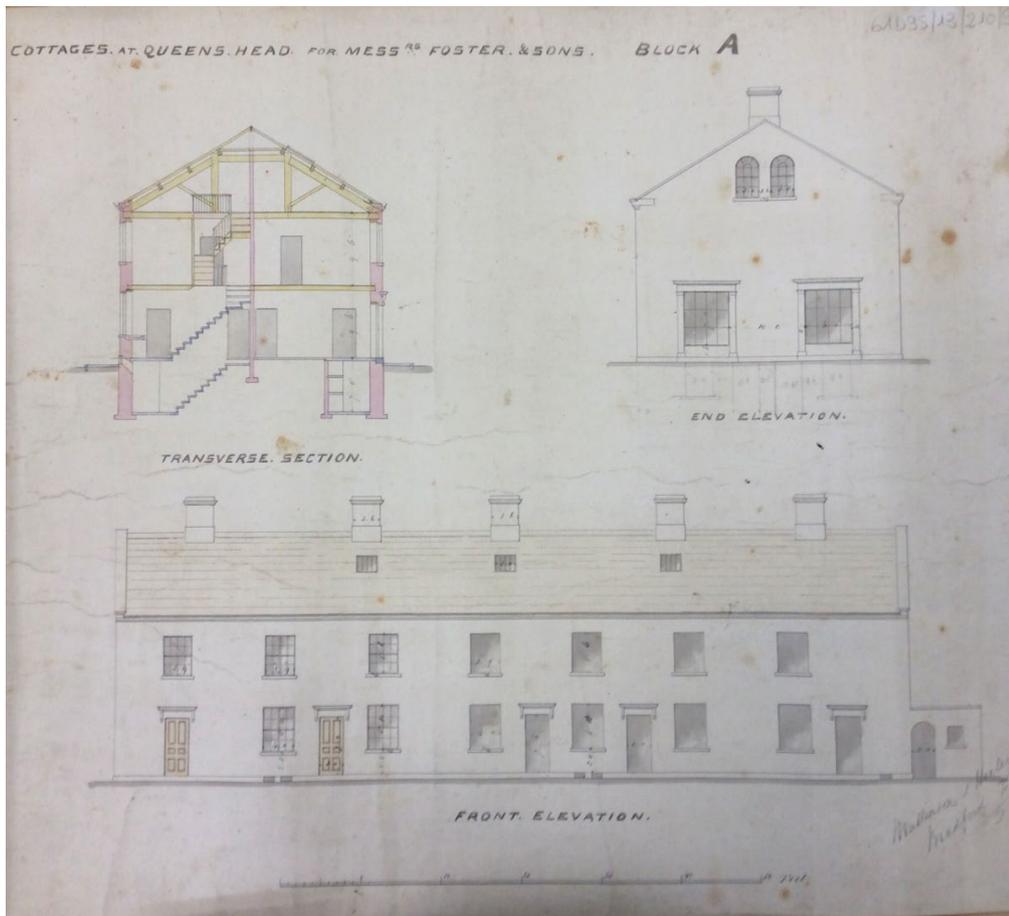
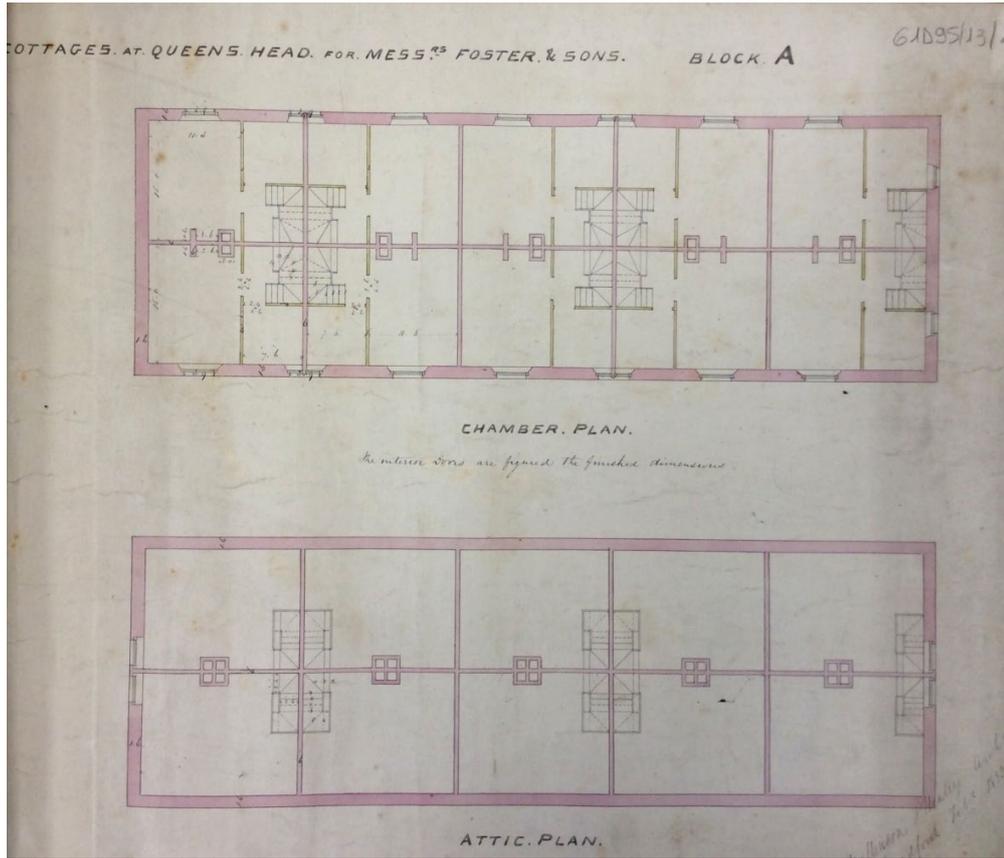
¹⁵ William Cudworth, *Round About Bradford* (Bradford: Thomas Brear, 1876), pp. 113-121.

¹⁶ Sigsworth, *Black Dyke Mills*, p. 364.



Figs. 5c(i) - 5c(iv), John & William Foster of Black Dyke Mills, and plans, section and elevations of Sandbed Cottages, Queen's Head, signed Mallinson & Healey, Bradford, 1853:

- (i) *above left*, John Foster (1799-1879);
- (ii) *below left*, William Foster (1821-1884);
- (iii) *above right*, chamber and attic plan of block 'A'; and (iv) *below right*, transverse section and end & front elevations of block 'A'.



who had never met him. Yet William appears to have been an exemplary employer by the standards of his day if one can judge from the plans for his workers' housing. Sandbed cottages consisted of two blocks of ten and one block of twelve back-to-back houses (figs. 5c(iii) & 5c(iv)) and a terrace of five through-houses, presumably erected for overseers or other workers holding senior positions. The back-to-back houses (blocks A, B & D) all comprised four storeys, including a basement and an attic, and had, essentially, one room per floor, except that in blocks A & D (but not block B), this room was subdivided at chamber level by a thin partition to create a 'box' room 7' 6' square, a main bedroom 11' 3' by 15', and a 'landing', 7' 6' by 6' 6'. In contrast, eight of the houses in block B (two groups of four) had 'L'-shaped plans, resulting from setting the staircase in one behind the staircase of its neighbour, and these had a single bedroom at chamber level, 14' by 16'. The through-houses in block C each had two rooms at ground level and two bedrooms at chamber level, all with fireplaces, one room at each level measuring 16' by 11' and the other, 12'6' by 9'6'. There was an attic and a small cellar.

These houses compare favourably with those Titus Salt was constructing simultaneously in the first phase of development at Saltaire, in the block between Albert Terrace and Caroline Street, comprising Herbert, Fanny, Edward and Amelia Streets.¹⁷ Number 16, Amelia Street,¹⁸ today contains a total floor space of 559 square feet on the ground and first floors combined, while number 2, Edward Street,¹⁹ is smaller still at approximately 516 square feet. These houses, which were never constructed as back-to-backs admittedly (although the houses at the ends of each row were), were built at an average cost of £120 each. Houses in blocks A and D of Sandbed Cottages by comparison, contained 273¾ square feet on each of the basement, ground and chamber floors, and perhaps half as much useful space in the attic, amounting to about 958 square feet in total, while the through-houses in block C, which had only a small cellar, had 294¾ square feet on the ground and chamber floors and, say, half as much in the attic, amounting to approximately 737 square feet. These dimensions suggest the Fosters were more than equal to the best of their confrères, at least in regard to their provision for their workers' housing.²⁰ Moreover, Mallinson seems to have found William

¹⁷ Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist*, pp. 266-7.

¹⁸ As advertised for sale on 'Zoopla', January 2019.

¹⁹ As advertised for sale on 'On the Market', January 2019.

²⁰ The Foster family had no need to be cheeseparing admittedly. When William died in 1884, his estate was valued at £1,180,000. Largely as a result of his paternalism, when Titus Salt died in 1877, his estate was worth a mere £400,000. (Brian R. Law, *Fieldens of Todmorden* (Littleborough: George Kelsall, 1995), p. 232.)

Foster personable enough. This was very much to the partners' advantage, of course, for there was always something William wanted doing. Thus in August 1855 he wanted a shed for his porter's lodge, in October he asked Mallinson to value a farm he was thinking of purchasing, in September 1857 he decided he would like a conservatory, and later the same month he wanted an extra window in his billiard room.²¹ Indeed, this continual succession of minor tasks, given expression one at a time, seems to suggest a friendship had developed between William Foster and Mallinson and that they were meeting regularly, and one entry in the day-book may support this: 'In the afternoon, by cab with Mr. Carter to Queen's Head. Inspecting at Mr. Wm. Foster's lodge and evening with him.'²² Here lay the advantage of befriending clients and having a sociable and out-going personality. Here also may have lain one of the reasons why Healey needed Mallinson every bit as much as Mallinson needed him.

* * * * *

Land and Its Duties.

It was a familiar aphorism in the mid-nineteenth century that 'land had its duties as well as rights' and this was seen or heard regularly in the press and public discourse. The duties of landowners by various accounts were many and wide-ranging, and extended from 'erect[ing] comfortable dwelling houses for their tenantry and cottages for the labourers',²³ or 'providing ... schools for their poor parishioners',²⁴ on the one hand, to taking an interest in their 'humble pleasures... by mingling with them, and giving them the advantage of their counsel and presence'²⁵ on the other. Such men obviously stood for 'the stability of the social order' and were generally 'adherents of the traditional High Church, the High Church of the days before Ecclesiology and Oxford Romanizing'.²⁶

Mallinson and Healey's clients included several substantial landowners - men who had no need to burden themselves with commerce or manufacturing (although their fathers may have done so or even they themselves in their youth), and who viewed

²¹ D/B, 20th August 1855, 10th October 1855, 17th September 1857, and 24th September 1857.

²² D/B, 5th September 1855.

²³ *The Scotsman*, 3rd July 1850, p. 3.

²⁴ *The Coventry Standard*, 15th January 1858, p. 4.

²⁵ *Wetherby News & Central Yorkshire Journal*, 9th September 1858, p. 1.

²⁶ Edward Kaufman, 'E.B. Lamb - a Case Study in Victorian Architectural Patronage' (*The Art Bulletin*, 70/2, June 1988, pp. 314-345), p. 324.

the Church as the bedrock of society. One such was John Hollings of Whetley Hall, who paid for the building and endowment of St. Paul's, Manningham, in 1846,²⁷ 'in consideration of which... [he was given] the appointment of the first two incumbents'.²⁸ A second was John Foster of Slack, Hebden Bridge (not to be confused with John Foster of Black Dyke Mills), who inherited extensive estates from his father and was described as 'the most munificent contributor' to St Thomas the Apostle, Heptonstall,²⁹ albeit that that church had many significant subscribers. Patrons among the nobility included George Howard, the Seventh Earl of Carlisle (1802-64), who paid for the entire cost of St. John's church, Welburn, a mile and a half south of his seat at Castle Howard,³⁰ and Henry Lascelles, the Third Earl of Harewood (1797-1857) and his wife, who were responsible for the construction of Weeton School (1855),³¹ made a significant contribution to the construction of St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick (1856) (where they also donated the site),³² and had earlier been the sole patrons of the ambitious church of St. Barnabas, Weeton (1851), although here they did as Edward Akroyd was to do five years later at Haley Hill, namely turn to the metropolis in the person of George Gilbert Scott. However, the Earl and Countess may also have subscribed to the reconstruction of Mallinson and Healey's St. Peter's, Thorner (1854),³³ and the Countess alone, to the partners' new church of St. Peter, Arthington (in 1862, after the Earl had died).

John Hollings of Whetley Hall (1814-64), was a man of 'retiring disposition... [who, though] never taking an active part in public life, was a very zealous Churchman [who] probably did more than any other single person to advance the ten churches movement at Bradford.'³⁴ His father, Thomas, had been 'engaged in the worsted trade..., to which business [he] and

²⁷ Cudworth, *Manningham, Heaton and Allerton (Townships of Bradford), Treated Historically and Topographically* (Bradford: published by subscription, 1896), pp. 100-102. However, Cudworth is slightly at odds with the report on the laying of the church's foundation stone in *The Bradford Observer* for 6th November, 1846, which said that John Hollings *contributed £3,000 towards* the building and endowment, with the clear implication that additional money was obtained elsewhere.

²⁸ *The Bradford Observer*, 5th November 1846, p. 8.

²⁹ *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 25th May 1850, p. 7.

³⁰ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 22nd April 1865, p. 4.

³¹ D/B, 12th May 1855.

³² Subscription list, dated 1856. LPA, ICBS 5025.

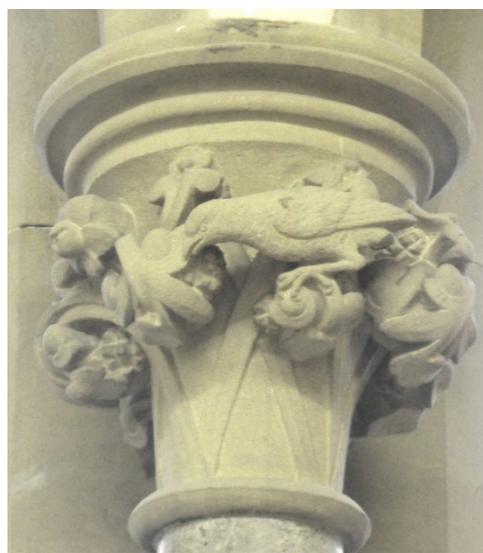
³³ *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 1st December 1855, p. 8.

³⁴ *The Leeds Mercury*, 26th February 1884, p. 5.



brothers... were brought up', but an uncle, Joseph Hollings, 'a man of considerable means, residing at Whetley Hall', bequeathed his estate to John and

Figs. 5d(i) - 5d(iii), St. Paul's, Manningham: (i) *above*, the church from the east; and (ii & iii) *below*, the capitals to two of the interior window shafts to the N. aisle.



his elder brothers, who both died unmarried, leaving the property exclusively to John, who was now married to the eldest daughter of the Rev. Canon Welby Mitton,³⁵ incumbent of St. Paul's, Manningham, whom he himself had presented to the living! This fortuitous set of circumstances should not obscure Hollings's genuine commitment to the Church in and around Manningham, however, which was to be witnessed again thirteen years after he had moved to Surrey for his health, when he returned to attend the consecration of St. Luke's, Victor Road, Manningham, to which he had contributed £2,200.³⁶

Hollings probably first met Healey soon after the latter moved to Bradford because Healey worshipped in Manningham week by week (even though he lived in Little Horton). Hollings receives many mentions in the day-books and his dealings are exclusively with Healey throughout. Usually the subject of their meetings concerned alterations already being carried out at St. Paul's (chiefly the widening of the S. aisle), less than a decade after the church's original construction, occasionally it was about the erection of St. Philip's, Girdlington (figs(i) - K(ii). K, appendix 1), three-quarters of a mile to the west, where Hollings was one of the donors and possibly chairman of the building committee, or the building of Manchester Road schools, with which Hollings's connection is unclear, and sometimes Healey makes no mention of the purpose of Hollings's visit at all, leaving open the possibility that he turned up merely to see what Healey was doing. This gains some substance from the fact that he then occasionally accompanied Healey on inspection visits to sites in which he had no discernible financial interest. Conceivably, his relationship with Healey, built up through their mutual attendance at St. Paul's, had given him the status of a leisured, inquisitive friend.

St. Paul's, Manningham, is a proud church surmounted by an octagonal broach spire, 'confessedly erected against the twin evils of Chartism and Dissent' in Malcolm Hardman's insightful phrase,³⁷ standing on a slight rise at the top of Church Street (figs. 5d(i) - 5d(iii)). It was described by the reporter at the ceremony for laying the foundation stone (who therefore had to base his description solely on the plans and elevations) as

'the means of supplying a large and destitute population with the means of spiritual life... The edifice... will be in the style of architecture prevalent during the reign of King Henry the Third, generally known as 'first pointed' or early English style [sic]. It will be a cruciform structure, consisting of a nave with

³⁵ *Sheldrake's Aldershot & Sandhurst Military Gazette and Farnham Chronicle*, 15th March 1884, p. 8.

³⁶ This was in November 1880. The church was designed by T.H. & F. Healey, suggesting Hollings retained his ties with the Healey family, eighteen years after Thomas Healey's death.

³⁷ Malcolm Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 54

north and south aisles, clerestory and south porch, north and south transepts, a spacious chancel with sacristy on the north side, and a central tower and spire 140 feet high... The timbers of the roof will be exposed to view [they are no longer]; the seats, low and of unobtrusive character, will afford accommodation to upwards of 600 worshippers; there will be no galleries, and the whole of the interior moulded work will be of stone.'³⁸

This is the building which, in most of its essentials, survives to the present day. The widening of the S. aisle was carried out under Healey's direction barely ten years after the building was first completed.

* * * * *

Trade and Dissent.

For most earnest church architects working in the metropolis, building chapels for Dissenters was little short of taboo. Not only did they often recoil at the idea themselves, since many were of High Church or Tractarian persuasion, but they knew that to do so would count against them with their clients. The die had been cast by the Cambridge Camden (later Ecclesiological) Society, founded in 1839 by J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb, undergraduates at Trinity College, in their redoubtable *Ecclesiologist* magazine...

'At present there is nothing to hinder the most ignorant pretender [to the architectural profession] to applying his unhallowed hands to so sacred a thing as church-building. Fresh from his Mechanics' Institute, his Railroad Station, his Socialist Hall, he has the assumption and arrogance to attempt a church. Let it be remembered what a church is - a building set apart for the holiest purposes... - is such a building to be attempted by a 'Mr. Compo', a mere builder fresh from a neighbouring meeting house?'³⁹

This made it perfectly plain what the would-be offender was pitted against, yet Mallinson and Healey seem to have been serenely unconcerned about generating disapprobation. One reason was probably that since some of the biggest manufacturers in the West Riding were Nonconformists themselves, Dissent wielded too much clout to be snubbed or ignored. Titus Salt, for example, was brought up at the Horton Lane Independent Chapel,⁴⁰ and in building Saltaire, created in his

³⁸ *The Bradford Observer*, 5th November 1846, p. 8.

³⁹ *The Ecclesiologist*, 1/5 (March 1842), p. 66.

⁴⁰ Reynolds, *The Great Paternalist*, pp. 42 & 68.

Congregational church, the most ostentatious building in the village. Nevertheless, most of Mallinson and Healey's Dissenting clients were tradesmen rather than industrialists, and Mallinson and Healey designed or altered at least eight chapels for them - possibly more, since most of the surviving evidence comes from the four day-books,⁴¹ raising the question of whether other provincial architects, noted for their work for the Established Church, built more Nonconformist chapels than is generally recognised. This may have been more or less acceptable depending on the attitude of the local Anglican minister: 'religious diversification... in Yorkshire in 1851', as John Wolffe pointed out, 'could be highly confrontational in some areas and readily consensual in others'.⁴²

Scottish Presbyterianism can reasonably claim to be the oldest of Old Dissent, with roots going back to Calvin (1509-64). The foundation stone for Mallinson and Healey's 'Scotch' church on the corner between Infirmary Street and Westgate, was laid with much cheering and laughter on Tuesday, 16th May 1848, James Cochrane wielding the trowel.⁴³ All did not go well however, for on 5th September, an unsecured section of the parapet crushed and killed three workmen when it suddenly fell to the ground.⁴⁴ The chapel was duly completed nonetheless, and remains to be examined today (see p. 168 and fig. N, appendix 1): it is formed of a simple rectangle, three bays by five, with a W. façade facing squarely on to the road, demonstrating Christopher Wakeling's point that Nonconformist buildings 'with no need for orientation, have a greater opportunity for the display of façades or street frontages'.⁴⁵ This is further illustrated at the former Independent chapel in Rastrick.

Wakeling traces the shift in the Independents' preferred style during the course of the 1850s from classical to Gothic.⁴⁶ Mallinson and Healey built two chapels for the

⁴¹ A possible ninth chapel was Trinity Road Baptist chapel, Halifax, which receives one mention in the day-books, on 29th October 1855, when Mallinson recorded that he examined the carpenter's bill of extras there. The chapel was still not complete at this time but whether Mallinson and Healey were responsible for it is unproven. Demolished in 1965, it was clearly a significant building for it cost £4,500 to construct (*Bradford Observer*, 12th September 1861, p. 5).

⁴² John Wolffe, 'The 1851 Census and Religious Change in Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire' (*Northern History*, 45/1, 1998, pp. 71-86), p. 85.

⁴³ *The Bradford Observer*, 25th May 1848, p. 8.

⁴⁴ *The Bradford Observer*, 14th September 1848, p. 5. This was not the only instance of a workman being killed whilst erecting one of Mallinson and Healey's churches. In 1863 one of the builders of St. Peter's church, Arthington, was similarly crushed to death when he prematurely removed the supports to one of the internal arches *The Leeds Times*, 15th August 1863, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Christopher Wakeling, 'The nonconformist tradition: chapels, change and continuity', in *The Victorian Church*, pp. 82-97 (p. 83).

⁴⁶ Wakeling, 'The nonconformist tradition: chapels, change and continuity', pp. 88-89.

Independents, designed a third that was not built (Cleckheaton, 1857), and were responsible for alterations at two more (Providence Independent Chapel, Elland, 1855, and Zion Independent Chapel, Halifax, 1856). Springfield Independent Chapel, Dewsbury, was designed, built and consecrated in the space of eleven months at the instigation of Messrs. Crawshaw and Lee, although another promoter, a Mr. Ingham, was prominent during its construction. Messrs. Crawshaw and Lee first called upon Mallinson to propose the construction of the building on 3rd January 1856. Healey worked intensively on the design during February, the foundation stone was laid on 25th March, and the building was opened on 26th November. Messrs. Crawshaw and Lee, who specified at the outset that they only had £1,800 to spend, persuaded Healey to agree 'to charge Commission on that sum only [even] if the Contracts should exceed it'.⁴⁷

Cleckheaton Independent Chapel seems to have caused the partners some difficulty. They were asked to submit two designs to the building committee (more accurately, a *rebuilding* committee), one in Grecian and one in Gothic style,⁴⁸ and actually submitted three,⁴⁹ but after all the work this involved, traceable to at least a fortnight of Healey's time, the committee decided to pass the job to Lockwood and Mawson⁵⁰ - a decision probably made more on religious grounds than architectural ones, since Lockwood was a Congregationalist.⁵¹ This seems to have been a rare set-back for Mallinson and Healey, although in venturing into building for the Independents, they can hardly have been unaware that they were trespassing on Lockwood's private turf.

The Independent chapel in Rastrick will be considered in detail in chapter 6. The principal contact here was Thomas Ormerod, who ran his wine and spirit business together with his brother, Hanson (1806-90). Mallinson would surely have known both men as a native of Brighouse himself, and their different religious allegiance was obviously no barrier to friendship, for the day-books record four occasions when one or both brothers was invited to dine.⁵² The brothers seem to have been of very different character, however, for although

⁴⁷ D/B, 5th January 1856.

⁴⁸ D/B, 9th January 1857.

⁴⁹ D/B, 13th February 1857.

⁵⁰ Burgess, *Lockwood & Mawson of Bradford and London*, p. 52.

⁵¹ Burgess, *Lockwood & Mawson of Bradford and London*, p. 34.

⁵² D/B, 7th October 1854, 17th March 1855, 24th January 1856 & 1st August, 1857.

both played an active part in local affairs and were of strong Liberal conviction,⁵³ Thomas was an upstanding deacon at the chapel for more than three decades,⁵⁴ renowned for charitable works such as his twenty years as honorary treasurer to the Brighouse Local Board,⁵⁵ whereas Hanson was a comparatively irascible character, at least when drunk.⁵⁶ Here again, however, Mallinson seems to have been equally comfortable in either man's company - a testament either to his sociability or a hard-bitten determination to be sure to befriend clients.

The two remaining Nonconformist chapels where Mallinson and Healey are known to have been involved were Norcroft Place (Richmond Terrace) Wesleyan Chapel, Bradford, where they designed a 'neat commodious structure in the modern Italian style of architecture', which accommodated 1,100 people and had an adjoining school and master's house, all for a total cost of £2,800,⁵⁷ and Infirmary Street Baptist Chapel, Bradford, where the partners were responsible only for alterations and repairs. The former, which appears to have been Mallinson and Healey's only work for New Dissent, was opened in 1853, with the result that the day-books record only the designing three years later of an organ case for an organ supplied by Mr. James Rhodes, proprietor of the pianoforte and harmonium showrooms at 10 & 11, Darley Street.⁵⁸ Healey took the dimensions of the proposed organ site at Norcroft Road and passed them on to Rhodes for his consideration.⁵⁹ However, the curious point here is that it seems to have been this same James Rhodes who was the principal instigator of the repairs at Infirmary Street Baptist Chapel, suggesting this might have been an example of a coincidental business contact generating more business for the other protagonist in the future, albeit since the dates for the new organ at Norcroft Road and the chapel repairs at Infirmary Street roughly coincide, it is not clear in that case who may have been generating work for whom!⁶⁰

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⁵³ *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 27th June 1874, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, 19th September 1879, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *The Halifax Courier*, 23rd May 1868, p. 5.

⁵⁶ *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 7th May 1859, p. 7.

⁵⁷ *The Leeds Times*, 16th July 1853, p. 8.

⁵⁸ See, for example, *The Bradford Observer* for 5th November 1857, p. 1.

⁵⁹ D/B, 24th March 1856.

⁶⁰ See, for example, D/B, 31st October 1855.

Honourable Friends.

While Thomas and Hanson Ormerod were known to be ardent Liberals, equally good clients came from other parts of the political spectrum. The industrialist Edward Akroyd (1810-87) was an old-fashioned moderate Whig who moved steadily to the right during the course of his lifetime and was briefly Liberal Member of Parliament for Huddersfield, 1857-59, and later, Liberal-Conservative (Peelite) Member for Halifax in 1865 and again in 1868-74. His journey in matters of religion was probably still more marked for although brought up as a Methodist, he joined the Church of England some time before 1860, and soon after that, was elected as a committee member of the unbridled Cambridge Camden Society. He was heavily involved in railway business and local charities and organisations, which included being the founder of the Yorkshire Penny Bank in 1859 and Honorary Colonel of the 4th Yorkshire West Riding Rifle Volunteer Corps from 1861, a position that was especially dear to him.⁶¹ For him, Mallinson and Healey built a large mill shed, 1854-55, and an expensive little cemetery chapel halfway up Haley Hill, as well, perhaps, as some of the workers' cottages at Copley village, previously discussed. The construction of the cemetery chapel will be considered in the next chapter. When it came to the building of his model church, however, two hundred yards down the hill on the opposite side of the road, after initially tantalising Healey with the prospect of the project, as a result of which Healey wasted several days drawing up preliminary designs,⁶² Akroyd quickly passed the job to George Gilbert Scott in London, who went on to design the surviving albeit now redundant church of All Souls'.⁶³ The effect this may have had on the architects' feelings, of course, can only be a matter of speculation, but perhaps they were inured to such setbacks and, in any event, they doubtless kept their thoughts to themselves as Healey continued to work on the mill shed and cemetery chapel. In fact, as with Hollings and Healey, so Akroyd and Mallinson probably met every Sunday for Akroyd worshipped at Halifax parish church, where he rented seat number 22 in the north aisle and where he would have been almost bound to have exchanged pleasantries with the churchwardens.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion.*

⁶² D/B, 12th, 13th, 15th & 16th January, 1855.

⁶³ It has now been carefully restored by the Churches Conservation Trust after serious vandalism following its redundancy in 1979 and equally serious deterioration resulting from the 'catalytic reaction between the limestone and sandstone' Scott employed in its original construction. (Gavin Stamp, *Gothic for the Steam Age* (London: Aurum Press, 2015), p. 24.)

⁶⁴ Halifax pew rent book, Wakefield, WYA, WDP53/7/6/1.

Healey met with better success with Akroyd's friend from across the aisle, Sir Francis Sharp Powell M.P. (1827-1911), who subsequently commissioned Healey to design his magnum opus at Little Horton Green in 1860-62. Powell was Conservative M.P., by turns, for Wigan, Cambridge, the Northern Division of the West Riding, and Wigan again, for a total of thirty-three years. A latitudinarian in matters of religion, he was 'an enthusiastic and indefatigable supporter of denominational schools and Christian education',⁶⁵ a Justice of the Peace, a member of the Bradford Board of Guardians from 1862,⁶⁶ and a strong supporter of public health and sanitation legislation in the Commons,⁶⁷ none of which prevented him from taking a minute interest in the construction of All Saints' church, Horton, which Powell paid for in its entirety. The correspondence between Powell and Healey from its conception until Healey's death, is by far the most extensive that still survives between Mallinson and Healey and any of their clients: Powell sent regular suggestions to Healey which Healey accepted when he felt able, Healey made a very determined point of explaining to Powell some of the errors he considered Scott had made at Haley Hill and which he (Healey) would avoid at Horton,⁶⁸ Powell lent Healey books,⁶⁹ and Healey made frequent apologies for his slowness to complete the work after his 'paralytic attack' (stroke).⁷⁰ All of this correspondence was conducted with great courtesy on both sides, but whether the architect-client relationship would have led to other commissions cannot be told, for before the church was completed, Thomas Healey was dead.

* * * * *

Conclusion.

Mallinson and Healey's clients were drawn from across the religious and political divides and lacked the degree of kinship the clients of their metropolitan confrères generally displayed. *They* were mostly High Church Tories, firm in their conviction

⁶⁵ Henry L.P. Hulbert, *Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Baronet* (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1914), p. 90.

⁶⁶ Henry L.P. Hulbert, *Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Baronet*, p. 129.

⁶⁷ Henry L.P. Hulbert, *Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Baronet*, p. 125.

⁶⁸ Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Ilkley, 27th June 1860. Bradford WYA, B-P papers, 16D86/2957.

⁶⁹ Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Bradford, 21st August 1861. Bradford WYA, B-P papers, 16D86/2958.

⁷⁰ For example, Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Bradford, 13th August 1860. Bradford WYA, B-P papers, 16D86/2958.

about the rightful order of society, conversant with the latest notions concerning churchmanship, and if not equally confident about the verities of religion, then at least determined to whistle vigorously in the dark. *Their* religious and social standing required them to employ architects with the appropriate ecclesiological and artistic credentials. Conversely, to quote Edward Kaufman:

'What did the local architect represent for [his] patrons? He was convenient and presumably deferential. But most of all, he was part of the structure of [vernacular] society... [To] hire the local architect was to reinforce [the patron's] regional ties... [W]hatever political or practical considerations were involved, a strong exercise of taste - such as a choice between two metropolitan architects might force one to make - probably was not.'⁷¹

As to whether, over time, the attitudes of clients in general increasingly approached those of their architects or architects were moulded by the world-view of their clients, there is at least no doubt that the two grew increasingly like one another. So it was with Mallinson and Healey, but Mallinson and Healey's clients were an eclectic assortment: Liberals and Tories, Churchmen and Nonconformists, landowners with no need to work and the most industrious of manufacturers and tradesmen. As Butterfield and Street reflected the nature of their clients in their churchmanship, social attitudes and politics, so, in sum, did Mallinson and Healey. But *they* were men of the middle ground: latitudinarians in religion, neither radical nor conservative in social matters by the standards of the day, and equally comfortable in the company of Tories, Whigs, Reformers, or even those with Chartist sympathies. Here, without doubt, lay one of the elements of architectural success in early Victorian West Yorkshire.

⁷¹ Edward Kaufman, 'E.B. Lamb', p. 343.

6. EFFICIENT WORKING PROCEDURES.

'Mr. Alexander thought that as the words now stood, they stated the duties of an architect as clearly as it was possible to define those duties. The surveyor was to prepare a design and submit it to his employers, he was then to make working drawings and specifications, and superintend the work in its progress, and make up the accounts. he thus did the work of an architect.'

The Salisbury & Winchester Journal and General Advertiser, 20th February 1864.
Debate at the Wiltshire General Sessions on whether the county needed to employ a county surveyor or a county architect at a higher salary.

General Remarks.

It is an inevitable consequence of a dearth of primary material that historians tend to gloss topics they are unable squarely to confront. One such is what individual Victorian architects actually *did*, in their offices and on site, day by day and hour by hour, with the implication that analysis at this level of detail neither justifies nor is worthy of close study, and with the result that a vital opportunity is missed to understand precisely what gives an individual practice its critical form and characteristics.

This is where Mallinson and Healey's day-books are of especial value, for they record the minutiae that describe exactly what it meant to be a provincial architect during the years 1854-57, and the picture they paint is the more revealing due the almost complete absence of office staff, which ensured that even the most routine tasks were generally carried out at the partners' hands. Moreover, since the commissioning, design and erection of six significant buildings fell entirely within these years, these prove particularly fruitful for study as all the processes involved in their design and construction are thereby described from start to finish. They are: (i) St. Mark's church, Low Moor (figs. 6a(i) - 6a(ii)), (ii) Bridge End Independent Chapel, Rastrick (figs. 6b(i) - 6b(ii)), (iii) Haley Hill cemetery chapel, (iv) Bradford vicarage, (v) Holy Innocents' church, Thornhill Lees (figs. 6c(i) - 6c(ii)), and (vi) Springfield Independent Chapel, Dewsbury.¹ A close examination of the raising of these buildings sheds light on Mallinson and Healey's business methods overall and the contribution they made to business efficiency.

¹ Holy Innocents' church, Thornhill Lees, has been closed while this study has been on-going and its future status is uncertain; St. Mark's, Low Moor, and Bridge End Independent Chapel, Rastrick, have been converted to domestic use but can still be viewed externally.

* * * * *

From the Conception of the Project to the Laying of the Foundations.

Most of Mallinson and Healey's commissions were initiated by the client,² and few or none by any overt self-advocacy by the partners. Competition entries, as has been seen, contributed little or nothing, and one further reason for this was doubtless that Healey especially was under far too much pressure from his many existing tasks and taskmasters to engage in purely speculative work. Indeed, when a small space did open in the working week, the partners seem often to have preferred to fill it with something modest but guaranteed rather than something more ambitious and hazardous. This provides a further insight into how maintaining good relationships with former clients could continue to pay dividends.

Once a new building had been mooted, one of the first tasks to be undertaken before any firm commitments were made was for one of the partners to inspect the proposed site. In the case of a church, this might be the potential gift of a third party,³ the intended gift of the building's proposer,⁴ or a piece of land acquired or about to be acquired by purchase, although the relatively few occasions when this resort was necessary is witnessed by the rare occurrence of any record of payment for the site in the church building accounts.⁵ Either partner might have undertaken this preliminary viewing but once there were levels to be taken or the projected position of the building needed to be staked out, the job usually passed to Mallinson, even in cases where the client was regarded primarily as Healey's,⁶ as those within a two or three mile radius of Bradford usually seem to have been.⁷

² Thus for example, D/B 1st February 1854, 'Mr. Hardy called respecting a church for £500 at Low Moor and a parsonage', or nine days later, 'Rec. letter from Mr. T.T. Ormerod respecting intended new [Independent] Chapel at Bridge End [Rastrick]'.
³ As at Thornhill Lees, where Frank Wormald of Hague, Cook & Wormald hoped to build a church for his work force directly opposite Dewsbury Mills on the other side of the River Calder, on a site he believed Lord Scarborough was willing to donate. (See D/B 13th & 18th April, 1855.)

⁴ As at 'Mr. Hardy's church' - St. Mark's, Low Moor.

⁵ Exceptions include St. Philip's, Gillington, where the ICBS schedule gives the cost of the site as £120 (LPA, ICBS 5395) and St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth, where the cost recorded on the balance sheet is £169.10s.0d (LPA, ICBS 5447).

⁶ One exception to this general rule occurred when Healey took the levels at the proposed site for Bradford vicarage. (D/B, 16th April 1855.)

⁷ The outstanding example was again Charles Hardy, whose personal dealings with the firm were almost exclusively with Healey. Yet although both partners (unusually) carried out the initial site inspection together (in company with Hardy - see D/B, 24th November 1854), the subsequent task of staking out the church fell as ever to Mallinson (D/B, 12th March 1855), who acted, therefore, both in this and all other cases, truly as the combined 'architect and surveyor' he had first advertised himself to be when he originally set himself up in independent business in Brighouse in 1839.



Figs. 6a(i) - 6a(ii), the former church of St. Mark, Low Moor:
(i) *above*, viewed from the south; and (ii) *below*, viewed from the west.



Meanwhile it generally fell to Healey to draw up the basic plans and elevations for the building, especially if it was an ecclesiastical one, for Mallinson only undertook this work for industrial or, occasionally, domestic projects - in the former case, sometimes in collaboration with his Halifax confrère, Charles Child of 56, King Cross Street, Halifax, the architect, among other buildings, of St. John's church, Bradshaw (1839) and the Odd Fellows Hall in Halifax (1840).⁸ The day-books allow approximate estimations of the time spent on this phase of the design work, their accuracy constrained by the fact that as it was rare for Healey to be able to devote a whole day to a single task, one is obliged to attempt to apportion his days between his recorded activities, guided only by what seems reasonable. With this qualification, some fifteen working days appear to have been needed to work up the plans and elevations of a fairly typical large church to a point where a client or building committee might be expected to approve them,⁹ reducing to around ten if the building was small. Where alternative designs were requested (for example, one in Gothic and one in classical style), Healey appears to have produced less finely finished sets of drawings and hoped they would suffice to enable a choice to be made.¹⁰

Sometimes a prepared design would be accepted subject to a few changes to accommodate the personal preferences of the client, site donor, incumbent, or one or more members of the church building committee.¹¹ In such cases, it was rare for Healey to object unless he felt his reputation for architectural design was at stake, as he appeared to have done in a letter addressed to Sir Francis Sharp Powell in 1860 - a client with whose many unwanted suggestions for All Saints', Little Horton Green, Healey was usually compliant - when he dismissed Powell's proposed changes to the design of the clerestory windows, on the basis that they were 'too monotonous'.¹²

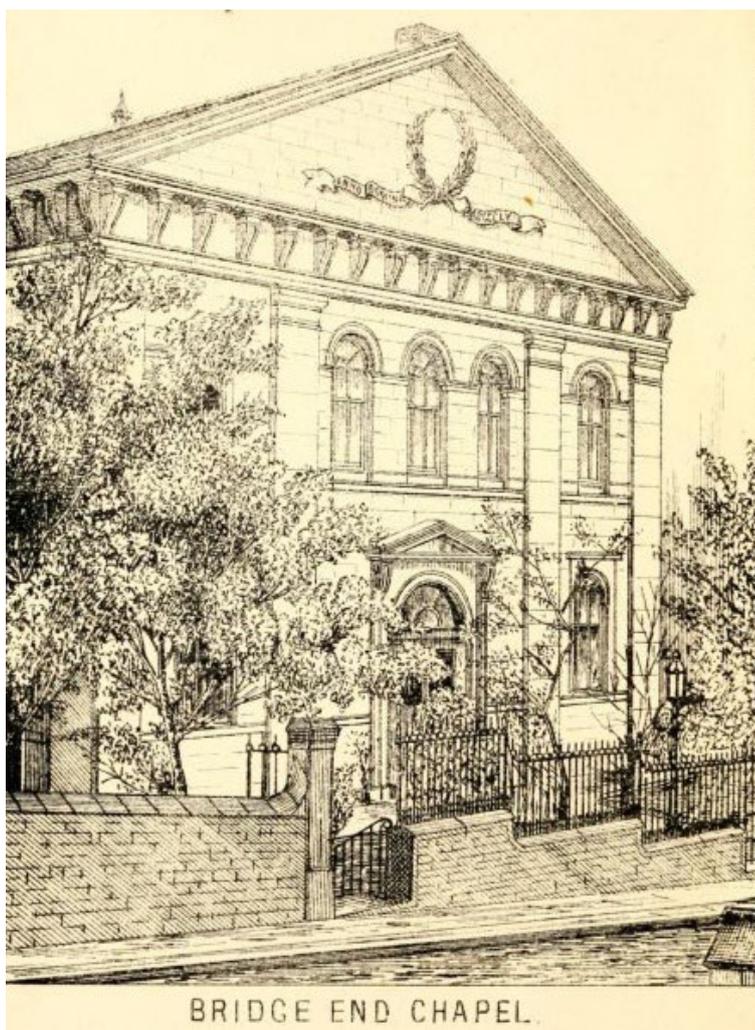
⁸ White, *Directory of Leeds & Bradford*, 1854, p. 573, and Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects*, p. 374.

⁹ As, for example, at Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees.

¹⁰ Thus for example, for Bridge End Independent Chapel, Rastrick, Healey spent about five days on a preliminary design in Gothic style, followed by another four on a classical alternative, and after the latter had been chosen, he then spent a further five days bringing this up to the standard he thought necessary at this stage. However, a more time-saving case is illustrated at St. Mark's, Low Moor, for here Healey produced what must have been two very rough sets of designs, in Norman and geometric styles, in barely two days each, and when the second was decided upon, he then spent a further six days working it up to a reasonable finish. Conceivably, the reason this seemingly rough and ready approach was able to be adopted here was due to the fact that Healey already enjoyed an established relationship with Hardy, who himself was a very busy man and would have understood perfectly the constraints Healey was under.

¹¹ Thus at Thornhill Lees, Lord Scarborough agreed to donate the site for Holy Innocents' church on condition that the tower was surmounted by a spire, the roofs were covered with grey slates, and (most curiously of all) six steps should lead up to the entrance (D/B, 18th April 1855). The only explanation for these stipulations that comes easily to mind is that Lord Scarborough was anxious that a church with which he was in some way associated, should make a suitably grand impression.

¹² Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Ilkley, 12th June 1860. Bradford WYA, B-P papers.



**Figs. 6b(i) - 6b(ii),
Independent**

(i) *above*, frontispiece to J. Horsfal Turner's *Independency* at Brighthouse (Jowitt News Office, 1878);
and (ii) *below*, the building today after conversion to domestic use.

**Bridge End
Chapel, Rastrick:**



Once the designs had been agreed, the next stage involved the production of the working drawings to enable the work to be put out for tender. This was the partners' usual practice notwithstanding the letter sent by a 'Young Beginner' to *The Builder* in 1847 complaining that 'so few opportunities of tendering are afforded to young builders, in consequence of architects always sending to nearly the same set of men for estimates',¹³ which was a habit Mallinson and Healey could easily refute. Healey spent about nine days on the working drawings for Bridge End Independent Chapel, which was about as long as he had spent on the design hitherto. However, for St. Mark's, Low Moor, he spent about eleven days, and Mr. Clarke, an additional four, which together was nearly twice as long as the project had taken previously. Much of this would probably have been the preserve of apprentices and office clerks in a large metropolitan practice, with the work being merely *checked* by the principal, in the manner T.G. Jackson described in his account of his pupilage in Scott's office in 1858.¹⁴ Indeed, there is occasional evidence of this way of working in Mallinson and Healey's day-book entries also, earlier for Mr. Clarke and, later, for Healey's sons, for although all three appear to have spent most of their time in the office duplicating or enhancing the partners' drawings, there are occasional references to what could be construed as their independent work also, such as 'B.C. At working drawings Boroughbridge Schools till 5 o'clock'¹⁵ or 'F.H. At working drawings Mount Pellon Schools'.¹⁶ Contractors needed these if they were to be able to price a job with reasonable confidence, and accurate pricing was critical since the successful applicant was expected to adhere to his tender rigidly and financial penalties might be applied to give the client assurance against late completion. Contractors were also expected to provide their own materials and to include the costs of stone, timber, etc., in their submissions, as a result of which these items rarely appear in the building accounts: they were the business of the contractor and of the contractor alone provided they met the standards laid out in the building's specification. This was usually prepared by Mallinson, who also drew up the bill of quantities, although this term was not used, reference being made only to the 'squaring [of] the dimensions'. Invitations to tender were advertised in the local press, always with the caution, 'The lowest Tender will not necessarily be accepted'.¹⁷ This runs counter to Michael Hall's assertion in his study of Bodley: 'Bodley habitually recommended a single builder to a client, and advised against tendering[;] while this seems curious in situations

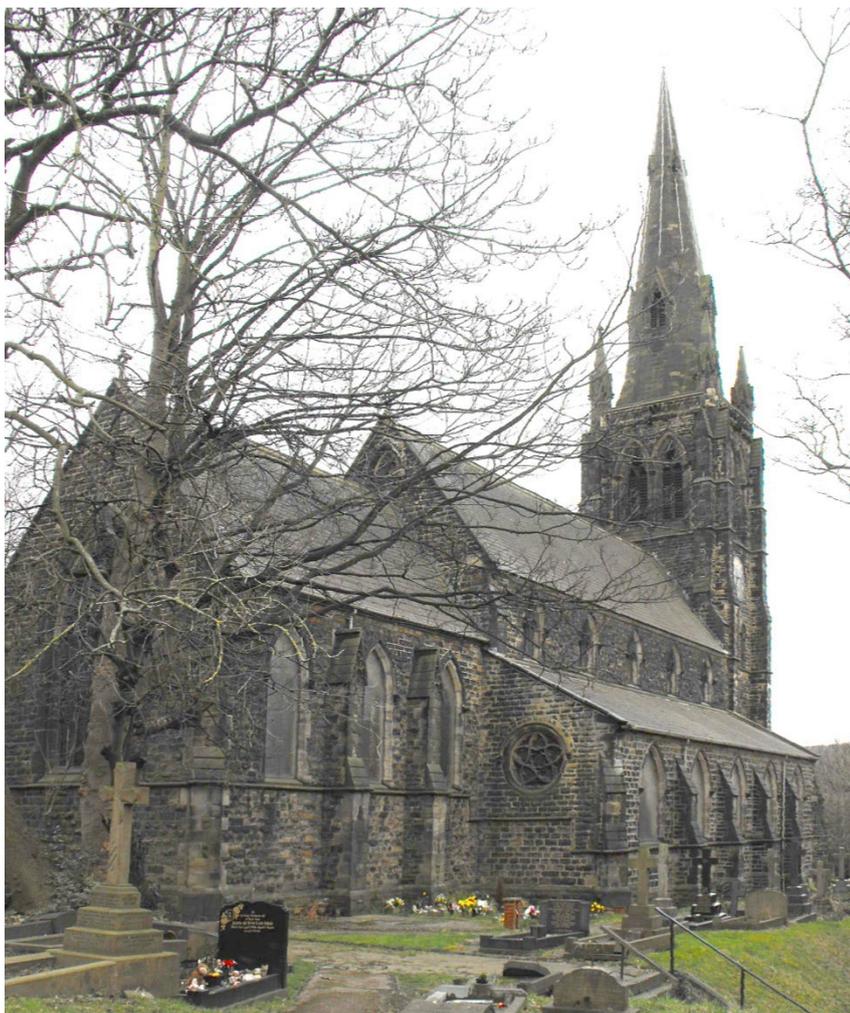
¹³ *The Builder*, 5, 1847, p. 561.

¹⁴ Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, *Recollections - the Life and Travels of a Victorian Architect* (London, Unicorn Press, 2003 (written 1915, published 1951)), p. 57.

¹⁵ D/B, 15th February 1854.

¹⁶ D/B, 7th April 1857.

¹⁷ As, for example, in the invitation to tender for the work at All Saints' church, Richmond Hill, Leeds, placed in *The Leeds Intelligencer* on August 11th 1849, p. 1.



**Figs. 6c(i) -
Innocents',**

**6c(ii), Holy
Thornhill**

Lees:

(i) above, the church from the northeast; and (ii) below, the interior looking northeast.



where money was tight, it was commonplace - Norman Shaw, for example, did the same.¹⁸ That may have been true in London. It was not true in mid-century in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

After tenders had been submitted, the choice of the contractors would be discussed at a meeting between Mallinson or Healey and the client - sometimes, indeed, at more than one meeting, especially if a building committee was involved.¹⁹ Few projects seem to have employed a permanent, full-time clerk-of-the-works, or if one was engaged, there is rarely any evidence for it. The most notable exception was one, Daniel Kershaw, himself a minor architect, who was engaged successively as the full-time, permanent clerk-of-the-works at Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees, and at All Saints', Little Horton, two of Mallinson and Healey's foremost buildings, and whose brother, John, was appointed clerk-of-the-works at St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees - a church so geographically removed from the partners' usual area of operations that a resident clerk was presumably considered essential.²⁰ Elsewhere, the absence of a clerk-of-the-works would not only have necessitated the partners' regular and stringent oversight of building operations, but would also have doubled the importance of a tightly-drawn, fully-inclusive specification that allowed no scope for the contractors to claim 'extras' to cover omissions.²¹ Of course, having familiar and trusted workmen could provide significant reassurance.

The focus shifted now from the office to the building site. Mallinson and Healey were fortunate to have had the opportunity to design churches for a number of fine hill-top locations, where little ground preparation was required before building could commence and where a proud silhouette would show to all possible advantage. Ironically, probably the most challenging site that Mallinson and Healey had to contend with was that for Healey's magnum opus, All Saints' church, Little Horton Green, where mine workings were discovered while the foundations were being dug, which eventually added £500 to the cost and a great deal of trouble and delay. The immediate objective for churches and chapels at this stage of the proceedings was to bring the

¹⁸ Hall, *George Frederick Bodley*, p. 261.

¹⁹ For example, at Bridge End Chapel, Rastrick, Mallinson attended two meetings of the Chapel Committee to discuss the tenders and the committee only succeeded in deciding upon the mason and joiner even then. (D/B, 10th & 14th July 1854.)

²⁰ See *The Leeds Intelligencer* for 24th May 1856, p. 2, where Kershaw is described as an 'architect and land agent' of Westgate, Halifax. Other men known to have been engaged in this capacity were a Mr. Mawson at St. Matthew's, Bankfoot, Thomas James Shaw at Christ Church, Barkisland (for whom see chapter seven), and John Taylor at Bradford vicarage (as mentioned later in this chapter).

²¹ M.H. Port, 'The Office of Works and Building Contracts in Early Nineteenth-Century England', and especially pp. 100-101.

building to a state of readiness for the laying of the foundation stone. This was an opportunity for committees building a church by subscription to draw attention to their project in the hope of obtaining additional financial contributions, and for sole patrons to gain the kudos they probably felt due for their extravagant liberality.²² Here too was the opportunity for a nice little scene to be played out, as, for example, when John Hurst performed the ceremony at Clayton in May 1849, where, after being passed the mallet, he struck the stone three times, saying, 'Thus, and thus, and thus, I lay this as the foundation stone of the church of St. John the Baptist, Clayton'.²³ The *Te Deum* was sung and the vicar gave an address. Similar pageants were enacted at the equivalent stage in construction at most of Mallinson and Healey's churches and chapels, usually followed by a luncheon. Mallinson attended most, irrespective of their denomination,²⁴ and Healey, rather fewer, but when they did so there is not much evidence from contemporary newspaper reports that any special attention was paid to them. Both men took part in the procession at St. Paul's church, Manningham, in November 1846, little as that particularised them,²⁵ Mallinson was given the responsibility of passing the silver trowel to John Foster of Slack in the ceremony at St. Thomas the Apostle's. Heptonstall, in May 1850,²⁶ and in what may have been his most significant appearance, in August 1857 he was charged with placing a bottle containing two contemporary newspapers, some coins, and a description of the building, in a cavity below the spot where the foundation stone was about to be laid at All Saints', Salterhebble.²⁷

* * * * *

In Raising the Building.

Once construction work began in earnest, Mallinson and Healey's rôle obviously changed. The time taken to raise the walls and add the roofs depended on many factors, quite apart from the size of the building, and nor was there much correlation between the time it had taken to plan the building, prepare the site and lay the foundations on the one hand, and the period that would now prove to be required to take the work from there through to completion on the other (see table 6a). Delays in the planning and preparation stages were frequently caused by difficulties raising money in the case of a church built by

²² One exception appears to have been Holy Innocents' church, Thornhill Lees, where there is no record of such a ceremony ever having taken place.

²³ *The Bradford Observer*, 31st May 1849, p. 8.

²⁴ Thus for example, Mallinson also attended the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone at Springfield Independent Chapel, Dewsbury. (D/B, 25th March 1856.)

²⁵ *Bradford Observer*, 5th November 1846, p. 8.

²⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 25th May 1850, p. 7.

²⁷ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 29th August 1857, p. 8.

subscription, or by Healey's inability to give the work his early or uninterrupted attention due to pre-existing commitments.²⁸ Delays *during construction* were most often the result of bad weather or some unpredictable contingency, for contractors were unlikely to take longer over a job than necessary - indeed, the danger lay in the opposite direction, and Mallinson and Healey both upbraided contractors from time to time if they thought they were short-cutting.

Site visits now made the greatest claim on Mallinson and Healey's working weeks. For projects underway in the years for which the day-books survive, these can be counted up (table 6a again) revealing numbers that are sometimes surprising: thus one hundred and fifteen visits were made, almost entirely by Mallinson, to Haley Hill cemetery chapel during its construction, and one hundred and thirty-four, nearly all by Healey, to the site of Bradford vicarage. (This, of course, assumes the day-books record all of them.) Both those buildings were within walking distance of the partners' offices admittedly, but the cemetery chapel was a mile from Mallinson's office, and mostly uphill.²⁹ However, at Bradford vicarage, when John Taylor *was* eventually appointed clerk-of-the-works, there is no evidence to suggest this gave Healey significantly greater assurance about the progress of the building, for the frequency of his visits scarcely changed. These averaged one every 3.7 days (or one every 3.2 days if Sundays are excluded), while the equivalent figure for Mallinson at Haley Hill cemetery chapel was one every 3.2 days (or 2.8 days excluding Sundays). Yet when a reliable clerk-of-the-works *was able* to be appointed, as with Daniel Kershaw at Thornhill Lees, the frequency of Mallinson and Healey's visits reduced dramatically, in this case to one in every 16.7 days (14.3 days excluding Sundays), and for a salary of £1.10s.0d a week, it seems strange there is not more evidence of men being taken on elsewhere, unless there was a shortage of qualified individuals. Nevertheless, at Thornaby-on-Tees, where there was no possibility of either partner making anything other than a very rare appearance, and John Kershaw was allowed to get on with things, largely undisturbed, construction seems to have progressed to everyone's satisfaction.

Table 6a: Summary of the construction times taken and the number of site visits made by Mallinson and Healey for six buildings designed and erected during the years 1854-57.

²⁸ The design of Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees, was particularly protracted for this reason, notwithstanding Frank Wormald's periodic attempts to hurry things along.

²⁹ In fact, John Knox, described as 'Thompson's foreman at [the] Railway Station', was engaged as clerk-of-the-works at Haley Hill on a short-term basis from the 25th October 1855 to 1st February 1856, initiated, no doubt, by Healey's month-long absence for ill health during October, when Mallinson was rushed off his feet. Knox was paid the handsome salary of £2.10s.0d per week during this period, which contrasted with Daniel Kershaw's salary at Thornhill Lees of just £1.10s.0d, but presumably, the urgent and sudden nature of Knox's engagement meant it was necessary to offer a premium.

	St. Mark's, Low Moor	Bridge End Independent Chapel, Rastrick	Haley Hill Cemetery Chapel
[1] Original proposal	1st February 1854	10th February 1854	19th August 1854
[2] Laying of foundation stone	19th November 1855	13th September 1854	21st April 1855
[3] Opening ceremony	11th March 1857	16th January 1856	24th April 1856
Planning days [1] to [2]	656	215	245
Building days [2] to [3]	478	490	369
Total days	1,134	705	614
No. of site visits 1854	2	16	16
No. of site visits 1855	11	48	63
No. of site visits 1856	27	1	33
No. of site visits 1857	5	0	3
Total no. of site visits	45	65	115
Building days/ site visit	478/45 = 10.62	490/65 = 7.54	369/115 = 3.21
Whether clerk-of-the-works	No	No	25th Oct. '55 - 1st Feb. '56

	Bradford Vicarage	Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees	Springfield Independent Chapel, Dewsbury
[1] Original proposal	17th October 1854	c. 27th March 1855	3rd January 1856
[2] Laying foundation stone	work begun 7th Aug. 1855	work begun c. 14th Jan. '56	25th March 1856
[3] Opening ceremony	finished c. 12th Dec. 1856	finished c. 29th Dec. 1857	26th November 1856
Planning days [1] to [2]	294	293	83
Building days [2] to [3]	493	716	246
Total days	787	1,009	329
No. of site visits 1854	0	0	0
No. of site visits 1855	57	0	0
No. of site visits 1856	21 to 7/4, then 56 = 77	24	22
No. of site visits 1857	0	19	1
Total no. of site visits	134	43	23
Building days/ site visit	493/134 = 3.68	716/43 = 16.65	246/23 = 10.70
Whether clerk-of-the-works	From 7th April 1856 only	Yes	D. Kershaw made 1 visit

One of the purposes of the site visit was to check on the quality of the building materials and the two objections most often raised by the partners were that masons were using inferior stone (or stone taken from an inferior horizon in the agreed quarry) or, in the case of carpenters and joiners, that the scantlings of timbers were less than those set out in the specification. In either case, Mallinson or Healey might demand that the work be taken down and re-done. This led to at least one altercation, between Mallinson and Thomas Walker, joiner at Bridge End Chapel, when Mallinson ordered some of the gallery timbers to be replaced with others, 2" thicker. Walker was 'very insolent' and Mallinson went immediately to report the fact to Thomas Ormerod,³⁰ as a result of which Walker was instructed to attend the next meeting of the building committee, due three days later.³¹ The discussion at the meeting is not recorded but Walker retained his place and the following month, Messrs. Ormerod and Sugden asked Mallinson to pay him £50 'more than [the] contract', the implication possibly being that whether he had

³⁰ D/B, 16th March 1855.

³¹ D/B, 19th March 1855.

misread the specification or not, Walker had not allowed enough in his tender for what he may have regarded as an unnecessarily extravagant use of timber.

Site visits were not the partners' sole responsibility at this stage of a project, however, for it is evident that Healey left many of the particulars of his designs to be prepared only when they were needed. This may have been a time management stratagem or simply an insurance against last minute changes of mind by the client, possibly both, but it also begs the question of how contractors could feel sure they would not work at a loss if, at the time of tendering, a host of important matters remained to be worked out. Nevertheless, at Thornhill Lees for example (figs. 6c(i) - 6c(ii)), where building was underway in mid-January 1856, Healey designed the aisle window traceries on 17th April, the bases of the chancel piers on 13th May, the chancel E. window on 10th & 11th July, the nave clerestory and chancel roof on 21st July, the string course around the tower on 23rd August, the 'clock room windows' on 30th August, the chimney piece on 27th October, the belfry windows on 1st November, and the spire lucarnes on 16th February following.³² In this way, this work could be fitted between Healey's other pressing commitments.

Moreover, one ever-present problem was the inevitability of wasted time. Perhaps most annoyingly in this regard, it was common for Mallinson or Healey to travel to see a client or meet a contractor only to find on arrival that the client was 'not in' or that 'no-one [was] working' on the site, and the fact that such instances are regularly recorded bears witness to their significance.³³ As for delays in construction itself, it was not unusual for Mallinson or Healey to be confronted by a client impatient about the rate of progress. Client and architect might then go together to see the contractor thought to be responsible, to demand that he 'push on', but it is difficult to believe all these demands were reasonable. For example, at Christ Church, Barkisland, the Rev. James Sanders and the Rev. William Tatlock, perpetual curates at Ripponden and Barkisland, complained about slow working to Mallinson on 10th January 1854 and the three went immediately to see the carpenter, who was presumably considered at fault.³⁴ Yet it seems unlikely he would have delayed any longer than necessary, for his contract dated 14th January 1854 but almost certainly intended to be 14th January 1853, stipulated that he was to complete his work by January 29th next (which may have been the reason for the muddled date), failing which he

³² D/B for the relevant dates.

³³ A particularly bad day was 7th July 1857 when Mallinson caught the 6.30 a.m. train to Liverpool to see Peter Thompson at his office, to find he was not in and not finally to catch up with him until 3.25 p.m. at Lime Street Station. Meanwhile, Healey took the train to Thornhill Lees, met Frank Wormald and Gomersall, the joiner, at 3.15 p.m., and went with them to call on Mr. Ingham, only to find he was not in either. (D/B.)

³⁴ D/B, 10th January 1854.

would forfeit £10 for every week he overran.³⁵ Taylor's signature was appended below. Still more punishing was the contract with John Wild, slater at the same church, drawn up six months earlier and signed only with a cross, for since work on the building had scarcely even begun at that stage, the contract could only stipulate that Wild should begin his work once the roof was 'ready to receive the slates' but then went on to state that for every day he fell behind his unspecified schedule, begun on an unspecified date, he was to forfeit one pound.³⁶

As a church or chapel finally approached completion, Mallinson and Healey usually found it necessary to make two or three visits in quick succession to ensure everything was prepared and ready for its consecration. This ceremony provided another opportunity for patrons and local clergy to gain credit for their efforts and to raise money to cover any outstanding debt, for collections would be taken for this purpose at the consecration service itself, and at the services on the Sunday following, and no-one could afford to leave these events to chance, and not only for this reason but also because such occasions commonly attracted detailed attention in the press, where an exhaustive description might be given of the new church's architecture (then a subject of deep interest to all the cognoscenti), together with the names of the architects, a complete list of the contributors and contractors, and a verbatim account of the bishop or archdeacon's address, typically running to two thousand or more words. Here, potentially, was a free advertisement for architects and contractors alike, especially since the reporters for the *Bradford Observer* and *Leeds Intelligencer* appear to have been predisposed to be thoroughly delighted by any ceremony of this kind.

* * * * *

In the Design of Furniture and Fittings.

Healey's work for an Anglican church was not always finished at the time of its consecration, however, for sometimes not all the furniture or fittings were complete and/or installed, not least because Healey was dependent at this stage on the progress of the craftsmen who were actually making the items.³⁷ Furnishings Healey recorded himself designing at one time or another include tiling patterns, altar tables and rails, fonts and font covers, pulpits and reading desks, reredoses, screens, stalls and general ironwork, and the more expensive the commission, the greater the

³⁵ However, it is possible, perhaps, that the mistake may have provided Taylor with an opportunity to adopt a relaxed approach!

³⁶ Wakefield, WYA, WDP21/252.

³⁷ See chapter 10.

number of these pieces for which he usually took responsibility, with the probable implication that a cheap church was expected to make do with an item produced to a standard pattern.³⁸ The most complete, extant set of Healey's bespoke furniture is to be found at Thornhill Lees (figs. 6c(iii) - 6c(vi)), and two now apparently destroyed sets formerly existed at St. Mark's, Low Moor, for which the only evidence today consists of drawings of the organ case (fig. 6d(i)), font, and rood screen (fig. 6d(ii)), the first and last of which are signed,³⁹ and at St. Thomas's, Heptonstall, where Healey designed the screen,⁴⁰ pulpit and reading desk,⁴¹ altar rail,⁴² stalls,⁴³ font (fig. 6f),⁴⁴ and sedilia.⁴⁵ There are also, perhaps, twenty or thirty surviving fonts, among them those at Wyke, Cundall (fig. 6e), Manningham and Barkisland, and a few scattered items of real significance, probably including the very fine pulpit at Welburn (fig. 6g). The lengths of time spent designing furniture and furnishings at Low Moor and Thornhill Lees can be estimated from the day-books in the same way as the time spent on the building designs themselves (table 6b), and with the same reservations about accuracy.

Rather more reliable, since the errors will tend to cancel out, will be the *total* estimated times spent on furniture design at the respective churches, and here it can be seen that at a relatively inexpensive church, Healey spent about nine days (or a week and a half) on this work, while a moderately expensive one required at least twice as long. Figs. 6c(iii) - 6c(vi) illustrate the font and font cover, pulpit, altar table, and choir stalls at Thornhill Lees respectively,⁴⁶ and although it seems unlikely that the time taken to design the last two is fully reflected in table 6b, they allow some concept to be formed of what Healey could accomplish in five and a half days working on a pulpit, or in three and a half days working on a font and tabernacle font cover. Still more useful

³⁸ There is no evidence that Healey designed stained glass for his churches. However, in most cases there would have been very little or no money available for such a relatively expensive item during the initial stage of a church's construction, and glass would have been left to accumulate down the ensuing decades as wealthy donors commissioned individual windows, usually in commemoration of the deceased relatives.

³⁹ London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Archive, PB432/18, 1-6.

⁴⁰ D/B, 11th & 12th April 1854.

⁴¹ D/B, 22nd & 24th April, 25th & 26th May and 5th July 1854.

⁴² D/B, 27th April 1854.

⁴³ D/B, 10th & 12th May, 1854.

⁴⁴ D/B, 11th July 1854. The font survives and is still in the church.

⁴⁵ D/B, 12th & 13th July 1854.

⁴⁶ Ruth Harman says that the design for the pulpit was not executed until 1877. (Nikolaus Pevsner & Ruth Harman, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire: Sheffield & the South*, p. 200.)



is the insight the table provides into the overall significance of furniture design in Healey's working life for, clearly, this was not an inconsiderable matter. As seen above,

Figs. 6c(iii) - 6c(vi), Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees: *clockwise from the bottom left, (iii) the font and tabernacle cover, (iv) the pulpit, (v) the altar table, and (vi) the choir stalls.*



Healey spent about fifteen days working on the original building design at Thornhill Lees, and

this compares with about nineteen and a half spent on furniture and furnishings, while at Low Moor, the corresponding figures are ten days and nine. Such work was, therefore, a major undertaking, representing around a doubling of the original workload. It was probably also indicative of a developing trend for whereas it was only really Pugin and Butterfield who viewed the fitting out and decoration of their buildings as central to their artistic vision in the *second* quarter of the nineteenth century, as at St. Giles's, Cheadle (1840) and All Saints', Margaret Street, Westminster (1849), respectively, by the third quarter it was encountered everywhere, as illustrated in the work of Street, Burges, Seddon, Bodley and Sedding among others.

Table 6b: Church Furniture and Furnishings Designed by Thomas Healey for St. Mark's, Low Moor, & Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees.

Item of Church Furniture	Days Spent, Low Moor	Days Spent, Thornhill Lees
Altar rail	1	½
Font & font cover	1½	3½
Tiling patterns	1½	1
Altar table	½	1
Stalls	-	½
Reredos	-	4½

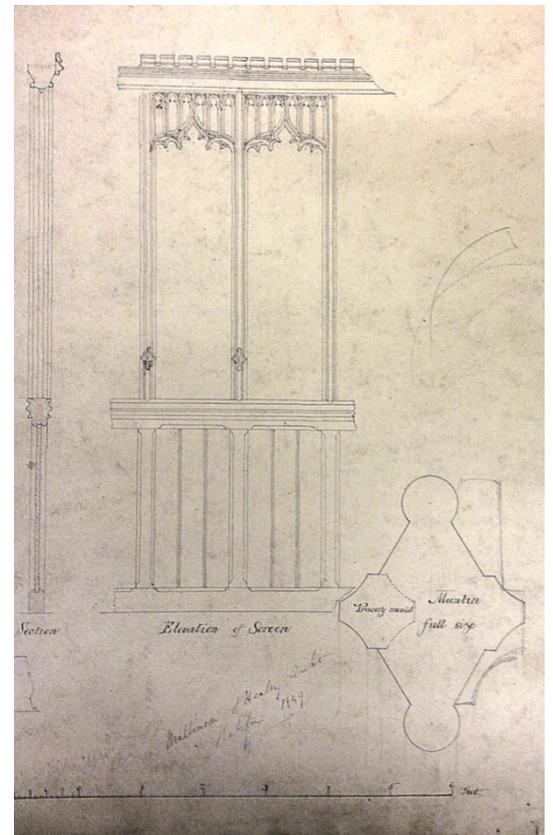
Pulpit	3	5½
Reading desk	1	½
Gates (unspecified)	-	1
Sun-dial	-	1½
Ironwork to doors	½	-
TOTAL	9	19½

* * * * *

In Arbitration

Disputes and appearing as an Expert Witness in Court Cases.

Other work undertaken by Mallinson alone, not itself a direct part of the design and construction of buildings, included appearing as an expert witness in court cases, valuing and surveying, and arbitrating in building and land disputes. The discussion hitherto has had most to say about Healey. Mallinson’s working days seem frequently to have been longer, however, often exacerbated by a slow journey home after a late evening meeting,⁴⁷ and when his full range of activities is examined in detail, so it also becomes evident that his work ranged wider and did



Above, figs. 6d(i) - 6d(ii), St. Mark's, Low Moor: (i) left, signed drawing of the organ case; and (ii) right, signed drawing of the rood screen.

⁴⁷ Thus just to consider January 1854 alone, Mallinson spent the night at Wakefield on Monday 2nd, eventually returning home the next day on the 7.10.p.m. train. On Wednesday 4th he returned from Bradford on the 7.45.p.m. train, on Monday 9th he returned (also from Bradford) by the 7.05.p.m. train via Mirfield, on Friday 13th he spent the night at Elland, on Monday 16th he spent the evening 'casting measurements of quarries', on Tuesday 17th he spent the night at Leeds, on Thursday 19th, Friday 20th and Saturday 21st he got home at 6.00.p.m., 7.15.p.m. and 8.00.p.m. respectively, and although he got home at the exceptionally early hour of 5.00.p.m. on Tuesday 24th, this was more than reclaimed by the fact that he only got home at 11.45.p.m. on Monday 30th and by the last train from Brighouse on Tuesday 31st. (D/B.)

Below left, fig. 6e, St. Mary & All Saints', Cundall: font.

Below right, fig. 6f, Heptonstall, St. Thomas the Apostle: font.



not always fit readily into the present-day notion of an architect's portfolio. In particular, his rôle as an arbitrator or expert witness in legal disputes involving land or buildings, stepped outside those bounds and brought with it the complication that there was often no readily predictable length of time these cases might require. Around three dozen legal cases are mentioned in the day-books, although these reduce to two dozen when those that seem to have come to nothing or were settled privately are excluded. The remaining twenty-four are listed in table 6c. So far as one can tell, they are notable for an absence of any really serious vitriol - a situation suggested by the apparent readiness of the parties to accept Mallinson's arbitration decisions and/or by the number of occasions when Mallinson was able to arrange to meet both disputants together - raising the possibility that some men at least went to law as a *first* resort rather than a last, perhaps to satisfy themselves they had had the benefit of an independent judgement.

Table 6c: Land and building disputes for which James Mallinson gave evidence.
(§ indicates a case lasting > 1 day.)

Litigants	Where held	Mallinson's Rôle or Nature of the Case
Appleyard ats. Lord Scarborough	Halifax County Court (7/5/56), White Swan Hotel, Halifax (8/5/56), & later, Halifax County Court (26/6/57)	Dispute over flooding from the Hebble Brook
Bailing v. Nicholson (Morning Post)	Chancery Lane (3/8/54)	? Settling an affidavit only
Bott v. Aspinall; Bott v. Overseers and Surveyors of Kirkheaton (Halifax Courier, 8/4/54)	§ Liverpool Assizes (4 - 6/4/54 = 3 days) Subpoenaed to appear, 24/3/54	Claims for services rendered in the defendant's capacity as a civil engineer
Bott v. Aspinall (appeal); Bott v. Helliwell; Bott v. Pitchforth; Bott v. Smith; Bott v Overseers and Surveyors of Kirkheaton	§ Fendall's Hotel, London (13-18/5/54 = 6 days)	(As above)
Child v. Douglas (Bradford Observer, 3/8/54)	(May 1855)	Dispute about encroachment; settling affidavit
Crossley ats. Atkinson	White Lion Hotel, Halifax (25/4/55), arbitration adjourned & resumed, White Swan Hotel, Halifax (9 & 10/5/55) arbitration adjourned & resumed 2nd time, White Swan Hotel (23/5/55).	Dispute over mason's work
Crossley v. Lancs. & Yorks. Railway	White Swan Hotel, Halifax (8 & 10/4/57)	Appearance as expert witness
Earnshaw v. Fielding	N.A.	Mallinson appointed as arbitrator
Gay ats. Miller	Skipton County Court	Defending against dispute over building work
Haigh ats. Stocks	§ Liverpool County Court (19-21/8/56 = 3 days)	Defending claim against stone taken from quarry
Haigh ats. Stocks, as above - case sent to arbitration	White Horse Hotel, Leeds (28 & 29/10/56); sent to arbitration 2nd time, White Swan Hotel, Halifax (16-17 & 19/10/57); case adjourned to Leeds (20/10/57)	Defending claim against stone taken from quarry
Helliwell v. Styring	N.A.	Mallinson appointed as arbitrator
Helliwell v. Titterington	§ York County Court (13 -14/3/54 = 2 days)	Dispute over watercourses
Ibbotson v. Halifax Corporation	? (May 1856)	?
Murgatroyd v. Robinson (York Herald, 19/7/56)	§ York County Court (15-17/7/56 = 3 days)	Complaint about choked river at Hebden Bridge
Perkins & Watson v. Denton	N.A.	Mallinson appointed as arbitrator
Pickles v. Turner	(Place & date unrecorded)	Subpoenaed to appear, 9/4/56
Rainskill v. Hill	Halifax County Court (12/11/56)	Unspecified compensation dispute
Rudd v. Jagger	Halifax County Court (28/2/55)	County Court had asked Mallinson for opinion
Sharp v. Allen	N.A.	Mallinson appointed as arbitrator
Smithies v. Brier	N.A.	Mallinson appointed as arbitrator
Sutcliffe v. Davis	N.A.	Mallinson appointed as arbitrator
Swaine v. Bairstow	N.A.	Mallinson appointed as arbitrator
Taylor v. Mills (Halifax Courier, 23/9/54)	Halifax County Court (7/6/54)	Claim for professional fees
Whitworth v. Crossley	Halifax County Court (7 & 8/11/56), case adjourned & resumed (14 & 15/11/56), case adjourned & resumed 2nd time (25/11/56),	Dispute over watercourses

case adjourned & resumed 3rd time (13/1/57).



Fig. 6g, St. John's, Welburn: pulpit.

Three typical examples can illustrate the way these cases might develop and the implications for Mallinson's working life. The case of Appleyard ats. Lord Scarborough appears to have originated in a complaint from Lord Scarborough that bad management higher up the Hebble Brook was causing flooding to his property downstream. Mallinson was engaged by Joseph Appleyard who was then Mayor of Halifax, owned the land upstream and seems to have accepted there was a problem. He spent one day 'taking the levels' before the hearing of the case at the County Court and the White Swan Hotel, Halifax, on consecutive days (the change of venue possibly representing a referral to arbitration), but thereafter, he made more than a dozen supervisory visits to the site over the course of six months, as workmen carried out the work agreed under the settlement. The total demand on Mallinson's time appears to have been about seven working days.

The case of Haigh ats. Stocks was a very long, drawn out affair that seems to have involved a dispute over how much stone had been taken by the defendant from Clough Hole Quarry, Hipperholme. Mallinson appears to have been given the nigh on impossible task of making an assessment of this by surveying the excavation! The arbitration was continually adjourned but by the time it was concluded, it had required about three and a half days surveying work and a further two, drawing up plans and liaising with Mr. Haigh. The hearing itself, which began in Leeds, transferred to Halifax and then returned to Leeds, occupied another six days.

That was still less than in the case of Whitworth v. Crossley, which involved another dispute about water courses, on this occasion concerning the Hebble and Ovenden Becks at their confluence at Dean Clough, Halifax. A conservative estimate of the time Mallinson spent on this would be three days on site taking the levels (comprising six half day visits), six days drawing up plans in the office, and six days attending the court, amounting to fifteen days in all.

Cases such as these, therefore, could represent a serious commitment, and although only between six and eight generally came up in a given year, between them they could easily occupy several weeks. They also brought the additional difficulty that much of this work was not transferable from one day to another in the way that most of Mallinson and Healey's other activities were, but had to be done on set days at set times. Mallinson also did other work as a surveyor or valuer, not connected with legal disputes - in the second case, often on behalf of the rating officers - but it is difficult to assess how much time this took, still less how much income it generated. Just as Mallinson tended to collaborate with Charles Child

in industrial work, however, so he frequently worked with William Armitage of Castle Hill, Mirfield, when surveying, probably for the very straightforward reason that some of the tasks required two pairs of hands.

* * * * *

Conclusion.

The day-books allow a full picture to be drawn of Mallinson and Healey's working practices and a detailed understanding to be acquired of how they passed their individual days. From these it becomes evident that the partners developed an extremely busy professional enterprise that recognised few fast boundaries and heaped all its disparate activities together, in no obvious hierarchical order, prioritising those where client pressure was most intense over others that were more significant but which, with judicious time management, could be undertaken later. Every job bringing a commission was important, for payments for small jobs could sustain the business during the unpredictable periods that large jobs often took to come to fruition. Success was built upon long hours and constant work, coupled with an appreciation that care taken over a small job today might bring in a bigger one tomorrow. A wise provincial architect took care to provide a local service and knew he was unlikely to build his business by standing too readily on his dignity. It was unsurprising in these circumstances that competitors were few: few others came to be held in such confidence in the region or displayed the same range of skills or willingness to work so relentlessly for such a comparatively unspectacular reward.

7. AN ACCESS TO CAPITAL.

'Church building projects were of three kinds. Sometimes rich men built churches for their own convenience and accommodation, or for the convenience and accommodation of their work people, and this was the simplest way of all. Another scheme was to build churches in destitute but populous districts; and, provided there [was] confidence in the promoters of such undertakings, rich men would be found not unwilling to give liberally towards this object. The other, and by far the most difficult, project was in raising funds for new churches in neighbourhoods which could not plead extreme populousness or extreme poverty and in which there were no rich people who could be looked to to supply the bulk of the funds.'

Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser. Saturday, 16th March 1861.

General Remarks.

As K. Theodore Hoppen observed, 'Unlike Victorian novelists and painters, architects needed very large sums of money in order to realize their ideas... [M]oney lay... central to their activities, even though only a small part of it remained in their hands.'¹ This was critical: the architect whose potential clients had insufficient access to capital would soon find that he, in turn, had insufficient business, and so besides drawing up plans to *spend* his clients' money for them, the successful, provincial architect often needed to display the skill to help them *raise* the money in the first place.

To refine the quotation at the head of this chapter therefore, there were three principal sources of funding for the construction of new churches, schools and parsonages: single donors, grantors, or through an appeal for small subscribers. The first was indeed the easiest for the architect, for although he might find himself subject to the donor's caprices, he could generally be sure that once his designs had been approved, his building would be realised with reasonable despatch. This was certainly less burdensome than being dependent upon grants: grantors, as described above, usually attached a series of conditions to their awards, even when those awards were modest, and particularly for buildings where more than one grantor was involved, which was the majority, the necessary work incurred by the architect in meeting them was frequently time-consuming and laborious. Still worse however, because it risked the abandonment of the more profitable parts of the project (for the architect), such as the church tower, was the situation where the architect was reliant on small subscribers. The quest for subscriptions generally began in a flourish of optimism but could quickly fall away after every potential donor had been

¹ Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, pp. 416 & 417.

approached. The church, assuming that is what it was, might then be completed by drawing upon its endowment, thus saving the problem for the future, but whatever approach was adopted, there was little to be gained from applying to the parish rate for assistance, even though that remained a theoretical possibility. Compulsory church rates were not abolished by Act of Parliament until 1868 but, in practice, had long since proved impossible to collect wherever Nonconformism was rife, as it was throughout the Yorkshire clothing districts, which confined this putative source of finance in Mallinson and Healey's sphere of operations to a few rural villages in Holderness, and even here, as will emerge, the sums that could be raised barely justified the effort of collecting them.

This section will examine these types of commission in turn, considering them principally from Mallinson and Healey's perspective. Every method of funding brought challenges of one kind or another, and a practice's success depended on their skill in overcoming them.

* * * * *

Single Donors.

Approximately twenty individual donors can be identified among Mallinson and Healey's clients who paid for a building in its entirety or nearly so,² but no schools or parsonages were raised in this way and only five Anglican churches, namely (in date order): (i) St. Paul's, Manningham, where the patron was John Hollings; (ii) St. John's, Langcliffe (figs. D(i) - D(ii), appendix 1), the gift of John Green Paley; (iii) St. Mark's, Low Moor, paid for in its entirety by Charles Hardy; (iv) Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees, erected by Messrs. Hague, Cook and Wormald, chiefly for their workforce; and (v) All Saints', Horton, where the patron was Sir Francis Sharp Powell. Nothing is known of the partners' dealings with John Green Paley of Oatlands, Harrogate, or of his character - a vicious attack on him in *The Leeds Times* seems to have been occasioned by nothing more than his stated support for the levying of church rates³ - but as seen in chapter four, the partners' relations with the others seems to have been reasonably untroubled, though doubtless there must have been irritations at times, or even occasional hurt feelings. Generally, however, this was the easiest situation for the busy architect. Be helpful, friendly and co-operative and, hopefully, all would go well.

² Among them, Edward Akroyd, the Earl of Carlisle, John and William Foster, Charles Hardy, the Earl and Countess of Harewood, John Hollings, Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Dr. Macturk, John Green Paley, Peter Thompson, and Messrs Hague, Cook and Wormald.

³ *The Leeds Times*, 1st April 1837, p. 3.

The relationship for which the best evidence survives between Mallinson and Healey and these men is that between Thomas Healey on the one hand and Sir Francis Sharp Powell on the other. On 17th March 1860, Healey replied to a letter from Powell (not extant) in which Powell appears to have queried Healey's estimate for his proposed new church of All Saints, Little Horton Green, implying it was too low and that he (Powell) had expected (hoped?) to spend more. He raised a comparison with the recently completed St. Peter's Roman Catholic church (now the cathedral) in Lancaster,⁴ which he appeared to be taking as his model, which had cost £15,000 together with its 'associated buildings' and seated 600 people for the princely sum of £25 per sitting,⁵ but Healey, in his reply, assured Powell that his estimate was reasonable, saying that although he had not seen the Roman Catholic church, he suspected that 'it must contain some elaborate work therein' and then going on to add that, 'We, of course, calculated on making Horton church thoroughly truthful and substantial as the first essential and in our estimate were guided by the church at Heptonstall which holds about 1,100 people, has a tower 24 feet square externally, and cost about £5,500'.⁶ This was Healey's most expensive building to date, but at one-fifth the cost per sitting of Paley and Austin's St. Peter's, Lancaster, nothing could have illustrated more starkly the gulf between Healey's conception and the scale of Powell's ambition.

It seems likely that Powell fretted about this as during the next few months he sent various suggestions to Healey that might have been intended to encourage him to raise his sights, on one occasion sending Healey books and on another, a copy of the *Illustrated London News*, containing drawings he hoped might indicate the nature of the building he had in mind. The *Illustrated London News* of 23rd June 1860 carried an artist's impression of the interior of the proposed new church at Heywood (Rochdale), whose foundation stone had just been laid. The building was designed by Joseph Clarke and was expected to cost £10,000 but Healey was not deterred from expressing what, by now, may have been his gathering irritation: 'The nave [at Heywood] is about the same size as in Mr. Akroyd's church [at Haley Hill] with considerably wider aisles, and like it, appears to be rather short for its length[?]' Presumably 'length' should have read 'width'.⁷

⁴ By Paley and Austin, 1857-59.

⁵ Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, p. 218.

⁶ Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Bradford, 17th March 1860. Bradford, WYA B-P papers, 16D86/2957.

⁷ Healey wrote to thank Powell for the books on 12th June 1860 and for the newspaper on 27th June. How thankful he really was is a matter for speculation.

Soon after this, Healey had his first stroke, and his subsequent letters are full of thanks for Powell's solicitousness and apologies for the difficulties he was having progressing with the work, but Powell continued in his efforts to prise Healey away from his habitual obsession with economy as indicated on 3rd August when Healey wrote to assure Powell that he would indeed take the earliest possible opportunity to visit Scott's new church at Doncaster,⁸ which had cost the good burghers of that town the little matter of £40,000.⁹ By this time, Powell's continual prompting was having its accumulative effect for by the time of the ceremony for the laying of All Saints' foundation stone, Healey's amended designs had been estimated to cost £10,000,¹⁰ and when the church was finally consecrated, three years later, after Healey had died, this had risen to 'not less than £15,000'¹¹ - and this for a building that could accommodate one thousand people 'on the ground floor' (i.e. excluding the gallery space). Had Healey lived, it would have been interesting to have seen whether a new and richer manner of building had opened in his imagination.

* * * * *

Grantors.

Perverse as it may appear, grantors could actually *add* to the cost of a building, rather than help meet it, by the stipulations they imposed. This was particularly the case with the Church Building Commissioners, not only because their expectation that a new church should be manifestly Anglican carried an assumption that a tower and sometimes a spire would be included in the plans, but also because the demand for the church to contain a certain proportion of free seats, limited the opportunity to raise money from pew rents. Such additional expense or reduction in income would have meant relatively little to the sixteen West Riding churches awarded grants during the 1820s from the one million pounds originally allocated by Parliament, since the average award then was £9,825 (with sums ranging upwards from £4,811 at Hanging Heaton to £15,181 for St. George's, Sheffield).¹² Yet during the decade 1845-1854, when the Commission was trying to eke out the remains of the second parliamentary grant of half a million pounds, this figure had fallen to £311 (with sums ranging downwards from £1,114 at Eccleshill to just £100 each at Shepley and

⁸ Minster church of St. George, completed 1858: 'the proudest and most cathedral-like of this fabulously busy and successful architect's parish churches' (Pevsner & Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire: the West Riding*, p. 181).

⁹ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 16th October 1858, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 30th November 1861, p. 9.

¹¹ *The Wigan Observer and District Advertiser*, 2nd April 1864, p. 4.

¹² Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 329.

St. Matthew's, Sheffield).¹³ Eleven of Mallinson and Healey's churches received assistance from the Commission in the period 1843-54, at an average of £341.

3

APPLICATION FOR AID TOWARDS BUILDING a Church in the Parish of Bradford

Diocese of York Archdeaconry of Beauvais and County of York

Post Town Bradford, Yorkshire
Applicant's Name and Address John Taylor 5 Piccadilly, Bradford

1. EXTENT OF PARISH.	2. RENTAL.	3. POOR RATE.	4. POPULATION.	5. OCCUPATION OF INHABITANTS.	6. PRESENT CHURCH ROOM.	7. ADDITIONAL ACCOMMODATION.	8. EXPENSE.	9. ENDOWMENT AND PATRONAGE.	10. EXERTIONS.
<p>Non. 1, 2, 3, and 4.</p> <p>The estimated extent of the Parish or of the District in which the new Church is to be erected; in Acres.</p> <p><i>The average is 166 acres high 2000 in immo- appos as well information is of the most namely of the of the all of the by the centre of the</i></p>	<p>The assessed RENTAL of the Parish or of the District.</p> <p><i>As per return to Luton 6 the</i></p>	<p>The total amount of the Poor Rates raised last year, for the whole Parish, or for the District, by Rates of s. d. in the Pound each, £</p> <p><i>100 240</i></p>	<p>The POPULATION of the whole Parish as taken A.D. 1851</p> <p><i>103, 000 persons.</i></p> <p>POPULATION OF DISTRICT.</p> <p><i>103, 000 persons</i></p> <p>DISTANCE OF DISTRICT.</p> <p><i>The distance of the bulk of its Populace from the nearest Church, which is the Parish of Church St. Bradford is about 1/2 a mile</i></p>	<p>The OCCUPATION of the chief portion of the Inhabitants of the Township, or District, or whether it is chiefly Agricultural, or Manufacturing, or Mining Population.</p> <p><i>Manufacturing</i></p>	<p>The number of CHURCHES in the Parish, and their contents, distinguishing the number of Free Seats.</p> <p><i>We intended district is limits of the will church which has 5 seats for 10000 seats. The seats of the Church Society.</i></p>	<p>The total number of Seats to be provided in the new Church or Chapel.</p> <p>For the Use of the poorer Inhabitants (Adults) <i>252</i></p> <p>Exclusively for the Use of the Children <i>197</i></p> <p>Seats for other persons <i>250</i></p> <p>Total <i>699</i></p> <p>allowing <i>ten</i> inches by <i>36</i> inches, for each person; except in seats intended exclusively for Children, where <i>fourteen</i> inches by <i>24</i> inches is allowed for each child.</p> <p>The backs of the seats are to be <i>21</i> inches in height. Means will be provided for kneeling, by <i>Acidly, Frank</i></p>	<p>The estimated EXPENSE of the Work.</p> <p>£</p> <p>The cost of the building with the <i>2420</i></p> <p>Extra Expenses, if any beyond the above <i>100</i></p> <p>The cost of the site <i>630</i></p> <p>Repair Fund, <i>240</i></p> <p>The Architect's Commission <i>135</i></p> <p>His Travelling Expenses <i>5</i></p> <p>Salary of Clerk of Works <i>120</i></p> <p>Total <i>3650</i></p>	<p>The nature of the EXPENSE to be provided for the newly created Benefice; and from whom the MINISTERS of the Chapel is to be NOMINATED.</p> <p><i>Rev. Deant and It is desired hall in addition to £1200 given by Bradford Trust for the year 1850 will be given under the charter of the hall by the Trustees</i></p>	<p>The produce of the EXERTIONS used to raise the funds required for building the Church or Chapel.</p> <p>£</p> <p>From subscrip- tions received <i>1850</i></p> <p>From the Dis- ceans or local Church, Building Society, <i>500</i></p> <p>From the Pa- rish, or other sources, if any</p> <p>From Her Ma- jesty's Charity for Building Churches</p> <p>Further means expected from other sources <i>200</i></p> <p>Total <i>2550</i></p> <p>The deficiency in the funds is therefore <i>1100</i></p> <p><i>This includes a grant from the Church Building Society of £200 see particulars annexed.</i></p> <p><i>It is not yet decided by whom the minister of the new church is to be nominated but probably by local Trustees to be named by the Church Building Society.</i></p>

Any particulars respecting the Place, its Population, want of Churchroom, &c. which it may be considered desirable to bring under the notice of the Commission, may be stated below.

The foregoing Application and Statement, together with the Plans of the intended Church, have been examined and approved by me,
Charles Allington Archdeacon of *Beauvais*
26th day of *March* 1850

States whether the consent of the Patron has been obtained to the erection of a new Church. *Yes.*

We do hereby certify that we consent to the erection of the Church, as proposed in the foregoing application.
John Taylor Ordinary.
John M. Burnett Incumbent.

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Fig. 7. St. Luke's, Broomfields: part 'B' of the Incorporated Church Building Society's grant application form.

Mallinson and Healey designed a tower for eight of them (at Queen's Head, Wyke, Clayton, Mytholmroyd, Richmond Hill, South Ossett, Bradford Listerhills and Mount Pellon) and added a spire at three (Wyke, Richmond Hill and Listerhills) - an achievement that can only have sharpened their concern for cost-effectiveness. Although there was obviously no standard cost for a tower or spire and the majority of clients may have wanted one anyway, to provide a rough figure as a guide, the intended tower and spire at St. Paul's, Thornaby-on -Tees (designed 1858), was omitted for want of £600 - almost twice the average grant from the Commission during its final years.¹⁴ As for any specific difficulties or inconveniences created by the Commissioners affecting the partners, there is no evidence in the archives, but M.H. Port, discussing the situation overall, describes many potential problems for architects in general: a church plan could be accepted by a building committee but rejected by the Commission, who would then not accept any charge on that account; when a plan was accepted, the architect was required to bind himself that the 'work shall be properly executed' on pain of the forfeiture of 15% of the contract price (even though his commission was only 5%), notwithstanding that the contractors may not have been chosen by him and that he may have had no prior knowledge of their work;¹⁵ the Commission expected compliance with their 'Instructions to Architects' (revised in 1843 in collaboration with the ICBS) which had both design and financial implications, such as the requirement that roofs should be more steeply pitched than customarily established; etc.¹⁶

Grants from the Incorporated Church Building Society were available throughout Mallinson and Healey's partnership and the Society rarely turned down a request altogether, the single recorded exception for Mallinson and Healey occurring in the case St. Thomas the Apostle, Heptonstall, where it was probably considered that such a relatively expensive building was sufficiently well funded already.¹⁷ However, ICBS grants were generally small, as illustrated in table 7a, which shows that although thirty-two of the partners' churches received such a grant, of the twenty-nine for which the figure is known, the average was only £207. This was helpful but rarely decisive. Yet from the difficulties raised by the Society, one might have imagined more was at stake. First the Society's complicated application form obviously had to be completed and sent off, which most incumbents or building committee chairmen thought prudent to accompany with a letter seeking to outdo potential rivals in offering proofs of

¹⁴ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 25th September 1858, p. 9. (The tower that was eventually added to this church in 1897, albeit without a spire, was constructed to an entirely different design by T.H. & F. Healey.)

¹⁵ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁶ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 249.

¹⁷ Rev. Thomas Sutcliffe, incumbent at Heptonstall, to Rev. Thomas Bowdler, Honorary Secretary to the ICBS. Heptonstall, 17th November 1853. LPA, ICBS 3529.

destitution. Then, when the reply was received, often from Thomas Bowdler, the Society's honorary secretary until 1856, the real difficulties began, for few submissions were as favourably received as that for the partners' proposed church at Boroughbridge (figs. E(i) - E(ii), appendix 1), where an immediate offer of £180 was received.¹⁸ More typical was the reception of the application from Charlestown (figs. H(i) - H(ii), appendix 1), eventual grant £190), which elicited a curt note saying, 'The tower walls are not thick enough, the tower and spire being above 100 ft. high [and the] west wall of same is also too thin for its height', to which James Mallinson's reply that 'the walls are of the same height and thickness as in the new church at Salterhebble in this neighbourhood, which have received the Incorporated Society's seal',¹⁹ changed the Society's stance not one jot. It was a different but equally aggravating story at Thornaby-on-Tees (eventual grant, £225), where the ICBS replied to the application to say that 'the plaster must not be [illeg.] in imitation of stone - if the windows cannot be in stone, plain plaster must be used'.²⁰ The survival of this correspondence is unusual since, for obvious reasons, the Society's records rarely contain the reports *sent out* to parishes, but one can often surmise the general gist of their contents from the return mail they provoked. Thus John Hollings, perhaps acting as chairman of the building committee at Gillington (eventual grant, £280), wrote to the Society to say that as he was 'anxious, if possible, to avoid additional cost' in the building of St. Philip's, he wondered whether 'some misapprehension may exist as to the quality of our local building stone', to the use of which the ICBS had presumably objected.²¹ Unfortunately, this time there is no record of the reply. However, lest Thomas Healey (who was nearly always responsible for the plans) should appear to have run into more than the usual amount of difficulty in dealing with the Society, he had a considerably easier time than Walker Rawstorne, and the architect originally engaged for the partial rebuilding of St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon, in 1846, John Tertius Fairbank, was completely unable to get his plans past the ICBS at all, with J.H. Good adding for good measure, 'N.B. All Plans submitted for examination should be drawn on stout paper, tracing paper being exceedingly objectionable'.²² Nevertheless, it was an ill wind that blew nobody any good and there was also the case of St. Barnabas's church, Heaton, eventually designed in 1863 by 'Mallinson and Healey' after Thomas Healey had died but during the months the firm continued in business under its existing name, with Thomas Henry and Francis Healey working alongside James Mallinson in an arrangement that probably saw the Healey brothers assuming responsibility for the ecclesiastical work. Here, the incumbent, the Rev. Henry

¹⁸ Rev. Thomas Bowdler to Rev. George Holdsworth. Whitehall, 16th April 1851. LPA, ICBS 4355.

¹⁹ LPA, ICBS 5192. Mallinson's letter is dated Halifax, 11th December, 1857

²⁰ LPA, ICBS 5135.

²¹ John Hollings to the Secretary of the Incorporated Church Building Society, 3rd May, 1859. LPA, ICBS 5395.

²² J.H. Good to the building committee at Baildon, London, 10th May 1846. LPA, ICBS 3711.

Mitton, had probably first considered himself fortunate in having as one of his 'most influential parishioners', a self-styled architect who had offered to draw up the plans without charge. However, when these came back from the ICBS together with an excoriating report, the minister was left in contortions of embarrassment, unable to proceed yet unwilling to give his important parishioner sight of the Society's damning criticisms, and when, at last, he did find the courage to do so, the result was an increasingly excruciating exchange of drastic amendments to the designs by the 'architect' with further rejections from Good's successor, which left the minister pleading with him to moderate his language and finally drove Mitton to submit to the inevitable and pass the job over to Mallinson and Healey.²³

Table 7a: Grant awards for Mallinson and Healey's Anglican churches.

Church	Church Building Commission	Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS)	Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society	Bradford Church Building Society
Holy Trinity, Queen's Head	£500	£200	-	-
St. Mary's, Wyke	£500	£400	award not recorded	-
St. John's, Baildon	-	£150	-	-
St. Paul's, Manningham	-	-	-	-
St. John the Baptist's, Clayton	£1,031	£260	£500	-
St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd	£300	£230	£400	-
St. Matthew's, Bankfoot	£200	award not recorded	£400	-
St. Michael & All Angels', Shelf	£250	award not recorded	£400	-
All Saints', Richmond Hill	£300	£400	£500	-
Christ Church, South Ossett	£200	£200	award not recorded	-
Christ Church, Barkisland	£150	£180	£375	-
St. James's, Boroughbridge	-	£180	-	-
St. John's, Langcliffe	-	-	£230	-
St. Andrew's, Listerhills	£200	-	-	-
St. Mary & All Saints', Cundall	-	-	not in the diocese	-
St. Thomas's, Heptonstall	-	£225	-	-
Christ Church, Mount Pellon	£125	£160	£225	-
St. Peter's, Thorner	-	£69 (sic)	-	-
St. Alban's, Withenwick	-	£60	not in the diocese	-
All Saints', Mappleton	-	-	not in the diocese	-
St. Mary Magdalene's, E. Keswick	-	£75	-	-
St. Mark's, Low Moor	-	-	-	-
St. Thomas's, Charlestown	-	£190	-	-
St. John's, Clifton	-	£90	-	-
All Saints', Salterhebble	-	£180	-	-
St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees	-	£225	not in the diocese	-
Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees	-	-	-	-
St. Stephen's, Bowling	-	£415	-	£250
St. Philip's, Gillington	-	£280	£500	-
St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth	-	£80	£120	-
St. John's, Welburn	-	£250	not in the diocese	-
St. Luke's, Broomfields	-	£385	£500	£1,225
St. John's, Tong Street	-	£200	-	-
St. Mary's, Quarry Hill	-	£100	-	-
St. Mary's, Laisterdyke	-	£330	£500	£900
St. Mark's, Dewsbury	-	£200	£500	-
St. Mary's, Westow	-	£70	not in the diocese	-
St. Michael's, Catwick	-	award not recorded	not in the diocese	-
All Saints', Horton	-	-	-	-
Holy Trinity, Hepworth	-	£225	£380	-
St. Peter's, Arthington	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	£3,756	£6,009	£5,530	£2,375
AVERAGE	£341.9s.1d	£207.4s.2d	£395.0s.0d	£791.13s.4d

The Ripon Diocesan Church Building Society, in comparison, seems to have been a less cantankerous organisation to deal with and the fact that only sixteen of Mallinson and Healey's churches erected within the diocese obtained a grant from them, was probably merely a testimony of the Society's limited funds, although when a building committee *did* receive an award, it was usually relatively generous, the fourteen churches for which the amount is known, being given on average £395, with six awarded £500 - a figure never reached by any of Mallinson and Healey's churches from the ICBS. Nor did the Society entirely confine itself to churches, for in 1854 it awarded a grant towards the cost of the partners' parsonage at Lightcliffe,²⁴ and two years later, it gave another towards the building of Bradshaw parsonage.²⁵ There is nothing to indicate that any of these applications seriously added to the partners' work, but now the Society's Rule 14 presented a problem for this stated that any building project in receipt of a grant from the Society had to be overseen by a full-time clerk-of-the-works, and managing without one was one of the few opportunities architects had of making a small saving in order to gain a slight financial edge over their competitors. In fact, the general lack of evidence for clerks-of-the-works in Mallinson and Healey's day-books, referred to in the previous chapter, suggests the partners often ignored this stipulation unless the shenanigans at Barkisland were common practice elsewhere, for here the plasterer was *deemed* to be the clerk-of-the-works also and while the principal payment made to him was £75.1s.5d for plastering, he was also given occasional small sums for odd jobs such as helping to hang the bells (5/-) and cleaning stonework (£1), and irregular, ad hoc payments of £10 for carrying out the duties of clerk-of-the-works, suggesting this was a ploy to meet the RDCBS's regulation while actually employing the 'clerk' chiefly to do something else!

The Bradford Church Building Society was established in 1859 under the chairmanship of Dr. John Burnet, vicar of Bradford, with the stated intent of building ten new churches in and around the town. This was doubtless the perfect body so far as Mallinson and Healey were concerned and they may have wished that twenty churches had been intended for even as things stood, together (later on) with T.H. and F. Healey, they were eventually to be given responsibility for designing seven since, in addition to the three listed as having received grants from the BCBS in table 7a, All Saints', Horton, erected at the sole charge of Sir Francis Sharp Powell, was considered to be a fourth, and St. Philip's, Gillington, St. Barnabas's, Heaton, and St. Bartholomew's, Ripleyville, were three more, the first of which it eventually proved possible to pay for without any direct contribution from the BCBS at all and the last of which was designed by T.H. & F. Healey in 1872. The Society's rules were

²⁴ D/B, 27th October 1854.

²⁵ D/B, 29th March & 5th April 1856.

entirely free of any stipulation about the conditions to be met by the architects and dealt only with the ways the Committee's business was to be conducted (rules I to IX and XIII to XIV) and how the patronage of the new churches was to be allocated after their completion (rules X to XII).

Parsonages, as seen above, were eligible for a grant from the Ecclesiastical Commission (although as already described in chapter 2, the work involved was excessive) or a loan from the Queen Anne's Bounty Office, and from 1853 there was also the Gally Knight Fund, established from a legacy of £37,000 arising from the sale of Mr. Henry Gally Knight's Firbeck Estate near Rotherham. This was now administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners but held separately from their other monies, and available for assisting the building of parsonages 'in any part of England, except the Diocese of Durham' (which had its own source of income),²⁶ with an upper limit of £400 for any particular project. The Queen Anne's Bounty is mentioned forty-three times in Mallinson and Healey's day-books, and the parsonages receiving financial assistance included those at Burley-in-Wharfedale,²⁷ Bankfoot,²⁸ South Ossett,²⁹ Bradshaw,³⁰ Lightcliffe,³¹ Shelf,³² Buttershaw,³³ Boroughbridge,³⁴ Thornhill Lees,³⁵ Clayton,³⁶ and Barkisland³⁷ (= 11 altogether), suggesting almost every new parsonage had a good chance of obtaining help, and so it is a pity the day-books give no indication of the sums awarded. Mallinson made frequent reference to preparing 'the necessary plans for [the] application' or the 'declaration of completion' for these parsonages and Healey also sent plans to the Bounty Office and applied for payment once the buildings were finished, but there is no indication of what was involved. The only parsonage recorded in the day-books as having received assistance

²⁶ Royal *Cornwall Gazette*, 15th April 1853, p. 3.

²⁷ D/B, 3rd April and 11th & 20th July 1854.

²⁸ D/B, 19th, 20th & 30th May and 6th & 7th October 1854.

²⁹ D/B, 3rd & 15th June 1854.

³⁰ D/B, 15th August and 2nd & 6th December 1854.

³¹ D/B, 28th October 1854.

³² D/B, 7th, 10th, 23rd & 29th August 1855.

³³ D/B, 28th, 30th and 31st August 1855.

³⁴ D/B, 25th February 1856.

³⁵ D/B, 25th November 1856.

³⁶ D/B, 30th June, 1st July and 1st October 1857.

³⁷ D/B, 5th August 1857.

from the Gally Knight Fund was that at Bradshaw,³⁸ which underwent by far the longest, most drawn-out planning and construction process of any designed by the partners for which this period is known.

* * * * *

Small Subscribers.

Funding church building by subscription was always a rather hazardous affair and usually left building committees with a deficit at the end. Churches by Mallinson and Healey paid for chiefly in this way included those at Barkisland, Heptonstall, Mount Pellon, East Keswick, Dewsbury and Hepworth, where the subscription lists survive and appear to be largely complete. Thus: (i) at Barkisland one hundred and sixty-seven individuals gave a total of £1,742.5s.6d, with donations ranging from £2 to £200; (ii) at Heptonstall, sixty-three people gave £4,630 (£1 to £1,000); (iii) at Mount Pellon, eighty-six people gave £1,771.5s.3d (1/- to £400); (iv) at East Keswick, forty-eight people gave £1,110.2s.0d (10/- to £500); (v) at Dewsbury, forty-nine people gave £2,041 (£5 to £500); and (vi), at Hepworth, one hundred and eighty-eight people gave £1,468.14s.6d (10d to £100). The deficit was £164.16s.11d at Barkisland, £600 at Heptonstall (£550 after the collection at the consecration service), £330.6s.0d at Mount Pellon, and £1,062 at Dewsbury.³⁹ There was a surplus of £30 at East Keswick and no figure is given in the records for Hepworth.

These figures are interesting for two reasons. First, they give some indication of how many contributions were generally needed, and therefore how difficult it could be, to raise a sum of between one and two thousand pounds by subscription. Secondly, except probably at Dewsbury, it seems it was considered right to record everybody's donation, and at four of the churches, probably in the order in which they were received rather than by value.⁴⁰ This appears to suggest a belief, therefore, of how in an act of religious piety such as this, the rigid hierarchy of Victorian society should be left at the church door.

Here the architect's primary concern may have been whether the money would enable the work to be completed and possibly also whether they would be paid promptly and in full. Probably all he could do to facilitate fund-raising, assuming the building was a

³⁸ D/B, 15th & 29th August 1854 and 29th March 1856 & 10th November 1856.

³⁹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 25th February 1865, p. 5.

⁴⁰ As shown, for example, at Hepworth, where the Earl of Dartmouth's £150 is preceded in the list by £20 from Mrs. Bradshaw and followed by £10 from Robert Ramsden.

church, would have lain in ensuring the works were in the proper state of preparedness for the laying of the foundation stone and, subsequently, that the church was complete and the site sufficiently tidy in time for its consecration, both of which were expected to bring in increased donations. The construction of Holy Trinity, Hepworth, proceeded quickly (441 days from the laying of the foundation stone to consecration) but progress was slower at Mount Pellon (522 days) and slower still at Barkisland (657 days), particularly in view of its modest tower-less form. St. Thomas's, Heptonstall, is a large proud building but, nevertheless, the four and a half years taken to build it, still appears excessive (1,624 days from the laying of the foundation stone until its consecration). The comparable period for the large but less extravagant building of St. Mark's, Dewsbury, was 837 days: the foundation stone was laid on 11th November 1862,⁴¹ four days after Thomas Healey's death, and consecration finally took place on 24th February 1865 after having been initially planned for 21st September 1864 and then postponed.⁴² The newspaper report on the consecration ceremony referred to the church's long period of construction and implied that it was due to the difficulty in raising money, yet without some direct evidence such as this, it is necessary to exercise caution for, as shown in the case of Holy Trinity, Queen's Head (chapter three), the date of a church's consecration is not an infallible indication of when the building was *completed*, for in that case a long delay ensued owing to the fact that a small part of the new parish was due to be taken from the parish of Bradford, making it mandatory for the Vicar of Bradford, the Rev. Dr. William Scoresby, to be served with a formal notice of the revised bounds before they could come into effect, even though he had previously consented verbally, and that he was currently away, travelling in America.⁴³

As for the ease with which the architects might have obtained their commission, Barkisland is possibly a straw in the wind. This was a small job for which the final cost excluding the architects' commission and sundry expenses came to £1,450. Mallinson submitted the partners' bill on August 10th 1854. Their commission at the usual rate of 5% was £72.10s.0d, on top of which Mallinson added £2.7s.0d for making an initial survey and plan of the proposed site (5/- of which was paid to an assistant), £8.8s.0d for all the work involved in obtaining grants from the Incorporated and Ripon Diocesan Church Building Societies, 10/6 for altering the site plan when the land available was suddenly reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre

⁴¹ *Batley Reporter and Guardian*, January 29th 1881, p. 5.

⁴² *Leeds Intelligencer*, 10th September 1864, p. 8.

⁴³ H. Robson to the Rev. T. Bowdler, Honorary Secretary to the ICBS, Halifax, 17th September 1844. LPA, ICBS 2990.

from whatever it had been previously, £4.5s.0d to cover the cost of thirty-seven journeys to Barkisland to inspect the works (at an average of 2/3½d a journey), £3.9s.10d for postage, printing and advertising, £2.2s.0d for preparing plans for a possible church tower at the building committee's request (not taken up) and making an estimate of its cost, and £3.3s.0d for making three additional copies of the plan, amounting in all to £96.15s.4d. It does not appear excessive even though the charge for preparing grant applications is not encountered on the partners' invoices elsewhere. Yet William Baxter, Lord of the Manor and chairman of the building committee, adopted a positively sarcastic tone in his letter to the treasurer, the Rev. James Sanders. The work, it is fair to say, had suffered some delay owing to the fact that the partners were simultaneously engaged on so much else, but they could hardly have sustained their business on the work at Barkisland alone.

'My dear Sir,

'I return to you Mr. Mallinson's Bill, which is more than enough for their department in the erection of our church. 37 journeys to Barkisland. How attentive he must have been. I suppose the bill must be paid altho. so unreasonable considering the delay and trouble he has caused.'⁴⁴

This is the only evidence of dissatisfaction with Mallinson and Healey from a client in the surviving records, which itself seems to suggest the unreasonableness lay on William Baxter's side rather than Mallinson's, but arguably in the desperate struggle to build by subscription in a poor district - and the subscribers list for Barkisland records 124 small subscribers who were solicited for sums between £2 and £5, many of whom lived at a distance - niggardliness such as this is easier to understand.

* * * * *

The Parish Rate.

The parish rate played only a very small part in the funding of new churches in mid-nineteenth century Yorkshire, and rarely impinged on these projects at all. A report on the building of St. Thomas the Apostle, Heptonstall, written on the occasion of its golden jubilee, explained why it amounted to so little. The church was erected a matter of yards from the old church of St. Thomas à Becket, where the tower had fallen in a gale in 1847 and the damaged and dilapidated building had originally been proposed for repair.

'To repair the breach, or rather rebuild the tower, the church wardens with the concurrence of some of the principal inhabitants, determined to call a vestry meeting for the purpose of obtaining funds by means of a church rate throughout the

⁴⁴ Assorted correspondence, plans and estimates for Barkisland church. Wakefield, WYA, WDP21/252.

chapelry. No church rate had been laid since the year 1843. The plan of a new tower, estimated to cost about £400, was procured from Mr. Child, architect, Halifax, and was laid before the vestry meeting which was held in the body of the church on Thursday, the 18th of November, 1847. Parishioners from different parts of the chapelry, mill owners and factory hands, came in great numbers to oppose the rate. There was a very disorderly and uproarious meeting, nevertheless the opposition party granted a rate of one farthing in the pound, which they well knew would be scarcely worth while to collect, and quite unequal to the amount required. After the meeting, the churchwardens and friends of the church consulted together, and on finding that a farthing in the pound would only realise £60, gave up all idea of raising any portion of the funds by means of the rate...'⁴⁵

This salutary experience was clearly anticipated by most church wardens and church building committees throughout the Yorkshire clothing districts, who never even attempted such a thing, for the only recorded churches by Mallinson and Healey for which a rate was raised successfully are both to be found among the rural villages of the East Riding, namely at Withernwick (figs. F(i) - F(ii), appendix 1), where the church was reconstructed from the old materials in 1854/5,⁴⁶ and at Catwick, where the church was partially reconstructed in 1863/4.⁴⁷ The sums eventually realised in this way are shown in tables 7b & 7c, but while it is immediately apparent that they were very modest, the effect upon individual ratepayers was actually quite severe. Thus to single out some examples, at Withernwick, John Bateson, who paid his customary sum of 7/5½d in 1854/5, was confronted with a demand for £2.19s.6d in 1854/5. He then got a little relief in 1855/6, when he only had to pay 3/8½d, following which the rate returned to its usual figure in 1856/7. Similarly, a decade later at Catwick, Thomas Bateson (sic) paid 6/0¾d in 1862/3, £1.9s.6d in 1863/4, and 11/0¾d in 1864/5 and 1865/6, while his poorer neighbour, Thomas Smith, paid 2½d in 1862/3, 1/- in 1863/4, and 6¾d in 1864/5 and 1865/6. And even with sharp rate rises such as these, the exercise did not necessarily raise more money. Thus William Robert Park, also of Catwick, paid £1.2s.6d in 1862/3, defaulted in 1863/4, when he gave nothing, but then returned to paying his rate dutifully in 1864/5 and 1865/6, in each of which years he paid £1.15s.6d.

Table 7b: Withernwick Parish Rates.

Year	Rate	Number of Ratepayers	Amount Raised
1853/4	1d in the pound	64	£11. 1s. 11½d
1854/5	8d in the pound	60	£88. 9s. 8d

⁴⁵ *Todmorden and District News*, 28th October 1904, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Beverley, East Riding Record Office, PE81/45.

⁴⁷ Beverley, ERRO, PE9/15/2.

1855/6	½d in the pound	60	£5. 10s. 10½d
1856/7	1d in the pound	59	£10. 18s. 9½d
TOTAL AMOUNT RAISED	-	-	£116. 1s. 3½d

Table 7c: Catwick Parish Rates.

Year	Rate	Number of Ratepayers	Amount Raised
1862/3	1d in the pound	25	£ 7. 19s. 9d
1863/4	4d in the pound	27	£33. 13s. 7d
1864/5	1½d in the pound	28	£13. 7s. 5½d
1865/6	1½d in the pound	28	£13. 7s. 5½d
TOTAL AMOUNT RAISED	-	-	£68. 8s. 3d

* * * * *

Conclusion.

In the design and erection of any new building, it was easiest for the architect if a single individual was paying for it. Other options were almost inevitably more troublesome, uncertain, or both. Grantors invariably created work and, not infrequently, additional expense, which the architect had to manage and/or mitigate. Building by subscription, however, could be extremely unpredictable, was largely beyond the architect's control, and a good start did not always imply matters would go well thereafter. As for any attempt to raise money through the church rate, this was unlikely ever to provide very much help and wherever Dissent flourished, it was totally impracticable. Yet in spite of these difficulties, new churches continued to be proposed and Mallinson and Healey continued to erect them, on average at a rate of three or four per annum. It was witness to the partners' skills of personal diplomacy and their ability to meet the complex demands of bureaucratic and obstructive official bodies, coupled with a willingness to undertake much routine and monotonous office work, that the money was forthcoming, year after year, to enable building to continue.

CHAPTER 8. 'A RIGID ATTENTION TO ECONOMY'.

A very general impression seems to exist, to the prejudice, we may observe, of many most deserving men, that good ecclesiastical architects are scarcely to be met with outside of London... Country architects.., should if competent be patronized, encouraged, instructed and brought forward on every occasion of work having to be done in their district. There are a great many most important accidents of local practice which are completely neglected by architects introduced from a distant part of the kingdom. The character of the buildings of the district; the cost and nature of the local materials; the methods of economizing, substituting, constructing, working them; the harmony and uniformity which it is desirable to preserve, and the exact amount of work that can be done for a stated sum of money; these are all points which should be familiar to the local architect, and are almost sure to be strange to any other.

The Ecclesiologist, New Series 1/5, September 1845.

General Remarks.

In fact, notwithstanding the above quotation, it was not easy, even for the provincial Victorian architect to control costs once a building committee had agreed upon a new church, school or parsonage's specification. When building sites were often donated and the common practice was for contractors to provide their own materials and to include the price of them in their tenders, frequently the only direct influence the architect could exert lay in the choice of those tenders themselves. Some money might possibly be saved on the outlay on building stone if the mason could be directed to a suitable, proximate source, not commonly available. Beyond that, a knowledge of local wage rates and the ability to estimate how long a job would take were other important skills an architect's employer relied on him to bring.

This chapter will consider how Mallinson and Healey worked within the constraints they inevitably encountered and sought to ensure their proposals were both realistic and competitive. With so much of the cost contracted out to builders, this could only be achieved if the same characteristics were displayed by the masons, carpenters and others that carried out the works, and so it is with the capacity of these men to submit faithful yet affordable tenders in the first place that these considerations will begin.

* * * * *

The Tenders of the Building Departments Compared and the Effects of Distance.

Christopher Powell, in a detailed and very revealing paper that attempted to accomplish for the late eighteenth/ early nineteenth century construction industry what chapter six of this study seeks to do for the early Victorian architectural profession, traced the development and evolving work patterns of the general building enterprise, willing to contract for complete building projects at fixed costs, rather than limit itself to the work of a single department such as carpentry or tiling.¹ Mallinson and Healey used a select few of these businesses, notably Isaac Patchett's firm at Queen's Head, but in the majority of cases, perhaps to accord with the general guidance issued by the Church Building Commission (chapter two), chose instead to seek tenders for each department separately.

These varied a little in the names that were given to them (in particular 'carpenters' v. 'joiners' and 'slaters' v. 'tilers'), but essentially comprised six, viz. (i) the stonemasons' department, (ii) the carpenters' department, (iii) the slaters' department, (iv) the plumbers' and glaziers' department, (v) the plasterers' department, and (vi) the painters' department. All were obviously necessary, but the financial commitment they involved varied widely as shown in table 8a. When their *final* costs, where known, or else their *estimated* costs, are converted into percentages of the costs of the entire buildings, in either case the mason's contract emerges at about 60% of the total, the carpenters' contract equates to about 25%, and the other four departments together account for the remaining 15%. (Note that the slaters at Mount Pellon also did the plastering and the general contractor at Lower Dunsforth was nevertheless not responsible for the carpentry.) It follows, therefore, that the importance of selecting a tender wisely was especially critical in the masons' and carpenters' departments.

Table 8a: Relative Costs of the Different Departments for some of Mallinson and Healey's Church Buildings. (Architects' estimates are shaded grey.)

CHURCH WITH DATE	Masons' Department	Carpenters' & Joiners' Dept.	Tiler's & Slater's Dept.	Plumbers' & Glaziers' Dept.	Plasterers' Department	Painters Department	Totals
St. Matthew, Bankfoot (1848)	£895 (59.7%)	£395 (26.4%)	£73.10s.0d (4.9%)	£57.10s.0d (3.8%)	£42.10s.0d (2.8%)	£35 (2.3%)	£1,498.10s.0d (99.9%)
St. Michael, Shelf (1848)	£875 (59.3%)	£390 (26.4%)	£75 (5.1%)	£55 (3.7%)	£45 (3.1%)	£35 (2.4%)	£1,475 (100%)
All Saints', Richm'd Hill, Leeds (1849)	£1,400 (62.4%)	£510 (22.7%)	£100 (4.5%)	£105 (4.7%)	£70 (3.1%)	£60 (2.7%)	£2,245 (100.1%)
Christ Church, Barkisland (1854)	£796.15s.3d (57.9%)	£310.16s.10d (22.6%)	£109.9s.9d (7.8%)	£72.15s.0d (3.1%)	£42.4s.4d (5.3%)	£43.14s.5d (3.2%)	£1,375.15s.7d (99.9%)
Christ Church, Mount Pellon (1854)	£977.17s.6d (61.4%)	£380.9s.10d (23.9%)	Two together	£72.10s.0d (4.6%)	£136.2s.0d (8.5%)	£26.0s.0d (1.6%)	£1,592.19s.4d (100%)
St. Mary, Lower Dunsforth (1859)		£325.18s.11d (22.9%)	All others together	£1,091.18s.8d (77.0%)			£1,417.17s.7d (99.9%)
Average %	60.1%	24.2%	5.6%	4.0%	3.6%	2.4%	-

¹ Christopher Powell, *Genesis of a General Contractor - a Georgian Vernacular Builder Transformed* (paper, on-line at file:///C:/Documents/Downloads/Vol%203%202547-2558%20Powell.pdf , 1992), but see also E.W. Cooney, 'The Victorian Master Builders' (*The Economic History Review*, New Series 8/2, 1955, pp. 167-176).

This is to view the matter from the building committee's or architect's point of view of course, but that begs the question of what enabled a contractor to submit a competitive tender in the first place, without placing himself in financial jeopardy or setting out with the deliberate intention of cutting corners in order to make what he knew to be too low a tender, pay. Could a contractor, for example, seek to follow a particular architect around from job to job and build his business upon an established relationship? This is suggested in some of the current literature. Thus for example, in 2014 Michael Hall wrote:

'Architects' natural tendency to rely on a small circle of trusted builders and craftsmen was reinforced by the railways, which gave even small firms a national reach customarily exercised only by those in London. A.W.N. Pugin's reliance on a favoured builder, George Myers, and a group of firms... for painted decoration...[,] stained glass and metalwork, was paralleled by almost every one of his Gothic revival successors with surprisingly little overlap.... They wholly eschewed major metropolitan contractors, and if possible avoided local builders who were unknown to them.'²

Yet there has also been some counter-argument as when Anthony Quiney, writing in 1979, declared that until the 1880s, John Loughborough Pearson's buildings 'were usually built by local contractors, and although some often recur in one area it is evidence only of their ability to put in the lowest tender',³ while eight years before, Paul Thompson had noted that despite William Butterfield's preference 'to use a builder he knew whenever he could, ... the two hundred and fifty buildings for which the names of the builders can be found' were executed by some twenty different firms altogether and showed Butterfield 'more prepared to experiment' when working outside the metropolis.⁴

Of course, all three of these architects exercised a national reach, and it was hardly reasonable to expect the firm that built Pearson's All Saints', North Ferriby, in the East Riding, for £3,039,⁵ to travel to Devon to erect the equally modest St. Matthew's, Lanscove.⁶ Even George Myers, who would generally go anywhere, had declined to

² Hall, *George Frederick Bodley*, p. 261.

³ Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, p. 176.

⁴ Thompson, *William Butterfield*, p. 71.

⁵ Pearson, 1845-46. Built by Firby & Co. of Swanland or Malone of Hull or both. (Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, p. 266.)

⁶ Pearson, 1849-51. Built by John Mason of Exeter. (Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, p. 261.)

build Pugin's parsonage at Lanteglos-by-Camelford in Cornwall because 'it was too far to go for so small a work',⁷ but what was the situation for provincial architectural firms, working largely within a single county? Here Mallinson and Healey's day-books are extremely revealing, for they show that during the four years 1854-7 alone, the partners had recourse to ninety-three different contractors, who, after allowing for six who were engaged in more than one trade, comprised nineteen stonemasons, fifteen joiners and carpenters, five slaters,⁸ fourteen plumbers and glaziers, nine plasterers, nine painters and decorators, eleven general builders, eight labourers, and nine of miscellaneous occupations including five who acted as clerks-of-the-works and two whose trades cannot be identified. Sixty-six from among this number can be traced to their home or trade addresses,⁹ comprising fourteen masons, fourteen joiners and carpenters, four slaters, thirteen plumbers and glaziers, eight plasterers, eight painters and decorators, and eleven general builders, again with six men counted twice, and since it is also possible to deduce the places of work for each of these men on each of their respective contracts, their approximate home-to-work distances can be calculated (appendix 4), albeit that since there is no way of knowing the *route* the men would have taken on their journeys, these must necessarily be recorded either 'as the crow flies' or by using the common rule of thumb for calculating *travelling* distance from direct distance, by multiplying the latter by one and a third. Estimates thus calculated and stated in miles, rounded up to the nearest half, are probably accurate to within about 20%, but it is necessary to recognise that in view of the local topography, both the distance itself, and/or the time needed to complete it, have the capacity to deceive. This warning notwithstanding, however, the travelling distances that emerge are nevertheless instructive. Seventy-four out of one hundred and twenty-five contracts (59.2%) required only a journey of three miles or less, which an average person can walk in about an hour, and a further thirty-three (26.4%) fell between three and a half miles and six, which a horse and cart might travel in an hour and a half. That leaves eighteen (14.4%) involving longer journeys, including two cases (both at St. Paul's, Stockton-on-Tees) where the contractors obviously had to lodge away from home.

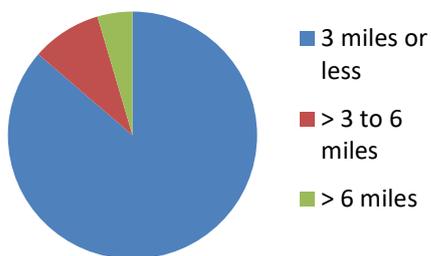
⁷ Patricia Spencer-Silver, *Pugin's Builder - the Life and Work of George Myers* (Kingston-upon-Hull: The University of Hull Press, 1993), pp. 38-39.

⁸ The small number of slaters compared to those for the other building trades could be indicative of one of several things, including a greater reserve by the architects to engage men whose work was relatively unknown to them, or that slaters were in generally short supply, or that this was work frequently undertaken by general builders. It seems unlikely, in view of the detail given in the day-books on most other matters, that slaters were simply considered too unimportant to mention.

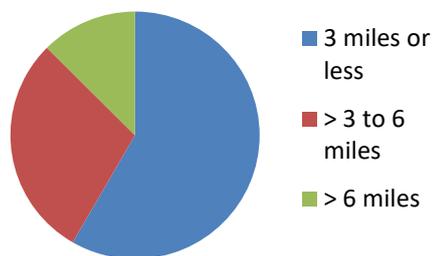
⁹ Sources include Ibbetson's *General Directory of Bradford* for 1845, White's *Directory of Kingston-upon-Hull* for 1851, White's *Directory of Leeds and Bradford* for 1854, White's *Directory of Bradford* for 1861, and Malcolm Bull's *Calderdale Companion*.

Diagram VIII: pie charts showing contractors' travelling distances to work, 1854-7.

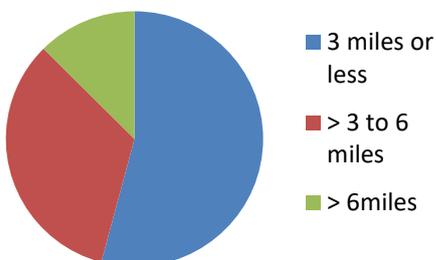
Masons



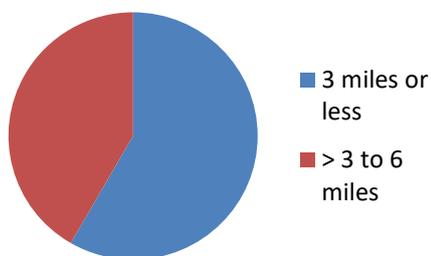
Carpenters & Joiners



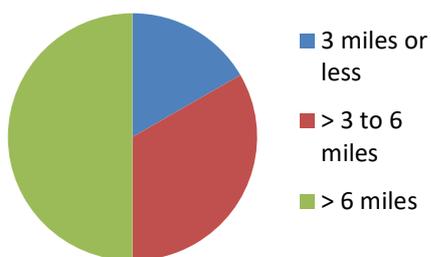
Plumbers & Glaziers



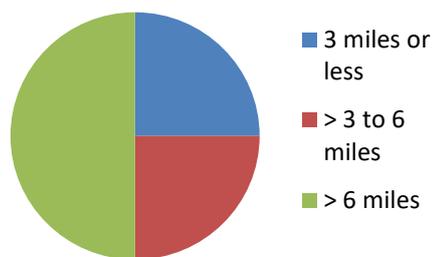
Slaters



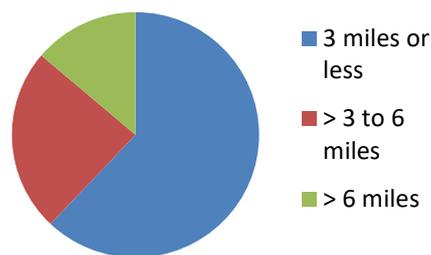
Plasterers



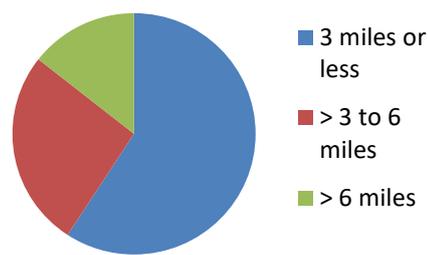
Painters & Decorators



General Builders



ALL CONTRACTORS



It is worth considering whether there were any discernible differences in the travelling distances undertaken by those employed in the different trades, and here one might expect that those with the most valuable contracts (masons in the first instance, joiners and carpenters next) might have found it worthwhile to travel furthest. Of course, any conclusions drawn from the above data must be accompanied by the reservation that sample numbers are small, but it is notable that such evidence as exists is entirely to the contrary. Indeed, only three (and perhaps only two) of twenty-two masons' contracts (14%) involved a journey greater than three miles, including one case where the mason lodged away from home, whereas three out of six plasterers' contracts, three out of twenty-four plumbers' contracts, and four out of eight painters' contracts involved journeys of *eight* miles or more, for which the explanation may be that since masons generally took a considerable labour force with them and probably heavier tools,¹⁰ it was more important for them to work closer to home, while the fact that they were usually engaged on each project for longer, simultaneously reduced the need, felt more acutely by plasterers, plumbers and painters, to scout for work over a wider area. Even so, in all departments the figures suggest the opportunities for an architect 'to rely on a small circle of trusted builders' were severely limited by the inability of contractors to submit tenders for 'bread and butter' projects without first giving careful consideration to the number of working and/or (in winter) daylight hours they could expect to lose in travel. If these considerations exerted a controlling influence on the submissions contractors felt able to make, it is totally unsurprising they were reflected in Mallinson and Healey's need to rely on local men.

* * * * *

Builders' Contracts and Their Effects on Contractors.

Building contracts were harsh and one might expect that men working alone or new and untried craftsmen without the benefit of an established reputation, might be more at their mercy than those with a recognised presence. A large building firm might also be better able to ride out any problems that arose from bad weather, sick and absent workmen, or some other unexpected mishap, but in any event, when any difficulty occurred likely to impede the progress of the works, a lot could depend on the reasonableness of the architect, whose judgement was often final and not open to appeal. A contract superintended by an architect noted for fair dealings might justify a sharper tender or - quite literally - going the extra mile. William Bussel, a builder of Gloucester, complained in *The Builder* in 1856, 'The building trade in this city has been ruined by... treatment builders have

¹⁰ Satoh, *Building in Britain*, pp. 109-256.

met with from architects within these last ten years. There are now 10 or 12 architects [in the city]... many of whom glory in catching a contractor with sureties'.¹¹

One of the largest and most firmly established general building firms in early Victorian Halifax and Bradford was Isaac Patchett's business at Queen's Head, which Mallinson and Healey used on at least seven occasions and probably considerably more.¹² The contract to which Patchett put his signature on 27th November 1858, drawn up between himself and his partner, Michael Firth,¹³ on the one hand, and the building committee for Clayton schools and teacher's house on the other, runs to three large printed pages and sets out in detail how Isaac Patchett had committed himself to undertake the excavators' and masons' work at the school for an all-inclusive sum of £579, agreeing in the process: (i) not to employ subcontractors and to have as many men on site at all times as Mallinson and Healey considered needful, on pain of the architects calling in their own workmen to hurry the works along and deducting their wages from the overall price of the contract, even to the extent that if insufficient money was still due to the contractors they should be responsible for the difference anyway; and (ii) that if any workman was judged by the architects to have 'misbehaved' on site, he could be dismissed by the architects and would then have to be replaced by the contractor, failure to do so again being subject to the potential penalty of the architect bringing in his own man or men, chargeable against the contract. Although obviously intended to indemnify building committees and architects against unreliable contractors, this must have had the unintended consequence of deterring some of the best and busiest men if they had concerns about the integrity of the architects overseeing the project. In addition, there was besides the stipulation that all materials brought by the contractors to the site should, from that moment forward, be regarded as the property of the building committee even though the committee took no responsibility for any loss or damage to them and offered no security against theft, and that if any of the materials discovered on site were judged to be unsound and not replaced by the contractor within three days of being notified of the fact, they could be removed by others on the instructions of the building committee and disposed of howsoever the building committee deemed fit. Moreover, should any alterations or additions to the building be thought necessary as construction work progressed, the architects, acting on behalf of the building committee, could order the contractor to carry them out for such extra sums as the architects judged

¹¹ *The Builder*, 5/246, 23rd October 1847, p. 505.

¹² Six of the known occasions date from the period of the extant day-books and are known about on that account. The only one that does not, for Clayton schools and teacher' house, dates from 1858.

¹³ Bradford , WYA, WDP36/11/1/2.

appropriate, and any damage to the works or materials arising from accident (whether the fault of the contractor or otherwise) should be made good by the contractor at no further charge, unless it could be proved to have been caused by the workmen of another department. And finally, the contractors were not only to carry out everything described in the specification but also anything else that might be *inferred* from it but was not mentioned directly, thereby neatly passing the responsibility for all omissions from the architects to the contractor. All disagreements arising from these provisions were to be referred to the architects, whose decisions were final. In return, up to three-quarters of the contract money was to be payable in cash to the contractors in appropriate instalments as the work progressed, with the remaining quarter falling due on completion of the works, which in the case of Clayton schools was to be no later than 1st June 1859, any overrun being subject to a forfeit of £5 per week.¹⁴ It would have been very surprising in the circumstances - indeed, almost reckless - if a consideration of Mallinson and Healey's rectitude *had not been* taken into account by prospective contractors before putting themselves forward!

In fact, there is circumstantial evidence that Mallinson and Healey were reasonably familiar with most of the men they engaged and formed good relationships with them, notwithstanding the number involved. Thus John Lambert, timber merchant and carpenter at Lightcliffe parsonage,¹⁵ whom Mallinson and Healey had previously engaged on three other contracts,¹⁶ was declared bankrupt in March 1855,¹⁷ and Mallinson found himself tasked with both valuing Lambert's premises and stocks of timber on behalf of his assignees, and simultaneously preparing Lambert's own private account for proof before the bankruptcy court, with whatever conflict of interest that might have involved.¹⁸ It obviously *did not* involve any significant damage to architect/contractor relations, for besides returning in the autumn to undertake extra work at Bradshaw parsonage, Lambert was also working for the partners at Haley Hill mill early the following year.¹⁹

¹⁴ Not all contracts went into such detail, however. Thus the contract with John Haigh, builder of Barkisland parsonage in 1858, consisted of a handwritten sheet of notepaper, written out and signed by Haigh in a beautifully neat hand, setting out what he had undertaken to do for the sum of £920, and countersigned by Mallinson, acting as witness. Wakefield, WYA, WDP21/252.

¹⁵ D/B, 12th May 1854.

¹⁶ At Zion Independent Chapel, Halifax (D/B, 8th February 1854), at Bradshaw parsonage (D/B, 2nd January 1855), and at Trinity Road Baptist Chapel, Halifax (D/B, 29th October 1855, when Lambert was still working on a building that had been under construction for the past two years).

¹⁷ *The Halifax Courier*, 10th March 1855, p. 1.

¹⁸ D/B, 4th December 1855.

¹⁹ On Haley Hill mill shed. (D/B, 18th February 1856.)

Cash flow, for those who had to pay a significant workforce was a problem for most contractors to one degree or another, although larger firms may have found it easier to weather the vicissitudes of irregular receipts than small. There are several references in the day-books to advances of £40 to John Lambert at Lightcliffe as he ran increasingly into financial trouble.²⁰ Another man who clearly struggled was Thomas Thornton of Elland, mason at Christ Church, Barkisland, whose contract eventually realised £796.15s.3d, and who appealed so frequently to William Baxter for one advance after another, that Baxter felt obliged to write to the treasurer, the Rev. James Sanders:

'My dear Sir,

'The bearer, Mr. Thomas Thornton's son, will present you with a certificate from Mr. Mallinson as to the amount due (£25) for masonry at Barkisland church. Thornton's son came to me yesterday for a note to you for money, which I refused to give till Mr. Mallinson had stated what was due to him. It appears that Mr. Mallinson has certified for £25 although he has not seen the work for several weeks. This is not right and if we are not very careful, there will be little or no money due to Thornton and the work will then be given up for the winter or perhaps for a much longer period. You will, of course, give him a cheque for the £25 but I must see you before any more money is paid him.'²¹

In fact, however, an architect's reputation for a sympathetic understanding of contractors' potential financial difficulties, might have encouraged some very good but impecunious workmen to come forward who might otherwise have been reluctant to do so.

* * * * *

Wage Rates and the Cost of Craft Items and Sundries.

Wages were not an issue that came often into Mallinson and Healey's purview: contractors made what they could from their tenders and if they had a labour force to pay, the wages they paid them were entirely their affair. Almost the only instances of salaries appearing in final building accounts, excluding the architects' commission, were therefore those of the clerk-of-works, if one was engaged, and as seen above (chapter six), a typical salary here was £1.10s.0d a week, although sometimes a higher rate would be required if there was a sudden need to attract a suitable person.

²⁰ D/B, 5th May and 17th June 1854.

²¹ William Baxter to Rev, James Sanders, Barkisland, 13th November 1852. Wakefield, WYA, WDP21/252.

As for furniture and fittings, these might be *designed* by Healey, but someone still had to make them and then be paid for doing so. Unfortunately, the only items for which individual prices are mentioned in the day-books are the fonts at Cundall (fig. 6e) and Heptonstall (fig. 6f) at £12 and £25 respectively, and the label stops at Cundall, which were 6/- each, all of which were carved by Mawers of Leeds. Mawers' account at Thornhill Lees came to £150 in total,²² and while the individual pieces they made are not listed, presumably the reredos, font, and pulpit were among them. However, if this seems very moderate, the cost should be compared with that for the *wooden* pulpit, reading desk, altar rail and altar table at St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon, which amounted to £20.10s.0d altogether.²³ That costs could be so low is a reflection of the fact that skilled craftsmanship carried little or no premium at this time, as illustrated by a case brought before Leeds Crown Court in February 1856 concerning one, Matthew Taylor, described as an apprentice to Mrs. Mawer, who had 'refus[ed] to obey [her] lawful commands', but also as someone who was 'exceedingly clever at his business' and in whom Mrs. Mawer had sufficient confidence to send out, on his own, to work on behalf of the firm 'at different towns a distance from Leeds'. For all this, his wages were 8/- a week plus 6d a night allowance for his lodgings whenever he was absent from home, but Taylor claimed that 'his food cost much more at these times' and that he needed an extra 2/- a week to avoid being seriously out of pocket. Mrs. Mawer's counsel asked the court to order Taylor back to work on the existing terms, but the court dismissed the summons with the magistrates expressing the opinion that Taylor's claim was 'very reasonable'.²⁴

The most extensive record of the financial minutiae with which building committees were prepared to concern themselves can be found in the files for Barkisland. Extra masonry work eventually added £80.15s.3d to the original contract price of £716, while the additional figure that had to be found for the carpenter was £10.6s.10d.²⁵ 'Sundry payments for Ironmongery, Smith's Work, Advertising, Printing, Postages, &c., &c.' amounted to £32.6s.5d, for almost all of which the receipts were retained, showing the *exact* prices of the items, even down to a pound of nails. At one level, this is not surprising for it had been the custom as far back as the seventeenth century to provide final accounts for church buildings to a level of accuracy that seems highly dubious today,²⁶ but it shows that nothing

²² D/B, 5th November 1857.

²³ Canon Bruce Grainger, *A History of Baildon Parish Church*, 1988, p. 11.

²⁴ *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 19th February 1856, p. 3.

²⁵ 'Condensed Financial Statement', undated, Wakefield, WYA, WDP21/252.

²⁶ Wren's London church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, for example, erected 1670-80, was reputed to have cost £15,421.9s.0½d. (Figure quoted by Gerald Cobb in *London City Churches*, London,

was too insignificant to be beneath the committee's notice. Thus, for example, Thomas Shaw, Barkisland's clerk-of-the-works, in submitting his accounts, was careful to include a detailed breakdown of all the individual sums he had paid to the twelve men who had gone, each with his horse and cart, to the canal wharf at Elland to collect roofing slates that had been brought by barge from Manchester. Between them, the men were paid £4.13s.3d, of which 3/3d was claimed by Shaw himself, who also made the journey. Neither the building committee nor the architects could have asked for a greater degree of accountability.

Sometimes attempts to economize, however, were taken to impossible lengths. Thus when application was made to Thomas Hodges, bell-founder of 99 Middle Abbey Street, Dublin (on the face of it, a curiously located company to approach), for two small, and presumably very cheap, bells for the church, Hodges wrote back to the Rev. James Sanders to explain that the smallest bells he could supply that would sound significantly different from one another, would be 17" and 19½" in diameter, and would cost £10.5d.0d and £13.9s.0d respectively.²⁷ In fact, the bells and their hanging eventually cost £28.13s.4d, and the 'Church and Vestry Furniture, Decalogue, &c' came to £33.10s.5d, which, if it included all the stalls and pews, seems remarkable, not least because of the amount of timber involved. It cannot possibly have included the font, which is covered in carved diapering patterns and has the Symbols of the Evangelists in bas-relief in recessed quatrefoils on the cardinal sides.

These figures can be compared with those for Christ Church, Mount Pellon, for which a still more detailed breakdown of expenses exists. Here, the stone pulpit cost £16, the font, £10.10s.0d, the Decalogue, £8, the 'Altar and Vestry Chairs', £4, and the remaining church furniture (presumably including the stalls and the pews), £41.6s.11d, divided unequally between two named furniture makers who seem to have worked independently of one another. Excluding the pulpit as well as the font, the remaining furniture cost £53.6s.11d, some 60% as much again as the furniture at Barkisland, which is a surprising discrepancy when it is considered that while Christ Church, Barkisland, provided seats for 446 people (346 adults and 100 children),²⁸ its namesake at Mount Pellon, as originally built, accommodated just 273 (215 adults and 58 children).²⁹ Unfortunately, since all the original

Batsford, 1977, p. 35.)

²⁷ Thomas Hodges to the Rev. James Sanders, Dublin, 2nd May 1853. Wakefield, WYA, WDP21/252.

²⁸ LPA, ICBS 4409.

²⁹ LPA, ICBS 4507.

furniture at Mount Pellon except the font, has been swept away, it is impossible to compare it with that at Barkisland for *quality*, but the building committee at Mount Pellon probably obtained the font at a discount, for it is identical to the previously mentioned font at Cundall.

* * * * *

The Economic Advantage of using Local Building Stone.

As stated above, the usual practice was for contractors to supply their own building materials and include the price in their tenders, but money could sometimes be saved if masons could be directed to a convenient source of stone nearby. John Hollings's concern that the ICBS should not require the building committee at Girington to obtain stone any further away than necessary was referred to in chapter seven. Likewise, albeit viewed from the opposite standpoint, an offer from Joseph Stocks to provide, gratis, the stone for Holy Trinity, Queen's Head, from his quarry at Catherine Slack, one mile south of the proposed building site but down one hill and up another, was turned down when the estimates submitted by prospective masons, either supplying their own stone or using the stone from Catherine Slack, proved to be over £100 more in the latter case than the former.³⁰ This brings into startling relief the relative cost of road transport in the days before the internal combustion engine. Obviously a less challenging topography could ease the situation: the stone for St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth, came from the Lingerfield quarry near Knaresborough,³¹ seven and a half miles to the southwest, across the floodplain of the River Ure and its tributary, the Tutt, but that appears to have been exceptional. More typically, in all likelihood, the stone for St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick, was taken from Vicar's Whin Quarry, a mile and a half to the west,³² but the most helpful situation of all undoubtedly arose at Heptonstall, where the new church of St. Thomas the Apostle, erected only yards from the ruined mediæval building dedicated to St. Thomas à Beckett, was built from stone quarried within the same churchyard.³³

* * * * *

Financial Competitiveness.

³⁰ *The Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield & Bradford Advertiser*, 30th August, 1845 (reproduced in notes in the church, p. 13).

³¹ Notes in the church.

³² Notes in the church.

³³ *Todmorden and District News*, 28th October 1904, p. 6.

Finally, was it possible, purely by care and diligence, to gain a financial edge over one's confrères? Of course, cost is only one concern to a potential buyer when contemplating engaging in an expensive transaction, for value depends as much or more on what one wants for one's money as it does on the sum to be expended itself, yet when money is scarce, the importance of the latter increases at the expense of the former.

If the cost of Mallinson and Healey's church buildings is compared with those of their competitors, therefore, expressing the figures in the usual contemporary way of so much per sitting, and taking care only to compare like with like by restricting the comparison to churches built from 1845 onwards within the West Riding's historic boundaries and part-funded by the Church Commissioners, in order that all the figures can be taken from M.H. Port (who presumably used the same methodology throughout),³⁴ then this pits ten of Mallinson and Healey's churches, listed in table 8b below, with an average cost per sitting of £3.12s.5d, against thirty churches by all other architects together, with an average cost of £4.2s.5d,³⁵ giving Mallinson and Healey a nominal cost advantage of 10/- or approximately 12%.

Table 8b: Costs of Mallinson & Healey's Churches, part-funded by the Church Commissioners.

Church.	Total Cost ex. Site	Total Seats	Cost per Sitting
St. Mary, Wyke (1844/5)	£3,050	704	£4.6s.8d
St. John the Baptist, Clayton (1847)	£1,903	802	£2.7s.5d
St. Michael, Mytholmroyd (1847)	£1,739	480	£3.12s.5d
St. Matthew, Bankfoot (1848)	£1,867	490	£3.16s.2d
St. Michael & All Angels, Shelf (1848)	£1,745	493	£3.10s.9d
All Saints, Richmond Hill (1849)	£3,166	756	£4.3s.9d
Christ Church, South Ossett (1850)	£2,120	603	£3.10s.4d
Christ Church, Barkisland (1851)	£1,350	446	£3.0s.6d
St. Andrew, Listerhills (1851)	£2,425	806	£3.0s.2d
Christ Church, Mount Pellon (1854)	£1,360	273	£4.19s.8d
AVERAGE (of 10)			£3.12s.5d

* * * * *

Conclusion.

The early Victorian provincial architect had only limited means at his disposal whereby to control costs and the few levers held in his hands needed to be operated with every possible

³⁴ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, pp. 243-5.

³⁵ The costs vary between £2.14s.10d per sitting for Benomi & Cory's 437 seat church of St. Mary, Oxenhope (1849), to £6.14s.9d per sitting for Jeremiah Dobson's 366 seat church of St. Mary, Gomersall (1851). Benomi and Cory were not always cheap, however: their 527 seat church of St. Matthew, Dewsbury (1848) cost £5.8s.7d per sitting.

care. The first priority was to engage contractors who were reliable and *local* (since local contractors were more likely to submit costings that were competitive without tending to result in shortcutting when they were found to be unrealistic), and a reputation for fair dealings on the part of the architect was likely to draw more tenders in. The selections of the mason and joiner were particularly important since this was where the majority of the money would be spent. Subject to its meeting the architect's specification, the choice of material was usually the responsibility of the relevant department, but an architect with local knowledge would be able to judge what was a reasonable price to pay for stone or timber and might on occasion be able to direct the contractor to a more proximate and cheaper source. Items that needed to be made by a specialist craftsman were usually best obtained from the same, regularly patronised source (for example, Mawer's of Leeds) since businesses generally take particular care over customers they expect to return. None of these considerations individually was likely to be transformative but, taken together, they could provide a modest competitive edge. On a fixed rate of commission of 5% of the total, projects undertaken *without* due regard for cost, might bring a greater return in the short term, but were liable to undermine the business over time by a process of client attrition. Counter-intuitive as it may have appeared initially, a reputation for financial prudence was another element in building and sustaining the provincial architect's success.

9. 'ARCHITECTURAL PROPRIETY'.

'After the High Sheriff had opened proceedings, the Rev. Mr. Stanton read a paper... He observed that the study of Church Architecture might now fairly be ranked among the popular, he might almost say fashionable, pursuits of the day. Architectural Charts, beautifully executed and illustrated, showing at a glance the different periods and peculiarities of style belonging to each period, had been published in abundance and were in the hands of many. Technical terms had become 'household words'. 'Mullions and transoms, spandrels and soffits, piscina and sedilia' glided with ease and grace from female lips that would have astounded the last generation.'

Berrow's Worcester Journal, Saturday, 28th July 1855.

General Remarks.

Architectural propriety in the design of churches was a subject of fierce debate in the middle years of the nineteenth century, never far removed from the hint of a suggestion that to deviate from the widely accepted path was indicative of a failure of an individual's moral compass. Most of the great and the good who patronised national church building campaigns at the time, being anxious to appear neither perverse nor ignorant, took care to avoid stylistic *faux pas* that might attract opprobrium or ridicule, and the fears of the patrons were shared by their architects, who were content to be known for their earnest and sincere interest in matters of such deep and Christian concern. A majority of these men, like their clients, were drawn from the Church of England's Anglo-Catholic wing, while those of more detached view, like John Loughborough Pearson, saw very little reason to make a show of the fact. Architects working in London, with clients scattered across the country, rarely found it disadvantageous to be identified with the Ecclesiastical (formerly Cambridge Camden) Society, even after the steady drip of converts to Rome initiated by John Henry Newman, had begun to take its toll. But what was happening in the provinces in these years? Was the situation there, as the literature often seems to assume, merely an imitation of the position in the metropolis, if sometimes rather a pale one? Before examining Mallinson and Healey's experience, it is useful to reflect on the changing attitudes to 'correct' style that were being played out in the highly contested 1840s and '50s.

* * * * *

Thomas Rickman and After.

When Mallinson and Healey formed their partnership in 1845, the development of architectural style in mediaeval England had only quite recently come to be understood. In 1817, Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) set out a scheme that divided the late Middle Ages into three broad stylistic periods for which he coined the terms 'Early English', 'Decorated' and 'Perpendicular', and to which, rather confusingly, he assigned *four* principal styles, namely the 'lancet' style of c.1190-1280, the 'geometric' style of c. 1275-1320, the 'flowing' or 'curvilinear' style (characterized by the appearance of the ogee arch) of c. 1315-1360, and the 'rectilinear' style that arose after the Black Death and continued in no conspicuous direction for over a century and a half, before finally metamorphosing into the Tudor style during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. The geometric style, thus defined, straddled the Early English/Decorated transition, and its ambivalent position gave later writers scope to put their own stamp on Rickman's system, with most nineteenth century authors choosing to consider the geometric as the initial manifestation of the Decorated period and most mid to late twentieth century authors, following Pevsner's example, to treat it as the closing phase of the Early English. This system, with its clear and precise taxonomy, was further developed by William Whewell (1794-1866) and others, as intellectual figures in nineteenth century England sought to advance what Carla Yanni has described as the 'scientization' of architectural history, based on firm empirical foundations rather than the fanciful theorising of earlier generations.¹

Helpfully in this regard, and notwithstanding its ambiguities, it quickly became apparent that Rickman's model mirrored its subject astonishingly well.² Its unfortunate corollary was that its very simplicity and chronological straightforwardness seemed to beg for an explanation, of which the most obvious was to fancy one saw within it, not the vagaries of passing fashion or slowly emerging evidence of plodding technological advance, but an heroically achieved ascent to some pinnacle of perfection, followed by degenerate decline, in which architecture reflected a parallel rise and fall in private morals and religious piety. On the location of the acme, however, there was rather less agreement, with *The Ecclesiologist* arguing in 1846 in almost mind-numbing detail that it had been reached with the flowing (curvilinear) Decorated style,³ and Ruskin counter-arguing with equal vigour in the 1850s and '60s, that

¹ Carla Yanni, 'On Nature and Nomenclature - William Whewell and the Production of Architectural Knowledge in Early Victorian Britain' (*Architectural History*, 40, 1997, pp. 204-221).

² It is, indeed, in spite of various suggestions down the years of ways to modify or replace it, still essentially the system used by architectural historians today.

³ The flowing Decorated style was *The Ecclesiologist's* 'Late Middle-Pointed', which 'is comparatively the most perfect style with which we are acquainted'. ('The Ecclesiologist in Reply to Mr. E.A. Freeman', *The Ecclesiologist*, New Series, 2 (June 1846), pp. 217-249, and especially p. 235.)

it had passed a few decades earlier with the 'surrender of [the] integrity'⁴ of the geometric. Yet both were united in the view that the rectilinear Perpendicular style was a horrible, debased thing, notwithstanding such chef-d'oeuvres as King's College Chapel, and contemporary church architects were wise to keep apace with these shifting attitudes if they wished to capitalise on the concomitant opportunities. As Chris Miele has written, 'Before... 1834, the care of ancient fabrics was not as a rule entrusted to architects but rather to local builders or craftsmen, usually instructed by the churchwarden. By staking a claim on architectural history, professional architects showed sound business sense, putting themselves in a position to capitalise on a boom in the building market'.⁵

Table 9 overleaf shows the predominant styles of Mallinson and Healey's churches, assessed according to Rickman's system. Although there is no wholly consistent pattern, all the churches in lancet style were designed before 1852 and all those in flowing or curvilinear style, with one exception, during the period 1848 and 1855, while the geometric style was employed *throughout* the partnership and, again with that single exception, exclusively from 1856. In general terms, these three phases of the partners' work might be loosely regarded as periods when ease of design and cheapness were considered to be paramount (the years of the lancet style), when the edicts of the Cambridge Camden Society held sway (the years of the curvilinear style), and after Ruskin's dogmas had virtually swept all before them.⁶ The employment of these styles by Mallinson and Healey will now be examined in turn.

* * * * *

Lancet Style.

Mallinson adopted this style at the outset of his career for Holy Trinity, Queen's Head, and then, more successfully, at Wyke, and Healey used it for the first two churches he designed after entering into partnership, namely St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon (figs. A(i) - A(ii), appendix 1), and St. Paul's, Manningham, discussed in chapter 5. 'First Pointed' work developed a reputation following the publication of Pugin's *Contrasts*, for

⁴ 'The Lamp of Truth', para. xxviii. (Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*.)

⁵ Chris Miele, 'Their interest and habit' - professionalism and the restoration of mediaeval churches, 1837-77' in *The Victorian Church*, ed. Chris Brooks & Andrew Saint, pp.151-172 (pp. 154 & 156).

⁶ See, for example, Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, chs. 7, 8 & 10, or Stefan Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture, 1850-1870* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), chs. 1 & 2.

being the cheap and nasty style, due in large part to the scorn Pugin poured on the stark, emaciated creations of some of the Commissioners'

Table 9: Mallinson and Healey's Church Designs, Classified by Style.

Date of Design	CHURCH	Lancet	Geometric	Flowing	Other
1843	Queen's Head, Holy Trinity	X			
1844	Wyke, St. Mary	X			
1846	Baildon, St. John the Evangelist	X			
1846	Manningham, St. Paul	X			
1847	Clayton, St. John the Baptist		X		
1847	Mytholmroyd, St. Michael		<<<	>>>	intermediate
1848	Bankfoot, St. Matthew			X	
1848	Shelf, St. Michael & All Angels		X		
1849	Richmond Hill, All Saints		X		
1850	South Ossett, Christ Church	<<<	>>>		intermediate
1851	Barkisland, Christ Church		X		
1851	Boroughbridge, St. James			X	
1851	Dale Head, St. James	X			
1851	Langcliffe, St. John the Evangelist		X		
1851	Listerhills, St. Andrew			X	
1852	Cundall, St. Mary & All Saints			X	
1853	Heptonstall, St. Thomas the Apostle				Perp.
1854	Mount Pellon, Christ Church			X	
1854	Thorner, St. Peter				Perp.
1854	Witherwick, St. Alban			X	
1855	Mappleton, All Saints			X	
1856	East Keswick, St. Mary Magdalene		X		
1857	Low Moor, St. Mark		X		
1857	Charlestown, St. Thomas		X		
1857	Clifton, St. John		<<<	>>>	intermediate
1857	Salterhebble, All Saints		<<<	>>>	intermediate
1857	Thornaby-on-Tees, St. Paul		<<<	>>>	intermediate
1857	Thornhill Lees, Holy Innocents		X		
1859	Bowling, St. Stephen		X		
1859	Girlington, St. Philip		X		
1859	Lower Dunsforth, St. Mary		<<<	>>>	intermediate
1859	Welburn, St. John		<<<	>>>	intermediate
1860	Ilkley, All Saints			<<<	>>> Perp.
1861	Bugthorpe, St. Andrew		X		
1861	Laisterdyke, St. Mary			X	
1862	Horton, All Saints		X		
1862	Hepworth, Holy Trinity		X		
1862	Westow, St. Mary		X		
1863	Heaton, St. Barnabas	<<<	>>>		intermediate
1863	Arthington, St. Peter		X		

1863	Dewsbury, St. Mark		X		
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architects,⁷ of which H. & H.W. Inwood's grey-brick church of St. Mary's, Somers Town (St. Pancras) (1822-7), is a striking example.⁸ In fact, churches in this style *were not* demonstrably cheaper than many of those in the Second Pointed form being erected elsewhere around the same time since other factors invariably outweighed any savings made, in particular on window tracery. Indeed, St. Mary's, Somers Town - the exterior of which is severe to the point of pitilessness - cost £13,629 and accommodated 1,915 adults and children, at the distinctly high price of £7.2s.4d per sitting. Nor, indeed, were Mallinson and Healey's churches in this style any cheaper than what would later prove to be the average for the partnership: St. Mary's, Wyke, cost £4.6s.8d per sitting (table 8b), Holy Trinity, Queen's Head, £3.4s.10d, St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon, £3.11s.5d, and St. Paul's, Manningham, £5.⁹ The predominance of the style in the early years of the Gothic Revival, therefore, must have had some other *raison d'être* than a belief in its economy and may have arisen in part from the fondness shown for it by a few of the very first men to receive commissions under the 1818 parliamentary grant - Rickman especially.

Healey certainly made no discernible attempt to keep costs to a minimum in his designs for St. Paul's church, Manningham,¹⁰ as witnessed by the inclusion of the excellent stone capitals to the internal window shafts in the N. aisle (and which presumably once existed in the S. aisle also), featuring leaves, carved heads and pecking birds, in imitation of Early English stiff leaf (figs. 5d(ii)-5d(iii)). Outside, conventional stiff leaf decorates the capitals of the four orders of shafts on either side of the S. porch outer doorway, and the arch above carries an elaborate series of keeled rolls and a line of dog-tooth moulding. However, the true measure of the church is to be seen in the view down St. Paul's Road, where the building, dead centre at the end of the cul-de-sac, with its cruciform plan, equal-length transepts and elegant spire, presents a prospect in almost perfect symmetry (fig. 5d(i)). The broach spire is taller and slenderer than Mallinson's equivalent at Wyke (fig. 3c(i)), which was built for a similar sum, and, indeed, there is much about St. Paul's that might have made

⁷ This was made explicit by A.J. Beresford Hope in *The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1861), p. 35, when he wrote, 'the lancet style enjoyed extensive popularity with the fabricators of cheap churches on account of the happy reputation it enjoyed of surviving more starvation than any other. It was emphatically the cheap style, and in the hands into which it fell it as often emphatically proved to be the nasty one'.

⁸ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 328.

⁹ Holy Trinity, Queen's Head, had accommodation for 802 people (Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 345), St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon, for 280 (*Leeds Intelligencer*, 1st April 1848), and St. Paul's, Manningham, for 600 (*The Bradford Observer*, 6th November 1846, previously quoted). For the costs of these churches, see Appendix 3.

¹⁰ Presumably John Hollings had set out the budget at the outset.

it a highly successful model to re-use with variations elsewhere, had not client demand or, more probably, Healey's preferences or proclivities changed for some reason, for one thing that is certain is that he never attempted anything similar again.

* * * * *

Curvilinear Style.

The precepts of the Cambridge Camden Society were set out in *The Ecclesiologist*, in occasional publications such as *A Few Words to Church Builders*, published in 1841, and in J.M. Neale and Benjamin Webb's extended introduction to their translation of *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* by Guillaume Durand. Taking root in the ground Pugin was busily tilling, the authors' influence soon outgrew even their dogmatism. 'A Catholick architect must be a Catholick in heart', they declared:

'In ancient times, the finest buildings were designed by the holiest Bishops... Now, allowing the respect which attaches itself to the profession of a modern architect... none would assert that they, as a body, make it a matter of devotion and prayer.'¹¹

This was the source of everything that was wrong. The contemplative life of the mediaeval church builder who had no thought of recompense had been supplanted by architects vying for position in the busy world of commerce. Even the most basic standards were failing to be met:

'We surely ought to look at least for Church-membership from one who ventures to design a church... The church architect must... forego all lucrative undertakings, if they may not be carried through with those principles which he believes necessary for every good building... Even in church-building itself, he must see many an unworthy rival preferred to him, who will condescend to pander to the whims and comfort of a Church-committee.'¹²

The architect's understanding of his discipline was also important although the writer seems to have been confused as to whether he was advocating originality or conformity:

'...if architecture... is a branch of poesy, if the poet's mind is to have any individuality, he must design in one style, and one style only. For the Anglican architect, it will be necessary to know enough of the earlier styles to be able to restore the deeply interesting churches, which they have left us as precious heirlooms: but for his own style, he should choose the glorious architecture of the fourteenth century.'¹³

¹¹ J.M. Neale & Benjamin Webb, introduction to Durand's *Rationale Divinorum*, pp. xx-xxi

¹² J.M. Neale & Benjamin Webb, introduction to Durand's *Rationale Divinorum*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

¹³ J.M. Neale & Benjamin Webb, introduction to Durand's *Rationale Divinorum*, p. xxiv.

This was ambiguous but any contemporary architect worth his salt would have recognised at once that it was the early fourteenth century, flowing Decorated style that was intended. Indeed, further on in their introduction, Neale and Webb were more specific:

'[T]he Decorated style may be indeed the finest development of Christian architecture which the world has yet seen... [N]o other period can be chosen at which all conditions of beauty, of detail, of general effect, of truthfulness, of reality are so fully answered as this... [T]he decline of Christian art... may be traced from this very period.'¹⁴

This became the new orthodoxy that swept across England over the next decade and a half, and was carried even as far as America and Australia. High Anglicans, in particular, accepted these tenets almost as if they were Holy Scripture itself; latitudinarians were less passionate but generally assented at least to the basic principles. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to consider this new dispensation as something *imposed* by Churchmen upon reluctant architects, desirous of keeping to their conservative ways, for often the architects were more enthusiastic than their clients about these matters, who might sometimes have needed a degree of gentle persuasion that this was the way to go.

Mallinson and Healey, of course, were unquestionably good Churchmen, and Healey's grandson, Francis H. Healey, believed, albeit erroneously, his grandfather had been a member of the Cambridge Camden Society.¹⁵ Healey designed eight churches in out-and-out curvilinear style, and six or seven more with strong affinities to it. Most members of the former, purer group were relatively small buildings however: (i) St. Alban's, Withernwick, had no tower and only a very modest lean-to S. aisle adjoining the nave eaves, leaving no space for a clerestory; (ii) St. Matthew's, Bankfoot, had a similar aisle each side but no tower; (iii) St Mary & All Angels, Cundall, and (iv) All Saints', Mappleton, had towers but no aisles; (v) Christ Church, Mount, Pellon, had a southwest tower doubling as a porch but originally had only a modest lean-to S. aisle; and (vi) St. James's, Boroughbridge, and (vii) the demolished St. Mary's, Laisterdyke, had aisles and a tower, but were otherwise among the partners' most pared-back designs, leaving only (viii) the demolished St. Andrew's, Listerhills, that seems to have had pretensions to any grandeur. Focusing on those features

¹⁴ J.M. Neale & Benjamin Webb, introduction to Durand's *Rationale Divinorum*, compiled from pp. xxxi & xxx.

¹⁵ Paper read by Francis H. Healey, 1953. But see Geoff Brandwood's list of Cambridge Camden/ Ecclesiological Society members, 1845-67, available on-line.

of the surviving buildings which are most closely identified with the curvilinear, it is inevitably window tracery that establishes the church's style first, and here it is not only the use of the ogee arch that is diagnostic but also the manner in which every window differs from its neighbours, as illustrated at St. Mary & All Angels', Cundall (figs. 9a(i)-9a(iii)). All these designs have mediaeval precedent although it is always very difficult to find an exact model for any window in particular.

The obvious question that next arises is whether these forms *did actually meet* the approval of the Camdenians. An 'official' judgement on an individual building was sometimes passed in the 'New Churches' article in *The Ecclesiologist*, thought usually to have been written by A.J. Beresford Hope, although of the six churches by Mallinson and Healey that came under Hope's critical eye, the only one in unambiguous curvilinear style was St. Matthew's, Bankfoot (figs. 9b(i) - 9b(iii)),¹⁶ and on this occasion the writer contented himself with a matter-of-fact architectural description save for some minor criticisms of the placing of the encaustic tiles in the sanctuary and the position of the Decalogue boards. However, since some parts of the article had been copied word-for-word from a longer report in *The Bradford Observer*,¹⁷ intriguingly headed 'From a Correspondent' and written in a manner at once more authoritative and less deferential than the paper's usual reportage, it seems quite possible that this was written by Hope also, who might have attended the consecration service the day before. *This* report passes a number of minor judgements on various aspects of the building, the majority favourable, a few mildly critical, after first making it clear that the writer knew his architectural history by describing the style of the church as 'the flowing DECORATED, which... was first introduced during the reign of Edward I but... was brought into general use... in the reign of his successors, Edward II and III'. Two and a half thousand words later, it arrives at this happy conclusion:

'The architects were Messrs. Mallinson and Healey, Bradford, Yorkshire, of whose skill and taste in church design the present edifice is substantial proof. Taken altogether, this is a correct specimen of what a village church should be: on the one hand, wanting nothing of that decent ornament which befits the house of prayer, nor on the other, overdone in any of those accessories which mark the distinction between the humbler and the more costly building. Here is everything to assist, nothing to distract devotion; much to help to solemnize, without anything to divide the thoughts of the earnest worshipper. Long may its walls hear the voice of a faithful minister, setting forth the word of life...'¹⁸

¹⁶ The other five buildings to receive notice in this magazine were: (i) St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon, reviewed 1848; (ii) St. Michael & All Angels', Shelf, reviewed 1848 and again 1850; (iii) St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd, reviewed 1848; (iv) St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall, reviewed 1849; and (v) Haley Hill Cemetery Chapel, reviewed 1860.

¹⁷ *The Bradford Observer*, 13th December 1849, p. 6.

¹⁸ *The Bradford Observer*, 1st May 1856, p. 6.



Figs. 9a(i) - 9a(iv), St. Mary & All Saints', Cundall:
(i) - (iii) *above*, the two S. windows to the nave and the westernmost S. window to the chancel;
and (iv) *below*, the church from the south.



This was Mallinson and Healey's reward for staying true to the Ecclesiologists. They were rarely this kind even to much grander buildings. St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd (figs. B(i) - B(ii), appendix 1) - which was reviewed in 1848 and was halfway between flowing and geometric in style - was 'a very creditable production' however, which the writer was 'glad to find a very decided improvement upon two churches by these architects that came before us last year.' (At this date, these can only have been St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon, St. Paul's, Manningham, or St. John the Baptist's, Clayton.) 'They have now adopted Middle-Pointed'.¹⁹ Yet this proved a transient victory for the Society and *The Ecclesiologist* was much less satisfied four months later when reviewing the partners' newly completed church of St. Thomas the Apostle, Heptonstall, while nevertheless having the courtesy to absolve the architects:

'We must however express our regret that the Third Pointed style has been adopted and that the service should not be performed in the chancel. We understand that the architects exhibited another design in Middle-Pointed, which was not accepted.'

²⁰

* * * * *

Geometric Style.

John Ruskin made the first of two professional visits to Bradford on 1st March, 1859, when he was asked to deliver the inaugural lecture to the Bradford School of Design,²¹ and it is likely Healey was in the audience. Ruskin's influence on Victorian building can be traced back at least a decade earlier to the publication of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and it was subsequently reinforced by the appearance of *The Stones of Venice*, which was issued in three volumes during the years 1851-53. Ruskin made many long, specious arguments in the former work especially, but all were directed essentially to the same end, namely the promotion of Ruskin's favoured Venetian Gothic as the *beau idéal* for ecclesiastical architecture in the rapidly urbanizing towns and cities of Britain. With this end in view, he sought to give each and every argument he made the force of moral rectitude, not only to appeal to the artist but also to solicit the conscience. This was nowhere more evident than in 'The Lamp of Truth', where Ruskin railed against shams of all kinds. This resulted, in particular, in some especially curious and tendentious paragraphs in which he declared that as stone-work is, by its very nature, '*stiff, and unyielding*' (Ruskin's italics), the plastic tracery forms of the flowing Decorated style 'sacrificed a great principle of truth; it sacrificed the expression of the qualities of the

¹⁹ *The Ecclesiologist*, New Series, 23 (December 1848).

²⁰ *The Ecclesiologist*, New Series, 26 (April 1849).

²¹ *Bradford Daily Argus*, 22nd January 1900. Cited by Hardman, *Ruskin and Bradford*, p. 39.



Figs. 9b(i) - 9b(iii), St. Matthew's, Bankfoot:
(i) - (ii) *above*, two N. windows; and (iii) *below*, the church from the south.



material'²² and this was both artistically ruinous and (which was much the same thing for Ruskin) morally corrupting.

All this was aimed at one principal target, which was the ogee arch. Venetian Gothic was most closely related to the north European geometric. For architects and their clients who accepted the general thrust of Ruskin's reasoning, it was a simple matter to turn back three or four decades to the style that had prevailed in England at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. Indeed, it was arguably simpler and less expensive for besides confining the apertures in the heads of traceried windows largely to trefoils, quatrefoils and cinquefoils, etc., it was usual in this style for all windows in an elevation either to be identical to one another or to use two designs alternately. Besides, geometric style had been used on many occasions from the very beginning of the Gothic Revival so that which was being urged was not the adoption of a wholly new style so much as the abandonment of its competitors. This is borne out by the list of Mallinson and Healey's churches in table 9, with one or two exceptions. The newly accepted modes may be illustrated by the S. elevations of the little church of St. Mary's, Westow (fig. 9c), the designs for the restoration of which Healey completed by July 1862,²³ and of the more significant, contemporary, St. Mark's, Dewsbury (fig. 9d), which, as mentioned in chapter 7, was only finally consecrated in 1865.

This was not the only form of supposed architectural deceit against which Ruskin set his sights in this essay however. Another *bête noir* was any building material used to imitate something else: 'Touching the false representation of material, the question is infinitely more simple, and the law more sweeping: all such imitations are utterly base and inadmissible'.²⁴ Yet Mallinson and Healey routinely stained Memel timber to look like oak,²⁵ both before and after the publication of *The Seven Lamps*, and this practice does not seem to have troubled the normally easily offended Cambridge Camden Society, as witnessed, for example, by their mention of it, without comment, in their critique of Mallinson and Healey's rebuilding of St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon.²⁶ Indeed, the Incorporated Church Building Society seems to have been more exercised about this sort

²² 'The Lamp of Truth', para. xxiv (Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*).

²³ Rev. R. Kitching (incumbent) to the Secretary of the ICBS, Westow, 5th July 1862. LPA, ICBS 5962.

²⁴ 'The Lamp of Truth' para. xvi (Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*).

²⁵ Memel timber was the term applied to any softwood exported through Memel, now Klaipėda, in Lithuania.

²⁶ *The Ecclesiologist*, New Series, 22 (October 1848).



Fig. 9c, St. Mary's, Westow: the church from the southeast.



Fig. 9d, St. Mark's, Dewsbury: the nave S. aisle and clerestory.

of thing than the Ecclesiologists, as when they refused to sanction the use of plaster to imitate stone at Thornaby-on-Tees in 1857 (chapter seven.).

The other essay from *The Seven Lamps* that did most to alter the visible form of ecclesiastical architecture during the High Victorian period (approximately 1855-70) was probably 'The Lamp of Power', and here Ruskin was driven by his admiration of such chunky, cumbersome piles as the Palazzo Echo in Florence, which he endeavored to associate with the prophecies of the *Book of Revelation*: 'and [the angel] measured the city with the reed... The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal'.²⁷

This formed the basis of Ruskin's privileging of mass over line and of what, for a later age, would characterize Ruskin an architecture above everything else:

'[T]he square and circle are pre-eminently the areas of power among those bounded by purely straight or curved lines; and these, with their relative solids, the cube and sphere, and relative solids of progression..., the square and cylindrical column, are the elements of utmost power in all architectural arrangements.'²⁸

This and the avoidance of buttressing was what ultimately led to many High Victorian churches appearing as if they were constructed from a set of children's geometric building blocks. Mallinson and Healey's work illustrates this best at St. Stephen's, Bowling (fig. 9e), and St. John's, Welburn (figs. 9f(i) - 9f(ii)), both of which were designed in 1859. Both look as if they have been created from the juxtaposition of a collection of cuboids and triangular prisms with the addition of a pyramid sliced off at the angles to provide the helm roof of St. Stephen's tower, and a tall, slim, octagonal pyramid to form the spire at St. John's. Interest is created in both designs by the deliberate asymmetry of the elevations while unity is preserved by the steep, 60° pitch of their roofs - to the nave, dormers, tower and gables round the semi-octagonal apse at Bowling, and to the nave, chancel, transepts and vestry at Welburn. St. John's is especially successful: the grouping of masses is highly effective, and the vestry in the re-entrant between the chancel and the S. transept (which in many churches appears as a necessary but unfortunate appendage), is integrated into the composition to admirable effect. St. Stephen's, in contrast, is downright idiosyncratic or, in the words of Peter Leach in *The Buildings of England*, '[a]n unexpected lurch into roughness'.²⁹ As originally planned, the

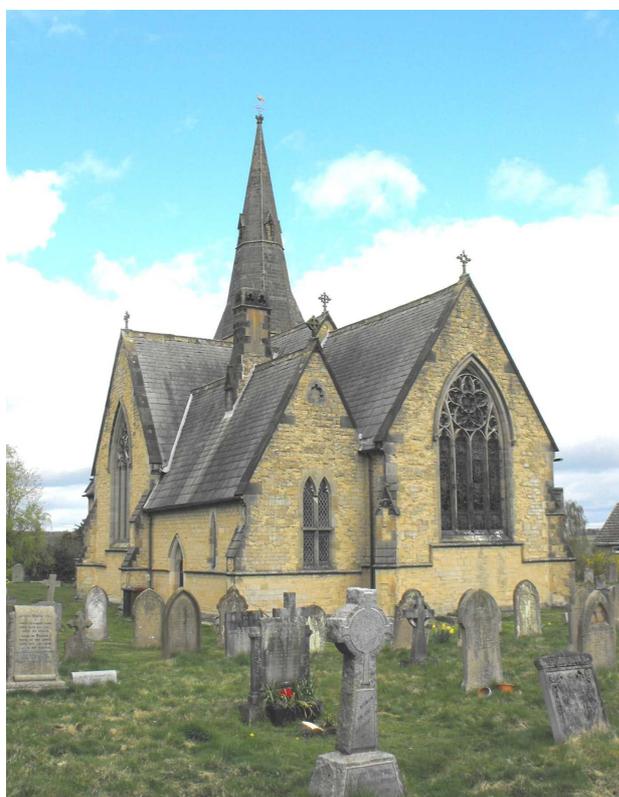
²⁷ Revelation, 21/16, and 'The Lamp of Power', para. viii (Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*).

²⁸ 'The Lamp of Power', para. ix (Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*).

²⁹ Pevsner & Leach, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire: Leeds, Bradford & the North*, p. 198.



Fig. 9e, St. Stephen's, Bowling: the church from the southwest.



Figs. 9f(i) - 9f(ii), St. John's, Welburn: (i) from the southwest; and (ii) from the southeast.

church had no transepts,³⁰ and there appears to be no information as to who was responsible for their addition, although obvious candidates are Healey's sons. Even without these, however, the church is surely the most perversely original in all Healey's oeuvre and a clear demonstration of his utter determination never to repeat himself.

* * * * *

Other Styles.

Healey used the rectilinear Perpendicular style twice - once at St. Peter's, Thorne, and once at St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall. However at Thorne, Healey was tasked with restoring and enlarging a pre-existing fifteenth century building, where the obvious method of proceeding was to stay true to such work as he was able to salvage. Thus he opened up the tower (which had been partitioned off for use as a fuel store), made good the damage to the nave, and constructed a totally new chancel and chapels where there seem to have been no chapels before.³¹ Some of the super mullioned window tracery in the segmental-pointed nave windows, survived, and could be re-used or, where necessary, renewed in the same style, while the chapels and the chancel E. wall gave Healey scope to show he was perfectly capable of designing excellent windows in this modality on the very rare occasion he was called upon to do so.

This leaves just St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall, to act as a real demonstration model of what Healey could achieve in Third Pointed style and here he had the advantage of a generous budget. The church today is impossible to photograph as a unit due to the proximity of trees on all sides, and it is unrewarding to view internally since it was stripped bare of all its historic context during reordering in 1963-4 in what *The Buildings of England* refers to very mildly as 'a controversial act'.³² Nevertheless, a simple description of the church reveals its ambition. It is embattled in all parts and consists of a three-bay chancel with two-bay chapels, a six-bay aisled nave with N. & S. porches, and a tall, angle-buttressed W. tower rising in three stages to openwork battlements and crocketed pinnacles at the angles (fig. 9g(i)). The windows are two-centred with fine supermullioned tracery except in the clerestory where they are four-centred and divided from one another by buttresses rising to crocketed pinnacles (fig. 9g(ii)), and the proud porches have similar diagonal buttresses, gargoyles at the angles, and ogee dripstones above the outer doorways

³⁰ Signed plan, dated July 1860. LPA, ICBS 5445.

³¹ Notes in the church.

³² Pevsner & Harman, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire: Sheffield and the South*, p. 320.



Figs. 9g(i) - 9g(ii), St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall:

clockwise from the bottom left,

(i) the tower from the northwest;

(ii) the nave clerestory viewed from the north; and (iii) the S. porch.



(fig. 9g(iii)), of which there are more over the tower bell-openings. Inside, the aisle arcades, chapel arcades and chancel arch are formed of arches of two orders bearing a double wave moulding springing from tall piers composed of four shafts separated by hollows. All parts are crisply cut in fine, grey, Carboniferous sandstone, and the sheer dimensions of the building - in particular, its height - add to its grandeur.

A much sharper proof of the partners' complaisant temperament, however, was demonstrated by their willingness to design places of worship in classical style for Nonconformists and here the day-books suggest that Mallinson may sometimes have taken rather more of a hand in this work, albeit that the major contribution to their design seems still to have come from Healey. Unfortunately, the only chapels built or enlarged by the partners, for which there is any surviving evidence of their appearance, are the two that are extant, namely the former Scottish Presbyterian Church in Bradford and the erstwhile Bridge End Independent Chapel, Rastrick, the second of which has miraculously survived without the benefit of listed building protection. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Chapel was placed on the corner between two roads and has variously been described, rather confusingly, as standing in Infirmary Street and Westgate. Moreover it is wrongly attributed on the *Historic Buildings* website to the firm of Andrews and Delauney,³³ although it is correctly ascribed in *The Buildings of England*.³⁴ In fact, this is a fine building by Mallinson and Healey in Roman Tuscan distyle *in antis*, with a plain tympanum, a lunette over the central doorway, and a large round-headed window deeply recessed on either side. The cornice which fell and killed three workmen while the building was under construction in 1848, has an overhang of about a metre and is deep as well as broad. There are clear similarities here to the later (1856), two-storeyed Bridge End Congregational Chapel, Rastrick (figs. 6b(i) - 6b(ii)), which again has a three-bay front with a large surmounting tympanum facing the road, but here the columns between the bays have been reduced to shallow pilasters and, by way of compensation, the tympanum bears the carving of a large laurel wreath and rests, not on a large plain cornice but on a corbel table supported by consoles. Although neither building is the most expensive or elaborate of its kind, there is nothing deficient here, and Mallinson and Healey successfully demonstrated that they could work in any style with no loss of facility.

* * * * *

Reception.

'To be acclaimed a successful architect in Ecclesiological circles', wrote Christopher Webster, 'was rather like belonging to an exclusive club whose members looked down with a mixture of pity and disdain on those who aspired to join but lacked the necessary credentials'.³⁵ However, if the principal developments in Mallinson and Healey's

³³ In fact, Historic England does not even get the chapel's former denomination right, describing it as United Reform.

³⁴ Nikolaus & Leach, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire: Leeds, Bradford & the North*, p. 161.

³⁵ Christopher Webster, 'An Alternative to Ecclesiology - William Wallen, 1807-1853' in *Seven Church Architects, 1830-1930*, ed. Geoff Brandwood (London: The Ecclesiological Society 2010), p.9.

ecclesiastical designs reflected their concern to conform with the requirements of club membership, it did not necessarily follow that they were made in response to *local* demand, and here, when the surviving correspondence between Mallinson and Healey and their clients is examined, aside from the rejection by the building committee at Heptonstall of Healey's Second Pointed design in favour of an unfashionable Perpendicular one, the only example where style appears even to have been mentioned, occurs in the letter from Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, previously quoted (chapter seven), where Healey wrote, 'We of course calculated on making Horton church thoroughly truthful and substantial as the first essential',³⁶ and where the word 'truthful' must surely have been employed for its Ruskinian associations. Yet although Powell may have been *au fait* with Ruskin's opinions and known to be so by Healey, he was no unquestioning follower of the latest fads and fancies, as Henry Hulbert makes clear in his memoir of his uncle:

'[Sir Francis] objected to any innovations in the Church services, whether Ritualistic or Evangelistic. On this account he was always glad to return to the dignified Cathedral services at All Saints' after the many changes and chances which befell him at the London churches which he attended.'³⁷

This leaves the local and regional press to explore but this turns out to be singularly unenlightening also as their reporters, anxious, no doubt, not to alienate readers, made it their habit to be delighted by everything. The praise given to St. John the Baptist's church, Clayton, by *The Bradford Observer* - and this in its report of the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone, before any part of the building had been raised above ground level - was discussed in the preface. *The Halifax Guardian* was still more effusive in its report on the consecration of St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd, the previous year ('We may with truth apply to the church and parish... the scriptural phrase "beautiful for situation" '),³⁸ and romantic descriptions such as this are repeated time and again. There is no mention at all of style in the report on St. Michael's, albeit this is still rather early in date. Reference has already been made to the article on St. Matthew's, Bankfoot, of December 1849, possibly written

³⁶ Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Bradford, 17th March 1860. Bradford, WYA, B-P papers, 16D86/2957. Edward Kaufman has explored the Victorian concept of truthfulness in architecture in depth in his article 'Architectural Representation in Victorian England' (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 46/1, 1987, pp. 30-38), but although the metaphysical contortions through which he conducts his readers may have been compelling to Ruskin and his adherents, it seems doubtful they held much cogency for the bustling provincial architect.

³⁷ Hulbert, *Sir Francis Sharp Powell*, p. 39.

³⁸ 'Few districts present a finer field for setting forth to advantage the powers of architectural skill than this; and, in fairness and justice, we may say that the building now erected to the honour of God is well calculated to heighten and increase the charms which nature has hitherto spread out with a lavish hand.' *Halifax Guardian*, 9th September 1848. Reprinted in *The [London Evening] Standard*, 13th September 1848.

by A.J. Beresford Hope. Its companion church of St. Michael and All Angels', Shelf (figs. C(i) - C(ii), appendix 1), of similar plan but different design, elicited this comment in *The Morning Post*, the following June, although the writer still declined to risk a personal judgement:

'The style of architecture adopted in the erection of this church is Early Geometric Decorated, which prevailed from 1270-1330. Its details are essentially distinct from the Flowing Decorated adopted in the church of St. Matthew, Bankfoot, which we described in the month of December last. Those who desire a knowledge of the distinction between these two portions of one general style will find a visit to these churches of far more service than a lengthened description.'³⁹

However, *The Morning Post* was another London publication of course, and there is still little or nothing in the local press of the West Riding to indicate that its reporters knew or cared about such niceties. Rather *their* reporters were anxious to name all the clergy, ladies and gentlemen that they 'noticed' at these ceremonies, probably in the hope of selling each a newspaper, and then to flatter the preacher with a verbatim report of his 'excellent' sermon, which was listened to with 'the deepest attention',⁴⁰ before concluding with a detailed but matter-of-fact description of the church (a 'naming of parts', with each part given its precise dimensions) of such a nature as to avoid all controversy. This continues throughout the 1850s and it is only at last in 1860, when confronted with Healey's rather extraordinary St. Stephen's, Bowling, that the reporter for *The Bradford Observer* felt brave enough to venture a few tentative opinions of his own, with the clear implication he did not like it:

'In many respects, this church is peculiar in its outward appearance, having something of a continental character about it, but at the same time, blending the useful with the ornamental. The interior effect we think much superior to the exterior...'⁴¹

However, the newspaper's reporter seemed no better informed about architectural style in general, than those who came before him, having erroneously described the 'geometric

³⁹ *The Morning Post*, 18th December 1849, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Among the many examples of this form of reportage may be cited the articles describing the ceremonies for the laying of the foundation stones at Christ Church, South Ossett (*The Leeds Intelligencer*, 11th January 1851) and St. Andrew's, Listerhills (*The Bradford Observer*, 23rd October 1851), and the ceremonies for the consecration of St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees (*Yorkshire Gazette*, 25th September 1858) and St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth (*Yorkshire Gazette*, 28th September 1861).

⁴¹ *The Bradford Observer*, 26th April 1860, p. 5.

decorated' as the style 'which prevailed about A.D.1360'.⁴² This is hardly commensurate with a climate in which church architecture was a burning issue of controversy and debate - a time when '[m]ullions and transoms, spandrels and soffits, piscina and sedilia glided with ease and grace from female lips'.

* * * * *

Conclusion.

Mallinson and Healey's designs for new churches reflected, at least in broad outline, the general twists and turns in ecclesiological thinking that occurred at the national level during the seventeen years of their partnership. If the relationship was rather a loose one, however, this was due to the fact that interest in artistic and religious niceties among their clientele was often distinctly slight for not only was the West Riding relatively isolated from the rest of the country by geography, economic conditions and the preponderance of Dissent, but also few of the partners' commissions were undertaken for men with either the leisure or inclination to trouble themselves with fashionable esoteric mysteries. It was the comparative freedom this gave Mallinson and Healey that presented them with the opportunity to range their business widely, largely free from censure if and when they breached the latest conventions in taste or propriety, even to the extent of enabling them to work from time to time for the Nonconformists, albeit that this was also only possible because the partners themselves were local men who - relative to the times in which they lived - shared the same ecumenical and liberal attitudes.

⁴² *The Bradford Observer*, 23rd February 1860, p. 6. Report on the consecration of St. Philip's church, Gillington.

10. 'DECENT SIMPLICITY'.

'There was, [Mr. Barry] was aware, great difficulty in advocating the cause of Gothic architecture in a verbal manner, because it was a style which appealed to the feelings, and, like all other feelings and aspirations, was very difficult of expression... [One] advantage which the Gothic style possessed over any other was, that its constructive principles constituted its ornamental beauties, and this was an important consideration where expense was concerned.'

The Liverpool Mail, 30th November 1850, p. 6.
Report on the meeting of the Liverpool Architectural and Archaeological Society.

General Remarks.

The laws of applied mathematics make no allowance for geography or economics. The fundamental principles of sound construction that needed to be taken into account in the office of a prestigious Victorian London architect applied no less to his country cousin eking out a living from cheap commissions in the provinces, and the challenge he faced was a severe one, for while his metropolitan counterpart had money enough for designs that offered no hostages to durability, safety and convenience, while yet displaying the 'characters venerable or beautiful, but otherwise unnecessary' which Ruskin considered alone distinguished architecture from mere building,¹ then by this criterion, the provincial architect might have considered himself obliged to choose between flimsy gimcrack architecture on the one hand or plain functionalism on the other, knowing either would be criticised. Could it ever be possible to acquire an estimable reputation on such a basis? Was it not inevitable that any client with serious money to spend would turn to the likes of Scott, Street or Butterfield, since the local competition scraping by on bread-and-butter work had had no opportunity to show what they could achieve in equally favourable circumstances? An example of this in neighbouring Lancashire was Medland Taylor of Manchester (1834-1909), who produced church after church across the county, wherever money was tight, but who was passed over for Street for the more extravagant St. Peter's, Swinton, when the Heywood Manchester banking family wished to memorialise themselves.²

¹ 'The Lamp of Sacrifice', para. i. (Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*).

² See J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *Victorian Period Piece* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), p. 137, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - South Lancashire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 406.

In fact, the advantages enjoyed by the metropolitan architect arose in two broad areas, the first of which concerned the resources at his disposal. *He* was likely to have had access, should he have desired it, to almost any material the railways and shipping industry could deliver: a tractable, weather-resistant limestone, possibly from the Jurassic outcrop running from Lincoln to Portland, which could be cut as fine ashlar, for the exterior walls; perhaps soft pink bricks, more expensive than stone,³ juxtaposed with white stone or vitrified blue brick, for the interior wall facings; a fine-grained freestone for intricate interior carving; coloured marbles, imported from Italy, for furnishings or to be used in marquetry patterns to cover the interior walls of the sanctuary; the best quality hardwoods from home or abroad; expensive encaustic and wall tiles, metalwork and stained glass. Any of these could be purchased, transported to the building site, and if the design required it, cut and worked extravagantly in complicated shapes or mouldings, without too much concern for the concomitant wastage. Contrast that situation with the position of the regional architect, limited to the building stones quarried within a four or five mile radius of the construction site and, perhaps, cheap Memel timber. Some localities were obviously better placed for the supply of local stone than others, and most were better provided for some *purposes* than others, but where local resources fell short, then, perforce, the architect made do with what he had.

Of course, the inexpediency of a coarse-grained or intractable local building stone could sometimes be ameliorated or, occasionally, even overcome, if there was sufficient money to spend on the additional labour required to dress it, but this involved the second area of advantage enjoyed by the metropolitan architect for he could set aside greater sums for labour costs. In these circumstances, *he* was constrained, therefore, only really by his vision, and clients employed him to imply it was their vision also. Thus Pearson designed the highly-wrought, polychromatic little church at Appleton-le-Moors (1863-5), for Mrs. Joseph Shepherd, the widow of a ship owner, at a cost of £7,000, and Street produced the equally small and towerless, St. Mary's, West Lutton (1873), for Sir Tatton Sykes II, for an astonishing £13,125:

'which was altogether too much for the architect's good. The design is very full of incident, like an elaborate demonstration model. Relentless variety in buttressing gives up only at the west end. Relentless variety of window pattern, indeed of window type matches this, circles, a spherical triangle, tall Decorated, squat Decorated, grouped lancets. It is a measure of Street's skill that this

³ This was a material particularly favoured by Butterfield.

almost Woodyerian profusion of disparate motifs⁴ is wielded into some sort of unity.⁵

Both these buildings were raised, moreover, in remote rural settlements, where they were likely to be seen by relatively few. How could a local man, whose purview these might have been, possibly have competed in circumstances such as these, restricted as he was to less labour-intensive designs and approaches, probably involving greater repetition of the same constructional elements and/or by eschewing all avoidable complexities and structural challenges, both in stone and in wood, difficult to execute and time-consuming to undertake? Not for him the wall decorated with blank arcading, the carved niches running up the buttresses, the elaborate mouldings around the aisle arcades, the stone vault beneath the porch or tower, or the carved wall plates or decorated openwork spandrels of the nave roof. If the churches *he* designed were to achieve any grandeur, it had to be done by the most economic of means.

Interesting design moreover could often seem pitted against robust construction in an almost unavoidable confrontation where something had to give. Cheap overwrought churches built by local architects existed a-plenty by the mid-nineteenth century, but the trouble was that they looked it. Buildings appeared flimsy and etiolated when their mouldings were pinched, their piers too tall for their diameter, their roof scantlings too thin. Better by far to construct aisle arcades of moderate height and simple design than arches with an elaborate profile and starved dimensions supported on tall narrow piers, with the additional outlay on labour compensated by penny-pinching elsewhere. It was a lesson some minor architects never learnt. Instead, for Mallinson and Healey, apropos Mr. Charles Barry, 'ornamental beauties' had to arise, in the majority of cases, directly from 'constructive principles', in combination with a sense of judicious proportion and the sparing use here and there of the occasional more elaborate detail. This was 'taste' realised at its most austere yet also its most refined, and discerning clients recognised it and correspondingly bought into it.

* * * * *

The Stone.

⁴ Henry Woodyer (1816-96), Butterfield's only pupil, was renowned for his excessively elaborate designs, seen at their best at the very fine church of the Holy Innocents, Highnam (Gloucs.), but rarely elsewhere as happily as this.

⁵ John Hutchinson & Paul Joyce, *George Edmund Street in East Yorkshire* (Kingston-upon-Hull: University of Hull Department of Art., 1981), p. 19.

To examine these issues in greater detail therefore, sound construction began with the principal building stone and in the West Riding there was plenty of good local Carboniferous sandstone, either within the multifarious strata of the Westphalian Series (Coal Measures) or hewn from the underlying Namurian (Millstone Grit), together misleadingly known to builders as 'York stone' since, in the first place, Carboniferous sandstone does not outcrop near York, and in the second, because there are very considerable differences between the material taken from different horizons, both between the series and within them:

'Over much of the region many of these sandstone beds have been given local names by which they are still commonly known and marketed... When the west Yorkshire area was first surveyed by the Geological Survey and other researchers during the 19C, an attempt was made to rationalise the plethora of local names that were being used by attempting to map out and more precisely define their lateral and vertical extents by correlating from outcrop to outcrop. The geological names then chosen for these mapped sandstone units were generally based upon the location of the best exposures of the stone e.g. Ackworth 'Rock', Huddersfield 'White Rock', Addingham Edge 'Rock' etc. However, despite over 175 years of effort, the complexity of the Carboniferous depositional system of the Pennine area in general, in which these sandstones were deposited, still to some extent defies precise subdivision and correlation.'⁶

Lithological differences include those in colour (from dull red through grey and yellow to dull blue), grain size (from fine to very coarse), bed thickness and porosity.⁷ Where hardness is concerned, durability and workability are usually inversely proportional: a very hard sandstone may be unsuitable for dressings or the construction of a spire, and hopelessly intractable for any form of carving. In rural areas, stone might be left rock-faced: for town churches it was 'necessary to avoid rusticity in any way', since, as Street pointed out in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1850, 'rough walling stones' convey a sentiment 'different from that which the polished and smooth surfaces of the neighbouring buildings demand, and, I think, inferior by reason of its apparent rudeness'.⁸ Hardness may, in addition, determine how the masonry is coursed.⁹ Possible methods run from (i) 'uncoursed', which is self-explanatory, through (ii)

⁶ Anon., *Strategic Stone Study; A Building Stone Atlas of West and South Yorkshire* (English Heritage, on-line, 2012), p. 7.

⁷ Anon., *Strategic Stone Study; A Building Stone Atlas of West and South Yorkshire*, p. 8

⁸ George Edmund Street, 'On the proper characteristics of a town church' (*The Ecclesiologist*, New Series 45 (December 1850), pp. 227-233), p. 229.

⁹ This traditional and hierarchical scheme was first laid out by R.W. Brunskill, half a century ago. See the *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 39.

'brought to courses', where the stonework is brought to a level joint at regular intervals, (iii) 'snecked', where the courses are interrupted by larger stones at intervals, (iv) 'irregularly coursed', where the masonry is fully coursed but the courses are of different heights, and (v), for the best work, 'regularly coursed', where the courses are the same height all the way up the wall. Obviously only freestones lend themselves to this last and in Mallinson and Healey's daily practice there was inevitably the question of how much money there was to spend: regular coursing entailed high labour costs as well as the increased wastage of material.

Secular buildings could often be constructed with advantage from the nearest stone that was serviceable, which might have the effect of increasing their vernacular attraction. Churches, however, were expected to appear more urbane. The few churches by Mallinson and Healey where the precise building stones are known, are shown in the simplified geological table below (table 10a), none of which involved transporting the material very far. All Saints', Horton, employed the very hard Calverley Wood Stone, complemented with softer Finsdale Stone for the dressings, St. James's, Boroughbridge was built of Rainton Stone with Burton Leonard Stone dressings, and St. Mary & All Angels', Cundall, used Rainton Stone for the dressings, combined with an unknown but presumably inferior stone for the walls. In regard to the coursing, nearly all Mallinson and Healey's churches adopted the compromise position of being constructed of stone laid in *irregular* courses, which look perfectly handsome from a short distance but which can look surprisingly rough and narrow close to, although it is generally impossible to tell whether this is due to the quality of the stone or the limited time invested in dressing it. Churches where the courses approximate to the same height are (i) St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees, (ii) the chancel at All Saints', Ilkley, (iii) All Saints', Horton, (iv) Holy Trinity, Hepworth, and (v) the Church of the Epiphany, Tockwith. All Saints', Horton, and the chancel at Ilkley, were relatively expensive buildings, while the Rough Rock used at Hepworth, is probably the best building stone obtainable from the Millstone Grit. There is no information on the stones employed at Thornaby-on-Tees or Tockwith. However, two other buildings each requiring a mention are Christ Church, Barkisland, where the courses are snecked, and St. Alban's, Witherwick, which is built of pebble rubble, brought to courses at two feet intervals by double courses of brown brick.

Table 10a: Simplified geological table showing the derivation of some of the stones employed by Mallinson and Healey.¹⁰

Geological System	Series	Formation	Church
Permian	Upper Permian	~ <i>unconformity</i> ~	

¹⁰

Strategic Stone Study; A Building Stone Atlas of West and South Yorkshire, p. 3.

		Lower Magnesian Limestone (includes Wetherby Stone and Burton Leonard Stone)	St. James, Boroughbridge, dressings (BLS) Epiphany Church, Tockwith (WS)
		~ <i>unconformity</i> ~	
299 Ma	Lower Permian		
Carboniferous	Westphalian		
	(Coal Measures)	Middle Coal Measures (includes Rainton Stone and Horbury Rock)	St. James, Boroughbridge (RS) St. Mary, Cundall, dressings (RS)
315 Ma		Lower Coal Measures (includes Brusselton Stone (from West Auckland), Elland Flags, Clifton Rock, Calverley Wood Stone, Cropper Gate Stone and Finsdale Stone)	St. Mary, Lower Dunsforth (BS) St. John, Clifton (CR) All Saints, Horton (CWS) Holy Innocents, Thornhill Lees (FS) All Saints, Horton, dressings (FS)
	Namurian (Millstone Grit)	Rough Rock (includes Bramley Falls Stone)	St. Mary, Lower Dunsforth Holy Trinity, Hepworth
		Marsden Formation (includes Huddersfield White Rock)	
		Kinderscout Grit	St. Thomas the Apostle, Heptonstall
		Lower Follifoot Grit	St. Mary Magdalene, East Keswick
325 Ma		~ <i>unconformity</i> ~	
	Dinantian	~	
	(Carboniferous	Kilnsey Limestone	
359 Ma	Limestone)	~ <i>unconformity</i> ~	

None of this addresses either the issue of structural colour or the partners' use of brick. Structural colour owed much of its impetus to Ruskin's essay 'The Lamp of Beauty'. 'I cannot', he wrote,

'consider architecture as in anywise perfect without colour. Further..., I think the colours of architecture should be those of natural stones; partly because more durable, but also because more perfect and graceful.'¹¹

However, William Butterfield, had got there ahead of him, for at All Saints', Margaret Street (Westminster), designed c. 1848, he produced an entirely novel building in coloured stone, brick and tile, and established the pattern for the remainder of his career.

That was all very well for an architect able to import exotic materials from anywhere at home or abroad. London, in any case, had no local stone of any significance and the need to bring bulk materials from a distance was understood. This was not a luxury Mallinson and Healey could afford. They had plenty of good local building stone and it would have been an extravagance to have thought of using anything else. Besides, a restricted palette could

¹¹ 'The Lamp of Beauty', para. xxxv (Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*).

have been acquired from the many sandstone quarries scattered across the West Riding had not the topography precluded the use even of much of that. As a result, structural polychrome never really developed to any great extent anywhere in West Yorkshire, and for those with the foresight to recognise it, it would have been largely futile anyway, for Carboniferous sandstone accumulates grime more quickly than any other English building stone, and in the polluted air of Victorian Halifax and Bradford, it never really stood a chance. Butterfield could combine rock-faced Bramley Fall Stone (also laid in irregular courses) from Kirkstall Abbey (Leeds), with imported ashlar, to great effect at Baldersby St. James (1855-7), but this was in the Vale, well away from all the chimneys.

Rather more surprising, therefore, is the apparent absence (except to the very limited extent described above at Withernwick) of brick in Mallinson and Healey's buildings - not for churches perhaps, but certainly for schools and domestic buildings. In fact, they *must* surely have used it, at least in their industrial work if only for its fire-resistant properties, but it is surprising there is no proof positive of the fact, although curiously, they made at least one serious attempt to make stone look like brick in Thornhill Lees's parsonage (fig. 10i).¹² Bricks had to be manufactured and paid for however, and still needed to be transported from the brickfields; stone could be dug from the ground as near as possible to the building site, and came, very often, free of charge, except, of course, for the labour involved.

* * * * *

The Wall.

In constructing a wall, the minimum size of individual stones and the number of through-stones employed to tie the inner and outer faces together, had to be considered. Mallinson made this clear in his specification for his very first church at Queen's Head. The wall was to have:

'not less [than] seven Through Stones in every Rod of Walling superficial measure and no Wall Stone to be less than 8 inches on bed and 4 inches at the joints. In the exterior, no Wall Stone is to be less than 3 inches thick and the whole is to be worked to a baval [sic] of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch to a Foot. Such parts of the ashlar as is not marked otherwise is to be 9 inches on bed with through Stones inserted in the Buttresses, Window Jambs, Door Jambs, &c., as shown.'¹³

¹² In particular, there appears not to be a single reference in the local contemporary press linking Mallinson and Healey with brick construction anywhere. However, since brick was likely to be used for the humbler jobs, these were correspondingly less likely to attract a press report.

¹³ Specification for Holy Trinity church, Queen's Head, 1842. Bradford, WYA, D15/1/4.

This led to the next matter, namely that in raising the wall, the architect had to take account of the thrust that would act against it, which was not, at least in theory, a function of its height (as the weight acted straight downwards) but of the width of the cell behind it, since the principal outward force was due to pressure from the roof. This was countered by the buttresses, which, aside from the tower, were often most needed to support the walls of the chancel since in the majority of churches of medium size upwards, the nave was effectively buttressed by the aisles. Most of Mallinson and Healey's churches were supported by buttresses with two off-sets, commonly placed between every *second* bay, although St. Phillip's, Girlington, and the tower at St. Barnabas's, Heaton, were left entirely unbuttressed (in the latter case, in order to emphasise its elemental geometry), while St. Thomas's, Heptonstall, and All Saints', Horton, have additional shallow buttresses between the bays of the nave clerestory.

When it came to the buttressing of towers, Mallinson and Healey confined themselves to the three basic forms of (i) diagonal buttressing, where a single buttress meets the two walls at the corner at an angle of 135° , (ii) angle buttressing, where two separate buttresses support the corner, each at an angle of 90° to its respective wall, and (iii) clasping buttressing, where the buttresses entirely enclose the corners of the building. In mediaeval architecture, diagonal buttressing is most often associated with thirteenth and early fourteenth century work (i.e. work in Early English or Decorated style) and angle buttressing with later buildings (and thus in Perpendicular style), although this is far from being a diagnostic criterion for dating. In Mallinson and Healey's work there is no relationship between the method of buttressing and either the style of the tower or its height except that diagonal buttressing was never used for towers taller than 120 feet, as shown in the table below, where the churches are arranged in height order.

Table 10b: The heights and forms of buttressing of Mallinson & Healey's church towers.

Church	Height of tower	Form of buttressing
St. John the Baptist's, Clayton	67 feet	angle
St. James's, Boroughbridge	70 feet	diagonal
St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth	76 feet	diagonal
St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd	87 feet	angle
St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall	90 feet	angle

All Saints', Salterhebble	120 feet	diagonal
St. John's, Welburn	120 feet	diagonal
St. Mary's, Wyke	120 feet	angle turning clasping
St. Andrew's, Listerhills	128 feet	angle
St. Paul's, Manningham	140 feet	clasping
Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees	150 feet	angle
St. Mark's, Dewsbury	180 feet	angle
All Saints', Horton	200 feet	angle

* * * * *

The Arch.

Moving from the outside to the inside of the church, the principal structural feature is, of course, the arch, and here the majority of Mallinson and Healey's churches had aisles on one or both sides, separated from the nave by continuous arcades, some had tower and transept arches, and all had a chancel arch, quite apart from the arches over doors and windows. The competent construction of arches, both in their design and in the overseeing of their construction, was thus among the most basic and fundamental requirements of the skill-set of any church architect.

The arches comprising an aisle arcade consist of two basic parts, namely the arches themselves and the piers that support them (including the responds or demi-piers at each end). They meet at the capital, which has a structural function as well as an aesthetic one, for it is here that the outward thrust of the arch is finally translated into a downward thrust counteracted by the pier. The weight-bearing capacity of the pier is proportional to its cross-sectional area, irrespective of its shape.

Except on rare occasions, Mallinson and Healey confined themselves to three basic shapes for the section of their piers - the circle, octagon and quatrefoil, or a combination of these. Octagonal piers were probably the best compromise between economy and design for provided they were not raised too high in relation to their section (as at Queen's Head) they were dignified and tasteful while simultaneously conveying a clear impression of strength and solidity. Only five of the partners' arcades employed a more complicated form than one of these three, as illustrated below and overleaf. The nave interior at Clayton is shown in fig. 10a and the aisles arcades at Barkisland, Mount Pellon, Heptonstall and Thornhill Lees are illustrated in figs. 10c, 10d, 10e & 6c(ii) respectively. The capitals to the individual shafts

are semicircular at Barkisland and Thornhill Lees but semi-octagonal at Mount Pellon and Heptonstall. At Heaton, in order to conform with the building's massive 'Ruskinian' exterior, the piers are squat and circular, and decorated by heavy leaf capitals and an integral shaft ring about two-thirds of the way up the pier (fig. 10f). This is probably Thomas Henry and Francis Healey's work however, and the other church almost certainly by them, at Tockwith, is comparable in style and shows a similar weighty geometry in the chancel and transept arches (fig. 10b).

Diagram X(a): sections of piers used by Mallinson and Healey.

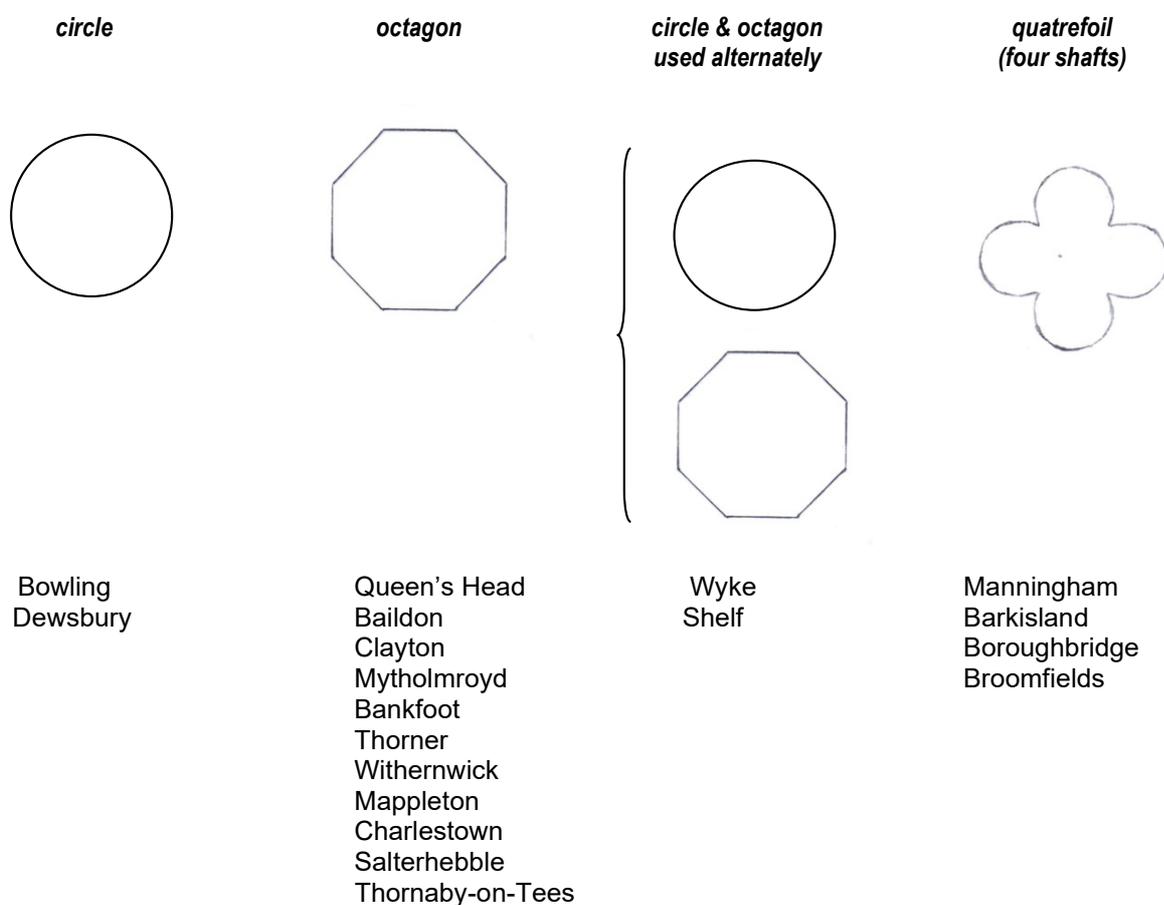
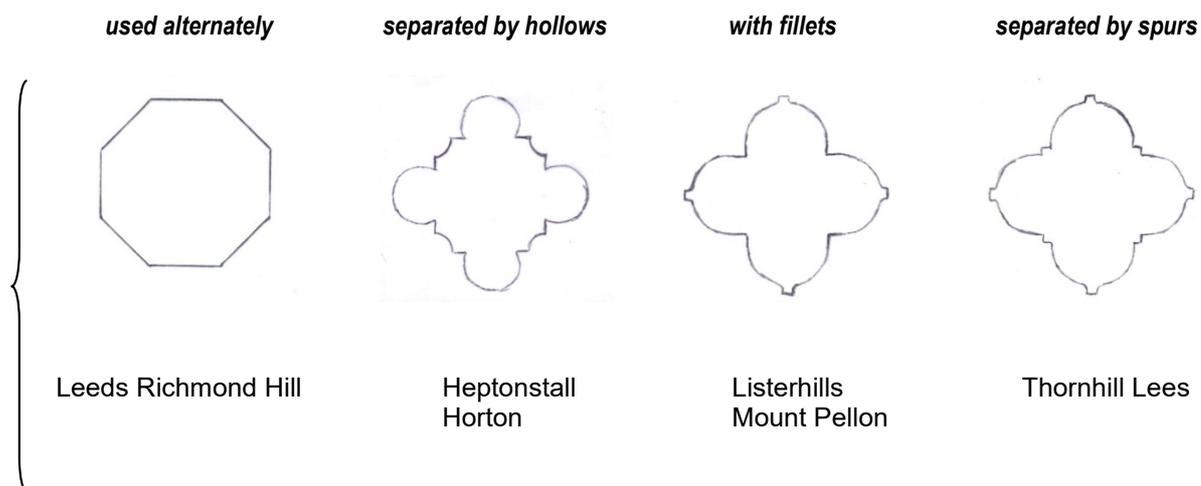




Fig. 10a(i), St. John the Baptist's, Clayton: interior view looking east.



Fig. 10a(ii), St. John the Baptist's, Clayton: closer interior view looking east.
octagon and quatrefoil four shafts four shafts four shafts with fillets,



This general pattern whereby Mallinson and Healey adopted the same basic but reliable form in most manifestations of a particular feature but would produce something more elaborate for a more expensive job or to enliven a modest building that was plain in other ways, is then repeated in the arch mouldings where the great majority consist of two flat chamfers and just seven or eight others were given a more intricate profile.

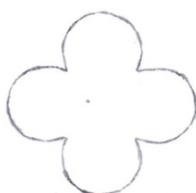
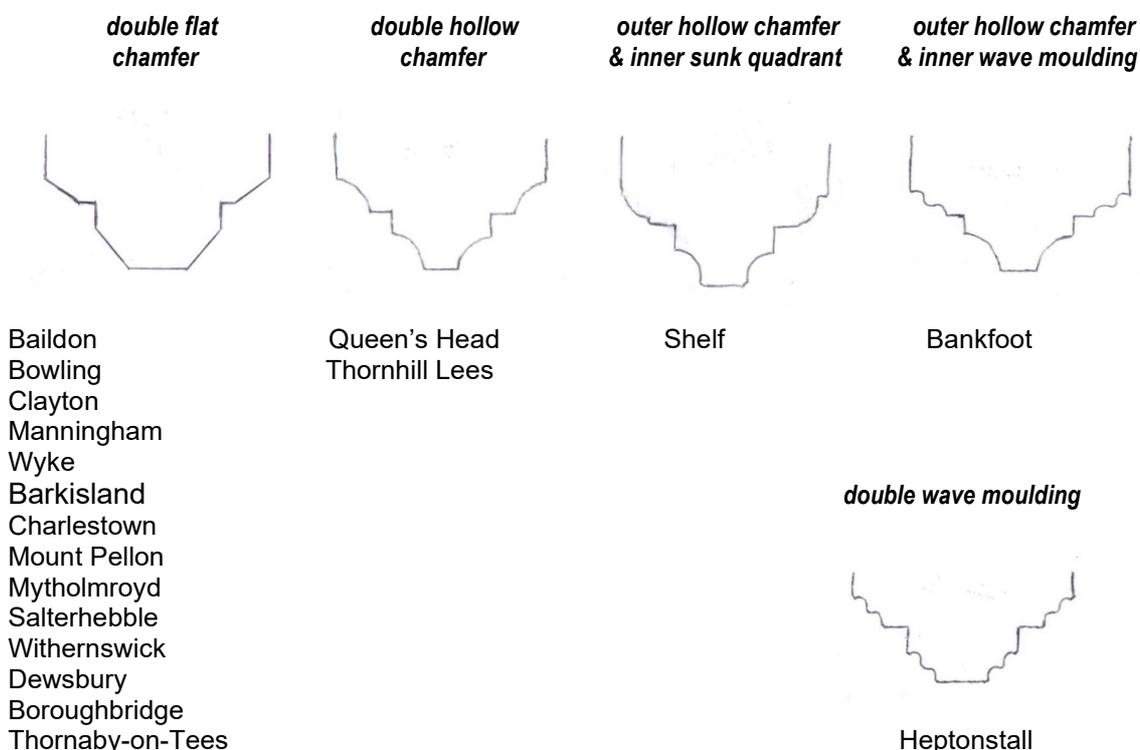
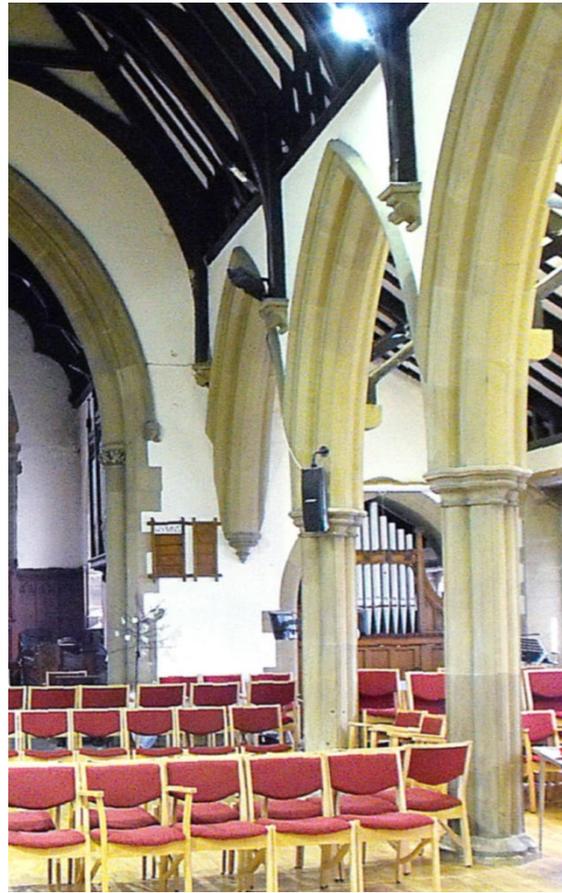


Diagram X(b): arch mouldings used by Mallinson and Healey.





Above left, fig. 10c, Christ Church, Barkisland: S. arcade looking southeast.



Above right, fig. 10d, Christ Church, Mount Pellon: S. arcade looking southeast.

Below left, fig. 10e, St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall: S. arcade looking southeast.



Below right, fig. 10f, St. Barnabas's, Heaton: a S. arcade pier.

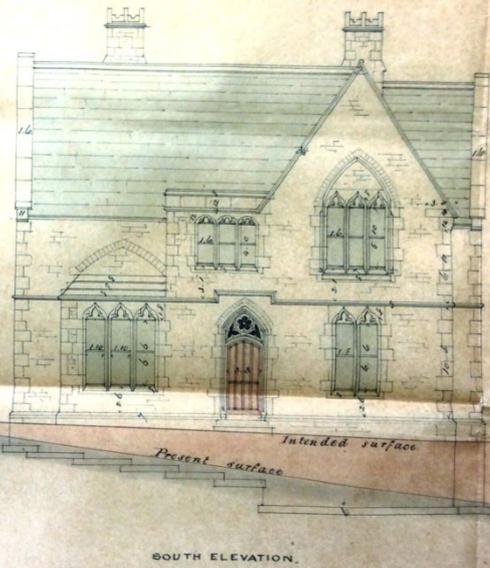


Arches over doorways again show a limited range in the majority of cases, with the more expensive examples differentiated by an increasingly complex series of mouldings around the arch and jambs enriched with colonnettes of one or more orders in a broadly predictable hierarchy, such that there are two orders at Dewsbury and Heptonstall (fig. 9g(iii)), and three orders with leaf capitals and bands of loose floral decoration around the arches of both the N. and S. doorways at Horton. However, there are also three orders at Low Moor (fig. 6a) and no less than four at Manningham, where they have deeply carved 'broccoli' capitals and the mouldings around the arch include a line of dog-tooth. The doorway at Low Moor is atypical in another way for it is trefoil-headed beneath a carved tympanum, which was an arrangement Thomas Henry and Francis Healey copied in chunkier form, six years later at Heaton. Hood-moulds over all arches, doors and windows are usually simple rolls except above the porch outer doorway at Heptonstall, where two lines of carved birds' heads run up the dripstone to meet at an ogee point. Side shafts to windows, with the sole exception of those inside the N. aisle at Manningham, previously mentioned, are to be found only at All Saints', Horton, Healey's magnum opus, to be discussed in chapter eleven. The three-dimensional form of the arch is the vault, but the only vaults that seem to have been designed by the partners were the ribbed tunnel vaults beneath the porches at Horton, 'supported' by three-bay blank arcades on the east and west walls, and the former porch vault at the cemetery chapel at Haley Hill, of which no drawing or photograph survives. If larger vaults were not required at these two most expensive of the partners' churches (relative to their different sizes), they were unlikely to have been in demand elsewhere, and whether or not Mallinson and Healey could have provided them had they been asked to do so, is thus a purely academic speculation.

This study has focused heavily on churches, but a few words might be added here on doors and windows in the partners' domestic work. These were usually square-headed or composed, in the case of windows, of two, three or more, equal, two-centred or ogee-pointed lights, often set beneath a conspicuous relieving arch, as at Barkisland, Bradford Laisterdyke and Thornhill Lees parsonages, illustrated in figs. 10g, 10h & 10i respectively. This was sometimes seen as an opportunity to add a little decorative carving (as at Laisterdyke and in the chamber storey at Thornhill Lees), but other times, if only to provide variety, the partners preferred to 'hide' the relieving arch by keeping it flush with the wall surface (Thornhill Lees ground floor).

Doorways in domestic work might utilise the space between the relieving arch and the door to allow for a fanlight, albeit not usually as elaborate as the fancy Gothic one at

BARKISLAND PARSONAGE.



LAISTER DYKE PARSONAGE.



Above left, fig. 10g, Barkisland parsonage: S. elevation.

Above right, fig. 10h, Bradford Laisterdyke parsonage: E. elevation.

Below, fig. 10i, St. Thornhill Lees parsonage: N. elevation.



Barkisland. At other times the relieving arch was judged expendable, as at Ilkley, or the doorway was enclosed in a single-storey projecting porch, as in the parsonage for Low Moor Holy Trinity.

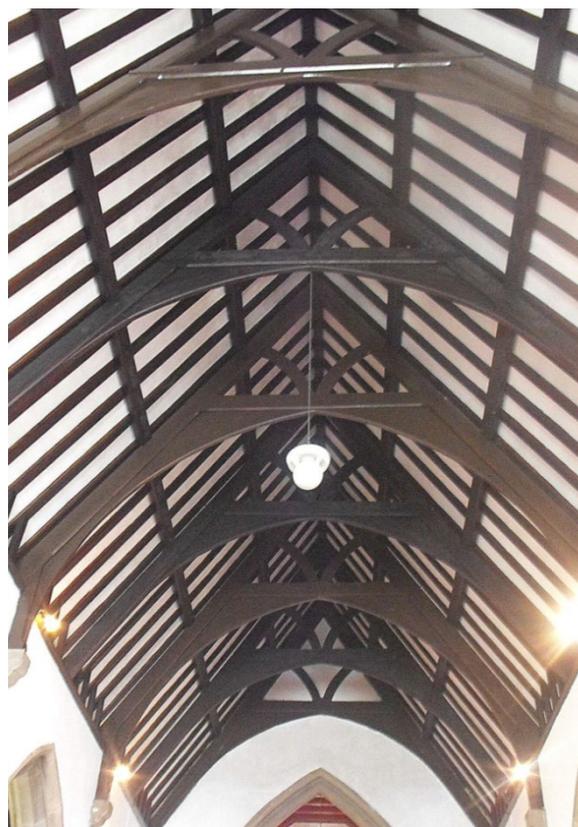
* * * * *

The Roof.

As with masonry coursing, the buttressing of towers, or the design of an arcade, so too with the roof, Mallinson and Healey had their favoured form although here they deviated more often from their standard pattern and also displayed a few major departures. Roof pitches were sometimes relatively low compared to those of their more famous confrères. Butterfield, for example, generally pitched his roofs at around 60° so that the principal rafters and tie beams together described a succession of equilateral triangles. Healey also did this sometimes (the very different St. Stephen's, Bowling, and All Saints', Horton, are both examples), but a more usual angle of pitch is that employed for the chancel at Ilkley, at approximately 45°, and a few are still lower - down indeed to as little as 30° internally at Thorner (fig. 10j).

In its essentials the partners' preferred roof frame comprised a pair of purlins, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the distance up the pitch, and arch-braced collars joining the principal rafters, yet instead of connecting the collars to the joints between the principal rafters and upper purlins (or even the principal rafters and *lower* purlins), the collars typically met the rafters *halfway* up the pitch, the reason for which may have been the simplification of the carpentry since this avoided the complicated three-way meeting of collar, purlin and principal rafter and allowed the collars to be tenoned straightforwardly into the rafters. The nave roofs at St. John the Baptist's, Clayton, St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees (fig. 10k) and Holy Trinity, Hepworth (figs. M(i) - M(ii), appendix 1), are all examples of this whereas, conversely, the collars do indeed run between the upper purlins at Mappleton and Girington, and between the lower purlins at Wyke (fig. 10l) and Mytholmroyd. In all these cases, the sole remaining component of the roof couple often consists of a pair of 'V'-struts rising from the collar (Clayton, Thorner and Wyke).

Loosely related roof forms include the simple but collarless nave roof at East Keswick (fig. 10m) in which the principal rafters are joined by scissor-bracing with individual braces running from just below the lower purlin on one side to just below the upper purlin on the other. Conversely at Barkisland (fig. 10n), where there are no *purlins* and closely placed



Above left, fig. 10j, St. Peter's, Thorner: nave roof looking east.

Above right, fig. 10k, St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees: nave roof looking east.

Below left, fig. 10l, St. Mary's, Wyke: nave roof looking west.

Below right, fig. 10m, St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick: nave roof looking east..



common rafters without principals, the straight collar braces run through the collars to form scissor bracing above.

Another nice roof, and a rare example of tie-beam construction in Mallinson and Healey's oeuvre, is the nave roof at Thorner, which may owe its form to its predecessor as it existed before renovation. Here, in a striking example of structural overkill, the tie beams support both king posts *and* 'V'-struts, and the heavy principal rafters are doubled a few inches beneath by parallel timbers of identical section, joining the tie beams to the king posts.

St. Peter's, Thorner, is a relatively small building. Another elaborate roof in a really quite minor church is the nave roof at Mappleton (fig. 10o), which also has tie beams and the usual double purlins, with collars joining the upper pairs, but where there are also king posts joining the tie beams to the collars, queen posts joining the tie beams to the lower purlins, and a collar purlin linking the collars transversely. This has a very 'boxy' appearance and is further proof, if proof were needed, of Mallinson and Healey's ability to invent different solutions to the selfsame problem.

A different structural challenge arose in the case of churches with transepts however, for here Healey had to manage the junction between the nave roof and the transept roofs, which met at right angles at the crossing. Healey met the challenge at St. Philip's, Gillingham, by intersecting two roof trusses with arch braced collars, each set at 45° to the nave and transepts (and thus crossing southeast/northwest and northeast/southwest), creating by such simple means an interesting visual focus (fig. K(ii)). However, Healey may have met his greatest test in roof construction in a problem of his own making, at St. Stephen's, Bowling, where the sides of the nave roof are continually interrupted by dormers, the crossing had to handle the meeting of a nave, chancel and transepts all of different heights (though Thomas Henry and Francis Healey may have been responsible for this), and the apse had to adapt scissor-bracing to its semi-octagonal form.

Turning briefly to domestic work again, here Mallinson and Healey seem to have been especially exercised by roof-lines and the attractive composition they could draw by the juxtaposition of unequal gables, sometimes interposed between two parts of the building meeting at different heights. This was a particular feature of the more elaborate (and presumably more expensive) of their designs for schools, of which St. Andrew's School,

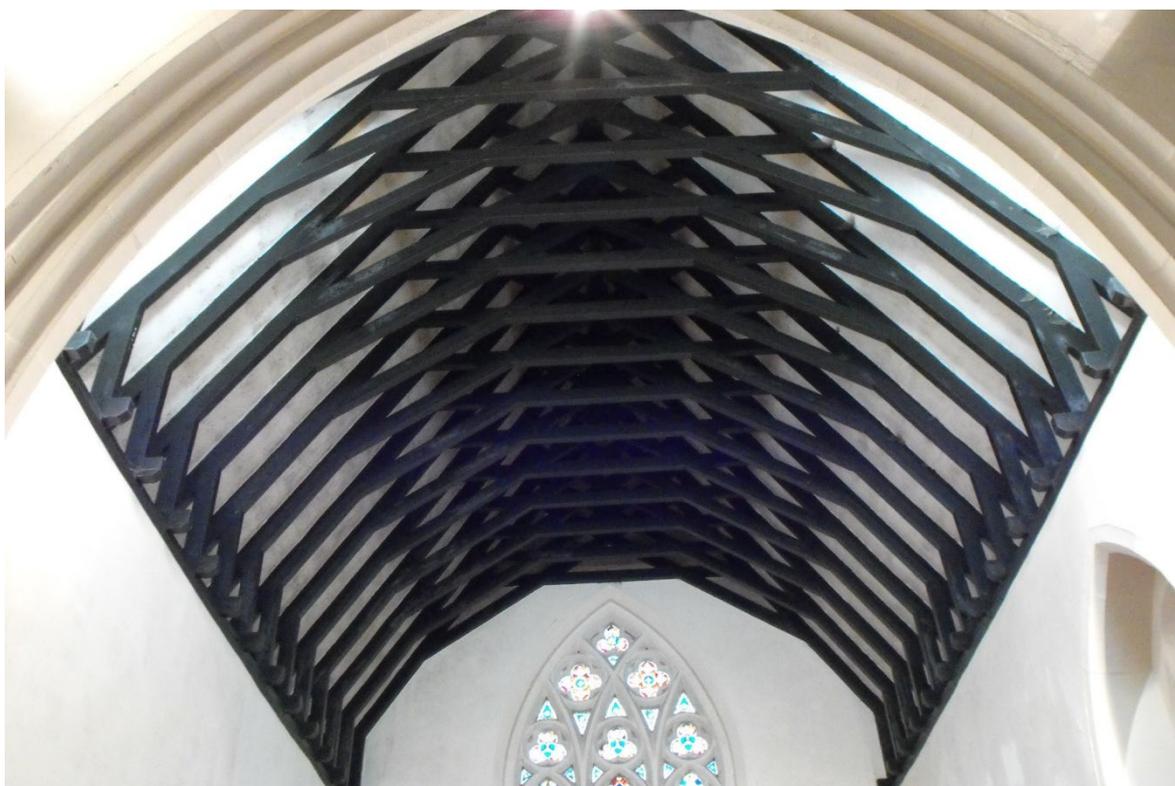


Fig. 10n, Christ Church, Barkisland: chancel roof looking east.



Fig. 10o, All Saints', Mappleton: nave roof looking west.

Listerhills, is a particularly fine example (fig. 5b(iii)). Here, against the N. elevation, there is also an elegant little tower topped by a spire, but where such extravagance could not be countenanced, chimney stacks could be called upon to provide visual interest. In making such utilitarian features serve an aesthetic function also, a skilful provincial architect could enliven his designs in a thoroughly economic way.

* * * * *

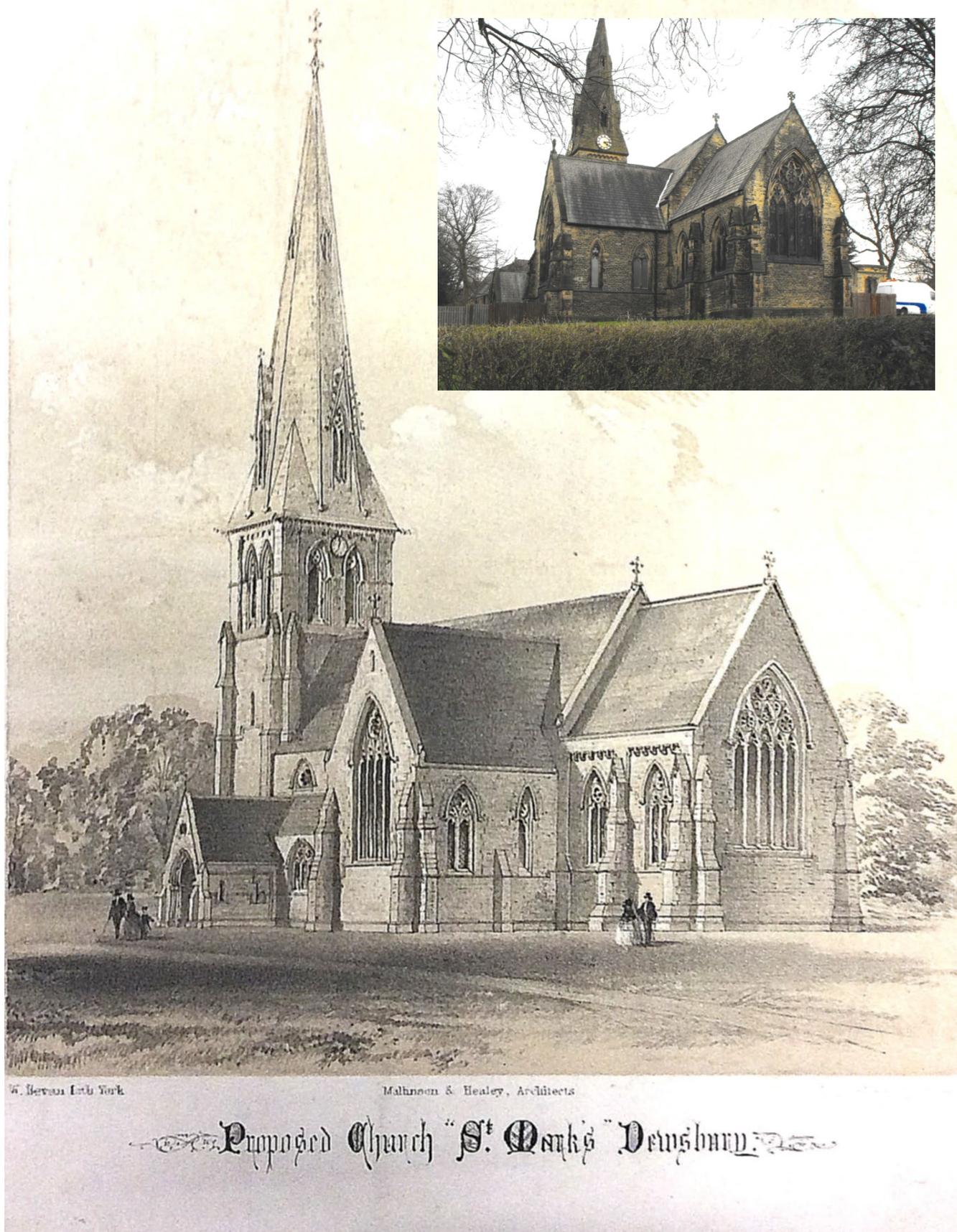
Conclusion.

It has been a constant theme of this study that Mallinson and Healey's architectural practice was, of necessity, a thrifty one, and the scope for imaginative flights of artistic fancy was therefore distinctly limited. A reputation for sound construction, however, was critical to business success, and this encouraged the partners to adopt the same tried-and-tested, cost-effective solutions to the same structural challenges, as witnessed in their designs for aisle arcades and church roofs. Thus double-flat-chamfered arches supported on circular or octagonal piers, with ratios of pier width to height between 1:5 and 1:6,¹⁴ could always be relied upon to look sturdy and trustworthy, and a roof formed of collar-braced rafter couples with supporting 'V'-struts, combined the advantages of simple construction with an open and attractive appearance. It was also possible to create a modicum of variety without departing from these basic arrangements, in the first case, by employing circular and octagonal piers in the same arcade alternately, as at Wyke and Shelf, and in the second, by altering the shape of the struts or the position of the collars relative to the purlins, as at Thornaby-on-Tees and Wyke. More significant variations, either in form or structure, could then be reserved for buildings where either there was more money to spend or else where that feature had been chosen to present one of two or three modest elaborations aimed at lifting a frugal commission above the ascetic, as with the aisle arcades at Mount Pellon, supported on quatrefoil piers with fillets, or the little nave roof at Thorner, with its superfluity of heavy timbers.

Then from the very end of Thomas Healey's life, there is also the example of St. Mark's church, Dewsbury (figs. 10p(i) - 10p(ii)), an inexpensive pseudo-cruciform building where almost all the spare money was diverted into the soaring spire surmounting the W. tower,

¹⁴ John Sidney Hawkins, writing in *An History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture* (London: J. Taylor, 1813, p. 220) gives the ratio of the width to the height of clustered columns at Westminster Abbey, erected during the reigns of Henry III (1216-72) and Edward I (1272 - 1307) as about 1:5. The corresponding ratio at Mallinson's first church at Queen's Head was approximately 1:9.

leaving little or nothing over for the interior. Yet even here, artful distinctions were possible at no additional cost, for whereas the nave roof adopts the favoured collar-beam form,



Figs. 10p(i) - 10p(ii), St. Mark's, Dewsbury:
 (i) *main picture*, as proposed; and (ii) *inset*, today from the southeast.

with purlins $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$'s of the way up the pitch, the chancel roof presents a variation on the theme, merely by omitting the purlins, and the shorter transept roofs present a second, by retaining the purlins but omitting the collars. Such fine discriminations, seeking always to avoid monotony, did not so much *meet* Ruskin's criterion for building to qualify as architecture, as entirely *negate* it. Here were edifices which earned a worthy place in the local built environment, not as a result of richly applied ornament but by virtue of subtleties which the viewer recognised intuitively, even without being able to identify them individually.

11. ORIGINALITY.

'The dissatisfaction of the 1820s and 30s arose from more profound causes than poor building construction or institutional organization. Visual qualities which contemporaries found lacking in their architecture - "character", "harmonious expression", "unity of ensemble" - all involved the application of past models of ornamentation and formal organization to present architecture. But controlling perception were over-riding values, ideals which for contemporaries were the criteria for great architecture.

'The primary such value was originality.'

Roger Kindler.

'Periodical Criticism 1815-40: Originality in Architecture', *Architectural History* 17 (1974), p. 23.

An Idiom of One's Own?

A final topic that requires consideration is the extent to which Mallinson and Healey and other provincial architects like them, contributed to the dissemination of the Gothic Revival into the regions of Britain and whether in the process they made any original contribution to its form and development. Mallinson and Healey could build in any style (chapter nine), they could provide reliable, solidly-constructed and economic solutions to virtually any structural problem (chapter ten), and they were also able to provide almost any church furnishings and fittings, which besides endowing the partners with an additional line of business, ensured they were a convenient 'one-stop shop' for busy clients. And yet, these advantages notwithstanding, it is impossible to believe commissions would have arrived so thick and fast had not the firm also had a reputation for consistent good quality design, at once tasteful, appropriate, and original, for no patron conscious of his reputation sought a conspicuous memorial to himself where these qualities were lacking.

Twentieth century architectural historians, as stated in the introduction, had little to say about Mallinson and Healey, and the few that did were uninterested or equivocal. Pevsner, after discussing Lockwood and Mawson's contribution to the secular architecture of Bradford in *The Buildings of England*, merely added in passing, 'The same dominance of local architects characterized the ecclesiastical field (*Mallinson & Healey, T.H. & F. Healey*) [Pevsner's parenthesis and italics]... but their work is less worthy of record',¹ while Derek

¹ Pevsner and Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding*, p. 122.

Linstrum explained what he considered to be the problem with Victorian West Yorkshire architects in general, Mallinson and Healey among them, in his assessment of Sir George Gilbert Scott's, All Souls', Haley Hill. In his view, the critical shortcoming of Scott and others like him was that they lacked an individual style:

'Magnificent though All Souls' is, it raises a question of whether one can easily recognise a Scott church. For that matter, extending the question to Scott's West Yorkshire contemporaries, can one easily identify a church by Mallinson and Healey, Perkin and Backhouse, or Crossland, as one can the work of Burges or Butterfield? The answer must be in the negative, even while remembering Scott's cold, noble piles at St. Mary's, Mirfield (1871) and All Souls', Blackman Lane, Leeds (1876-80) which is believed to be the final church in the seemingly endless line for which he was responsible...'²

This was a reformulation of Basil F.L. Clarke's assessment of Scott, written four decades earlier, with which Derek Linstrum would have been familiar:

'... but will anyone ever admire the works of Scott? It is hard to believe that they will, for there is nothing in particular in them to admire. The works of some of the other Gothic Revivalists have some character. When I visited Denstone Church, Staffordshire, I said, "Street"; and so it was. But is it possible to visit one of Scott's churches for the first time and say "Scott"? At the best it must be a guess. It may be the work of Scott; but it may well be the work of any one of a hundred less well known men. Any one of Scott's churches might be the work of someone else. If we discover, after all, that Scott was the architect, we shall not be surprised: when we see a commonplace church we are prepared for the information. But we shall not in consequence inspect the church with any greater interest. If we know beforehand, we know what to expect. And in every single instance we find it.'³

If this is harsh, it is mild beside Leatherbarrow,⁴ but was this a failing the early Victorians would have recognised, for if it was, how may one account for the high esteem in which Scott was held during his lifetime, or the hundreds of clients who jostled to present him with

² Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture*, p. 228.

³ Basil F. L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, pg. 173. Scott did not help his later reputation by his general absent-mindedness, which often left him uncertain about which projects he had or had not undertaken. Sir Thomas Jackson recounted anecdotes that were in circulation during his pupilage in Scott's office: 'how [Scott] admired a new church from the railway carriage window and was told it was one of his own; how he went into a church in process of building, sent for the clerk of works, and began finding fault with this and that till the man said, 'You know, Mr. Scott, this is not your church; this is Mr. Street's, your church is further down the road'. (Sir Thomas Jackson *Recollections*, p.. 57.)

⁴ J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *Victorian Period Piece*, pp. 151-154. For example, take this sentence: 'The brilliance of Scott is the brilliance of a highly intelligent copyist; the genius of the later architects is in the spontaneity of their designs and in their grasp of the truth that Gothic architecture was not only a matter of joyful resurrection but also a progressing adventure in newness of life'. It may be argued with considerable understatement that such qualities are not amenable to easy identification.

commissions? Similarly, how might Mallinson and Healey have fared if potential clients and building committees had viewed *them* in this light? To understand the *actual* concerns of these men, it is necessary to understand what patrons and promoters *did* want from their architects in the mid-nineteenth century and how this was bound up with their concept of originality.

* * * * *

Originality v. Imitation.

According to Roger Kindler, for most of the cognoscenti in the 1830s and '40s, 'originality' in architecture was defined in *opposition* to both 'imitation' and 'novelty'.⁵ The first may seem obvious enough, yet imitation was by no means universally dispised and, indeed, even the most blatant examples of the outright purloining of other people's intellectual property were winked at by some of the supposedly most respectable members of society, as illustrated in 1838 when Chantrell found it necessary to rebuke the Rev. Lewis Jones, vicar of Almondbury, no less, for suggesting that he (Chantrell) might work up plans and elevations for the proposed new church at Holmbridge, drawn by Henry Ward of Stafford (1806-84), whom the building committee had first engaged and subsequently dismissed,⁶ and that this still failed to shame the vestry into adopting a different policy was demonstrated immediately afterwards when they then turned to William Wallen of Huddersfield (d. 1853), who was obviously less squeamish, to do the deed instead.⁷

However, if that was a particularly egregious case, very few people had any scruples about copying unattributable mediaeval buildings, and indeed, in 1842 *The Ecclesiologist* positively sought to encourage this, by expressing its surprise 'that modern church-architects should never have recourse to a method which would, if adopted, not only place their works beyond the reach of criticism, but enable them to produce buildings at once the most beautiful, commodious and correct, at an outlay considerably less than... now' through the simple expedient of 'carry[ing] away with them on their journeys of research, not only

⁵ Roger A. Kindler, 'Periodical Criticism, 1815-1840 - Originality in Architecture' (*Architectural History*, 17, 1974, pp. 22-370 (p. 23)).

⁶ Webster, *R. D. Chantrell*, p. 164.

⁷ The *British Listed Buildings* web-site continues to propagate the myth that the church was designed by Chantrell. It was not. Chantrell's plans for the building were never executed. See Pevsner & Harman, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire: Sheffield and the South*, pp. 328-29, and especially Webster, *R.D. Chantrell*, p. 252.

mere sketches of details and partial measurements, but entire churches'.⁸ This was also a policy George Truefitt, writing in 1850, considered to have been perfectly reasonable during the *early phase* of the Gothic Revival, when 'utter ignorance prevailed as to the principles of the style in which [architects] were called upon to design, [and] their only chance of avoiding failure lay in the servile repetition of examples already in existence'.⁹ Unfortunately though, as '[b]ooks of examples appeared in rapid succession,... "Authority" [took] the place of "Originality" [and] Church Architecture and "Copyism" became synonymous terms.' The time had now come for 'every architect to do his best towards relieving the profession as soon as possible from the stigma conveyed by... the degrading epithet "Copyist"'.¹⁰

That Mallinson and Healey were largely free from this reproach is evidenced by the fact that few of their churches can really be mistaken for mediaeval work anyway, with the understandable exceptions of their partial rebuilds or reconstructions of pre-existing churches using some of the old materials, such as St. Peter's, Thorner, and All Saints', Mappleton, and possibly also aside from St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall, if its impossibly crisp masonry is not taken into account. However, St. Thomas's eventual form was not Healey's first, nor perhaps his preferred, design for the building, and it was certainly not based on any church he had seen and drawn on his peregrinations around Exeter since the tracery adopts the late fourteenth to early sixteenth century 'supermullioned' form of northern, eastern and central England, not the 'alternate' form of the south and the west,¹¹ while the only church at all like it in Yorkshire is St. Mary's, Thirsk, which does indeed have similar window tracery in the aisles, shares with St. Thomas's the conceit of openwork battlements around the tower (although St. Mary's has them around the nave, aisles and chancel also), and, in particular, has almost identical aisle arcades, composed of arches bearing double wave mouldings springing from piers composed of four shafts separated by hollows, with (as a telling detail) semi-octagonal capitals to the semicircular shafts. Yet while this may suggest Healey had visited and sketched St. Mary's at some time (perhaps during his pupillage with Chantrell), there still remain some very wide differences between these buildings, of which the most immediately striking is the more megalithic quality of St Mary's west tower, and another is the

⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, 1/9 (June 1842), pp. 134-135.

⁹ George Truefitt, *Designs for Country Churches* (London, Joseph Masters, 1850), p. 6.

¹⁰ George Truefitt, *Designs for Country Churches*, p. 7.

¹¹ In supermullioned tracery, the main mullions (i.e. between the lights), as well as the subsidiary supermullions (rising from the apices of the lights), continue straight up to the top of the main window arch. In West Country alternate tracery the main mullions stop at the springing level of the lights and only the supermullions reach up to the top of the window. (John Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style*, London, Batsford, 1978, p. 71.)

fact that St. Thomas's has a three-bay, rather than a two-bay, chancel, and that this is flanked by side-chapels, which St. Mary's lacks, together creating a very different internal perspective.

* * * * *

Originality v. Novelty.

So much then for imitation, but what about novelty? Indeed, what was the term actually taken to imply? Here one can draw on an anonymous contributor to *Fraser's Magazine*, writing in 1830:

'We, too, would readily accede to this opinion [previously set out by the writer] did we conceive that originality, which we so strenuously advocate, was nothing more than novelty; but... no two qualities... can be, in fact, more dissimilar. Whatever is done for the first time is novel, but it does not therefore follow that it is original; to attain novelty, an architect has only to adopt the first whim that presents itself, but to be original demands either profound study or the most felicitous conception.'¹²

That did not explain how originality was to be recognised in order for it to be differentiated of course, but for that one could look to Charles Fowler, writing five years later in his position as joint honorary secretary of the newly founded IBA:

'The proper excellence of architecture is that which results from its suitability to the occasion, and the beauties growing out of the arrangement, as applied to convenience, locality, &c.: and this principle, rightly pursued, leads to *originality*, without the affectation of novelty....'¹³

The seeking after novelty for novelty's sake was a distinct line of architectural development adopted by a small group of nineteenth century architects, and in bringing the issue up for critical attention, the contributor to Fraser's magazine was not raising a straw man. The architect and critic H.S. Goodhart-Rendel (1887-1959), writing in 1949, identified a group of Victorian architects he termed 'rogue nonconformists',¹⁴ who seemed to value novelty above all things, and amongst whom the 'arch-rogue' and pioneer was Edward Buckton Lamb (1806-1869), who designed country houses, vicarages, and more than thirty churches during his lifetime. As C.M. Smart Jn. wrote in 1989, perhaps optimistically:

¹² Anon., 'Architectural Design and Decoration' (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1, 1830, pp. 63-79 (p. 72)). Cited by Kindler.

¹³ Charles Fowler, 'Remarks on the Resolutions adopted by the Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons for Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament' (*Architectural Magazine*, 2, September 1835, pp. 381-384 (p. 382)).

¹⁴ H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects of the Victorian Era' (*R.I.B.A. Journal*, April 1949, pp. 251-52).

'today we are able to admire Lamb's consistent, highly personal style in spite of its crudities and its unusual planning. This was not the case in Lamb's lifetime... Lamb was either ignored or vilified by most Victorian critics. *The Ecclesiologist* despised his Christ Church, West Hartlepool, of 1854, and refused to comment on his subsequent work. *The Builder* and *Building News* were only slightly less hostile... [Henry-Russell] Hitchcock calls Lamb's Gothic 'cranky' and cites the coarse details and nervous silhouettes of his forms as proof... Yet Lamb's architecture is truly unique. No one else shaped buildings to feature overlappings and penetrations in quite the same way... He liked irregularity, but achieved a kind of unity by repetition of the same sort of irregularity throughout a building. He was exceptionally bold in the contrast of very large and very small features.'¹⁵

This provides the context in which Peter Leach described Mallinson and Healey's St. Stephen's, Bowling (1859) (figs. 9e & 11a(i) - 11a(ii)), as '[a]n unexpected lurch into roguishness'.¹⁶ It was indeed *unexpected* since Healey had never stepped so far from the mainstream before, nor, in the three remaining years of his life, was he to do so again. St. Stephen's, however, 'erected through the liberality of... Charles Hardy, Esq., of Low Moor, assisted by E.B. Wheatley-Balme, Esq., who gave the site and £500 towards its erection',¹⁷ comes as something of a shock to anyone familiar with Healey's other work, for here is novelty displayed literally on every side (elevation). The *Bradford Observer's* reporter considered the building had 'something of a continental character about it',¹⁸ and indeed, the helm roof to the tower is sufficiently closely associated with churches along the Rhine, both in Holland and Germany, to be known sometimes as a 'Rhenish helm', while the sole mediaeval example in England is to be found on the Saxon tower of St. Mary's, Sompting (West Sussex).¹⁹ Of course, it is impossible to be sure what led Healey to make some of the curious design choices he made here but perhaps the most probable explanation is that they arose simply out of a gritted determination never to repeat himself. He had already designed and overseen the construction of three churches where Charles Hardy or his father, John, had been the principal or sole patron (St. Matthew's, Bankfoot, St. Michael & All Angels', Shelf and St. Mark's, Low Moor), while a fourth (St. Phillip's, Girlington) was progressing simultaneously with the work at St. Stephen's. Moreover, perhaps at Bowling, the falling ground to the east seemed to cry out to be exploited by positioning the

¹⁵ C.M. Smart Jr., *Muscular Churches - Ecclesiastical Architecture of the High Victorian Period* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1989), pp. 245-46.

¹⁶ Pevsner and Leach, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North*, p. 198.

¹⁷ Cudworth, *Histories of Bolton and Bowling* (Bradford: Thomas Brear & Company, 1861), p. 277.

¹⁸ *The Bradford Observer*, 26th April 1860, p. 5.

¹⁹ Nairn, *The Buildings of England - Sussex*, pp. 211-12.

church over the declivity and inserting a crypt below the chancel, which would emerge partially *above ground* to the east and thus be capable of being lit by short, square, two-light windows. The somewhat later addition of transepts to the nave, whether



Fig. 11a(i) - 11a(ii), St. Stephen's, Bowling:
(i) *above*, exterior view from the northeast;
and (ii) *below*, exterior view from the east.



by Healey or his sons, with adjoining organ chamber east of the S. transept and vestry east of the N. transept, then seems almost an inevitable development after everything that had been done here already, and the incredible decision to cross-gable the organ chamber and vestry east windows, thereby following a right-angle turn with a right-angle turn, is entirely in keeping with the whole bizarre approach.

* * * * *

Originality as an 'Organic Development of That Which Is Already Known': All Saints', Horton and All Souls', Haley Hill, compared.

Collins English Dictionary defined 'original' in 1979 as 'fresh and unusual' or 'the first and genuine form of something, from which others are derived';²⁰ Joshua Bray's *History of English Critical Terms* defined it in 1898 as 'that which is new and more or less unexpected, but which is at the same time an organic development of that which is already known and familiar',²¹ and there in a nutshell is the clearing away of all confusion, for now it becomes apparent how, in the view of their contemporaries, Street or Butterfield on the one hand, and Scott or Mallinson and Healey on the other, met the condition equally, notwithstanding their major differences. Thus William Butterfield (1814-1900), an abstemious bachelor, was commissioned to build churches by William Dawney, the 7th Viscount Downe (1812-57), one of his several loyal patrons, on three separate occasions, and after his death, by his widow, the Viscountess Mary Isabel Downe, who admired his instantly recognisable, idiosyncratic style and were well aware that self-contained, intractable, and indifferent to money and criticism as he was, they engaged him largely on his own terms.²² Yet although *his* practice, in which everything was kept tightly under his own artistic control, was a world away from Sir George Gilbert Scott's, the scope, nature and extent of which made it inevitable that some of his less prestigious jobs were fortunate to receive a couple of hours

²⁰ *Collins' Dictionary of the English Language* (London: William Collins Sons & Company, 1979), p. 1037.

²¹ Jeremiah Wesley Bray, *A History of English Critical Terms* (Boston: D. Heath & Company, 1898), pp. 211-12. Cited by Kindler, 'Periodical Criticism, 1815-40 - Originality in Architecture'. Thus, for example, Henry Noel Humphries, writing in the *Architectural Magazine* in January 1839, felt able to declare that 'the true principles of adaptation and combination' would ultimately 'lead to the formation on an original style, fitted to the feelings and customs of our present high state of civilization'.

²² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Dawney,_7th_Viscount_Downe

of the great man's personal attention, Scott was also fulfilling the criterion in his own unobtrusive way. Moreover, far from this being a potential disincentive to engage Scott, many clients actually *preferred* a less rigid, more malleable architect, as illustrated by the opportunity taken by the twenty year old Beresford Hope to manipulate Anthony Salvin, when Salvin was twice Beresford Hope's age, in realising Hope's Tractarian vision at Christ Church, Kilndown (Kent).²³ Nor was it clear to many cultured Victorians that it was even *desirable* for an ecclesiastical architect to develop his own idiom. After all, the very notion of an artistic revival implies obeisance to the past, and since the highly influential Ecclesiological Society only approved of the early fourteenth century, 'Decorated' style as a model to emulate, and John Ruskin had narrowed the compass further to the geometric phase of the Early English/Decorated transition (chapter nine), architects offering their services to followers of the latest creeds, could generally be relied upon not to stray far from the approved and well-trodden path.

As for Mallinson and Healey, neither the relatively authentic mediaeval appearance of St. Thomas's, Heptonstall, nor the curious appearance of St. Stephen's, Bowling, were typical of their churches, whose general characteristics are summed up by the quotation from Charles Fowler above. Churches on the drawing board that had probably influenced Healey while he was working in Chantrell's office had included St. Stephen's, Kirkstall (1827-29), and St. George's, New Mills (Derbyshire) (1827-31), and while the galleried, auditorium-like interior of both was seriously outmoded by 1845, and the lancet form of their windows was not that being commended by *The Ecclesiologist*, there is a clear family resemblance between the towers and spires of these churches and those at Holy innocents', Thornhill Lees, and St. Mark's, Dewsbury, in particular. Subsequently, a more up-to-date church in which Healey was involved was Eginton's St. Michael's, Broadway (Worcestershire), of 1839, which was a few years ahead of its time when erected. The thin quadripartite vaults inside were only added in 1890 and confuse the issue by calling to mind the flimsy, unarchaeological phase of the Gothic Revival, but the unaltered aisle arcades are soundly constructed of double-flat-chamfered arches springing from piers composed of four shafts separated by hollows with semicircular capitals to the individual shafts, the tower is 'well and solidly built',²⁴ and while there is nothing here that Healey precisely imitated in any *his* churches, its firm and robust construction, so unlike the emaciated creations of many of Eginton's peers, would prove typical of Healey's work also.

²³ In 1840-45. See Newman, *The Buildings of England - West Kent and the Weald* (London: Penguin, 1976), pp. 352-3, but see also Jill Allibone, *Anthony Salvin - Pioneer of Gothic Revival Architecture* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1987), pp. 115-16.

²⁴ Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Worcestershire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p.103.

Healey's architecture, in other words, was essentially eclectic, *adopting* one idea from here, *adapting* another from somewhere else. However, while it is not usually possible to identify the many sources of his inspiration individually, his magnum opus, All Saints', Horton, of 1860-63, very clearly takes one particular building as its prototype and consequently provides a very direct and conspicuous illustration of originality as the 'organic development of that which is already known' since both All Saints' itself, and the edifice it so obviously references, were, and arguably still are, the most prominent churches in their respective towns. The latter, unsurprisingly enough, was Scott's All Souls', Haley Hill, Halifax (or, more strictly, Northowram), erected 1856-59, for this was a building even an architect as complaisant as Healey would have had every reason to wish to trump, after having briefly had the prospect of designing it dangled before him by Edward Akroyd, only for it almost immediately to be snatched away. However, although the money available for All Saints' was unlike anything Healey had had to spend hitherto, it was still little more than half what Akroyd had lavished on All Souls', and in drawing up his designs, Healey faced the necessity of maximising the opportunities presented by the site and marshalling the funds that *were* available if he was to have any prospect of showing he could do just as well as this unwanted metropolitan interloper.

(i) The comparative advantages and use of the building sites.

Scott's All Souls' church stands a little shy of the road on a rather cramped site, halfway up a steep hill (fig. 11b(i)), but although it drops from view barely fifty paces *up* the road to the northwest, next to Akroyd's square house of Bankfield,²⁵ it stands out boldly on the skyline to the south, three quarters of a mile away, alongside the remains of Square Congregational Church, with which it is contemporary.²⁶ This was the natural advantage of the building site Akroyd provided, and arguably Scott did not actually make the best use of it by hiding his tower behind the nave in the western bay of the N. aisle, leaving only the highly ornamented bell-stage, corner pinnacles and surmounting spire to project dramatically above the nave roof, although Scott may also have reasoned that to raise the tower in the west bay of the S. aisle, on the *road side* of the building, would have made his already short nave appear even shorter.

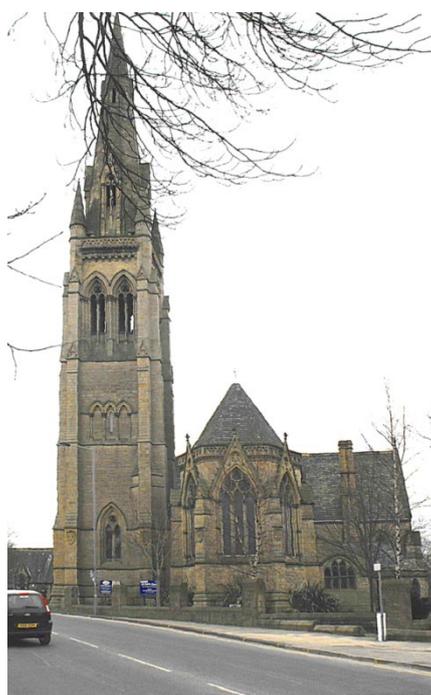
²⁵ Now a museum.

²⁶ 1855-57, by Joseph James. The tower and spire rising to 235', have now been incorporated into the library and arts complex linked to the newly restored Piece Hall.

Be that as it may however, Healey had no comparable advantage of elevation to exploit on the site Sharp Powell made available for All Saints', directly opposite his



Figs. 11b(i) - 11b(ii), All Souls', Haley Hill, by Sir George Gilbert Scott:
(i) *left*, exterior view from the southwest; and (ii) *right*, interior view looking east.



Figs. 11c(i) - 11c(ii), All Saints', Horton:

(i) *left*, exterior view from the east; and (ii) *right*, interior view looking east.



house of Horton Old Hall,²⁷ yet the site had its positive aspects, for with two roads passing southwest and northwest (the latter admittedly, little more than a lane) and

meeting directly to the east, the plot presented a remarkably open aspect from this direction, of which Healey took full advantage by massing his architectural resources here and positioning the building forward to command the intersection (fig. 11c(i)). Thus in drawing up his plan for the church, Healey's first and most critical decision was to place his tower on the south side of the chancel, in the diametrically opposite corner of the building to that at All Souls', immediately confronting travellers along the main road (fig. 11c(iii)), and his next was to make a great feature of the sanctuary by terminating the chancel in a tall semi-hexagonal apse,²⁸ distinguished by steeply-pointed gables rising over the tall three-light windows to break through the parapet above (fig. 11c(iv)). Together, these features must have absorbed a large portion of the building funds but Healey spent Sharp Powell's money where he knew it would serve to maximum effect. No important feature at All Saints' was to be allowed to be partially hidden from view.

(ii) The towers.

²⁷ Hulbert, *Sir Francis Sharpe Powell*, p. 33.

²⁸ Healey also mooted the option of ending the chancel in a semi-*octagonal* apse in letters to Sir Francis Sharp Powell dated August 13th and November 3rd 1860, but pointed out that the latter 'would require about a half a yard of additional length to the chancel'. Perhaps this was the reason the plan was not adopted although Powell cannot have been predisposed against the idea for in a later letter dated 12th April 1861, Healey wrote, 'I scarcely know how to reply to your question on the length of the chancel. As it cannot be wider, it could not well be very much longer and would certainly be more costly if lengthened.' (B-P papers, 16D86/2985.)

Scott's tower rises above the nave roof at the foot of the bell-stage, at which height also the angle buttresses turn into clasping octagonal buttresses. The bell-openings are composed of two, two-light openings in each wall, set in deeply-recessed arches with two orders of side-shafts with stiff-leaf capitals and central shafts rising to support encircled quatrefoils in the apices. A floral entablature runs round the tower to connect the bell-openings at the springing level and in passing round the buttresses, separates carved niches containing statuettes below from vertical lines of crockets running up the buttress angles above (fig. 11b(i)). The tower itself is crowned by crocketed corner pinnacles and a tall octagonal spire lit by three tiers of hipped lucarnes which rises to 236 feet behind a parapet (as opposed to battlements) decorated with blank quatrefoils. The combined effect is rich but fussy. Inside the tower, the first stage is covered with an octopartite vault with a central hole to admit the passage of bell-ropes to ringers standing on the floor.

Figs. 11c(iii) - 11c(iv), All Saints', Horton:
(i) *left*, the tower and spire from the southwest;
and (ii) *below*, the apse from the east.



Healey delayed the change from angle to clasping octagonal buttresses at Horton (necessary eventually so they might support the pinnacles) until the springing-level of the bell-openings and made a virtue of economic necessity by eschewing sculpture on the buttresses altogether and emphasising instead the tower's clean exterior lines, made all the more striking by being visible from the base up (fig. 11c(i)). He then largely replicated Scott's bell-openings, save only for the minor concession that the central shafts rose to support encircled *trefoils*, and contented himself with a spire rising to 201 feet (which was still sufficient to make it the tallest church in Bradford) lit by *two* tiers of *gabled* lucarnes, set, together with *uncrocketed* corner pinnacles, behind a parapet decorated with blank *trefoils*. He avoided the cost of vaulting the tower within, or, indeed, of providing *any* internal decoration, by the clever expedient of closing it off to double as the vestry.

(iii) *The chancels, naves and aisles.*

Aside from the tower and spire, All Souls' consists of a chancel with a S. chapel, a balancing N. organ chamber and vestry, and an aisled nave with short transepts and a S. porch. The principal entrance to the church is in the nave W. wall, where the doorway is adorned by five orders of side-shafts and a relief carving of Christ in Majesty in the tympanum. Window traceries conform with Ruskin's principles for although no two are alike, all are composed of encircled trefoils, quatrefoils, cinquefoils and sexfoils, without a hint of an ogee curve anywhere, and the clerestory is formed of paired lancets, separated within by pairs of blank arches. Structural polychromy within the building is restricted to black marble side-shafts between these bays (blank or otherwise) and to the side-shafts to the chancel and transept arches.

All Saints' is formed of a chancel with a semi-hexagonal apse as previously described, and an aisled nave with short transepts and tall N. & S. porches covered internally with ribbed tunnel vaults. The S. doorway forms the principal entrance since it fronts the main road, but the N. doorway is probably more impressive as it is approached up a steep flight of steps from the lane descending to the northwest. However the parallels with, and deliberate departures from, All Souls' church are most evident in the fenestration, the former in the fact that windows around the building are varied but all geometric and pre-ogee in design, and the latter, in the very different clerestory comprising arch heads filled alternately with quatrefoils in circles and trilobes in spherical triangles, which a letter to Sir Francis Sharp Powell makes clear

was an intentional repudiation of Scott's design which Healey described as 'an arrangement wanting in variety'.²⁹ Nonetheless, inside the building Healey was content to replicate Scott's work almost exactly by the insertion of dark brown marble shafts between the clerestory bays, and the only reason these are missing today is because a century later, one of them cracked, whereupon all were removed as a safety precaution.³⁰

(iv) *The internal proportions.*

All the above goes to show, therefore, how close an attention Healey paid to Scott's All Souls', both in accepting (indeed, copying) the things he liked and in rejecting those he did not. Yet the feature that probably provides the best evidence of Healey's very conscious and openly confessed intention of examining and *improving* upon Scott's work, is found in the relative proportions of the two buildings, as seen from within. All Souls' chancel comprises three bays, and the nave, a further five, but the building appears shorter than this suggests, due partly to the church's width but chiefly to the fact that the aisle arcades stop short of the transepts (where their easternmost bays would otherwise have run) and the westernmost bay of the N. aisle, as previously described, is occupied by the tower, reducing the S. arcade to four bays and the N. arcade to a mere three.

All Saints' chancel also comprises three bays, but the nave, in contradistinction, adds another *six*, and although here too the aisle arcades stop short of the transepts, since the tower rises beside the chancel, both arcades are composed of five (fig. 11c(ii)), providing a more 'minster-like' impression, which presumably accorded with Sharp Powell's taste since, as quoted in chapter nine, Sir Francis 'was always glad to return to the dignified Cathedral services at All Saints' after the many changes and chances which befell him... [in] London'. This was no mere accident for a letter from Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, written in June 1860, discusses first the church at Heywood, Rochdale (by Joseph Clarke, 1860-62), and then continues, 'The nave is about the same size as in Mr. Akroyd's church with considerably wider aisles and like it, appears to me rather short for its length (sic). Apparently it is five bays long... ' ³¹

²⁹ Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, 27th June 1860, B-P papers, 16D86/2957.

³⁰ I am indebted to Mr. Harry Atkinson of Little Horton Hall for this information on stonework.

³¹ Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, 27th June 1860, B-P papers, 16D86/2957.

(v) *The precise form of the aisle arcades, chancel arches and transept arches.*

Finally, as for the precise form of these arcades, those at All Souls' consist of compound piers formed of four shafts separated by spurs, and arches of two orders, bearing a roll and a keeled roll with a complex series of narrower mouldings between. The large capitals are deeply carved with stylised leaves, the hood-moulds rise from angel label stops, and the spandrels are decorated with the carvings of bishops in roundels, all in deep relief (fig. 11b(ii)). The chancel arch, also of two orders, displays large carved flowers at intervals, inside a sunk chamfer running beneath the soffit. The arches from the nave to the transepts spring from leaf corbels each supporting a pair of marble corbel shafts running up to capitals.

All Saints' aisle arcades are formed of compound piers composed of four shafts separated by *recesses*, supporting arches of complex profile. Beyond short wall pieces to the east, the arches from the nave to the transepts and the chancel arch, are taller but similar. Although it is not obvious, there are minor constructional similarities with Scott's All Souls' here also, as indicated by another letter to Sir Francis Sharp Powell,³² in which Healey suggests Powell may see from the example at Haley Hill, the effect when 'the extrados of the side arches of the transepts is stepped level to form the beds of the wall stones above'.

In summary, therefore, Thomas Healey was highly conscious of Scott's All Souls' when he designed his chef-d'œuvre and was completely unabashed about using it as a prototype he could adapt and modify in making the best use of the building site and available money at Horton. This was clearly considered at the time to be a perfectly reasonable and sensible way to proceed, and Healey's concern, so far from being *to hide* his references to Scott's work, was, very much to the contrary, to show how he could *improve* on any aspect of his building where he judged Scott to have fallen short!

* * * * *

Conclusion.

Unlike some of their confrères (Butterfield, Street, Bodley, Sedding...) Mallinson and Healey did not have a recognisable style of their own. Nor indeed did Sir George Gilbert Scott, and

³²

Thomas Healey to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, 25th February 1862, B-P papers, 16D86/2959.

that was no handicap to his business career. The concept of originality as the possession by an artist of an identifiable idiom of his or her own was not part of the general understanding of the term for the majority of architectural critics, let alone clients, in the mid-nineteenth century, but rather implied an ability to learn from past efforts, and to make adjustments and improvements to accommodate changed circumstances, a different locality, financial constraints or opportunities, and any other contingencies specific to the job in hand, and these were skills Mallinson and Healey possessed in spades. By this measure, Sir George Gilbert Scott at the national level, and Mallinson and Healey in West Yorkshire, were fully Butterfield's equal when it came to the display of originality in their work, if, indeed, they did not surpass him, for Butterfield's work smacked of novelty for many, as the mockery his 'streaky bacon' style attracted at Keble College was to demonstrate a few years later. Mallinson and Healey in contrast, were amenable, infinitely flexible, and, for their West Yorkshire clients, readily accessible, and everyone who engaged them knew they would get something a little bit different to everyone else. No ingenious or dramatic departures were to be expected admittedly, but nor were any unpleasant surprises (structural failures, cost overruns, inconvenient internal arrangements, etc.). Rather, here was architecture that encapsulated sound judgement, good taste, religious propriety, and fair and honest dealings with clients and contractors alike, and who of any sense could have wanted anything more?

AFTERWORD AND SUMMARY.

Before the conclusions of this thesis are drawn together and summarised, and their wider significance teased out, a few words should be added on the careers of James Mallinson and Healey's sons after Thomas Healey's death in November 1862, and the subsequent break-up of the working relationship between Mallinson, for his part, and Thomas Henry and Francis Healey, on theirs, some six months to a year later.¹ In late 1863 or early 1864, Mallinson formed a new partnership with William Swinden Barber (1832-1908),² which continued in place until, apart from four brief appearances none of which suggested he was actually *building* anything, Mallinson dropped from sight of the local press in 1871, when he was still only 52 or 53 and seems to have entered semi-retirement.³ William Swinden Barber was the son of John Barber (1800-83), cardmaker of Slead Cottage, Southowram, for whom Mallinson and Healey had acted in a minor matter concerning an encroachment upon the highway, in January and February 1854, in the course of which both partners met William Swinden Barber,⁴ although to judge from the day-book entry, it seems likely they were acquainted already. Then or previously, William, who was seeking to establish his own architectural career, may have requested the partners assistance, for Healey wrote a testimonial for him on 12th April that year,⁵ Mallinson invited him to dinner on 20th March 1855,⁶ conceivably to discuss the young man's progress, and in May 1857, Mallinson looked over plans Barber had produced for a new church at 'Bowden'⁷ (Mallinson's spelling), but presumably Bowdon, near Altrincham (then in Cheshire), for entry into a competition that was eventually won

¹ No record of this seems to appear in the local press but the last date when the firm advertised its existence in any capacity - in this case by calling for tenders for the work at Heaton to be submitted to their office, was on 20th August 1863, in *The Bradford Observer*.

² But certainly not 1862 as stated in his Wikipedia article.

³ The four exceptions occurred on:

- (i) 25th August 1877, when Mallinson and Ben W. Jackson jointly were recorded to have certified that the 'Grand Stands' built by Joseph Hanson for the Halifax and Calder Vale Agricultural Association 'are most substantially erected, and in every respect complete for their intended purpose' (*The Halifax Courier*, p. 1);
- (ii) 21st February 1878, when Mallinson, again with Ben Jackson, was reported to have acted as an expert witness in a court case in which the trustees of South Parade Wesleyan Chapel, Halifax, claimed compensation for the cost of removing graves from land acquired (compulsorily purchased?) from them by the Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway Company (*The Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 20th February 1878, p. 3, & 21st February 1878, p. 4);
- (iii) 5th & 8th November, 1881, when Mallinson was named as umpire in a dispute between Halifax Corporation and Mr. William Dalton over the value of a piece of land subject to a compulsory purchase order for road widening (*The Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 5th November 1881, p. 2, & 8th November, p. 3);
- (iv) 6th April 1882, when Chambers & Chambers, solicitors of Brighouse, advertised 38 parcels of land formerly belonging to Charles Pitchforth (deceased), that Mallinson had surveyed and divided into lots (*The Bradford Observer*, 6th April 1882, p. 8).

⁴ D/B, 31st January, 15th, 16th & 18th February,

⁵ D/B, 12th April 1854.

⁶ D/B, 20th March 1855.

⁷ D/B, 1st May 1857.

by Edwards and Owen of Manchester⁸ (although Pevsner claimed the church was designed by W.H. Brakspear).⁹ By the time of Healey's death, therefore, Mallinson had a good general acquaintance with Barber's professional strengths and weaknesses, and the (by now) thirty or thirty-one year old Barber, after the salutatory experience of a short-lived partnership with John Philpot Jones (1857-59) that ended in insolvency or bankruptcy,¹⁰ was doubtless anxious to form another with a more experienced and financially secure man.

Only four churches can be ascribed with confidence to Mallinson and Barber, which seems remarkably few for a period of seven or eight years, especially as this paucity of ecclesiastical work does not appear to have been compensated by any obvious fecundity elsewhere. The four churches were: (i) Holy Trinity, Lee (Lewisham), designed 1863, demolished 1960; (ii) Emmanuel, Shelley, designed 1865, extant; (iii) St. Thomas's, Thurstonland, designed 1870, extant; and (iv) St. Mary's, Halifax (not to be confused with the Roman Catholic church with the same dedication), designed 1871, demolished 2001. Emmanuel church, Shelley, and St. Thomas's, Thurstonland,¹¹ have, respectively, a W. tower topped by a short pyramidal roof and a southwest tower with a broach spire, and are both reasonably conventional, but the dozen or so large churches Barber later designed by himself (excluding restorations and partial rebuilds) have been variously described by Peter Leach as 'austere', 'gaunt' and 'bleak'. The only secular building of significance that can definitely be assigned to Mallinson and Barber is Brighouse's urbane, Italianate Civic Hall (1866),¹² which has segmental-arched openings in the lower storey, surrounded by shallow rustication, and in the upper storey above a plain entablature, round-headed casement windows recessed in encompassing arches with keystones, a connecting string-course at the springing level, and small round windows in the spandrels. It seems likely this was primarily Mallinson's work.

Business in Bradford was carried on meanwhile by Thomas Henry and Francis Healey, who established a moderately prolific practice under the style of T.H. & F. Healey, which survived under that name until 1932. Both brothers died in 1910, aged seventy-one and sixty-nine respectively, but the life of the firm was extended thereafter by Francis H. Healey, son of Thomas

⁸ Harper, *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p. 20.

⁹ Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard, *The Buildings of England - Cheshire* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 110.

¹⁰ https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Swinden_Barber

¹¹ Described in detail at https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_St_Thomas,_Thurstonland

Pevsner and Harman, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding, Sheffield & the South*, p. 147.

Healey's third son, Edward, and Alan James Healey (1877 - 1930), of Landsdowne Place, Bradford,¹³ son of Thomas Healey's fourth son, Alfred. However to stay for a moment with the second generation, Thomas H. Healey was living at 11, Mornington Villas when he died in 1910, and when his will was proved, it was assessed at just £11,780. Francis Healey of Howard Street died four months later, on 5th September.¹⁴ His obituary credited him with the majority of the firm's ecclesiastical work and mentioned, among other buildings, St. Barnabas's, Heaton (1864, discussed above in the main text), St. John's, Great Horton (1871), St. Luke's, Barnsley (1872), St. Michael's, Haworth (1879), St. Stephen's, Steeton (1880), St. Oswald's, Little Horton, and St. Andrew's, Yeadon (both 1890), St. Luke's, Harrogate (1895), Otley Independent Chapel (in Gothic Revival style, 1897), and St. Peter's, Shipley (1909) (all extant). The firm also designed a few churches further afield, of which St. Giles's, Cambridge (1875, extant), is an example. Peter Leach has described St. John's, Great Horton, as a 'big lofty church' with a 'strong clean outline' and a 'very fine tall SE tower and spire... [with] Normandy-type corner pinnacles,¹⁵ and the brothers excelled in their towers and spires especially, with other good examples at Steeton and Harrogate. Visitors who only know the dull and towerless, St. Giles's, Cambridge, in Pugin's 'cheap and nasty' style, should not rush to judgement on that account.

The period 1910-32, though nearest in time, is also the most obscure in the company's history, probably owing to the firm's diminishing significance. The only work that can be ascribed to the cousins Francis H. and Alan James Healey with confidence is the refurbishment of St. John the Baptist's, Clayton, in 1913, mentioned in the preface, and the S. tower at St. John's, Baildon (1928),¹⁶ although, of course, the age of heroic church building was over by this time. Alan James Healey lived at Landsdowne Place, Bradford, and his estate was assessed at his death at £6,724.¹⁷ The firm was still putting work out to tender (for a Sunday school in Bradford) from 'our offices' at 6, Forster Square, in December 1931,¹⁸ although Alan James Healey had actually died the previous year. Perhaps for this reason, Francis H. Healey may have decided to retire at the early age of forty-seven.

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¹³ *The Yorkshire Post*, 20th January 1931, p. 4

¹⁴ *The Bradford Weekly Telegraph*, 9th September 1910, p. 4.

¹⁵ Pevsner and Leach, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford & the North*, p. 194.

¹⁶ Pevsner and Leach, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire West Riding, Leeds, Bradford & the North*, p. 106.

¹⁷ *The Leeds Mercury*, 20th January 1931, p.4.

¹⁸ *The Yorkshire Post*, 7th December 1931, p. 1.

To return to Mallinson and Healey however, this study has sought to show how the route to business success for the Victorian provincial architect in Britain's burgeoning manufacturing towns differed from that of his better-studied, metropolitan confrère, due to the volatile and challenging conditions in which he worked. These differences might variously include: (i) the critical necessity of supplementing the low returns brought in by the usual run of commissions, with a constant and sometimes frenetic stream of 'jobbing work' if he was to earn a middle class income and present himself to the world as a thriving man of business; (ii) the requirement to be acceptable to all creeds and conditions of men within his purview in view of the fact that almost all his work needed to be obtained locally; (iii) the greatly increased importance of long working hours, careful time management, and efficient working procedures, in order to make up for a lack of office clerks he could ill afford to employ and/or apprentices he was unable to attract or to spare the time to train; (iv) the primacy of controlling costs and the need to keep close to original estimates, in return for the reduced cogency of architectural propriety and the latest ecclesiological obsessions among patrons with more practical matters on their minds; and (v), pursuant upon this last, the almost complete lack of interest shown by clients in his 'house style' and the greater weight they gave instead to utility and convenience.

The study of provincial Victorian buildings, therefore, requires a more empirical approach to that which is frequently adopted in the study of the more renowned architecture of the Gothic Revival, which seeks to interpret *structure* as the physical manifestation of *meaning* or, often in reality, to quote William Whyte, to 'project... meaning onto architecture'¹⁹, rather than to consider architecture, more prosaically, as the product of a series of adaptations and compromises ('transpositions' is William Whyte's word) as an original concept is passed from client to architect to mason,²⁰ perhaps via the quarry owner, carpenter, and other assorted craftsmen, subject at each juncture to a daily working life's constraints and compromises. It stands on its head the approach taken by Pevsner, for example, as illustrated in the following passage, written in 1945:

'The Gothic style was not created because somebody invented rib-vaulting... The modern movement did not come into being because steel-frame and reinforced concrete construction had been worked out... They were worked out because a new spirit required them.'²¹

Indeed, even in respect of the most exalted architecture, this is surely palpable nonsense: Palaeolithic man did not live the life of a hunter-gatherer for two million years because a new

¹⁹ William Whyte, 'How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture' (*History and Theory*, 45/2 (May 2006), pp.153-177) p. 165.

²⁰ Whyte, 'How Do Buildings Mean?', pps. 170-171.

²¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth; Penguin, 1945), p. xxi.

Zeitgeist failed to possess him but because until he took the huge technological step forward of learning how to farm, no other possibility existed; Gothic architecture did not evolve from Romanesque architecture in the second half of the twelfth century thanks to the emergence of a more effulgent spirituality but because an appreciation of the structural advantages of the pointed arch in combination with better masonry techniques made possible the narrower piers, soaring arches, larger windows and, as a direct consequence, lighter and more spacious interiors that would eventually characterise it. Likewise, Victorian provincial architecture took the form it did because local clients, often with very worldly concerns, local architects with local knowledge, few or no office staff and severe demands on their time, and individual local contractors, with their unique sets of skills and limitations, negotiated their way around the obstacles and grasped the opportunities that presented themselves, and the buildings that were raised were the net result of these many and varied interactions. Their 'meaning' is the sum of the conditions that brought them into being, and can only be understood if those particulars are known.

It is fortunate for their improved understanding therefore, that although some of these factors varied widely from one provincial architect to another, their commonalities were generally as great and more important. Good judgement was obviously critical to all architects everywhere, but perhaps especially in the major growth areas of regional Britain, whether in anticipating the likely societal changes that lay ahead, in matching a practice's strengths to its physical location and/or chosen areas of specialisation (whose value lay in direct proportion to the difficulties others might be expected to experience in adopting them), in cultivating a body of returning client families, businesses or friendship groups, or in developing working routines that avoided fruitless speculative labour and the premature delving into detail susceptible to last minute changes of mind by the client. However, judgement, is a rather opaque concept, which might better be interpreted as versatility and/or flexibility. Victorian ecclesiastical architecture often appears in the literature as a subject mired in dogma, and its principal protagonists as brilliant but rigid romantics in pursuit of their intense, idiosyncratic personal visions, which is not entirely unjustified since some of the most notable were. Such a man might build a portfolio, spread across the country, based on a loyal body of wealthy clients who admired his work and were supremely untroubled by the opinions of those whose tastes they considered less refined than their own. Thus Butterfield had Beresford Hope in London, Viscount Downe in Rutland and North Yorkshire, and George Frederick Boyle in Perth and on the Isle of Cumbrae, and Street had the Misses Monk in London, Lord Sudeley in Gloucestershire, and Sir Tatton Sykes in the East Riding, among others. This was entirely different to the situation in which the provincial architect found himself as he laboured to sustain a business within a thirty mile radius of his office, for his success was predicated on appealing to every wealthy individual within his 'patch' who might one day experience a sudden desire to build: Ritualists, Evangelicals and the highest and driest of the old 'High and Dry' men; Dissenters and schismatics of long-established or the most recent kind; land-

owners and manufacturers; Tories, Whigs, and Radicals, not excluding those with Chartist sympathies. Every man's money was of equal value, and there was not such a glut of potential patrons within reach to allow anyone to be wilfully neglected. It was natural that the provincial architect would wish to avoid becoming too firmly identified with any one of these particular factions therefore, especially at the further ends of the various spectra, and if as a result every client harboured suspicions that his architect was secretly of his own persuasion, what possible harm was there in that?

A similar distinction might be drawn between the approaches of the metropolitan architect and at least the more successful of his provincial confrères, in matters touching upon the *economics* of building, as seen most clearly in ecclesiastical work, and for very similar reasons. The influence of Ruskin's 'Lamp of Sacrifice' bore heavily on patrons of romantic bent, large fortunes and nothing in particular to spend them on, following the publication of *The Seven Lamps* in 1849. Such people generally sought a London architect when displaying their largesse, whose reputation for extravagance could actually prove a recommendation: as described in chapter ten, the £13,125 Street spent on the towerless, St. Mary's, West Lutton, 'was altogether too much for the architect's good', yet Sir Tatton Sykes, the patron, seemed happy enough for he employed Street on multiple occasions. There is also evidence that the highly talented John Loughborough Pearson, who was more cost-conscious than most men of his class and reputation, suffered periodically, after his initial engagement, from being passed over in favour of a more thrusting and extravagant competitor (again, often Street);²² and as seen in chapter seven, although Sir Francis Sharp Powell remained true to Thomas Healey when he decided to build the minster-like All Saints', Bradford, it was not without several times expressing concern that Healey was not intending to spend enough! Powell was not an industrialist however, and the greater part of his fortune had been inherited.²³ Those who had made their money the hard way, were unselfconscious about being seen to adopt a different attitude, and such men formed the majority of Mallinson and Healey's individual clients. That one was currently in receipt of large annual business profits seemed no good reason to these men to throw money around needlessly. For all that one could tell, the next trade slump might lie just around the corner.

This was one important reason why financial competitiveness was so important for architects seeking to maintain practices wholly within the provinces, even before the construction of buildings dependent on grant awards or a host of small subscribers are brought into consideration.

²² As, for example, at Whitwell-on-the-Hill (North Yorkshire), where the patron was Lady Louisa Lechmere (née Haigh). See Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, pp. 82-83.

²³ Hulbert, Sir Francis Sharp Powell, p. 9.

Few, if any, provincial architects could expect to depend on a loyalty to the singularities of their artistic voice in the manner Butterfield, Burgess or Street, might frequently have done, and besides, since a pronounced idiosyncratic style attracted some clients at the expense of deterring others, it was probably better not to have a distinctive idiom anyway. Convenience and reliability were two of the principal attractions usually sought from a successful provincial architect, but a greater one still might be a reputation for keeping within one's estimates. Unfortunately, attention to economy was, perforce, a two-edged sword, ensuring a practice was always kept busy while simultaneously reducing the income all the hectic activity brought about. Building committees, moreover, were usually still more anxious than private clients to ensure every effort was made to avoid unnecessary expenditure, and since, besides, they often needed help from the architect to raise the capital for a project in the first place, a lack of cost consciousness might undermine a project's feasibility altogether, or - which was worse - at least that particular architect's personal involvement in it.

Of course, this much said, the question nevertheless arises of how widely shared Mallinson and Healey's experience was by other provincial architects in other places and situations, and here this study comes full circle and arrives back at the very same problem outlined in the introduction, namely that the practices about which most is known, such as R.D. Chantrell's practice in Leeds and the firm of Sharp, Paley & Austin in Lancaster, were also the most cosmopolitan. Nor would one necessarily expect to find a very close correlation between Mallinson and Healey's working week on the one hand and that of a very large provincial firm such as that of John Dobson of Newcastle (fl. 1810-62), who was born in North Shields and spent his entire life north of the Tyne apart from one year (1809-1810) spent in London,²⁴ but whose office designed and oversaw the erection of one major building in Newcastle after another - domestic, commercial, industrial, ecclesiastical and civic - until it must have appeared as if half the town had been built by him. If one was to seek a parallel for Dobson's practice elsewhere in Yorkshire, a better example than Mallinson and Healey would probably be the partnership between Lockwood and Mawson (fl. 1849-78), who erected the more important of Bradford's commercial and civic buildings across three decades, at first under Mallinson and Healey's very noses.

This establishes the need to compare Mallinson and Healey's practice with those of more modest size, and preferably also, those specialising in ecclesiastical work around the middle years of the century, but here, of course, it inevitably transpires that the more one seeks to ensure one compares only like with like, the thinner and more tenuous the evidence becomes, like mist in the

²⁴ Thomas Faulkner & Andrew Greg, *John Dobson: Architect of the North East*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, TyneBridge Publishing, 2001, pp. 9-13.

morning sun, and while comparisons can be made here and there with *individual* men on *individual* topics, it proves impossible to line up a series of examples on any one of these sufficient to enable a particular practice or experience of Mallinson and Healey to be declared 'typical' or 'atypical' of provincial architects in general. Thus to confine this discussion just to the money made by these men and to consider three ostensibly similar examples: (i) probate was granted on the estate of John Middleton of Cheltenham, who had designed mainly churches and country houses, to the value of £16,643.8s.5d when he died aged sixty-five in 1885;²⁵ (ii) William Hill of Leeds, who was responsible chiefly for civic buildings and large Nonconformist chapels, left £8,181.5s.4d on his death at sixty-two in 1889;²⁶ and (iii), Owen Browne Carter of Winchester, who designed civic and commercial buildings as well as churches, died a pauper in Salisbury Infirmary, aged fifty-three, in 1859.²⁷ As for Mallinson, although he lived to be sixty-six, as suggested above it seems likely he suffered from poor eye-sight during the last decade of his life, which may have prevented him from working and might have led him to draw on his savings. The evidence from probate is problematic for a number of reasons, not least because architects' family circumstances and starting points in life also varied widely. Christopher Webster considers William Hill's wife probably brought a good inheritance with her, which may have helped Hill to establish himself.²⁸ Subsequently he had four children to support however,²⁹ whereas Mallinson had none. Owen Browne Carter had eight.³⁰

When one seeks instead to ascertain an average *annual income* for an early Victorian architect, one runs into other difficulties, which is not to be unexpected when so much could turn on an individual commission or circumstance. Indeed, the only really firm handhold in this - for it held fast across the decades, irrespective of building type and regardless of the size of the firm - was that it was usual practice for architects to charge a commission of 5% on the buildings they designed if one overlooks the minor additions it might sometimes have been possible to include for 'extras'. Thus a church such as St. John the Baptist, Clayton, which cost £1,903, would have earned a commission of £95.3s.0d, while another such as All Saints, Horton, costing £15,000, would have earned £750, which is nearly eight times as much. Yet it can be safely assumed that All Saints, Horton, did not take eight times as long to design as St. John the Baptist', Clayton, and

²⁵ Torode, John Middleton, *Victorian Provincial Architect*, p. 153.

²⁶ Webster, *The Practice of Architecture 1830-1930*, p. 101.

²⁷ Freeman, *The Art and Architecture of Owen Browne Carter*, p. 23.

²⁸ Webster, *The Practice of Architecture 1830-1930*, p. 81.

²⁹ Webster, *The Practice of Architecture 1830-1930*, p. 101.

³⁰ Freeman, *The Art and Architecture of Owen Browne Carter*, p. 9.

even if it took four times as long, which is doubtful, that would still represents double the rate of return. A commission to erect a building costing £15,000 might come along regularly in a provincial architect's career (if, for example, he was frequently designing civic buildings) or once (as in the case of Mallinson and Healey) or not at all, and on this lottery of life, so much depended. A practice with regular or even periodic £15,000 commissions would probably be able to afford assistants and eschew 'the inspection of sewers and cesspools and wells, and the shoring up of old houses, and the rating of dilapidations, and the ventilation of foul cellars, and the fitting up of stables, and the curing of smoky chimneys' that John Kerr complained about,³¹ whereas a practice whose commissions were generally around the £2,000 mark, could probably do neither, however skilled the architects were themselves. Thus it is that in extrapolating the case of Mallinson and Healey to provincial architects in general, whether in other counties or in the design of other building types or across a somewhat wider time range, it is the *parameters* within which Mallinson and Healey worked and the *constraints* under which they operated that are transferable - not conclusions about the outcome.

A little flesh can be added to these bones by considering briefly the Goddards' family practice in Leicester, which was ostensibly quite different to Mallinson and Healey's practice, in that it ran through six generations and only reached its apogee in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its founder, Joseph Goddard (1751-1839), who established the business in 1815, was a carpenter and builder who only styled himself 'architect' from 1827.³² By that time, he had been joined by his second son, Henry (1792-1868), who later succeeded him. The population of Leicester was 17,005 in 1801 and 60,584 in 1851, which was a 356% increase, comparable on average to the 222% increase in Halifax and the 501% increase in Bradford that took place over the same period (p. 26, above). Yet notwithstanding the demand for new buildings this rise in population must have generated, during the years c.1830-56, 'surveying and valuing work remained important' to Joseph and Henry Goddard,³³ 'the occasional "estate agent's" activities are represented' in the surviving day-books, and 'the majority of the [firm's] work was in or near Leicester'³⁴ with little or none at any significant distance. So far as purely architectural activities were concerned, 'minor works provided a steady income [while] it was the larger ones and those for important clients that established Henry's reputation'.³⁵ 'In these instances Henry was paid the standard 5%

³¹ Robert Kerr, *The Newleafe Discourses*, 1846, quoted previously.

³² Geoff Brandwood & Martin Cherry, *Men of Property: the Goddards and Six Generations of Architecture*, Leicester, Leicester Museums Publications, 1990.

³³ Brandwood and Cherry, *Men of Property*, p. 15.

³⁴ Brandwood and Cherry, *Men of Property*, p. 16.

³⁵ Brandwood and Cherry, *Men of Property*, p. 17.

commission.³⁶ A request from a Mr. Townsend of Stoney Stanton to build a new house and stables in 1840 for £1,945 was 'easily [Henry Goddard's] most expensive commission to date',³⁷ but from about 1846, the building and restoration of churches and parsonages began to feature in his portfolio, which brought the concomitant advantage that the 'work was prestigious and almost guaranteed a mention in the county press.'³⁸ Overall, 'Henry evidently had a busy practice and it involved him in considerable amounts of travel... In the early days, before 1835, it is known that his nephew, [another] Henry, [worked with him] for a time. Later it is clear he had a clerk... The name of one pupil is known - John Henry Chamberlain, who must have been in the office in the early 1850s.'³⁹ However, Henry Goddard, it should be remembered, was otherwise working alone. His practice regressed a little during the late 1850s and only really picked up again, first, after Henry's son, another Joseph, joined the firm in 1862, and especially after William Martin was taken into partnership in 1864.

Henry Goddard, therefore, who was working in the East Midlands, was subject to very similar constraints to Mallinson and Healey, in an area of comparable industrial growth, yet the long-term outcome for the firm was quite different. John Colson of Winchester (1820 - 1895), who built churches in Hampshire between 1848 and 1889 'was a shy and retiring man',⁴⁰ which might have been a handicap from which Healey would also have suffered had he not had Mallinson behind him, although it is doubtful whether Colson had Healey's talent. Colson's 'churches were built for areas with poor labouring populations... Most jobs were put out to tender which favoured the small country builder with low overheads.'⁴¹ He kept costs to a minimum, in his case by using brick and flint, which was the only durable material available locally. Brenda Poole observed that 'many of the roofs were of trussed rafter construction', which although not an adequate description to enable them to be understood properly, shows Colson found it most economic to adhere to a (presumably relatively simple) tried and tested form. This is all very reminiscent of Mallinson and Healey's experience, and perhaps surprisingly so in view of the fact that Colson was based in a small cathedral town in the south. Yet Colson was appointed architect to Winchester Cathedral in 1858 and although his yearly commission on the work this generated seems never to have exceeded the £170 (on top of his £80 annual retainer) he received in 1864, it was hardly surprising

³⁶ Brandwood and Cherry, *Men of Property*, p. 16.

³⁷ Brandwood and Cherry, *Men of Property*, p. 17.

³⁸ Brandwood and Cherry, *Men of Property*, p. 18.

³⁹ Brandwood and Cherry, *Men of Property*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Poole, *John Colson*, p. 17.

⁴¹ Poole, *John Colson*, p. 15.

that in all his church work, he stuck rigidly to the rigid dictates of the Ecclesiologists,⁴² operating, as he did, under the very nose of the Winchester Diocese.

John Middleton relocated to Cheltenham in 1859 but before that he had spent sixteen years running a modest architectural practice in Darlington, County Durham (as it was then), which, one might have expected, would have shown closer parallels with Mallinson and Healey's practice than Colson's, and closer, perhaps, than Henry Goddard's. Yet here one encounters another instance of how individual circumstances could skew a provincial architect's fortune, for Middleton was financially relatively secure from the very outset, partly as a result of the trust fund set up for him by his father (p. 8 above) but also because having completed his apprenticeship with James Piggott Pritchett in York, he very conveniently married Pritchett's daughter with the result that from the moment he set up his own business, the very well-established Pritchett began busily pushing work Middleton's way. It was individual changes and chances like this, therefore, that made it impossible to foretell an individual provincial architect's ultimate prospects of success and likely average income, but for those who found themselves alone and financially naked in the world, the chill winds blowing around them would have felt much the same.

Except in the case of John Middleton, this discussion has had little to say so far about the need for the architect specialising in ecclesiastical work to navigate the troubled waters of 'taste' and 'propriety', and here Mallinson and Healey's example appears to show that this time, provincial architects in Britain's industrialising towns, majoring in ecclesiastical work, had both a shared advantage and a shared disadvantage when compared with their confrères in London and the rural south, where church building, if it was taking place at all at this time, was generally financed by wealthy landowners.⁴³ The shared disadvantage was the greater difficulty of raising capital in more volatile economic conditions. The *shared advantage* arose from the fact that while topical notions about ecclesiology and the 'correct' conditions for the execution of the Christian rubrics were broadly followed and understood by potential clients in the manufacturing towns as elsewhere, they were inevitably swept up in the current of more immediate and pressing concerns, driven by local economics (periods of industrial growth, periods of recession), contemporary social and urban challenges, and the overall effect of the cheek-by-jowl living conditions that were bringing about an unprecedented level of social mixing, not least with Dissent, and, as a result, dampening down some of the long-established rigid denominational and doctrinal prejudices that were still fervent elsewhere, since it is always harder to cling to a narrow set of views when they

⁴² Poole, *John Colson*, p. 17

⁴³ Such as Sir Tatton Sykes and the 3rd Baron Hotham in the East Riding.

constantly rub against those of others. Thus, just like Mallinson and Healey, Thomas James Flockton (1823-9) together with his father and partners, was also able to work for the Nonconformists in his home town of Sheffield without it prejudicing his standing with his patrons in the Church of England,⁴⁴ and the same was true of Henry Bowman (1814-83) and Joseph Stretch Crowther (c.1820-93), partners, in Manchester.⁴⁵ Indeed, there is some suggestion that Thomas Healey, and, by inference, other architects like him, worried more about the latest dictums from the Ecclesiologists than the Church of England clients who engaged them, either because they were better informed or else because they were anxious not to be thought *démodé* by an occasional visiting savant or local connoisseur. This raises the possibility that the spread into these districts, if not of the Gothic Revival itself, at least of those aspects of it associated with Pugin, Ruskin, and the High Victorian style in general, was driven more by the architects than the popular local demand they aimed to meet.

Moreover, the wise early Victorian provincial architect at work in his drawing office in an area where building capital was hard to come by, had another important matter to consider beside all the above, for he would also have been very conscious of the fact that although many of his predecessors had worked hard to minimise expenditure and design in the approved style, and so forth, yet they had squandered their reputations by privileging the superficial appearance of their buildings over the primacy of sound construction. Subtle variations on a few basic but reliable themes, while, perhaps, less exciting, ultimately appeared to better advantage than ingenious but essentially gimcrack attempts to reach for something more ostentatious which the budget did not properly allow. Successful architects recognised this instinctively, but it was a lesson less confident souls never seemed to take to heart. How much better it was to erect a solid church with a plain but noble profile, like Healey's St. Paul's, Manningham, than one of the flimsy-looking cardboard and icing sugar confections so characteristic a decade or two earlier.⁴⁶ Likewise in the use of ornament, a better effect was produced with a few well-crafted items distributed thoughtfully than by a lavish display of cast iron crockets or plaster mouldings, applied grandiloquently and cheaply. The sculpture Scott could introduce at All Souls', Haley Hill, erected for £30,000, was never a realistic option for Healey at All Saints', Little Horton Green, constructed for half that sum. In such a case, a much wiser choice was to make a virtue of necessity by emphasising a building's

⁴⁴ As at the Baptist Church, Cemetery Road (1859), and the former Moorgate Street Unitarian Church, Rothram (1878) (Harman & Pevsner, (*The Buildings of England: Sheffield and the South*, pp.570 & 457).

⁴⁵ As at Stockport Road Unitarian Chapel, Gee Cross, Tameside, and Park Row Unitarian Chapel, Leeds (both of 1848) (James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Churches* (London: Batsford, 1995), p. 117).

⁴⁶ Typical examples include(d) Francis Bedford's St. Mary the Less, Lambent (erected 1830-31, demolished 1965), and William Rogers's St. Michael, Stockwell (also Lambeth) (erected 1840-41, extant).

clean lines or, on other occasions elsewhere, its elemental geometry. Austerity, in the hands of the skilled architect, was the natural cousin of taste.

Finally, and again fortuitously, while 'originality' in new public and religious buildings was considered essential by most discerning clients, at least as a general concept, in neither London nor elsewhere was there any confusion in the Victorian mind between the concept of originality on the one hand, and the condition of uniqueness on the other. Rather, originality as 'an organic development of that which is already known' enabled the intelligent practitioner to reference his building against a familiar, existing example, of similar ambition and preferably recent construction, and gave him the opportunity to show how he could improve upon it in various significant ways. In doing so, half his job was done for him, yet he could still 'tick all the boxes' and enhance his reputation. By adopting this approach, Healey was able to raise his magnum opus and leave as his memorial the finest church in Bradford, not excepting the former parish church of St. Peter (now the cathedral), whose interest only matches or exceeds All Saints' by virtue of its richer furnishings. *This* was the true measure of the provincial architect's potential for success.

That leaves one question begging perhaps, which is why, that being the case, was the provincial architect never really able to sweep everything before him, or, to put it another way, why were so many of the more important early Victorian buildings in the English regions nevertheless designed by architects in London? It was a question some contemporaries also posed from time to time, without apparently showing much willingness to answer it. Clearly there were limits, for some reason or other, to even the most successful provincial architect's reach. '[This] building', wrote the reporter to the *Norfolk Chronicle* on 27th January 1855, in reference to the newly completed Corn Exchange in Diss by George Atkins of that town,

'is not only admirably adapted to its purpose, but extremely beautiful. It is impossible not to be struck not only by the harmony of its proportions, and of its ornamentation; the soft and equally diffused light, the happy blending of sobriety and elegance which characterise the whole. The first thought that presents itself on entering is, why, in our great metropolis, with the purse of the State to recur to, does one architectural monstrosity after another rise up to afflict and disgrace us, when a plain country gentleman [the patron, Mr. Philip Meadows] and an obscure provincial architect can present their public with such a building as this?'

The answer, in fact, was surely mostly to do with kudos. Obscure country gentlemen with no particular desire to burnish their reputations, distracted industrialists beset by many anxious concerns, and hard-pressed churchmen of any denomination or persuasion, were only too pleased to be able to engage a respected local architect with a growing local portfolio of well-

designed and solidly constructed buildings, some of which they passed by every day, but that was rarely sufficient for junior members of the aristocracy, the upper reaches of the squirearchy, or aspiring grandees of almost any kind, who sought to associate their acts of benevolence with a famous name. Success was only achievable within limits in the mid-nineteenth century, even for the most thoughtful and skilled provincial architect. '[M]ost men were lucky if they could gain just... one step in social elevation', wrote W.L. Burn in *The Age of Equipoise*.⁴⁷ The creed of 'getting on', which provided the very bedrock of early Victorian society, only took one so far.

⁴⁷ W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, p. 105.

Appendix 1: Additional Photographs.



Figs. A(i) - A(ii): St. John the Evangelist's, Baildon (1846).



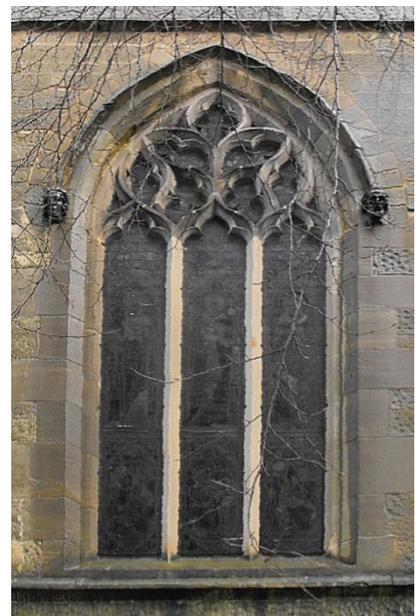
Figs. B(i) - B(ii): St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd (1847).



Figs. C(i) - C(ii): St. Michael & All Angels', Shelf (1848).



Figs. D(i) - D(ii): St. John the Evangelist's, Langcliffe (1851).



Figs. E(i) - E(ii): St. James's, Boroughbridge (1851).



Figs. F(i) - F(ii): St. Alban's, Witherwick (1854).



Figs. G(i) - G(ii): Utley Cemetery Buildings (1856).



Figs. H(i) - H(ii): St. Thomas's, Charlestown, Halifax (1857).



Figs. I(i) - I(ii): St. John's, Clifton (1857).



Figs. J(i) - J(ii): All Saints', Salterhebble (1857).



Figs. K(i) - K(ii): St. Thomas's, Charlestown, Halifax (1857).



Fig. L: All Saints', Ilkley (chancel only) (1860).

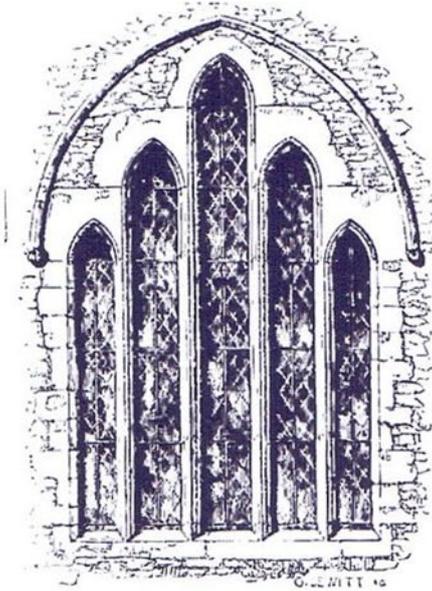


Figs. M(i) - M(ii): Holy Trinity, Hepworth (1862).

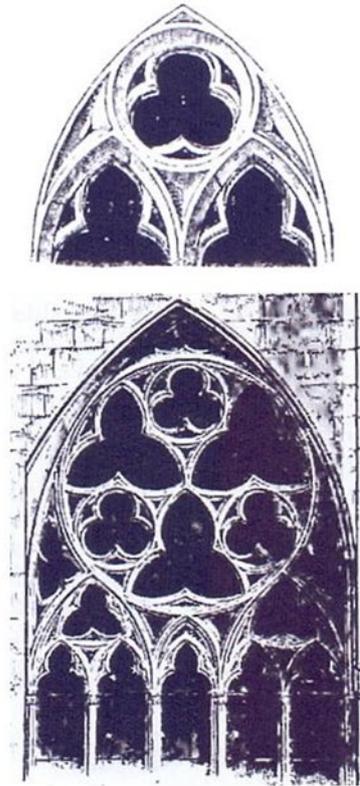


Fig. N: Redundant Scottish Presbyterian Church, Westgate, Bradford (1848).

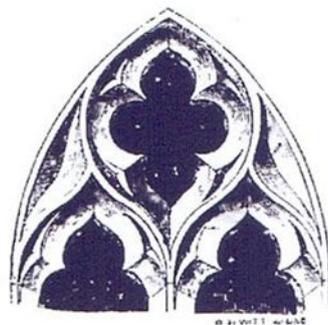
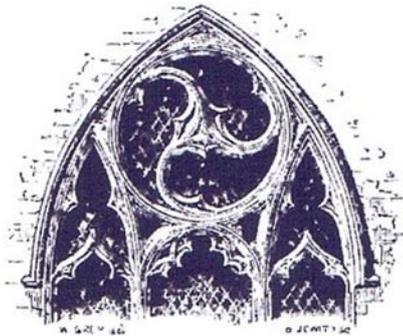
**Appendix 2: Drawings taken from Thomas Rickman's
An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England,
Parker & Company, 1817, pp. 146, 181-2, 185 & 255.**



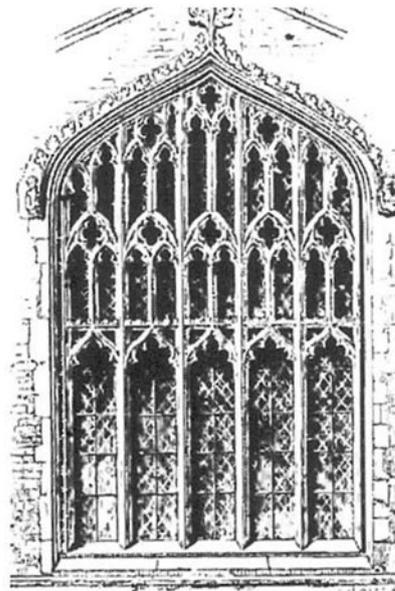
**Oundle, Northamptonshire, c. 1200,
in Early English "Lancet" Style.**



**Little Addington, Northamptonshire (above), and
York chapter house (below), c. 1280, in Early
English/ Decorated transitional "Geometric"
Style.**



**Ampport, Hampshire (above), and Little Addington,
Northamptonshire (below), c. 1320,
in Decorated "Flowing" Style.**



**Rushden, Northamptonshire, c. 1500,
in Perpendicular Style.**

Appendix 3: List of Works by Mallinson and Healey, with approximate dates and costs where known.

Key to sources: BO = *Bradford Observer*; BR = *Bradford Review*; BS = *The Blackburn Standard*;
db = day-book; HG = *Halifax Guardian*; ICBS = Incorporated Church Building Society;
JHT = *Independency at Brighouse*, 1878, by J. Horsfall Turner;
JJ = *Continuation and Additions to the History of Bradford*, 1866, by John James;
JME = James Mallinson's signed estimate; JMF = James Mallinson's final bill; LM = *Leeds Mercury*;
MHP = M.H. Port; MP = *Morning Post*; WC = *Round About Bradford*, 1876, by William Cudworth;
YG = *Yorkshire Gazette*.

- 1842 Queen's Head, Holy Trinity (by James Mallinson alone) (£2,600: HG) (specification dated August 1842).
- 1845 Elland National School (by James Mallinson alone) (plans and elevations dated March & August 1845).
- 1845 Wyke, St. Mary (£2,485 + £265 architect's commission [sic]: ICBS) (invitation for tenders: LI 06/12/45).
- 1845 Llandeilo, St. Teilo (Carmarthenshire) (unsuccessful competition entry, not built) (undated elevation for submission in a competition in 1845).
- 1846 Wyke parsonage (4 bedrooms) (£850 + £55 architects' commission [sic]: estimate countersigned by the Bishop of Ripon) (elevations dated May 1846).
- 1846 Ilkley parsonage (4 bedrooms) (plans and elevations dated September 1846).
- 1846 Leeds Richmond Hill, All Saints (demolished 1980) (£3,166: MHP) (report on the laying of the foundation stone: LI 31/10/46).
- 1846 Manningham, St. Paul (£3,000: BO) (report on the laying of the foundation stone: LI 07/11/46).
- 1846 Manningham, St. Jude's National School (report on the laying of the foundation stone: LI 07/11/46).
- 1847 Mytholmroyd, St. Michael (£2,872.15s.2d: notes in the church) (plans and elevations dated February 1847).
- 1847 Shinfield (Wokingham, formerly Berkshire) parsonage (elevations dated 1847).
- 1848 Danby (North Yorkshire), parsonage, school and teacher's house (notice of intent to build: YG 25/03/48).
- 1848 Baildon, St. John (not the tower) (£1,000: LI) (report on the consecration: LI 01/04/48).
- 1848 Bradford Westgate, Scottish Presbyterian Church (converted to a play-school) (report on the laying of the foundation stone: BO 25/05/48).
- 1849 Bradford Listerhills, St. Andrew (burnt down, 2009) (£2,155: ICBS) (plans and sections dated October 1849)
- 1849 Bradford Bankfoot, St. Matthew (£1,867: MHP) (report on the consecration: BO 13/12/49)
- 1850 Clayton, St. John the Baptist (£1,903: MHP) (report on the laying of the foundation stone: BO 31/05/49).
- 1850 Bradford Bankfoot, Bankfoot National School (plans dated March 1850).
- 1850 Heptonstall, St. Thomas the Apostle (£5,558: ICBS) (report on the laying of the foundation stone: HG 18/05/50).
- 1850 Shelf, St. Michael & All Angels (£1,745: MHP) (report on the consecration: MP 24/06/50).
- 1850 Leeds Quarry Hill, St. Mary (repairs) (£605 + £30 architects' commission: ICBS) (notice of the reopening: LI 14/09/50).
- 1851 South Ossett, Christ Church (£2,120.11s.1½d: vicar's log book, 1884) (report on the

- laying of the foundation stone: LI 11/01/51).*
- 1851 Boroughbridge, St. James (£1,585: ICBS) (*invitation for tenders: YG 01/03/51*).
- 1851 Langcliffe, St. John the Evangelist (*report on the laying of the foundation stone: BO 02/01/51*).
- 1851 Leeds Richmond Hill, All Saints' parsonage (*invitation for tenders: LI 22/03/51*).
- 1851 Leeds Quarry Hill, St. Mary's parsonage (probably 6 bedrooms) (£795.11s.6d: JME) (*invitation for tenders: LI 24/05/51*).
- 1851 Eccleshill parsonage (*invitation for tenders: BO 10/07/51*).
- 1852 Brighouse, shop for Benjamin Freeman (*elevation dated April 1852*).
- 1852 Dale Head (Lancs.), St. James (demolished 1936) (£600:ICBS) (*plan dated April 1852*).
- 1852 Queen's Head, house for William Foster (*sections and elevations dated April 1852*).
- 1852 Bradford Manchester Road, St. James's Schools (*plans and sections dated May 1852*).
- 1852 Bradford Norcroft Road, Richmond Terrace Wesleyan Chapel, school and teacher's house (£2,800 inclusive: BO) (*plans, sections and elevations dated June 1852*).
- 1852 Cundall, St. Mary & All Saints (*plans and elevations dated September 1852*).
- 1852 Bradford, St. Peter (now the cathedral) (unexecuted alterations) (*undated plans, probably of 1852*).
- 1853 Queen's Head Black Dyke Mill, mill shed (*elevations and sections dated February 1853*).
- 1853 Queen's Head workers' cottages (one blocks of five, two blocks of ten and one block of twelve) (*plans, sections and elevations dated February 1853*).
- 1853 Burley-in-Wharfedale parsonage (*invitation for tenders: LI 23/04/53*).
- 1853 Mount Pellon, Christ Church (£2,091.11s.3d + £102.10s.0d *architects' commission: final church accounts*) (*report on the laying of the foundation stone: LI 04/06/53*).

[NOTE: 1854 IS THE FIRST YEAR FOR WHICH THERE IS A SURVIVING DAY-BOOK. MUCH OF THE WORK LISTED HERE WAS CLEARLY ON-GOING FROM PREVIOUS YEARS.]

- 1854 Copley cottages and parsonage (for St. Stephen's Greetland [sic]) (*db 03/01/54*).
- 1854 Lightcliffe parsonage (for the old church) (*db 07/01/54*).
- 1854 Manningham, Crow Trees (alterations) (*db 09/01/54*).
- 1854 Shelf parsonage (5 bedrooms) (*db 09/01/54*).
- 1854 Barkisland, Christ Church (£1,450 + £72.10s.0d *architects' commission: JMF*) (*db 10/01/54*).
- 1854 Witherwick, St. Alban (£1,365: *church guide*) (*db 10/01/54*).
- 1854 Bradford Buttershaw, parsonage (*db 19/01/54*).
- 1854 Wyke National School (*db 21/01/54*).
- 1854 Boroughbridge Schools (*plans and elevations dated January 1854*).
- 1854 Halifax, Zion Independent Chapel (repairs and alterations) (*db 01/02/54*).
- 1854 Bradford Bankfoot, parsonage (probably 5 bedrooms) (*db 20/02/54*).
- 1854 Northowram Haley Hill, new mill shed for Edward Akroyd (*db 04/03/54*).
- 1855 Low Moor, Holy Trinity (Wibsey Chapel) (alterations) (*db 10/03/54*).
- 1854 Brighouse Victoria Mills (additions) (*db 27/03/54*).
- 1854 Halifax Manor Heath, building society lodge (*db 24/04/54*).
- 1854 Halifax Mount Pellon, parsonage (for Christ Church) (probably not built) (*db 30/06/54*).
- 1854 Rastrick, Bridge End Independent Chapel (now converted to private housing (£3,300: JHT) (*invitation for tenders: HC 01/07/54*).
- 1854 Denton parsonage (probably not built) (*db 05/07/54*).
- 1854 Brighouse Gasworks offices (*db 07/07/54*).
- 1854 Thorner, St. Peter (not the tower) (£1,180 + £70 *architects' commission: ICBS*) (*db 12/08/54*).
- 1854 Bradford Undercliffe Cemetery buildings (demolished) (*report on the consecration: LI 26/08/54*).
- 1854 Askwith (or Asquith) parsonage (not built) (*db 11/09/54*).
- 1854 Calverley Infant School and teacher's house (£560: *db*) (*db 02/11/54*).
- 1855 Northowram Haley Hill, All Souls' Cemetery Chapel (demolished) (*report on the proposed works: LI 13/01/55*).

- 1855 Bradford vicarage (*db 12/02/55*).
- 1855 Mappleton, All Saints (not the tower) (formerly St. Nicholas's) (*sections dated February 1855*).
- 1855 Elland, Providence Independent Chapel (minor alterations only) (*db 10/03/55*).
- 1855 Halifax, St. John the Baptist (alterations) (*db 30/05/55*).
- 1855 Halifax Victoria Road, new mill shed at Victoria Mills (*db 10/07/55*).
- 1855 Boroughbridge parsonage (*db 31/07/55*).
- 1855 Bradford Infirmary Street, Baptist Chapel (repairs and alterations) (*db 20/09/55*).
- 1855 Bradford Infirmary Street, Infirmary Street Baptist School (*db 24/09/55*).
- 1855 Low Moor, St. Mark (now converted to private housing) (*report on the laying of the foundation stone: BO 22/11/55*).
- 1856 Low Moor, St. Mark's parsonage (*invitation for tenders: LM 26/01/56*).
- 1856 Keighley, Utley cemetery buildings (*db 11/02/56*).
- 1856 Dewsbury, Springfield Independent Chapel (demolished 1961) (£1,800: *db*) (*invitation for tenders: LM 16/02/56*).
- 1856 East Keswick, St. Mary Magdalene (£978 + £60 *architects' commission: surviving accounts held at Lambeth Palace*) (*elevations dated April 1856*).
- 1856 Weeton National School and teacher's house (£400: *db*) (*report on the opening ceremony: LM 14/06/56*).
- 1856 South Ossett parsonage (6 bedrooms) (*plans and elevations dated July 1856*).
- 1856 South Ossett school and teacher's house (3 bedrooms) (*plans and elevations dated July 1856*).
- 1856 Halifax Wool Pack Yard, coach house & stable for John Simpson (*plans and sections dated 18/08/56*).
- 1856 Halifax Lower Wade Street, Wellington Mills (extensive alterations) (*db 25/08/56*).
- 1856 Bradford Tong Street, Tong Street National School and teacher's house (*db 18/09/56*).
- 1856 Cleckheaton Independent Chapel (not built) (*db 03/11/56*).
- 1856 Bowling Dudley Hill, Dudley Hill School (not built) (*db 14/11/56*).
- 1856 Clayton parsonage (*db 27/11/56*).
- 1857 Ovenden Birks Hall, major extension for Mr. and Mrs. Gott (*db 24/02/57*).
- 1857 Halifax Mount Pellon, Mount Pellon National Schools and teacher's house (2 bedrooms) (*plans, sections and elevations dated February 1857*).
- 1857 Bradford Listerhills (North Horton), St. Andrew's National School (£2,600: *BO*) (demolished) (*plans and elevations dated April & May 1857*).
- 1857 Halifax Old Market, alterations to three shops for Peter Thompson (*plans dated 29/05/57*).
- 1857 Clifton, St. John (£1,137 + £63 *architects' commission: ICBS*) (*plans and elevations 15/06/57*).
- 1857 Salterhebble, All Saints (£2,070 + £125 *architects' commission: ICBS*) (*report on the laying of the foundation stone: SJC, 29/08/57*).
- 1857? Bradford Listerhills (North Horton), parsonage (6 bedrooms) (*undated plans. probably of 1857*).
- 1858 Barkisland parsonage (£920: *JME*) (*plans and elevations dated June & September 1858*).
- 1858 Halifax George Street, offices for Edmund Wavell (*plans dated 01/06/58*).
- 1858 Thornhill Lees, Holy Innocents, parsonage, school and school house (£8,000 *inclusive: LI*) (*notice of the completion of the works: LI 26/06/58*).
- 1858 Bugthorpe (or Buckthorpe), St. Andrew (restoration and partial rebuilding) (£560 + £35 *architects' commission: ICBS*) (*notice of impending restoration; YG 26/06/58*).
- 1858 Thornaby-on-Tees, St. Paul (not the tower) (£2,500 + £145 *architects' commission: ICBS*) (*report on the consecration: YG 25/09/58*).
- 1858 Bradford Bolton Lane, Bolton National School and teacher's house (three bedrooms) (£1,000: *BO*) (*plans and sections dated September 1858*).
- 1859 Welburn, St. John (£1,600 + £90 *architects' commission: ICBS*) (*invitation for tenders: YG 12/02/59*).
- 1859 Bacup (Lancs.), unspecified cemetery buildings (*notice of the commencement of building: BO 17/02/1859*).

- 1859 Tong, unspecified cemetery buildings (*notice of the commencement of building: BO 17/02/1859*).
- 1859 Lepton National School (£800: JME) (*handwritten draft of the invitation for tenders: 08/04/59*).
- 1859 Bradford Westgate, Christ Church Schools (*plans and elevations dated May 1859*).
- 1859 Lower Dunsforth school and teacher's house (3 bedrooms) (*plans, elevations and sections dated July 1859*).
- 1859 Ilkley, All Saints (chancel only) (*plan dated August 1859*).
- 1859 Grindleton (Lancs.), almshouses (*invitation for tenders: BS 05/10/59*).
- 1859 Clayton National Schools (£1,700: WC) (*report on the opening ceremony: BO 27/10/59*).
- 1860 Bradford Tong Street, St. John (converted to industrial use) (£815 + £50 architects' commission: ICBS) (*report on the consecration: BO 09/02/60*).
- 1860 Bradford Girlington, St. Philip (£1,300 + £70 architects' commission: ICBS) (*report on its consecration: BO 23/02/60*).
- 1860 Bowling, St. Stephen (£2,125 + £120 architects' commission: ICBS) (*report on the laying of the foundation stone: BO 26/04/60*).
- 1860 Halifax Charlestown, St. Thomas (*report on the opening: LI 28/04/60*).
- 1860 Brighouse National Schools (*plans dated June & August 1860*).
- 1860 Bowling Broomfields, St. Luke (demolished) (£2,520 + £135 architects' commission: ICBS) (*invitation for tenders: BO 08/11/60*).
- 1861 Leeds Bramley (failed competition entry for a new church) (*notice of the result of the competition: LI 06/01/61*).
- 1861 Horton, All Saints (£15,000: JJ) (*invitation for tenders: BO 21/02/61*).
- 1861 Bradford Laisterdyke, St. Mary (currently derelict) (£2,600: MC) (*report on the consecration: BO 14/03/61*).
- 1861 Lower Dunsforth, St. Mary's church, (£1,700: trimmed newspaper cutting in the N. Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton) (*report on the consecration: YG 28/09/61*).
- 1862 Hepworth, Holy Trinity (£1,505 + £80 architects' commission: ICBS) (*invitation for tenders: BO 27/03/62*).
- 1862 Northowram Hall (alterations) (*plans and elevations dated May 1862*).
- 1862 Dewsbury, St. Mark (£2,750 + £150 architects' commission: ICBS) (*report on the laying of the foundation stone: BR 15/11/62*).
- 1862 Arthington, St. Peter's church and parsonage (*church converted to Egyptian Coptic use*) (*invitations for tenders: LM 21/11/62*).
- 1863 Bradford Laisterdyke, parsonage (5 bedrooms) (*plans and elevations dated March 1863*).
- 1863 Halifax Charlestown, St. Thomas National Schools (*elevations and sections dated May 1863*).
- 1863 Horton Green School (£1,700: BO) (*notice of the partial opening: BO 28/05/63*).
- 1863 Catwick, St. Michael (James Mallinson with T.H. & F. Healey?) (£890 + £60 architects' commission: JME) (*plans and elevations dated 20/07/63*).
- 1863 Heaton, St. Barnabas (by T.H. & F. Healey before the Mallinson and Healey partnership officially dissolved?) (*invitation for tenders: BO 13/08/63*).
- 1863 Lightcliffe, two semi-detached residences (*invitation for tenders: BR 26/12/63 [sic]*).
- 1864 Westow, St. Mary (not the tower) (*approx. £710 + £40 architects' commission: ICBS*) (*report of the reopening: YG 16/07/64*).
- 1865 Halifax Causeway and John Street, warehouses (by James Mallinson alone) (*plans and sections dated 18/09/65*).
- 1865 Halifax Causeway and Upper Kirkgate Street, school (by James Mallinson alone) (*sections and elevations stamped 19/09/65*).

- 1866 Marble tablet commemorating the Rev. Joshua Fawcett of Low Moor (£120: BO) (*notice of its erection: BO 05/07/66*).
- 1866 Tockwith, Church of the Epiphany (James Mallinson with T.H. & F. Healey?) (£4,000: YG) (*report on the consecration: YG 27/10/66*).

- Undated Halifax, house for Mr. Crossley (*undated plans and elevations*).
- Undated Halifax, unnamed country residence (*unsigned plan in characteristic style*).
- Undated Low Moor (Wibsey) parsonage (probably 6 bedrooms) (*undated signed lithograph*).
- Undated Moor Monkton parsonage (6 bedrooms) (*undated, signed plans and elevations*).
- Undated Queensbury National School (by James Mallinson alone) (*undated plans and elevations*).
- Undated St. John-in-the-Wilderness, school and teacher's house (*undated, signed sketch*).

Appendix 4: Contractors' Travelling Distances to Work (66 men listed).

(Note: where contractors advertised themselves as belonging to more than one trade, they are listed below in the priority order: [1] masons; [2] carpenters and joiners; [3] slaters; [4] plumbers and glaziers; [5] plasterers; [6] painters and decorators; and [7] general builders.)

Name and Address	Place of Work	Direct Distance (miles)	≈ Travelling Distance
(a) Masons = 14			
BENTLEY, JOSHUA Church Street, Rastrick, Brighouse	(1) Perseverance Mill, Brighouse	< 1	1
	(2) Victoria Mill, Hudd's'ld Rd., Brighouse	< 1	1
	(3) Providence Ind. Chapel, Elland	1½	2
DRAKE, JONAS Shay Lane, Ovenden	(1) New Dumb Mill Inn, Hipperholme	2½	3½
	(2) Bradshaw Mill	2	2½
	(3) Bradshaw parsonage	2	2½
ELLIS, DAVID? Mirfield	House of John Fairburn, machine maker of Mirfield	< 1	1
EMPSALL, JONAS New Close, Thornhill Bridge, Brighouse	Brighouse Gas Works	< 1	1
GREAVES, JAMES (marble mason) 9, Horton Street, Halifax	Haley Hill cemetery chapel, Northowram	1	1½
MOULSON, MILES (& owner of Legram Quarry) Great Horton Road, Bradford	Premises of Robinson & S. Thwaites at Thornton Road, Bradford	< ½	½
PRATT, HENRY Oxford Street, Halifax	(1) Haley Hill cem. chapel, Northowram	1	1½
	(2) House, Harrison Rd., Halifax	< 1	1
	(3) Halifax parish church	< 1	1
	(4) St. Paul's, Stockton-on-Tees	55	74
RIDEHAUGH, SIDNEY Greetland, Elland	Hullen Edge Hall, Elland	1	1½
ROBINSON, JAMES or JOHN School Green, Thornton	Low House Brewery, Clayton Heights	1	1½
SIMPSON, GEORGE Manor Place, Dewsbury	(1) Thornhill Lees church, Dewsbury	1	1½
	(2) Thornhill Lees parsonage & school	1	1½
THORNTON, THOMAS Elland	Christ Church, Barkisland	3½	4½
WALSH, JOHN Gibbet Lane, Halifax	Two houses in Wool Pack Yard, Halifax	< 1	1
WALTON, BENJAMIN Warley Town, Halifax	Christ Church, Mount Pellon, Halifax	1	1½
WRIGHT & PEEL Joseph Street, Bradford	St. Andrew's National School, North Horton	1	1½

(Continued.)

(b) Carpenters & Joiners = 14			
GOMERSHALL, JOHN & TOM Kiln Croft, Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury	Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees, Dewsbury	< 1	1
GREENWOOD, RICHARD Bramley Lane, Brighouse	(1) Shelf parsonage house	2	3
	(2) Buttershaw Mills	3	4
	(3) Woodhouse, Rastrick	2½	3½
	(4) St. Mark's parsonage, Low Moor	3½	4½
	(5) Farmhouse in Brighouse	1	1½
HALL, THOMAS (& general builder) 19, Harper Street, Leeds	(1) St. Peter's, Thorer	7	9½
	(2) St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick	8	11
HAWKYARD, HENRY 11, Timber Street, Elland	Hullen Edge Hall, Elland	< 1	1
HEPWORTH, JOSEPH Rastrick, Brighouse	House on Rastrick Common	< 1	1
LAMBERT, JOHN (& timber dealer) 35, James Road, Halifax (bankrupt March 1855)	(1) Trinity Road Baptist Chapel, Halifax	<½	½
	(2) Zion Independent Chapel, Halifax	<½	½
	(3) Bradshaw parsonage	3	4
	(4) Lightcliffe parsonage	3½	4½
	(5) Haley Hill mill engine shed	1	1½
KETTLEWELL, Peter Great Ouseburn	St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth	2	3
NAYLOR, JAMES Mount Pellon, Halifax	(1) Birks Hall, Ovenden	1	1½
	(2) Mount Pellon schools	< 1	1
NEAL, CHARLES 4, Johngate, Bradford	Dr. MacTurk's house, Manningham, Bradford	< 1	1
PICKARD & OGDEN (& builders) Silsbridge Lane, Bradford	Hydropathic Establishment, Otley	6	8
POGSON & TAYLOR Bond Street, Halifax	Christ Church, Barkisland	3	4
SMITH, S. North Parade, Otley	Weston Hall, Weston, near Otley	2	3
SYKES, BENJAMIN Norwood Green, Brighouse	Bonegate Hall, Brighouse	1	1½
WALKER, THOMAS Albion Street, Huddersfield	Bridge End Chapel, Rastrick, Brighouse	3½	4½

(c) Slaters = 4			
BANCROFT, J. & A. (& plasterers) 14, Lister Street, Halifax	(1) Wyke National School	4	5½
	(2) Shelf parsonage	3	4
	(3) Haley Hill cemetery chapel	1	1½
	(4) The Shay, Skircoat, Halifax	1	1½
	(5) Birks Hall, Ovenden	1½	2
	(6) Wellington Mills, Lwr Wade St., Halifax	< 1	1
HILL (THOMAS) & SUTCLIFFE 23, Cheapside, Bradford	(1) Manchester Road Schools, Bradford	< ½	½
	(2) Bankfoot parsonage, Bradford	3	4
	(3) Bonegate Hall, Brighouse	4½	6
SMITHIES, JAMES (& plasterer) 29, Sellar's Fold, Bradford	(1) Holy Trinity, Low Moor, Bradford	2	3
	(2) Low Moor parsonage house	2	3
TAYLOR, SAMUEL Waterhouse Street, Halifax	Bridge End Chapel Rastrick, Brighouse	4	5½

(d) Plumbers & Glaziers = 13			
COCKHILL, EDWARD (& plasterer) Bridge End, Rastrick, Brighouse	(1) Bridge End Chapel, Brighouse	< 1	1
	(2) Bonegate Hall, Brighouse	1	1½
EASTWOOD, WILLIAM Long Causeway, Dewsbury	Thornhill Lees parsonage and school, Dewsbury	1	1½
FIRTH, SAMUEL & JOHN 10, Broad Street, Halifax	(1) Copley parsonage	1½	2
	(2) Christ Church, Mount Pellon	1	1½
	(3) Shelf parsonage	3	4
	(4) Hullen Edge Hall, Elland	3½	4½
	(5) Haley Hill cemetery chapel	½	< 1
	(6) Wellington Mills, Lwr. Wade St., Halifax	½	< 1
	(7) Halifax parish church	½	< 1
HOLROYD (JOHN) & SON 5, Cross Hills, Halifax	Christ Church, Barkisland	4½	6
HORSFALL, JOHN 10, Mount Street, Halifax	Mount Pellon schools	½	< 1
JACKSON, JOHN (plumber only) Boroughbridge	Boroughbridge schools	< 1	1
HORNER, Sarah (& Son?) 17, Witham, Hull	St. Alban's, Withernwick	8	11
KEIGHLEY, JAMES 42, Kirkgate, Bradford	Cemetery buildings, Bradford	< ½	½
LAWSON, WILLIAM CHILD 25, Southgate, Northowram	Bradshaw parsonage	3	4
SCARTH, WILLIAM (plumber only) Chapelton, Pudsey	Tong Street School, Bradford	3½	4½
SCHOFIELD, JOHN 54, Thornton Street, Bradford	(1) South Ossett schools	10	13½
	(2) Low Moor parsonage, Bradford	3	4
	(3) St. John's, Clifton	7	9½
THWAITE, THOMAS & R. 37, Tyrell Street, Bradford	(1) "Crow Trees", Manningham, Bradford	1	1½
	(2) Holy Trinity, Low Moor, Bradford	2½	3½
WALSH, GEORGE 4, Rusell Street, Halifax	(1) Lightcliffe parsonage	3½	5
	(2) All Saints', Salterhebble	1	1½

(e) Plasterers = 8 (includes 2 listed with			
BARBER, WILLIAM Thornhill Briggs, Brighouse	Bridge End Chapel, Rastrick, Brighouse	7	9½
FIRTH, MATTHEW or WILLIAM 6 or 7, Cobden Street, Bradford	(1) St. Peter's vicarage, Bradford	3	4
	(2) Dr. MacTurk's house, Manningham	3	4
GARLICK, EDWARD or WILLIAM 9, Dewsbury Rd. or 3, Bridge St., Leeds	St. Peter's, Thornor	7	9½
LAYCOCK, JAMES (& painter) 23, Burrows Lane, Otley	Dr. Spence's house, Weston, nr. Otley	2	3
WOOD, JOSEPH 72, Vicar Lane, Bradford	Woodhouse, Rastrick	6½	9

(f) Painters & Decorators = 8 (includes 1			
BRIGG (HENRY) & MENSFORTH 13, North Parade, Bradford	Dr. MacTurk's house, Manningham, Bradford	< 1	1
CROSSLEY, JOSEPH Joseph Street, Halifax	Bridge End Chapel, Rastrick, Brighouse	4	5½
HALEY, EDWARD 50, Market Street, Bradford	Holy Trinity Low Moor, Bradford	2½	3½
HEALD, GEORGE F. (decorative Newmarket, Mount Pleasant, Wakefield	(1) St. Andrew's, North Horton	13	17½
	(2) Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees	6	8
RHODES, CHARLES 2, Cheapside, Bradford	Wellington Mills, Lower Wade Street, Halifax	7	9½
WADSWORTH, GEORGE 6, Lister Street, Halifax	Christ Church, Mount Pellon, Halifax	1	1½
WARDLE, WILLIAM 90, English Street, Hull	All Saints' Mappleton	11	15

(g) General Builders = 11 (includes 2			
BEDFORTH, JOSEPH 26, Horton Street, Halifax	(1) Copley parsonage	2	3
	(2) Halifax parish church	< 1	1
	(3) Haley Hill cemetery chapel	1	1½
	(4) Wellington Mills, Lwr. Wade St., Halifax	< 1	1
DUCKWORTH, WILLIAM 222, Bolling Street, Bradford	(1) Haley Hill cemetery chapel	6	8
	(2) Dr. MacTurk's House., Manningham	1½	2½
FREEMAN & GATENBY (W.) Boroughbridge	(1) St. Mary & All Angels', Cundall	4	5½
	(2) Boroughbridge schools	< 1	1
	(3) Boroughbridge parsonage	< 1	1
	(4) St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth	3	4
HEPWORTH (GEORGE) & SON Church Lane, Brighouse	Britannia Mills, Baines Square, Brighouse	< 1	1
NETTLETON, WILLIAM Thorner	St. Peter's, Thorner	< 1	1
PATCHETT (ISAAC) & COMPANY Queen' Head	(1) John Foster's house, Queen's Head	< 1	1
	(2) St. Andrew's, North Horton	3½	4½
	(3) Bradshaw parsonage	1½	3
	(4) St. Mark's, Low Moor, Bradford	3½	4½
	(5) St. Mark's parsonage, Low Moor	3½	4½
	(6) Mount Pellon schools, Halifax	3½	4½
	(7) Clayton schools and teacher's house	1½	2½
STEWART, CH'LES (& timber merchant) 14, Kingston Square, Jarratt Street, Hull	(1) St. Alban's, Withernwick	8	11
	(2) All Saints', Mappleton	11	15
THAKWRAY & HOLLIDAY 49, Crompton Street, Bradford	(1) Manchester Road Schools, Bradford	1½	2½
	(2) Bankfoot parsonage, Bradford	1½	2½
	(3) St. Mark's, Low Moor, Bradford	2	3
	(4) Holy Trinity, Low Moor, Bradford	2	3
	(5) S. Ossett school and teacher's house	10	13½
THORNTON, ISRAEL 85, East Parade, Bradford	(1) Bradford cemetery buildings	1	1½
	(2) St. Andrew's schools, North Horton	2	3
	(3) All Saints', Horton	1	1½

PRIMARY SOURCES & BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.

East Riding Record Office, Beverley:

PE9/15	Churchwardens accounts for St. Michael's, Catwick
PE9/39	Plans for St. Michael's, Catwick
PE27/14-15	Plans for All Saints', Mappleton
PE81/44-45	Churchwardens accounts for St. Alban's, Withernwick

London, Victoria & Albert Museum, RIBA Collection:

PB432/1	Drawings for a font at St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall
PB432/8	Working drawings for St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd
PB432/11	Miscellaneous furniture designs for St. Mark's, Low Moor
PB432/13	Drawings for Ilkley vicarage
PB432/14	Drawings for a parsonage at Wyke
PB432/15	Drawings for a parsonage at Moor Monkton
PB432/16	Drawings for a parsonage at Wibsey
PB432/17	Drawings for a school and a teacher's house at St. John-in-the-Wilderness
PB432/18	Drawings for Elland National Schools
PB432/20	Lithograph for St. Mark's, Dewsbury
PB432/21	Design for a new church at Filey
PB432/22	Lithograph for Christ Church, South Ossett
PB432/23	Lithograph for St. John's, Clifton
PB432/24	Lithograph for St. John the Baptist's, Clayton
PB432/25	Lithograph for St. Andrew's, Listerhills
PB432/30	Design for a 'Scotch' church
PB432/31	Drawings for St. Andrew's, Listerhills
PB432/25	Miscellaneous furniture designs for St. Paul's, Manningham
PB432/26	Drawings for St. John's, Baildon
PB432/27	Drawings St. Peter's, Thorer
PB432/28	Competition design for a new church at Llandeilo

London, Church of England Record Centre:

(a) Bermondsey -

QAB/7/6/E157	Plans & papers for St. Mary's, Wyke
CBC/7/1/6	H.M. C. reports
QAB/7/6/E326a	Plans for St. Mary's, Laisterdyke
BARNES/2/4/7	Birth and death certificates for members of the Healey family

(b) Lambeth Palace Library -

ICBS 2990	Holy Trinity, Queensbury
ICBS 3529	St. Mary's, Wyke
ICBS 3711	St. John the Baptist's, Baildon
ICBS 3818	St. John the Baptist's, Clayton
ICBS 3889	St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd
ICBS 4037	St. Matthew's, Bankfoot
ICBS 4041	St. Michael & All Angels', Shelf
ICBS 4160	All Saints', Richmond Hill
ICBS 4250	Christ Church, South Ossett
ICBS 4311	St. Andrew's, North Horton
ICBS 4355	St. James's, Boroughbridge
ICBS 4409	Christ Church, Barkisland
ICBS 4415	St. James's, Dale Head

ICBS 4507	Christ Church, Mount Pellon
ICBS 4763	St. Alban's, Witherwick
ICBS 4834	St. Peter's, Thorer
ICBS 5025	St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick
ICBS 5078	All Saints', Salterhebble
ICBS 5129	St. John's, Clifton
ICBS 5135	St. Paul's, Thornaby-on-Tees
ICBS 5190	St. Paul's, Heaton Reddish
ICBS 5192	St. Thomas's, Charlestown
ICBS 5317	St Andrew's, Bugthorpe
ICBS 5339	St. John's, Tong
ICBS 5407	St. John's, Welburn
ICBS 5447	St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth
ICBS 5395	St. Philip's, Girlington
ICBS 5445	St. Stephen's, Bowling
ICBS 5564	St. Mary's, Quarry Hill
ICBS 5569	St. Luke's, Broomfields
ICBS 5574	All Saints', Ilkley
ICBS 5600	Holy Trinity, Hepworth
ICBS 5808	St. Mark's, Dewsbury
ICBS 5982	St. Mary's, Westow
ICBS 6120	St. Michael's, Catwick
ICBS 6177	St. John's, Cleckheaton
ICBS 6013	St. Barnabas's, Heaton

North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton:

NG:SB	Plans for Boroughbridge and Lower Dunsforth Schools
PR/BBG	Miscellaneous documents for St. James's, Boroughbridge
PR/CU	Miscellaneous documents for St. Mary & All Angels', Cundall
PR/DNL	Miscellaneous documents for St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth

West Yorkshire Archives:

(a) Bradford -

15D95	Parish records for Holy Trinity, Queensbury
17D97	Account book for T.H. & F. Healey
61D95/13	Drawings and plans for Black Dyke Mills, Horrowins House & Sandbed Cottages, Queensbury, and Northowram Hall, Northowram
BDP19/9	Plans for St. Andrew's parsonage, North Horton
BDP33/15	Specification for Burley parsonage, and rules and instructions for building parsonages from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners
BDP36/10	Accounts for repairs to St. John the Baptist's, Clayton
BDP36/11	Agreement with contractor to build Clayton National School
BDP66/12	Lithograph for Wibsey parsonage
DB1/C3/13	Plan of proposed alterations at Bradford Parish Church
WYB129/4	Plans for St. Matthew's National School, Bankfoot
WYP129/8	Plans for Bolton National School
WYB129/15	Plans for St. John's National School, Bradford
WYB129/27	Plans for Richmond Terrace Wesleyan School, Great Horton
WYB129/39	Plans for St. Andrew's National School, North Horton
WYB129/46	Plans for Queensbury National School

(b) Calderdale (Halifax) -

BJ:15	Plan of site of Barkisland Schools
CMT/HB1:40	Plans of houses, shops and coach house in Woolpack, Halifax
CMT/HB1:721	Plans of Causeway and Upper Kirkgate Schools, Halifax
CMT/HB1:727	Plans for warehouses in Causeway and John Street, Halifax
CMT1/MU:26	Plan of mill shed, three shops and offices in Gaol Lane and George Street, Halifax
HAS/C:17/6	Affidavit signed by Mary Mallinson
MOO: 1-4	Mallinson & Healey day-books, 1854-57

- WYC:1185/7 Plans for Brighouse National School & master's house
 WYC:1185/8 Plans for Mount Pellon National School, Halifax
 WYC:1185/9 Plans and elevations for Elland National Schools
 WYC:1185/16 Plans for St. Thomas's National School, Charlestown, Halifax
- (c) Kirklees (Huddersfield) -**
 DD/WBC/384 Correspondence concerning Lepton National School
 WYK: 1224 Prospectus for proposed church of St. Mark, Dewsbury
 WYK: 1485 Miscellaneous records for Dewsbury Congregational Church
- (d) Leeds (Morley) -**
 RD/AF/2/2a Plans and faculties to rebuild St. James's, Boroughbridge, and St. Mary & All Saints', Cundall
 RDP66/1 Plans and specification for St. Mary's parsonage, Quarry Hill
 WYL555/3 Plans and specification for Barkisland parsonage
 WYL555/5 Papers relating to the proposed vicarage at Boroughbridge
 WYL555/46 Plans and related papers for South Ossett parsonage
 WYL555/49 Plans and specifications for Shelf parsonage
- (e) Wakefield -**
 QE20/1/1846/28 Plans for Sowerby Bridge waterworks
 WDP21/252 Correspondence, plans and estimates etc. for Christ Church, Barkisland
 WDP27/52 Plans and elevations of St. John's, Clifton
 WDP98 Plans and assorted papers for St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd
 WYW1547/12 Plans for South Ossett school and master's house

2. BUILDINGS.

- 1843 Holy Trinity, Queensbury, Bradford (James Mallinson)
 1844 St. Mary's, Wyke, Bradford (James Mallinson)
 1846 St. John the Baptist's, Baildon, Bradford (not the tower) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1846 St. Paul's, Manningham, Bradford (Mallinson & Healey)
 1847 St. John the Baptist's, Clayton, Bradford (Mallinson & Healey)
 1847 St. Michael's, Mytholmroyd, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1848 St. Matthew's, Bankfoot, Bradford (Mallinson & Healey)
 1848 St. Michael & All Angels', Shelf, Bradford (Mallinson & Healey)
 1848 Scottish Presbyterian Church, Westgate, Bradford (the former) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1850 Christ Church, South Ossett, Wakefield (Mallinson & Healey)
 1851 Christ Church, Barkisland, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1851 St. James's, Boroughbridge, North Yorkshire (Mallinson & Healey)
 1851 St. John the Evangelist's, Langcliffe, North Yorkshire (Mallinson & Healey)
 1852 St. Mary & All Saints', Cundall, North Yorkshire (Mallinson & Healey)
 1853 St. Thomas the Apostle's, Heptonstall, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1854 Christ Church, Mount Pellon, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1854 St. Peter's, Thorner, Leeds (partial reconstruction) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1854 St. Alban's, Withernwick, East Riding of Yorkshire (reconstruction) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1855 All Saints', Mappleton, East Riding of Yorkshire (not the tower) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1856 Bridge End Independent Chapel (the former), Brighouse, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1856 St. Mary Magdalene's, East Keswick, Leeds (Mallinson & Healey)
 1857 St. Mark's, Low Moor, Bradford (the former) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1857 St. Thomas's, Claremount, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1857 St. John's, Clifton, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1857 All Saints, Salterhebble, Calderdale (Mallinson & Healey)
 1857 St. Paul's, Thonaby-on-Tees, Stockton-on-Tees (not the tower) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1857 All Souls', Haley Hill, Calderdale (Sir George Gilbert Scott)
 1858 Holy Innocents', Thornhill Lees, Wakefield (Mallinson & Healey)
 1858 Thornhill Lees parsonage (Mallinson & Healey)
 1858 St. Andrew's, Bugthorpe, East Riding of Yorkshire (nave only) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1859 St. Stephen's, Bowling, Bradford (Mallinson & Healey)
 1859 St. Philip's, Girlington, Bradford (Mallinson & Healey)
 1959 St. Mary's, Lower Dunsforth, North Riding (Mallinson & Healey)
 1859 St. John's, Welburn, North Yorkshire (Mallinson & Healey)
 1860 All Saints', Ilkley, Bradford (chancel only) (Mallinson & Healey)
 1862 St Mary's, Westow, North Yorkshire (nave only) (Mallinson & Healey)

- 1862 All Saints', Horton, Bradford (Mallinson & Healey)
 1862 Holy Trinity, Hepworth, Kirklees (Mallinson & Healey)
 1862 St. Mark's, Dewsbury, Wakefield (Mallinson & Healey)
 1862 St. Peter's, Arthington, Leeds (Mallinson & Healey)
 1863 St. Barnabas's, Heaton, Bradford (T.H. & F. Healey with James Mallinson)
 1863 Church of the Epiphany, Tockwith, North Yorkshire (T.H. & F. Healey with James Mallinson)

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The Halifax Guardian and Huddersfield & Bradford Advertiser
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The Leeds Intelligencer
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The Leeds Times
The Morning Post
The Todmorden and District News
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The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer
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