

DESIGNING A COLONIAL CHURCH: CHURCH BUILDING
IN NEW SOUTH WALES 1788-1888.

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Volume 1.

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A major omission is the Sydney Diocesan Library at St Andrew's Cathedral. No records, faculties, etc., are available to students.

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DECLARATION

Some of the material used in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 has been taken from my M.A. thesis for the University of Sydney (1975) on 'The Development of the Gothic Taste in New South Wales up to 1845, as exemplified in the Churches of the Colony'. This was very largely involved with discussing the building history of every Early Gothic Revival Church in the colony, and the material has been very much compressed and re-written for this thesis. Much additional material has also been added to these chapters.

ABSTRACT

DESIGNING A COLONIAL CHURCH: CHURCH BUILDING IN
NEW SOUTH WALES 1788-1888.

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The thesis analyses the stylistic development of church architecture in N.S.W. during its first hundred years and relates local styles to their English sources. It ranges from simple wooden or earth structures to elaborate Gothic Revival cathedrals, and includes all denominational types as well as important individual buildings. About 400 churches are illustrated and discussed in the text.

Stylistic groupings fall into five main periods: early colonial Georgian and Regency types; 'Church Act' buildings of 1836-1846; Early Victorian archeological Gothic churches; various High Victorian styles; and some Late Victorian local and English designs.

The interrelationship of patrons, English sources, and local architects, is a major theme, and the importance of each on the design of a church is distinguished for both individual examples and period styles. There is an appendix giving a preliminary listing of architectural books known to have been in N.S.W. arranged under their owners - architects, patrons and libraries - and a comprehensive bibliography of Australian and English material.

(432 pp., plus notes, appendix and bibliography;
46 figs, 346 plates.)

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- 3 'Plan and Elevation of a Church Built at Parramatta New South Wales during the Government of John Hunter Esq^r 1800' David Collins, Account of the English Colony of New South Wales, London, 1804, Vol. II, plate facing p. 310.
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- 25 'Church at Newcastle', c.1821: ibid.
- 26 Yester, East Lothian 1710: George Hay, The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches 1560-1843, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957, fig. 17.
- 27 'Sketch of Plan and Elevations of the Catholic Chapel at Maitland': progress sketch of 1835 by Mortimer Lewis: DL possibly archival estrays CSIL/3, 'Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary, May 5, 1835. Re-drawn.
- 28 J.J. Therry, 'Rough Outline of intended Cathedral' c.1821: P. O'Farrell (ed.), St Mary's Cathedral Sydney 1821-1971, Sydney 1971, p. 3 (from Therry Papers, St Mary's Cathedral Archives).
- 29 John Lee Archer, 'Design for a Chapel, Van Diemen's Land. Drawn from a Design by the Venerable the Archdeacon. Architect's Office, Hobart Town, July 3rd 1828', PRO CO 280.17.02817, p. 200.

- 30 William Aird (attrib.), Design for a school-church c.1826: NSWSA, Clergy and School Lands 4/347A, February 14, 1831.
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- 36 'The First S. John's (Mudgee). Consecrated 16th May, 1841. Demolished 1860. It was 60 feet by 40, and seated 200': A.G. Powell, 125 Years of Parish Life at S. John the Baptist Mudgee, N.S.W., p. 9.
- 37 'St John's Chapel, Stroud, Port Stephens, NSW': 1832 drawing by Lady Isabella Parry, Parry Papers, Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge (MS 578/5), photo copy ML SSVIB/Pr STE 5.
- 38 The first St Luke's Church of England, Scone (1837-41) by James Hume: from photograph in the vestry of present church.

- 39 'St James' Church in the 'forties of last century' (Morpeth Church designed by Charles Close): A.P. Elkin, The Diocese of Newcastle, Sydney, 1955, p. 107.
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- 44 'The Church in the Town of New Plymouth, New Zealand, from Marshall Hill. Copy Geo. Graham, Clerk of Works, 4 April 1848': PRO W055 854 sheet 906, Report on the Settlement by J.B. Collinson, October 20, 1847. (p. 920: 'The carpenter who built the church is called Robinson'.)

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- 45 St Patrick, Church Hill, Sydney: sketch plan of west and south (liturgical north and west) walls of St Patrick based on measurements taken 4.4.75 - E.J.K. and J.S.K.
- 46 Pencil drawing of St John's Catholic Church, Richmond, Tasmania, by Thomas Chapman, in the Tasmanian Museum: from pamphlet on the church p. 10.

... nor would I advise any man, who is not fond of curious trifles, to take the pains of turning over these leaves. From the antiquary I expect greater thanks; he is more cheaply pleased than a common reader; the one demands to be diverted, at least instructed - the other requires only to be informed.

... Here and there I have tried to enliven the dryness of the subject by inserting facts not totally foreign to it. Yet upon the whole I despair of its affording much entertainment. The public have a title to whatever was designed for them. I offer this to them as a debt - nobody will suspect that I should have chosen such a subject for fame.

(Horace Walpole, Preface to Anecdotes of Painting in England, 1788 edition.)

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the first attempt to examine the ecclesiastical architecture of N.S.W., and to trace its stylistic development from the beginning of settlement in 1788 until the end of the 1880s. It is therefore almost completely dependent on original source material, although published and manuscript secondary material on individual buildings or architects has been drawn on when relevant and reliable. Because it is a comparative study which attempts to place Australian ecclesiastical architecture in its international context as a colonial dependency of Britain, research has been divided between both countries.

The thesis examines standard period and denominational church types as well as more distinguished buildings; it thus ranges from primitive huts of rammed earth or wood to elaborate Gothic Revival cathedrals. Churches have naturally been selected when architecturally important, but also when they are representative of a type or movement, and sometimes just because they are there. Many of them are completely without any architectural merit whatsoever, but hopefully justify their inclusion as social documents illuminating the subject of colonial taste. Their designers, architects, or

builders have been discovered, as well as their sources and intentions.

The transmission of specific English architectural ideas and motifs via patrons, architects and pattern-books forms a major part of the thesis, and has been related to national and international period styles. This has resulted in proving the importance of the amateur in church designs for the colony, and the relatively minor role played by the professional architect before the middle of the nineteenth century. Architectural innovation or stylistic change was invariably due to the importation of English designs, or to the arrival of a competent immigrant architect. Once in Australia architects can be seen to have been unable to adapt to new stylistic fashions. This professional isolation from the main-stream of architectural development resulted in the appearance of local formulae church designs. Their difference from their contemporary English equivalents is also noted.

The aim of the thesis has been to establish what N.S.W. churches looked like, and why they developed in the way they did. On a more general level an attempt has also been made to examine the nature of provincial architecture, from the

viewpoint of this particular English colonial
situation.

Chapter 1 : THE COLONIAL CLASSICAL CHURCH

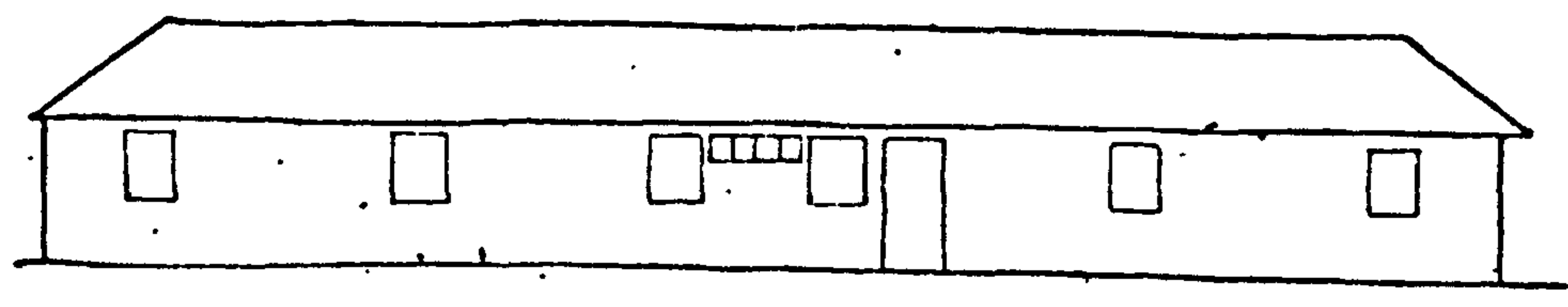
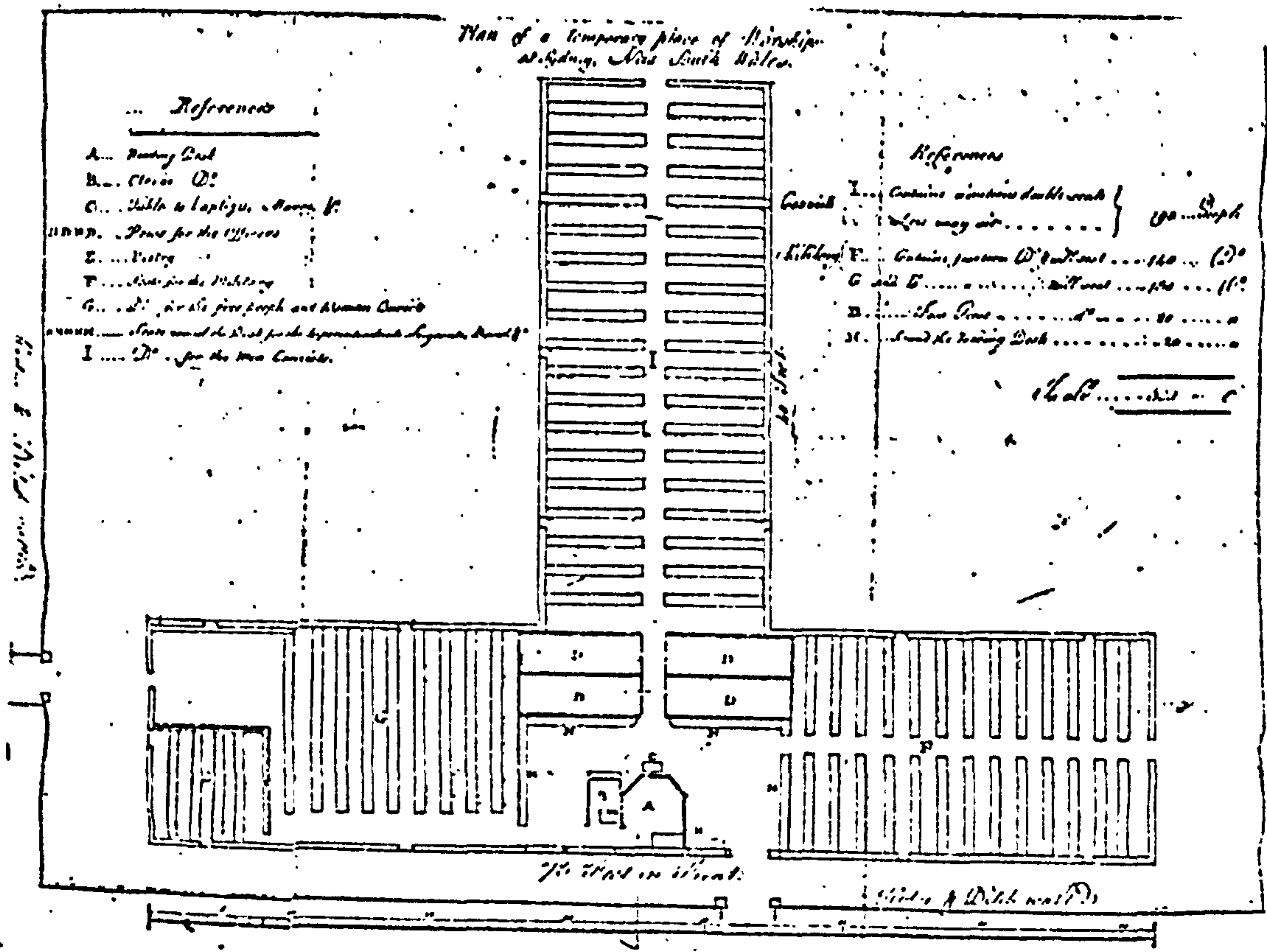
Church building in Australia began unpropitiously in 1793 at both Norfolk Island and New South Wales. On Norfolk Island Lieutenant-Governor King erected temporary wooden barracks 75 ft long by 24 ft wide and 8 ft high, 'intended for a church with some additions when the other barracks can be finished'.¹ This primitive rectangular block was labelled 'church' on a map drawn the following year, so one assumes that by then it was used for that purpose.

In Sydney government funds, labour and inclination were too inadequate to shoulder even this small burden. The Rev. Richard Johnson, who had come out with the First Fleet in 1788, had never been given even a barn:

When I have complained ... I have had many pretty jests administered ... such as - 'we will provide and prepare the lump (a Boat about twice the size of a long Boat) for you, by turning the Bottom upwards, and fixing it upon Posts - or, you shall have a Centry Box to stand in - or - well, never mind Doctor, you will still buffet Satan in the saw pit ...

I resolved that at my own Cost and Labour, I w. set about erecting a temporary Place of worship.²

This was a wattle and daub T-plan building. It cost Johnson £67.12.11½ in cash and negotiable goods, plus a lot of heart-burn and insults.



Elevation of the N.W. Front of a temporary place of Worship at Sydney N.S.W.
Fig. 1. Rev. Richard Johnson's church, Sydney; from the Moore Papers.

The unusual plan of Johnson's 'temporary shelter' was probably due to the maximum size of available roof framing. Basically the church was made up of two normal cottages 16 ft wide and 7 ft high, the 40 ft shorter one intersecting the 73 ft long one. This T-plan had the social advantage of segregating convicts (in the shank, I), military (in the SE

arm of the cross, F), and 'free people and Woman Convicts' (in the NW arm, G). The focal point of the church was the pulpit (A) and Clerk's desk (B); there was no sanctuary, and the communion-table (labelled only 'C ... Table to baptize, Marry, etc.' on the plan) simply stood in front of the pulpit. Ranged round the pulpit were open seats for 'the Superintendants, Sergeants, Band, etc.', and the officers were provided with four large pews behind. Both T-plan and similar arrangements for segregation remained in common use in penal establishments throughout the nineteenth century (cf. Trinity chapel, Hobart (1831-3) by John Lee Archer).

When this pioneer structure was destroyed by arson in 1798 the government finally assumed responsibility for church building on the mainland, and in November 1798 Governor Hunter laid stone foundations for a church at the base of an already existing clock-tower. •So Australia's first permanent ecclesiastical building had the distinction of being built backwards. It started with an eight-day clock donated to the colony in 1797, for which a plain square clock-tower/observatory 50 ft high was immediately built, and then gradually worked back to the church proper.

By 1806 St Phillip's Episcopalian Church (with two
 ls in honour of the first governor) had finally
 evolved. It was a rubble building 97 ft by 32 ft
 with a small semi-circular apse at its north west
 (liturgical east) end, plus the very unecclesiasti-
 cal brick tower at the liturgical west.

*Sydney Church, as the Walls of Stone and
 Brick Tower, were first erected, and fell
 down.*

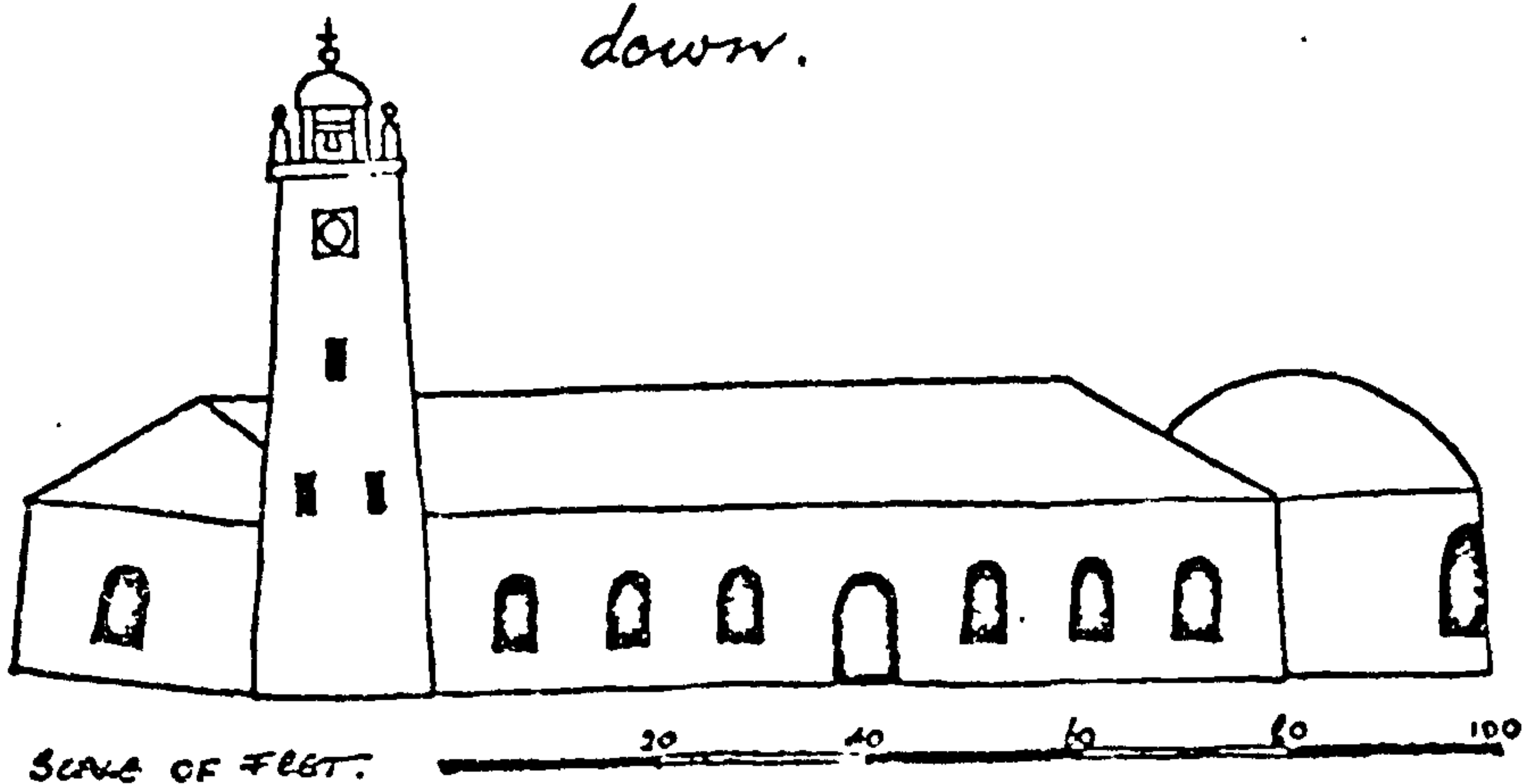


Fig. 2. St Phillip's Sydney, before 1806: from the Banks Papers.

Then in June 1806 the tower collapsed completely,
 and another start had to be made on the liturgical
 west end. This rebuilding resulted in Australia's
 first attempt at self-conscious stylism.

Meanwhile, a brick church had been begun at
 Parramatta in 1798, and by 1803 was complete
 enough to be used for services, although it still
 lacked pews. Parramatta Church was named 'St
 John's' as a tribute to Governor John Hunter, and

it bore a considerable family likeness to its Sydney sister.

PLAN & ELEVATION of a CHURCH.

Built at Parramatta, New South Wales during the Government of John Hunter Esq. 1800.

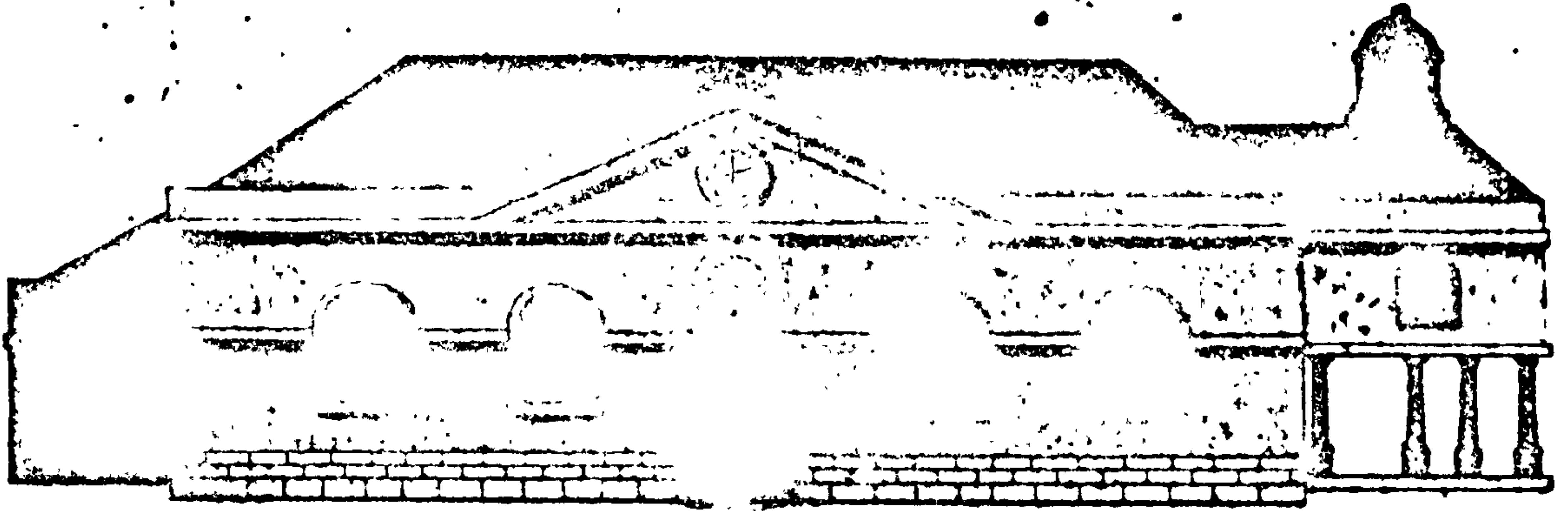
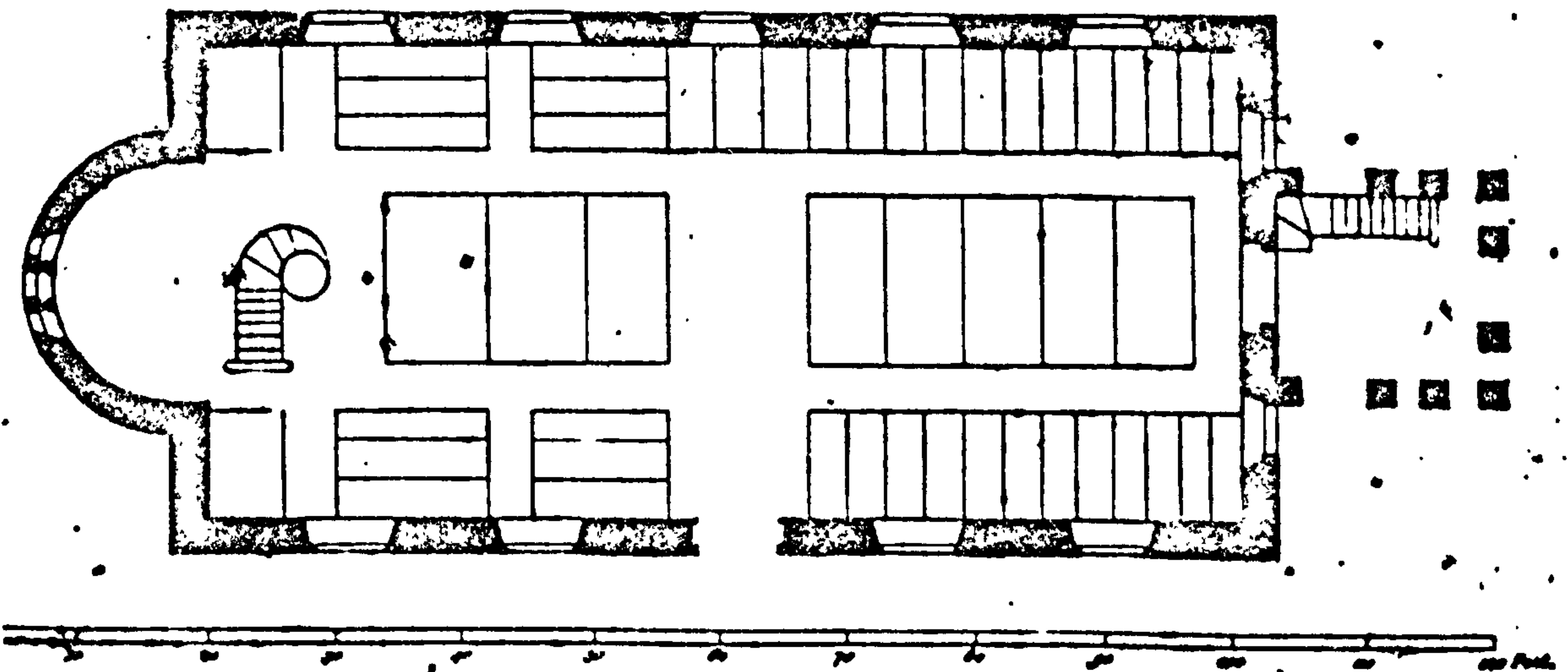


Fig. 3. St John's Parramatta as intended in 1800. from Collins



St John's, Parramatta, was a brick church which, like St Phillip's at Sydney, was not plastered until the 1820s - the beginning of Sydney's Regency period

when plastering became fashionable. Both churches had hipped shingled roofs, small apsidal chancels, and large windows with stone Gibbsian surrounds. (Parramatta's are not shown in these sketches but contemporary paintings confirm that they were the same as Sydney's.) Gibbsian windows were an unusual feature in Sydney, and may well have seemed ecclesiastical at the end of the eighteenth century, when the influence of James Gibbs's Book of Architecture (1727) was so all-pervading. Parramatta Church also had a Venetian window at its east end - another Gibbsian characteristic unique in the colony at this date.

As Parramatta was not tied to an existing clock tower it could have had a truly church-like tower. What it actually got was an extraordinary west room raised on ten stone columns - a composition that finally looked even more bizarre than originally intended, as its crowning Georgian bell-cote of the 'pepper-pot' type never eventuated. Instead another storey was added, making the west end most unstable.

By 1807 Governor Bligh was noting that the 'tower will require to be rebuilt'.³ By 1808 it had disappeared altogether. It may have been a very inept attempt to imitate the Gibbsian portico and

steeple formula so characteristic of the colonial architecture of other countries. (Perhaps the isolated pediment stuck over the middle of the north side of the nave was the one that should have gone on the west portico.) If so, it remained the only Gibbsian church in N.S.W.

*Front View of Parramatta Church
 Not any view inside as the Church not finished
 Work will require to be rebuilt.*

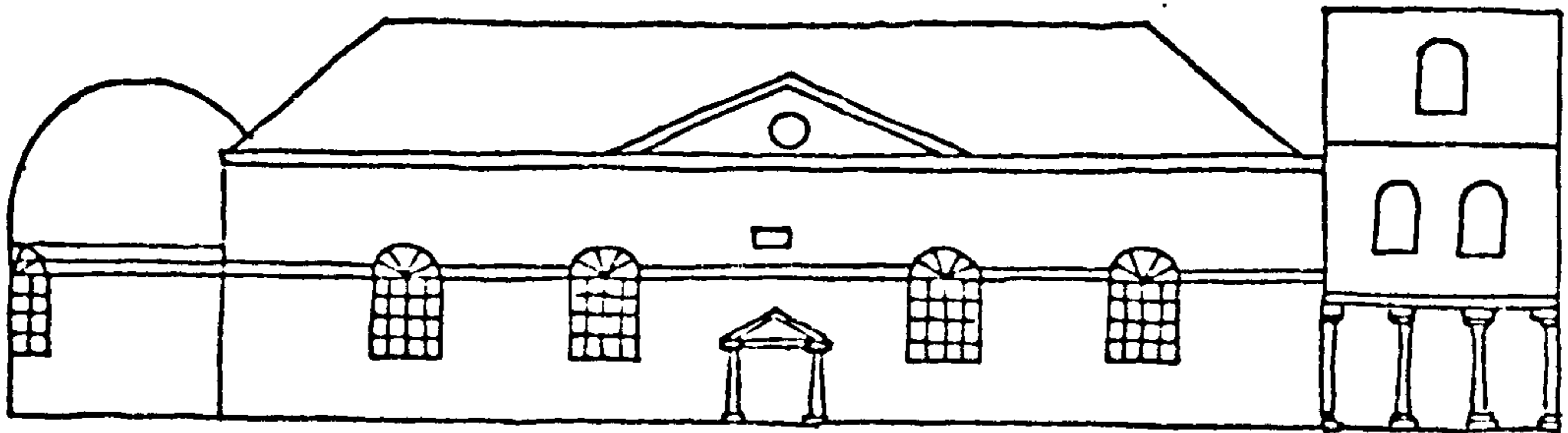


fig. 4. St John's Parramatta in 1806 : from the Banks Papers.

Although crude, unstable, and haphazard in design and execution, a simple English Georgian parish church type had nevertheless been established in the colony by 1806. Features like the apsidal east end, large round-headed windows, central side door, and square west tower became established features of the local ecclesiastical style, although Gibbsian features like the long and short window surrounds, Venetian window, and columnar west end were abandoned. Australia's most notable

'early colonial' church, St Matthew's, Windsor (1819-22), by Francis Greenway, can be interpreted as a professional architect's lesson to these first crude designers, using a similar architectural vocabulary.

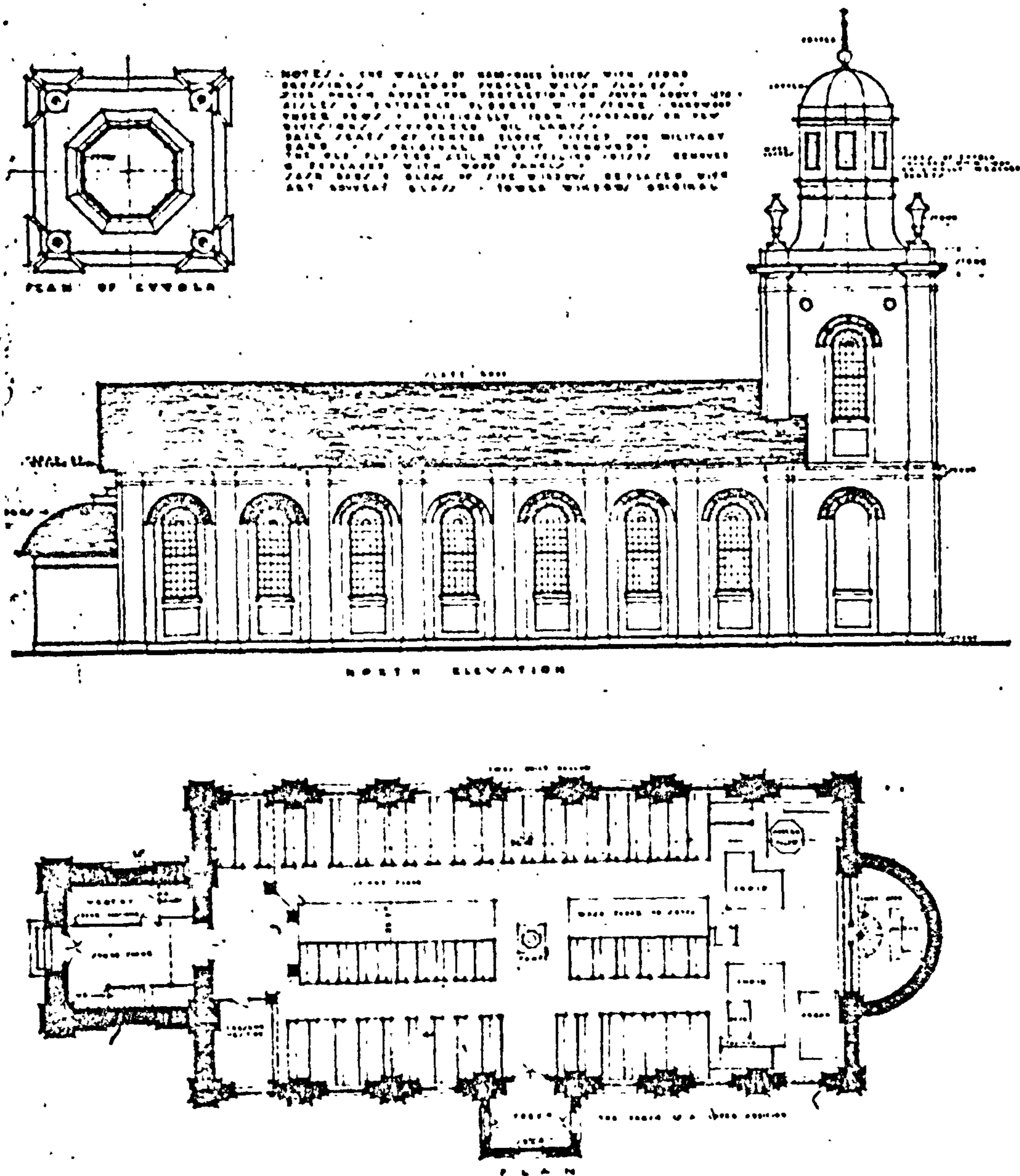


Fig. 5. St. Matthew's Windsor, by Francis Greenway: drawn by W. Hardy Wilson.

Windsor's major architectural elements can almost all be traced back to either Sydney or Parramatta,

with the notable exception of the pilasters - a favourite Greenway motif. St Matthew's Windsor originally had a symmetrical south elevation of windows arranged on either side of a central doorway like Parramatta and the original Sydney (seven bays at Windsor and Sydney, and five at Parramatta)⁴. It had a separately roofed apsidal east end, and a two-tier west end that was even topped with a pepper-pot like Parramatta's original design.⁵ The early ungainly hipped roof has been abandoned; instead Greenway extended the eaves of his gables, combining them with the overhanging cornice to form a triangular pediment.

plate 1

Of course everything has become more refined in Greenway's detailing, proportions and execution. The coarseness of the large windows of the Georgian church (to allow for galleries) is overcome by the use of the Soanean mannerism of over-arching the thickness of half a brick. The wall surface is further modulated by the plain brick pilasters, set back at the corners of nave and tower. The red sandstock brickwork is only relieved by the contrasting stone string courses and the odd and dominant stone urns on the corners of the tower.⁶

Greenway did only one known English design before being transported for forgery in 1813, the Clifton Hotel and Assembly Rooms, Bristol, of 1806-11⁷ (completed by Joseph Kay). Pevsner notes of this that 'in spite of exclusively classical motifs the desire for variety has certainly defeated the rules of classical composition.'⁸



Fig. 6 Clifton Assembly Rooms, Bristol, by Francis Greenway: from Green.

At Clifton variety has been achieved by modulating the long wall area by slight recessions and by variation of scale between the minor elements and the giant Ionic order, heavy attic storey and pediment.

Despite entirely dissimilar motifs Windsor church can perhaps be interpreted as an expression of the same architectural personality. The variety achieved by subtle modulation of the wall surface with pilasters and over-arching has already been noted, and the exaggeration of the standard pediment motif by the projection of cornice and

gables achieves a similar alteration in scale. This deep simple pedimental form ultimately derives from Inigo Jones's St Paul's Covent Garden, London, although it is worth noting that Greenway's master, John Nash, used this sort of pediment on some of his secular buildings, notably at Southborough Place, Surrey, of 1808.⁹

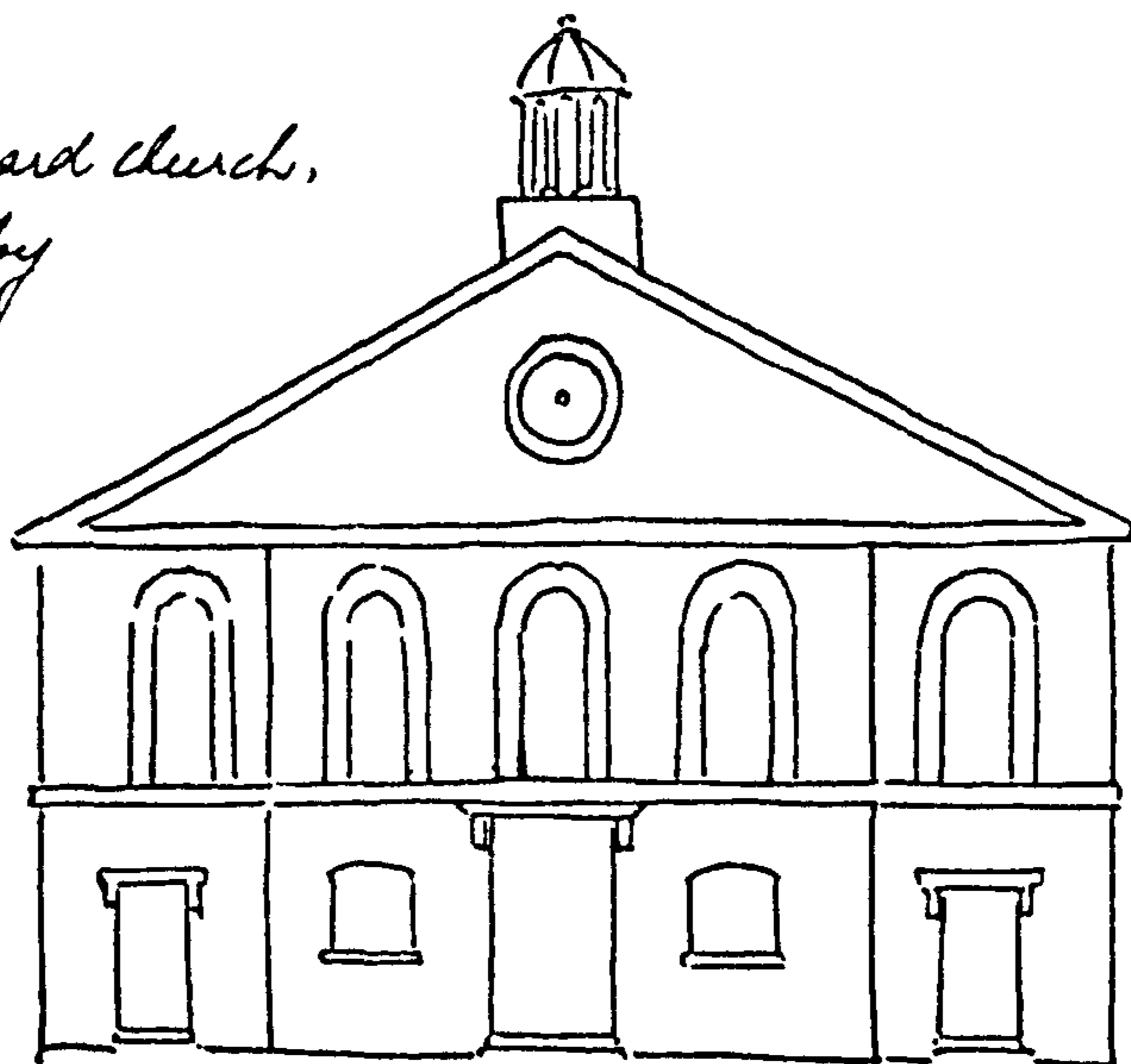
These characteristic features of Greenway's colonial style, wall modulation and deeply framed pediments, can be seen again in his other two Australian churches at Liverpool, and Sydney. Greenway's classical design for the first St Matthew's at Windsor (1817-18) was abandoned and demolished because of poor workmanship by the builder, Henry Kitchen, a pupil of James Wyatt.¹⁰ We do not know what it was to have looked like, although we know it was to have had two tiers of windows, unlike his subsequent church designs.¹¹

A two-storeyed chapel in England which is very similar in style to a Greenway church is that at H M Naval Dockyard, Chatham, Kent, completed in 1808 and probably designed in Nash's office.¹²

The Royal Dockyard Church is of brick with gable ends developed into pediments, a slight breaking forward of the wall, rendered string courses, and

over-arched windows, just like Greenway's colonial churches. It is just possible that Greenway could have had something to do with this building, and even have designed it. But even if it was completely unknown to him its minimal classicism of a contemporary date is adequate refutation of the myth of his unique antipodean style.

*Fig. 7. Royal Dockyard Church,
Chatham, probably by
John Nash's office.*

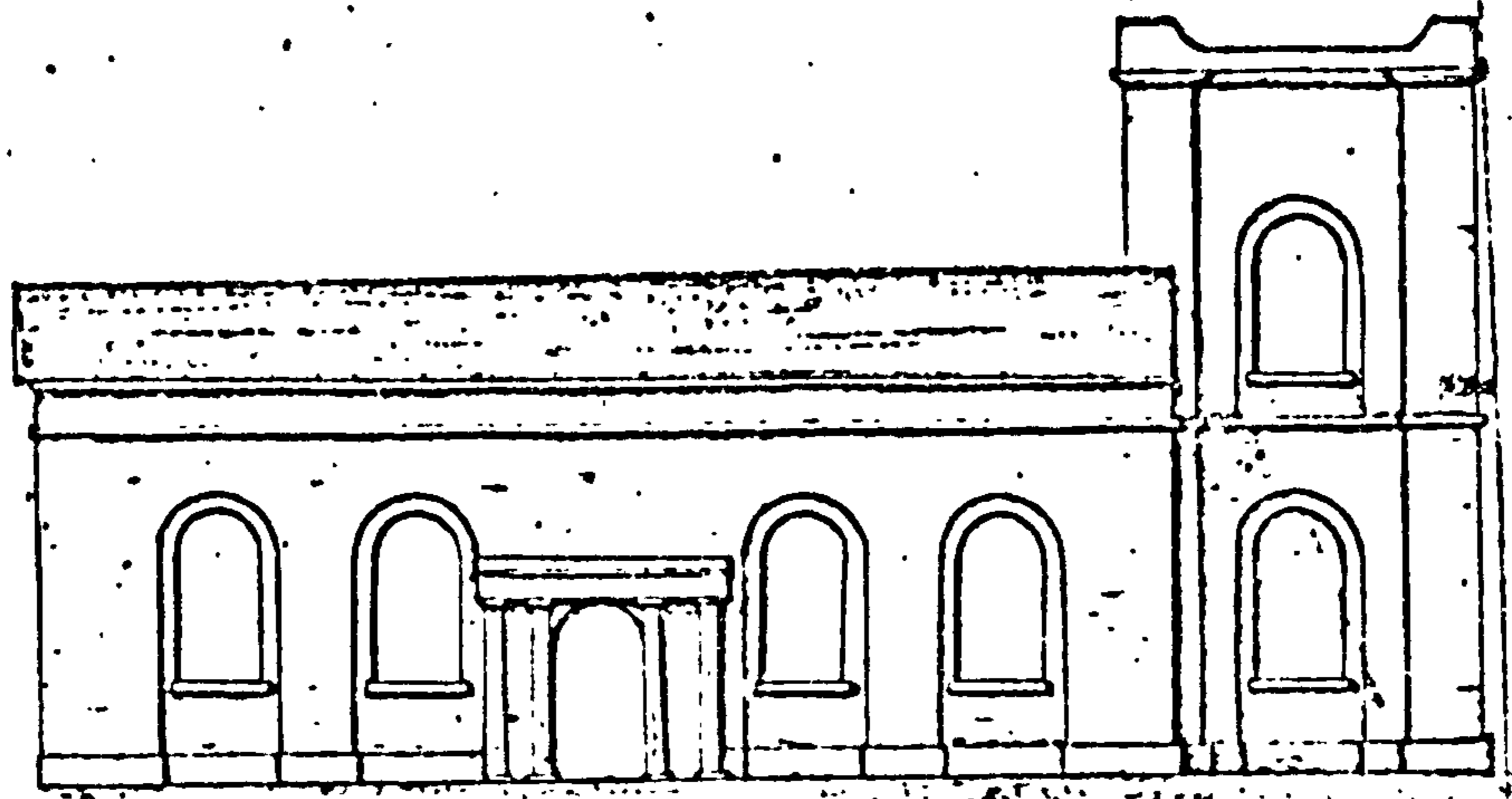


Greenway's first Australian church to be built was St Luke's Liverpool (1817-24), which survives with a remodelled interior, new chancel, and different north porch. It was a simplified and smaller version of what Greenway was finally to provide at Windsor, being only a small rectangular box of five bays with no externally differentiated chancel area. The only ornamental additions to this basic brick box were a two-tiered west tower, a simple central side porch of four Doric columns

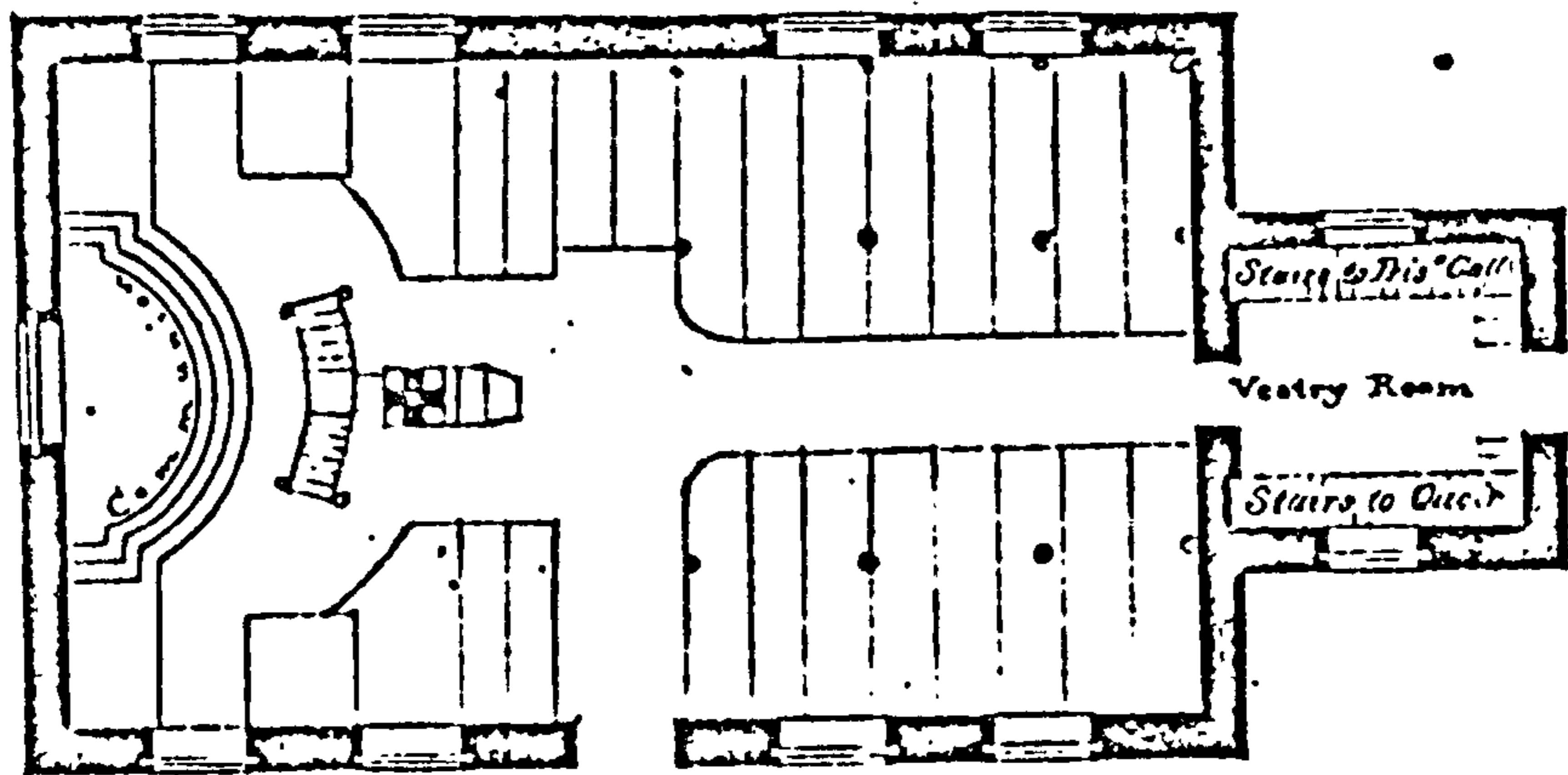
plate 2

set in pairs, and the characteristic brick over-
arching to the windows.¹³

LIVERPOOL CHURCH.



*Fig. 8. St Luke's Liverpool by Francis Greenway: drawn by S. L. Harris
1824.*



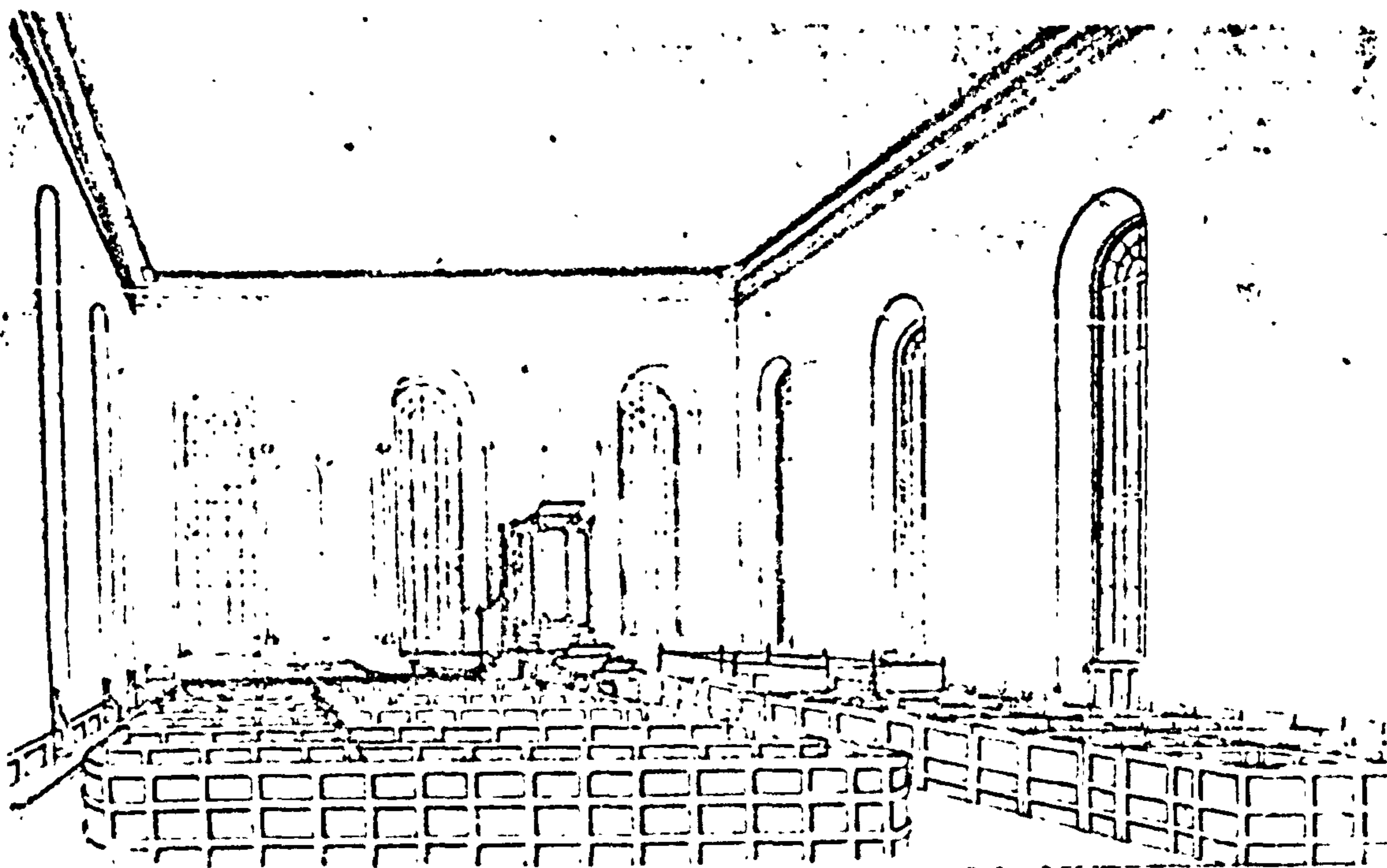
The interior of Liverpool was only notable for
having the first central aisle in New South Wales,
Greenway's other churches all having their pews

arranged in three blocks giving two side passages. It also had galleries on three sides from the first.

Greenway's last church design was for an alternative church for Sydney after Commissioner Bigge had halted Governor Mcquarie's grand design for a Gothic metropolitan church there (see chapter 2). Greenway was forced to build a smaller and simpler church on the foundations of his intended court house. This became St James's (1819-22), another seven-bay brick church with pilasters and over-arched round-headed windows like Windsor. Unlike Windsor it had a large stone-vaulted crypt, and north and south porches of four Roman Doric stone columns and entablature. These porches were originally to have been semi-circular in form but were later directed by Mcquarie to be made 'square',¹⁴ presumably because of the lack of space to the street.

plate 3

The original east end of St James's had no chancel and simply terminated in a straight wall containing three windows. Its external appearance was an almost exact echo of Greenway's Hyde Park barracks (1817-19) which faced it.



Interior of St James Church Sydney 1831 drawn by W^m Bradridge Sen. Archt.

Fig. 9. Interior of St James's Sydney in 1831: drawn by W^m Bradridge Sen.

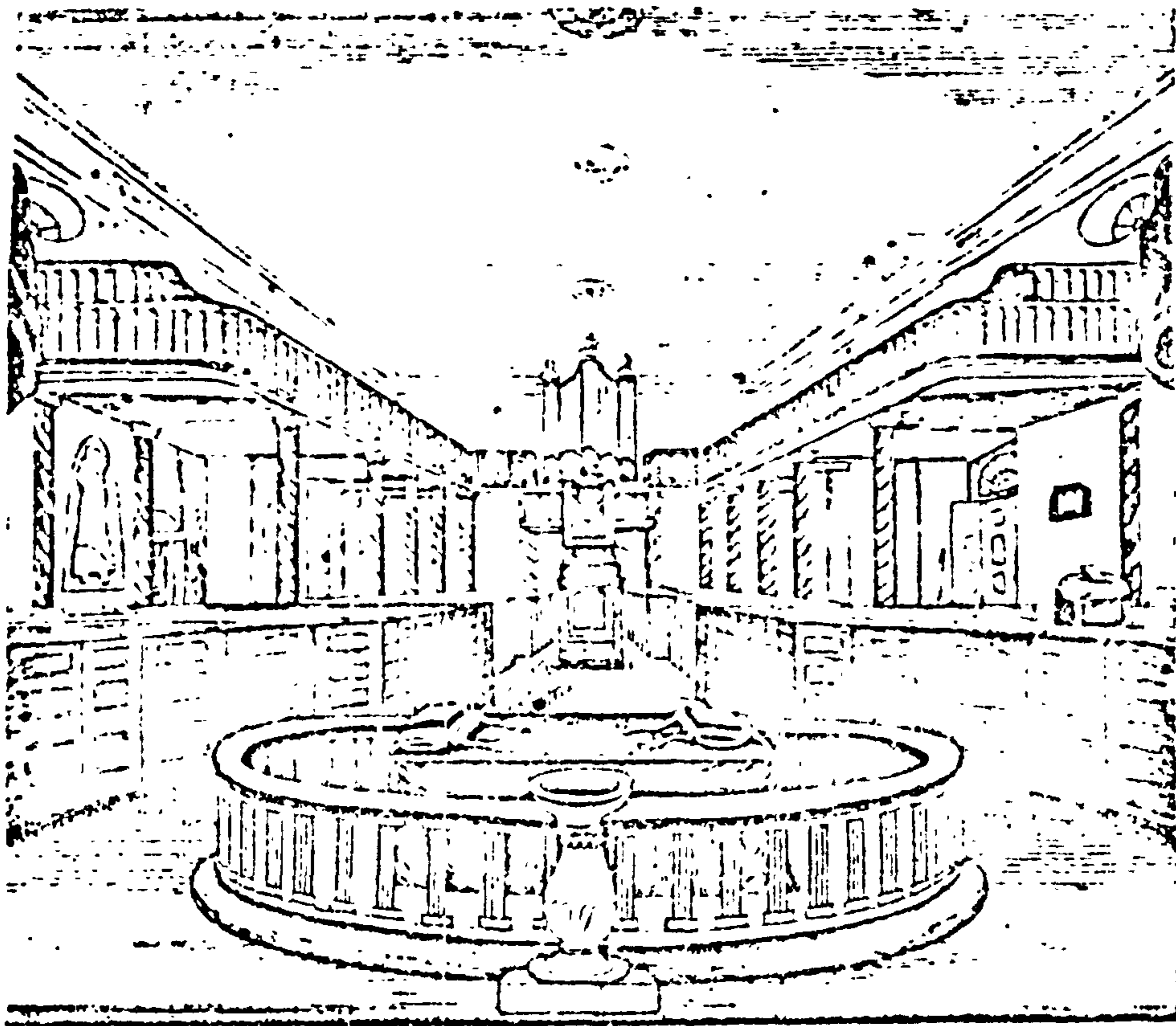
This original east end has now been masked by the large eastern vestries which John Verge added in 1832-33, but it can be read from Greenway's extant pediment. Like the Hyde Park barracks, the two pilasters between the three windows were continued up into the pediment, forming the side parts of its ornamental scroll:

Greenway was as interested in town planning as he was in improving the quality of brickwork in the colony. Having been forced to adopt this site for his new church and subsequent court house - instead of court house and school as he originally intended - he still chose to emphasise the axial

planning of the group as a whole rather than feature any particular building in isolation.

The original lead-covered needle spire of St James's may have not been part of Greenway's design at all, for it was added to the church between 1823 and 1826 when Greenway was out of favour.¹⁵ The fact that it must originally have looked very like Nash's contemporary spire on All Souls', Langham Place, London (1822-24) suggests that it may have been designed by Greenway, although such a well-known building would soon find other imitators. Standish Lawrence Harris, Greenway's successor to the post of colonial architect in 1822, proposed a similar spire for St Luke's, Liverpool¹⁶, which Greenway had apparently intended to finish with a simple cupola.¹⁷ It is quite likely that a similar proposal by Harris for Sydney was more successful, and was actually erected. It was not a very well-built spire (unlike Greenway, but typical of Harris), and John Verge had to add what he called 'braces' to it in 1833.¹⁸ These braces and repairs to the spire were covered in copper, so Sydney had a two-toned spire until 1893 when Varney Parkes added proper broaches, straightened the spire, and covered it all with copper.

The bull's-eye windows over the porches at St James's were added by Mortimer Lewis in 1836, following the Rev. Richard Hill's complaint that the pulpit area was so dark he was 'apprehensive some of his future sermons may be extempore'.¹⁹ This darkness was hardly Greenway's fault for the windows of his church were later painted with 'broad stripes of blue and white colouring'²⁰ meant as an 'imitation of stained glass'.²¹ The windows of St Phillip's were similarly adorned with green and white stripes in the 1820s with the same high-minded intentions and bizarre effect.²²



INTERIOR OF ST JAMES' CHURCH SYDNEY.

Fig. 10. Interior of St James's Sydney, in 1843 as arranged by John Bibb: from NSW Magazine.

The interior of St James's became more and more full of pews over the years, until it was entirely rebuilt at the end of the nineteenth century.

All Greenway's symmetrical single-storeyed brick churches had large over-arched round-headed windows, a gabled roof terminating in a deep pediment, and a central west tower intended to be capped with a cupola - or perhaps a spire. The only unusual feature at Sydney, in terms of contemporary English provincial Georgian churches, was the west tower. Most late Georgian churches in England had a tetrastyle portico as well if they could afford a tower, and Greek Revival architects increasingly preferred the portico to the tower.

By repudiating the fashion for a columnar west portico Greenway was setting a precedent in New South Wales which resulted in the absence of the common Gibbsian style church from its history. Where churches in India, North America, or even Tasmania have porches and cupolas or steeples of the Gibbsian or Greek Revival type,²³ churches in New South Wales with any architectural pretensions have west towers. Greenway's type blended rapidly into the carpenter's Gothic version of 'Greenway plus pointed windows', as in Port Mcquarie church of 1826-28.

Greenway's west tower theme would appear to have derived from his admiration of Sir Christopher Wren, the only English architect, apart from Chambers, he is known to have mentioned.²⁴ We know that Greenway cited Wren as the model for his unexecuted plan for Sydney, and an appreciation of this seventeenth-century element in Greenway's work also helps to explain certain secular buildings that he designed like Liverpool hospital and the Sydney court house.²⁵

However this square west tower of a reduced Wren type did survive in England throughout the eighteenth century as an occasional rural alternative to the more usual porticoed classical church. This brick church type of west tower and rectangular body containing arched windows is referred to by Marcus Whiffen as 'an unpretentious style which without any intent to defame we may christen Carpenters' classical'.²⁶ In N.S.W. the type may be seen at its crudest in the design for St Phillip's, while Greenway's professionalism made something more of it than even the normal English provincial version.

Instead of merely adding pattern-book details to this eighteenth-century type, Greenway re-interpreted it in Neo-classical terms. All his

motifs are rendered down to a severe and primitive form in a manner reminiscent of Soane or, sometimes, Nash. Of course Greenway's deliberate shorthand version of the language of classicism is merely making a virtue of the limitations of his environment, but his success is no less admirable for that necessity. St Matthew's Windsor, is the most satisfying monument of this rationalist style, but the extra ornamentation of St James's is justified by its complexity of site.

St James's was designed to be seen from more than one viewpoint, and each part of it played a particular role in its original setting which can still be appreciated today. The east end has already been related to the barracks directly opposite. The north and south porches gave the church something of the bi-axial symmetry thought desirable in late eighteenth-century planning (e.g. Adam's Mistle church of 1766, or Carr of York's Horbury church of 1791). One linked the building to Hyde Park on the south and the other to King Street on the north. The west tower balanced the bulk of the adjacent Supreme Court buildings, and provided a picturesque termination at the top of the hill.

It is unfortunate that Greenway's virtues should

all be related to the exterior of his buildings, but none of his church interiors were completed before he fell from favour, and no drawings showing his intentions are known. It seems likely that west galleries at least were intended for all three churches, and all subsequently acquired them.

Windsor finally had a gallery along its south and west sides, and a triple-decker pulpit in the middle of the north side, on the model of St Phillip's at Sydney, and similar to small English and Welsh churches of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries²⁷, but this arrangement was probably not Greenway's. Harris's Exposé of 1824 depicts Windsor church with its pulpit at the east end and without side galleries.²⁸

WINDSOR CHURCH.

V.S.
C22

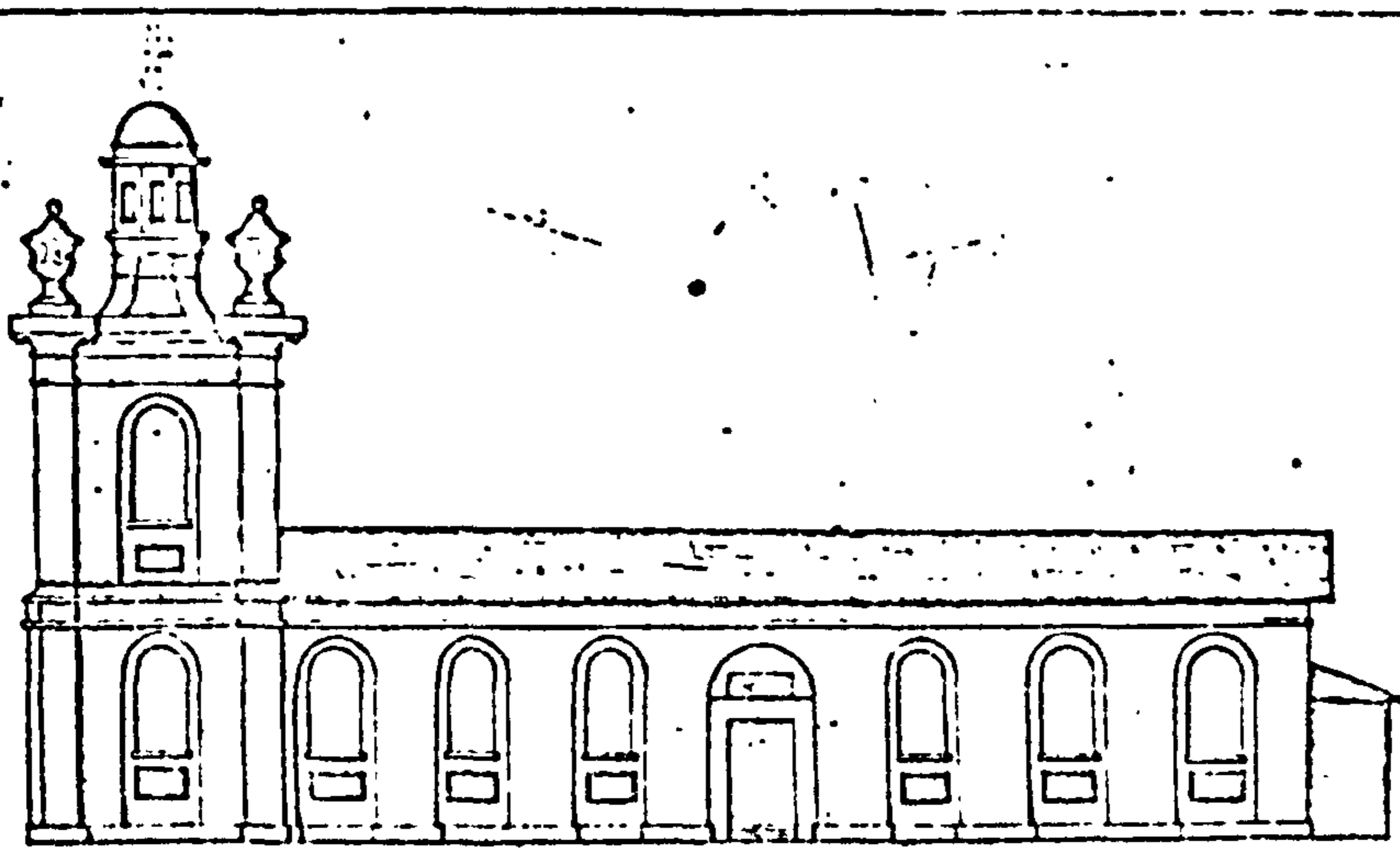


Fig. 11 St Matthews Windsor, in 1824 : by S. L. Harris .

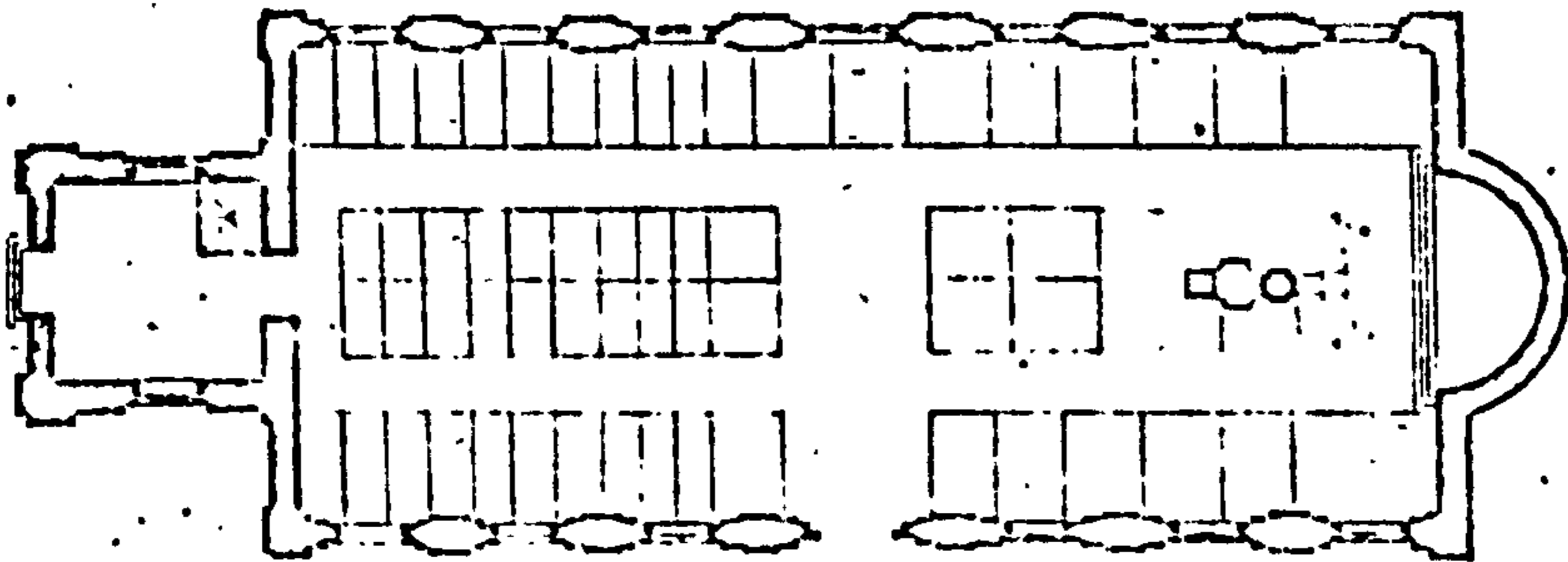


Fig. 11 b. St. Matthew's Windsor, in 1824: drawn by S.L. Harris.

Greenway's church style was clearly influential in N.S.W., although few churches of any size or pretension were built there from 1822 until 1836 because of the English government's embargo on any sort of 'ornamental' building. The most derivative of all the Greenway imitations was erected while Mcquarie was still governor. This was St Peter's Campbelltown²⁸ (c.1820-22) by Francis Lawless, foreman bricklayer of the government gangs in Sydney. Greenway had already accused Lawless of attempting to usurp his position as government architect in 1819,²⁹ and to judge by St Peter's he stole Greenway's designs too.

Although St Peter's Campbelltown has subsequently suffered both Gothicising and re-Georgianising it is clear that the original building was a weak echo of Greenway, with its plain round-headed windows which lacked the subtlety of over-arching, its coarse pilasters (omitted in the Harris sketch), and exaggerated overhanging eaves.³⁰

plate 4

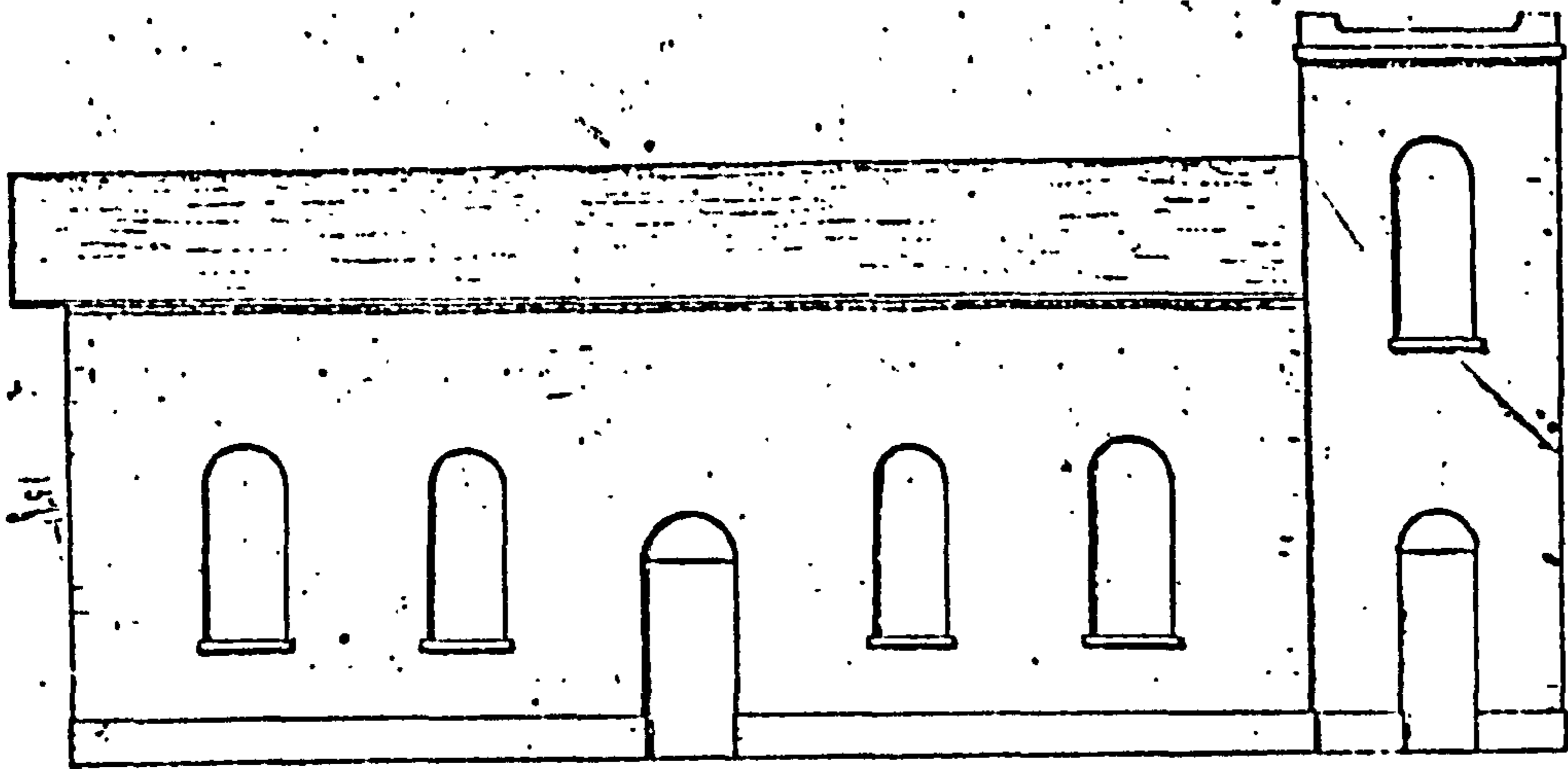


Fig. 12. St Peter's Campbelltown in 1824: drawn by S. L. Harris

Later buildings which stylistically derived from Greenway were St Peter's at Richmond and St Mary's at South Creek, both by Francis Clarke, and St James's old cathedral in Melbourne by Robert Russell. Both designers were professional surveyors. Russell was articled to William Burn in Edinburgh and then worked for Nash on the extensions to Buckingham Palace.³¹ Clarke had worked for Nash too, measuring and valuing 'the Artificers' Work of all the Buildings on Carlton House Terrace', and had also worked as a surveyor for Decimus Burton and for James Morgan, architect and engineer to the Regent's Canal Company.³² Despite these impressive antecedents, both found themselves turning to Mr Nash's convict pupil when it came to designing a church, and neither can be said to have improved on their source of inspiration.

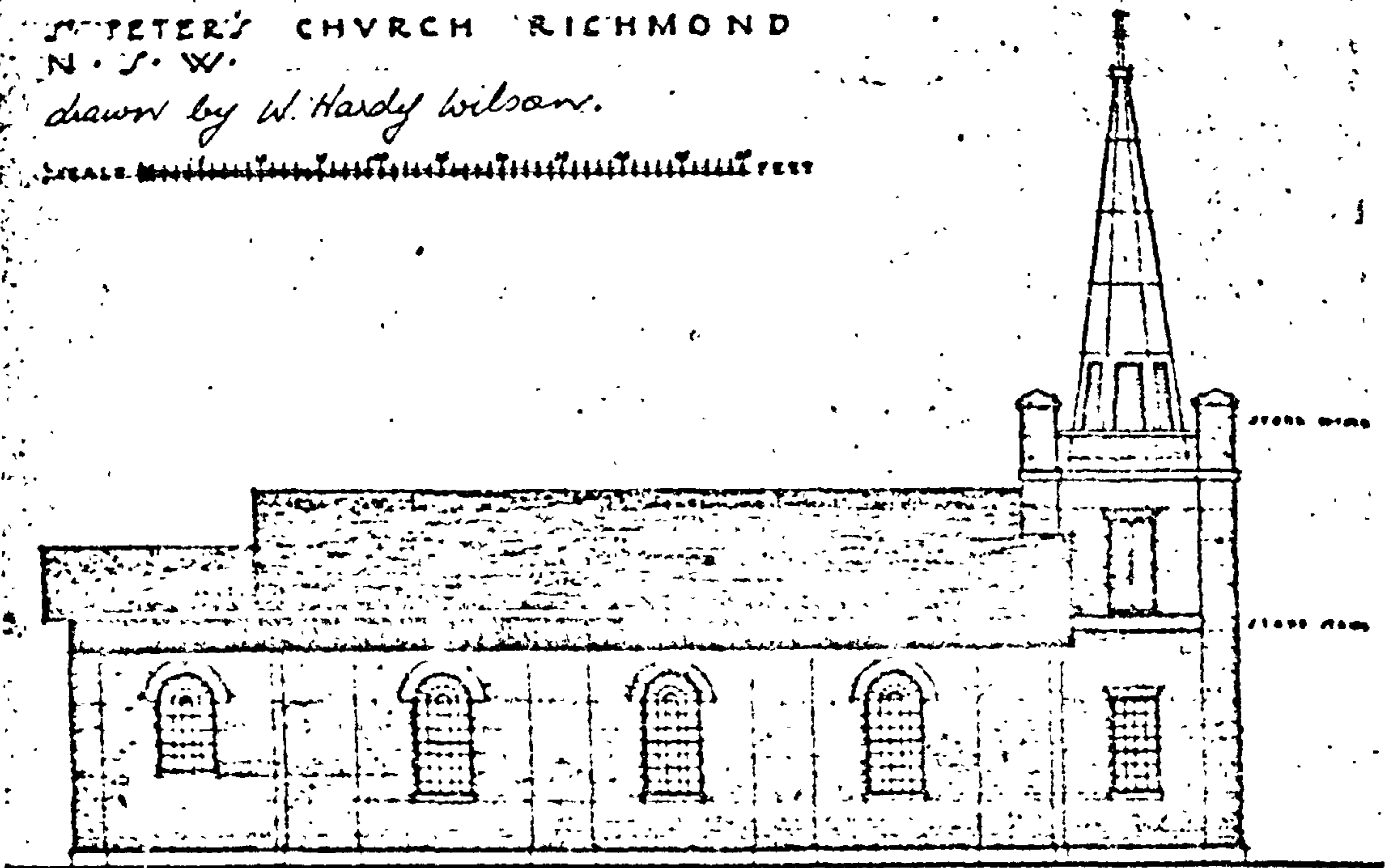
St Peter's, Richmond (1836-41), can still be seen to derive from Greenway's nearby Windsor church, despite the addition of porch, chancel, and cement render over the bricks on the south wall.

fig. 13.

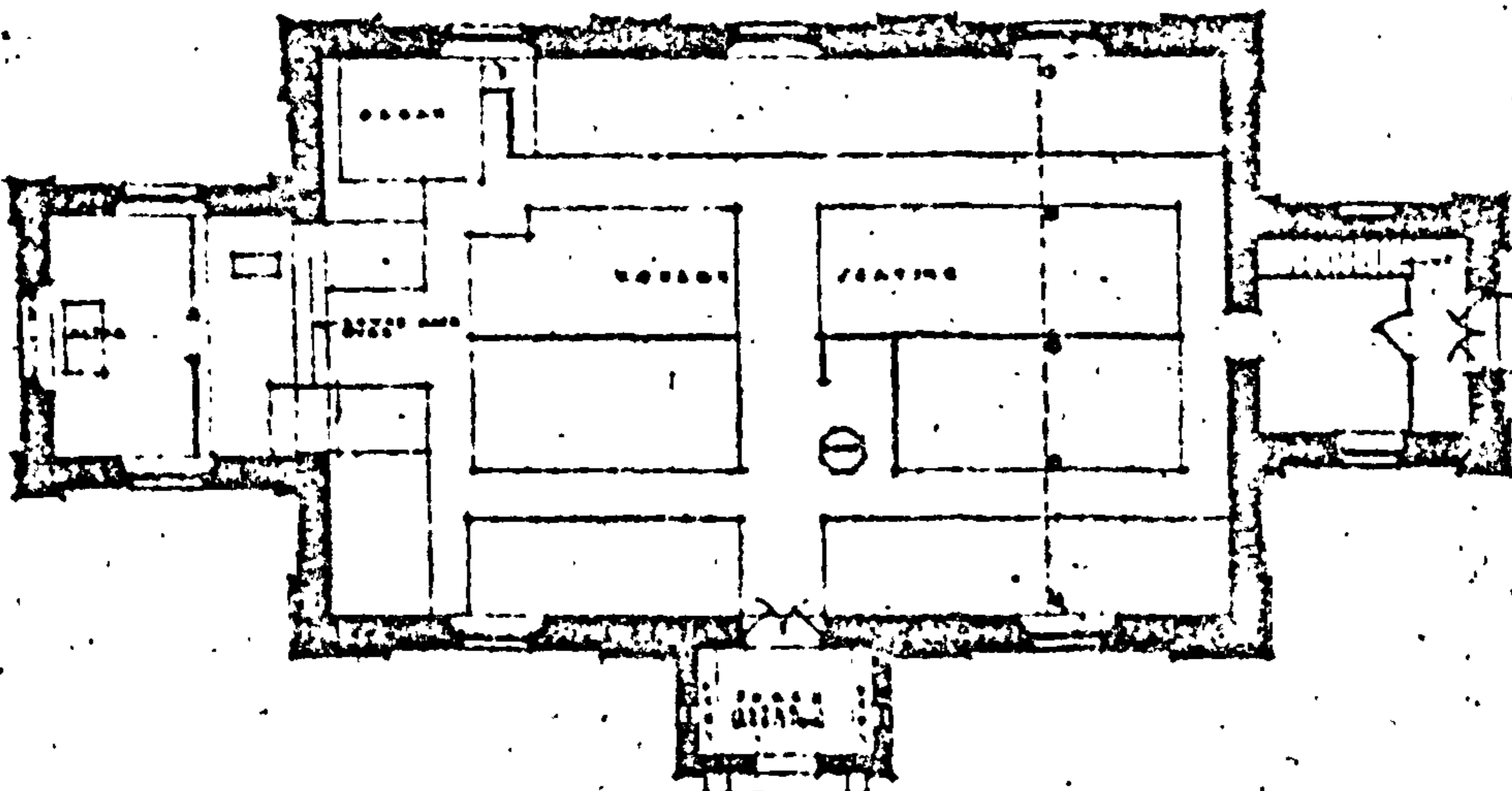
ST. PETER'S CHURCH RICHMOND
N. S. W.

drawn by W. Hardy Wilson.

SCALE  FEET



NORTH ELEVATION
THE MODERN PORCH IS BRICK



PLAN

It has simple flat pilasters between arched windows, a squat west tower topped with a simple wooden needle spire, and stone string courses relieving

the sandstock brickwork. Its internal arrangement was originally like Windsor too. But Clarke's design is much more flaccid than Greenway's. Where Windsor has four bays in a length of about 60 ft, Richmond has three. Richmond's windows just float in the wall, and the pilasters have become wide enough to seem no more than pointlessly stepped sections of wall. By 1841 the Greenway style was hopelessly outmoded even in rural Australia, and the building was not well received:

The church at Richmond is by no means a handsome structure: it is built of brick and the tower is surmounted by a wooden spire in miniature completely out of proportion; and the roof is too large. The interior of the church is formed of flat unornamented walls, too wide for the length, and looks like a dissenting chapel.

Clarke's other church, St Mary's, South Creek, near Penrith (1837-40), was a three-bay brick church with pilasters, similar to Richmond. (It is now cement-rendered.) Both were erected by James Atkinson, the builder for most of the churches in the Windsor-Penrith-Mulgoa area in the 1830s. St Mary's is distinguished from its sister church - and from Greenway's - in three ways. The tower is capped with a sort of Carpenter's Baroque set of pinnacles and crenellations; there are two protruding west vestries; and there was a definite lower square chancel from the beginning.

plate 5

The existence of the chancel was not due to the English Ecclesiologists' contemporary dicta about the desirability of such appendages, but would appear to have been chosen for purely associated reasons. The patrons of the church, the King family, had named their property 'Dunheved' - the old name for Launceston in Cornwall - and the church was also to be modelled after the parish church there. The Australian St Mary's owes nothing but its name and its chancel to St Mary Magdalene, Launceston. The prominence of this feature in even distant and indistinct views of Launceston was apparently evocative enough for the architect's abilities and the client's purse.³⁴

The stepped parapets and obelisks of St Mary's would appear to have been Clarke's original contribution to the design, his crude Baroque tastes being just discernable in the stone copings on the tower at Richmond too. The west vestries possibly derived from a plan for similar ones for the Anglican church at Kelso of 1833, although they were a common enough feature on English Commissioners' churches of the 1820s to have come directly from Home.

St Mary's also differed from Richmond in having its stone string courses under the windows instead

of at frieze level, and it had a single west gallery plate 6 only (now removed). Clarke's original seating plan for the church still exists, and is typical of an Australian church of the 1830s, with narrow box pews for most of the congregation, and roomy ones for the gentry east of the triple-decker pulpit on the south side of the building.³⁵

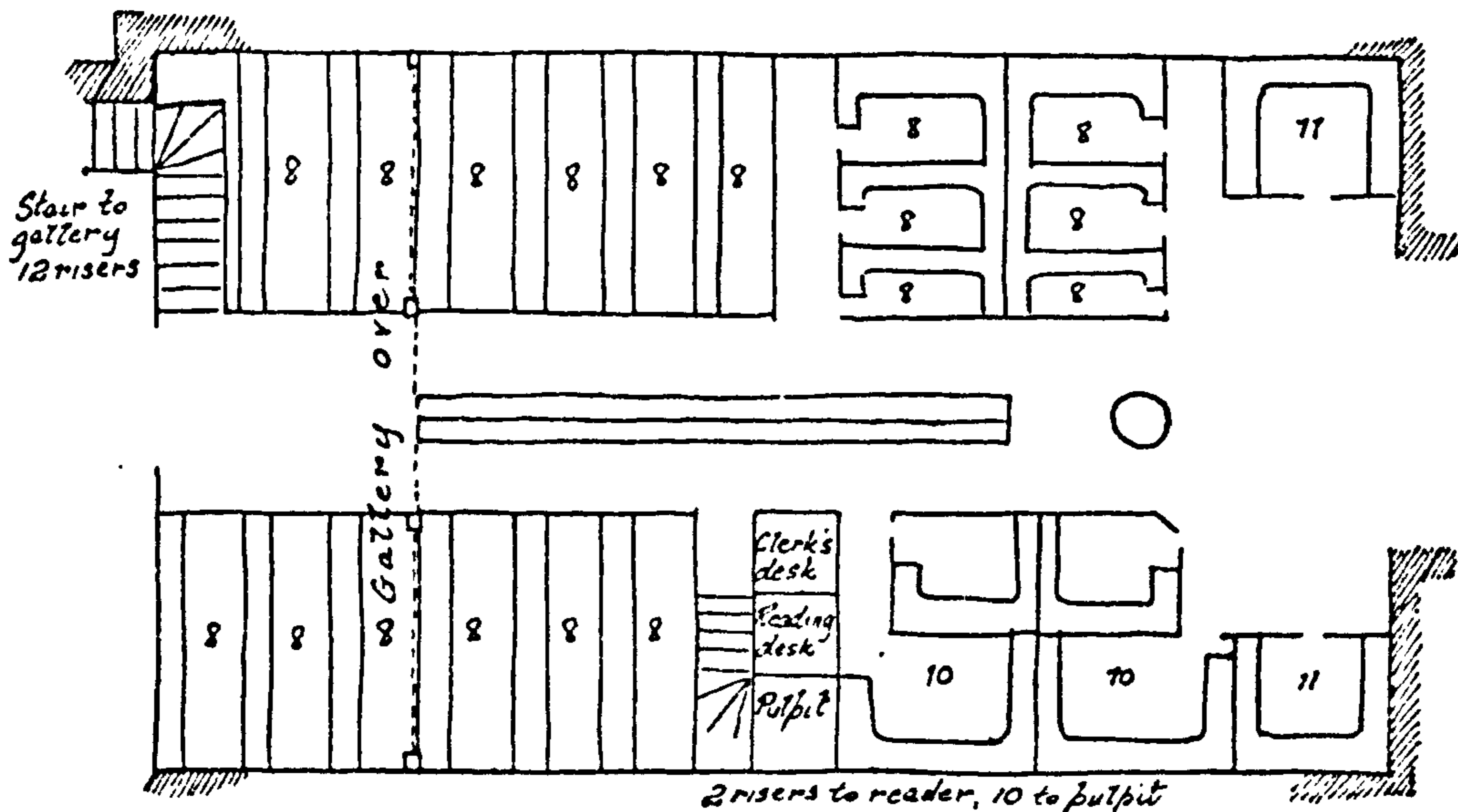


Fig 14. Seating plan of St Mary's, South Creek, 1840: drawn by Francis Clarke.

Nash's other former employee, Robert Russell, was rather more competent as an architect than Francis Clarke, who wisely retired from architecture early in his career and went on to become mayor of Rockhampton in Queensland.³⁶ Russell could not have had much previous experience as a church designer either, for he was very astray in his estimates for Melbourne, which escalated from £3,749 in 1839 to £6,270 by 1844.³⁷ Russell was

dismissed from the job in 1841, and Melbourne tower was finally completed by Charles Laing to a new design.³⁸ Russell's original design for the church is known, and shows it to have been even closer to Greenway's St James's, Sydney, than the present church.³⁹

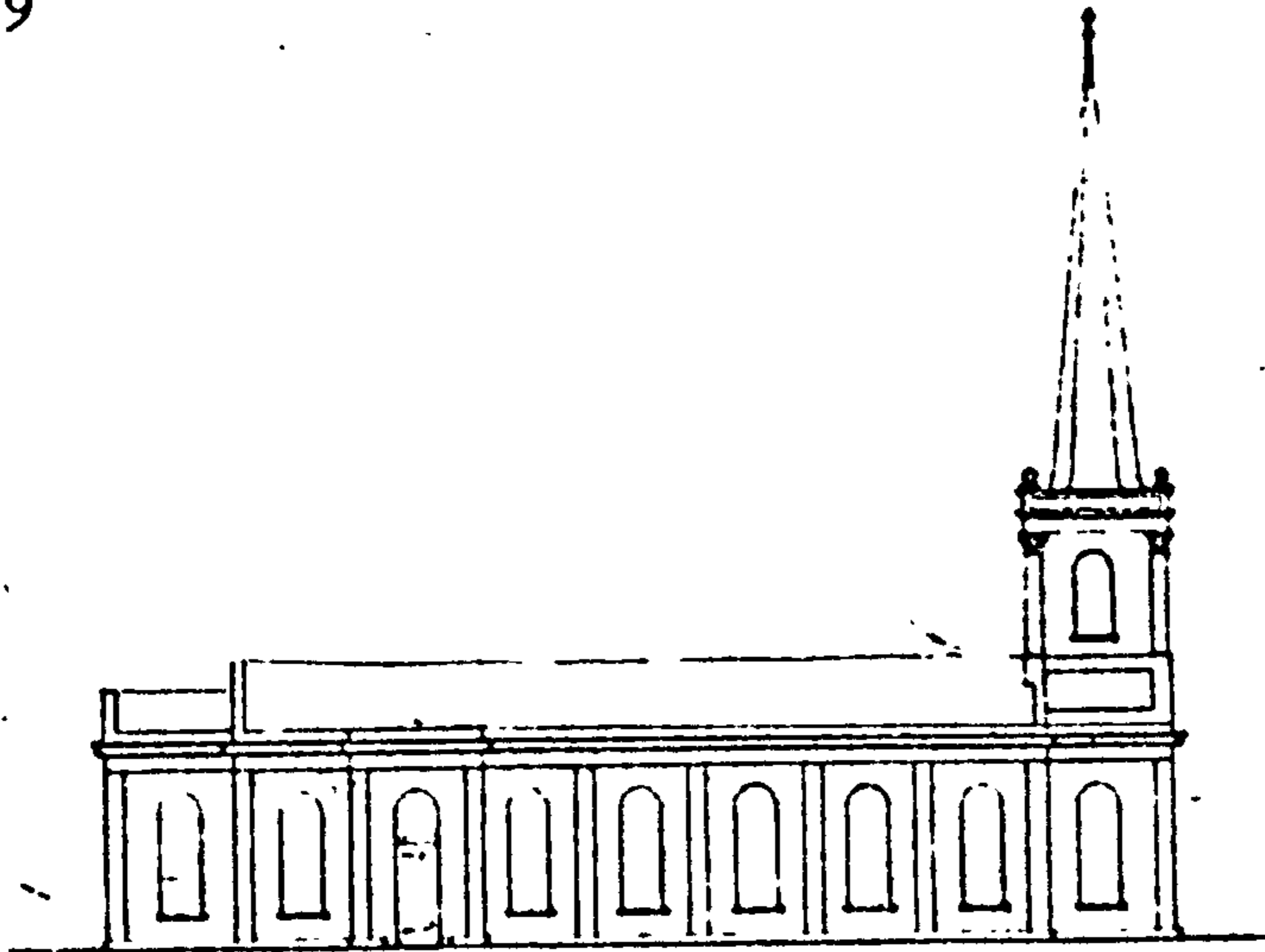


Fig. 15. St James's Melbourne: sketch by Robert Russell.

Melbourne had seven bays, pilasters, and a west tower with a slightly broached needle spire just like St James's had after 1833. Moving the porches closer to the east end and adding a small chancel did not improve its appearance.

The only part of St James's, Melbourne, which may owe something to Nash was the twin pulpit and reading desk on either side of the sanctuary, for Nash had installed these at All Souls', Langham Place, and the plan was reproduced in Britton and Pugin's Illustrations of the Public Buildings of

London (1825) - a popular book which Russell may very well have owned. Twin pulpits also occur at St John's Church of England, Stroud, N.S.W., and St Andrew's, Clifton Hill, Melbourne.⁴⁰ They originally derived from George Herbert's desire to see equality of preaching and reading at Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire, in 1627, but by 1833 at Stroud, N.S.W., this symbolic equality had become a social one. Sir Edward Parry, who built the church, conducted its services from his reading pulpit in the absence of a clergyman.

plate 7

Apart from the fact that they were designed by a professional architect, Greenway's churches were emulated in Australia because they had the added advantage of being without any competition as far as size and expense were concerned. The only rival in the field was the Gothick chapel that the Sydney Catholics began in 1821, and its imitators were exclusively Catholic. (See chapter 2).

Otherwise only the Wesleyan Methodists were building chapels in Australia during the Macquarie era. They built six modest chapels in N.S.W. between 1817 and 1822; two stone ones for Sydney (1817-19, and 1819-21), a brick one at Windsor (1818-19), a wooden one at Parramatta (opened

1821), and two wooden ones in the Castlereagh district (1817 and c.1820).⁴¹

The first Sydney chapel, situated in Princes street in the Rocks district, was built by a layman, Sergeant James Scott, who subsequently presented it to the Connexion. Mr John Lees, a retired N.S.W. Corps soldier, built the two chapels in the Castlereagh area. The other three were built by the Connexion themselves and were all named after Governor Macquarie, who offered support and land grants for their erection:

The tribute of respect your pious and respectable Society has been pleased to pay me by naming your chapels in the three towns of Sydney, Parramatta, and Windsor, after me, cannot ⁴² but be highly gratifying to my feelings.

Macquarie was equally kind to other denominations, especially if they also understood his small vanities. The land for Windsor Wesleyan church was given by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, another Anglican sympathiser. Until Archdeacon Broughton arrived in the colony in 1833 the Methodist church was generally regarded as a hand-maid of the Anglican establishment. (Lieut. Governor Grose had once said that the Rev. Richard Johnson, 'one of the people called Methodists is a very troublesome and discontented character', and Johnson had indignantly repudiated the latter part of the statement but not

the former.⁴³⁾

None of the early Wesleyan chapels is known to have had any official architect, or even builder. None survives, but from published engravings of the two Sydney chapels and vague descriptions of most of the others all could equally well have been erected in small villages in England or Wales. All the non-conformists followed the same simple type until 1839. Macle hose's Picture of Sydney, published in 1838, illustrates the facade of all Sydney chapels then in existence⁴⁴, and all could have been for the one denomination. All were of one or two storeys with a pedimented roof and were three bays in width. Most had a couple of simple Doric columns framing the central door.

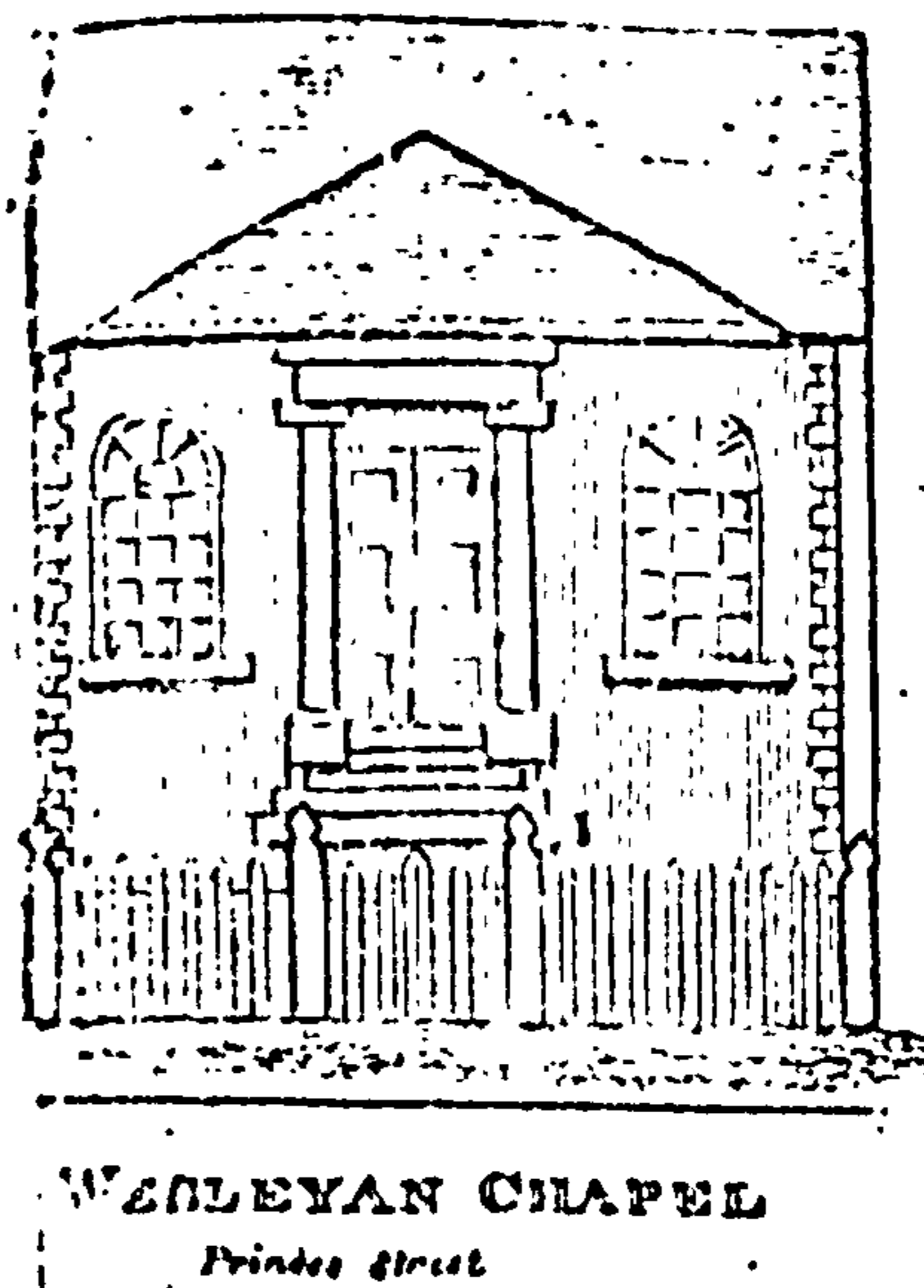
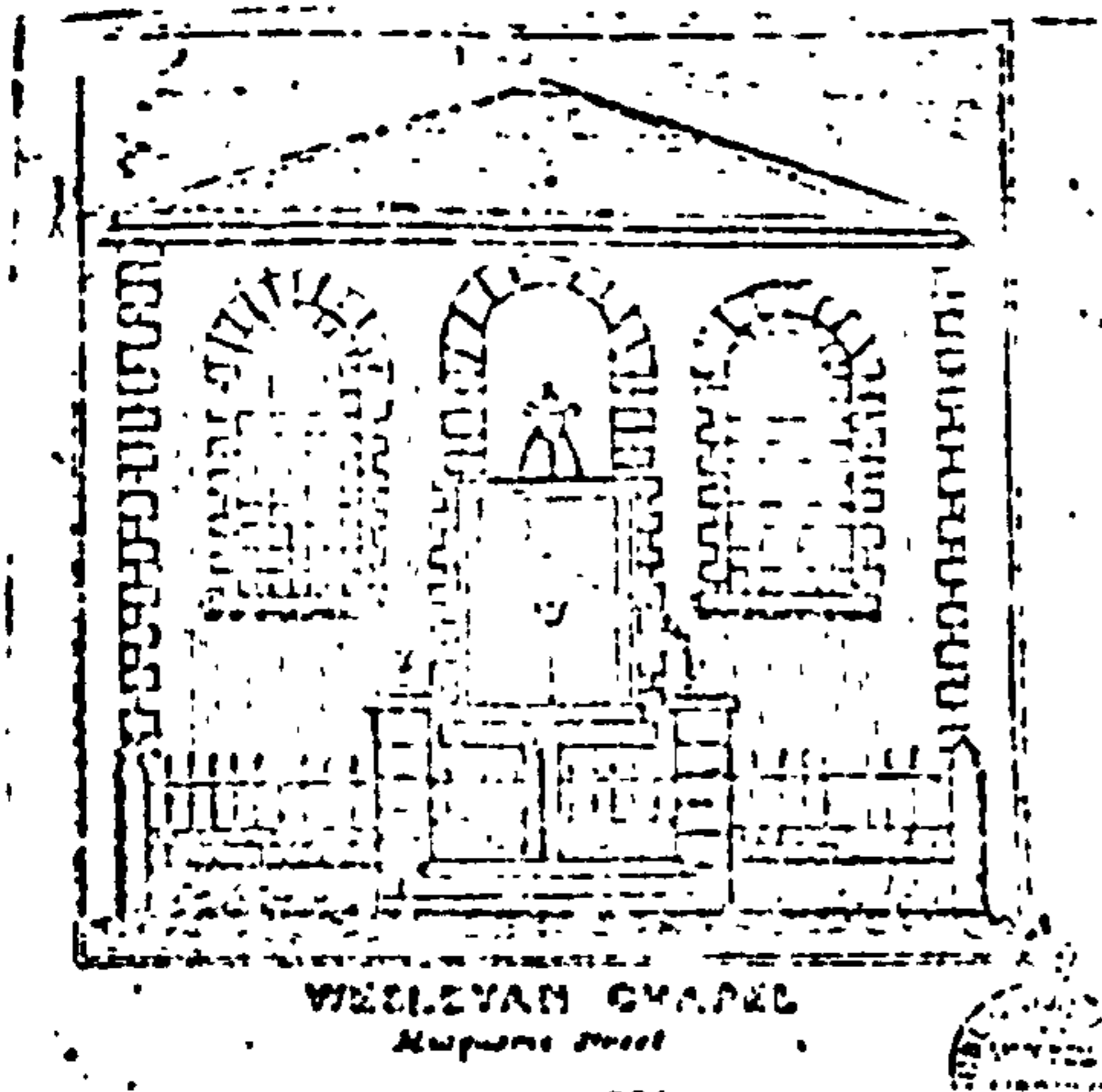
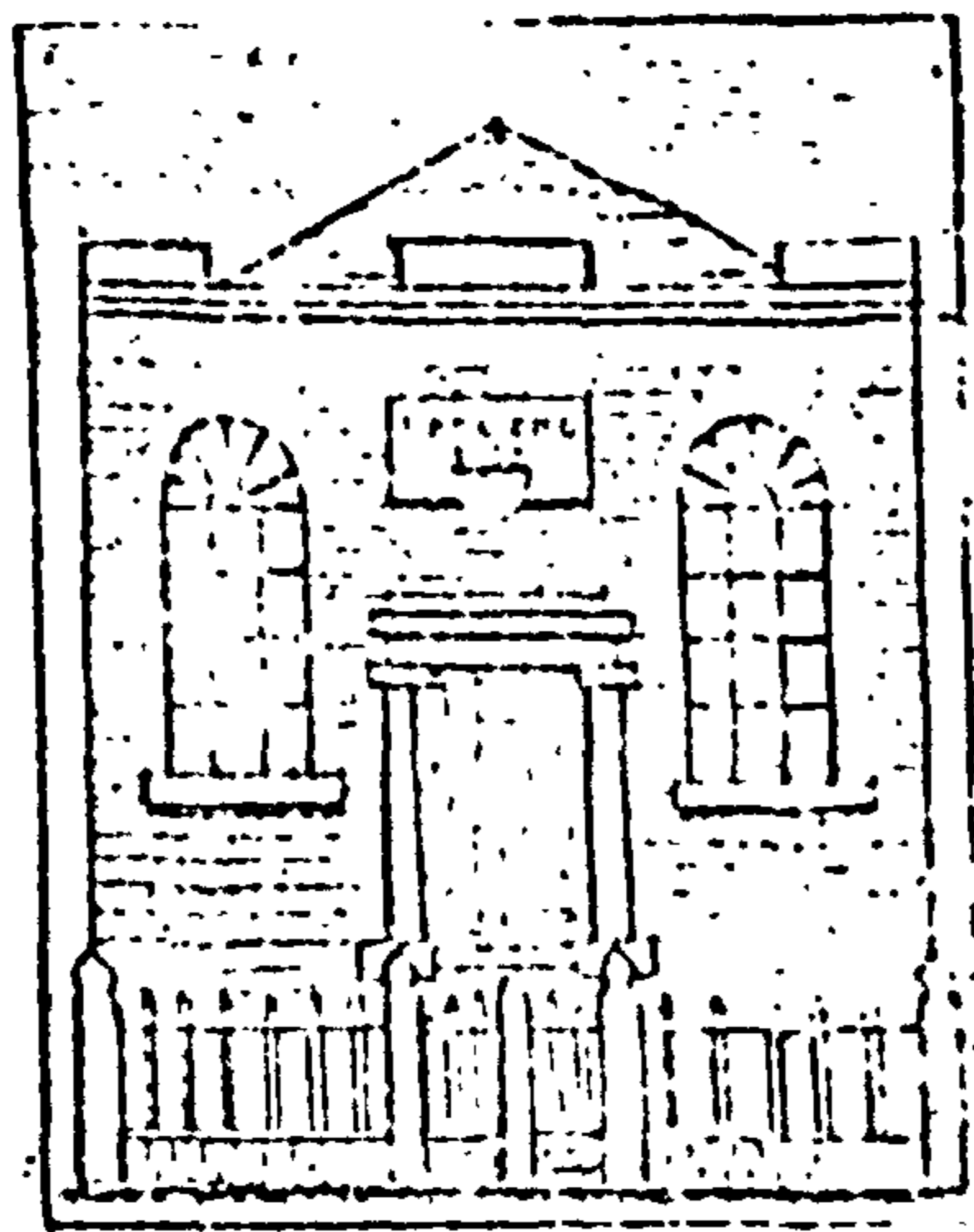


Fig. 16 & 17 Wesleyan Chapels, Sydney, in 1838: from Macle hose.

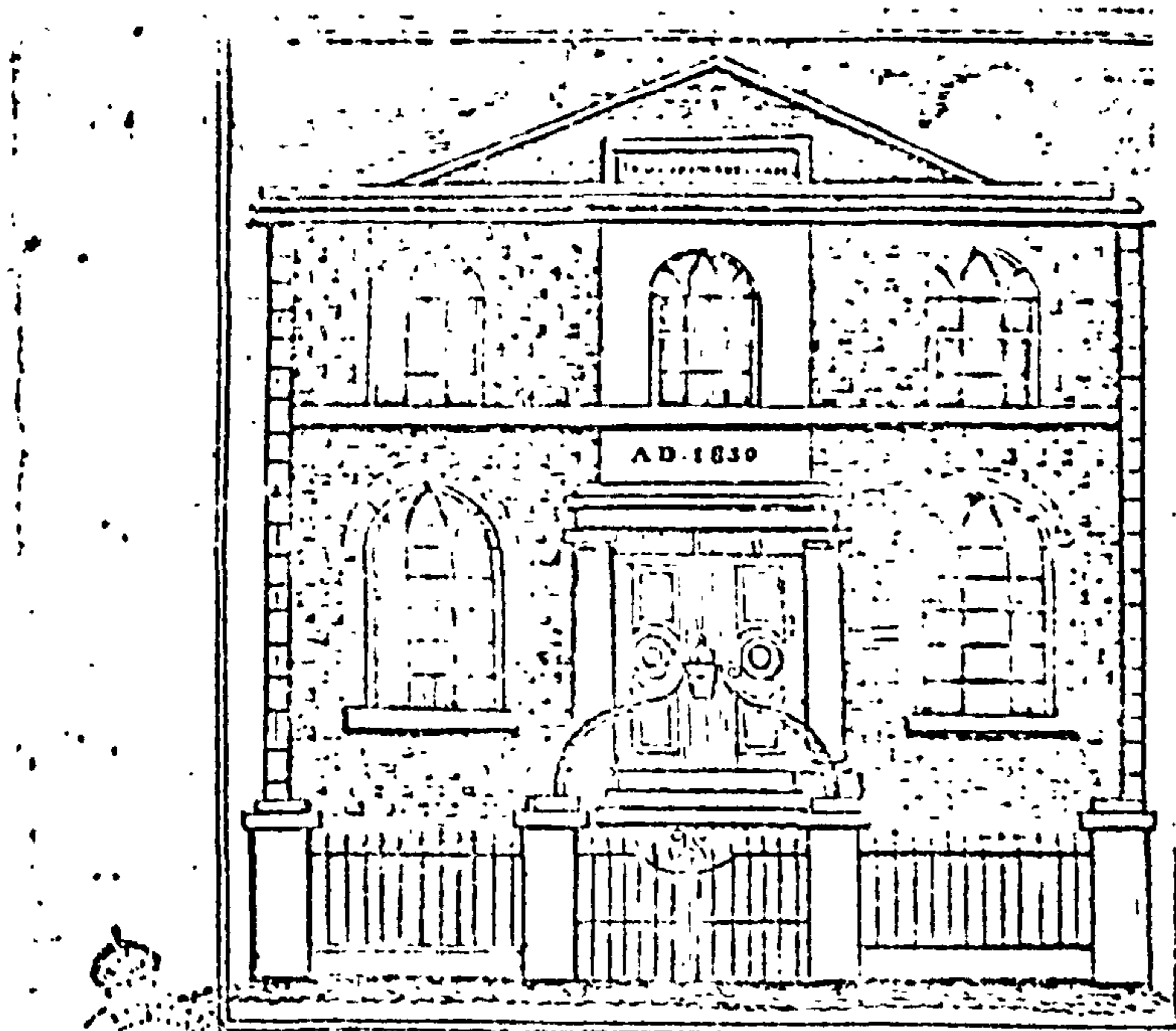
By 1838 the simplest chapels in Sydney were the two early Methodist ones, which were of one storey with a gabled roof that just managed to suggest a pediment. A pair of columns on the Princes Street Chapel, and rusticated window and door surrounds deriving from St Phillip's Church Hill on the Macquarie Chapel, were apparently ecclesiastical enough to distinguish them from their domestic neighbours.



FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE
Macquarie Street

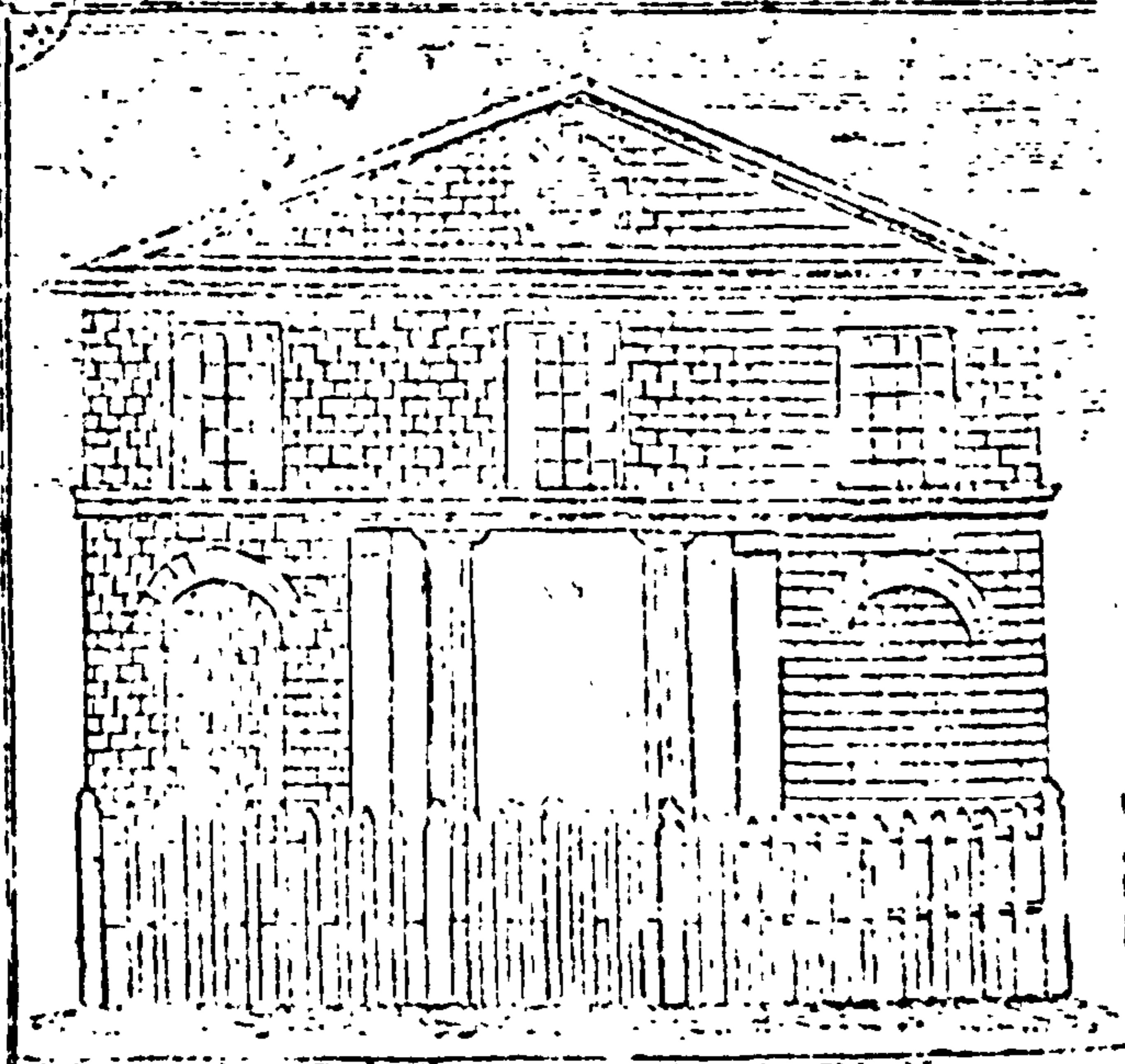
fig. 18 Friends Meeting House, Sydney in 1838: from Hulse.

The Friends' Meeting House of 1835 was somewhat larger, but of the same single-storeyed gabled type with a nebulous Doric door surround. It also had protruding stone blocks at roof level to suggest a more Grecian severity. The design was probably the effort of the Quaker who erected it, one John Tawell, an ex-convict who unfortunately lapsed back into criminal activities and was executed before land and chapel were legally in the possession of the Society.⁴⁵



INDEPENDENT CHAPEL
Pitt Street

*fig. 19. Independent
Chapel, Sydney. in
1838: from
Maclehose.*



BAPTIST CHAPEL
Bathurst Street

*fig. 20 Baptist
Chapel, Sydney:
from Maclehose.*

The two most elaborate chapels illustrated by Maclehose were the Independent Chapel in Pitt street (1830-32), and the Baptist Chapel in Bathurst street (1835-36). Both are supposed to have been designed by John Verge, the most competent Regency architect

in New South Wales.⁴⁶ However the stylistic discrepancy between the two would confirm that Verge was only the architect of the latter, which is correctly proportioned and clearly knowledgeable about framing a pediment, balancing string courses, and even introducing a pair of Greek Doric fluted columns in antis - thus justifying Macle hose's description - 'an excellent specimen of colonial workmanship in the Grecian style'.⁴⁷

The Bathurst Street Baptist Chapel marks the first appearance in Australian church architecture of any feature suggesting an awareness of the English Greek Revival. Hence the English style appears in Australia a good twenty years after its fashionable peak at home. This 'time lag' is unlikely to be due to any uniquely antipodean 'tyranny of distance',⁴⁸ but is a normal provincial lapse. Chapels in England and Wales of the same period were often even more outmoded⁴⁹. Verge's Baptist Chapel would have been an ornament of unusual sophistication and stylishness had it been erected in a large provincial English village, or an Indian town, at the same date.

Although it conformed to the standard English, and Australian, nonconformist two-storeyed chapel type of three bays with pediment and simple windows,

the proportions and detailing of the Sydney Baptist Chapel show that more than a village builder had been involved in its design. Verge had been a successful builder in London before coming to Australia in 1828, and his colonial house designs - most notably Camden Park for the Macarthur family of 1834 - although just as conservative in style, also show that sophistication which makes Verge one of the most admired of early Australian architects. His Gothic church designs (chapter 3) now seem less successful, although this is no doubt due to the fact that we do not know their original appearance.

At St Matthew's, Windsor, Greenway had given an early nineteenth century look to an eighteenth century provincial Anglican church type. Sydney Baptist Chapel architecturally elevated the most common English nonconformist village chapel form. Verge also designed the large eastern vestry for St James's, Sydney, in 1832, carefully following the style of Greenway's porches. These three buildings all had some influence on subsequent church architecture in Australia.

The two Anglican architects, Francis Greenway and John Verge, were thus the main contributors to establishing a Classical church style in N.S.W.

They also helped develop Neo-Gothic church architecture in Australia, as did the Catholics and the Presbyterians. It is to this parallel development that we must now turn.

Chapter 2 : GOTHICK FOLLY

When the tower of St Phillip's, Sydney, collapsed in June 1806 Governor King decided to replace it with something more solid and more stylish.

According to Andrew Houlson, King modelled his new tower on the 'Saxon' tower of Beeston St Laurence church, Norfolk,¹ and certainly the new tower was round, of four stages, with a string course and crenellated parapet like the Norfolk example.

plate 8

The crenellations of the tower parapet were repeated on the apse at the liturgical east end of St Phillip's, and the roof was made flat to set them off more strikingly.²

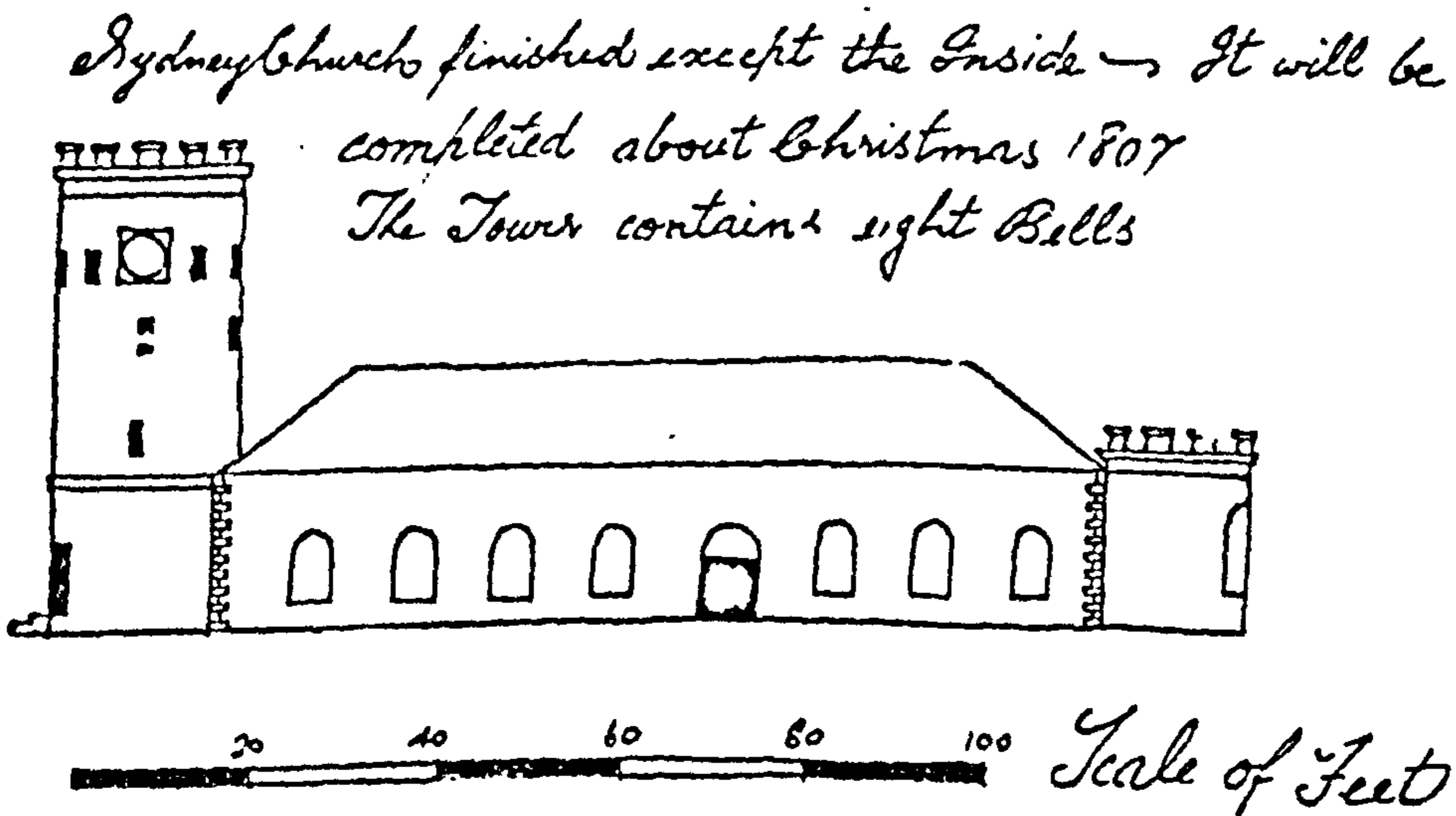


Fig. 21 St Phillip's Sydney in 1806: from the Banks Papers.

After a few years the problems of a leaking flat roof led to its being replaced by another dome - this time one with a sort of oculus on top. By the end of the 1820s the exterior of St Phillip's had been plastered in imitation of regular ashlar courses, a simple Regency porch had been added, and the church would have looked much as it appeared in the well-known engraving by Joseph Fowles of 1848.

plate 9

The interior of St Phillip's had an L-shaped gallery (a long gallery on the liturgical north and a short one of the west), supported by two rows of varnished marbled columns.³ There was a simple set of rather Rococo wooden tablets containing the decalogue and the Creed, possibly designed in England before 1804.⁴ No attempt was made to make the interior anything but Georgian Classical in style; only the exterior of any Australian church before the mid 1830s was ever considered suitable for 'Gothick' ornamentation.

King must have chosen the heavy round tower partly for purely practical reasons. Its thick stone walls were unlikely to suffer the fate of the previous thin square brick ones. But he also chose to emulate a form which was only common in Saxon

and Norman England, and not at all fashionable as an ecclesiastical style in his own day. The round tower and crenellations must have been selected less for an ecclesiastical effect than a Picturesque one. St Phillip's was sited on a dominant hill above Port Jackson; its improved appearance would have been meant to arouse associations with English mediaeval fortifications as well as with Saxon churches, and been a generic rather than a specific reminder of home.⁵

Thus Australia's first example of mediaeval revivalism has all the crudeness and unexpectedness of a gentleman amateur's taste. This same combination of amateur and artisan was responsible for all the Gothicky churches of N.S.W. until the end of the Macquarie era. The three Anglican churches designed in a vaguely mediaeval style between 1817 and 1820 would appear to have been largely inspired by Elizabeth Macquarie, the governor's wife, while the appearance of those for other denominations was determined by their ministers.

St Phillip's had now been 'improved' to some extent, and around 1815 Mrs Macquarie decided to make something even more striking out of St John's, Parramatta. Parramatta church was in poor condition

by then: the tower had been removed, and the rest of the church needed re-roofing and rebuilding at the east end.

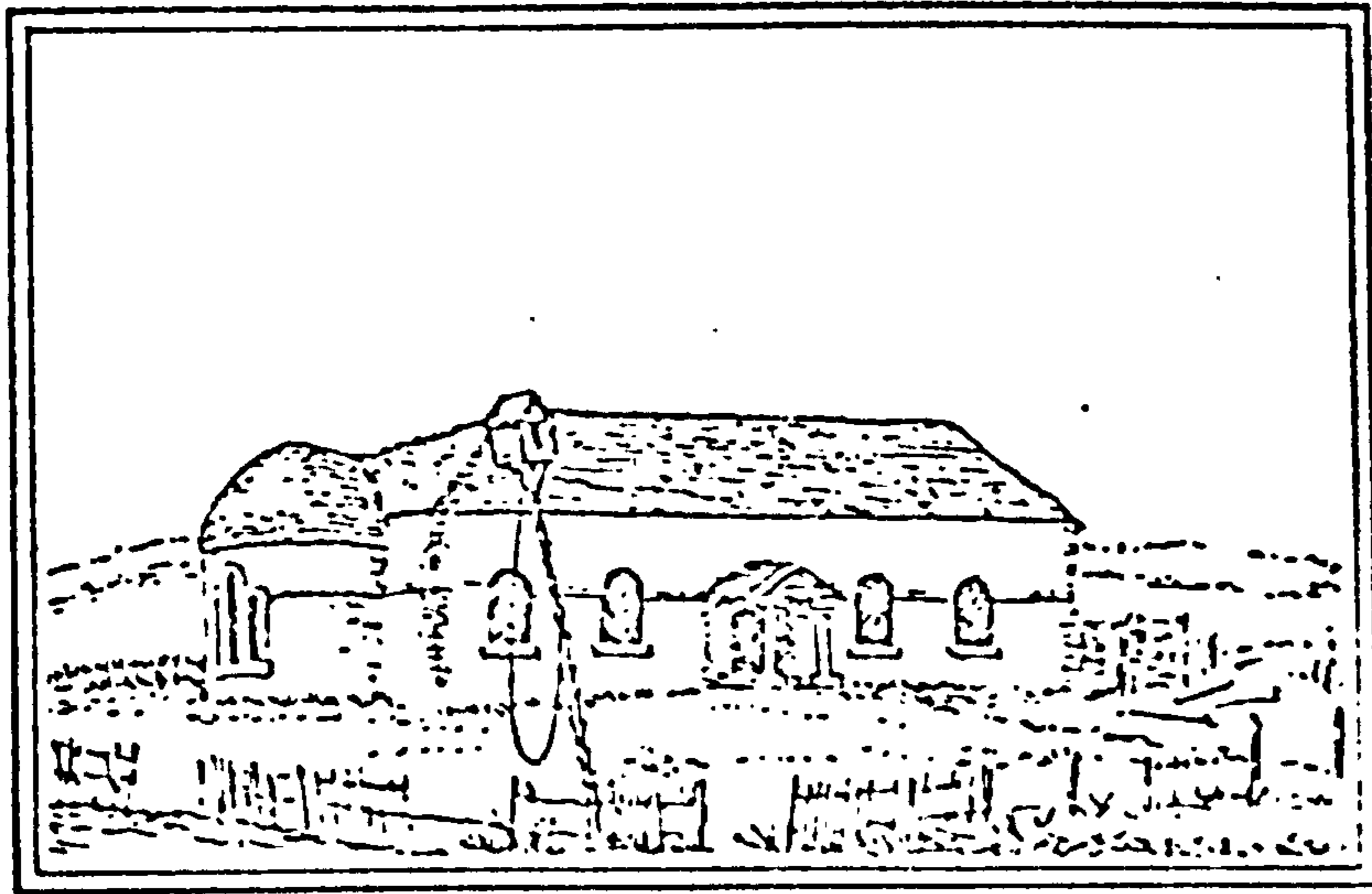


fig. 22 St John's Parramatta in 1810: by Elizabeth Macquarie.

Mrs Macquarie was a locally renowned landscape gardener of Picturesque tastes. She had landscaped the grounds of Government House at Parramatta, the Orphan School at Parramatta, and the area around the Domain in Sydney; Macquarie had first been impressed by her in 1804 because of the way she had laid out the gardens of Airds, Argyllshire.⁶ Parramatta Church was to be made a Picturesque object in the landscape. It was to become something suitable to be seen from Government House, Parramatta, which had a direct sight line to it. At the end of her view Mrs Macquarie determined to erect a colonial version of the twin Norman towers of Reculver church, Kent, and to repair the rest of the church after this model.

Reculver Church seems to have been chosen as a model simply because two engravings of it had appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1809, when there had been a controversy over the wisdom of pulling it down just because the Vicar's mother disliked it.⁷ With the help of these engravings and a water-colour sketch made after the spires had been removed in 1809 (the rest of Reculver was saved), Mrs Macquarie got the governor's aide-de-camp, Lieutenant John Watts of the 46th regiment, to draw up plans.⁸

plate 10

plate 11

plate 12

Watts had had some architectural training in an office in Dublin, and had come to Australia with a small collection of standard Classical architectural books.⁹ His final building, erected 1817-19, had twin towers with small triangular-headed windows and broach spires; large pointed windows to the rest of the church (which, in fact, only occur on the thirteenth century chancel of Reculver, but are all that can be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine engravings); a south porch, and a long straight-ended chancel with a separate lower roof line to that of the nave. (The last is also made larger than life in the engraving because the chancel roof is off.)

Parramatta was finally covered with stucco, pointed

to imitate ashlar courses, but until after 1824 its red brick must have made it look considerably more Georgian and less mediaeval than the present towers.

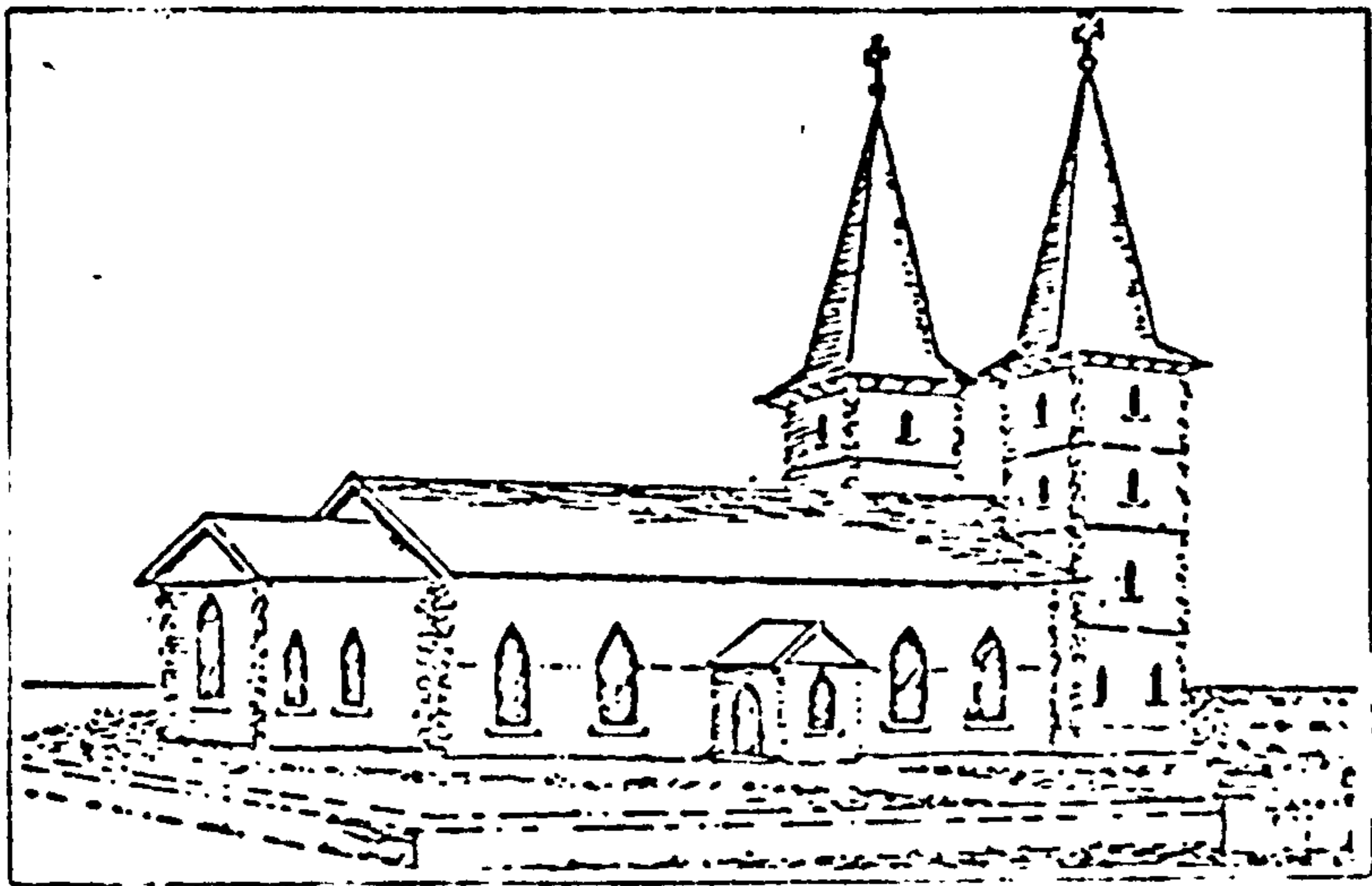


fig. 23 'Parramatta Church as improved by Captain Watts': by Elizabeth Macquarie.

Ground Plan of Parramatta Church

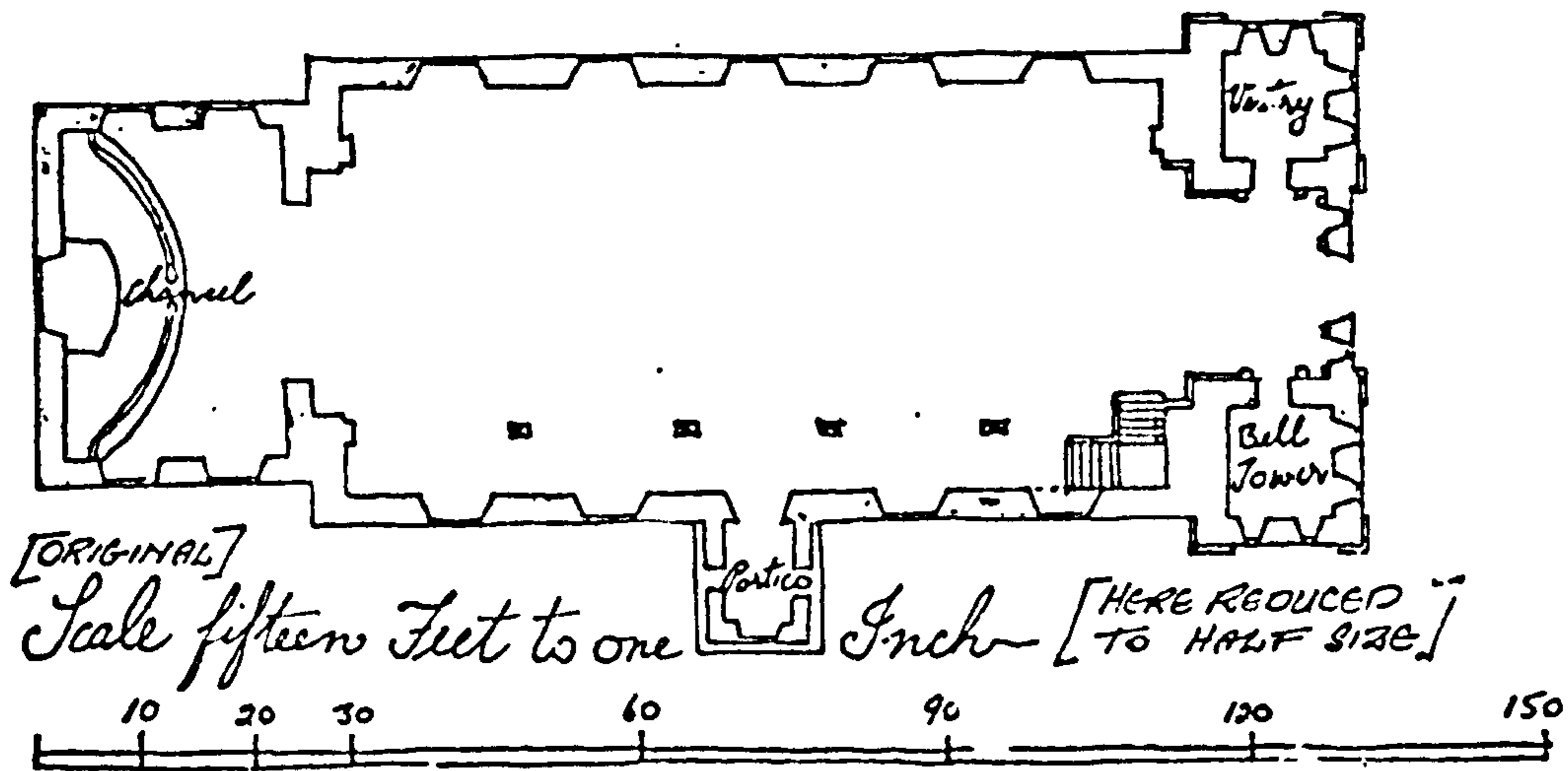


fig. 24 Ground plan of Parramatta church ca 1821: from the Bigge Report.

There is a story told at Parramatta of the delight with which the governor's lady, who seems to have acted as a sort of clerk to the works while the additions above were going on, exclaimed on pointing her

husband to the two completed towers, 'there now, see my Westminster Abbey!'

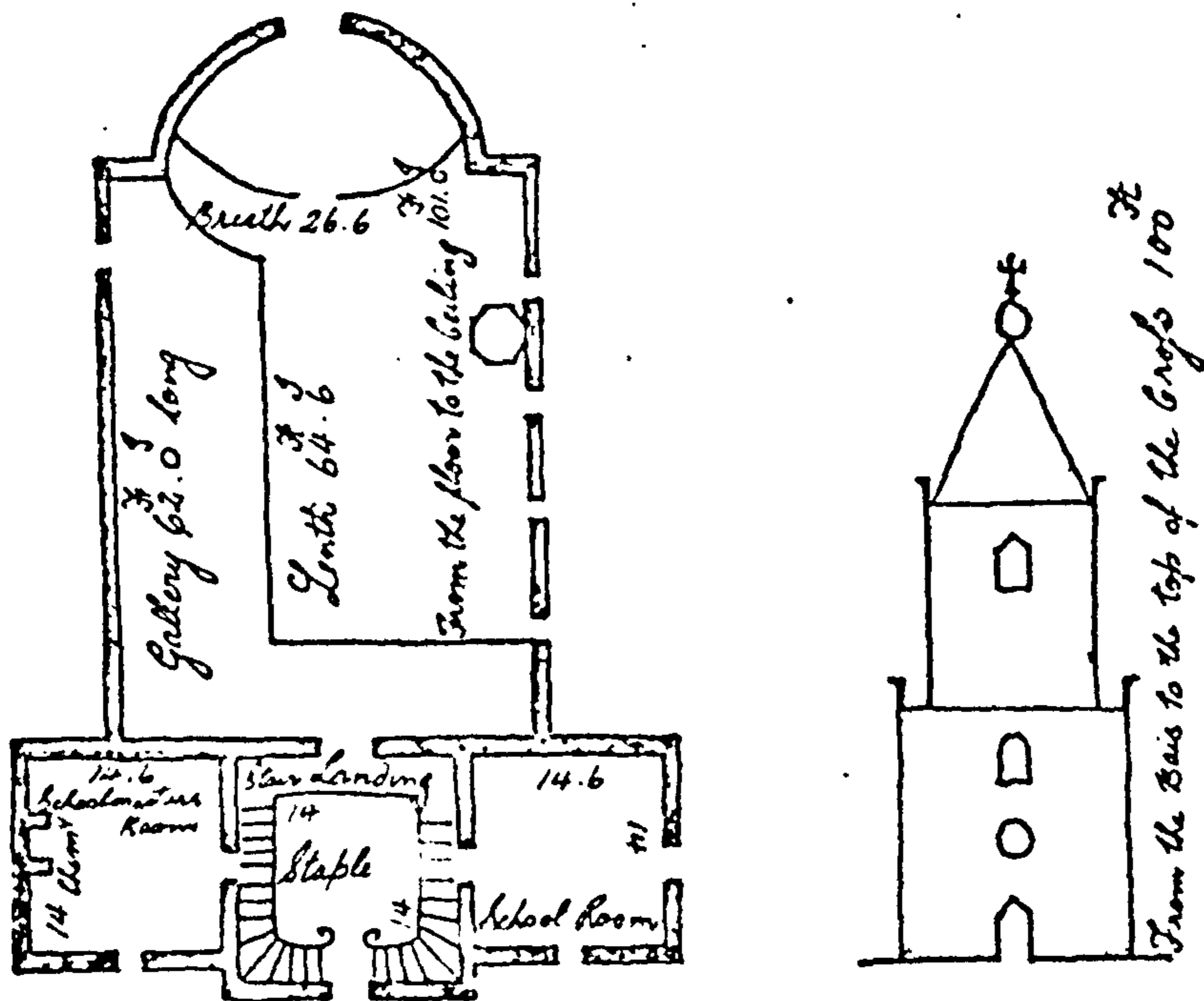
- Canon Walsh reported in 1851.¹⁰ Another reason for choosing Reculver was that it provided a poor man's version of the English twin-towered cathedral type, and was thus a perfect symbol of the Anglican heritage.

The towers of St John's, Parramatta still exist, plate 13
although the rest of the church was rebuilt in a more archeological stone Romanesque in the early 1850s when the windows of Mrs Macquarie's towers were made round instead of triangular-headed. Except for the stables of Government House, Sydney (now the N.S.W. Conservatorium of Music), these towers are our only extant monument to the Picturesque tastes of the governor's lady.

Like Governor King, Mrs Macquarie showed the advantages as well as disadvantages of an unformed amateur taste. A pair of Norman towers with Saxon windows was a most unusual model in 1817, and when simply interpreted by Watts the result was peculiar in the eyes of any architecturally educated contemporary. Henry Kitchen - under the impression he was attacking Watts and not the governor's wife - called St John's an example of 'extraordinary taste', although 'very well constructed'.¹¹ Like

the round tower of St Phillip's, the towers of St John's were simply an isolated instance of amateur architectural enthusiasm. They originated from an accidental engraving and had no followers. But Parramatta church did have an unacknowledged sister.

While Mrs Macquarie was just starting to improve Parramatta church another church of an unusual Gothick style was being erected on Macquarie's orders at the penal station of Newcastle. Christ Church, Newcastle was built in 1817 under the direction of Captain James Wallis of the 46th regiment, Commandant of the Coal River Settlement.



Church at Newcastle

Fig. 25. Newcastle Church ca 1821 : from the Bigge Report.

Wallis was an amateur artist of some distinction who published a book of views of N.S.W. in 1821 containing two plates of Newcastle Church.¹²

plate 15
plate 16

With the help of two convicts, a stonemason called James Clohasy, and a professional artist and forger, Joseph Lycett - later to style himself as 'employed by the late Governor as an artist'¹³ - Wallis drew up a plan and built the church.

plate 14

St Phillip's tower had been a Saxon emulation; Parramatta's towers were Norman (with Saxon windows) and the subsequent rebuilding of the nave was inspired by the Early English lancet style. Now Newcastle church had ogee arches to the windows of vaguely fourteenth century derivation. It was as if some unknown deity were determined to see a crude parody of each of the English mediaeval styles repeated on Australian soil. It was a pity that N.S.W. did not contain a single person with enough antiquarian knowledge to appreciate the joke. Francis Greenway may have had the knowledge but he entirely lacked a sense of humour, most especially where architecture was involved. He would not have appreciated the fact that his proposed Perpendicular Gothic metropolitan church and Tudor Government House for Sydney would have completed the series.

As well as owing a remote debt to the fourteenth century Newcastle owed a more obvious one to St Phillip's, Church Hill. The plan of nave with L-shaped gallery clearly derived from this source, although at Newcastle the apsidal roof was more properly integrated with the nave.

But the liturgical west end is more striking than either the plan or the window shapes. It owes nothing to any previous colonial example, and very little to any mediaeval precedent. Its stepped tower of two stages, and its west rooms under a continuous roofline like a narthex, must surely derive from another print or drawing selected by Mrs Macquarie, although the documentary evidence for this stylistic probability does not survive as it does at Parramatta.

Nor do we know the source of the design, although one can conclude that it was Scottish. The unusual plan of Newcastle with its western extrusion most closely resembles a Scottish T-plan church - a peculiarly Scottish type established in the seventeenth century and still being built in the early nineteenth.¹⁴

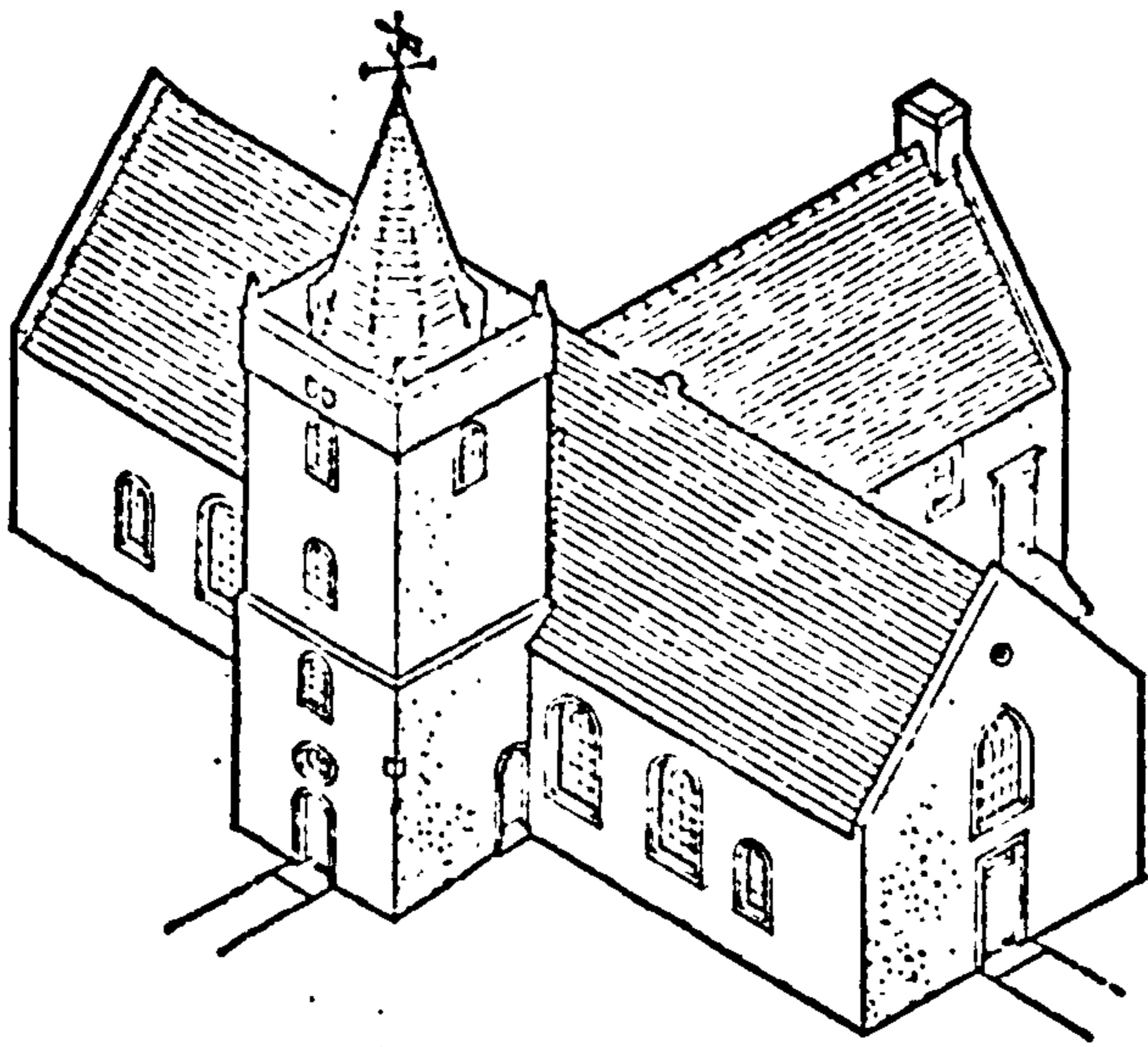


Fig 26 Yester, East Lothian (1710) : from George Hay.

Unlike other Australian churches, which were either of exposed stone or stuccoed in imitation of stone, the stone rubble of Newcastle was covered with rough-cast cement and the dressed free-stone corners were left exposed. This technique is common on Scottish churches, where it is called 'harling'.

Newcastle church was also unique in Australia in originally having only a small priest's door and no windows on the liturgical north side of the building. (It was actually on the south, for the church was built back to front.) This absence of windows on the north was also common to Scottish Post-Reformation churches, but totally impractical in the Australian climate. Extra windows were

almost immediately added to this side of the church (1820), to balance the four windows on the liturgical south, and the gallery was later given skylights.

Wallis was Anglo-Irish, but the Macquaries were very patriotic Scots, as names of townships all over N.S.W. and Tasmania still testify. It looks as if Mrs Macquarie wanted a reminder of a local parish church, as well as an English twin-towered one, in this land of exile. She probably provided a print or drawing, and Wallis and his convict draughtsmen added it to the St Phillip's, Sydney, plan.

By 1819 the Macquaries had become even more ambitious, and Greenway was given instructions to design a grand metropolitan church for Sydney - a building which could become the national cathedral when Australia finally got a bishop. Greenway rose to the occasion and designed a very ornamental 100 ft cube in the Perpendicular Gothic style, with a tower of 150 ft.¹⁵ The foundation stone for this metropolitan church of St Andrew, 'after the Tutelar Saint of Scotland',¹⁶ was laid on August 31, 1819, although the design had been sent to England as early as March 25. With it went an explanatory letter from the governor:

The Elevation of the intended New Church now forwarded to Your Lordship, may, perhaps, be considered as on too grand

and magnificent a Scale for this Infant Colony; but, as the whole of the Work is to be executed by the Government Artificers and Labourers, and the whole of the Materials used in erecting it (with the exception of the Glass and Lead) are also procured by the same description of Persons, the expence of this fine and noble edifice will be very little more than a very Plain Building of the same size would cost. I therefore hope the proposed Plan will be honored with Your Lordship's entire Sanction.

After presenting Lord Bathurst with three magnificent elevational drawings of this elaborate building (now unhappily lost), Macquarie 'earnestly and most respectfully' also asked him if he would mind ordering

a handsome and good sized Organ to be built, and sent out, on the Part of Government, for the New Church at Sydney, which will prove not only an elegant and useful Ornament to that Edifice - but a highly gratifying and most acceptable Donation and Act of Magnificence on the part of the Crown, to the Clergy and the Public in general of this Colony. I therefore once more beg to express my earnest hope that your Lordship will be pleased to grant my present request; adding thereto a Good Organist, whose Salary can be defrayed from the Colonial Revenue.

Such naive faith in the bounty of H.M. Government could only have confirmed Bathurst's decision to send Commissioner Bigge to N.S.W., to report on the state of the colony. Bathurst already resented the fact that the English government was being forced to foot the bills for the Macquaries' hobby of dotting the country with Picturesque follies. A great

cathedral, an organ, and an organist, must have been the last straw.

None of them eventuated, for one of Bigge's first acts was to stop the building of St Andrew's church. Had he but known it, Sydney thereby not only lost a great Greenway cathedral, but also vast cloistral buildings containing

the Bishop's Residence, a Library, Divinity School, Museum with Offices, etc., in corresponding style of architecture, similar to Colleges in Oxford or Cambridge

- all of which Macquarie omitted to mention, but which Greenway claimed in 1837 to have originally planned.¹⁸

The Macquaries were not the only ambitious Gothic builders in the colony. The Catholic chaplain, the Reverend John Joseph Therry, had just as presumptuous ambitions for his metropolitan church and no Commissioner Bigge to stop him realizing his vision. Even Greenway thought that Therry should be content with the single tier Perpendicular Gothic chapel he had designed for him¹⁹, but Therry would not agree. plate 17

The Catholics were badly off for a church, but Father Therry, who was a far-seeing man, would not be satisfied with a small one. This led to a dissension among the Catholics, many of whom could not enter into his views or see any necessity for so large a church as he intended to build. Among these was Mr. Greenaway (sic), the architect, employed to make the plans. He said, what

was true, that Father Therry was but a young man, and did not know what such a building would cost that anyone must be mad who could suppose that the Catholics of Sydney would require such a large building for the next hundred years at least. Many such arguments were used by well-disposed persons, but Father Therry was firm, and at last his²⁰ plan was adopted by the Catholic committee.

Greenway withdrew from the position of architect to the building on November 11, 1823, because Therry had so disastrously altered his design.²¹ So

St Mary's, as finally built, was mostly designed by plate 18 Therry, and was more simple and ignorant than Batty Langley in his most Spartan moments. The eighteenth-century antiquarian frivolities of Greenway's original plan were entirely ignored.

Despite the panegyrics lavished on Greenway's Classical designs and the denigration of his Neo-Gothic ones by Australia's Neo-Georgian architectural writers,²² Greenway must have seen himself as most competent in the Gothic mode. In 1800 he had exhibited drawings at the Royal Academy, 'from Mr Nash's', of 'the Saxon Gateway, College Green, Bristol' and 'the West door, Magdalen College chapel, Oxford'. In 1802, from 'New Palace Yard', he showed a design for a 'Chapel, Library, etc. at Bristol' - perhaps the source of his Sydney cathedral complex. In 1803 he exhibited 'Thornbury Castle restored, with a canal brought from the

river Severn up to Thornbury'²³. Greenway cited this as the source of his design for Government House Sydney, and there is a general resemblance between his extant stable buildings and Thornbury. The execution of Government House itself was also prohibited by Commissioner Bigge, and the designs for it have been lost.

plate 19

These exclusively Gothic works were the only designs shown by Greenway at the Academy, and give us a good idea of his own estimation of his abilities. It is a pity that his only Australian buildings in the Gothic style that were ever carried out were the large stable block for Government House, Sydney (1817), the 'turnpike Gate at Sydney with Gothic lodge and offices'²⁴ (1819-1820: demolished), Macquarie Fort (building 1821: demolished), alterations to Dawes Battery (1820: demolished), and a slight influence on the design for St Mary's Catholic church (1821-36: destroyed). The last was never claimed by him as his work.

In the case of St Mary's it seems almost certain that the plan of the church was Therry's own, but elevational details like the octagonal buttresses and the window proportions may have been adapted from Greenway's design. But Therry entirely

ignored such archeological detail as the open quatrefoil parapets, Perpendicular tracery, elaborate sculptural niches on either side of the east window, and the hammer-beam roof with ogee arched braces and foiled tracery, which Greenway had pencilled in on his original design. All were very pretty in a rather Rococo Gothick way; it is typical that Greenway's hammer-beam should be more decorative than structural.

Apparently Therry did not bother to employ another architect after Greenway resigned, but just had each part of the building drawn up by a local builder as finances allowed for its erection.²⁵ Hence the final building was a much modified version of Therry's original vision. The church took fifteen years to build and from 1827 Therry was no longer in charge of the work. However by 1827 the external walls were virtually complete, and these can be said to have been Therry's contribution to the Australian Gothic Revival.

This contribution can be summarised as, a Latin cross plan and a passion for pointed windows of the simplest Carpenters' Gothic sort. There were at least 60 windows on St Mary's, whereas Greenway's St Andrew's, of a comparable scale,

was apparently to have had about 9 excluding those on the tower.²⁶ Both characteristics were emulated in the design of other Australian Catholic churches, and both were entirely due to Therry himself. Even Therry's loyal Irish builder at St Mary's, James Dempsey, tried to talk Therry out of so many windows. He finally wrote to him suggesting that all the lower range should be blocked up

for all the fine Churches I have being in has Being lit of from above - under the side gallery the apset (opposite) window Will give lite the same as in moorefeil (Moorfields) London and in St Salvedore.²⁷

The New South Wales Magazine of July 1843 was of the same opinion, although more literate. The interior of St Mary's, it said,

would have been calculated to afford a pleasing mellowness, were not this effect interrupted by the flood of light which is admitted on every side by the double row of windows.²⁸

Therry persisted in this passion despite all criticism, and any church he had anything to do with had at least one wide pointed window to every ten feet of wall. His cultivated Benedictine successors at St Mary's, Dr William Bernard Ullathorne and Bishop John Bede Polding, found his architectural ideas irritating. Polding complained that Australian Catholic churches had no regard for the climate with so many windows,²⁹ and Ullathorne was even more annoyed by the practices of this

persistent primitive Suger. Therry, he said,

had such a passion for windows, which he called 'opes', that on the church at Campbell Town, exposed on a lofty hill, though it was but 80' long, he contrived to fit it with 80 windows, most of which had afterwards to be blocked up. He put two rows around, and³⁰ then filled the gables with windows.

Campbelltown church, which was begun in 1824, was designed entirely by Therry. After the walls had got to 12 ft Therry 'made the peapel add a 2th Story to their Buildin'³¹. As Therry also believed that every storey should be marked with a string course, this meant that a foot of wall had to be taken down and a string course added in about 1830.³² Because of Therry's insistence upon building to such a large scale the church was not completed until 1841. By then Therry had also removed from Campbelltown, and his glazed gables replaced with a rubble infill containing a large stone cross. From 1837 until the present day there have only been 37 windows on the building. As they are all large, crude, and have pointed heads they were obviously designed by Therry.

plate 20

Campbelltown Catholic church is not really architecturally exciting, although idiosyncratic. It looks rather like an overgrown Methodist chapel with pointed windows. Its double storey was not repeated elsewhere in the colony and was

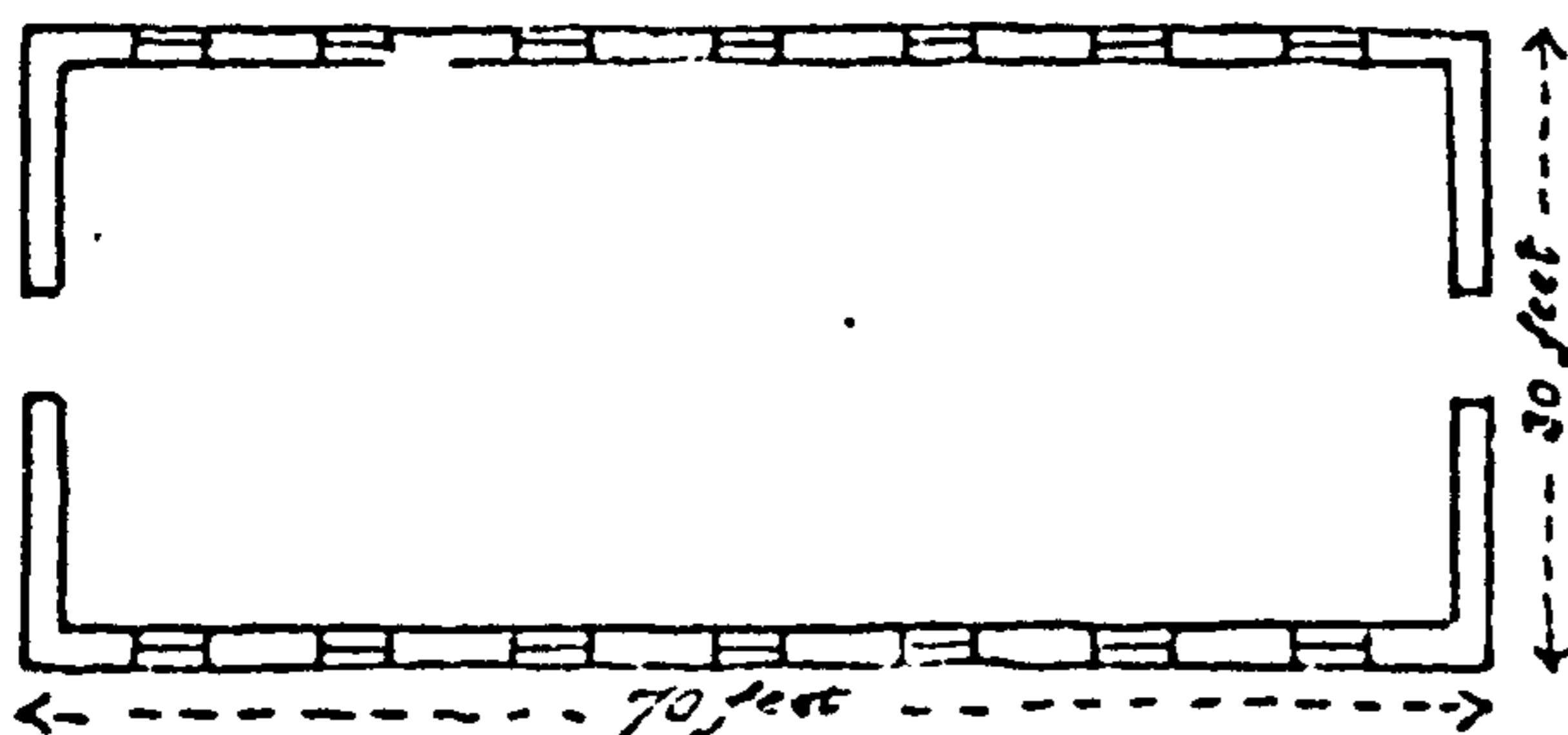
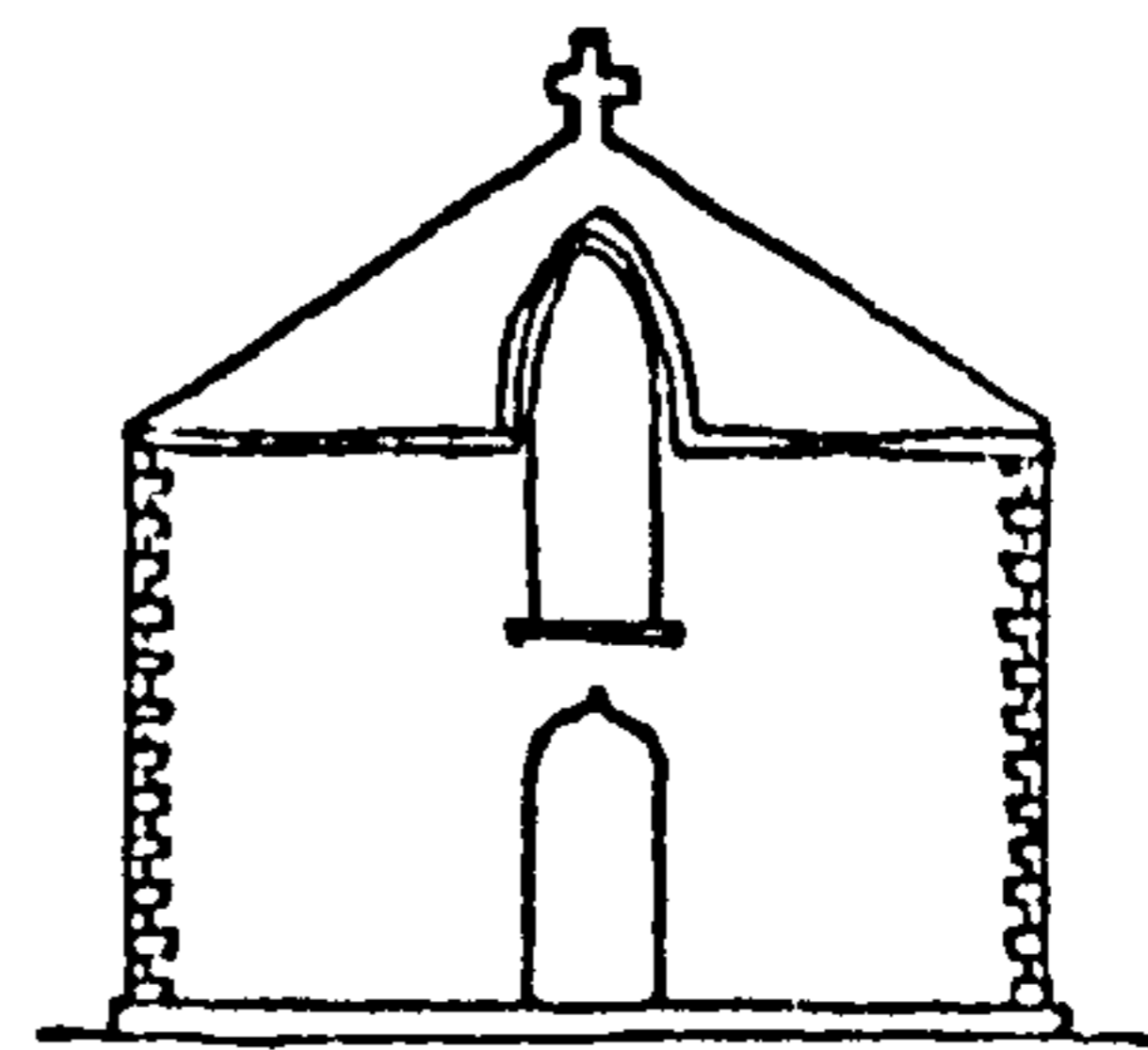
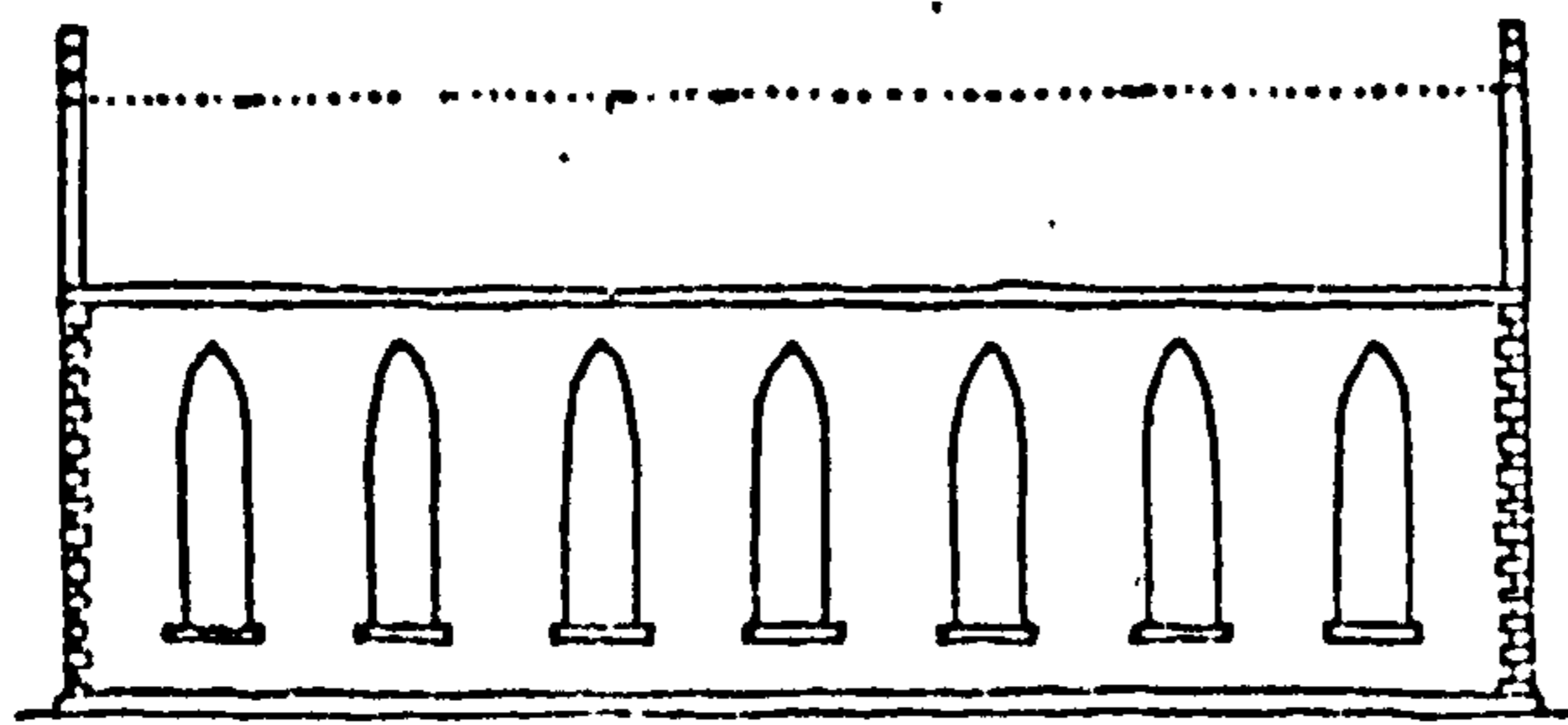
soon regretted, even by the Campbelltown Catholics.³³

Although Therry lost his glazed gables at Campbelltown he made up for this deprivation at Maitland. In 1835 Ullathorne had designed a simple Gothic chapel for the Maitland Catholics. It was a considerably more sophisticated building than Therry's efforts had been, although of simple rectangular form and primitive detailing. At least it had thin lancet windows of approximately Gothic proportions, an ogival door, and either an open, or a high-pitched ceiled timber roof. But it was not built quite to Ullathorne's design. Some time after it had been begun Ullathorne

went over to see how it was going on, when to my astonishment I found it had double the number of windows designed, and in that climate of heat and sun was window all over. I found that Father Therry had been there, and without a word to me had put in a second window between every two Sir Richard Bourke happened to say he had seen my church on his visit to Maitland, and that it stood well in a fine position. 'Yes', I said, 'but what a glare of windows. Father Therry spoilt my plan by a lot of additional windows and has made it like a cage.'

plate 21

'A cage for a goose', he exclaimed, 'and he is a goose. Why will he always be meddling?'³⁴



*Sketch of Plan
and
Elevations of
the
Catholic Chapel
at
Maitland.*

*Fig. 27 Sketch of Maitland Catholic Chapel, drawn by
Mortimer Lewis, 1835: from NSW SA.*

The battle between Therry and the Benedictines continued throughout the late 1830s, and can be discovered in several other country churches. St Augustine's, Yass (1838-43), was originally a stuccoed brick box with a pointed window to every ten foot of wall. It had a string course running round the whole of the exterior, a pair of front doors, and three small doors to the partitioned east end. It was ornamented with '4 turrlets and 2 Crosses' costing £10, according to the itemised list of expenses detailed by the contractor, James Walsh.³⁵ All seem to have been Therry's design.

Even after Therry's removal to Hobart in 1838 his faithful supporter, Cornelius O'Brien, did not allow Polding any opportunity to alter either the plan or the site of Yass Church. Therry laid the foundation stone of St Augustine's before he left, on a different site to that approved by Polding and granted by the government. O'Brien had given Therry the alternative site and become a trustee of the church. He did not allow Polding to even see the plan until it was too late to alter Therry's arrangements.³⁶ This was probably wise, for Polding subsequently moved the Catholic church at Goulburn from Therry's site to one more convenient to the town.³⁷

Therry also had a less lasting influence in the Appin area. He had designed a church very similar to Yass for Appin, and this building, under the name of the 'Immaculate Conception', was begun in 1837. By 1839 William Murphy, the builder, had got to sill level of the windows: there were to be five to a side of just over fifty feet, like Yass. Then Polding interfered, dismissed the mason, and completed the church on a piece work basis. By November 1840 he could announce to the governor that

some deviations from the original design have been made. These chiefly regard the windows.³⁸

There were now to be three to a side instead of five. This change can still be read on the building where buttress footings exist for a church of five bays, while the final walls have only three bays and no buttresses.

plate 23

Appin church, under the patronage of Polding's name saint, Bede, was opened on October 8, 1843. A commemorative stone at the west end marks the completion of the walls and is engraved with

plate 24

Polding's initials - 'J.P. EPUS 1841'. The tower at the liturgical east end of the church, and the arrangement of the west end with its large cross in the gable (made pedimental with a string course) seem to be part of the Therry design. The west end details are very close to those on an unidentified Therry sketch for a wider church.³⁹

plate 22

plate 26

Polding must simply have added the west porch and omitted a couple of windows.

The other notable characteristic of St Mary's, Sydney, as designed by Therry was the Latin cross plan. Even for Therry it was clearly impractical to add transepts to all his country church designs, but sometimes they could be utilised as a priest's dwelling and a school-room respectively. In 1844 Polding remarked that many Australian

Catholic churches were cruciform - mentioning Melbourne in particular.⁴⁰ Although the architect for St Francis's at Melbourne is known to have been a local builder called Samuel Jackson, it is probable that this church also owed a good deal to Therry.⁴¹ Its multiple lancets, string course and stucco look very familiar.

Therry was certainly responsible for beginning the churches at Wollongong (St Francis Xavier, completed c.1848), Windsor (St Matthew's, 1836-40) and Liverpool (All Saints, c.1838-41), and these all had transepts. Plans for St Mary's Sydney, and for Windsor, in Therry's hand, still exist,⁴² and the latter is endorsed by him 'Ground plan of the intended Catholic Chapel at Windsor by J.J.T.'.

plate 27

plate 28

St Matthew's Catholic church, Windsor, was begun to Therry's plan in 1836, but was completed 1839-40 by the architect Thomas Bird under Polding's supervision. Therry's walls had reached 12 ft under the original contractor, Edward Gleed, when the Colonial Architect Mortimer Lewis condemned the work. Gleed was replaced by the Sydney firm of Brodie and Craig, and Polding put the design in the hands of Thomas Bird, who added lots of Gothic ornament and a west tower. Brodie

and Craig then sabotaged Bird's scheme by pointing out how much money could be saved by omitting tower and ornament.⁴³ This was duly removed, and the final building, still extant at the opposite end of the town to the Anglican St Matthew's, owes very little to Bird's rather fussy brand of Gothic, so well exemplified in the contemporary Anglican church of St Peter's, Cooks River (see chapter four).

St Matthew's, Windsor, now had three windows to the nave instead of the four designed by Therry, plus buttresses, a west porch, an open scissor truss roof in cedar, and fewer windows to the rest of the church. Bird also threw the transepts into the church, separating the sacristy with a panelled Gothic cedar screen which is no longer extant (except for some possible remnants around the font).

Had Bird been allowed to go ahead with his design the timber roof would also have had Gothic ornaments in 'cedar cut-work', the porch would have been a tower, the walls would have had battlemented parapets, and the windows would have had moulded architraves. The final solution was a disappointing instance of the worst of both worlds, lacking Therry's plethora of windows and

plate 29

naive Gothic detailing, while also missing out on Bird's Carpenter's Gothic excesses.

So Catholic churches in N.S.W. in the 1830s and early 1840s belong to two types: Therry Georgian and Benedictine Carpenter's Gothic. The former is a wide box with a low-pitched gabled roof, which often had transepts and always contains lots of wide pointed windows of a most naive sort. The latter is typically tall and narrow, with a more steeply-pitched roof which is either open or has an ogival cedar ceiling with bosses. It also has fewer and narrower lancet windows. While the Therry model church was St Mary's, Sydney, the exemplar of the early Benedictine style was St Patrick's, Church Hill, Sydney (begun 1840), which will be discussed in chapter four.

The sources of Therry's idiosyncratic architectural tastes must lie in Ireland, where Therry had entirely spent his life before coming to Australia in 1820.⁴⁴ But Therry also had French ancestry, and always communicated with his sister in French.⁴⁵ This Hiberno-French combination is architecturally, as well as genealogically, revealing. France provides the reason for his exclusive adherence to pointed arches, and for

his fondness for the French Gothic plan of transepts and apsidal east end, and his exclusively Irish environment explains the inept way these forms are expressed.

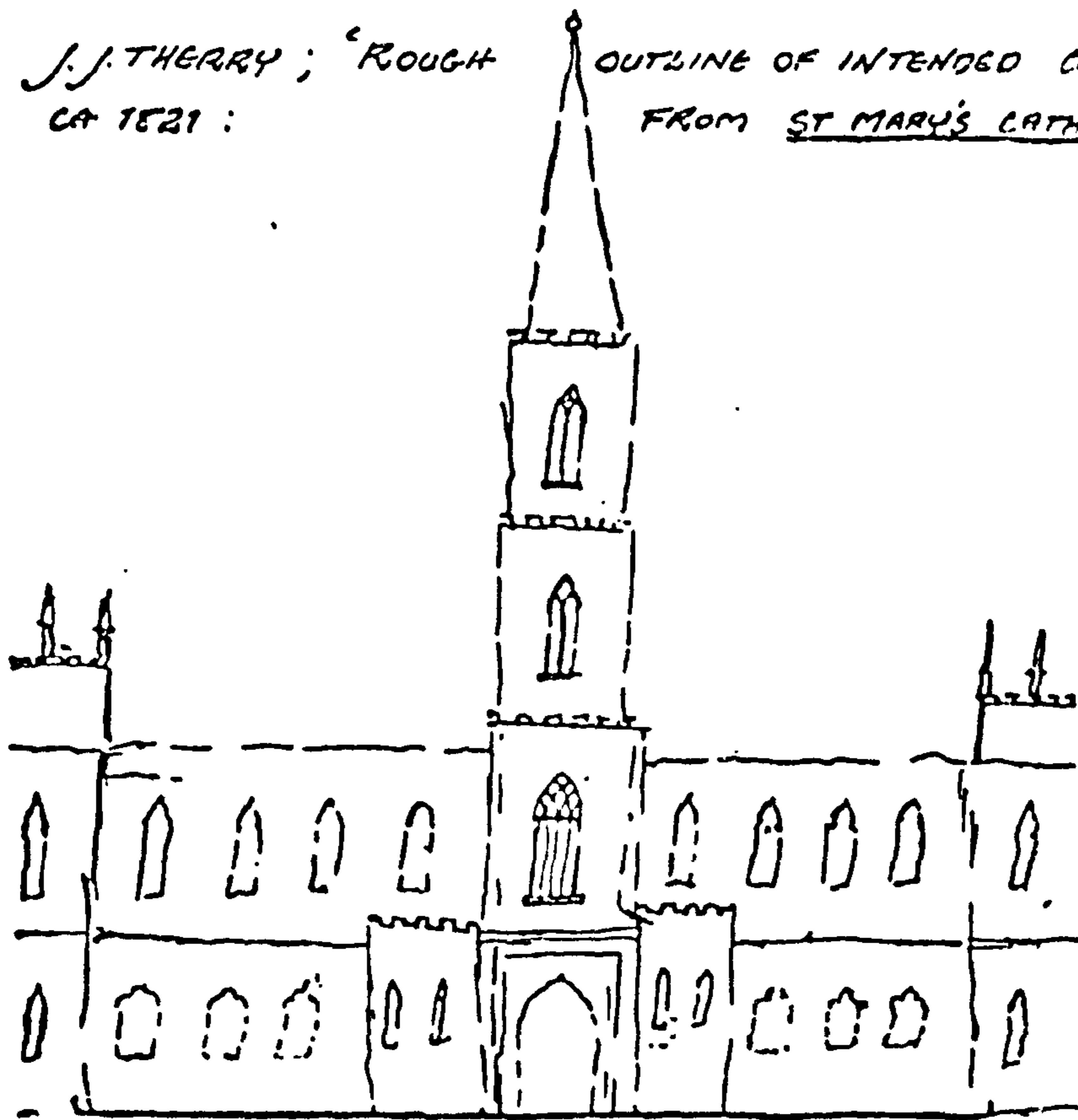
Irish Catholic churches of the early nineteenth century were either crude 'mass houses' of a simple domestic type with an occasional pointed window with Y tracery, or were in a Classical style when more money was available.⁴⁶ Although Gothic was the prevailing style chosen by the Church of Ireland's 'Board of First Fruits', who spent over a million pounds on church building between 1808 and 1823, Catholics were slow to adopt it outside major cities. Therry had spent most of his life in Cork.

St Mary's, Sydney, looks most archaic when compared with contemporary Anglican churches in Ireland as well as England, but it was quite a pioneer in the Catholic context. It compares very closely with St Malachy, Belfast, by Thomas Jackson, in its proportions and detailing. Both had battlements, octagonal towers, two tiers of windows, string courses and crude mouldings. It is therefore a shock to note that St Malachy was not begun until 1844 - eight years after the completion of St Mary's.⁴⁷

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plate 30

Irish Catholic churches in the Gothic style of sufficient importance to have inspired Therry before his emigration were very few in number. There was St Michael and St John's, Dublin, of 1815 by J. Taylor, and St Brendan's, Birt, Co. Offaly, of 1817 by Bernard Mullen. The latter was cruciform with buttresses, pinnacles, and Y tracery, and looks something like Therry's 'rough outline' design for St Mary's found among his papers.

Fig. 28. J. J. THERRY; 'ROUGH OUTLINE OF INTENDED CATHEDRAL' CA 1821: FROM ST MARY'S CATHEDRAL.



Carlow Cathedral by Thomas Cobden was not begun until 1820, the same year that George Richard Pain began to rebuild the interior of St Mary's Pro-Cathedral in Therry's native town of Cork.⁴⁸ The

plaster Gothic vaulting of Cork may have had some influence on the design of the roof of St Mary's, although this was not built by the Benedictines until after Therry's removal from Sydney. Still, plans and designs were in short supply in the colony; if someone had sent Therry some clear information about the construction of rib vaults with bosses it may have been gratefully utilised. Therry never relinquished the right to 'meddle' in the architectural affairs of his cathedral, and was still offering money and a high altar when it was being completed.

St Mary's had been begun in the boom period of building during the Macquarie regime. The post-Macquarie period from 1822 until 1836 was a period of retrenchment. Macquarie's successor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, had been specifically warned by the English government against indulging in any sort of unnecessary or 'ornamental' building. His only ecclesiastical activity was to begin the church that Macquarie had already planned for the penal station of Port Macquarie. Then in 1826 he handed over all responsibility for religion and education to the Anglican church, by establishing the 'Clergy and School Lands Corporation'. Its committee consisted of Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes

Scott, the Reverend Samuel Marsden, and three prominent Anglican laymen - Attorney General Saxe Bannister, Acting Chief Justice Stephen, and the Hon. Robert Campbell.

Brisbane's church at Port Macquarie was originally to be a mere barn, with walls 14 ft high, that could be converted into secular use if necessary - or so Brisbane informed Lord Bathurst in August 1824.⁴⁹ Somehow this intention was ignored, and Port Macquarie got a much larger box whose walls were 30 ft high, with pilasters, west tower, and pointed windows. Its architect was possibly Lieutenant Thomas Owen, a local engineer, whose signature is on contemporary plans,⁵⁰ but its new form must have been due to Archdeacon Scott and his Corporation.

plate 32

The style of St Thomas's, Port Macquarie (completed 1828), is really the same as Greenway's Liverpool Church. Its pointed windows and battlemented tower are the only 'Gothic' aspects of the design, while the rest of the building is entirely in the 'Carpenters' Classical' mould. Its main interest today lies in the fact that it still has a Georgian interior, although only four of the high box pews were built in 1828. Two more were

plate 31

plate 33

added in 1832 and the rest date from just after 1840. The exterior of Port Macquarie would be more interesting if the original roof-line had not been raised in 1923, and if it still had its strange 'modesty screen' which extended from the north porch into the grounds to allow the free settlers of the district to descend from their carriages unseen by convict eyes.⁵¹

The first Presbyterian church in Australia was a little earlier than Port Macquarie. It was built by the Reverend Dr John Dunmore Lang from 1824-26 and was similar to Port Macquarie, although of stone instead of brick. It had more elongated pointed windows to give light to the intended galleries on three sides of the church (added 1841) and no buttresses. Its ignorant combination of Classical pediment, pointed windows, and plain west tower probably owed a lot to a standard Scottish village church type, and explains the desire to adapt Greenway's Liverpool church style to a 'Gothic' form in this case.

plate 34

The plan of the Sydney Scots Church was drawn up by the Colonial Architect Standish Lawrence Harris to Lang's instructions, with the roof later drawn by William Aird, the superintendent of the

Engineers' Office at Parramatta.⁵² Lang's father and brother - a ship-builder and a carpenter respectively - built it without any architect's supervision 'in consequence of the difficulty of finding any suitable person to superintend the building'.⁵³ This really meant that the volatile Langs found it impossible to agree with the incompetent Harris.

This church type, a simple rectangular box with pedimented gabled roof, west tower, and plain tall lancet windows, was regularly followed by the Presbyterians in Australia. Similar churches were built at Bathurst (completed 1835: tower added 1847), West Maitland (c.1836-39, with round windows and hood moulds), and Ipswich in Queensland (1854-56). In fact throughout most of the century Presbyterian church building generally remained architecturally unadventurous. Lang believed that churches built for the Church of Scotland 'should correspond somewhat with the simplicity of the gospel':⁵⁴ his successors apparently believed they should be as unchanging.

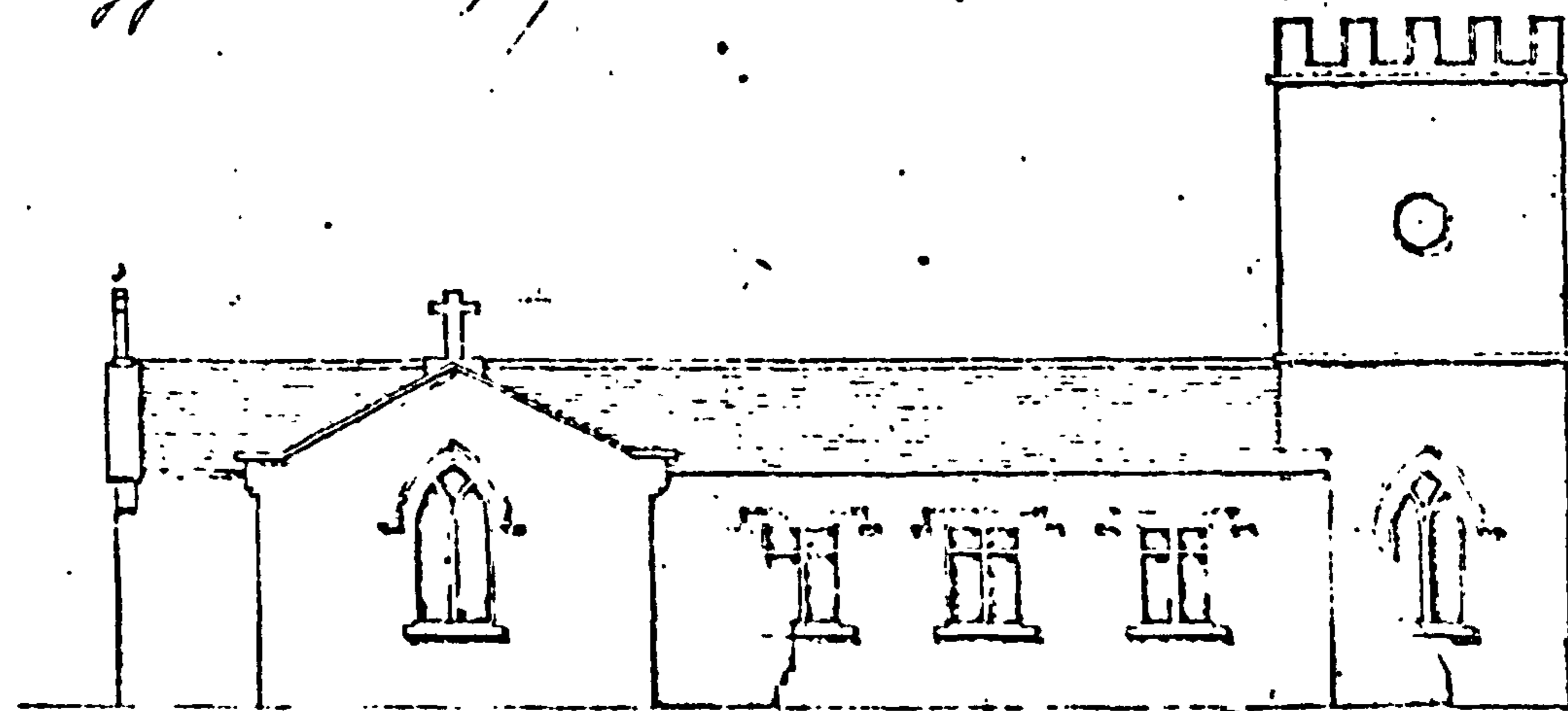
As all the church revenue of the colony was in Anglican hands in 1826 one would expect that the Clergy and School Lands Corporation would now

indulge in a wild orgy of church building, especially as one seventh of any land opened to settlement was also to be ceded to the Corporation. In practice this gift horse lacked teeth. The first grant of land under the Charter was not received until February 3, 1829, and then the 393,000 acres could not be immediately converted into cash. Just over three months later the Corporation was ordered to be dissolved. Although Archdeacon Scott and his committee kept it alive until February 1833 it was never the golden goose that Lang and the Catholics believed it to have been.⁵⁵

As far as church building was concerned, the Corporation shouldered the burden of Port Macquarie Church, and erected a stone chapel at Ryde (1826-28), 50 ft by 30 ft with round-headed windows. In Tasmania, where the government was still directly paying fifty per cent cash, Archdeacon Scott, with the help of Governor Arthur and his Colonial Architect, managed to erect several simple Gothic parish churches. We know that in 1828 one of these was designed by Scott and drawn up by John Lee Archer, because of Archer's superscription saying so on the original plans,⁵⁶ and the others probably evolved in the same way. plate 35

Fig. 29

Design for a Chapel, Van Diemens Land.
drawn by John Lee Archer: perip. P.R.O.



Elevation

Drawn from a Design by the Reverend the Hon. the Bishop: scale of Feet
Architects Office Hobart Town July 3rd 1828.

In N.S.W. Scott was more concerned about erecting school-church buildings that were plain, cheap, and multi-purpose; for the Corporation was also entirely responsible for the official educational establishment of the colony.

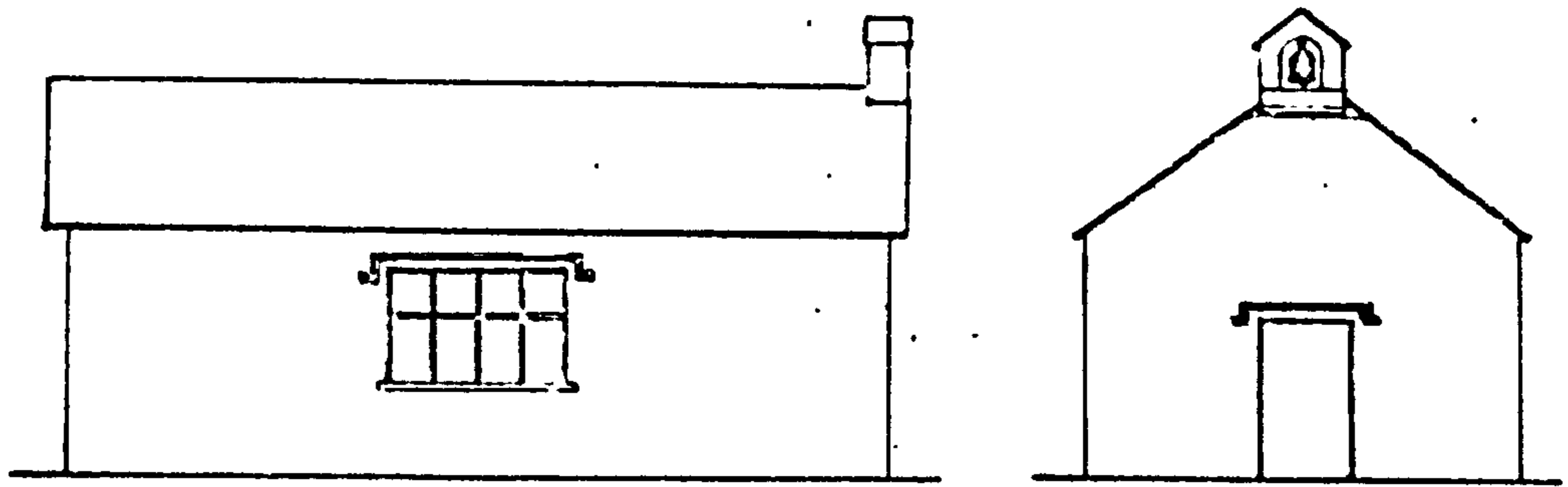
Scott also had to build parsonages for rural clergy, and at first lacked even the mechanics to erect these simple four-roomed cottages. For the first year of its existence the Corporation's architectural activities consisted of purchasing extant houses at Pitt Town, the Lower Hawkesbury and Bathurst to use as parsonages; and in advertising for plans and workmen for churches, parsonages and schools.

The first plans obtained by the Corporation were commissioned from William Aird. He sent in quite expensive designs, for a school and a church at Prospect (estimated cost £982.15.11), a general school plan, and two plans for parsonages. Joshua Thorp, superintendent of works in the Department of Public Works, provided a school-master's cottage, and a 'town and country church' in 1827, and James Houison of Parramatta drew up the specifications for John Verge's designs for the King's School, Parramatta, in 1833, and built Verge's 'Grecian' alternative design which was chosen for the school buildings.⁵⁷

School-church buildings were erected at Marsfield (Parramatta) and Pitt Town in 1827-28; at Sutton Forest (£110) and Maitland (£319) between 1828 and 1830. Castle Hill and Lane Cove got parsonages, Bathurst was given a school, and St James's, Sydney, was repaired and given Verge's eastern vestries (Joshua Thorp was the builder, and the spire was repaired by Edward Flood). The school-church at Wilberforce, which Macquarie had built in 1819-20, was plastered and pewed, and the Corporation even spent £2.10.0 on lathing, plastering and whitewashing the Ebenezer Chapel at Portland Head. Ebenezer was a simple Presbyterian school-church building erected in

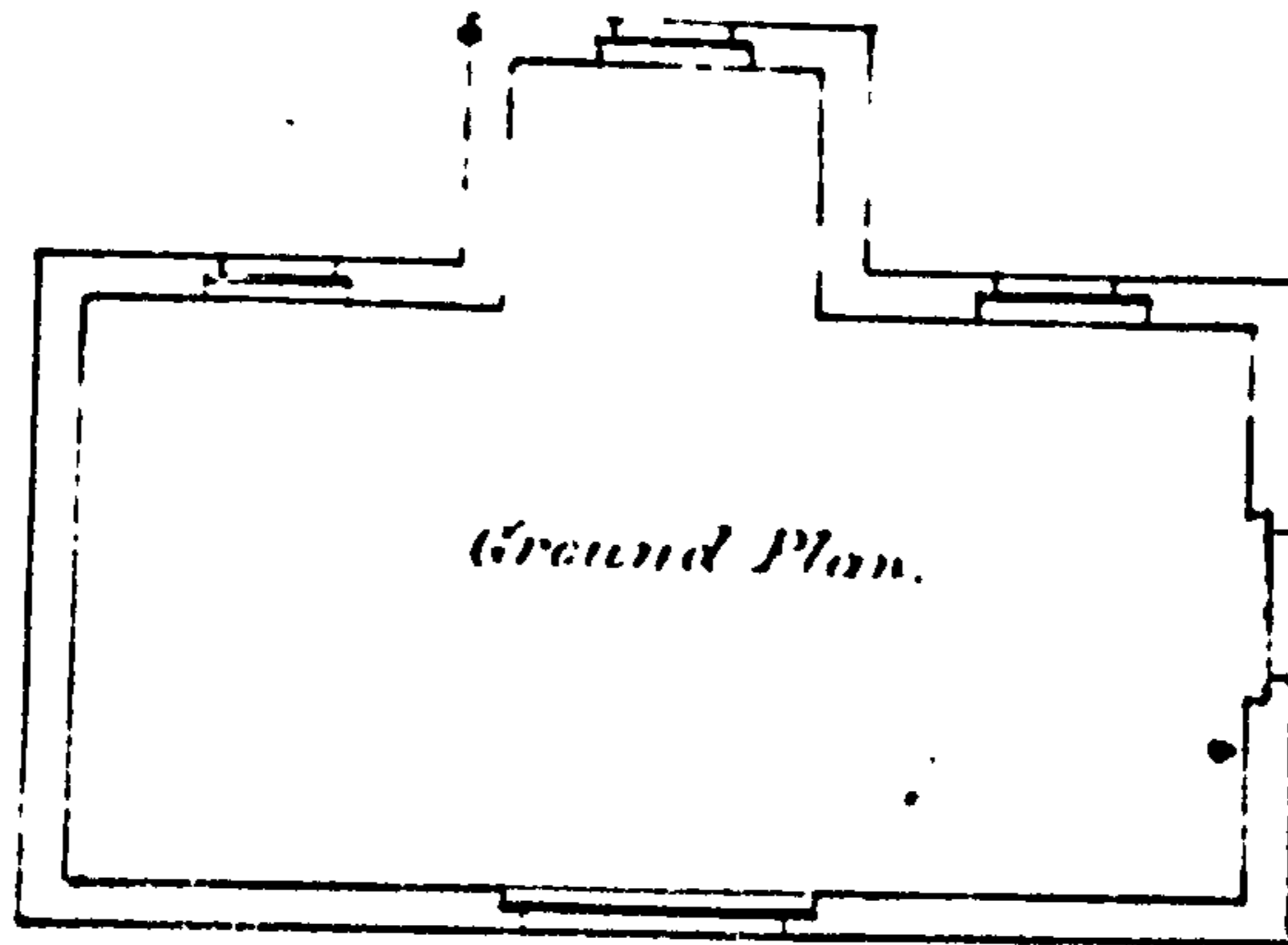
1808 - now the oldest extant ecclesiastical building in Australia. By spending a mite on its repair the Corporation was acknowledging an obligation towards other denominations, but this seems to have been a unique gesture.

Among all the school-church buildings erected by the Corporation only the simple Tudor brick one at Maitland is known to have survived. It is almost certainly one of William Aird's designs, although the extant plans and specification are unsigned.⁵⁸

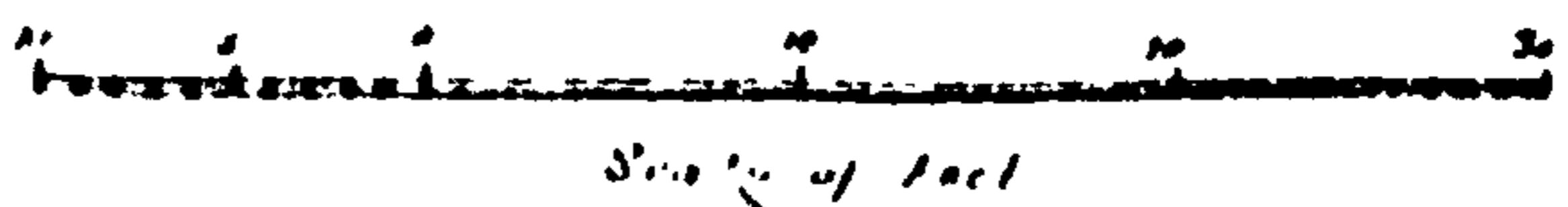


Elevation

Fig. 30 School/church design attributed to William Aird: from NSWBA.



Ground Plan.



Like Lee Archer's Tudor church design for Tasmania, Aird's school plan was 'suggested by the Venerable Archdeacon Scott'; so it would seem that Scott had a pattern book of simple Tudor designs suitable for colonial situations.⁵⁹ However, only the detailing of Lee Archer's nave and Aird's school-church are simple pattern-book Tudor. Aird seems to have added his Tudorish windows and doors to a T-plan modelled on Thomas Telford's standard 'Highland Church'.⁶⁰ Telford built 32 churches of this form in Scotland between 1822 and 1830. It is quite likely that at one of them he had the assistance of William Aird before he migrated.

On the whole Scott's clergy tended to be more ignorant about architecture than the local mechanics, although at times forced to erect a simple building without any help from Sydney. For instance, an extant specification for a wooden school-house to be erected at Oldbury near Castlereagh in 1826, by and for the Reverend Henry Fulton - the man who has the distinction of being Australia's only ex-convict Anglican clergyman - is disarmingly innocent. Fulton states that he wants a building 35 ft by 16 ft with a skillion behind:

... in the front side let there be a door in the middle with a window on each side

of the door: a door in the middle of the backside and a window at each end of the skillen with a covert way opposite the back-door, which will divide the skillen into two rooms for the schoolmaster, one for a bed room, and the other for a kitchen ...

Yours truly,
signed Henry Fulton

N.B. I have forgot to mention that you should plaster it with ⁶loam and white-wash it in the inside.

Fulton finally got his school-house and a proper specification was written out for it by the builder, James Atkinson of Mulgoa. Atkinson was apparently the only reliable tradesman in the area, and had a local monopoly of church building in the 1830s. This must have been one of his first jobs.

The Reverend Thomas Hassall, Fulton's neighbouring Anglican clergyman and an ex-missionary in the South Pacific, was more competent. He erected two churches in his parish, at Cobbitty and O'Connell Plains. His Heber Chapel at Cobbitty (completed 1828) was a simple domestic brick building with a plain Doric north porch. Its only architectural peculiarity was a small square west room elevated on four columns in the manner of the original west end of St John's, Parramatta, (which would have disappeared long before Hassall came to Australia). Hassall's west end is also no longer with us: it must have been intended as a combined bell-tower, and watch-house.⁶²

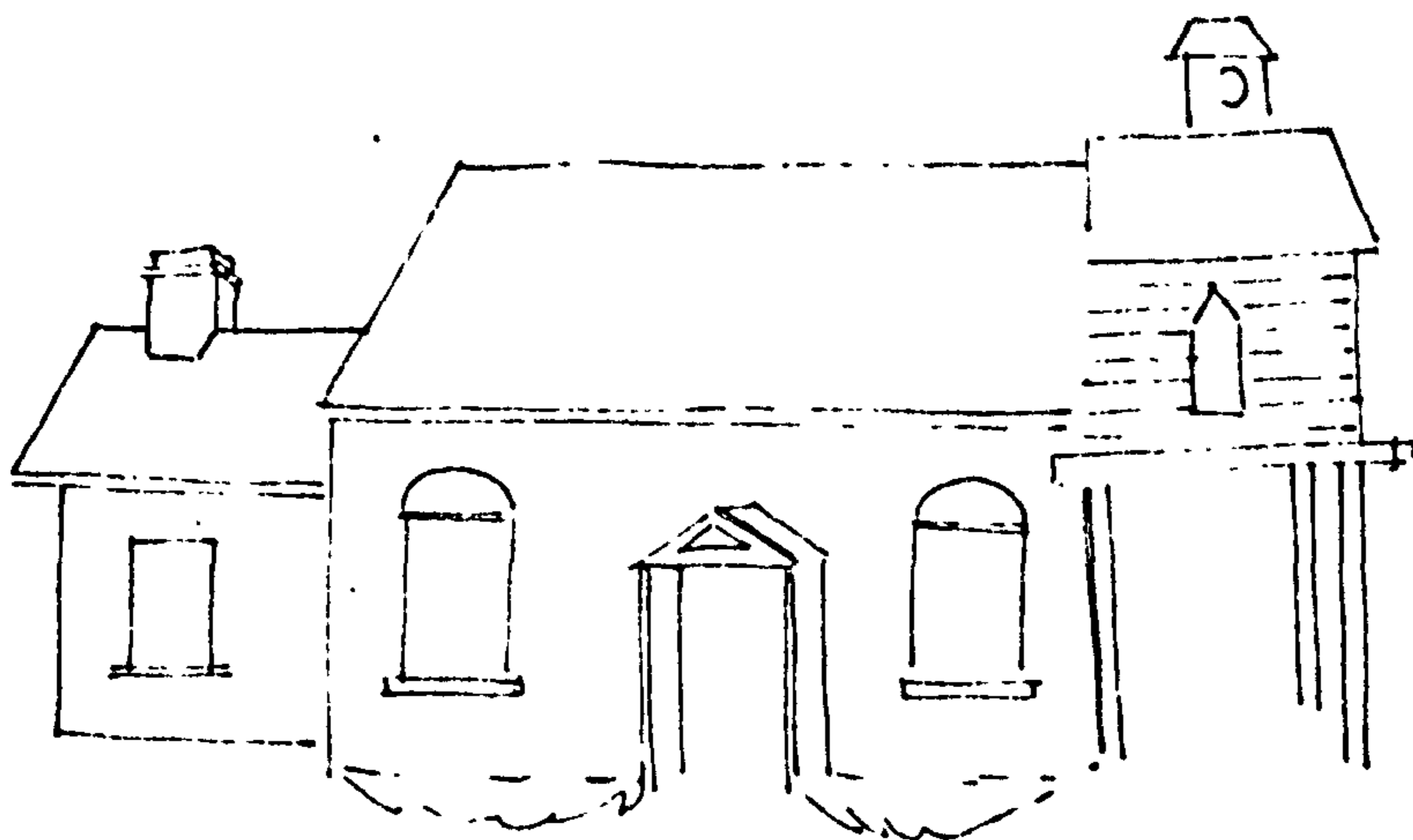
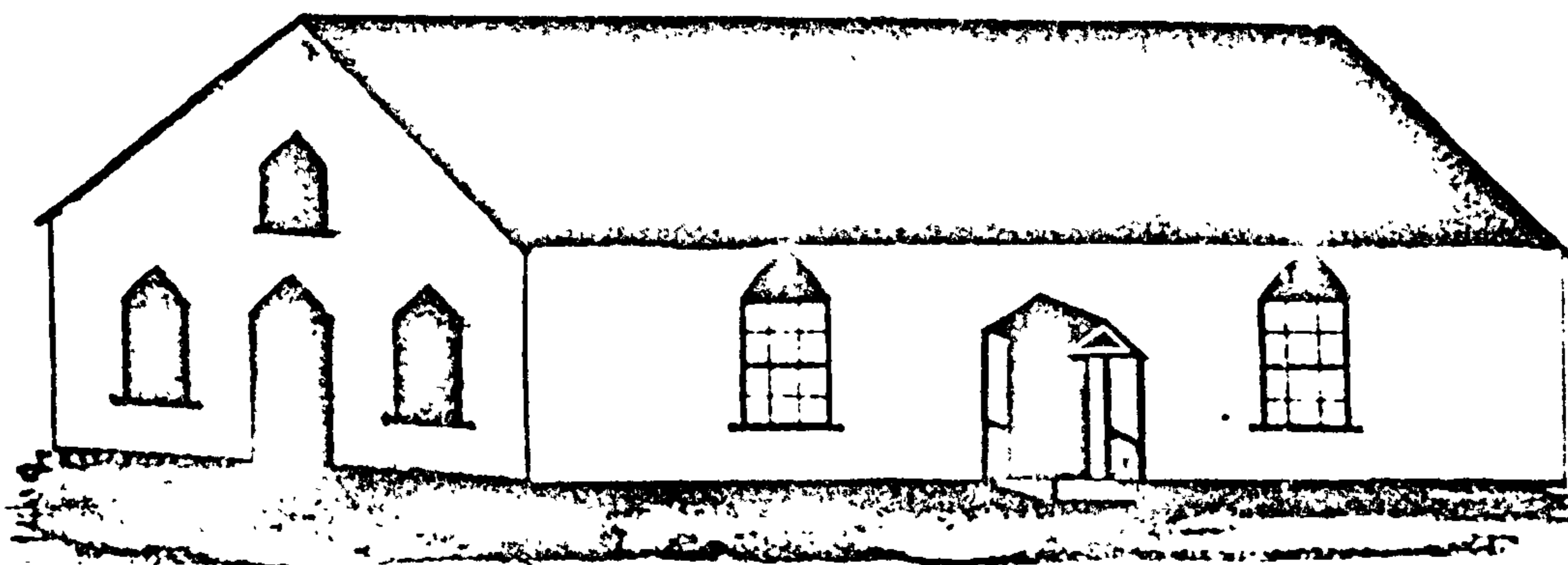


Fig. 31 Heber Chapel Lobbitty from a drawing by the Rev. Richard Taylor.

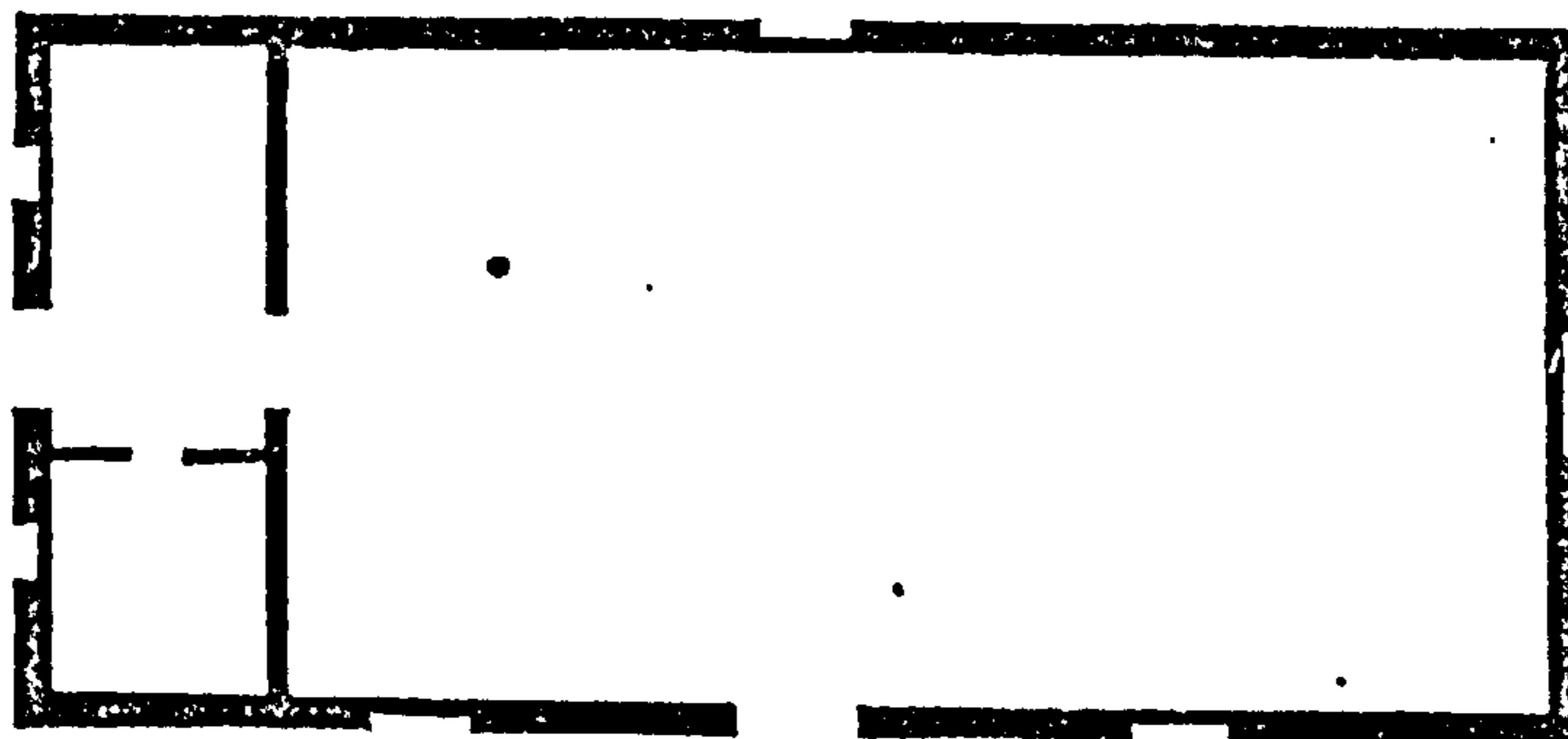
Hassall's other building, the Salem Chapel at O'Connell, of 1831, was in the 'Gothic' style - if we take that simply to mean that it had pointed windows. It was interesting because it was built of rammed earth, plastered and whitewashed to stop it disintegrating. This method was common in the area, and there are still many pisé buildings in both O'Connell and Sodwalls. (sic). In fact the sitting room behind the grocery store at the bottom of the hill below the present O'Connell church looks very like Hassall's chapel.

The Salem Chapel was 41 ft by 16 ft in the clear, with a shingled roof. It cost £80 complete,⁶³ including floor and skirting (£12.10.0), eight sash windows with mock pointed heads (£3), a communion-table and a table with a drawer (£2.5.0),

four plain seats and chairs (£1), 'a neat pulpit, reading stands and seats complete' (£8.10.0), 'four Sopha seats' (£5), and ten 'common stools' (£1.10.0). These were all provided by John Ballard (who could just write his name) and Joshua Heron (who was illiterate). Hassall had to write out the tenders, and apparently also provided the necessary drawings.



*fig 32. Salem Chapel, O'Connell by Thomas Hassall:
from NSWSA.*



With all its crudity of design, execution and draughtsmanship Salem Chapel had some stylistic pretensions. The high-pitched roof was clearly

practical where walls were necessarily low, but the simple portico (£1.10.0) and pointed windows were deliberately ornamental additions to proclaim the building's function. The pointed windows would seem quite contrary to the nature of the material: they were probably only cut in relief and painted. Whereas Macquarie's school-church at Wilberforce of 1819-20 had been a standard two-storeyed Georgian domestic building,⁶⁴ and Archdeacon Scott's Maitland one was a simple Regency school, Hassall now wanted his school-churches to look ecclesiastical. Detached huts served for domestic purposes.

This sort of simple but distinctive chapel building used for both school and church with separate domestic huts became the typical solution for a first ecclesiastical establishment in the bush. Later versions were usually of wood rather than earth, and lacked O'Connell's charm.

•

Archdeacon Scott may have the design of another substantial church in N.S.W. to his credit, apart from Port Macquarie, although it was not begun in his time. He intended building a decent brick church in the growing area of Bathurst not far from Hassall's Salem Chapel. In August 1826

he sent a plan for this building to Governor Darling, attached to a petition from the local settlers requesting aid for building it across the river from the penal settlement of Bathurst.

Scott stated:

a chapel similar to the accompanying plan has been adopted in Van Dieman's Land at an expense of about four hundred pounds.⁶⁵

So, although this plan has been removed from the petition, we can assume that it too was a combined effort by Scott and one of Governor Arthur's surveyors or architects. When Lee Archer came out in 1827 Scott used him; before that he probably relied on David Lambe. Scott's 'similar' chapel in Van Dieman's Land was probably St John's, Launceston (1824-25: demolished), which was of this Pointed Georgian type.⁶⁶

The present church at Kelso - on the site described by Scott - was not begun until 1833, but the delay is explained by the free settlers' difficulty in raising their fifty per cent of the cost. Sketches of the original plan and elevation of the church were sent back to Sydney in 1833 for advice about contracts and specifications.⁶⁷

These probably still followed Scott's plans: it is clear that there was nobody in the area capable of even drawing up a contract with the builder

plate 36

(John Foster of Bathurst), let alone re-designing the building. The estimated cost of the church had escalated from £400 in Tasmania in 1826, to £1,065 in Bathurst in 1833; but any comparable Tasmanian church would have similarly risen in price by then - especially if being erected in a N.S.W. country town, where materials and labour were always more expensive than either Tasmania or Sydney.

The design of Holy Trinity, Kelso (1833-35), was of the same minimal Gothic style as both Port Macquarie and Launceston churches. Its only uncommon features were the twin west vestries and the stepped battlements on the tower.

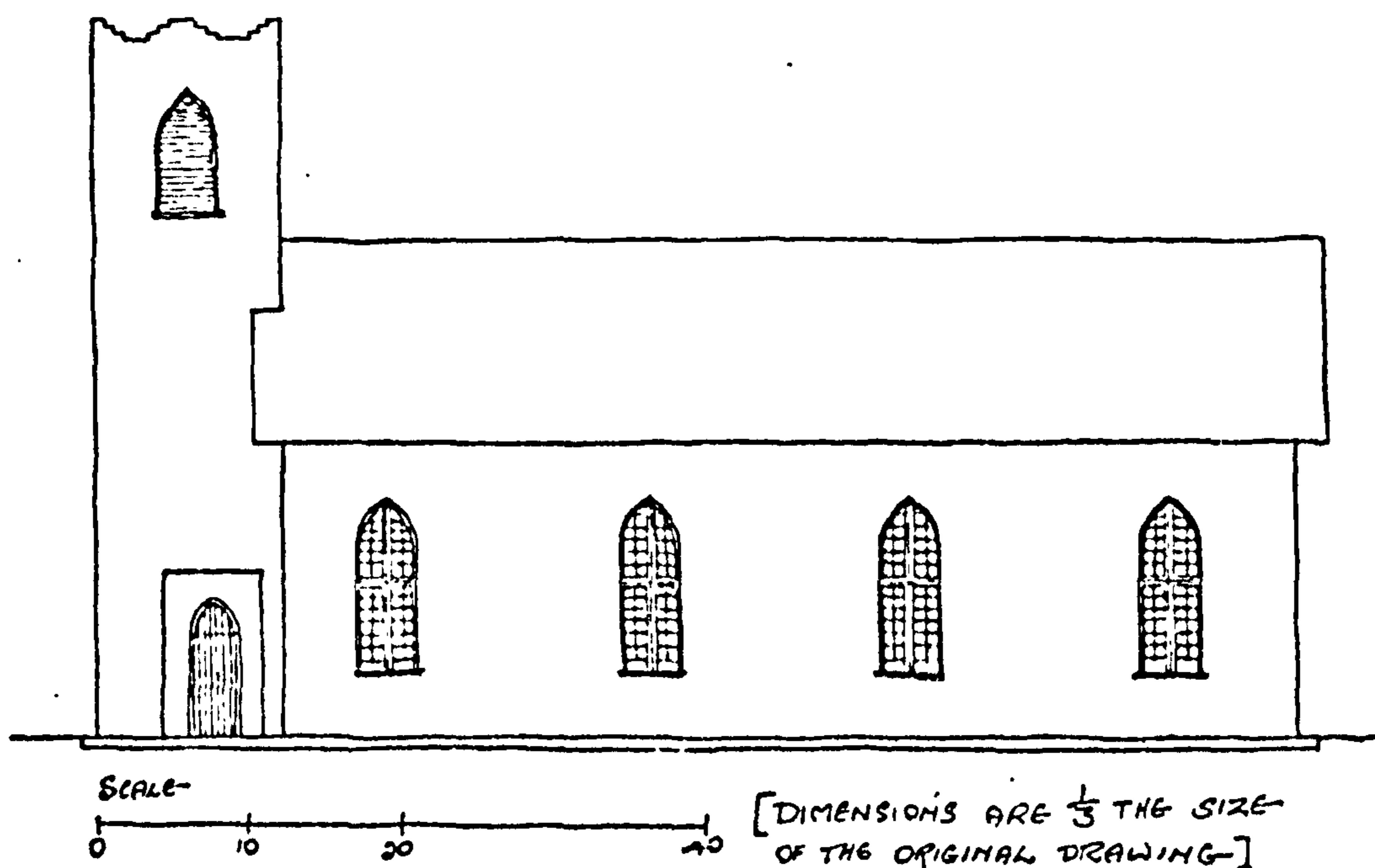


Fig. 33 Intended elevation of Holy Trinity, Kelso : from NSWSA.

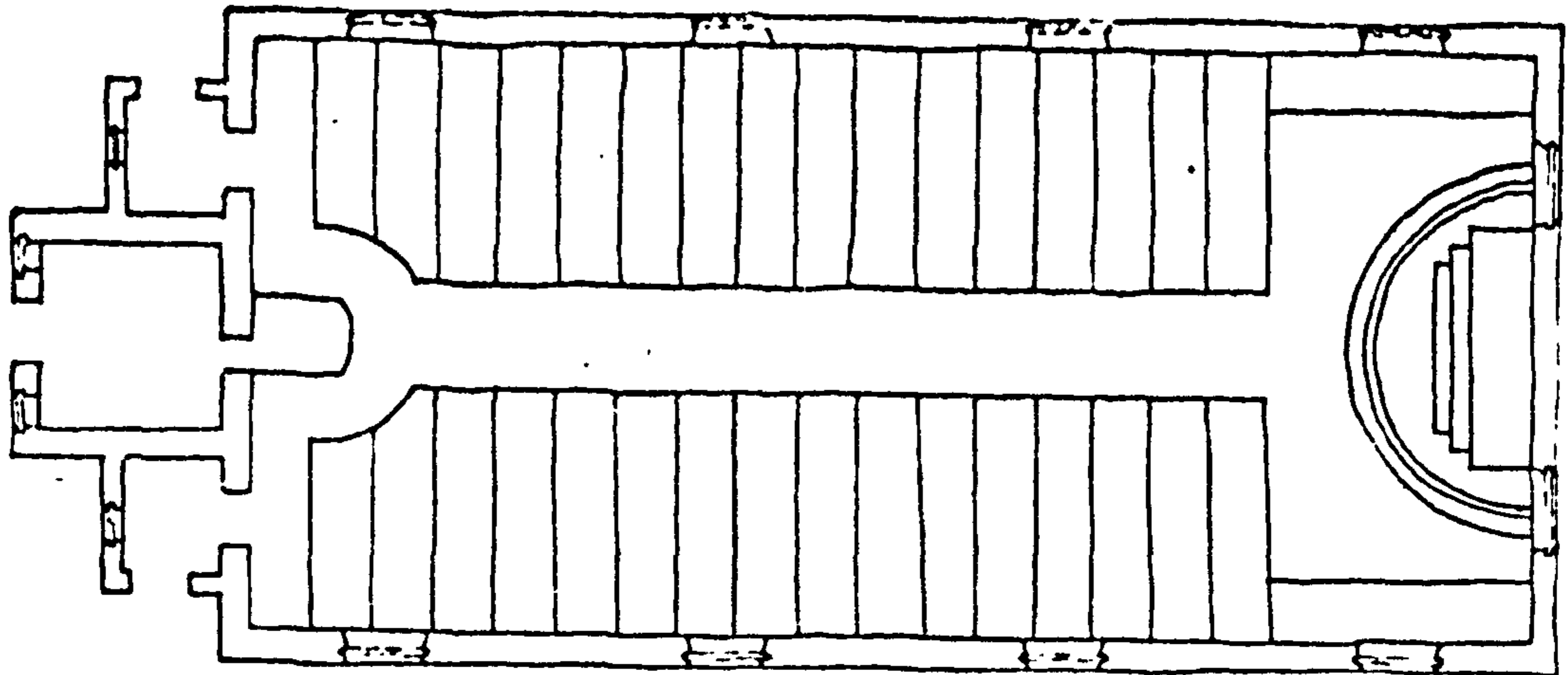


fig 34. Intended plan of Holy Trinity, Kelso: from NSWSA.

Western vestries were added to Kelso exactly 100 years later, in 1933; the tower was possibly built as designed but blew down. It was rebuilt very plain in 1841 with an incongruously small spirelet on top. The final result had so little distinction that almost anyone could have designed it.

Tradition states that the architect was the man who designed Port Macquarie Church⁶⁷, and it is true that both are of the same colonial Georgian type. One feels that this anonymous design would be more appropriately identified as emanating from Archdeacon Scott and the Clergy and School Lands Corporation than from Lieut. Thomas Owen. The plan of Port Macquarie that Owen signed in 1826 was, after all, simply a presentation plan for Archdeacon Scott, so he could see how the building was progressing and how it was intended to finish it.

The earliest interior photograph of Kelso Church shows it to have had a quite elaborate, but very unorthodox, combination of plaster Corinthian pilasters and Gothic hood moulds and stops. These presumably belong with the 1840-41 liturgical re-arrangement of the church, and the first re-building of the tower by Bishop Broughton.⁶⁸ At first the church must have been very simple and old-fashioned. The triple-decker pulpit was in an archaic and unusual position at the west end of the church, with a hardwood stepladder 'from vestry to pulpit',⁶⁹ but Broughton moved that too.

... ..

The history of church design in N.S.W. up to 1836 supports the general belief that Australian architecture declined after a Golden Age in the Macquarie era. There is no doubt that the high point of this chapter should have been Greenway's Sydney Cathedral. It never rose above its foundations, and Greenway's plans and elevation drawings for it have disappeared. Instead we have simple boxes with gabled roofs and pediments or pseudo-pediments, and sometimes a very plain low west tower. Their only 'Gothic' feature is their crudely pointed windows,

With the addition of a few 'Commissioners' Gothic' details like buttresses, pinnacles and hood moulds the type was to continue into the mid 1840s. The next chapter will attempt to explain why architectural innovation was at a premium during this period, although there was money enough to have expected something better. Chapter four will examine the few swallows that heralded better weather, if not a summer.

Chapter 3 : AMATEURS AND ARTISANS

It was not until the late 1830s in N.S.W. that the total lack of even moderately qualified architects in the colony was considered any real disadvantage when building churches. In 1838 Bishop Broughton was still complaining that churches were unable to proceed 'in consequence of the great scarcity of mechanical labour'¹, and while a good deal of tenacity and prayer was needed in rural districts in order to find someone capable of simply quarrying stone or making bricks it would have been churlish in the extreme to criticise style in view of the triumph of having achieved a building at all.

The first problem to be solved after collecting enough money for a church was to find people to build it, and having achieved this to have someone on the spot who could provide the design and supervise these rude mechanicals. This duty normally fell to the lot, not of the architect, but of the clergyman in the district. Broughton also noted that where there was no clergyman 'who takes an interest in the work, and keeps up that of the inhabitants'² churches simply did not get built.

The first problem, the supply of workmen, was

progressively alleviated by the voluntary arrival in the colony of Scottish mechanics, the first ship-load having been brought to Australia in 1831 by the Reverend John Dunmore Lang to build his Australian College in Sydney. Lang claimed that even by 1834 this initial migration scheme had led to,

a very striking improvement in the architecture of the town; and buildings are now erecting both in Sydney and in various other parts of the territory of a much superior character to any previously erected in New South Wales.³

Lang's claim that further migrants had arrived as a result of this initial scheme seems to have been justified when we look at the number of Scottish mechanics working in Sydney, although most of these were more directly encouraged to migrate as a result of the colonial bounty system carried on from Scotland on a large scale from 1837. For instance, between 1839 and 1842, 19 carpenters arrived in Australia from Perthshire alone. Between October 1840 and August 1842, 75 carpenters migrated from Scotland to Australia, and

altogether there were 363 craftsmen and mechanics among the Scots, apart from skilled agricultural workers, gardeners,⁴ and specialised labourers like quarrymen.

This number, as Macmillan points out, was far higher than the proportions among either English or Irish migrants.

Lang's enthusiastic advocacy of free migration to Australia of precisely this class of person certainly helped to determine the direction that the Scottish migrants sailed. His brother Andrew also operated as a private contractor under the bounty scheme, and the 253 Scots he brought out in December 1837 included a disproportionately large number of skilled tradesmen.⁵

These tradesmen made up the majority of skilled and literate builders in the colony in the late 1830s, and some of them later assumed the title and duties of architect. Among their numbers were the major Sydney builders, Hugh Brodie and Archibald Craig, whose firm built the elaborate interior of St Mary's Catholic Cathedral, Sydney (1835-6), completed the Catholic Church at Windsor in 1836, built James Hume's Pitt Street Presbyterian Church (1840-41), and added galleries and other 'improvements' to Dr Lang's Scots Church, Sydney, in 1841. Most of their other work was erecting public buildings for the government.

Dr Lang was personally responsible for bringing David Lennox to New South Wales, where he designed and built the most important early bridges in the colony.⁶ Lang also had something to do with bringing the 'excellent tradesman', Henry Robertson,

to the colony after he had been 'a considerable time in business in Edinburgh'.⁷ Robertson, who had apparently had some architectural training under Philip Wyatt⁸, arrived in Sydney in 1833 with a letter of recommendation to Lang.

Once established in the colony Robertson gradually assumed the title and duties of architect, and was responsible for the design of Liverpool Anglican parsonage (1841), Christ Church St Lawrence, Sydney (1839-43: completed and altered by Edmund Blacket), and St Bartholomew's Church of England, Prospect (1838-41). He designed the improvements to Lang's church that were carried out by Brodie and Craig in 1841, as well as an extension to Lang's tower and a plain needle spire that were not built.⁹ Robertson later designed the rudimentary Gothic Presbyterian church of St John, Paddington (1855-59), and is supposed to have also designed North Sydney Presbyterian Church - originally another simple Gothic box, extended by William Munro in 1870-71. Robertson was also responsible for various Board School buildings while architect to the Board of National Education in the 1860s.

All Robertson's ecclesiastical designs, except Prospect, were simple Carpenter's Gothic stone.

plate 38

boxes with large pointed lancet windows. They were just what one would expect from an Edinburgh tradesman, but without the slightest trace in them of the son of a professional English architect¹⁰, or the pupil of even the most minor Wyatt.

Robertson's Classical brick church at Prospect, plate 39
although just as simple as these stone Gothic sisters, is a much more elegant and unusual building. The pierced octagonal upper stage of its tower and its Neo-classical window heads may owe something to the influence of Ambrose Hallen, the ex-Colonial Architect who was brother-in-law to Nelson Lawson, the major trustee building the church. It is more likely to have owed considerably more to William Aird, whose Prospect design for Archdeacon Scott has never been re-discovered. Although Robertson was paid £9.19.6 for 'plans, specifications, and two inspections',¹¹ it would be surprising if plate 40
Aird's expensive plans, specifications and estimates (for which Aird was paid £20 - including a school-house) were simply discarded. The style of Prospect too, seems more in-keeping with 1825 than 1838, and slightly more like Aird's school plan than Robertson's minimal Gothic boxes.

The style of Prospect church was unique in the

colony, although this simple Neo-classicism can be paralleled with an occasional rural English church of the 1820s. The early eighteenth-century church of St Peter and St Paul in Langton-by-Partney, Lincolnshire, had a bell-cote added to it in 1825 of the Prospect type, except that it has two tiers of circular openings.¹² (The rebuilt roof of Langton-by-Partney also has the protruding eaves characteristic of early Australian churches.) For Prospect to be in harmony with even village Neo-classicism in England makes it a great Australian rarity. Australian churches normally developed from Georgian to rudimentary Commissioners' Gothicism without any intervening stage.

Even if Robertson had a helpful ghost at Prospect, he had a long and successful architectural career. Other success stories among the Scottish migrants were also worthy of a place in Samuel Smiles' Self Help (first edition 1859). James Hume arrived as a simple carpenter in 1835, became the major church architect in N.S.W. of the late 1830s 'Church Act' churches, and finally died in 1867 leaving £99,000¹³. James Houison rose from the barely literate builder of 1832 (see his ship-board diary)¹⁴ to the substantial citizen and major architect of Parramatta. William Munro

outstripped his two builder brothers to become the Catholic diocesan architect of Sydney in the 1860s, and later architect for the large Presbyterian College of St Andrew at Sydney University in 1873.

The unfortunate corollary to such touching examples of industry is evident in the buildings that these self-taught architects designed. Their lack of proper training meant that their designs were almost always mediocre and old-fashioned, and their rise to fame and fortune meant that there were no better architects in the colony to prevent their success. Bishop Broughton complained that Hume was 'a Presbyterian quite ignorant of church architecture'¹⁵, but was still forced to commission him to design nine Anglican churches, while his closest rival, the former London builder, John Verge, only got four.

Verge, however, was a rival who had the ability to considerably diminish Hume's fortune but lacked the desire. Only two of Verge's church designs ever got built: St Mary the Virgin, Denham Court, and Christ Church, Bong Bong. While both were originally far more charming and stylish than anything Hume was capable of designing, they were also very old-fashioned, even by colonial

standards. St Mary the Virgin at Denham Court, for instance, was an engagingly silly eighteenth-century 'Gothick' toy, although designed in 1835 and not completed until 1839. It was commissioned and paid for by the widow and heirs of Captain Richard Brooks, who wanted a church modelled on St Mary Denham, Buckinghamshire.¹⁶

So St Mary's, Denham Court, is of some importance historically in being the first proven case of specific romantic associationism of a personal kind in the colony - Mrs Macquarie's Reculver towers being rather a case of accidental choice for the generic purpose of 'looking like home', and her Newcastle example being unproven. It antedates the King family's desire to be reminded of St Mary's, Launceston, by three years, although its fidelity to its source is about on a par with Francis Clarke's effort at St Mary's, South Creek. Both architects would seem to have had no more than a picturesque sketch to go by at best; and while the King family seems to have been satisfied with a chancel and a vaguely familiar shape, the Brooks' got a west tower of two stages with a crenellated top and big pointed windows to the body of the church. These can clearly be seen to have been inspired by the English mediaeval example once one

has been told what the model was.

The rest of the church was considerably less archeological. It was almost all ruthlessly exterminated in 1848 by William Munro - then a 'contractor' at Liverpool - who converted St Mary's into the boring stuccoed white box with porch and sensibly stepped buttresses that we see today.

plate 4

The conversion was publicly applauded by Sydney's only vocal paid-up ecclesiologist, the Reverend Horatio William Walsh. According to Canon Walsh, the church was originally of 'very red brick' (instead of flint like its model), and had battlements along the body of the church as well as on the tower. It had transoms crossing the arches of windows and doors, and had 'what looks like an impaled turnip' on the east gable:

Most marvellous of all, where buttresses should have been, i.e., at the angles, and between the windows, - in the former, the edge of the wall chamfered off, and in the latter, grooves being cut and painted white so as to relieve from the surrounding red, and to draw the inquiry of the curious, who might at a great distance have mistaken them for buttresses.¹⁷

St Mary's, Denham, has got heavy obvious buttresses, but Verge chose to treat his imitations as simply a decorative effect. He denies their real purpose and cuts them out of the wall they should support. It is amusing and quite sophisticated conceit, even if it

belongs to Horace Walpole's world of reproducing a tomb at Westminster Abbey in a fireplace at Strawberry Hill. It's a pity that Verge's architectural career in Australia was such a short one (from 1830 to 1837), and from the point of view of the history of ecclesiastical architecture one can only regret that this career was almost exclusively confined to erecting grand houses for the gentry and would-be gentry of the colony.

Verge's other brick church at Bong Bong, although designed in 1837 was not built until 1845. By then it had undergone various modifications, for the 1845 collar beam roof and open seating can hardly be Verge's. Blacket Brothers renovated the church in 1884, which means that it too is now white, and has 'correct' buttresses and new Perpendicular Gothic tracery. It is still a pretty toy.

plate 42

Even if rather old fashioned, Verge was by far the most competent architect working in N.S.W. in the 1830s. His agricultural ambitions and his domestic commissions prevented his doing any significant church designing, and so Broughton and his fellow clergy had to turn to his inferiors. Some, like Francis Clarke, had more impressive testimonials

than the Scots mechanics could produce, but these tended to evaporate when looked at too closely. On examination Clarke is seen to have been exclusively involved with measuring and valuing Nash's buildings, and none of his employer's design ability was inherited by mere propinquity.

Similarly Ambrose Hallen arrived in Sydney with references from Thomas Telford, and on the strength of these got the job of Colonial Architect in 1827. His brother Edward, who also claimed Telford's acquaintance, left his surveying job in London in order to participate in this good fortune, and subsequently designed a second Scots church for Sydney for the Rev. John McGarvie. (It is now demolished. Some of the fittings were re-used at Rose Bay Presbyterian Church.)

St Andrew's Scots Church, Sydney (1833-35), was more pretentious than Lang's rural Scottish building, although only the interior can be said to have been a success. Its design owed nothing to Telford's Highland Churches of the 1820s, but was in a contemporary Church of Scotland or non-conformist style.¹⁹ A few stylistic frills were added to a tall wide box with an eastern vestry and a protruding western centrepiece.

plate 43

The interior was re-designed in 1835 when more money unexpectedly became available, and was the first colonial example of an English Commissioners' Gothic interior. In fact, its plaster vaults, tall wooden clustered columns, and three-sided galleries with elementary Gothic tracery look to have been derived from some actual English example¹⁹. The frontispiece to the exterior of the church with its crenellations and thin octagonal buttresses also looks very copy-book, particularly when related to the rest of the exterior which is a deadly Carpenter's Gothic. This sort of discrepancy between one part of a building and another usually identifies the man with a pattern-book.

Neither Edward nor his brother stayed in the profession for longer than it took to get an entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography. After his dismissal as Colonial Architect in 1834 Ambrose took up various business interests which led to his financial ruin, and Edward subsequently became a member of the family firm of ironmasters in England and later a pastoralist at Parramatta, N.S.W.

Their much-vaunted Telford connection also turns out to have been something less than it appeared.

On January 18, 1827, Telford wrote to R.W. Hay in London, who was looking for an architect for the colony, to say in reply to his request for information on this topic that he was not acquainted with Mr Hallen's acquirements, but that a person bred among mechanical operations would be a valuable acquisition in a new country. Hallen, he thought, might perform what was required (my italics)²⁰ - a testimonial whose actual wording never seems to have penetrated as far as Sydney, where the brothers were to live in a house which they called 'Telford Place' after their friend.

So it is not surprising that the 'ignorant Presbyterian' James Hume should have been left in command of the field of Presbyterian as well as Anglican church designing, and was commissioned to design five churches for that denomination between 1838 and 1840. Hume was also named as architect for the Sydney Jewish Synagogue, built in a surprising Egyptian Revival style in 1841. He also designed at least two Anglican parsonages (Goulburn and Scone), the old St James' Grammar School in King Street, Sydney, and a considerable body of domestic work where he is known to have followed pattern books.²¹ Hume was clearly a competent workman, and capable of turning a

pattern-book design into a well-built building.

This is indeed as much as one would feel justified in claiming for Hume, and explains why he concentrated almost exclusively on surveying and spec. building once a more competent rival in the person of Edmund Blacket arrived in the colony in 1843. As these mundane activities made Hume a gentleman and a fortune and kept him away from designing churches one can only feel that it was all for the best. Nevertheless, one is duty bound to look at his churches, which, when helped by an intelligent patron with a pattern-book, are not entirely without interest.

This patron appeared in the reluctant form of Bishop Broughton, armed in 1836 with plenty of money, a few inappropriate English church designs, a pressing desire to erect churches, and no local architect to put them up for him.

The urgent need to build churches and half the money with which to erect them had arisen in 1836 because of the passing of Governor Bourke's Church Act. This immediately made an unlimited amount of money available to Catholics, Presbyterians, and Anglicans, for church building - provided that

each denomination paid half the cost, and provided that every church and parsonage house group should cost more than £600 and less than £2,000.²² These buildings also had to be erected in an area where at least 150 inhabitants of that denomination could be found willing to sign a petition requesting this facility. These petitioners were therefore the potential source of the minimum three hundred pounds required before government money became available, but they were often new settlers who were numerous rather than wealthy.

Broughton had overcome this last hazard to some degree, as he had had the foresight when he was in London in 1835-6 to extract an annual grant of a thousand pounds from the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as well as immediate substantial monetary gifts. He proposed to use this money towards bringing out clergy and building churches and parsonages for them; the government had also committed itself to paying their salaries once they were established in a parish. All three denominations were keen, as the Catholic Bishop Davis later said, 'to make hay while the sun shines and ... get as many churches built throughout the Diocese as possible' while the Church Act was still in force.²³ (The

Act was repealed in 1862, and financial limits were set on government grants as early as 1842.) However the Anglicans were well ahead in the race because of Broughton's foresight, and because of their assets accumulated before 1836 when they had been the de facto Established Church of the colony. They also had the richest parishioners.

Broughton had early realized the need for suitable church plans and had informed the S.P.G. that he intended spending twenty pounds of their 1835 grant in London

procuring drawings and working plans of Churches from the want of which in the colonies we are often put to inconvenience.²⁴

Unfortunately there is no record of what these plans were, who did them, or where Broughton obtained them.

It seems possible that one item purchased by

Broughton was George E. Hamilton's Designs for Rural Churches (London, John Weale, 1836). This

book was one of the very few pre-Victorian pattern-books for simple churches that exist.²⁵ It

appeared just at the moment that Broughton was looking for designs, and at least three Australian churches seem to have been directly modelled on those in the book, while others are generically similar. Hamilton's designs were all rudimentary Gothic or Romanesque in style, claiming no more

than 'enough of Ecclesiastical feature to render their general outline pleasing'.

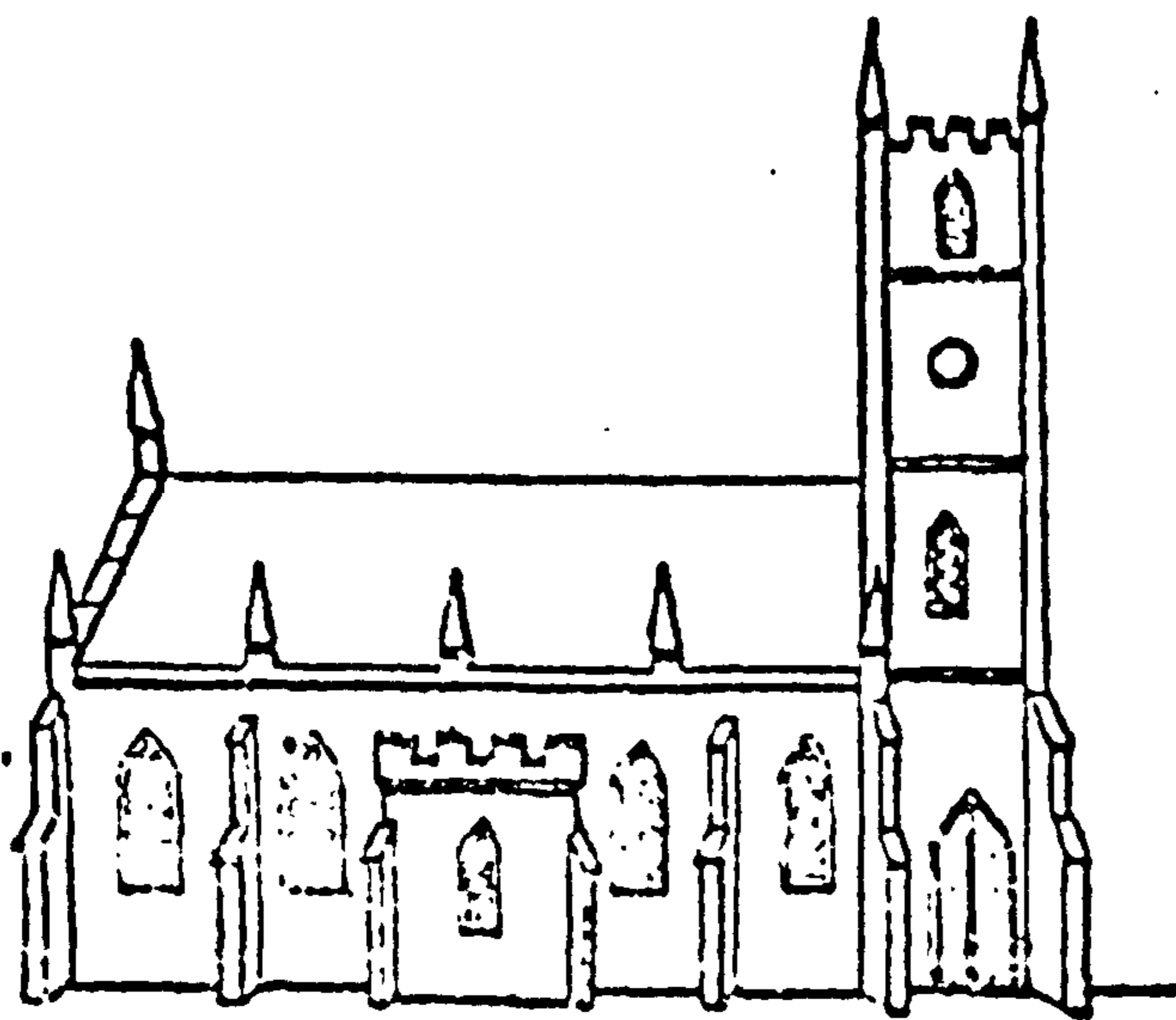
Grecian sketches have been excluded, because they not only require a submission to the rules of art, which has already been disclaimed, but the style is not generally suitable to Places of Worship; at all events, for rural districts, to whose wants and habits this publication is intended more especially to refer.²⁶

Such a preface is distinctly daunting to one in search of architectural excellence, but was exactly what Broughton needed. Clear outline elevations of ten simply detailed churches, plus four plans illustrating 'the customary outline of church accommodation', were just what remote parishes could adapt to their own needs. Hamilton gave no internal fittings, estimates or specifications, or indeed anything but the most general seating arrangements, as

the resident Clergyman, with the aid, if needful, of an intelligent Parishioner, is usually more competent to decide this matter (of church accommodation) than any Architect.²⁷

In one fully documented example, that of the first church at Goulburn, this is exactly what happened. On July 25, 1836 Mr F.N. Rossi, a prominent layman of the Goulburn district who clearly filled the role of the 'intelligent Parishioner', wrote to Broughton asking for a plan from which to build a church in the area, and this request was repeated

in November. Broughton then sent two 'views' of churches to Rossi early in 1837, and said that a plan and specification would follow from either the Colonial Architect or a private architect. In May the Church Committee held a meeting and chose one of the two available views, decided that the building was to be of stone, and was not to exceed £1,600. These decisions were conveyed to the bishop with the request that a private architect be employed to draw up specifications, plan, and estimates.



Episcopalian Church

Old St. Saviour's

*Fig. 35. St Saviour's Goulburn in the 1850s :
from R.T. Wyatt.*

Broughton then employed James Hume, who did the detailed drawings of the church, specification (a copy still exists²⁸), and estimates. The work was to be supervised by the trustees of the

church, who included Mr Rossi. Later Hume was paid to change the specifications from stone to brick, and to incorporate some suggested improvements by Bishop Broughton into the design.²⁹

The final building of St Saviour's Goulburn, completed in 1843 and consecrated in 1845, was close enough in appearance to Hamilton's design No XII to suggest that this was the original favoured 'view'. Hume's church had five bays with central porches to north and south instead of Hamilton's four, and it originally lacked a chancel, although a wooden one of similar size to the Hamilton design was later tacked on to the church. Goulburn also lacked battlements along the side of the church and its tower was a remarkably unstable looking four-staged elongation of Hamilton's original three, with buttresses reaching only to the top of the first stage. Goulburn nevertheless resembles Hamilton's design in its general form, in the use of buttresses between each large pointed window, and particularly in the odd pinnacles along the body of the church which are entirely divorced from the buttresses. In the Hamilton design these pinnacles at least echo those on the tower by being linked with crenellations, and they stand exactly above the

plate 45

buttresses of the wall. In the illiterate Australian version there are no crenellations and the five pinnacles which literally follow the pattern-book suggest a rhythm of four bays, thus contradicting the actual five bays below.

Hamilton's design is undistinguished enough: Hume's has the distinction of being considerably worse.

The interior of St Saviour's was probably fitted up on the spot, as Hume's specification did not include fittings. It was in traditional early nineteenth century style with high box pews, triple-decker pulpit, and a gallery in the west end containing harmonium and choir.³⁰ Dean Sowerby, the first incumbent, who had helped to build the church 'not indeed knowing the difference between a batten and a shingle', said in retrospect that 'when finished this was pronounced to be the ugliest in the colony, though he did not care much about that at the time as there were only six or seven others'.³¹

plate 4

Sowerby was too modest. By 1843 Hume had completed five more churches for the Anglicans at East and West Maitland, Scone, Nudgee, and Sydney (the wooden pro-cathedral), less clearly derived from Hamilton. These were far duller buildings.

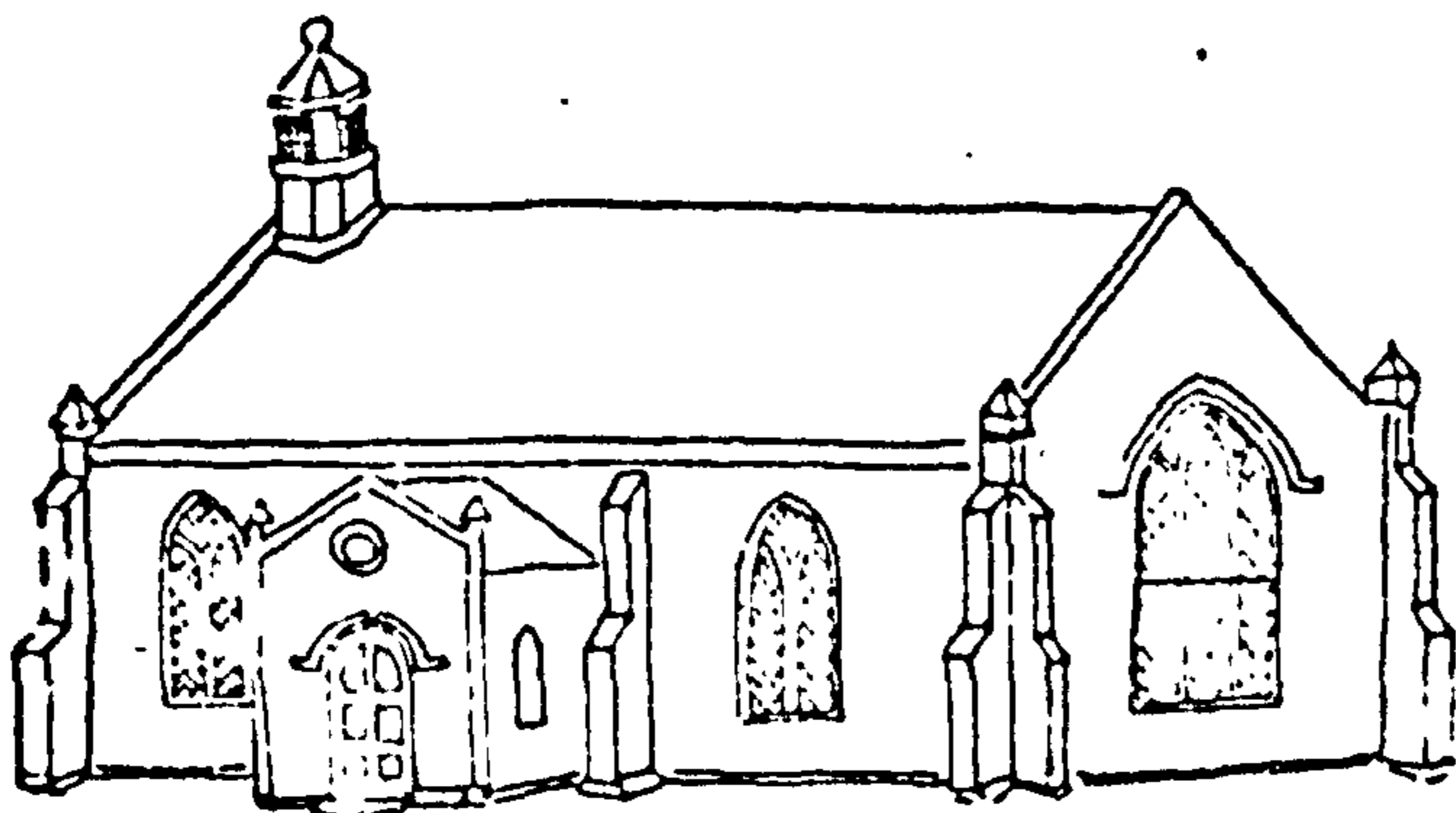


Fig. 36 St John's Mudgee: from A.G. Powell.

St John's, Mudgee (1831-41) was typical of a minimal Anglican Church Act building, with three bays to allow for symmetrical porch and vestry to north and south, large pointed windows with Y tracery, and basic stepped buttresses. These Anglican Church Act churches are usually low double cubes: i.e., twice as long as they are wide, and height to the top of the gable is about the same as the width or a little lower. They thus retain basically Georgian proportions.

A precursor of this Anglican form was built in 1833 - two years before Hume came to Australia, and three years before the Church Act. St John's, Stroud, was built and paid for by Sir Edward Parry for the Australian Agricultural Company's employees. Its builder was the Company's overseer, Thomas Laman, and its design is usually

plate 47

attributed to Parry and Laman in the absence of any evidence to the contrary.

St John's Chapel, Stroud. Fort Stephens. NSW

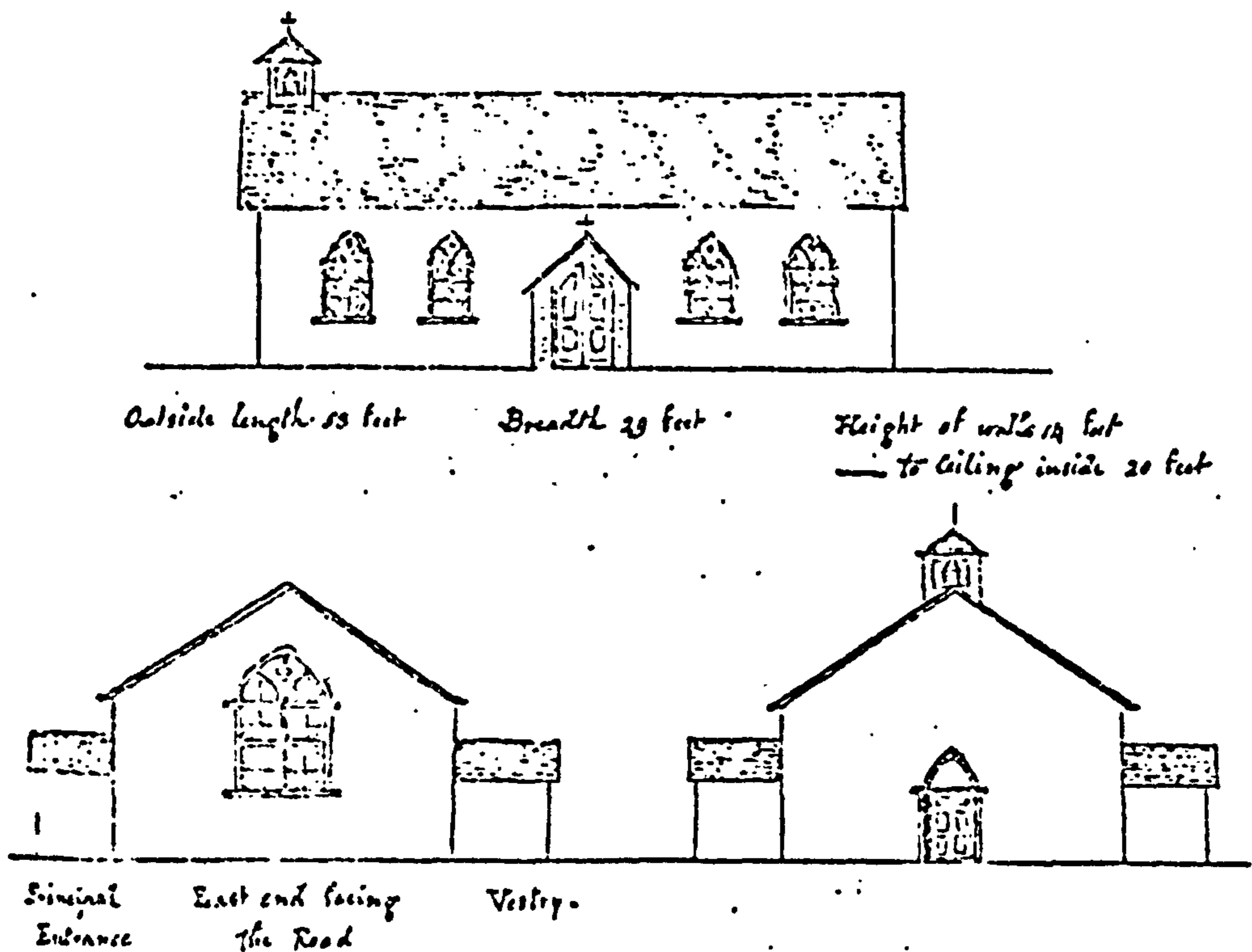


fig 37 St John's Stroud: drawn by Isabella Parry 1832.

Stroud is really still a Georgian survival (it is very similar to St Stephen's, Robin Hood's Bay, North Yorkshire of 1821), but has features that were to become the Anglican Church Act norm;

almost double cube proportions (58 ft by 29 ft by 20 ft to inside ceiling), symmetrical north and south porches midway along the church, and a bell-cote on the top of the west gable. With the addition of buttresses, hood-moulds and pinnacles, this was to serve as the Anglican type church for the next decade.

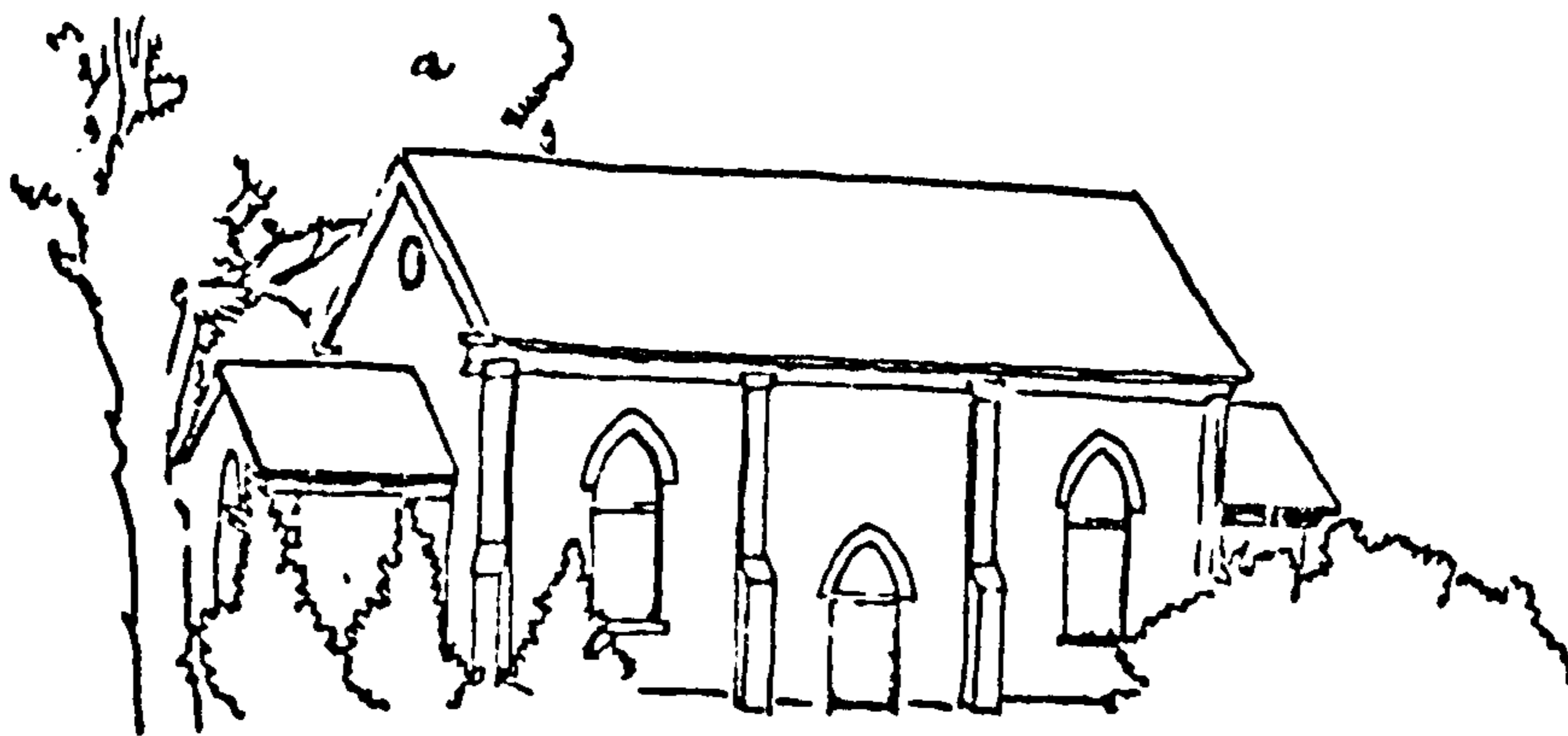


Fig. 38 St Luke's Scone by James Hume: from an old photograph.

St Luke's, Scone (1837-41: demolished), designed by Hume and built by William Dumaresq, a local settler formerly of the Surveyor General's department, seems to have been rather taller than the Anglican norm. It also had a west porch and an eastern chancel (added by Broughton in 1840), instead of the customary side porches. Such variants still belong to the Anglican type, as do churches of the period that were not by Hume.

St Stephen's, Penrith (begun 1837) was probably designed by James Houlson, who wrote its

plate 48

specifications,³² and built by the ubiquitous James Atkinson, who slightly modified the original plan.³³ It is of the basic Anglican type, despite the elaborations of a doubled-up west tower (cf. Hamilton's plan no. VI), over-arched windows, and a chancel. One can only conclude that Broughton exerted a strong episcopal control over the design of most of the churches in his vast diocese.

Hume began to be employed by the Presbyterians a year after he started designing for Bishop Broughton, and provided versions of the Anglican church type for them too. A version of Scone with more lancet windows was built to his design at Campbelltown (1840-42), and one with the standard side porches at Pitt Street South Presbyterian Church, Sydney (1840-1842). But the proportions of these two churches were somewhat exceptional; Presbyterian churches tended to be taller than their Anglican sisters and normally had longer windows to allow for internal galleries on three sides, after the model of Lang's Scots Church.

plate 4

The best of Hume's efforts for the Presbyterians was the Parramatta Presbyterian church, designed 1838-39 and erected 1840-49. The building, minus its internal galleries, was re-erected at Wentworthville in 1927-28 under the impression

plate 50

that its architect was David Lennox.³⁴ Parramatta Church has a west tower of four stages similar to that at Goulburn, but more successfully executed in stone, with buttresses up to the pinnacles. Its overall proportions are also more attractive than Goulburn's were, because the body of the church is high enough to relate sensibly to the tower.

The larger type of Church Act church with a west tower continued to be built well into the 1840s. St John's, West Maitland, built for the Catholics from 1844-46 (now a Marist Brothers' school) is another church of this type, although by this date considerably more competent than its predecessors in its proportions and detailing. Nevertheless its hood moulds, pinnacles, and window openings, still show no real change from the original Hamilton design used to start the type at Goulburn. West Maitland was probably designed by Mortimer William Lewis, the son of the Colonial Architect of the same name. Lewis jnr was then resident in the area as an employee of the Colonial Architect's department, and the building seems too coarse for the father. The fact that Lewis was an Anglican probably accounts for this solitary use of the type by the Catholics, although it was also a common Irish Catholic form.

plate 51

plate 52

The most charming of the standard type of Anglican Church Act church with tower is also one of the earliest. It is the little Anglican church of St Thomas, Mulgoa, begun in 1836, and still extant with most of its original furnishings. Its architect was James Chadley, about whom little is known. He left for the West Indies before the church was completed and before the tower had been begun. It is thus possible that Mulgoa really represents the first fruits of Broughton's acquisition of English plans.

plate 53

Mulgoa is an almost perfect double cube (60 ft by 30 ft by about 30 ft to the top of the gable). There is no separate chancel, but it had from the first 'a decently furnished and fitted' sanctuary according to Canon Walsh - our yardstick of ecclesiological correctness. Although box pews originally existed at the front of the church, Canon Walsh said that they were at least low (it seems likely that these were cannibalised later to make the present wainscotting of the church), and there was an increased number of open seats (still extant). The pulpit and reading desk were separate, the former being lower and smaller than

previous colonial examples. Above all the church had the first open timber roof in the colony 'with substantial trusses springing from stone corbels, carrying well curved braces and varnished'. 'All this', said Walsh, 'was a step onward'.³⁵

Walsh attributed the improvements of Mulgoa to the newly arrived clergyman of the district. He must have been referring to the first incumbent, the High Churchman Thomas Makinson, later infamous for his secession to Rome. However Makinson was not appointed to St Thomas's until after the church was consecrated, so, although the furnishings of the chancel were designed and executed by him, the general appearance of the building can owe nothing to his influence.

Broughton was evidently fond of open timber roofs, and most Church Act Anglican churches had them. These included Hume's Anglican efforts, although Hume's Presbyterian churches generally had flat plaster ceilings. Campbelltown and Wollongong Presbyterian churches were exceptional, and both were by Hume, but we know that Wollongong's was only meant to be temporary until a plasterer could be found in the area. When we discover that the only plasterer Hume had for both his Goulburn

churches was one John O'Brien, who advertised himself as 'plasterer and baker'³⁶, it is clear that skilled tradesmen were still at a premium in country districts. Hume's Goulburn Presbyterian Church (1838-c.1840) may have had an open roof too. Hume's rural Anglican churches probably only had roofs that were exposed beams and rafters rather than any deliberate attempt at mediaevalism, although his urban open timber roofs in St James' school and North Sydney Anglican church were favourably received by the Anglican press as attempts in the latter direction.³⁷

Other country areas were equally afflicted with an insufficiency of workmen, although this was sometimes overcome by the enthusiasm of an energetic clergyman. In Paterson and Gresford in 1843, for instance, the only resident building tradesman of any kind was W. Henry Estall who called himself 'publican and carpenter'.³⁸ This inadequate work force coupled with the fact that he had eight children, a tiny parsonage house, no church, and Batty Langley's Builder's Assistant (second edition) as his only architectural guide,³⁹ possibly hastened the end of the Anglican incumbent, the Reverend John Jennings Smith. But although Jennings Smith died after only five years in Paterson he still managed

to erect a temporary wooden church in 1841 (later the school-room), extend his parsonage, and finally build a pretty little stone Tudor church (consecrated in 1845).

Apart from the customary grant from the S.P.G. and subsidy from the government, St Paul's, Paterson, was largely paid for by Jennings Smith, who also superintended its erection.⁴⁰ However the design for the church was probably provided by Broughton in Sydney. It certainly was no adaptation of anything ever thought up by the Langleys, and seems too competent and too close to the standard Broughton Church Act church to have been invented by the rector.

Paterson is a symmetrical double-cube gabled church of three bays with a western bell-cote, and with a central porch on both north and south sides - the north one serving as a vestry. This is, of course, the basic small Anglican Church Act type, but Paterson had better detailing than earlier rural churches. Its Tudorish windows have pretty wooden tracery and simple plaster hood-moulds and stops on the inside. There are little stone quatrefoils at the east and west ends, and the west bell-cote is plain but 'seemly'.

plate 54

Paterson's internal fittings are still unchanged, and again are of above average quality, although still standard for the first half of the 1840s in rural Australia. There are open seats throughout the church, and although there is no separately-roofed chancel the railed-off sanctuary area is larger than it had been in the late 1830s. The pulpit is low and set on one side (generally always south in Australia, as opposed to north in England, throughout the rest of the century). Paterson may not have been 'a step onwards' like Mulgoa, but it is a happy consolidation of a type.

If Jennings Smith did not design his own church, other amateurs were sometimes more courageous or foolhardy. St James' Anglican church, Morpeth (1837-40), was built at the expense and to the design of Lieutenant Charles Close⁴¹, and seldom can a building have more loudly proclaimed the amateur status of the designer. The tower of the building still exists, but the body of the original building with its three massive fat buttresses - which must surely derive from some engraving - has now been entirely replaced by a correct Victorian nave and chancel by Horbury Hunt and Blackett respectively.



MORPETH CHURCH

G. K. Rusden 1811

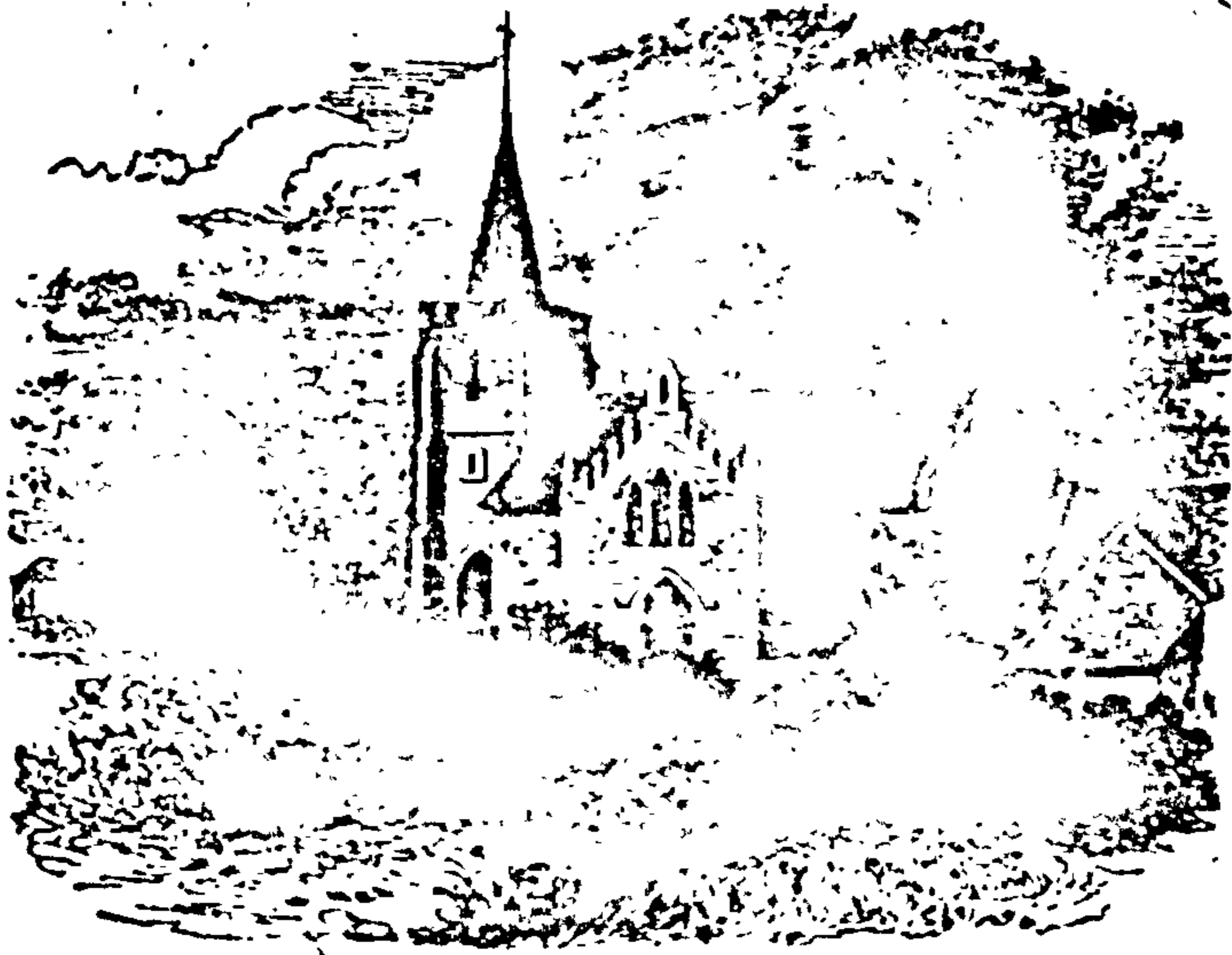
*Fig. 39 St James's Morpeth by E. C. Close: from
A. P. Elkin.*

More interesting was the original church of St Alban, Muswellbrook (1842-44), an amateur copy-book church whose complete history is known, although neither the building nor the original plan survives. These losses are not in fact grave ones, for the story of the building is more entertaining than the result was. In 1842 an ex-army officer turned settler, Captain D.C.F. Scott, drew up a plan, helped raise some money, and started building a church at Muswellbrook. The cost agreed with the Trustees, of which he was one, was to be a thousand pounds. Then Broughton interfered and offered an extra one hundred and twenty pounds from the S.P.G. plus some improvements to the design. Broughton said that his adaptations were modelled on Codrington Chapel in the Barbados, 'copied from an engraving

which appeared, some time since, in one of the occasional Reports of the S.P.G.⁴²

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

APRIL,] QUARTERLY PAPER.—No. XIII. [1840.



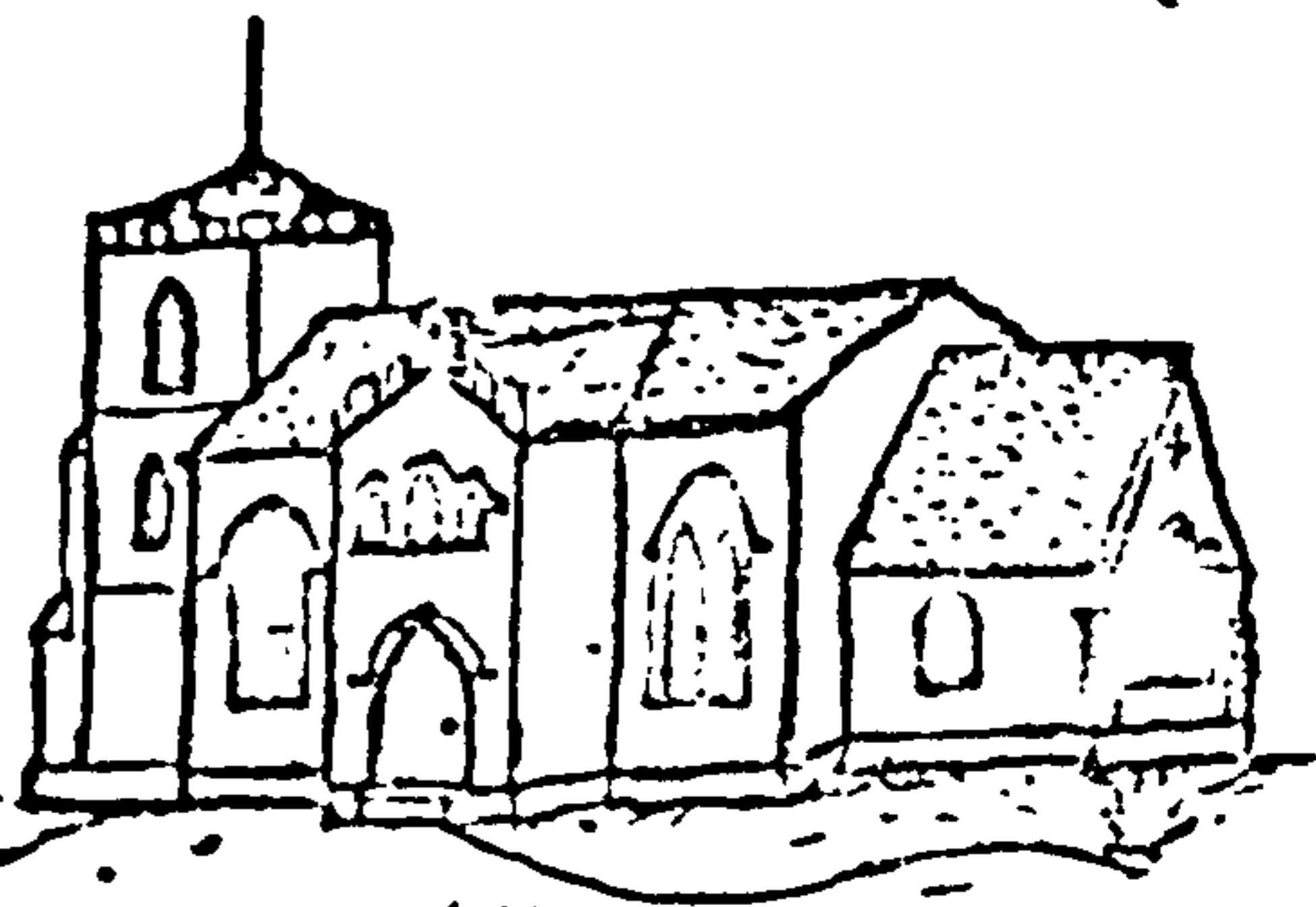
CHAPEL ON THE CODRINGTON ESTATES.

(After a Drawing of the Lord Bishop of Barbados.)

549 *fig. 40 Codrington Chapel drawn by the Bishop of Barbados: from SPG Quarterly Paper, 1840.*

fig. 41 St Alban's, Muswellbrook in 1855: sketched by Rev. W. Dove in a letter.

for unless I return home before, I am ordained it is not likely that I shall ever reside in England again and indeed it seems to come home before ordination. I should return here if spared &c. Not that I like this place or think it worthy to be spoken of in the same day with England but here my duty seems to be. Here is St Alban's Church Muswellbrook at which I also sometimes read services in Mr Booth's absence



Codrington Chapel, which was the S.P.G.'s own chapel, had been built in 1833 at a cost of £1,200, just about the amount that Muswellbrook could afford. An engraving of it 'after a drawing of the Lord Bishop of Barbados' had appeared in the S.P.G. Quarterly Paper of April 1840. This was the sketch used by Broughton to give some architectural distinction to Captain Scott's plan.

Muswellbrook was basically the standard Anglican type of three bays with central side porches and a west tower. Codrington chapel, although less Georgian in proportion and detailing, had the same plan. However its porch was notably ornamented with crenellations, pinnacles and bell-cote, and it had a triple lancet window above the porch door. These were very crudely repeated at Muswellbrook, along with the crenellations on the tower.⁴³ The triple lancet of the porch was repeated at the east end, and the windows were 'glazed with square panes in wooden sashes, Gothicised at the top', a later dismayed incumbent, the Rev. Boodle, commented.⁴⁴

Muswellbrook's interior was fitted out with 18 high cedar box pews, a triple-decker pulpit with canopy, a small railed-off communion area, and some 'seats for the Poor' which cost in toto less than the

cost of a single pew, although having by law to be capable of seating at least a sixth of the congregation.⁴⁵ The builders, James Kirkwood and Joseph Stafford, were, according to Boodle, convicts who did a sloppy and dishonest job. The tower had to be added to the church very rapidly, although not in the original contract, as Broughton thought it would help prevent the building's collapse.⁴⁶ With this buttressing, and with regular propping up over the years, the first Muswellbrook church managed to survive until 1864, when it was replaced by a good archeological Gothic church by a much more distinguished Scott - the English architect, George Gilbert Scott. This replacement was much appreciated by the ageing Rev. Boodle, who called it, with some justification, the best parish church in Australia.⁴⁷

Muswellbrook church had been lucky even to set eyes on Broughton armed with an old S.P.G. magazine, for it was at that stage the westernmost church in northern New South Wales. 'Not a building for any kind of worship', Boodle pointed out, 'was to be found between it and Western Australia'.⁴⁸ In Western Australia - until 1848 also part of Broughton's diocese - church builders entirely escaped the episcopal eye. Archdeacon Scott's

'Rush Church' at Perth of 1829 was followed by two octagonal churches (Albany 1836, and Guilford church of 1840) built by the Colonial Church Society for its missionary, Mr Mitchell⁴⁹. When the Rev. John Ramsden Wollaston arrived in Western Australia in 1841 the Anglicans of Perth were worshipping in the court house, and the two octagonal chapels were the only church buildings in the colony. The one at Guilford, Wollaston said, was 'neat and clean, but not well adapted I think to its object.'⁵⁰

When Wollaston came to design his own church at Picton in 1842 (now the second oldest surviving church in Western Australia) he chose a cruciform plan. As Wollaston was building the church on his own, with only the assistance of his sons, a workman called 'Hymus, from Horseheath' who did the thatching, and his hired help, James Everet, the materials had to be locally obtained and cheap. So he built the church of jarrah boards with a thatched (later shingled) roof. It was financed entirely by Wollaston, with the help of some English friends.

Two views of Picton Church, drawn by Wollaston's son William and lithographed in England, have been found in a scrap-book compiled by the Cambridge

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Camden Society.⁵¹ They apparently arrived there because of Wollaston's personal friendship with the Webb family, rather than because of any outright Camdenian affiliations on his part. Wollaston appears to have been an old 'High and Dry' churchman of the Broughton school, who was clearly in sympathy with the Cambridge ecclesiologists, although not a member of the Society. He thought local church builders had not

the slightest notion of an Ecclesiastical building ... and ... I wish the Camden Society would send out some plans and estimations for colonial Churches.⁵²

Had they done so his internal liturgical arrangements may not have been so unusual, with a railed-off communion table set in a transept half-way along the nave quite unrelated to the congregational seating.

Wollaston's Journals, kept from 1841 to 1856, give us a complete picture of the clergyman architect interested in church building who is living in a totally isolated, indifferent environment. We are lucky that his sociable nature demanded the solace of a detailed journal, to be circulated strictly among his friends and family at home. On 18th September, 1842, after five months continuous work, he opened his little church with a service

contrived to match as closely as possible (in the circumstance of having no available bishop) a proper dedication. 'My solitary ministrations on this occasion in the wilderness', he noted, 'afforded a striking contrast with those of the Archbishop of York supported by brother Bishops and a host of clergy at the new church at Leeds'.⁵³

The architecture of the two buildings was even more of a contrast, although the choir seating on either side of the prayer desk at the east end just possibly derived from this source. On the whole Wollaston was happy with Picton, although the windows had caused him some problems:

Excellent effect is produced by a contrivance in the temporary windows, which are made of calico prepared with oil and turpentine and painted with cross stripes in imitation of Quarries. The exact dimensions of these windows I shall send home with directions, in the hope that some kind friend of the Church will send them out in glass and leaded. Such work is not to be procured in the whole colony. I have received word from Perth that nothing of the kind could be made. And square⁵⁴ wooden sashes would spoil the whole.

Five months later a steer got into the churchyard and ate half of two of the windows and the glazing problem became even more acute.

Wollaston was more interested in church building than most of his colonial contemporaries. His

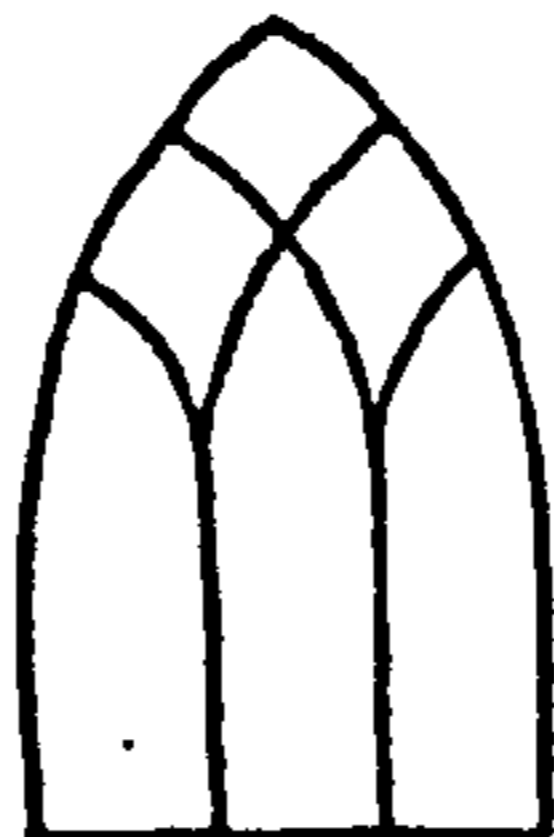
second church at Busselton (begun 1843) was his favourite church, although 'small and still unfinished' in 1853.⁵⁵ It was a simple stone church whose plan and estimates were drawn up by a young local architect called Forsayth, under Wollaston's direction. The Colonial Secretary, Mr Sandford - 'a quondam Camdenian' whose hobby was architecture - praised it, and Wollaston also noted:

Have seen in one of the illustrated newspapers almost a facsimile of Busselton Church which has been erected at Mauritius from (as there stated) a description which had before appeared in the same paper,⁵⁶ and that was of my church at the Vasse.

This must be the first example of foreign emulation of an Australian design.

In 1848 Wollaston moved to Albany, where he completed the stone Church Act church begun there in 1841.

A great mistake has been made in placing it the wrong way. The east window faces the west, the worst quarter for bad weather, whereas had the tower been built at the proper end it would have been a screen to the whole building. Amidst so much ignorance I only wonder how they managed to erect so good a fabric. It is a nave (50 by 26ft - 18ft. wall plate) with a tower, under which is the entrance, with pointed windows, very well done. The altar window is large and handsome with two mullions and I am going to have it finished thus⁵⁷



Wollaston also finished Albany with an open timber roof. Bishop Short wrote to the S.P.G. in 1848:

its grey granite walls and pointed windows imparted a feeling⁵⁸ of home even in this distant nook.

In Tasmania in 1843 the Rev. John Bishton, chaplain at Westbury, also had to design his church without episcopal assistance, although, unlike Wollaston, he was given some governmental help. A clergyman friend informed him:

the Government would build a church at Deloraine if we found a plan and paid for the Nails, Lime, Glass, and Cedar - in short, whatever would take cash to procure.⁵⁹

The next time Bishton visited Deloraine to hold a service he stayed on and 'drew a rough sketch of a church that would contain 300 persons and which would allow of galleries at a future day and also of a Tower'.

I consider that 120,000 bricks will be quite sufficient to finish it allowing for waste. Mr Notley was kind enough to draw a regular elevation which I enclose and which I received last night. The subscriptions already made are more than sufficient for the purposes required

plate 56

- he told the Colonial Secretary.⁶⁰

Where government assistance was involved it was necessary to provide a plan, elevation and estimate, so the assistance of a draughtsman or builder was

almost obligatory. They rarely seem to have contributed much to the design itself. Mr Bishton was not very imaginative either. He clearly had the same ideas as Bishop Broughton as to the correct form of a rural parish church. At Deloraine there is at least a separate eastern sanctuary, although the position of the triple-decker pulpit right in front of it does not suggest that it has yet achieved any increased liturgical importance. It is still a standard rural Church Act church.

The amateur architect could be more ambitious closer to Sydney. When erecting a new church across the harbour at North Sydney in the same year that Bishton was planning Deloraine, the landscape painter and amateur architect, Conrad Martens, chose a design in the Norman style.

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Neo-Norman had had a short burst of popularity in England around 1840, and Hamilton had even included two churches in the Norman style in his 1836 volume - one of which was simple enough to have been entirely suitable for North Sydney. However Martens seems to have preferred a sketch of a church in the Norman style from Charles Anderson's Ancient Models (London, James Burns, second edition 1841, p. 44).

Both were of the same minimal type with central west tower with a low pyramid roof, rudimentary round-headed windows, and a three-bay nave. Both have the same little eastern appendage, but whereas one assumes Anderson's was meant for a chancel Martens, with the help of James Hume⁶¹, made his into a vestry.

This eastern vestry position seems to have survived from Verge's addition to Greenway's St James's, Sydney in 1833. St James's was still being quoted 'as the pattern church as to ritual arrangements and architecture' in 1851,⁶² and Anglican churches like Appin (c.1839-43), Prospect (1839-41), Cobbitty (1840-41) and Millers' Point (1840-41) also emulated its eastern vestries. Over the years these were normally converted to chancels, but the one at North Sydney remained a vestry until it was demolished about 1880. Conrad Martens designed the tower of St Thomas's, North Sydney (1843-45) on his own, as well as all the church furnishings.⁶³ These included a good solid Norman sandstone font that he carved himself (now in Christ Church, Lavender Bay); the traditional boards to stand behind the altar containing the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments, (which he painted), and the pretty and quite accurate Norman rose window at the

east end.

Hume designed the open timber roof, and was generally responsible for the rest of the building. He clearly knew nothing about the Norman style, and something like a tiny sketch by Charles Anderson was not much of an education. It is no wonder that a local critic in the High Church Southern Queen (probably Canon Walsh) was confused about the church's stylistic intentions.

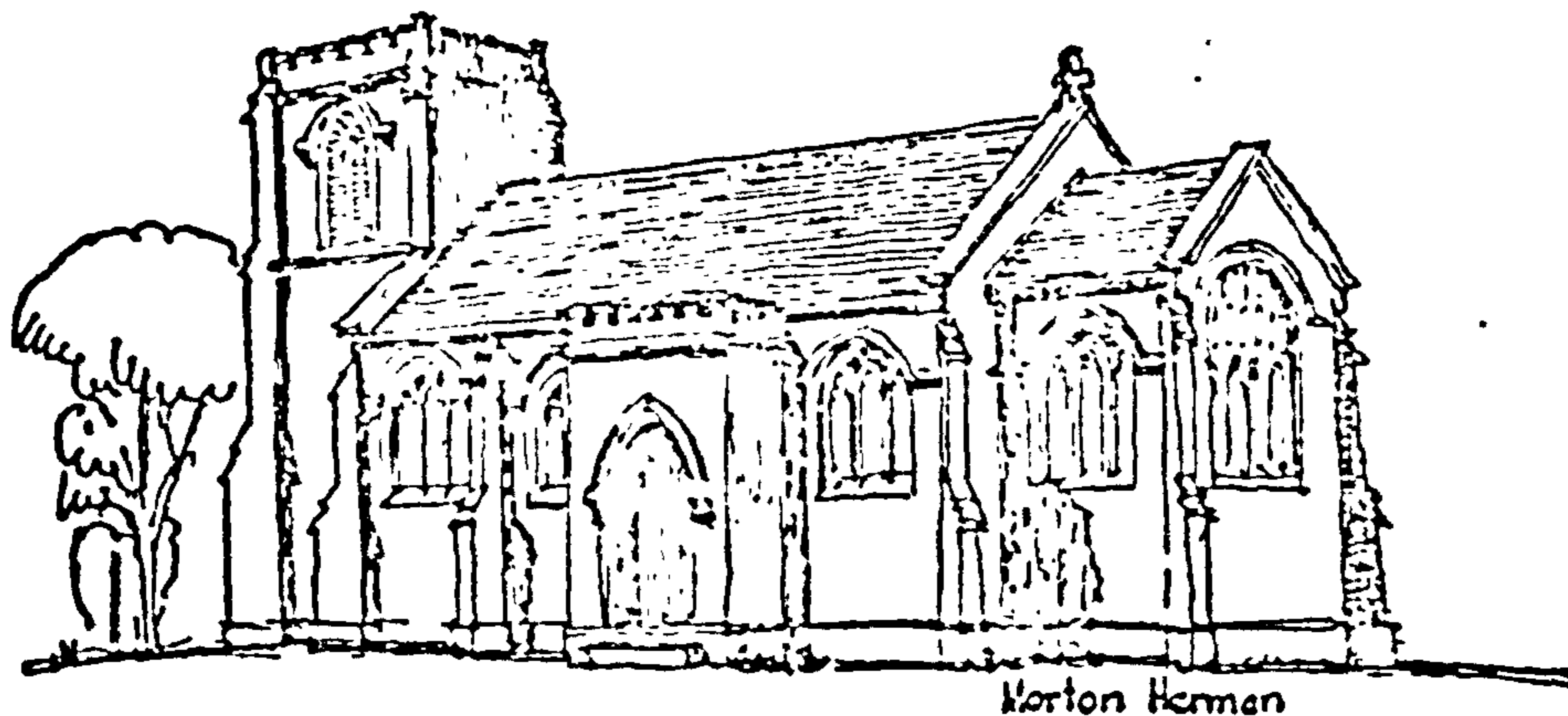
Why was not its excellent work and material which it exhibits, thrown into the Norman style, instead of the anomalous 'Macquarie Gothic' which it now presents to view?

- he asked. He admitted that the tower was much better than the rest of the church, but the query must have hurt Martens's feelings. He did not participate in the design of a church again.

The most notable of all the amateur architects of the Church Act period was Bishop Broughton himself. Broughton was several times forced to design a simple church when faced with an enthusiastic but architecturally illiterate Church Committee in the bush. His original design for Geelong church was sketched on the spot on the back of an envelope, then brought back to Sydney for Edmund Blacket to draw up properly.⁶⁵ Christ Church Geelong (1844),

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was a standard Church Act country church with a west tower. The accuracy of its Perpendicular Gothic window tracery was probably due to Blackett's intervention rather than Broughton's sketch.



*Fig. 42 Christ Church Gulong as it was in 1844:
drawn by Morton Herman.*

Broughton also designed small wooden churches for Largs Creek, 'Terrago' (probably Tarradale)⁶⁶, Gunning, and Lake George.⁶⁷ His most notable designs were for the two extant churches at Cooma and Allynbrook, although both were also small and extremely remote.

The Cooma design was apparently again inspired by Hamilton's pattern-book (design no. VII), although in this case the bishop improved on his source. The main contribution Hamilton made to the design was in determining the position and form of the tower, set half-way down the south side of the

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nave in the position Broughton so favoured for a porch. Both towers are of two stages topped with a broach spire. Happily Broughton's resources did not allow for Hamilton's round-headed over-arched windows, and the twin towers of Hamilton's design were clearly impractical. Broughton was exceedingly pleased to get one:

It is a goodly structure of stone, and its little spire creates by its appearance in those solitudes a sentiment of satisfaction ...⁶⁸

Broughton had no desire to assume the role of architect, but the Maneroo was outside the boundaries of location, where it was hard to even find workmen.

While staying at the local inn in 1845, Broughton

drew out a rough sketch of a small church, in the Early English style of architecture, which, although a mere plagiarism and compilation from other examples, would have sufficient character about it to form a striking and respectable object in the wild and little-frequented neighbourhood where its erection was to be undertaken. Having completed this, I entered into an engagement with a stone-mason to build the walls of rubble-work, with the granite which abounds on every side, and on the bed of which the foundations of the proposed church is to be laid.⁶⁹

The following day he laid the foundation stone.

Despite this rapid start Christ Church was not finished until 1850. Broughton must have thought the design a success, for he repeated it, with an additional apsidal east end, at Beachport.

Broughton's other independently designed church

of St Mary, Allyn or Allynbrook, was of more architectural importance than Cooma. Allynbrook was extended and altered in 1900, so that now little but part of the nave walls, the narthex or west porch, and the original windows (some transposed) remain.

plate 61

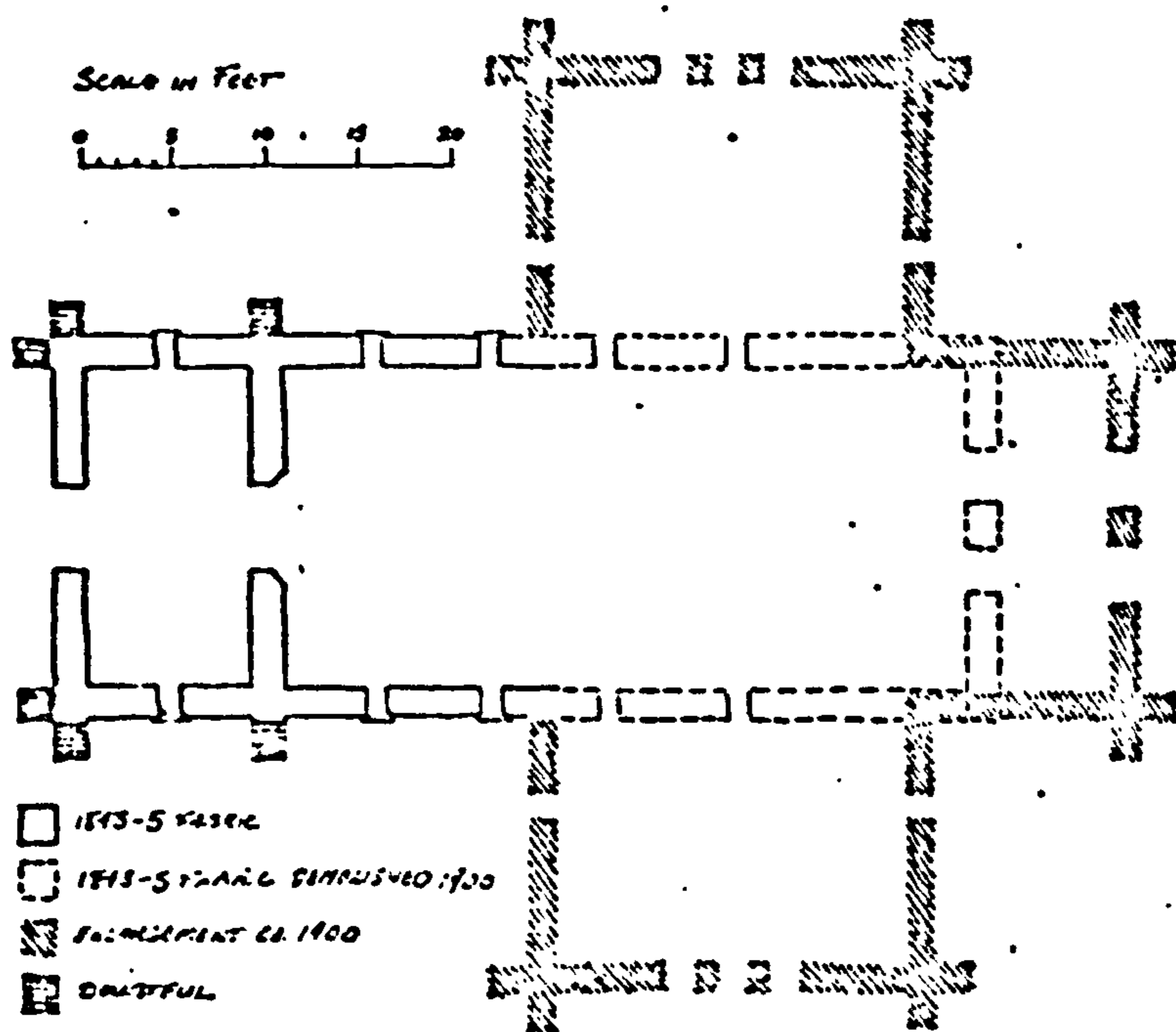
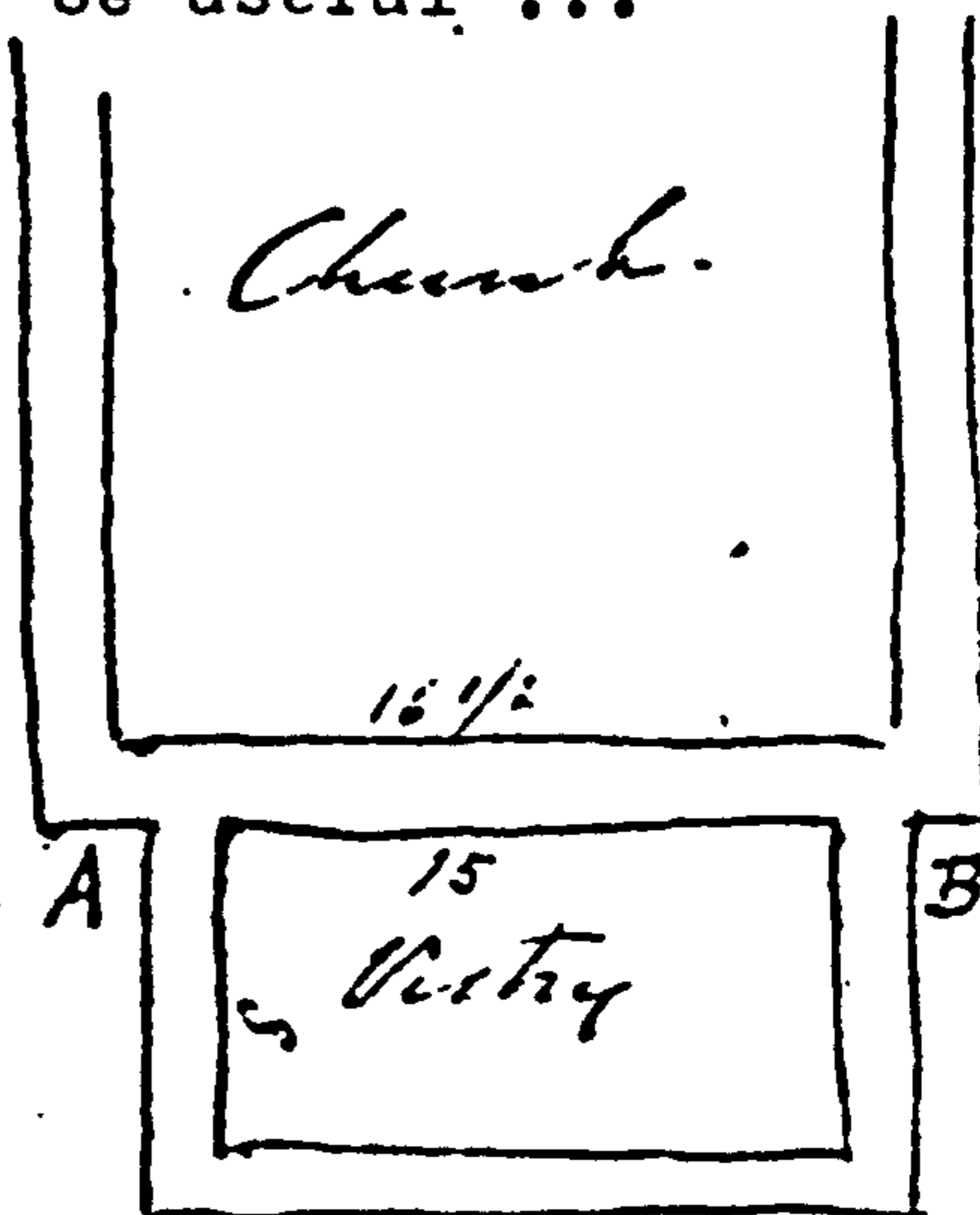


Fig. 43 Plan of St Mary's Allynbrook: from measurements 1975.

St Mary, Allyn, was built by Broughton's son-in-law, William Boydell - reputedly as a condition of his marrying Broughton's daughter Phoebe. Broughton's thumb-nail plan was roughly sketched in a letter to Boydell of May 29, 1843, to accompany his instructions that the church was to be a simple rectangle 38 ft by 17 ft with walls only 9 ft high, facing as due east and west as the local winds would allow.

... I suppose the following will be the clear length 38 f; breadth $16\frac{1}{2}$ f; height 9 feet. If you can manage to get even 6 inches above the measure in breadth, it will be useful ... It will also be very incomplete without a Vestry and Porch: which may be at the West end: and I must pay for them extra. You may therefore have the foundation for it laid, so as to allow clear inside measurement 15fX8f: in this manner. The foundation wall I suppose to be 2 ft thick and the upper walls to be 6 inches up: so you may easily calculate what the break at A and B must be taken at, to give the width of 15 ft clear inside ...



As the walls of both church and porch were to be 2 ft thick the porch ended up being as wide as the nave, and thus formed a sort of narthex. Boydell was to get the foundations in 'and before you can be ready to begin the upper work you shall have the Plan and Elevation'. Less than a month later Broughton spent the day at Boydell's house designing two churches: the one for Gresford was never built, but the other was set on top of Boydell's foundations.⁷¹

By 1845 the church was almost complete, and Broughton spent some time in the area supervising its final stages prior to consecration. It was, said its architect,

a humble structure; the walls but nine feet in height, built with the grey granite found in the bed of the river; but the general style and appearance are so church-like that it cannot be mistaken for anything but what it is - a house set apart for the worship of God who was in Christ.⁷²

plate 62
plate 63

Allynbrook cost about £360 altogether, and therefore did not qualify for government aid. It was one of Broughton's first experiments in 'cheap church' building. In January 1842 the bishop decided that he would provide pound for pound grants of S.P.G. money in an attempt to furnish small scattered communities with a decent church of proper 'ecclesiastical character', costing less than the government's minimum of £600.⁷³ A year later Wollaston in Western Australia was aware of the policy (although not of the grants), and strongly approved:

I am quite of Bishop Broughton's opinion (according to Pearson) that small churches at intervals, to be visited by itinerating Clergy, will be the only effectual means of reaching the spiritual wants of the population of a country like this. Such churches to hold 150 each, might be erected to last many years, for about £150 or £200 each building, according as materials are handy ...

Before the S.P.G. largesse dried up in 1844 several buildings of stone, brick, and wood, had been erected in remote parts of the country.

St Mary Allyn was the most substantial of these cheap churches. St Luke's, Dapto (now the parish hall), a brick box with high walls, a low-pitched roof, and wooden Perp. windows, is still extant as another of the species, but all the wooden ones seem to have gone. The most spectacular of these was the

church at Kiama, on the south coast of N.S.W.,
demolished in 1859 for a dull Blacket church.

plate 65

Kiama cost about £160, and was built of exposed stud-framing. It was built in 1843 (like Allynbrook and Dapto), and is the first example of this technique that I know of in Australia or New Zealand. Exposed stud-framing is a method of building that never became common in N.S.W., and no other contemporary churches of this type are known. However the technique became popular in New Zealand where it was used by Bishop Selwyn for many of his churches.

plate 66

Bishop Selwyn stayed in Sydney for two months in 1842 on his way to his new diocese. It is tempting to believe that this isolated example of a new technique was due to his influence. A resident in 1857 could still describe Kiama as 'most peculiar, it had no outer walls',⁷⁵ whereas a New Zealander of the 1850s would have found the style, but not the technique, peculiar. Selwyn certainly seems to have preached the doctrine of ecclesiology to the natives of N.S.W. It is possible that this included exposed stud-framing as well as proper Dec. tracery and chancels. Kiama was close to Selwyn's wooden church at New Plymouth (1847) in

both technique and style, although much more illiterate in details like buttresses and windows.

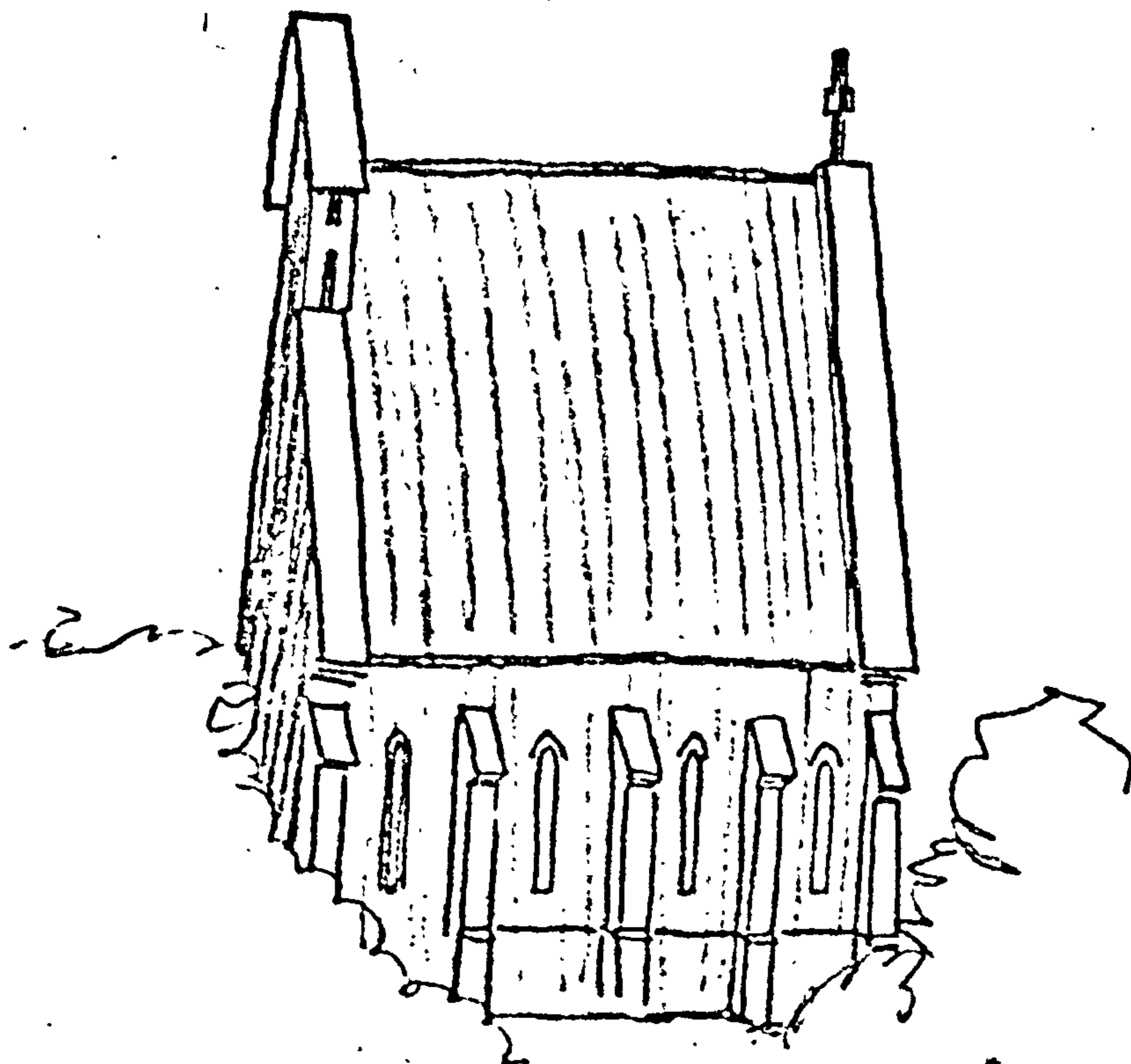


fig 44 New Plymouth Church, New Zealand in 1847: from PRO.

On the other hand Kiama's liturgical arrangements and stylistic details owe nothing to English ecclesiology. The wide west porch and general shape is much more like Allynbrook. Its design therefore seems to have been a repetition of Broughton's Allynbrook plan and general elevation, built in a technique suggested by Selwyn, with the addition of extraordinary buttresses for strength in its exposed position above the ocean. These, and its crude detailing, were no doubt provided by the local carpenter.

In a very modest way Cooma, Allynbrook, and Kiama, inaugurated a new stylistic phase in Australian church building. All were quite different to the Church Act churches, and seemed to be attempting something more Victorian and Romantic. Windows shrank to mediaeval size and gloom - all three churches must have been remarkably dark - and roofs became higher pitched and furnished with definable mediaeval types of open roofs. There was, for instance, a proper scissor-truss at Allynbrook, as opposed to Hume's exposed beams and rafters in the Sydney pro-cathedral (1840). Where necessary simple Gothic tracery was introduced into the windows, even if only of wood. External crosses, open-seating, low pulpits and lecterns, and extended sanctuaries became fashionable. Broughton had obviously found some new plans, but he never told us what they were nor where he had got them.

Before rushing headlong into serious Victorian Revivalism after these diminutive prophets, it is only fair to take another stroll through the Church Act period (1836-1846), this time looking at the better churches. These country cousins may represent the norm, but they were not pioneers in any architectural sense. The charm of picturing a rural clergyman creating a church

entirely on his own in the wilderness is usually rudely shattered when we see the resulting building, and James Hume's formula designs dashed off for 2½% can never have been thought of as having had much distinction. A few buildings escaped the Scylla, amateurism, and the Charybdis, James Hume. They are more worthy of the cold eye of criticism than these unaspiring pointed boxes.

Chapter 4 : STYLISTIC PRETENSIONS

The volume of building generated by the Church Act naturally led to more attention being paid to architectural quality, and gradually churches of some distinction began to emerge out of the unpromising environment described in the last chapter. The centre of stylistic self-consciousness was, of course, Sydney. Almost all denominations made some interesting contribution to its ecclesiastical architecture in the period 1836-46 - still pre-Victorian stylistically, although chronologically Early Victorian.

The Early Victorian style in England emerged in reaction to, and as a result of, its period of church building from 1818, when Parliament had granted a million pounds for subsidised, but cheap, church building.¹ Ireland, too, had spent over a million pounds on churches from 1808 until 1823 as a result of grants and loans by the Church of Ireland's Board of First Fruits.² Cheap 'Commissioners' and standard 'First Fruits' churches are both comparable with Australian 'Church Act' churches. As in England and Ireland, the volume of churches built in Australia during the early years of church expansion provided a necessary impetus for focusing attention on the

architectural character of these buildings. In Australia, where all denominations had a chance to participate in the church bonanza, normal denominational rivalry increased this interest in architectural appearance. Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, and even Jews, all wanted to erect churches in the metropolis that were of comparable quality to the Opposition.

First off the mark, as was to be expected, were the Anglicans. In 1837 Macquarie's plan for building a great metropolitan church finally got under way, and by now there was an Australian bishop who could make this church of St Andrew's the seat of his bishopric. The original foundations of St Andrew's built by Macquarie could no longer be utilised owing to changes in street planning, so the foundation stone for an entirely new building was laid farther back in George Street. Broughton thought that this church, and another smaller building proposed for the parish of St Lawrence in Sydney, 'ought to have some such degree of architectural pretension as may make them capable in some sort of bearing a comparison with the structure which the Roman Catholics are now completing' - although he added that they ought also to be large for the better reason 'that we may be able to offer the greater

number of free sittings'.³

In order to compete architecturally with the Catholics Broughton had to turn to England for his cathedral design, for the local architect employed for erecting the building was the unsatisfactory James Hume. Broughton must have felt competent enough to put a cathedral together on the copy-book principle, for what he commissioned from England were measured drawings of the tower of Magdalen College, Oxford, in order 'to erect a perfect facsimile'.⁴ This facsimile was to be added to an elevation and plan based on St Mary's church, Oxford, measured drawings of which could be found in Pugin and Willson's Specimens of Gothic Architecture (London 1823-5).

plate 67

So the design of St Andrew's Cathedral can be credited very largely to Broughton designing by his usual method of 'plagiarism and compilation from other examples'. Broughton readily confessed that he had 'formed the design in 1837', although by 1844 was willing to allow modifications to it:

At that time I was more proud of my production than I have been since, or am now, subsequent study of church architecture having revealed to me many mistakes and anachronisms.⁵

James Hume drew up the plans and was the architect

employed to supervise building, but was apparently not competent enough to draw a perspective view to advertise the church. Two perspective views were commissioned in 1840 from the Colonial Architect, Mortimer Lewis,⁶ and from the artist Conrad Martens. Both were lithographed, the former by Robert Russell and printed by J.G. Austin in Sydney in the early 1840s, and the latter - being more accurate Broughton said, except for the north porch - lithographed in London by the Royal lithographers, Day and Haghe.⁷ Broughton sent copies of the Martens lithograph to various English friends, critics, and potential subscribers for the completion of the building, in one case colouring the completed part yellow in order to display the building's progress. By 1844 when work had completely stopped on the cathedral because of the financial depression in the colony, the chancel had been completed except for the gables and pinnacles, the south transept was finished up to the wall plates, and the north transept walls were at least ten feet high.⁸

plate 68

St Andrew's was the first attempt at building a scaled-down replica of bits of genuine mediaeval architecture in the colony, and as such is a landmark in the history of the Gothic Revival in Australia. It is the first church we have come

across that consciously wanted to look mediaeval, rather than 'Picturesque', or in the fashionable modern Gothic or 'Pointed' mode. Although this archeological approach was new to the colony in 1837 it certainly was not novel in England by then, and in fact Magdalen tower itself had been used as a source for a modern English church as early as 1826 when Thomas Plowman had built a church at Churchill, Oxfordshire, with a tower that was reputedly 'a reproduction of Magdalen tower'.⁹ This may, of course, have not been copied from 'correct drawings and plans', but merely inspired by sheer propinquity.

St Mary's, Oxford, had been previously used as a source for a cathedral church abroad in 1827, when the architect Ithiel Town designed Christ Church cathedral, Hartford, Connecticut, for Bishop Thomas Church Brownwell. Hartford's nave windows, like those at St Andrew's, were copied from St Mary the Virgin's, and probably via the same source.¹⁰ But whereas Hartford's plan was a simple Commissioners' Gothic box with an appliqué of various archeological Gothic motifs, Sydney was somewhat more wholeheartedly mediaeval in intention. The whole of its tower (not just the windows) was to emulate Magdalen, and its

separate flat-roofed aisles derived from St Mary the Virgin.

On the other hand the symmetrical position of the transept and the lack of buttresses and pinnacles between the windows at St Andrew's, Sydney, derived from the Broughton-Hume Church Act style. As the transept was not given at all in Pugin and Willson's book, and the buttresses and pinnacles were not shown in any detail, these omissions and emendations help confirm the belief that Specimens of Gothic Architecture was the source of the St Mary the Virgin details used by Broughton. The two aspects of the church emphasised in Pugin's drawings - the flat-roofed aisles and the window tracery - are the only two which were obvious in the Sydney design.

St Andrew's Cathedral was quite progressive for its date, but could not really be called an Early Victorian mediaeval replica, despite the Bishop's intentions. Hume was clearly unhappy with the Latin cross plan and with the separately roofed nave and aisles. The position of the transept at exactly half-way along the building must derive from Broughton and Hume's attachment to Georgian symmetry; and Hume made the dimensions of the

unfamiliar aisles and transept so cramped that the Cathedral's internal spaces turned into penny-pinching Carpenter's Gothic parodies, instead of the evocation of mediaeval glories at their peak that Broughton was apparently hoping for. The transept was only 14 ft 7 in wide and the aisles 17 ft; their tall and narrow proportions caused Edmund Blackett - Hume's successor on the job from 1846 - a good deal of trouble.

As well as these obvious limitations, the 'prim quaker-like' chancel of St Andrew's¹¹ was not related to the apparent external chancel east of the transepts, and the tower was tacked on to the west front with no real sense of massing in relation to the rest of the church. All the internal details of the building were originally to have been of the Commissioners' Gothic plaster and paint sort, instead of the use of 'natural' materials now evident there. Pillars and arches were to be of cemented brick, the walls were to be plastered, and the roof given plaster vaults after the model of St Mary's Catholic Cathedral or St Peter's, Cooks River.¹²

St Andrew's Cathedral nevertheless showed a new awareness of the importance of English mediaeval

sources of design, and Anglican churches of any importance from 1840 onwards were to be committed to the principle of being built in an identifiable, consistent, archeological Gothic style.

Two churches virtually contemporary with St Andrew's were more wholeheartedly in the English Commissioners' Gothic style of the 1820s. One was the rival Catholic Cathedral of St Mary, internally completed about the same time that Broughton was designing St Andrew's; the other was the suburban Anglican church of St Peter's, Cooks River.

The Catholics had managed to get the roof on St Mary's Cathedral in time to install their first bishop, John Bede Polding, in 1836, but the interior was not completed until 1839. To judge from extant prints and drawings - most notably the Romantic lithograph by John Skinner Prout of 1842 - it was the most exceptional example of a pre-Victorian interior in Australia. It was a Hall Church, with extremely thin cedar columns 40 ft high. The roof was also of cedar, and had late Gothic sexpartite vaults with pendant bosses over the nave and central transepts, while the aisles created by the columns were ceiled with an absolutely flat quadripartite vault. This bizarre combination of

plate 69

central vaulting and flat aisle vaults was imitated more ignorantly and conventionally in plaster at St Peter's, Cooks River. The latter was designed in 1838 by Thomas Bird, who emphasised this discrepancy by making the central vaulting quadripartite and moulded the side panels in rectangular sections of an entirely Classical kind.

The plethora of dark red exposed cedar contrasting with the white painted walls at St Mary's Cathedral was further emphasised by the tall screen-like structure at the entrance to the sanctuary. It was also of polished cedar, and decorated with elaborate Gothic carving just below vault height. These trefoils, quatrefoils, and similar tracery patterns, set in the spandrels of the screen were oddly, but quite effectively, filled with stained glass.¹³ The triple lancet windows at the east end were also filled with coloured pieces of glass - the first known glass to be imported into Australia.

The altar and tabernacle of St Mary's were presented by Father Therry, and seem to have contained all the pinnacles, cusps, and quatrefoil panelling that Therry left off the building itself. The altar was 12 ft long, of imitation marble

covered with gilding, with Old Testament figures and designs painted in niches around its front and sides. The pyramidal tabernacle was more profusely gilded, and covered with 'turrets', 'pinnacles with fleurons', and rows of quatrefoil panels.

The seating of the Cathedral was again of cedar with Gothic panelling, although the Archbishop's throne was an old Spanish one of dark carved oak - 'a truly venerable monumental remain of the olden time', a writer in the New South Wales Magazine called it.¹⁴

The cumulative effect must have been stunning. The white walls with plenty of window area contrasting with a mass of dark woodwork must have been similar in intention to eighteenth-century churches like Tetbury, which also had this sort of scheme; but the Australian sun would have made St Mary's much more Mediterranean in feeling. It is a pity that not a stick of it survives, and that nothing is known about its design. It probably came from England or Ireland. It is significant that the builders, Brodie and Craig, should have been mentioned in contemporary descriptions but the designer ignored: the combination of foreign design and local execution would also explain why a rib vault with pendant bosses was executed in

dark cedar rather than plaster.

St Peter's, Cooks River, was a poor imitation of this lavishly decorated interior, but has the advantage of still existing (although internally modified). It also has a complementary 'Commissioners' Gothic' exterior. The body of St Peter's is a tall rectangular box with six long lancet windows to each side interspersed with buttresses with gabled stepping and incised lancet decoration.

plate 70

The tower of St Peter's was unusually elaborate for N.S.W.. Its long buttresses are decorated with incised lancets marked off with string courses, and there is blank arcading above the entrance porch. Battlements and pinnacles of the usual obelisk form decorate the tower which was originally topped with a small shingled spire (removed in 1962). The vocabulary was the Pidgin Gothic used by most Church Act architects, but Thomas Bird was far more loquacious than his contemporaries.

The most unusual feature of this west tower is the giant niche which originally formed the entrance porch to the church. (Edmund Blacket re-orientated St Peter's in 1875, renewed most of the fittings,

and re-modelled the interior.) This giant niche theme was used by Charles Barry at St Peter's, Brighton¹⁵ (designed 1823) to give strength to the west front plus central tower theme - probably with the sanction of Tewkesbury as a mediaeval precedent. Bird adapted Barry's general form but his detailing was coarser than most minor English churches of the 1820s, and nothing like Barry's.

Mrs. Charles Meredith could still call Cooks River 'the prettiest church in the colony'¹⁶ in 1840 - a judgement that seems to have been general at the time. Even now it still seems a pretty, although ignorant, building, and important as being the best example of a paint and plaster 1830s church in Australia. It cost about £5,000 to build, which placed it well outside the normal Church Act financial range.

The Catholics also built an expensive Sydney church of an English Commissioners' Gothic sort, but modelled their building on the type of church designed by Thomas Rickman in the 1820s and early 1830s. It seems certain that it was designed in England, for when the Catholics came to erect it on Church Hill in Sydney (near old St Phillips) it was found that the plan didn't fit the site.

The story is very confused¹⁷, but when pieced together it would seem that the Irish priest, Father Francis Murphy, who had lived in Liverpool and Manchester for ten years before coming to Australia in 1836 with Polding, obtained a plan for the church modelled on one he had helped to build in England. This plan was drawn up in proper form by the surveyor and draughtsman, William Fernyhough, and was to have been 128 ft by 52 ft with a projecting 'landing' which would obtrude 6 ft into the footpath. The new Sydney City Council refused to allow this obstruction, and as a result a newly-arrived English architect, John Frederick Hilly, was employed to redesign the building. It then surprisingly shrank in the wrong direction, and became 126 ft by 37 ft - a decision that meant that Hilly had to re-design the west front. The foundation stone of St Patrick's, Church Hill, was laid on August 25, 1840; the controversy over the plan took place in October; and Hilly was calling tenders in June, 1841.

The original design for St Patrick's Church must have been a virtual twin to St Anthony's Church, Liverpool, built from 1832-33 by a known Rickman pupil, John Broadbent. This was one of the churches

plate 71

Murphy had been involved in building in Liverpool¹⁸, and it seems that he decided to repeat it - or a near imitation of it - in Australia. Both churches had a box-like plan, apsidal sanctuary, and the tall proportions, long thin 'Early English' buttresses, and liturgical west pinnacles of a typical Rickmanesque church. St Patrick's clearly also had had a projecting centrepiece to its facade like St Anthony's, before Hilly contracted it.

plate 72

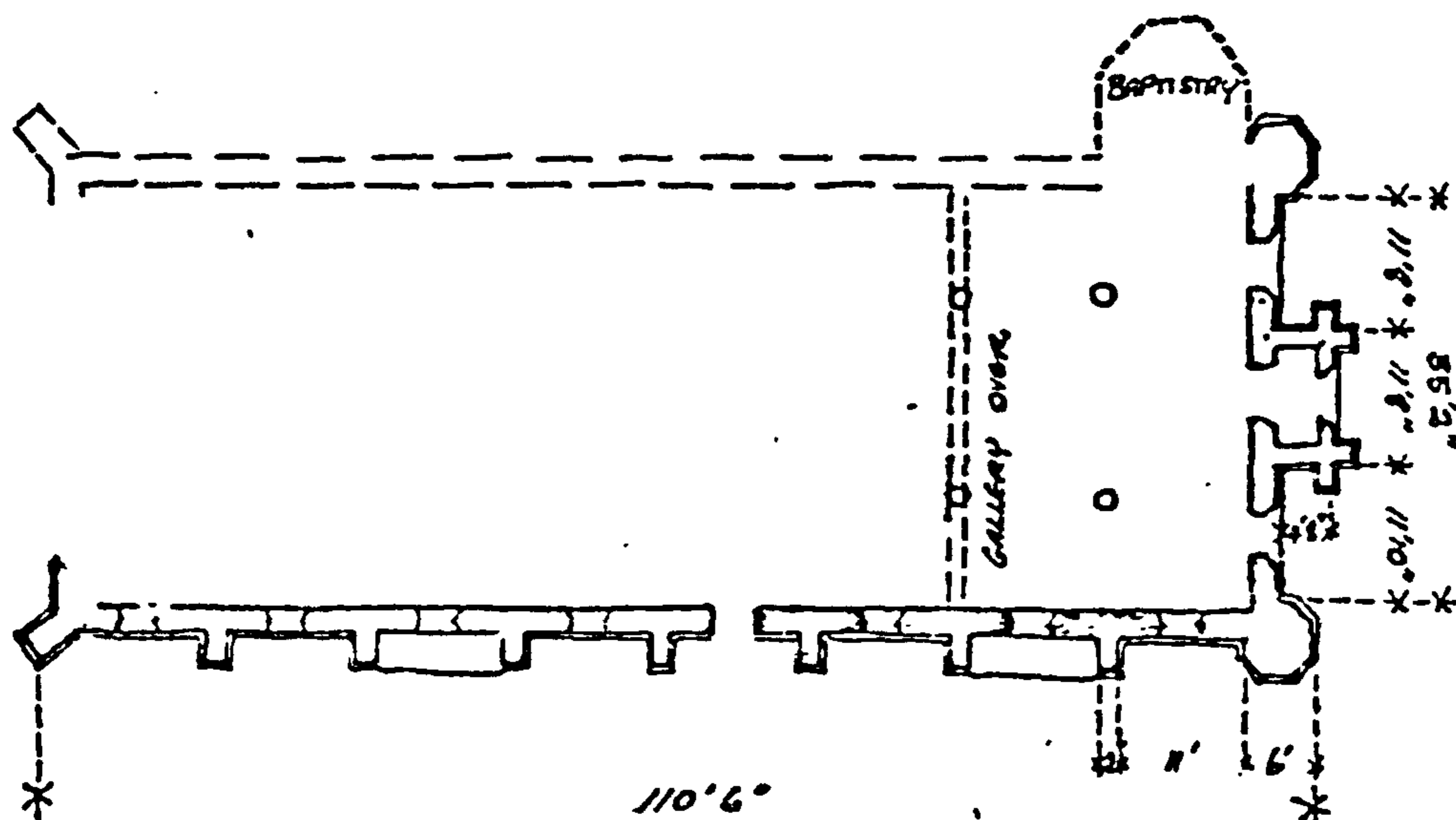


Fig. 45 Sketch plan of St Patrick's, Sydney: from measurements, 1975.

The lancets and buttresses are similar in both churches, although St Anthony's has paired lancets between each buttress, while the miniature version of the design at St Patrick's has only a single lancet to each bay. Both churches are very tall and have crypts below. The great difference

between the two churches is that at St Anthony's 'what most impresses is the vast, unpillared internal width'¹⁹, while St Patrick's was now unnecessarily long and narrow. This perversity was, I believe, due to Murphy's superior, Archbishop Polding.

Polding had been involved in a little church building before coming to the colony too, and his church was also Rickmanesque in style. He had supervised the erection of the original chapel at Downside Abbey (1820-22), designed by the Bath architect H.E. Goodridge.²⁰ Downside Chapel was made narrow in order to relate to the extant house at Downside and to the rest of Goodridge's design for monastic buildings attached to the chapel. Polding must have wanted the proportions of Downside at Sydney and got Hilly to base his modifications to Murphy's plan on these. Only this hypothesis will comfortably explain the sudden contraction in width - a design decision well outside the architect's brief. And the combination of St Anthony's, Liverpool, and the Goodridge Chapel at Downside, is a perfect explanation for all the features of St Patrick's, Sydney.

The interior of St Patrick's was largely the

responsibility of Polding, for both Hilly and Murphy retired from the work in 1844. Murphy was transferred to the new bishopric of Adelaide. It is not known why Hilly retired from the scene, but Mr John Coyle was calling tenders for laying the floor early in 1845, and in 1848 Polding was writing to England complaining about the problems he was having completing the interior 'owing to the drunkenness of Bell the Draughtsman I employ'.²¹ When a controversy blew up over modifications to 'Mr Hilly's chaste design' for the liturgical west window, in 1845, Polding was in charge.

When Polding came to glaze the windows he found that the large lancets were too big to be safely filled with glass. The triple lancets of the liturgical west front actually faced south, and so were dangerously vulnerable to the violent 'brickfielders' (dry southerly winds), which were notorious in Sydney. He therefore subdivided the windows with tracery bars, added a sort of cusped Perpendicular tracery in the head, and bisected each with transoms containing quatrefoils. This anachronistic addition aroused the wrath of the editor of the Protestant Commercial Journal and Advertiser, an ex-convict named Richard Thompson. Thompson was amazed that Polding could have

plate 75

perpetrated such 'a gross violation of all the rules of the art ... in the finishing of the beautiful Lancet windows of the south elevation'. Thompson was not quarrelling with Polding's detailing, but with his general principles. He noted that Hilly had strictly followed Rickman's Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England (4th edition 1835) in his adherence to the Early English style, and, according to the tenants laid down by William Hosking in his Treatises on Architecture (1835), such stylistic homogeneity was necessary for successful architecture.

That these elements of beauty in architecture should have been so strongly disregarded in the completion of St. Patrick's Church, is a matter which, - aware as we are of the profound accomplishments and exquisite taste of Archbishop Polding - we confess, surprises us extremely.²²

The Catholics replied to this attack in their own newspaper, the Morning Chronicle²³, and the Gothic expertise of Polding and Thompson was thus revealed.

This controversy showed that by 1845 Sydney's architectural critics were fully committed in theory to archeological Gothic. The Catholics argued that a later style could properly be added to an earlier fabric, provided that these additions were in a chronologically later part of the building - like the windows. To place a fourteenth century motif

on the basement of an Early English church would be, they admitted, an unforgiveable solecism. Thompson argued that any mixtures suggested ignorance and debasement.

More significantly, the discussion also revealed the authorities of both parties. Thompson quoted Rickman and Hosking to support his views. The former was the standard authority on the Gothic style throughout at least the first half of the nineteenth century, while the latter was a local boy who had made good in London.

William Hosking had lived in N.S.W. from 1809 to 1819 where he had served an apprenticeship to the local builder, James Smith, who had erected Greenway's Liverpool church. Hosking had then returned to London, and in 1840 was made the first 'Professor of the arts of construction, in connection with civil engineering and architecture' at Kings College, London, - a position he held until his death in 1861. He published various architectural and technical works, one being his Treatises on Architecture and Building from the Encyclopaedia Britannica seventh edition (A. & C. Black, 1835). This was acquired by the Mechanics' Institute Library of Sydney, where Thompson could

have read it. Hosking retained various Australian connections, and around 1843 may have designed Macquarie Fields House, south of Liverpool, for his brother John - the first Mayor of Sydney. His architectural utterances could therefore be expected to have more authority in N.S.W. than they ever attained in England.²⁴

In reply to Thompson the anonymous Catholic apologist writing from Polding's St Mary's seminary cited his full repertoire of English authorities - Hosking, Pugin and Willson, the Winkles, and Bloxam - every one misspelt in the newspaper. He also had a sneer at Batty Langley. All, except Hosking, were standard authorities, and there was no mention of the writings of the younger Pugin, although Polding was aware of him as an architect by this date. By 1845 all were rather old-fashioned popular writers, but it is useful to discover that they were as popular in Sydney as they were in England.

So St Patrick's, Church Hill, was important as a practical and theoretical example of a new archeological approach to the Gothic Revival in Australia, even if the building was still fully in the pre-Victorian Rickman mode. Its archeological fidelity extended to its external

formal floral carving on the corbels at the base of the three statue niches, on the capitals of the little attached columns to the windows, and on the stops to the hood-moulds of the triple windows of the facade. (The naturalistic heads on the stops to the hood-moulds on the rest of the church probably date from around 1866 when Munro called tenders for additions to the east end.)

St Patrick's also contained the first piece of genuine mediaeval stained glass known to have been imported into the colony. It depicted St Martin and the beggar, and was made in Bruges in 'the fifteenth century at the latest'.²⁵ It has since been removed, and its present whereabouts are unknown. An interest in mediaeval, or mediaeval-style, stained glass is another characteristic of the Early Victorian Gothic Revival, subsequently taken up in New South Wales by both Catholics and Anglicans.

St Patrick's was a great success with the Catholics, as much for the fact that its building was a deliberate demonstration of Irish strength in the colony as an interesting architectural monument. However its architectural influence in the colony is more to the point of this thesis than its

Irishness, and various churches in the colony showed their indebtedness to it. Polding's Appin emendations would seem to have owed at least the roof to St Patrick's, which originally had an ogee-curved ceiled cedar roof with bosses at the peaks of its curved ribs. The St Patrick roof was attacked by white ants and replaced by a Wunderlich pressed metal ceiling in 1914, but the charming imitation at Appin is still there in excellent condition.

plate 25

Rural Catholic churches of the late 1830s and early 1840s built by the Benedictines were uniformly tall and narrow, in the lancet style, and usually decorated with turrets or pinnacles on either side of the west front. These features clearly link them with the Rickmanesque style of St Patrick's, and their proportions especially, distinguish them from rural churches for other denominations.

Anglican Church Act churches still tended to be Georgian low double cubes, and Presbyterian buildings were normally tall and wide to allow for galleries. Both were eminently practical solutions giving value for money, but the Benedictine predilection for churches that were taller than necessary but too narrow to take side galleries, seems to have been a purely stylistic preference

ultimately deriving from Polding's association with Downside.

Catholic churches built like this were St John's Richmond, Tasmania (1836-37), St Michael's Bungonia (c.1837-47), St Joseph's, Macdonald River (1839-44), Holy Cross, Kincumber (1841-43), St Gregory, Kurrajong (c.1843), and St Mary and All Angels, Geelong, Victoria (plans 1843: f.s. 1846). St Francis Xavier, Wollongong (c.1840-48) and All Saints, Liverpool (1840-43) were begun by Father Therry and so had transepts, but were otherwise modified into the Benedictine formula.

Holy Cross, Kincumber, was drawn up by the Catholic Foreman of Works at Darlinghurst Court House, Sydney,²⁶ - John Sharkey - and built by P.H. Valentine, a local contractor who also built the Kincumber Anglican church in 1841. Sharkey transformed the west front style of St Patrick's by large fat turrets and a low central porch all crenellated with heavy coarse merlons. He also added a plaster vault to the interior. Sharkey was also the designer of Liverpool Church, so much altered before its demolition in 1962 that one can make no useful comment about its original appearance. Its windows were the same as Kincumber's three side lancets, but any coarse west front decoration did

plate 76

not last long enough to be recorded.

The most ambitious of this Catholic group was the Macdonald River Church, attributed to Patrick Downey by Captain Watson.²⁷ Downey was a Sydney builder, the son of an Irish convict builder of the same name, and Watson says he was 'the Archbishop's architect' on this job. His church at Macdonald River is now a ruin, and its projected west tower was never built. Each of the three bays at St Joseph's is marked by a single-stepped buttress with gabled coping (like St Patrick's), and each bay has a stepped triple lancet window. The window pattern is modified at the east end where the window is a sort of pointed Venetian one of real 'Batty Langley Gothic' - despite Sydney's vaunted superiority to that gentleman. Evidently Downey thought he could improve on the triple lancets confined to the liturgical east and west at St Patrick's.

plate 77

The plan for Geelong Church, Victoria, was obtained from Polding by Father Geohegan in 1843, when the latter was visiting Sydney.²⁸ The foundation stone of St Mary and All Angels' was not laid until August 1846, and by then a new priest, Richard Walshe, and a Melbourne architect/builder, Samuel

Jackson, were in charge of the work. The design must still have been Polding's for the building was exactly the high pinnacled Catholic type, and almost identical to Richmond.

Richmond Catholic Church, Tasmania, was the first of the Benedictine type to be built, for Polding provided a plan for it while visiting Tasmania in 1835 on his way to his Sydney see. It was built by the local Benedictine priest from Douay, Ambrose Cothan, who had come out with Polding.

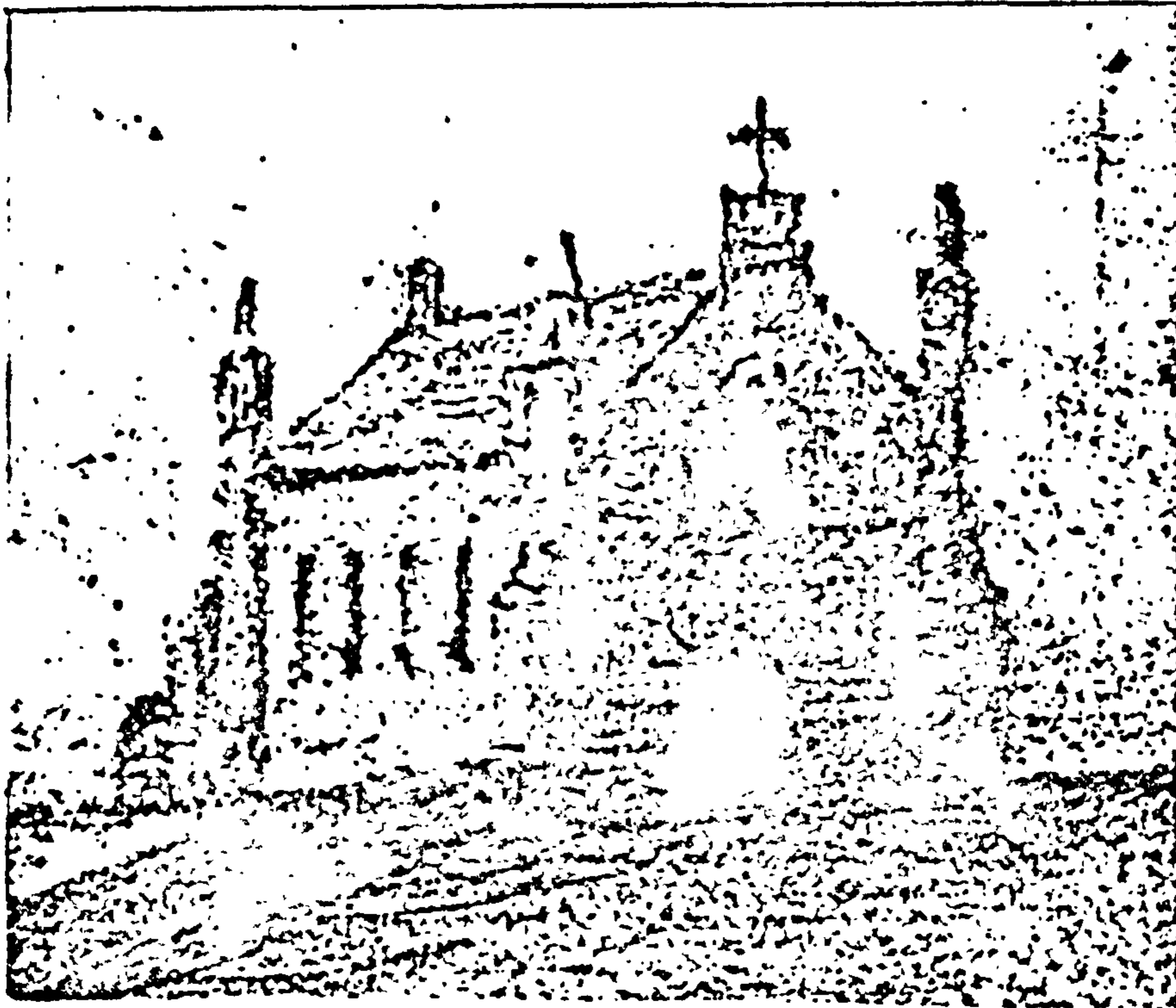


fig 40 St John's Richmond, Tasmania: drawn by Thomas Chapman before 1859.

Richmond had a chancel, sacristy and spire added to it in 1859, and its twin at Geelong has long been demolished. However another replica was built

plate 78

at Hartley, on the western side of the Blue Mountains in N.S.W., and it still remains in its original state. Its local architect was Alexander Binning, but because of its similarity to Richmond and Geelong one feels that the credit for the design of all three churches should really go to Henry Edmund Goodridge of Bath, who must have provided Polding with a modified version of his Downside chapel design suitable for the colonial wilderness. Polding must also have had a variant design with a tower, for in 1843 he sent a picture of Cotham's subsequent church at Launceston to Fr Heptonstall with the comment:

What think you of it? I wonder what tawdry (?) witch suggested the addition of the pinnacles and Crosses to the Tower - for self defence I must tell²⁹ you they were not in the plan sent him.

At St Bernard's, Hartley, Mr Binning was content to repeat Polding's basic design fairly exactly, and the final building was very similar to Cotham's Richmond. Both were tall narrow boxes with four simple pointed windows in the sides, and with Rickmanesque turrets and pinnacles to the west end. Both originally had an eastern doorway leading into a screened-off sacristy behind the chancel, although only Hartley now survives in this form.

plate 79

Binning was 'a sculptor and stonemason by trade'³⁰,

although not normally given much chance to practise these skills in the remote Hartley region. At first he had worked as 'superintendent of works at Bowen's Hollow, Hassan Walls',³¹ but by 1846 was running an inn at Hartley. His enthusiasm for Gothic carving in stone and wood was unleashed on his church, and ornamental additions made, no doubt, to the basic design. The west turrets and pinnacles were transformed into obelisks mounted on extended square bases decorated with blank lancets, string courses, and little carved knobs, while the east end has only simple little obelisks at its corners.

Hartley's internal walls are panelled with cedar decorated with blank lancets; the panels have little trefoils in the spandrels in the sanctuary area, while the blank panelling is repeated on the screen behind the altar. The sanctuary is closed off from the body of the church by cedar communion rails with oddly turned balusters, and the open roof is of the simplest kind where the closely laid battens for the original shingles have just been left exposed and tied together by collar beams and braces at each pair of principal rafters.

The altar, which is more serious and Victorian in

style than the rest of St Bernard's, was designed in Sydney in 1848 by Polding's drunken draughtsman 'Mr Bell'. This gentleman would appear to be synonymous with the later City Engineer, the Cornishman Edward Bell, committee member and architect for St Matthias's Church of England, Paddington in 1859. His altar was sculpted in a grey local sandstone with dark streaks 'which at a little distance gives it the appearance of marble',³² by Mr Binning.

Contemporary Anglican churches were usually just as ignorant and considerably duller than Hartley, as we have seen, but there were three churches designed in 1840 for the Anglicans which were pre-ecclesiological Gothic of the better sort. Two were for rural parishes and one was for the Sydney Rocks district.

St John's, Camden (1840-49), which is normally plate 80 attributed to the Colonial Architect Mortimer Lewis,³³ was an exceptionally competent handling of the standard Church Act formula with added archeological details like Decorated Gothic windows and an unusual cusped hammer-beam roof. The plan of the church agrees in dimensions with one prepared for Camden by James Hume in 1837,³⁴ but Hume's church was to be classical in style. It

would seem that Lewis was employed by the Macarthur family to turn the church into a Gothic one, and add a small chancel; probably because one of the patrons of the church - James Macarthur - had returned from a trip to England in 1837 with a print, plan, or sketch, in the fashionable style of the day.³⁵

The most notable feature of Camden is its rough red brick fabric, and even as late as 1849 this was to have been stuccoed out of existence. Plaster was greatly preferred to brick in the Church Act period, and Camden was ambitious enough to intend this mark of sophistication. The needle spire on top of the restrained brick west tower is stuccoed brick, but the rest of the church was left externally untouched.

The other external attraction at Camden are the windows, some of which still retain their original copper leading and diamonds of dark stained glass imported from England in 1846. The stone tracery was put in the windows in 1843, and must owe its accuracy to English drawings. Each window is identical, and the pattern is the same as the wooden tracery put into the pro-cathedral in Sydney in 1842 (see chapter 5).

plate 81

Finally the interior of the church is distinguished

by its hammer-beam roof, not repeated again in the colony until 1864 when Lewis's son, Oswald Hoddie Lewis, used a similar design for St Peter's, Woolloomooloo, Sydney. Lewis senior possibly got his design from Charles Anderson's Ancient Models (second edition, 1841, p. 91) - the book that could also have been used by Conrad Martens at North Sydney. plate 82

Like St Patrick's, Church Hill, Camden was still stylistically pre-Victorian, but with a new commitment to archeological detailing. It also had open seating, a low pulpit set to one side, and a separate chancel. (The chancel was extended by Blackett in 1872, after a modified plan by George Gilbert Scott, obtained in London by Sir William Macarthur in 1857.³⁶) The church was better built than previous Church Act buildings of this type, with a simplicity suitable to its rural nature: the multiple stepped angle buttresses to the tower, for instance, are not finished with the customary pinnacles or obelisks, but just stop at the top of the tower. plate 83

Even more characteristic of local abilities in 1840 is the nearby church of St Paul, Cobbitty, designed by the firm of Verge and Bibb. It presumably is plate 84

the work of John Bibb alone, as Verge retired from the practice in 1837. It is Bibb's only known Gothic church design, and relates closely to provincial English 'Commissioners' Gothic' churches. Cobbitty has the customary Church Act central west tower, but this is attached to a Latin cross plan of nave, transepts, and a shallow east end - originally closed off from the rest of the church and used as a vestry, like Hume and Martens's North Sydney design.

Cobbitty is very similar to St Paul's Buttershaw, Bradford, South Yorkshire (1838), by Walter Rawsthorne.³⁷ The main difference is that Cobbitty is cruder than Buttershaw; its gable ends still turn under to suggest the pseudo-pediment of the early nineteenth century colonial church type, and the tower and spire are unhappily squeezed together instead of gabled like the English version. Like Buttershaw, Cobbitty originally had no hood-moulds, but these were added by the contractors for an extra £3.10.0 each.³⁸ Cobbitty did not have buttresses between every window like the normal Church Act churches (including Camden), but only on the corners, and the window mouldings are simple splays.

Like Buttershaw and Camden, Cobbitty tower is without pinnacles or battlements, and it terminates in a needle spire - here of stone. The original eastern vestry was converted into a shallow sanctuary by George Allen Mansfield in 1853, and its doorway was re-used when the north porch was added in 1880. Bibb made an attractive and appropriate building out of whatever source material he was given, but the archaic east end arrangement and the clumsy junction of tower and spire suggest a local adaptation of an English plan rather than a confident designer in the Pointed mode.

plate 85

The third of the Anglican parish churches of some architectural distinction begun in 1840 was built as the Garrison church in the Rocks area of Sydney; its proper name being 'Holy Trinity, Miller's Point'. It was designed by Henry Ginn - the 'pet protégé' of the Colonial Engineer, George Barney, according to Richard Thompson in the Commercial Journal.³⁹ Barney had been appointed by Broughton to supervise the erection of the church, and he apparently helped Ginn design it.⁴⁰ Ginn drew up a ground plan for the church in 1840; then returned to England in 1841. He came back to Sydney in 1842 and continued to produce drawings for the church.

plate 86

He also modified his original plan.

Ginn's 1840 plan for Holy Trinity had an eastern vestry as well as a communion area set into the projecting east end of the church. Ginn apparently realized that this was something of a liturgical solecism by 1841, for after his English trip he produced a wierdly emended plan - unfortunately never carried out. The vestry was still at the east end (presumably at Broughton's insistance, for Broughton was the sole trustee of the church and, as the Ecclesiologist pointed out,⁴¹ was far more fond of vestries than chancels). But the original tiny railed communion area had now become a proper chancel the width of the church, allowing no access to the east vestry. In order to get from vestry to church Ginn contrived a most ingenious passage to be hollowed out of the thick stone walls and buttresses on the south-east side, re-inforcing the weakened walls with four large cast iron columns. He added three steps down from the vestry into this passage and three up into the church 'to keep the headway of Passage as low as possible, to procure all the attainable strength below the springing of great east arch'.⁴²

plate 87

plate 88

According to Canon Walsh, the 1840 church was to

have had cast iron columns and windows, but by 1842 these had been emended to stone tracery in the windows, and wooden clustered columns in the nave. Evidently Ginn had learned enough on his trip home to have become capable of competent archeological Gothic detailing. His first design was possibly based on the only book on church architecture that Barney is known to have owned - W.F. Pocock's Designs for Churches and Chapels, London, Taylor, second edition 1835.⁴³ Pocock's plate 6 gives a church plan with unusual canted corners to its rectangular body, for instance, and Holy Trinity has canted corners on the west front, quite unlike any other Australian church. Pocock's plan also had an east vestry (like St James's Sydney). Pocock's vestry is linked to the church by a sort of abutting south-eastern aisle - a much less original solution than Ginn's. However Ginn's plan was never executed; when Blackett took over the completion of the church the whole of the east end became the sanctuary.

plate 89

plate 91

If Ginn was intending to follow any of Pocock's Gothic elevations he certainly must have learned a lot in 1841, for Pocock is really remarkably little improvement on James Hume: 'forty or fifty

of the most displeasing architectural compositions ever achieved' remarked the British Critic with some justification.⁴⁴ Some measure of Ginn's progress can be discovered through his tower design; at first to be low and square, battlemented, and without a spire (cf. Pocock, plate 24).⁴⁵ By 1843 this had become impressively elaborate and archeologically correct. The details of its entrance door are, for instance, very similar to A.C. Pugin's drawing of a Merton College, Oxford, doorway, in Pugin and Willson's Specimens of Gothic Architecture, Vol. II, plate XVIII.

plate 93
plate 94

Similarly the redesigned stone window tracery of his aisle windows is the same as Pugin's Vol. I, plate XXXIII (Westminster Hall), and the spire details resemble those given in Vol. I, plate LXXII (St Mary's, Oxford).

plate 90
plate 92

It is clear from Ginn's other buildings in N.S. . . ., as well as from Holy Trinity, that his method of design was to apply archeological details to a standard early nineteenth century plan. He was thus one of the species of architect whom A.W.N. Pugin was attacking in Contrasts (London, first edition 1836) - the average architect of the time, who had a tolerable notion of detailing but lacked any real interest in a 'traditional form'.⁴⁶ The

success of even this method of design in Australia, however, had to be entirely dependent on a good supply of accurate measured drawings, and throughout the Victorian Age in Australia an adequate library was a necessary part of a successful architect's equipment. Ginn appears to have been one of the first to realize this, and what he did when unexpectedly appointed as Clerk of Works to Port Phillip in 1846 (and subsequently the first Colonial Architect of Victoria), after having just sold the major part of his collection, one can only guess.⁴⁷ In any case he is not known to have ever designed a church there.

Ginn designed one other church for N.S.W. before he went to Victoria, but, like his tower for Holy Trinity, this was never executed. It was for the church of St Andrew's, Stockton (designed 1845-46), and was classical in style. Five sheets of Ginn's designs for Stockton are extant,⁴⁸ showing it to have been a simple box-like building, to which was added a Roman Doric north portico and a west tower. According to the Sydney Morning Herald of December 15, 1845, the Roman Doric columns of the porch were 'after Chambers' - a book we know that Ginn owned. The plan of Stockton is very similar to the revised plan for Holy Trinity (minus odd passages -

plate 95

plate 96

the vestry was in the base of the tower). Its large nave and aisles and shallow rectangular chancel are still of the standard auditory type, with a mixture of copy-book archeological and simple Commissioners' detail added to it.

An earlier and simpler classical church of this same basic auditory plan plus archeological detailing was built in Sydney for the Wesleyans. This was the York Street Centenary Chapel (1840-1841: demolished 1886), designed in 1839 by Josiah Atwool⁴⁹ for the Rev. John McKenny, and built by the firm of McBeath and Inder. Atwool was Clerk of Works in the Royal Engineers' Office under Col. Barney⁵⁰. He returned to England in 1844 after the Engineers' Office was closed down, and the Centenary Chapel was his only ecclesiastical building. It also seems to have been designed with the help of a copy-book.

plate 97

The basic brick box was of the standard Wesleyan type. The communion table stood in front of the eastern organ loft and pulpit, and the body of the church was filled with three solid blocks of pews separated by narrow aisles. A large internal gallery was reached from the twin staircases enclosed in the projecting wings at the front of

the church. One stair was for men and one for women. Even the contrast between the brick box and the stone and stucco facade was a perfectly standard Wesleyan convention.⁵¹

Atwool possibly got the details of his Greek portico for this facade from Hosking, whose plate 58, fig. 1 depicts the same mutules, columns, and spacing of architrave and frieze in the entablature. Both have the same simplicity of mouldings, and the same sort of pediment over the tetrastyle portico. However these sort of Greek details are perfectly standard, and dozens of pattern-books would have given them. It is only because Hosking's Treatises was known to have been in N.S.W. that this particular source has been cited. The whole building is a normal professionally-designed chapel of the period. It is probably a pity that more Royal Engineers were not employed as church architects in Australia as they were in India, for their training and itinerant life equipped them with a knowledge of architecture suitable for colonial situations.

John Bibb's Independent Chapel in Pitt Street, Sydney (1840-41), was also in a Grecian style. Its Ionic columns were modelled - according to

plate 98

Fowles⁵² - 'after the Ionic temple of the Ilisus (sic) at Athens' with 'four Antaic pilasters'. Although still of the town church type where all the 'architecture' is on the front, the whole of this front was of stone, and the frontispiece was successfully integrated with the box plan by being set in antis.

The three-sided galleries of the interior of the Independent Chapel were supported on fourteen cast-iron columns - the first series of ornamental columns cast in the colony. They were made by Dawson's Foundry and finished in imitation bronze. The chapel achieved another colonial first by being lit entirely by gas, laid on by Jones and Ducros in June 1841, simultaneously with that in the School of Arts building (where Bibb had delivered Australia's first known public lecture on architecture in 1838⁵³).

plate 99

This ambitious effort by the Congregationalists cost £6,000 and was achieved without any government aid. It was a notable effort for the time and place, although its Grecian nature was somewhat marred by an over-sized pediment, which George Allen Mansfield decided to omit in his 1858 rebuilding; he added another three bays and two

plate 100

columns to the facade but left the interior largely as Bibb designed it.

The final ecclesiastical improvement to the townscape of Sydney was provided by the Jews, who erected an Egyptian Revival Synagogue in York Street from 1842-44. The architect employed on this surprising eruption in the Sydney scene was the ubiquitous James Hume, although the fact that the Jews chose to repeat the style in their synagogues in Hobart (1843-45), Launceston (1844-46), and Adelaide (1849-50)⁵⁴, suggests that the Egyptian form was due to the client rather than the architect. This supposition is confirmed when one looks at contemporary synagogue architecture in the rest of the world.

William Strickland had erected an Egyptian Revival synagogue in Philadelphia in 1824-25 which is an early example of a vogue that was fashionable in America in the 1830s and 1840s. (The last Egyptian synagogue in America was erected in Philadelphia in 1849 by Thomas U. Walter, a pupil of Strickland's.⁵⁵) Buildings like this that were really semi-Egyptian and semi-Greek were based on the belief that Greek architecture had derived from Egypt, and so incorporated motifs from both.

They were erected throughout Europe in the 1830s: the Egyptian House, Penzance, Cornwall, of c1830 being a good English example, and the Copenhagen Synagogue of 1833-39 by G. von Hetsch a famous synagogue in this style.⁵⁶ Egyptian features were particularly favoured by the Jews, who believed that the temple of Solomon was built in this style. Hence the repetition of the style was an affirmation of the antiquity of Judaism, as compared with the mediaevalism increasingly professed by Catholics and Anglicans as the true Christian style.

Mr Hume's 'splendid building of the pure Egyptian order'⁵⁷ was therefore just one in a chain of Jewish synagogues, and one of the farthest from Solomon in all his glory. Still, even Protestants were proud of it, - the Sydney Herald labelling it 'one of the prettiest buildings in Sydney'.⁵⁸

plate 101

This referred merely to the impressive stone facade (36 ft by 35 ft), for the 72 ft length behind was again of brick, and lacked any stylistic frills.

The best of the Australian Egyptian synagogues was the one at Hobart, Tasmania - fortunately still extant. Its architect was James Thomson⁵⁹, who designed a much more impressive building than

plate 102

Hume was able to produce. The lotus columns framing the central door, the strange curved cornices of the facade (like Penzance), the windows and doors, and the splendid Georgian fittings are a valuable survival internationally in the history of Jewish synagogues. Launceston and Adelaide Synagogues were not even as elaborate as Hume's Sydney one, although the stark brick masses of Launceston must have been quite impressive.

Although all the churches discussed in this chapter were erected well into the Victorian era they were stylistically far more primitive than progressive English architects were designing in the 1820s. But their stylistic pretensions are important, for it is interesting to discover what colonial cultures did when first attempting to impose a 'proper' style on their church buildings. The answer provided by these examples is the normal provincial one. Clients turned to designers outside the Sydney scene (St Patrick's), or let their architects adapt an English type in toto (Cobbitty, the Wesleyan Centenary Chapel, and the Synagogues). At the least the local architect had to find his detailing in copy-books (Ginn, Polding, Broughton and Hume). Only Bird's Cooks River church seems to have been created entirely

without any help from any specific source: its plan and detailing are quite homogenous and very simple, and the giant niche theme is a memory, rather than a copy, of a particular English form.

Bird does not pretend to any archeological fidelity at all, but his building dates from 1838. Two years later all Sydney architects apparently wanted to include at least a column or a window that could be traced to a specific source. Archeological fidelity in detailing would thus seem to have emerged as a common aim in Sydney about 1840, although not spelt out specifically in the public press until 1845. Broughton and Hume's cathedral design of 1837 was an important precursor, and the prints of its intended appearance were published in 1840.

clearly owe their existence to a knowledge of English ecclesiology as propounded by the Cambridge Camden Society - was still the ignorant James Hume, so it is clear that they were not initiated by him. When we remember that Bishop Selwyn was going to New Zealand armed with plans, exhortations, and a Committee member from the Cambridge Camden Society,² the source seems obvious.

Selwyn also appears to have taken a hand in the design of the permanent cathedral, for in 1868 when he was visiting Sydney for its consecration, he stated that he had been an influential advocate for altering the Broughton-Hume design.³ Selwyn wanted to see the Cathedral lengthened and twin towers added to the west end like an English mediaeval cathedral normally had, instead of the parish church style of the Magdalen tower.

As the Cathedral was much larger, more expensive, and more architecturally ambitious, than the little wooden Pro-Cathedral, things moved more slowly. For a start Broughton had to be convinced of the superiority of Selwyn's suggestions. As the colony was in the middle of a financial depression which had put a stop to all building there was no need for an instant decision. Hence we find Broughton

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writing in 1844 to his friend and English manager of the St Andrew's Cathedral Fund, the Rev. George Gilbert of Grantham, Lincolnshire, still committed to his own design but in a worried frame of mind about it:

If either of the Architectural Societies you speak of would take the pains to criticise and improve, you may be assured I should be very thankful. I formed the design in 1837, when those Societies I believe did not exist; and no person here had the slightest ability to give me a hint, or suggest a correction. At that time I was more proud of my production than I have been since or am now: subsequent study of Church architecture having revealed to me many mistakes and anachronisms⁴ of which I was then unconscious.

There is no record of either the Oxford or Cambridge Societies having received these designs until 1847, when both were called on to arbitrate between Broughton's design and Blacket's.

One of the disadvantages of adopting the Selwyn plan was clearly the problem of drawing up the suggested west end. This was overcome in 1846 when Edmund Thomas Blacket was chosen as Cathedral Architect over James Hume, who had re-applied for the post when work began again on the building. Blacket was very much in favour of the twin-towered west end and - according to Mr G.A. Blacket⁵ - the first thing he did when appointed was to write to his father-in-law in Yorkshire asking for illustrations

of York Minster.

plate 105

Blacket then produced plans for the west end and towers of St Andrew's with the same sort of arrangement as York, but entirely in the Perpendicular Gothic style of the top of the Minster towers, and in conformity with the rest of Sydney Cathedral.

plate 106

The detailing was, of course, immensely simplified.

plate 107

Blacket also added a crossing tower of the York Minster type to the Broughton-Hume design, as well as more buttresses, pinnacles, and mouldings. He altered the interior by deciding to leave the stone walls exposed and designing an open hammer-beam, and he extended the west end by three bays. This plan, along with the Broughton-Hume one, were sent off to Oxford and then Cambridge for arbitration.

plate 108

Before the English Societies could reply, the decision to adopt Blacket's plan was made by the Building Committee of the Cathedral, and announced in the Australian of May 1, 1847. It was also announced that the nave was to be extended by only two bays as there was no longer room for three - the government had given away some of the presumed Anglican land to the Baptists. Blacket's emended design was published on the cover of the S.P.G.'s Quarterly Paper for January, 1848.

Meanwhile both Oxford and Cambridge had been replying to their colonial brethren, and both came out strongly in favour of the Blacket emendations. Their replies were published in the Anglican newspaper, the Sydney Guardian, on July 1, and August 1, 1848. The Oxford Society, in the person of its secretary, George Frederick Boyle, announced that their committee thought:

The general effect of both the exterior and interior view of the Cathedral is pleasing, and serves to recall the effects of portions of our English Cathedrals, still it was generally felt that the two towers are rather too massive, and consequently a little too heavy for the rest of the design (as far as we could judge of it). It was also suggested that the roof of the side aisles might be open to improvement. The effect of a flat or very low pitched roof over the side aisles being considered to have rather an effect of heaviness and depression, especially on the exterior, though precedents can be found for it in a considerable number of churches.

The President suggested that the good effects of the interior of the side aisles would be a good deal heightened by the introduction of a string course, running along the wall between the bases of the windows and the pavement.

Benjamin Webb replied on behalf of the 'Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden Society' making 'the following observations':

They are much pleased to see that Mr Blacket has realized the idea of a Cathedral, as diverse from that of Parish Church. This is a most important particular, and is often the last to be apprehended.

The improvements on the original design are most striking. That the style is Third-Pointed is to be regretted; but Mr. Blacket has produced a very satisfactory effect in his two west towers; and generally where his hand is to be traced. We are not aware what progress has been made in the building. It would be a great improvement to substitute lofty single windows in the sides of the transepts, instead of the two ranges of shorter windows. We think also the parapets generally are not rich enough; and the battlements on the towers have little authority. The central tower is not very well capped. Four pinnacles are scarcely enough, and the parapets are too long and unbroken.

But these are details. It is a great satisfaction to us, that Sydney Cathedral, with many drawbacks, and many points open to criticism, is so much improved, and will be altogether a satisfactory whole, and a not unworthy church. We desire to express our opinion of Mr. Blacket's ability, and wish to assure you, my dear Sir, of the great interest and sympathy, we feel in your efforts and hopes. May they be rewarded.

After having arbitrated on the design of St Andrew's the cathedral became of particular interest to the ecclesiologists, and articles on its progress appeared in their magazine fairly regularly - although these were mainly culled from newspaper reports sent from the colony.

The Society's interest was reciprocated, and Blacket modified his design to correct as many of the flaws that both Societies had discovered as he could. The roof of the side aisles was given a more definite pitch to counter the 'heaviness and depression'

discovered by the Oxford Society, although it was too late to add a string course to the interior walls. No alterations were made to the towers as Cambridge had so strongly approved them. It was also too late to substitute 'a lofty single window' in the side of the south transept, as that had already been completed, but one was duly inserted in the north. plate 109

The battlements on the towers were given more 'authority', although the parapets had already been committed to a pauperish existence with only the addition of Blacket's buttresses and pinnacles to Hume's original panelling. The crossing tower had its four pinnacles enlarged rather than increased, although at one stage it was hoped it too might be made more prominent. Blacket's son, Cyril, said that this was not finally done because

ten years of neglect had allowed the piers at the transept intersections to settle out of perpendicular, so that the wisdom of putting a high central tower, which was suggested, was doubtful.

In 1854 the ecclesiologists suggested that the twin towers should be given 'a stone spirelet, soaring from a crown imperial of buttresses' like Newcastle-on-Tyne, but never before attempted on twin towers. To this composition 'a central spirelet, or

plate 110

tourelle' could be added over the crossing - like Amiens, and other continental examples. They also offered an ingenious plan for widening the offensively narrow transepts by the addition of western aisles and eastern vestries. Finally they hinted that they would be interested to see what iron roofing (including vaulting) would look like, although the traditional open timber roof would be safest they felt.

By then the ecclesiologists' earlier enthusiasm for the towers had waned. They now seemed 'too much a reminiscence of Canterbury, on a scale which will provoke that comparison of size which it is most desirable to avoid'. The cumulative effect of their proposed alterations would have been to turn the Cathedral into a stylistically High Victorian building; conferring upon

the Metropolitan church of Australia just that stamp which it is most desirable a church so dignified should possess - we mean the stamp of originality within the just limits of the conditions of Cathedral architecture. It is right Sydney Cathedral should have some feature of its own to mark it among the Cathedral churches of the Christian world; and such a feature this termination of its western towers would create.

It is a far cry from their 1848 respect for 'authority', and their early echoes of Pugin's exhortation 'we must rest content, to follow,

not to lead'.⁸

However Blacket in 1854 was still the same archeological Gothicist of the 1840s. He had not changed much even by 1868 when the cathedral was finally consecrated. When St Andrew's was finished the only High Victorian feature it could be said to have contained was the floor tiling. It was designed by Gilbert Scott in 1866 and executed in marble in the sanctuary by Field of London, and in encaustic tiles by Minton and Company in the nave and aisles.⁹ (Some tiles have since been covered and partly destroyed as a result of the re-orientation of the church in 1949.) Bishop Barry - the son of Charles Barry - added a splendid High Victorian reredos by Pearson to the cathedral in 1886, after a good deal of opposition and some modification; but otherwise St Andrew's remains a very pure, and rather dull, example of Early Victorian Gothic. No notice appears to have been taken of the ecclesiologists' 1854 recommendations, although Cyril Blacket did say that drawings showing the towers with spires were prepared when he was in his father's office, only to be abandoned along with 'endless alternative designs'.¹⁰ By 1854 Sydney diocese was about to become very evangelical, and there was no longer any place for ecclesiology.

plate 111

In N.S.W. the doctrine of ecclesiology as propounded by the 'Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden Society' was always confined almost exclusively to the Reverend William Horatio Walsh.¹¹ Walsh's enthusiasm for the Society and all its works seems to have begun with Bishop Selwyn's visit in 1842 and lasted until the Society died. The only other ordinary members of the Ecclesiological Society in N.S.W. were the Rev. Alfred Stephen, Walsh's curate until appointed first incumbent of St Paul's Redfern; and Charles Kemp MLC, the President of the 'Church of England Lay Association for New South Wales'.¹² Walsh had no opportunity to be converted to the True Principles of Church Architecture until after the Ecclesiologist began publication in 1841.

The architectural evidence of this conversion can be read in Walsh's own church, Christ Church St Lawrence, plate 11 on the south side of Sydney, designed in 1840 by Henry Robertson.¹³ Walsh described this church to a meeting of the Ecclesiological Society in London in 1851, and clarified its architectural split personality.

Christ Church, in the parish of S. Lawrence ... is a parallelogram 100ft by 48 ft, with a short chancel, or sanctuary appended, 12ft deep by 24 ft; and at the west a tower 14ft by 14ft; designed for a spire, and 120ft high. The building had reached the height of the wall-plate all round, under the superintendence of the original architect, when fortunately, in a constructive point of view, the work was for some time suspended for want of funds. It

owes to this gentleman its starved buttresses, its shallow mouldings, its huge western door; its long and too wide lancet windows, and all its distinguishing features of poverty and incongruity; besides many blunders in construction, which were the parents of subsequent clumsiness of arrangement; of the latter are its ill formed chancel arch, its roof supported by wooden columns; the absence of inner buttresses to the tower, etc.

Fortunately the masonry, so far as it went was sound ... Mr Blacket, into whose hands the work at last fell of superintending the arrangement of the interior, has done the best he could out of such unpromising materials; and by means of solid open seats, with good standards and poppy heads, and stalls for the choir, disposed for antiphonal singing (on the floor); and a handsomely carved pulpit, a lettern, a handsome font, and a well-contrived false roof of cedar, and also by shortening the windows of the chancel, and adding a vestry on the north side, he had given it a church-like character within, for which, all things considered, we may be truly thankful.

One of the things to be considered was the fact that Robertson was not going to commit these outrages without the sanction of his Building Committee. Walsh was not one of the original trustees of the church, but he was involved in it from the first. On October 6, 1840, he was writing to the Rev. A.M. Campbell of the S.P.G. discussing the church and enclosing a plan.¹⁵ At this stage he was still proposing to put the choir into the west gallery, and cheerfully discussing the prospect of erecting side galleries.

By the time that Blacket was employed on the church in April 1843 Walsh's ideas had changed, and he was

only too happy to allow his new architect his head. The rector became one of Blacket's staunchest advocates, and several of Blacket's early church commissions can be traced to his influence - like the completion of Holy Trinity, Miller's Point (Blacket appointed c.1846), the first St Stephen's, Newtown (1844-45), and St Michael's, Flinders Street, Surry Hills (1854-57).

As far as possible Blacket turned Christ Church into a correct ecclesiological building, as Walsh has described. Some features were seen here for the first time in the colony, while some were examples of a general trend already begun elsewhere. For instance, the church had open seating throughout, but then so did Ginn's Holy Trinity, whose north aisle had been opened for services a year earlier than Christ Church, in 1844.¹⁶ However, Christ Church's open seats were more elaborate and 'mediaeval' than earlier ones, with large poppy-heads to the benches. These were probably directly copied from a plate in the Cambridge Camden Society's Instrumenta Ecclesiastica.

The 'altar' of Christ Church (a term which gave great offence to the Low Churchmen of Sydney¹⁸) was for the first time raised four steps above

floor level - three to the chancel and one to the sanctuary. This innovation was not so upsetting to Protestant churchmen as the more obvious external stone crosses on the building, and the minister preaching in his surplice:

Of little use will be the endeavour they are now making in England to stifle the Archfiend, if he be allowed to sow his Jeuitical doctrines even in this distant portion of the Empire

- exclaimed an indignant correspondent in the Sydney Morning Herald, when discussing these Puseyite practices.¹⁹ But all these innovations at Christ Church were approved by Broughton, who came to his priest's defence in his Visitation Journal of 1845:

Everything is marked by such a degree of order and solemnity, that I could wish the observances of the church to be taken, if it were possible, as a model for the imitation of every church in my diocese

- he stated.²⁰

The most architecturally significant of the innovations at Christ Church was the matter of the choir being 'disposed for antiphonal singing'. The seats for the choir were placed in the nave between the people and the sanctuary, and arranged facing one another like an Oxford or Cambridge chapel or an English cathedral. The men sat on one side and the boys on the other, and all were clad in surplices.

This new position for the choir derived from St Peter's, Leeds (rebuilt in 1841 by R.D. Chantrell), where the incumbent, Walter Farquhar Hook, had been inspired to install this collegiate arrangement by his friend, John Jebb, Canon of Hereford. Jebb's book on the subject gave the innovation further popularity, and by 1843 the ecclesiologists had realized its potential in giving a functional justification to their call for large chancels. Walsh had always been very interested in church music, and must have been quick to appreciate the advantages of this arrangement to have it in his church by 1845. Blacket was an enthusiastic church organist (he regularly played in the pro-cathedral), and the Leeds emulation probably was initiated by him. He had worked on the Stockton to Darlington railway before coming to Australia in 1842, and his wife's family lived in Yorkshire; so he would certainly have visited such a famous new church.

Walsh may have regretted that the choir could not be fitted in the chancel, for Blacket's next church, the first St Stephen's Camperdown (1844-45; demolished), had a correct long chancel to contain the singers 'in spite of all the efforts of its church building committee to thwart the architect'.²¹ Blacket was not exclusively committed to the ecclesiological solution, for although his church

of St Paul, Cleveland Street, Redfern (1848-56), had a deep enough chancel, the choristers still faced one another in the nave on the model of Leeds.²²

Another major innovation at Christ Church was the modern figurative stained-glass window. The east window was commissioned from William Wailes of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1844. The idea again probably derived from Blacket, who had painted the quarries for the east window of the pro-cathedral in 1843 'from a plan approved by the Bishop'.²³ Hence he would have been aware of the contemporary revival of interest in stained glass taking place in England in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and probably knew Wailes's work.

Unfortunately the plan for impressing the colony with a great modern English window went wrong, for Wailes's design when it arrived in 1845 'savoured very strongly of something more than Puseyism'.²⁴ Among the figures depicted was the Blessed Virgin, and both Broughton and Walsh apparently thought this far too Papist.²⁵ The window was sent back to Wailes for emendation, and was not finally installed until 1853, although Broughton apparently saw and approved it in 1852 before he left the colony.²⁶ It then contained

an inoffensive St John, Christ as the Good Shepherd, and St Peter. The 1905 fire at Christ Church destroyed most of the window, but a single figure from it now remains in the small window at the base of the tower.

This contretemps may have slightly retarded progress in acquiring stained glass windows for the colony's Anglican churches, although the Birmingham firm of John Hardman and Company did a memorial window for M.E. Tooth which was installed in St Mark's, Darling Point, in 1852, and William Butterfield supervised the design of two more memorial windows by Hardmans for Darling Point in 1853. Butterfield ordered an east lancet window of 'some quatrefoils set at intervals with color banded lines on grisaille between' - the quatrefoils containing a bust of our Lord and some angels. It was in memory of Mary Mort. His other window was a west lancet in memory of Robert Wardell Priddle, containing, as Butterfield wrote,

the resurrection subject made as much of as an Early English window will allow Keeping the treatment altogether of that date, and the window generally rich in tone with the blue cold. Pray remember this at Dorchester also and in all my windows. Blue should not be purple ... Remember the colors must be decided and strong among the grisaille in such a climate.

These windows are still in the church and so are the

colony's earliest extant examples of modern glass. They are typically thirteenth century in style on the model of Chartres, and characteristic of Hardmans' work at this time. Butterfield was probably involved with their design because of his general designing activities for the Cambridge Camden Society.

The rest of Australia was not normally in a financially or liturgically suitable state to desire stained glass windows. The first Anglican stained glass window in Tasmania was ordered by the Rev. Frederick H. Cox, incumbent of Prosser's Plains (now Buckland), an ardent ecclesiologist. Cox had arrived in the district in 1846 and immediately set about building a church, the foundation stone of which was laid on August 12, 1847. Cox's church of St John the Baptist (still extant and unaltered) differed from the amateur efforts discussed in chapter three simply because of the rector's ecclesiological connections. It was, as far as possible, a transposed English church.

plate 113

The plan and elevation of St John's, Buckland, was taken from R.C. Carpenter's modification of St John the Baptist, Cookham Dean, - drawings of which had been sent to Tasmania via the Cambridge Camden.

Society in 1844.²⁸ Cox reversed the positions of vestry, porch, and pulpit, for the antipodes. The north porch was taken from Part X, plate 49 of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica ('a wooden porch from the church at Yardley, Worcestershire'), and Cox copied the roof of his church from Vol. III of the Ecclesiologist. The font was taken from Part VIII of the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, Vol. I, and the building contained ecclesiologically approved Minton tiles. The ecclesiologists also sent out their own church plate designed by Butterfield. Cox said that the windows were 'the first foliated windows in stone that have been seen in this country', and all the seats were low and open. Altogether it was a model church, except for the existance of a prayer desk outside the chancel which upset the Society.²⁹

Cox himself was architect, Clerk of Works, master of the men employed, and secretary and treasurer. In October 1847 a plea from him was published in the Ecclesiologist, asking the Society to organise £50 worth of stained glass for his east window, and enclosing tracings:

Of course I cannot expect for the sum I have mentioned, to have the window filled with painting, but I still hope for a design, in medallions or the like, even if the main ground be filled with diaper or flowered quarries. Bearing in mind the dedication

of the church, I should like the designs for the three lights to be something of this kind. In the first, the Baptist, as an ascetic in the wilderness; in the second, baptising CHRIST (our Blessed LORD being this made the central object of the window); and in the third, the Baptist in prison, at the approach of his martyrdom. Should there be any additional fund from any source, it might be applied either to the enriching of the east window, or to the side windows of the chancel, or to flowered quarries for the heads of other windows.³⁰

The ecclesiologists gave the job to Michael O'Connor, glass-maker at Pusey's St Saviour, Leeds, where he had worked from 1842-45 and made his English reputation. O'Connor made such a successful job of Cox's commission (with a bonus north window containing the symbols of the Evangelists) that the glass is still popularly believed to be mediaeval by Tasmanians, and has become quite a tourist attraction in the colony. It must have looked very special, but it was not as unique as Cox believed: Hardmans had completed a two-light figured window in 1847 for Bishop Willson for the Catholic Cathedral in Hobart, and this was probably installed before Cox's windows were.³¹

Stained glass in Australia was given the ultimate accolade in 1856 when the Great Hall and staircase of Sydney University acquired a complete set of windows depicting 'the English Sovereigns, the founders of all the Colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, and the most conspicuous names in English literature'.³² John R. Clayton drew the cartoons

and his firm, Clayton and Bell, made the glass. The staircase windows were installed in 1856 and the Great Hall windows in 1858-60.

The Sydney University windows were mainly acquired through the efforts of Sir Charles Nicholson, who went to England especially to commission them, and both cartoons and glass were personally inspected by Queen Victoria. The Queen signified her approval, and Clayton and Bell were subsequently invited to design the glass for the Albert Memorial chapel at Windsor (under Gilbert Scott's direction). In N.S.W. no better advertisement for glass could be desired. Christ Church St Lawrence immediately altered its nave window tracery from wood to stone (1857), and installed thirteenth-century style red and blue quarries. Later in the year a small figurative window by Charles Edmund Clutterbuck was added in memory of Broughton.³³

Clutterbuck also designed a large five-light window for the east end of Holy Trinity, Millers Point, in 1860,³⁴ after Blacket had finished his conversion of Ginn's vestry to a sanctuary and altered the east window tracery. Clutterbuck's window showed the Adoration of the Magi, Baptism of Christ, and the Ascension. It was commissioned by James Mitchell and his wife in memory of her parents, Helenus and

Augusta Maria Scott. The colouring is very dark and very blue, for English glassmakers were encouraged by their Australian clients to persist in Butterfield's belief that windows needed to be dark and rich for the Australian climate. This normally distinguishes them from later Australian-made windows, which never found it necessary to be as blue and as dark to escape glare.

Glass was too expensive to have flooded the country even after the publicity given it by Sydney University, but it became more and more desirable for churches of any pretension. Even the unfortunate Wailes did a large window for St Matthew's, Windsor, in 1861. Then in 1863 John Falconer set up the first glass kilns in Sydney to make quarries for Blacket's St Mary's, Waverley. The Melbourne firm of Ferguson and Urie had begun making glass in Australia two years earlier. They were soon joined by John Lamb Lyon, who came to Sydney in 1873 to found Sydney's second workshop.³⁵

The major Anglican glass project in N.S.W. was for Sydney Cathedral. In 1860 the Building Committee decided on a complete programme to represent the life of Christ - the south side of the nave being devoted to the miracles, and the north side to the parables. (The life of St Andrew was to be

represented in the transepts.) The Rev. Edward Coleridge of Eton was put in charge of the 'artistic management of the work'; with the advice of Charles Kemp, secretary of the Cathedral Committee, Thomas Mort and Canon Walsh, Coleridge decided in 1862 to put the whole of the work into Hardmans' hands.

The decision to use Hardman rather than Clayton and Bell was partly due to Walsh's comment, 'I don't quite like the treatment of colour by the latter'³⁶, and partly to Mort's feeling that he would be quite happy to see Hardmans' designer, John Hardman Powell, do the lot. Powell, as Walsh pointed out, was 'a churchman', although Hardman was 'a Romanist' - an extraordinarily useful alignment for the firm. Powell therefore drew up the complete programme, while keeping in mind the Committee's warnings about 'the non Romanistic character of the designs'. 'There is', said Walsh,

in all mediaeval designs so much of mediaeval nonsense that we shd like if we could to keep clear of it and certainly there is no need of making the sacerdotal vestments and tonsure of the Ch of Rome the conventional type of garb and description of the Scripture personages. At the same time we want no sacrifice of richness of treatment and desire that everything should be of the best - the subjects themselves being intelligible to not very acute observers.³⁷

The Wailes glass fiasco was clearly still a sore spot with Walsh. In any case by 1862 the diocese

had become totally evangelical: these were the opinions of three of the Highest Churchmen in Sydney. Glass had to look both truly mediaeval and completely Protestant.

In 1867 the major windows of St Andrew's were completed, and installed in time for the consecration in 1868. The transept windows were added in the 1870s, and the clerestory even later. All continued to be by Hardmans, except for one window in a transept by Clutterbuck. Most of the windows of St Mary's Catholic Cathedral are also by Hardmans (dating from 1881), so there is virtually a complete range of the firm's later glass in Sydney alone. It is rather disappointing that Hardmans should be the firm so well represented, for too often their late work looks like the products of the fictional firm of 'Pope and Chappell' described in William de Morgan's novel Alice-for-Short (1907):

And all this swarm of major and minor Prophets, Apostles, Archangels, Nativities and Flights into Egypt, Good Samaritans and Unjust Stewards, fitted into every possible type of window tracery, Norman, Decorated, Early English, late Tudor, even Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren - surely the walls were not then all but hidden behind these?

Well! look a bit closer - look at Mr. Pope and Mr. Chappell, as they stand there agreeing with everything the F.R.I.B.A. says, with a view to complying with none of it in practice.³⁸

We shall see more of Hardmans' work when we come to the 'Romanist' part of it. Australian Catholics employed the firm very extensively, even after Anglicans had turned to local glass-makers in the 1870s.

Just as stained glass had to be imported from England for many years before it was locally imitated, so designs for Australian Anglican churches were necessarily dependent on English mediaeval and modern Gothic prototypes. In 1844 a 'Church of England Lay Association for New South Wales' was formed, and in 1846 this association published their first (and only) Report, in which they stated their attitude towards church building. It is a perfect summary of the British colonial viewpoint. All grants, the Association said, would be applied to ensure

the adoption of a correct style of architecture, founded upon those pure models which have been raised by the genius of the English Church and nation. The Parish Churches of England, the most venerable, the most truly beautiful, the most durable of any of their class, are endeared in our recollections by every association. And how worthy of Churchmen to perpetrate these beautiful models in this their adopted land. How worthy of a Church Society would be the promotion of a School of Art, which from its beauty, abundance, and variety of examples for instruction is unrivalled; from its nationality so appropriate; and in its ancient associations so glorious.

No programme could be more clearly spelt out. From now on the architect who got the most Anglican commissions would be the one with the best library or collection of measured drawings of English parish churches. Blacket certainly had a head start in the race, for he was 'Honorary Consulting Architect' to the Association and must have helped draw up the rules. He certainly won almost all the prizes. His early designs, however, must have had some help from England.

In order to realize their aim of reproducing English parish churches in N.S.W. the Sydney Anglicans were in touch with the Cambridge Camden Society, who sent plans and general church schemes to the colony. References to what they actually sent are very general, although about forty schemes were received from their members for general colonial use, and some measured drawings were prepared.⁴⁰ Drawings after All Saints Teversham, Cambridgeshire, are mentioned for N.S.W. in particular,⁴¹ although it seems that this specific reference may have been vague about destinations. The model intended for New Zealand also went to the United States⁴², and it looks as if N.S.W. got working drawings of St Michael, Longstanton, Cambridgeshire, which were also sent to the United States. Details from this

church such as the side windows, scissor truss roof, plate 64
and furnishings, could have been used by Broughton
for Allynbrook.

The model after St John the Baptist, Cookham Dean,
by R.C. Carpenter (which must have been a very
simplified version), used by the Rev. Cox in
Tasmania, also seems to have been utilised in N.S.W.
Holy Innocents', Cabramatta (1848-49) was a perfect plate 114
ecclesiological church of the same type as Cox's
building at Prossers' Plains, although realized in
English bond brickwork with stone tracery and
trimmings instead of stone only. The builder was
William Munro of Liverpool, but the designer or
architect was never mentioned in the colonial press.
Munro was not paid anything for measured drawings or
architect's duties⁴³, and was only ever cited as the
contractor. The incumbent, the Rev. George Vidal,
was one of the High Churchmen of the colony.

Cabramatta (now Rossmore) is a little church with plate 115
only a two bay nave; it has a large chancel, a north
vestry, and an open timber south porch. There is a
simple brick bell-cote at the west, a high collar-
beam roof, and two-light Decorated Gothic windows
with simple quatrefoil tracery in the heads
throughout the church - except for the east window

which has three lights and more elaborate tracery of varied quatrefoils. Rossmore's internal fittings plate 116 were also perfectly correct according to the ecclesiological formula: open seating throughout the nave, pulpit at the south east corner (i.e. in the English position rather than the antipodean one, like the porch and vestry), two steps up to the chancel (with chancel arch), and another step and some low altar rails to the sanctuary. Two choir stalls are situated on the north side of the chancel, with two chairs for the clergy facing them on the south. There are carved stone sedilia on the south side of the sanctuary, and a good external stone cross. The east window had stained glass from the first, and there was a fourteenth century style plate 117 stone font. It was as perfect a mediaeval replica as was ever realized in the colony.

All Saints Marsfield (now Parramatta North) of 1846-48 was less perfect ecclesiologically, and would seem to have been concocted by the architect employed, James Houison, out of one of the Cambridge Camden Society's general schemes. Houison certainly had to provide working drawings for the church in 1846, and has plate 118 been cited as its designer as well as contractor.⁴⁴

All Saints originally only had a single bay chancel,

but Blacket extended the nave by two bays to the east and added a larger chancel in the early 1860s. The church is in a Geometrical Gothic style with simple bar tracery to the windows, and originally had a five bay nave with abutting aisles without clerestory, and a three stage tower with a broach spire at the west end of the north aisle.⁴⁵ Its competent style and proportions are not only a great change from Housison's earlier attributed Church Act Gothic efforts - like Penrith Church, or the Newington Chapel at Silverwater for the Blaxland family (1838) - but also unlike his contemporary work.

In 1852 Housison was commissioned to rebuild the nave and chancel of St John's, Parramatta, and his efforts there showed that he knew very little about Norman (see chapter 8). An elevation drawing he did for a church in a Victorian Gothic style as an example of his capabilities when apparently applying for a job in the Colonial Architect's department,⁴⁶ makes it clear that he was normally ignorant about archeological Gothic too. The design has got everything: excessive crenellation, thin stepped buttresses, Decorated Gothic windows to the chancel, Perp. windows and Y tracered ones in the nave, a porch with a Norman door and a Tudor battlemented

surround, and a frieze of quatrefoils marking the first stage of the tower. Houison must have had considerable help to have achieved the sensitivity of All Saints.

Rossmore and Marsfield churches were actually quite exceptional in not having had Edmund Blacket as their architect, for Anglican church building in N.S.W. from the late 1840s to the 1870s becomes largely a study of Blacket churches. Sir Charles Nicholson, the English architect son of Sydney University's Vice-Provost of the same name, called Blacket 'the Pugin of Australia'⁴⁷; but a more exact parallel would be with George Gilbert Scott. Blacket designed between 80 and 100 Anglican churches in his lifetime (and one Presbyterian one), while rivals like Hilly, Houison, Kemp, and Goold have 3, 4, 5, and 2 Anglican designs to their names respectively. (They may have done a few more than is presently known, but not many.)

Hence the establishment of the Victorian Gothic Revival church in N.S.W. was almost completely the single-handed achievement of Blacket. (Except for the Catholics, the Anglicans were well ahead in this particular race.) As in the case of Hardmans' glass monopoly, one could wish for a

more exciting artist, but one could realistically have expected considerably worse. The only real complaint that can be lodged at Blacket's door is that the work of a single architect working in an environment without rivals almost always degenerates into rather mechanical formulae. Blacket's earliest churches are usually more interesting than his later ones.

Edmund Thomas Blacket arrived in Sydney in 1842 with a somewhat unpromising background for his future successful career. He was born and bred a dissenter: he went to a Congregationalist school - Mill Hill, near Barnet, Hertfordshire - and worshipped with the Wesleyan Methodists. However, his marriage in the parish church at Wakefield in 1842, and the fact that he was,

a gentleman who comes out with the sanction of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and strongly recommended as conversant with all that is essential to the successful management of schools for General Education⁴⁸

- confirms that he had become an Anglican before leaving England. This reference from Canterbury impressed Broughton, who wrote the above commendation to Governor Gipps and who appointed Blacket 'Inspector of the Schools in connection with the Church of England' on January 1, 1843.

Still, even if Blacket was a gentleman and a

churchman, he was not therefore an architect, and yet he was delivering 'plans and elevations of a church at Patrick's Plains' to the bishop on January 18, 1843 - seventeen days after his appointment.⁴⁹ His duties as diocesan Schools Inspector must therefore have included those of diocesan architect from the first. Blacket's previous English experience, as far as we know, had not included any purely architectural employment, although he was involved in a large range of closely allied activities. He had worked as a surveyor on the Stockton to Darlington railway line in Yorkshire, had inspected the Archbishop of Canterbury's schools, and he sketched mediaeval churches in his spare time. He also traced mediaeval churches and details from Gentleman's Magazines of 1817 to 1841, and subsequently from the Builder.⁵⁰

Blacket was also a reasonable craftsman in a variety of fields. He had made an organ for the Wesleyan church at Stokesley, Yorkshire, which was still in use in 1905, and had also made Stokesley Town Hall clock which lasted for thirty years. In Australia he painted glass for the pro-cathedral, and carved its communion rails and the fascia niche over the altar. His daughter said that he also numbered 'experiments with the magic

lantern; and the tuning and hanging of bells' among his recreations - which included the more gentlemanly pursuits of music and the study of the classics. Bishop Barker considered him to be 'the first authority on Greek in Sydney'.⁵¹

So, although not precisely a Pugin, Blacket was very clearly an acquisition in the colony. At first Broughton gave him small jobs, and designs to draw up such as the bishop's own sketch for Geelong church. 'The first church designed and built by by E.T.B.', according to G.M. Blacket,⁵² was the little church of Holy Trinity Berrima (1846-49). plate 119

In fact this was a copy-book design too, supplied now from Blacket's own library rather than the Bishop's. Berrima Church derives almost completely from St Peter's, Biddestone, Wiltshire, a mediaeval church that was illustrated in a series of measured drawings in Vol. III of the Pugins' Examples of Gothic Architecture (London, 1838-40). plate 120

It seems certain that Blacket owned Examples, from the use he made of motifs from volume II for the designs of the fireplaces of Sydney University, and although he traced the bell-cote of St Nicholas's, Biddestone, from the Gentleman's Magazine of August 1838 into his sketchbook before coming to Australia,

he here chose to emulate the neighbouring church of St Peter, for which the Pugins had provided proper measured drawings. In particular, the distinctive bell-cote (which Blacket used again on St Michael's Flinders Street, Surry Hills, in 1854, and on St Michael's, Wollongong, in 1858), is taken directly from St Peter's Biddestone, and so is the window tracery and unusually long chancel of Berrima Church.

plate 121

plate 122

Berrima's north porch is very similar to the Pugins' measured drawing of the porch at Biddestone, with its corner clasping buttresses and its continuous mouldings around the doorway. Blacket has simplified the porch slightly by omitting the moulding at the lower stage of the buttress which continues around the porch at Biddestone, and he has also omitted the little two-light window in Biddestone's porch. He also added a buttress beside the porch and extra buttresses on the church. (A fondness for buttresses was lifelong with Blacket.) These were probably due to the increased size of Berrima; its nave is 50 ft by 25 ft whereas Biddestone's is only 35 ft by 18 ft 6 ins (i.e. they are both of almost the same proportions). Blacket's chancel is somewhat shorter in proportion than the demolished one at Biddestone, which the

Pugins show as 18 ft 6 ins long by about 10 ft 6 ins wide. Blacket's is 18 ft by 16 ft, hence much closer to a square.

Blacket added a large Perpendicular Gothic window at his east and west ends at Berrima, and this had no model at Biddestone. He also had the problem of the interior roof and chancel arch which were not given in the Pugins' drawings. The latter is extremely simple with no mouldings, and the roof is a simple hammer-beam - along with Camden one of the earliest in the colony, and subsequently to be frequently used by Blacket. The Perp. windows are simple three-light ones with extra mullions added in the tracery, and are very similar to one of the windows of South Wraxhall Manor, Wiltshire, given by the Pugins in an adjoining plate in Examples (Vol. III, plate XII).

Berrima Church was consecrated on June 9, 1849, when it had a correct ecclesiological interior - including choir stalls in the chancel. The roof was shingled, and the windows had diamond-paned glass with the east and west ones painted in various colours.⁵³ Berrima had a small sister church at Balmain - the little church of St Mary, Darling Street (1846-49) which had its nave extended and re-built by Weaver and

Kemp in 1859. Balmain has the same Perpendicular east window as Berrima, and its chancel is almost identical except that Balmain's has clasping buttresses on its corners, and a continuous hood-mould above the side windows. This doubling of buttresses on the corners became typical of Blacket, and unlike his model. The nave of Balmain was probably similar to Berrima too, and seems to have also had a Biddestone bell-cote. Weaver and Kemp were required to re-use the materials of the original church in their 1859 re-building of the nave, and they added a simplified form of Biddestone's bell-cote over the west gable.⁵⁴

plate 123

It must be stressed that Blacket's method of designing did not make him 'a mere copyist'. Welby Pugin himself used the Biddestone bell-cote on his church of Our Lady and St Wilfrid, Warwick Bridge, Cumberland, in 1840, and published his design in The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (London 1843, p. 23). Archeological Gothic was the Early Victorian fashion. Even the most eminent English architects would use details exactly copied from mediaeval buildings, and proudly proclaim their sources if they happened to be attacked by the Ecclesiologist for undesirable originality. It was certainly no

slur on a colonial architect's reputation if he availed himself of published mediaeval details and designs, as Phoebe Stanton has proved in her analysis of the similar situation in America.⁵⁵

The Pugins' intended their book as a source book.

In Vol. II, page ix of Examples they state:

the subjects displayed in the present volume have been selected from castellated and domestic edifices of the latter period of the gothic style; and this selection has been made expressly with a view to practical utility. It would have been a more easy task to fill the work with examples of greater splendour, taken from cathedrals and other grand churches; but subjects of that description are very rarely wanted for imitation.

Welby Pugin particularly decried the desire for originality in his Present State - a book that Blacket certainly owned:⁵⁶

In the present revival of Catholic architecture, the authorities for which can only be found in the ancient edifices of the country, it is very possible and even probable that two architects may erect precisely the same edifice; and this circumstance, so far from being injurious to the reputation of either, is creditable to both. We seek for authority, not originality, in these matters; for the establishment of a principle, not individual celebrity.

On the other hand, if two architects erected the same building because one was copying the other, this posed a completely different ethical problem; especially when the imitator was in Australia - a country notably deficient in both mediaeval and

modern models.

In 1847 Blacket was officially appointed Diocesan Architect, and was given three new churches to design and build. These were St Philip's Church Hill, which was to replace the old church on an adjacent site; St Mark's Darling Point (originally known as Alexandria North); and St Paul's Cleveland Street, Chippendale - an inner city suburb. Blacket decided to design each in a different Gothic style: St Philip's is Perpendicular, St Mark's is Early English, and St Paul's is Decorated Gothic.

In this stylistic diversity Blacket was following the impartiality of the English trade magazines such as The Builder (which we know that he took - his copies are in the Fisher Library of the University of Sydney), and The Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal (which, if he did not own, he could have read in the Australian Subscription Library, to which he belonged⁵⁷). Both advocated building in any of the Gothic styles. For instance, The Civil Engineer, in a lengthy article of July 1846 entitled 'The Future Development of Medieval Architecture', said that architects could advance Pointed Architecture by 'the liberal adoption of all three styles, and the careful preservation of

the distinctive character of each'. It pointed out that the stylistic exclusiveness of the two University Societies was simply confusing: one said that Decorated Gothic was the most perfect (obviously Cambridge), while the other said that the Perpendicular style was the most perfect, but advocated Romanesque for modern churches as being the most practical.⁵⁸

Blacket's stylistic comprehensiveness would have been further re-inforced by a letter in The Civil Engineer of April 1846 from R. Dennis Chantrell - the architect of Leeds Parish Church, whose seating arrangements Blacket had adopted for Christ Church, St Lawrence. Chantrell was primarily refuting the harsh judgements of the Ecclesiologist on his church of All Saints Rise, Yorkshire, by giving mediaeval precedents for everything he had done. The letter ended with the significant post-script:

P.S. I have now some new churches in progress on this principle - 'first pointed' at Halifax; 'second' (decorated), at Huddersfield and at Leeds; 'third' or perpendicular, at Keighley ...

Although Chantrell did not provide plans or elevational views of his three churches it seems likely that Blacket was content to adapt other contemporary English architects' versions of mediaeval churches for his Australian examples, rather than draw on his knowledge of original Gothic buildings. We know that

he was encouraged to do this at Darling Point, and there is enough evidence to show that this was also true for Cleveland Street. St Philip's also looks more like a contemporary version of a Perpendicular Gothic church than an original adaptation of a mediaeval one.

Despite their being no exact prototype known for St Philip's Church Hill (1848-56), the design relates closely to Pugin's St Mary's Bridgegate, Derby (1838-1839), - a church Blacket is very likely to have seen before coming to Australia. However Blacket chose a traditional straight-ended English chancel instead of Pugin's polygonal one, and the interiors of the two buildings are quite dissimilar. Blacket's is far more archeologically correct than Pugin's earlier one. His careful Perp. detailing must derive from contemporary publications supplied for emulation, like F.A. Paley's Manual of Gothic Mouldings (London, John van Voorst, first edition 1845).

plate 124

plate 125

plate 126

The string course mouldings and the columns, capitals and bases at St Philip's are identical to examples given by Paley; the label stops are the same type as given in Augustus Pugin's Gothic Ornaments (London, 1831); and the tracery of the clerestory is the same as that given in the Pugins' Examples for South

Wraxhall Manor House, Wiltshire.⁵⁹ Every detail of
 the church strictly adhered to the Perpendicular
 style, but Blacket avoided the 'decadent' features
 of Perp. He particularly omitted the four-centred
 arch denounced by Pugin in the 1841 edition of
Contrasts,⁶⁰ even though the door surround and
 label mould is one commonly associated with that
 form. His use of twice as many windows in the
 clerestory as in the arcade, with false buttresses
 between them, is similar to Raphael and J. Arthur
 Brandon's illustration of St Peter's church, Walpole
 St Peter, Norfolk, in their Parish Churches (London,
 Bell, 1848, Vol. 2, p. 49). This clerestory was an
 emendation to Blacket's 1847 design, which had a
 single large Perp. window to each bay of the
 clerestory:⁶ presumably Blacket changed it after
 he received his copy of the Brandons' book. Thus
 the whole church would appear to be an amalgam of
 Perpendicular Gothic detailing taken from various
 contemporary source books, used in an appropriate
 general plan.

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plate 127

plate 128

plate 129

plate 130

In the case of St Mark's, Darling Point (1847-53:
 enlarged 1861-70), we know that Blacket's general
 design was taken from a recently published design
 for a church in Lincolnshire by Stephen Lewin. At
 one of the preliminary parish meetings,

Mr Edmund Blacket, the celebrated architect, was present by invitation, and disclosed a sketch of a Church, Holy Trinity, Horncastle, Lincolnshire, a print of which had appeared in the 'Illustrated London News' dated April 17, 1847.⁶²

plate 131

This became the pattern for the Sydney church. Both buildings had a nave of five bays with low abutting aisles and a tiny clerestory (St Mark's had all trefoils while Horncastle had alternating trefoils and quatrefoils). Both had a two-bay chancel, a porch at the second bay from the west, and were in the Early English style of a single lancet to a buttressed bay. The major external difference was that St Mark's was designed with an engaged south-west tower while Horncastle only had a bell-cote.⁶³

plate 132

plate 133

The general source of St Paul's, Cleveland Street, Redfern (1848-56: now a Greek Orthodox church), also seems to have been a contemporary illustration - in this case a lithograph that appeared in the Builder on January 12, 1847. This showed a new church designed by A. Ashpitel to be called St Barnabas's Homerton. It is so close to St Paul's that the similarities must have been more than Pugin's common mediaeval source.

plate 134

plate 135

Both were designed initially to have a nave and only one aisle (south in the case of Homerton and north for Australia); both have the same sort of

nave with buttresses between each two-light Decorated window. Homerton's windows all have the same elongated quatrefoil tracery, but Blacket got out his copy of Edmund Sharpe's Treatise on the Rise and Progress of Decorated Window Tracery in England, (London, van Voorst, 1849)⁶⁴, and made all his window tracery different. Both churches also have a porch at the second bay from the west of single bay length squeezed in between the buttresses, and a two-bay chancel. The towers are almost identical, with clasping buttresses on three sides and a stair turret on the fourth (SE at Homerton and NE at St Paul's) which projects above the terminating battlements of the tower proper. Neither has a spire. The bell stage of both towers has a single large Decorated window to each face, and the tower below is very plain. The major difference between the two buildings is that Homerton has battlements running along the length of nave and aisles with a string course under, while Blacket's church ends more appropriately in his normal gabled roof.

The final argument in favour of this source is the size of the two buildings. Homerton's dimensions were given in the Builder as: nave, 70 ft by 24 ft (St Paul's is one bay shorter than Homerton and measures 60 ft by 24 ft), south aisle 65 ft by

17 ft (north aisle c.60 ft by 17 ft), chancel 24 ft by 19 ft (24 ft by 19 ft), and tower 20 ft square and nearly 80 ft from the ground (20 ft square and 76 ft from the ground including the turret).⁶⁵ So the sets of measurements are virtually identical.

However Blacket's detailing is of his usual meticulous sort and far superior to Homerton's, which was slated in the Ecclesiologist for its inaccurate mouldings and poor attempt at Middle Pointed tracery. The Ecclesiologist also thought that the chancel and tower of Homerton were too short, and the general style of the church was really Third-Pointed despite the tracery — criticisms that presumably would also apply to Blacket's version. But all that the Ecclesiologist was able to publish on St Paul's was praise from Canon Walsh.⁶⁶

All Blacket's early and varied church designs before 1850 must have derived from published sources, although these were rarely recorded at the time and are difficult to discover in retrospect. Some were probably inspired by no more than a small engraving — like his unusual church at Carcoar, whose crossing tower between nave and chancel without transepts possibly derived from an engraving of Cassington Church, Oxfordshire, published in James Barr's

plate 136

Anglican Church Architecture (Oxford, Parker, 1841) -
another book we know Blacket to have owned.

St Paul's Carcoar (1845-48), is a brick church of plate 137
the same twelfth century form as Cassington, but
with a Perp. east window of the Berrima type added
to it. The rest of the windows are of the common
fourteenth-century type used by Blacket on St Philip's,
or Christ Church, St Lawrence. The top of the tower
at Carcoar was not completed until 1874, and seems
not to have followed the original design. It may
not even be by Blacket. It seems strange that
Blacket should have used a Norman plan plus
fourteenth-century detailing unless he had some
particular model in mind. Carcoar is reputedly
a replica of a church at Plympton in Devon, the
home of the main benefactor, Thomas Icely.
However I have been unable to discover any comparable
church in the Plympton area, where a mediaeval plan
of crossing tower without transepts seems unknown.
Possibly the tracery of a window or windows comes
from there.

Blacket's early method of designing is best exemplified
in his most ambitious early building - the main block
of Sydney University (1854-59). The general plate 138
appearance of Blacket's University Buildings did not

derive from Oxford or Cambridge, despite a speech Blacket has left us implying this.⁶⁷ His source was another illustration in the Builder (December 13, 1851, pp. 786-7) - J.T. Emmett's 'New College, London, for the Congregational Dissenters'. Both are Late Perp./Tudor with a symmetrical two-storeyed battlemented front on either side of a central tower, plus the terminating Great Hall (Library) on one end, and a balancing gabled mass on the other. Blacket modified his early plans over the years (particularly the top of the central tower which became more Tudor than Emmett's). His original design was probably even closer to the Builder's plan and elevation than the final building now appears.

plate 139

The most spectacular part of Blacket's University was the Great Hall. Its general form followed Emmett, but it was modelled internally on the lines of a mediaeval domestic or collegiate great hall, with steps up to a dais and bay window at the high table end, and a screened effect with gallery at the entrance end. The roof was given an entirely ornamental lantern to emphasise this apparent function.

plate 140

The Great Hall roof was a very close imitation of

measured drawings of Westminster Hall's hammer-beam with arched braces and traceried infill, given in Pugin and Willson's Specimens of Gothic Architecture (Vol. I (1821), plates 32 and 33). Blacket adapted the mouldings slightly, but otherwise the roof is a faithful copy. Sydney's angels (designed and carved by James Barnet, then Blacket's Clerk of Works) are much more prim and proper than Hugh Herland's earthier personalities, and hold books instead of shields. Blacket was proud of his Westminster adaptation, and it figures somewhat larger than life in his illustration of the interior of Sydney Great Hall, published in the Building News in 1859.⁶⁸

plate 142

plate 141

The Hall fireplace is an adaption by Blacket of one of the Tudor fireplaces at Thornbury Castle,

plate 143

Gloucestershire, given in A.W. Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture (Vol. II, plate VI). The original

plate 144

was nearly 8 ft wide, so Blacket reduced the number of formal square motifs from 6 to 5 and the small square paterae from 18 to 12. In addition he slightly simplified the cornice and jamb mouldings. Two of the large decorative square motifs on the fireplace come from Pugin's plate VI, and the other three from a Thornbury fireplace illustrated in plate XIII - fairly conclusive evidence for

Blacket's use of this book.⁶⁹

Blacket's method of designing was not unique to the colony. It was the common way of putting a mediaeval revival building together in England too, as the building magazines frequently and deprecatingly pointed out. The point is that this was the only possible design method for Australian conditions when a mediaeval style was wanted, until an architect had worked out his own repertoire of motifs. Blacket certainly seems to have been unnecessarily dependent on other men for his general plans and elevations, but the way he put together his stylistic motifs was always consistent, knowledgeable and effective. 'I think', said the architect, Charles Nicholson in 1943, 'he must have kept abreast of the "Gothic" movement and have had great natural talent as well.'⁷⁰

Anthony Trollope, an earlier visitor, was particularly impressed with Blacket's Great Hall. He wrote:

I think no one will dispute the assertion when I say that the college-hall, - or public room, for it is put to none of the comfortable festive uses for which college halls have been built at our universities, - is the finest chamber in the colonies. If I were to say that no college either at Oxford or Cambridge possesses so fine a one, I might probably be contradicted. I certainly remember none, of which the proportions are so good.

Chapter 6 : CATHOLIC CHURCHES

If Blacket seems to have imported more than he invented when introducing the Victorian archeological Gothic parish church into Australia, his real contribution can be more properly appreciated when we compare his churches with contemporary Catholic buildings. Blacket churches by their selection, composition, and detailing have an identifiable personal style, but the Catholics imported their designs wholesale, and local architects debased them in execution through simple ignorance. It was not until the late 1850s, when William Wardell arrived in Melbourne and Edward Gell started work in Bathurst, that the Catholic Church finally employed architects who could create, instead of copy or adapt, a simple Victorian parish church design.

However the Catholics were lucky to have Polding leading the Australian mission, for he was just as keen as Broughton to achieve some architectural excellence in his churches, and just as autocratic about controlling his diocese - even down to the design of remote rural churches. His Vicar-General, Dr. H.G. Gregory, wrote to Rome about 1852:

As regards the style of building also we may without boasting congratulate ourselves. The Archbishop has expended considerable pains and anxiety on this point, not only

because churches built with propriety and good taste, formed upon, though with no servile adherence to, models of acknowledged authority, are eventually the cheapest, but because in a new community unhappily but too much engrossed in material pursuits, it is of no inconsiderable importance, in its due place, to present even to men's senses the forms and suggestions of other beauties and more lasting interests.

The first article of faith in Polding's aesthetic creed was that nothing worth having could be designed in Australia. Everything from cassocks and crucifixes to churches and their furnishings was ordered from England, through the helpful offices of his cousin and agent, the Benedictine priest, Thomas Heptonstall, whom Polding wrote to as 'Hep'. Polding and Heptonstall naturally turned to the favourite architect of the Benedictines for their church designs, and so Australia became the fortunate, although oblivious, possessor of several buildings designed by the famous Augustus Welby Pugin.

Pugin's first Australian commission was obtained through the organ maker Hill, who had been commissioned to make the organ front for the great Bevington organ that Polding had got Heptonstall to order in 1838.

Pugin wrote to Heptonstall at the end of 1839:

I beg to inform you that Mr Hill has completed the organ front and I think you will be exceedingly pleased with the carving etc ... You will not get a 2nd for the same price for there is certainly plenty of money. You will

not be able to judge entirely of the effect till it is set up at Bevingtons ... please pay him £150 and £7.10.0 to myself for Drawings and superintendence. I wish to have some conversation with you about the saints in the niches when convenient ...²
A. Welby Pugin.

Polding thought the organ sounded to be 'a noble instrument and a noble price - case very costly'.

Still, he added,

It will be a great ornament to the Church and serve the object I have most at heart - after the propagation of religion - the diffusion³ of sound taste and a love of the fine Arts.

He was very pleased with it when it arrived. Pugin's seven stone saints in the niches were carved locally by Fr John Gourbeillon, a sculptor-priest at St Mary's seminary. They were 3 ft high, but it is not known how closely they followed Pugin's design. The organ was entirely destroyed in the disastrous fire at St Mary's in 1865, and no record of its appearance has been found.

At this stage Polding clearly had no personal acquaintance with Pugin: until 1843 he seems to have relied on Father Murphy for local architectural assistance after Ullathorne had returned to England. Murphy arranged the installation of the organ in the gallery at St Mary's 'by making a few alterations'⁴, and was in charge of the erection of St Patrick's, Sydney, and the churches at Appin, Kincumber and Liverpool. When Polding arrived back in Australia

in March 1843 after more than two years in England and Europe he found that Murphy had contracted large debts on these buildings:

Money, Money, Money - £2,400 at the least in debt - Thanks to Murphy - St Patrick, St Joseph and Holy Cross - £2,400! What will become of me? ... Murphy is a desperate hand at Billing and who does not know that Billing is the first approach to ruin temporal and eternal. God preserve Bishops and Archbishops - Youths and Maidens - from Billing women and Billing men - Amen Amen - Ah men! Ah men! ... Get me on my feet again - and if Murphy or any other⁵ Irishman lays me flat, why then spit at me.

So Polding was unable to proceed with much new building until late in the 1840s, but when money was finally raised the Archbishop was ready with plans that were a complete contrast to his early Gothic designs.

While in England in 1841 and 1842 Polding had attended the dedication of Pugin's St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, - the first Catholic cathedral built in England since the Reformation. Polding thought it 'a magnificent building'⁶, and must have determined to employ its designer (whom he had no doubt met). At the end of 1842 Pugin delivered 'Drwgs for Sydney' to Heptonstall.⁷

Two projects were set in hand once Pugin's drawings arrived back with the archbishop in Sydney in 1843, despite Murphy's debts. While in Rome Polding had

obtained a Rescript establishing St Mary's as a Benedictine monastery, and now intended to turn Therry's chapel into a large monastic complex. The cathedral was to be lengthened and finally almost completely rebuilt, and a large set of monastic buildings were to be linked to it by a wide cloister. A school was also erected on the site in a detached position away from the monastery.

Father Garoni, an Italian priest Polding had brought back to Australia with him and who rapidly became a thorn in his flesh until sent back home after six months in the colony, had apparently provided plans for this complex in 1843. These were favourably reviewed in the Abbey's Journal - 'it reminds us of those beautiful monasteries and convents once spread over the face of Catalonia'⁸ - and Garoni's plan was copied out.

The monastic buildings never got much beyond a library, vestry, and portion of the cloister - all finished in 1845.⁹ These may have followed Garoni's plans but as no clear drawings of either plans or buildings exist, it is impossible to know. The western extension of the cathedral itself was finally completed up to the top stage of the tower, although building did not begin until 1850. This

certainly did not follow Garoni's plan, for his tower was to be at the east end of the church with octagonal turrets at the west. The new tower was at the west end of the south aisle and part of the new extensions. As Polding had specifically stated in 1843 that the great tower design for his recased cathedral was to come from Pugin¹⁰ it seems almost certain that this 1850 rebuilding was still following Pugin's designs.

plate 145

The new cathedral was of a common Pugin type, of nave and lower gabled aisles with an engaged south west tower. The detailing is also characteristic of Pugin, and the unusual open-work embroidery over the main western gable looks very like a local interpretation of the open gabling on Melrose Abbey.¹¹ Such a source is far more likely to have originated in Pugin's brain than in that of some local, or Italian, architect. The gabling was sculpted by Fr Gourbeillon who also carved the life-sized statues for the exterior niches, and Pugin's organ saints.¹²

The rather fussy sculptural effect of the west front is typical enough of Pugin's early work for us to accept the overall composition as his. Details like the central west window with flanking

sculptural niches compare with Pugin's similar composition on the east end of Jesus Chapel, near Pomfret, illustrated in his Dublin Review article published in 1841 (plate IX).¹³ Even the thin buttress dividing nave and north aisle is very similar to those along the aisle of St George's Cathedral, Southwark, London, illustrated in the same article (plate V).

plate 146

The plan of a triple-gabled church with an engaged west tower belongs to the same type that Pugin chose for St Joseph's, St Peter Port, Guernsey (1845-51) - tracings of which Pugin apparently sent to Sydney in 1845¹⁴ - as well as to the cathedral at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1841-44), St Thomas of Canterbury, Fulham (1847-49), and the Southwark Cathedral (1840-48). Unlike these English examples Sydney Cathedral was basically Early English in style, with a large Geometrical Gothic west window added. The tower design is also Early English, intended to have been topped with a broach spire.

Presumably Pugin was aware of the technical and financial problems that would have arisen with a 'Middle Pointed' church, and all his attributed Australian churches are basically Early English

in style. All but the smallest church designs have an additional ornamental window or windows in a later and more elaborate style, just like St Mary's. Pugin used the Early English style for several of his large buildings if they had to be cheap - like Mount St Bernard's, Leicestershire (designed 1840) or St Barnabas's, Nottingham (begun 1841). He was especially likely to choose the style where money and skilled craftsmen were at a premium, such as in Ireland.¹⁵ Lancet windows were the simplest for colonial workmen to execute, and they also let less light into the church - a factor of importance when the client was Polding with his strong belief in 'the greater intenseness of our light' and the need for architects to make provision for this in their designs.

The second church building that Polding intended to erect in 1843 was St Benedict's, Broadway, south of Sydney. Tenders were called for the church in 1843, but apparently existing debts prevented anything happening, and tenders were again called in 1845, when the foundation stone was laid.¹⁶ The church was completed by 1848, except for the top stages of the tower and the spire. Polding wrote:

The Tower is carried above the roof of the Church but I shall not proceed with it until the bells arrive. I must leave the size to Mears. Five or at most 6 bells - and the price to be from £250 to £300 not

more - on no account.¹⁷

Polding went to Mears for all his bells, for Mears had done the bells of Pugin's St Chad's Birmingham.¹⁸ Their bells were installed in the tower in 1850, but the battlements, pinnacles and spire of the present St Benedict's were not begun until 1856. They look to have been designed, and were certainly built, by William Munro, newly-appointed architect to the Sydney Catholic diocese, who continued to work on St Benedict's until it was consecrated in 1862. As a result Munro has been labelled the designer of the church, although in 1843 - when Polding was already ready to build it - Munro and his two brothers were just beginning to get a few respectable building jobs in the Liverpool area - the Catholic church and priest's residence designed by John Sharkey, and the Anglican parsonage designed by Henry Robertson.¹⁹ It was not until around 1856 that Munro moved to the metropolis and elevated himself to the position of architect.

In this position Munro took over the supervision of the Cathedral extensions as well as the completion of St Benedict's. On the latter job he added the typical 'Sydney School Gothic' tower and needle spire, and also a pulpit.²⁰ On the former he must have added the side battlements of the Cathedral nave - the only feature of the building quite

uncharacteristic of Pugin, and typical of Sydney Church Act Gothic.

If we accept that the Cathedral extensions were designed by Pugin - and this does seem virtually proven - then St Benedict's must also be, for the two designs are clearly by the same hand.

St Benedict's still exists, but the church was shortened by 26 ft in 1942, because of street widening, and about 13 ft was added to its width. Hence all the church except the liturgical south (east) wall and the tower has been rebuilt, although the fabric was altered as little as possible in the rebuilding. Extra lancets (recognised by their cusped heads) were added at both ends of the church, but otherwise the original masonry was re-used.

St Benedict's was another triple-gabled church with an engaged west tower in a asymmetrical position of the Pugin type.²¹ Like St Mary's, it is basically Early English in style with typical piers of four clustered columns of c.1200 and small lancet windows. The latter are used throughout the building except, in this case, at the liturgical east end, which has a large Decorated Gothic window under each gable. This mixture of styles in the window tracery was shunned by Pugin's followers, and by Pugin himself in his later works. In his early

plate 147

buildings, however, Pugin occasionally added a later window to an otherwise E.E. building. For instance, he added a Dec. east window in his E.E. church of St Mary, Southport (opened 1840). The precedent may have influenced Polding's rather misguided attempt to do the same thing at St Patrick's, Church Hill.

The extremely lengthy unbroken roof-line of St Benedict's, Broadway, may owe something to the local builder, John Morris, but this continuous roof is typical of Pugin's triple-gabled churches of his earlier period. Both Fulham and Newcastle churches had an unbroken roof line, and so had Pugin's proposed Islington church illustrated in his Present State.²² Guernsey church, which is later, had a lower chancel. The early design of Southwark also had a separate chancel - but this was a very large cathedral. At St Benedict's Pugin made his fenestration patterns of nave and chancel different to distinguish the two areas. The nave had a single lancet and simple stepped buttress to each bay, while the chancel has small lancets with a niche between them and no buttresses.

plate 148

It is impossible to know how faithfully a Pugin design would have been followed in Australia, and

in any case Pugin tended to be erratic in his instructions. For instance, the four sheets of tracings for the church at St Peter Port, Guernsey, that Pugin sent to Sydney are a surprising mixture of detailed drawings (mouldings for the pillars of the nave and a measured plan and elevation for the holy water stoup), and very generalised instructions - such as 'this tower is drawn rather too low - the figuring to be followed'.²³ To judge by these tracings Polding would have had a more than customary need for a local man to do his working drawings. One can only sympathise with his complaints when the local 'architect' was a drunken draughtsman, an Irish stonemason, or an ignorant but arrogant builder. The architectural assistance of Polding's Vicars-General, Murphy and Gregory²⁴, was not likely to elevate local taste either.

A feature of St Benedict's that is properly Puginian is the extension of the aisles level with the east wall of the chancel. Although this was not normal for a Victorian triple-gabled church (cf. Blackett's St Paul's, Cleveland Street, with its separate chancel) it was a common mediaeval form, and Pugin's Guernsey tracings show the east ends of the aisles flush with that of the chancel. A similar eastern termination was published by Pugin

in his Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (London, 1843) as his proposed design for Islington church (plate 15) - a design contemporary with the first tenders for St Benedict's church, and one which has much in common with it.²⁵

Although not begun until 1847 the smaller church of St Stephen, Brisbane, looks to have been an early Pugin design too. It is exactly the type of church that Phoebe Stanton says was not repeated after 1842, and seems likely to have formed part of Pugin's December 'Drwgs for Sydney' of that year.

Stanton says:

These early Pugin churches could hardly have been less ostentatious, for they consisted of a nave without aisles, a chancel carefully expressed by a roof lower than that of the nave, and a bell-cote placed either above the chancel or over the main door. St Mary's (Uttoxeter, 1839) was brick with a stone trim, but Pugin preferred stone if he could get it. The big circular window over the door at St Mary's pleased him, but in more straitened circumstances Pugin was forced to be content with only narrow pointed windows. Buttresses were not a necessity; the church at Solihull, for example, had none. Modest buildings, they were shells to enclose Pugin's two minimal requirements; a nave of impressive height, and a chancel fitted in a traditional English Catholic manner, as richly as the resources of the parish would allow.²⁶

Brisbane Church has always been attributed to Pugin, although impossible tales about Pugin visiting Australia, and the supposed date of erection of 1860 have rather discredited the legend. With a certain date of erection of 1847 to 1850,²⁷ and by fitting

the building into the context of Pugin's early work in England, the attribution seems extremely likely. Who else would have designed a small Australian church whose appearance is so convincingly mediaeval that it is almost a twin to the genuine mediaeval fabric of St Olave, Lower Bridge Street, Chester? The fact that Polding visited Brisbane in 1843 suggests the date that Pugin's plan arrived there: it normally took Catholics several years to collect enough money to start building.

St Stephen's Old Cathedral, Brisbane, still stands next to its successor, although it has been almost derelict for years. It has an unaisled nave of five bays with a central west door and a south porch (i.e. the English rather than antipodean position), a large two-bay chancel, and a north sacristy. The western bell-cote is now ruined, but would originally have been of a Pugin type. The west portal has continuous mouldings, and there is a large west window containing a most unusual form of Perp. tracery with a diamond in the middle of the central mullion. This again has a rare mediaeval precedent in the east window of Melrose Abbey, although at Melrose all the mullions are split like this. Such an adaptation seems far too antiquarian to be the work of the local contractor,

plate 149

Alexander Goold, who was paid £35 for 'Plans, Specifications, Working Drawings, Superintendence, etc etc'.²⁸

The whole west front of Brisbane is very similar to Pugin's St John the Baptist, Alton, Staffordshire, although the crumbling sandstone supplied by Geary's quarry at Goodna - 'the worst example we have in Brisbane of inferior stone'²⁹ - and the naivety of Mr Goold's work ironically resulted in a more Romantic version of a mediaeval church than Pugin's own supervised building.

plate 150

The north and south sides of Brisbane are more like St Mary's Southport, with splayed lancet windows and no buttresses, while the east end with its triple lancets and rose window is similar to St Wilfrid's Manchester³⁰. In short, every detail of Brisbane except the Melrose sort of tracery can also be found in the group of known early churches by Pugin. It finally cost £1,716, and thus was like St Mary's, Southport, which, Pugin boasted, had only cost £1,500 despite possessing,

every requisite for a parochial church-
nave chancel, rood and screen, stone altar,
sedilia, sacrarium, southern porch, stoups
for hallowed water, font and cover, bell,
turret, organ and loft, open seats, stone
pulpit, stained glass, and is capable of
holding 300 persons.³¹

Every bit of building on the church was done by Alexander Goold, and the government had to get the Police Magistrate to officially inspect the completed building as Moreton Bay had no resident architect or Public Works employee, yet St Stephen's still somehow contained almost all Pugin's stated requisites. There was no stained glass, and the organ and choir were later additions; the pulpit (now removed) was possibly a wooden one although set in the correct Puginian position in the north-east corner of the nave. Nevertheless, as the Police Magistrate remarked,

as far as I can judge, it is very well built. Moreover it is a very handsome edifice, and highly creditable³² to all parties concerned in its erection.

In 1897 C.A. Nicholson still thought it 'the best bit of church design in the city', although even then it was almost in ruins.³³

As it is now only used as a store most of the original fittings have disappeared. Niches in the wall mark the position of the screen, which was set in front of the chancel, like Pugin's screens at Warwick Bridge or Cheadle. The sedilia on the south side of the chancel are still extant, set into the wall under Gothic arches, as is the more easterly piscina. Extant accounts from the contractor confirm that from the first there were

open seats, a bell in a western belfry, a screen and a stone altar (which cost the comparatively large sum of £34.10.0). There is also a high thin collar beam roof with arched braces, king post and raking queen posts of the simplest standard mediaeval sort used by Pugin. Both architecturally and liturgically Brisbane Church would seem to justify its Pugin label.

The next group of churches I want to attribute to Pugin have never previously been associated with his name - nor indeed, with anyone else's. However their design cannot have been a local one, and the attribution to Pugin nicely completes a range of designs which attempt to identify Ferrey's 'many churches for Australia'.³⁴ So far I have attributed to Pugin a large monastic complex of buildings, the tower of which was definitely given to Pugin by Polding; a reasonably large town church, whose design was in existence in 1843 and which is of the same type as tracings of a church Pugin sent to the colony after 1845; and a small church for a developing settlement always traditionally ascribed to Pugin. The type that completes this scale is the tiny rural church.

Polding must have thought he had found the definitive example of the species, for in 1848/9 at least three

rural churches of an identical design were begun in separate parts of N.S.W. - at Balmain, Berrima, and Queanbeyan. Brisbane had been a comparatively ornate example of a Puginian country church with its five nave bays, ornate west window, and eastern rose window. These three churches were originally only four bays long and had lancet windows throughout the church, but are of the same type as Brisbane in their modest but competent mediaevalism of form and detailing.

We know these three churches were originally identical from extant prints and reports, and all three still exist, although all are altered internally and only Berrima has not been changed externally. In 1860 Balmain was extended 12 ft and had a west porch added by William Munro to Father Therry's instructions,³⁵ and Queanbeyan was also later lengthened when its west lancets were elongated and its bell-cote removed. Originally all three had a chancel 20 ft by 17 ft; nave 40 ft by 22 ft; and sacristy 10 ft by 12 ft. The appearance of the three was almost identical too, and in the case of Balmain and Berrima there is proof of kinship. When plans for Berrima church were required by the Colonial Secretary in 1849 in order to qualify the building for government aid the Vicar General, Dr Gregory, simply referred the

authorities to the Balmain church plans. The plans for Berrima, he stated,

are nearly the same as those for Balmain submitted in my communication of this date - the difference is not material.³⁶

Correspondence concerning Queanbeyan church is now lost but one can safely assume the same plans were re-used for it.

Although the plans for Balmain church were not sent in for official approval until January 1849 the church was begun before the other two in September, 1848.³⁷ Unlike its progeny Balmain has a tower on the north-west corner of the chancel instead of a western bell-cote. However this was a local emendation made in 1852 when the church was almost finished³⁸. The original building was identical to the others. plate 151

All three sets of working drawings and specifications seem to have emanated from Balmain, for in 1852 Thomas Cordingley, the contractor of the church, and an otherwise totally unknown stonemason of Sydney, was paid £25 for 'Plans, Specifications and Superintendence'³⁹ for Balmain church. As far as I know the contractors at Berrima (William Munro) and at Queanbeyan (Daniel McClosky) received nothing for these duties. As Cordingley never built another church and never promoted himself beyond

the mason class in the Sydney Trade Directories it is easier to believe that the Berrima design came from Pugin and was re-drawn by Cordingley than that Cordingley single-handedly introduced a proper Puginian church type into Australia - a type that was still being emulated by local architects well into the 1860s.

The Pugin type that these churches belong with is again those simple rural churches designed by Pugin before 1843 - particularly St Mary's Southport. plate 152 Both Southport and the Australian design (now best exemplified in the externally unchanged Berrima) plate 153 have similar general plans and elevations. Both have naves with narrow lancet windows which are only buttressed at the corners. (Queanbeyan, which was built of rubble, has no buttresses at all.) The west end is identical in composition in both types, although Berrima has a statuary niche in the gable where Southport has a trefoil in a circle, and Berrima has only a single bell-cote where Southport's is double. Berrima and Balmain, which were closer to the episcopal eye than either Brisbane or Queanbeyan, have the correctly antipodean north porch, while Queanbeyan's is on the south like Brisbane's. However all are of the same style as Southport's.

All three churches have open roofs in the nave and
ceiled wooden roofs in the chancel, identical to
Brisbane. And all originally had the Brisbane
fittings. The screen has now disappeared in all
these Australian churches, but all had them.
Screens were still a novelty in the colony and
aroused great admiration and astonishment in tiny
country churches. The one at Queanbeyan stunned
the local newspaper reporter (clearly a Protestant),
who described it as 'a grand Gothic communion rail
which goes across the grand arch'⁴⁰. (The above
correspondent compounded his ignorance by
congratulating the town on a church that was 'not
to be equalled in any part of the colony'.) But
after this short phase of obligatory screens in
even the most remote rural church - a phase surely
inspired by Pugin's fanaticism on the subject -
screens were usually omitted in Australian
Catholic churches until the end of the century,
when both Anglicans and Catholics started putting
them back into selected churches. Mid-Victorian
churches such as those in New South Wales by
Charles Hansom or William Munro, or even the large
competent parish churches in Victoria by Wardell,
generally dispensed with them, although all three
architects could otherwise be called followers of
Pugin.⁴¹

plate 154

Pugin has also been credited with the design of various churches in Tasmania, although in recent years these attributions have tended to be discredited as research discovers local 'architects' associated with these Puginian buildings. However the traditional ascription to Pugin seems to me to be extremely likely, for the first Catholic bishop of Hobart, William Willson (1794-1866), was the priest at Nottingham in 1841 who commissioned Pugin to build the church of St Barnabas (now the cathedral) and the convent. Willson even acted as Clerk of Works on Nottingham cathedral, and his last act before reluctantly assuming the Tasmanian bishopric was to ascend the spire of St Barnabas's and bless the cross on the summit of the incomplete church.⁴²

A detailed investigation of the Tasmanian churches built during Willson's episcopacy is outside the range of this thesis, but confirmation of their real designer also helps confirm the designer of the rural churches of New South Wales. St Paul's Catholic church at Oatlands in Tasmania (begun 1850) has always been traditionally ascribed to Pugin, although the local architect employed, F. Thomas, has now been credited with the building.⁴³

Stylistically the church is of the same type as the

Brisbane and Berrima churches, although differing in details. It is a three-bay Early English style of church with a lower chancel of one large bay, a south porch, a western bell-cote, and a Decorated Gothic east window of 3 lights. The high open roof is identical to those in the N.S.W. churches, and the church has a high cedar chancel screen - still extant - of a Gothic style, containing elongated quatrefoils as its main motif. It seems indisputable that Brisbane, the Berrima-type churches, and Oatlands, are all by the same designer, although adapted to their various sites by a local 'builder', 'stonemason' or 'architect'.

The reason for the long time lag between Willson's arrival in Tasmania in 1844 and the erection of a Pugin church in his diocese was entirely due to Father Therry who saddled Willson with two large incomplete 'Carpenter's Gothic' churches, an enormous debt on them, and complicated legal disputes about church land. Willson had told Polding that he would only accept Tasmania if Therry was removed and there were no debts (clearly on the bitterly-earned advice of Ullathorne), but Polding felt unable to fulfill this promise and the two bishops were subsequently estranged for many years. If Willson had any Pugin plans he had

either got them from Polding before 1844 or had got them himself from Pugin while collecting for his diocese (money, men, churches and schools) in England in 1842-43. Either way the early style of his Pugin churches is comprehensible. After 1844 there was simply no money for imported designs or church furnishings, and Willson never patronised Hardmans in the way that Polding (freed of Therry and Murphy) was able to do.⁴⁴

Even in New South Wales money was not rapidly found, for the Catholics remained the poorest sector of the community, and Polding often had to wait several years before actually starting to build a church. As plans were expensive and difficult to obtain they were not rapidly abandoned for something newer. However after Polding came back from his second overseas trip of 1846-48 he appears to have changed his English architect. Pugin was now replaced by Charles Francis Hansom - a change that can be attributed to the influence of Ullathorne who was a great friend of Hansom's, and who continued to be interested in the Australian church.⁴⁵

Even in 1845 Ullathorne was hinting at replacing Pugin as designer for a church in Adelaide for Bishop Murphy. An English Catholic convert, William Leigh of Woodchester Park, Gloucestershire,

who had previously donated some land in Adelaide to the Anglican church, felt obliged after changing his faith to give an even larger donation of land and money to the Adelaide Catholics. He envisaged a long-term plan for 'Cathedral, Episcopal Mansion and seminary' on his four acres donated in the town, but Murphy felt that this was not immediately practicable, and Ullathorne prevailed upon Leigh to agree to a parish church and presbytery on another site for the time being. Leigh accepted this more modest proposal, but wanted Pugin to provide plans.⁴⁶ Ullathorne then wrote to Heptonstall outlining the full story and commenting;

Would you see Pugin, explain the circumstances, and ask whether under circumstances he would furnish a plan for a parish church, spire and Presbytery, early English or early Decorated, at a modest charge and at what charge - call the outlay £5,000 ... Nave and aisles to be built first if required. Should Mr Pugin's charge be heavy, we must look elsewhere though you need not say that.

Pugin must have originally thought he was getting the commission, although it is unlikely that drawings ever eventuated, for in February 1846 he sent exterior and interior lithographs of St Edmond's Collegiate church in Hertfordshire to Heptonstall to be sent on to Australia - presumably to give Murphy some idea of the sort of design he had in mind.⁴⁸ But Hansom had already furnished plans for Murphy in 1845 and been paid £50 for them by the end of the year.⁴⁹ Ullathorne must have rapidly

and quietly replaced Pugin with Hansom solely on the grounds of cost - although Hansom does not really seem to have been any cheaper an architect. In 1846 Hansom was publicly confirmed as Adelaide's architect; his church, to 'cost about £10,000 if carried out according to the design', was in the Decorated Gothic style and was 'intended as a model church for the new world'.⁵⁰ Not enough of it was ever built to discover if this boast was justified.

plate 155

Hansom was also responsible for the design of the Adelaide cathedral of St Francis Xavier when it eventually got built, although he again was a second choice. In 1850 Murphy held a local competition for the cathedral design which was won by Richard Lambeth, a former Clerk of Works in the Colonial Engineers' department, who had just set up in private practice. (Lambeth was subsequently in partnership with J.F. Hilly in Sydney for a short time c.1854-55.)^o The foundations of Lambeth's building were laid, and then work stopped because of the Gold Rushes.

By 1854 Murphy was having second thoughts about his cathedral and Lambeth's design was sent to Hansom. Hansom revised it extensively, basing his improvements on Byland Abbey, Yorkshire - an

impressive Early English Cistercian Abbey whose fame and simplicity of style would appeal to the colonies. The first part of Hansom's design was built from 1856-58 under the supervision of G.S. Kingston but the major part of the cathedral, including the chancel end of the church and the tower and spire, was not begun until after Hansom had submitted further drawings in 1857.⁵¹ It was not completed for many decades and Hansom's design was altered considerably over the years.

Hansom gradually took over from Pugin in N.S.W. too. At first he seems to have been brought to Polding's notice by designing church furnishings for Sydney to be made by Hardmans, - the comprehensive nature of Polding's requirements being illustrated in the following letter to Heptonstall of January 31, 1849:

Now I wish you to get from Hardman - or perhaps tell Hansom and he will manage it - I want a Vestment for all colours ... all I require as Priest and Bishop made up as small and light as decency permits - in the least possible space ...

The Altar-furniture for St Patrick's Church does not give altogether so much satisfaction as the Organ. The Tabernacle has a je ne sais quoi petty appearance about it. The sum due to Hardman is £70.⁵²

Hansom was billing Polding as early as 1845 for services rendered, although these were probably only the above sort of furnishings. By 1849, after the second English trip, Hansom was clearly Polding's

architect. In the archbishop's letter to Heptonstall asking for architectural books, specifically the Brandons' Parish Churches, Polding gives as his reason for the request that 'Hansom's specifications do not suit us'.⁵³ Like Broughton, Polding had to learn ecclesiology in a very practical way. After the specifications had been rectified, the foundation stone of Hansom's first known church in New South Wales was laid in May, 1851,⁵⁴

This was for the Church of the Sacred Heart at Darlinghurst which initially had only £2,000 spent on it from 1850 to 1852. The final stage of building did not begin until 1862 and the tower was still not finished when the church was demolished in 1909.⁵⁵ The building was a competent Geometrical Gothic church on a larger scale than any of Sydney's earlier parish churches, and managed a lot of space at minimal cost. Because the site was steeply sloping there was an enormous basement as high as the aisles on the north side, but the church which sat on top of it was a common enough English Victorian type to have been largely unaltered from Hansom's design. Its composition was similar to Blackett's Early English Darling Point Church, with simple quatrefoils in the clerestory of the six bay nave, an engaged west tower at the end of the north aisle, and a two-bay chancel with lower roof-line to the rest of the

plate 156

church.

More successful, because more lavish, was the Early English church designed by Hansom for Bathurst.

St Michael and St John's, Bathurst (1857-61: now the cathedral), is still extant, although considerably altered for the worse by recent changes to the interior, and on the south side of the church. To Polding's horror it cost about £14,000: 'we have here a most beautiful church from Hansom's designs - it has cost a world of money and is deep in debt'⁵⁶ he wrote, his aesthetic pleasure nicely counter-balanced by his financial pains.

plate 157

Personally I think it was hardly worth the money, which mostly seems to have been spent on accurate mouldings and more elaborate carving of capitals, label stops, and sculpture, than was usually given to country churches. Admittedly the building was a good size, but its design is very conventional, and the tower is too small for the nave and too tightly cramped against the nave gable and west front.

plate 158

The interior of Bathurst was more attractive - in a very Puginian way. Hansom can be as justifiably accused of starving his roof timbers as Pugin was.

plate 159

Ullathorne's stated belief that Hansom could furnish any style of Gothic and do all that Pugin could,⁵⁷ would seem to have had unfortunate repercussions for Catholic ecclesiastical architecture. Still, in Australia he was not doing a superior architect out of a job, as we shall see.

Hansom's most attractive Australian churches were designed while he was in partnership with his elder brother, Joseph Aloysius. They were for Bishop Goold in Melbourne and date from 1855-56. St Patrick's, Port Fairy (formerly Belfast) which was built from 1857-60, St Mary's Kynton (1857-61: completed by Wardell and Denny), and St Patrick's, Ballarat (later the cathedral), which was built by Dowden and Ross to a reduced scale of the original design from 1858 to 1863, and completed by J.B. Denny in 1871, were all in the Decorated Gothic style which was Hansom's speciality. All were of local bluestone or limestone with freestone dressings, and looked more substantial than Bathurst's brick. Their superiority may owe something to the probable involvement of his brother in the design, for Bathurst Church although built during the partnership which lasted from 1854 to 1859, was designed before 1853 when Charles Hansom was on his own.

It is likely that Hansom designed other churches in

Australia in the 1850s, for records are few and scattered, and church-building spread to very far-flung localities. One is tempted to ascribe to Hansom the Catholic churches at Mudgee, Parramatta, and Ipswich, Queensland, which were competent enough for his hand. The former was rebuilt by Gell in 1873-76, and only the chancel and sacristy remain of the original building; but the expanded exterior followed the general appearance of the old one, and bears a close resemblance to Hansom's Sacred Heart Church in Sydney. Ipswich Church, which was begun in 1858, was a large church to hold 1,000, and was more ambitious than most of its contemporaries. The fact that Polding made a special trip to such a remote outpost of what was no longer even his Empire to lay the foundation stone, suggests that he again may have provided the plan.

Hansom was not the only designer for the Sydney Catholics. By 1858 William Munro had been official architect to the Catholic Church in Sydney for two years and was ready to try his hand at designing churches, although less ambitious ones than Ipswich. At best Munro's designs are a poor imitation of Berrima Catholic church, which he had built, and at worst they are a complete vindication for Polding continuing to seek his designs in

England. Considering the dearth of mediaeval and mediaeval revival architecture in N.S.W., Munro could hardly have had better colonial training than through building a church and a cathedral extension apparently designed by Pugin (Berrima, and St Mary's); an early Blacket church which imitated a Pugin drawing of a mediaeval church (Berrima); and an Ecclesiological Society export church, possibly drawn up by Carpenter (Rossmore). Not surprisingly, this was still inadequate for creative architecture. Munro had started too late: he was already 26 when he arrived in Australia with nothing but a trade. Blacket arrived three years later aged 25 much more completely equipped.

Munro's first independent design seems to have been for St Patrick's Catholic church, Singleton (1858-60), plate 160 where in March 1859 payment was made for 'Mr architect Munro's expenses'.⁵⁸ Singleton is a parody of Berrima Catholic church, and all details, although similar, are just not quite right. The lancet windows have been elongated and have developed tiny pimples of bar tracery in their heads; the niche in the gable has lost its moulded base but found a weakly cusped pointed head deriving from that on St Mary's Cathedral extensions; the bell-cote seems to have grown higher but thinner, and a general increase in scale has replaced any profusion of

mouldings. The church is simply too big, too wide, and too meanly detailed to be a successful imitation of a Pugin design.

A later sister to Singleton, St Charles Borromeo Church at Waverley (begun 1865 and now also demolished), showed that Munro was capable of slight improvement as he became more experienced. Waverley again derived from Berrima, but it was somewhat smaller than Singleton (five bays instead of six), and seems to have been somewhat better proportioned and finished.

plate 161

Two other churches of the Singleton type are also an improvement on Munro's first effort, although still not showing any originality. St Paul's Camden (1858-9) is of brick with stone trim - a less successful imitation of Holy Innocents Church of England, Rossmore. Again it is too big and too wide for its simple lancet style, and this flabby appearance is not helped by the west front where the triple lancet composition floats in too much brick. St Brigid's Catholic church, Raymond Terrace (1860-62), seems to me to be the best of the lot, chiefly because its rusticated stone and decent Geometrical Gothic west window instead of attenuated lancets give it an element of strength. There is also a proper south porch of the Puginian

plate 162

plate 163

type, and the proportions of the church are more satisfactory – although it is still considerably larger than Berrima.

It is possible that Munro also designed St Bede's Catholic Church, Braidwood (built 1859-62), for he certified the first contractor's bill on the church.⁵⁹ If so, it was a most unsuccessful attempt on his part to vary the triple lancet west front theme. The circular window in the gable is a dreadful mistake in size, positioning and detailing. The starkness of Braidwood is probably partly due to the fact that it is built of smoothly dressed local granite, giving it something of the texture of cement blocks. The most notable feature of the church remains the inscription on the 1862 bell, written especially for it by Cardinal Newman.

plate 164

Munro also designed St Mary Star of the Sea, Newcastle (1863-66), which was another very large church in the lancet Gothic style with a transept, like Braidwood. It was built of brick with stone trim, like Camden, and had the same sort of massive basement storey as Hansom's Sacred Heart church at Darlinghurst. The central west tower was never finished, but did not promise much. Subsequent accretions to the building are considerably worse.

plate 165

Munro's two temporary cathedral buildings for Sydney after the old one burned down were not very architecturally interesting either. At least they meant that he had the distinction of building three cathedrals on one site. Cathedral number 2 - the first temporary cathedral - was of wood and rapidly went the way of the first, so Polding lost the few treasures salvaged from the first fire. The next temporary cathedral was of brick with an iron and slate roof. It was 170 ft by 56 ft plus sacristy and other offices - 'to be begun and completed in three months' said Polding.⁶⁰ It would accommodate 3,000, and at least was,

a most substantial building which will form an excellent seminary, school etc. when no longer required for its present purpose. The entire cost is about £4,000 - the cheapest building in Sydney.

It was a good sensible builder's job, like a factory, with no attempt at any stylistic trim and admirably fulfilled its purpose. In the event, it took four months to erect, which must still be close to a record for a large cathedral building.

Munro's main claim to ecclesiastical architectural status rests on his church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel Waterloo (1859-61), his most ambitious design. It is still Early English in style, and is very large with a seven bay nave and aisles. Aisles and

clerestory both have paired lancets with a buttress between each pair. There are three-bay transepts, and the building was to have had an Early English crossing tower 90 ft high and a proper square-ended chancel. These were never built and the church remains unfinished, with the crossing arch blocked up and all corbels uncut. Its internal appearance was further diminished by a fire in 1957 which destroyed the original woodwork.⁶² Mt Carmel also has all Munro's faults. The proportions of the building are uncomfortable with a very high and narrow nave, the mouldings are disastrously thick and coarse, and the roof is a very thin and high collar-beam out of scale with the rest of the church.

Munro is also supposed to have designed St Andrew's Presbyterian College for the University of Sydney at the end of his life (1873-76), and this is easily his most successful building. He was by far the most accomplished of the Scottish builders who became architects in Victorian Sydney, despite his limitations, and the best of the local talent offered to Polding at the time.

Other Catholic churches were far more primitive than Munro's ever were, like the earlier church of

St Michael, Baulkham Hills of 1849. The fact that this is exactly contemporary with the Berrima church group is further evidence of the need for English designers for archeologically correct Gothic Revival churches. Baulkham Hills amuses by its presumption, but it is clear that its designer had never tried his hand at a church before. It is ironic that the stone for the western extension of its nave in 1924 came from the Pugin cathedral extensions at St Mary's, which then lost all chance of being re-built as originally proposed.⁶³ plate 166

The next developments in Catholic church design in N.S.W. came from disciples of Pugin - but disciples who had learned their trade in England, and were not even aware of Pugin and Hansom's contributions to the Australian landscape.

Chapter 7 : MID-CENTURY ANGLOMANIA

The middle of the nineteenth century marks the culmination of Australian nostalgia for England. Earlier generations had felt just as keenly about the superiority of all things English but it was not until after the Gold Rushes of 1851 onwards that the means of gratifying such sentiments were available to all classes. As far as possible everything was imported. Clothing and all household furnishings were considered superior to local products of course; but designs, building materials, and even complete buildings were also sent out from the U.K. Imported buildings now included permanent constructions of iron as well as the temporary wood¹ or canvas shelters of earlier years.

Naturally there was a certain amount of give as well as take. Slates and iron were imported, but wood was exported. Mr Mort had everything including his bookcases² entirely made in England for his house at Darling Point (now 'Bishopcourt'); and Mr Lenehan, who had 'probably one of the largest furnishing establishments out of England' at the corner of King and Castlereagh Streets, Sydney, ordered his new iron and glass showroom from Burnett and Co. of Deptford, as well as getting

most of his stock from England and Europe -
'including Gothic church furniture'.³ On the other
hand, when the Gold Rushes moved from Australia to
California several portable wooden houses were made
in Sydney and sent to America, while the 'New Rush'
at Hokitika, New Zealand, in 1865 resulted in an
iron theatre and hotel being constructed in
Sydney as a special export⁴ - thus signalling the
end of that colony's dependence on England for iron.

On the whole traffic continued to move only into
the colony. Even as late as 1867 a resolution
from the building and allied trades in N.S.W. was
circularised in England warning of 'the present
depressed conditions', which the tradesmen felt
were very largely due to the colony's passion for
imports.⁵ The Rev. Robert Young, who visited
Sydney in 1853, was just one of the many visitors
who noted how completely English Sydney was: here
'you have England, and England only', he wrote.⁶

Church architecture was probably infected with
greater anglomania than any other building type.
The average domestic dwelling in Australia was
still run up by a local builder, even if ornamentation
came from English pattern books and furnishings were
mostly imported. Public buildings were under the
control of the Colonial Architect's office and were

necessarily designed for colonial rather than English requirements. Commercial buildings usually had enough financial pressures to prefer local economy to imported show. But churches had always been designed on the principle of associationism, and a good church building had always been one that could almost have been mistaken for a church at home. From the end of the 1840s until the 1860s almost every denomination did its best to show that 12,000 miles made no difference at all, and that Australian church buildings, if not precisely such as to grace London, could pass unnoticed in Birmingham or Leeds.

This ambition was very unsatisfactory from the point of view of the modern architectural historian. It meant that buildings in Australia were condemned to be second-hand. If one only desires to emulate, then the greatest triumph one can possibly achieve is a perfect copy. Whether this copy is a synthesis of details from the Brandons' Analysis of Gothic Architecture (first edition 1847), a modification of a modest contemporary Gothic Revival church, or a faithful execution of an English architect's design, the result is necessarily derivative, and hence provincial. Australia's better Victorian churches could probably have settled down in an English provincial city without comment, but today

comment is exactly what we feel architecture ought to provoke. A church that is merely no worse than the average seems hardly worth mentioning.

An appreciation of this limitation to artistic creativity is clearly the reason why Australian architectural historians despise this era in colonial architecture, preferring the more distinctively 'Australian' buildings of our Georgian and Regency past.⁷ Nevertheless if originality was not a contemporary criterion it is unfair to condemn Victorian churches for 'copyism'. It would seem wiser to see what was achieved within the framework of contemporary ambitions: what was copied, and why. The 'originality' of Australian Georgian and Regency buildings really resulted from a physical, financial, and artistic inability to reproduce English architecture. Now at last the local population believed they had overcome these limitations. The historical inevitability of the Australian Victorian church has to be some justification for accepting it.

An imperfect way of achieving an English church was to import one in toto. The second half of the 1850s were the great years for the importation of iron churches into the country, although the temporary nature and the physical and aesthetic limitations

of such buildings meant that this fashion was neither extensive nor long-lasting.⁸ The late 1850s were, of course, also the great years for iron buildings in England, and the building magazines contained many articles and advertisements encouraging the colonies to accept this new form of prefabrication. No imported iron church still survives in Sydney: the closest approximation to one is the Royal Mint building, by John Walker of London⁹, that was imported in 1854 to add to Sydney's temporary State Parliament building, and now serves as the Upper House chamber. However several iron churches were successfully used for many years.

plate 167

St Stephen's Presbyterian Church, which was originally located in Macquarie Street just down from the Parliament House iron building, was erected 1854-55, and was the most elaborate of these churches. It was constructed by Charles D. Young and Company, who had offices in Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, and Liverpool, although their main factory was in Edinburgh. Their Sydney church was in a Classical style with a twin turreted facade and an open columnar front topped with a pediment. This elaborate stylishness rather deteriorated around the sides, which were corrugated iron sheets pierced with round-headed windows with simple iron tracery bars.

plate 168

The design of St Stephen's was very similar to Youngs' galleried iron church illustrated in plate XI of their catalogue - Illustrations of Iron Structures for Home and Abroad, Edinburgh, (c.1856) - although the catalogue building has a single cupola breaking its pediment which is less attractive than the more elaborate twin-towered treatment of Sydney. Youngs were the firm who had built the famous 'Brompton Boilers' at South Kensington in 1855-56 as a temporary home for what became the Victoria and Albert Museum, and were also extensive exporters. It was Youngs who supplied the elaborate pre-fabricated iron house that became Corio Villa in Geelong, after being put together by a man who had not been given the instruction book.¹⁰ Their Sydney church survived a move to Lidcombe, where it formed part of the State Hospital and Men's Home until the 1960s, when it was broken up for scrap.

plate 169

The most successful supplier of iron churches in the U.K. was the firm of Samuel Hemming and Company of Bristol. In 1853 - two years before their first iron church was erected in London (at South Kensington) - Hemmings sent an iron church to the Melbourne Anglicans.¹¹ This was a great success, and the Bishop sent off for a second within the year. This one was sent to the wrong place, had

plate 170

no working drawings or proper instructions for its erection, and was a total failure.¹² Enthusiasm for the new material among the Melbourne Anglicans waned, and plans to import a dozen of the species never eventuated.

To prove iron churches knew no denominational barriers, the Congregationalists of Surry Hills, Sydney, also ordered one from Hemmings. This became the Bourke Street Congregational Church (1854-55), and was identical to the Melbourne examples except for the addition of galleries at each end of the building and more careful insulation.¹³ All three churches were 70 ft by 48 ft by 40 ft high, and Sydney's contained 700 sittings. (The seating was included in the cost of £1,100.) The Sydney church also contained an 11 ft high basement storey which was used as a school-room, so one got plenty of accommodation for one's money.

plate 171

Stylistically Hemmings' churches were less pretentious than Youngs', for the entire building was made up of corrugated iron sheeting, which was then internally covered with 'boarding canvas' and marbled paper (the ceiling had an additional insulation of 'inodorous felt').¹⁴ The main feature proclaiming the building's purpose was the central west tower topped with iron parapets and pinnacles,

although there was also a little iron barge-boarding, and iron hood-moulds over the sash windows. The plan of nave and abutting aisles was also vaguely ecclesiastical, although later to become common for entirely secular iron buildings like the Singleton show-ground pavilion.

Country areas could clearly benefit from iron churches. An early example was the Presbyterian Church at Numba, erected, according to the National Trust (N.S.W.) listing, in the 1850s. However the cost of transport and erection in remote areas meant that the common rural iron church was not really established until Australia could produce its own. English imported iron churches were really practicable only in towns - where they were less needed. Once Zoller's Galvanizing Iron Works had been established by 1864,¹⁵ Sydney was capable of supplying its own portable buildings, and most Australian iron churches-like that originally erected for St Mark's Granville in 1877-were local products. These unpretentious galvanised iron gabled boxes exist all over Australia and are usually nothing special, although one occasionally has the luck to come across a rogue.

The former Methodist Church in Barton Street, Cobar, is a very late nineteenth century example of the

slightly roguish. It is a standard galvanised box which has decided to be Gothic, and so had added pointed windows, a hole in the gable which the educated may recognise as an allusion to a rose window, a west porch which is mainly weatherboard, and mixed weatherboard and iron stepped buttresses of endearing stylistic and structural ignorance. The Robertsons cite a sad rogue - St Luke's Anglican church, Whitmore Square, Adelaide, of 1854 - which is a combination of an imported iron church (apparently from Hemmings) and local masonry. Apparently both a local architect, E. Wright, and a portable church were simultaneously commissioned, and both employed.¹⁶

On the whole iron churches did not do much to advance the cause of a New Britannia, despite the fact that they were more typical of the English scene than the Australian one at the end of the 1850s.¹⁷ In a country like Australia where timber was no problem a lot that could be done in iron could be done more cheaply and easily in wood. Australia's iron enthusiasm, after initial extravagances in the 1850s like an iron clock-tower for Geelong (1854),¹⁸ gradually dwindled into a passion for balconies of an overwhelming variety - competently documented in the various books of the late Graeme Robertson. As far as serious and permanent churches

were concerned Australia yearned for something considerably more mediaeval and Romantic to typify the homeland.

The next best solution if unable to import proper English churches was to import designs for them, and then fill them with English furnishings. We have already seen how both Anglicans and Catholics carried this out in the late 1840s, and the practice continued throughout the century.

From the end of the 1840s onwards, it would have been considered poor taste to consider building anything as major as a cathedral designed by a local architect. Adelaide and Bathurst Catholics employed Charles Hansom, and Adelaide and Melbourne Anglicans employed William Butterfield.¹⁹ William Burges did a spectacularly thirteenth-century Gothic design for Brisbane Anglican cathedral in 1860, which was ultimately rejected for a perfectly assured stone-vaulted Anglo-French cathedral by J.L. Pearson in 1887. Pearson also provided a plan for Goulburn Anglican Cathedral in the 1860s, but this was superseded by one by Blacket.

The Hobart Anglicans got an early example of G.F. Bodley's fourteenth-century English style

in 1866, which took them until 1936 to complete. The Geometric Gothic design for Perth Catholic cathedral was provided by an unknown English designer in 1853 (probably one of Pugin's sons), and building began in 1863. It has since been almost obliterated by alterations and additions. In 1877 the Perth Anglicans debated the merits of various English plans before finally settling on an undistinguished design by Blacket²⁰.

Bishop Sawyer intended to erect a cathedral at Grafton, N.S.W., to plans by William Slater and R.H. Carpenter in 1869, but was drowned before being able to commence operations. It was to have been of stone, in an E.E. style with twin towers to form quasi-transepts like Geneva or Exeter, and an octagonal chapter house beyond the east end.²¹

William Wilkinson Wardell had enough of an English reputation to obtain the commission for St Patrick's Catholic Cathedral, Melbourne, immediately he arrived in Australia in 1858, and subsequently designed Launceston Catholic Cathedral (1860-65) for Bishop Willson, his intimate friend.²² Polding also gave Wardell Sydney Cathedral after the 1865 fire. Competent, well-bred, local architects who could design buildings that were indistinguishable

from English ones were acceptable by the 1870s, and Blacket obtained Bathurst, Goulburn, and Perth Anglican Cathedrals.

On a less exalted level, the parish church could not always expect an English designer, for other denominations were not often as willing to dot the country with a model design as Polding had been. However the Wesleyan Methodists showed that their organisation was even more tightly centralised than the Catholic. Polding had only obtained his ideal parish church plans through his own and his cousin's efforts. The Methodist standard plan emanated from the 'Model Plan Committee' appointed by the Bristol Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1846.

The secretary of the Conference was Frederick J. Jobson, a pupil of Edward James Willson who had collaborated with Augustus Pugin on Specimens of Gothic Architecture. Jobson had very definite ideas about adapting Puginian churches to Wesleyan worship, and contributed a weekly column on ecclesiastical architecture to The Watchman preaching on this theme. The book he published in 1850 as the outcome of the Model Plan Committee's competition for an ideal church was even more influential. It was Chapel and School Architecture

as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists,
particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists,
with practical directions for the Erection of
Chapels and School-Houses, London, 1850. The
Committee had specified that each commissioned
architect should submit two plans, one Gothic and
one Grecian or Roman, but Jobson's book only
reproduced Gothic designs. His only comments
about the Classical entries refer to their expense
when compared to Gothic.

Pride of place in Jobson's book was naturally given
to the winning design, 'now erected at Portwood,
Stockport North Circuit' - a Decorated Gothic church
by James Wilson of London and Bath. However the
rest of the designs in the book did not feature
the runners-up, but were all by Jobson himself,
except for another contribution by James Wilson
(Islington Chapel). There was also a list of
'Particular Arrangements required for Wesleyan
Chapels, as agreed upon by the "Model Plan Committee"',
and altogether it formed a perfect copy-book for
the colonies.

—
plate 172

Wilson's 'Model Plan' design was reproduced at
least in modified form in England, and probably
helped the general Methodist move to archeological
Gothic in the 1850s. It was even more useful for

colonial Wesleyans. I have found two replicas of the Model Church in N.S.W. and there are probably far more in the country.²³ One of Jobson's own designs was reproduced in Ballarat, Victoria, as its designer was pleased to discover when he visited Australia in 1861, as the official English delegate to the Annual Conference of Australian Wesleyan Ministers.²⁴

The two Model Churches in N.S.W. were erected at Newtown, a suburb of Sydney, and at Wollongong.

When Newtown Wesleyan Church was opened in 1860,

plate 173

the Sydney Herald commented:

The model of the Newtown Chapel may be pronounced one that combines thorough suitability as a Wesleyan place of worship with considerable architectural beauty; and it has, on that account, with more or less alteration in its details, been extensively adopted in England by the Wesleyan Methodist connexion ... One advantage of adopting such a model is, that the details may be altered in almost endless variety so as to give each structure a distinct individuality, while preserving at the same time unity in the design. The additions to the model introduced by the architect of the Newtown Chapel are decided improvements, and have contributed to the greater utility and beauty of the edifice.²⁵

The local architect employed on Newtown Chapel was George Allen Mansfield of the firm of Hilly and Mansfield - the Australian-born son of one of the colony's first Wesleyan ministers, the Rev. Ralph Mansfield. Mansfield was also architect to the Methodist Church at Balmain (now demolished)²⁶

erected about the same time, which may also have been a 'Model Plan' building.

Newtown Chapel still exists, although 'extensively renovated' in 1932²⁷. Unlike the Model Chapel it was built of brick with a stone trim, but otherwise its external appearance, at least, was a close copy of the English design. Both were simple boxes with a high gabled roof and a window and buttress to each bay. Both facades were tripartite, the three windows and doors divided by buttresses terminating in turrets. Both had a richly crocketed central finial and open stone parapets to the sides. Even the window tracery was the same, the smaller two-light window having a quatrefoil tracery head, while the central window of four lights had a quite elaborate composition of elongated quatrefoils. This, and other carving at Newtown was done by Archibald Murray²⁸, who claimed to be 'a pupil of the late Mr Pugin's'.²⁹

plate 174

Mansfield's contribution to the English plan were offered as contributions to the 'utility' of the building, and most certainly did nothing for its beauty. The roof was boarded across at the height of the collar beams 'to prevent sound escaping'³⁰; the internal walls were all roughly stuccoed and jointed to imitate stone; and galleries were planned

for the future. Mansfield was doing his best to turn his model Victorian church into a Commissioners' Gothic Pugin anathema. At least there were open seats in the church, and Wilson's English model had large encompassing galleries too, although Jobson's Model Plan Committee recommended that galleries be confined to the west end. Sydney's conversion to Victorian Gothic was ultimately complete and long-lasting, but it arrived exceedingly slowly.

Wollongong Methodist church (opened 1864) was a stone version of the Model Plan, rather more simplified. The Wesleyans had started building chapels labelled 'Gothic' as early as 1839, at the Centenary Chapel, Church Street, Parramatta (1839-1841),³¹ but until the introduction of the Model Plan these remained entirely Georgian in style. For instance, Castlereagh Wesleyan Chapel of 1847 is still a simple pedimented box with pointed lancets.

plate 175

Other nonconformists also tended to adopt Victorian Gothic in the 1850s, except for the Baptists who kept to the Classical Temple style. The architectural history of Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists in Australia largely repeats

that of their parent church in the U.K. By the end of the 1850s all three denominations had become as exclusively attached to Gothic as Anglicans and Catholics were, but around the middle of the 1850s all erected both Classical and Gothic churches with no clear stylistic partiality. In Australia architects never became stylistically exclusive: they tended to choose Gothic for churches and Classical for Public Buildings until the 1880s.

The major Sydney architect standing against the Gothic ecclesiastical tide in the 1850s was John Bibb, whom we have already met at the beginning of the 1840s as architect of the Gothic Anglican church at Cobbitty, and the Classical Independent Chapel, Pitt Street, Sydney. Bibb continued to work for the Congregationalists in the Classical style. He designed Redfern Chapel for them in 1847,³² and in 1856 was named as architect of their Newtown Chapel - a small brick building only 40 ft square, intended at some future date to be extended to 70 ft.³³

Bibb's major ecclesiastical design of the 1850s was the Mariners' Church in the Rocks area of Sydney (designed 1851: built 1855-58), which was 'Grecian'. It was built for the Sydney Bethel

plate 176

Union, a Protestant interdenominational body formed in 1822 which allowed any clergyman 'not opposed to the doctrines of the English Church' to officiate. The building, like the doctrines, was Protestant but not Anglican, being a large auditorium arranged to focus on an elevated pulpit, and with no communion table. The long arms of the Latin cross plan were filled with seats, and each end of the cross was almost identical in elevation to give the effect of a bi-laterally symmetrical Greek cross plan. Each arm ended in a tetrastyle pilastered temple front with a pediment, the space between each pilaster being filled with an overarched window and an oeil-de-boeuf attic window.

Bibb's Grecian order, pediments, and simple repetitive symmetry are still of a Regency pattern-book style in no way related to the Victorian Classical Revival forms then emerging in England, and other Classical churches were just as archaic. P.R. Donaldson, of the firm of Reuss and Browne, won a competition for designing the first United Presbyterian Church in Phillip Street, Sydney, in 1856. It had an Ionic tetrastyle stone porticoed front on a plain brick body.³⁴ Its simple pattern-book classicism is hardly surprising; but Blacket built the Woolloomooloo Scottish Presbyterian Church in the same year, and, although more competent, it

was just as archaic. Like Richard Upjohn in America, Blacket clearly believed that the Gothic style should be reserved for his own denomination.³⁵

His Palmer Street Presbyterian Church is in the same Regency Classical style as his commercial or domestic buildings, and has the same pleasant textbook detailing - like the Roman Doric portico. The harmonium in front of the pulpit and the simple stained glass windows were considered innovations in Australian Scottish Churches,³⁶ and sound characteristic Blacket suggestions, allowable on the strength of British precedent.

plate 178

Usually the various Presbyterian sects and branches preferred Gothic. Even while Blacket was building Woolloomooloo Presbyterian Church his then Clerk of Works at Sydney University, James Barnet,³⁷ was building the Free Presbyterians a simple Victorian Gothic church in Redfern. St Stephen's Free Presbyterian Church in Chalmers Street is Barnet's only known church building, although the number of public buildings he erected in various Classical styles during his 25 years as Colonial Architect (1865-1890) are legion.

Barnet's single Gothic church is a simple Early English stone one, designed with a thin corner tower between nave and south transept to emphasise

plate 179

its corner site. It is an unusual and competent design for Sydney, despite its profusion of buttresses and lancets with hood-moulds characteristic of the Australian Victorian church. To fully appreciate its stylishness one has only to look at the crude Church Act Gothic of Henry Robertson's Scottish Presbyterian church at Paddington, begun a year earlier.

plate 180

The Free Presbyterians were altogether more architecturally ambitious than the government-subsidised Scottish branch of the family, although this sometimes led to great financial problems. St George's Free Church, Castlereagh Street, Sydney (1857-64) was built at the instigation of the Rev. Dr McIntosh Mackay, who had come to Sydney because of his incapacity to pay off a debt on the church he had built at Carlton, Victoria. Nothing daunted, Dr Mackay secured a site in the heart of Sydney and arranged a competition for a church to put on it. Twelve sets of designs were submitted, and the winner was W.B. Field. Thomas Rowe came second, and the two men were together appointed to erect Field's church, with an added tower and spire insisted upon by Dr Mackay.

Field's final design was illustrated in the

Builder in 1858, which justly pointed out the unhappy relationship between the tower and the rest of the building - 'if it is not too late we would suggest a rearrangement of the windows and porch'.³⁸ They had reservations about the rest of the design too: 'the style adopted purports to be that known as the Decorated' is hardly a compliment. The ignorant exterior, and the description of the interior with its flat panelled deal ceiling 'divided by moulded ribs', only made its pages because 'the architectural progress of the colonies must ever be a matter of interest to our readers'. Some of them probably had a good laugh at the weird buttresses, window tracery and double tier of windows along the sides of its high box-like form.

plate 181

Field died in 1858 before much had been done on the church and his associate, Thomas Rowe, took over. Rowe's final building, which still surprisingly exists among Sydney's high-rise office blocks, improved Field's detailing, although the basic plan is unchanged. The facade ended up being an elaborately eccentric 'Middle Pointed' one, with an extraordinary west window that is almost completely made up of trefoils.

plate 182

St George's also ended up being one of the most expensive churches ever built in Australia. By

1860 there was a debt of £11,570 on the still incomplete building. Dr Mackay retired to Scotland: 'he is described as an able and highly cultured man, but rather old for transplanting to the colonies'.³⁹ By 1924 £32,000 had been spent on the church including interest, by then the major item of expense.⁴⁰

The Presbyterians can probably claim the record for the latest notable Early Victorian style church in Australia, as well as the most expensive one. The former is the Hunter Baillie Memorial Church at Annandale, Sydney, which was not designed until 1884 by Blacket's son, Arthur. It faithfully adheres to the Early Victorian Middle Pointed ideal of elaborate traceried windows, a Latin cross plan (totally unsuited to this denomination which converts the chancel to a vestry), nave and aisles, and a large central west tower with needle spire and broaches. However Arthur Blacket's archeological Gothic is most atypical - even of him - and was probably partly due to the patron, Mrs Hunter Baillie.

plate 183

At the other end of the time scale the first Early Victorian Gothic Revival church built by the non-conformists in N.S.W. was the Congregational Church of St Andrew at Balmain, Sydney, built by the

plate 184

architectural partnership of Goold and Field in 1854-55.⁴¹ The style was, of course, Middle Pointed, with a six bay nave and aisles of two-light traceried windows interspersed with buttresses. It had an open timber roof and central west (actual east) tower of three stages topped with an octagonal lantern and spire. The gabled dormers in the roof were an early indication of what was to become a rash of side gables in Victorian non-conformist churches both in Australia and England. The authors of Balmain in Time⁴² suggest that the design of the church probably originated in England, possibly acquired via the minister, the Rev. T.A. Gordon - a Presbyterian who had temporarily united local Presbyterians and Independents to build the church.

Any claim Field might have had to the design of Balmain was negated by his winning design for St George's, Castlereagh Street, but Goold's subsequent competition winner was more competent. The firm of Goold and Hilling⁴³ was chosen to erect St John's Church of England, Darlinghurst (1856-58). The only part of their church finally built was the

plate 185

pointed internal splays, and the clerestory is made up of trefoiled spherical triangles. The interior has a competent open timber roof and exposed stone walls. If even this much of the church was Goold's design then he clearly knew enough to design a proper Victorian church, unlike his erstwhile partner at Balmain.

Hilling died in 1858, and Goold is only known to have designed one other church. It was a Middle Pointed imitation of St Andrew's, Heckington, Lincolnshire, which won a competition for Goulburn Anglican Cathedral in 1861, judged by Bishop Barker of Sydney.⁴⁴ A design based on this particular source would not have needed great erudition: Henry Bowman and J.S. Crowther had published 17 measured drawings of Heckington church in their Churches of the Middle Ages, being Select Specimens of Early and Middle Pointed Structures with a few of the Purest Late Pointed Examples (London, G. Bell, 1845-53). As Goold's cathedral was never built, we have no way of knowing what he made of his material, but it seems that the intention was to have had as faithful a copy as possible.

In January 1871,

an admirable design similar in some respects to that of Heckington Church was obtained from E.T. Blacket, Esq., architect, of Sydney. And

on the 15th January, 1874, the corner-stone
was laid.

St Saviour's Cathedral, Goulburn, was Blacket's
most ambitious Middle Pointed design. It cost
£25,000 to build its cruciform plan of chancel,
and transepts and nave with aisles, and was the
culmination of Blacket's archeological Gothic style.
It finally owed very little to Heckington apart
from the general form of the corner pinnacled
buttresses, the tower, the double clerestory, and
some of the tracery details. The general plan of
the Cathedral and most of its detailing are from
Blacket's own repertoire. By 1871 Blacket was
less interested in mediaeval Gothic replicas
(and he does not seem to have owned Bowman and
Crowther).

plate 186

plate 187

Blacket's first Middle Pointed church of St Mary,
Maitland (1860-67: spire by Blacket Brothers 1887),
still has moulded capitals and little decoration
apart from its window tracery; but the three large
churches of the early 1870s all have naturalistic
foliage capitals and elaborate mouldings and
tracery. Maitland, St Stephen's, Newtown (1871-74),
and Goulburn Cathedral are increasingly ornate
examples of Decorated Gothic. The next in the
sequence was All Saints', Woollahra (1874-76),
which was still more elaborate, but in the more

plate 188

plate 189

fashionable Anglo-French Geometrical Gothic style.

Blacket's plans for these large churches did not develop much over the years. All basically belong to the type established at St Mark's, Darling Point: a long nave with clerestory and abutting aisles, asymmetrically placed tower, and relatively small chancel. Newtown and Goulburn also have transepts, and Maitland and Woollahra have a balancing north vestry and south organ chamber instead. They are thus of a standard English form - except that Woollahra and its imitation at East Maitland have French polygonal east ends - but are properly varied in detailing within the confines of careful archeological Gothic.

plate 191

Maitland has its tower at the north east corner - like R.C. Carpenter's St Paul's, Brighton (1846-1848), an important church which possibly influenced Blacket. Newtown is one of the most unusual of Blacket's compositions, with its tower nestling against the west side of the transept adjacent to the north aisle. Blacket gave Goulburn Cathedral aisled transepts and reduced the roofline of the end bay of both nave and chancel. His intended tower in the south east angle of transept and chancel was only taken just high enough to fulfill its function as a porch.⁴⁶ Woollahra is symmetrical

plate 190

in plan, with a south west porch and a north west tower on either side of the west front, together with a balancing organ chamber and vestry.

The general form of Blacket's towers is very repetitive, with the exception of Newtown which plate 192
is much simpler and stronger: there his gabled lucarnes at the base of the spire have become large gabled windows. Normally Blacket's towers are more fussy, with three or four stages clasped by stepped buttresses and crowned by pinnacles and battlements from which emerges a needle spire with gabled lucarnes at its base. (An 1871 example by Blacket is that of St John's plate 193
Darlinghurst.)

Blacket's clerestory windows differ in size and form, but the proportions and positioning of the clerestory itself do not vary much. Inside the church the proportions of the arcade to the clerestory range remain readily identifiable as plate 194
Blacket's. And he always has the same sort of thin neck above his capitals, and large blank spandrels. Exceptionally, the spandrels at Goulburn are decorated with medallions sculpted in relief with scenes from the life of Christ - an idea Blacket probably got from Benjamin Ferrey who was the first to introduce this Renaissance

motif into English Revived Gothic architecture.

So Blacket's personal style for these large churches remained basically Early Victorian, archeological, and conservative in both plan and elevation. Planning experiments are largely confined to shifting the position of the tower; elevational variations mean little more than a change in the size or number of windows in the clerestory, and variations in window tracery. It was still competent and conscientious, and Blacket never quite repeated himself.

The formula Blacket evolved for his small country parish churches basically derived from his first Early English rural church of St Mark's, Greendale (now derelict), built in the remote Mulgoa Valley in 1845-49. It is a pattern-book building consisting of an unaisled nave about twice as long as it is wide with an open timber roof, a separately lower-roofed chancel, a north porch and a south vestry, and a bell-cote at the west end. Greendale has small Early English lancets with a triple lancet at the east end and two lancets divided by a buttress at the west. It is exactly the sort of church recommended by the ecclesiologists for rural parishes, and may indeed have come from them.

plate 195

Blacket's later variants on this pattern would have made the ecclesiologists less happy, for the lancets get larger and the chancel shrinks. Otherwise they remain almost unchanged. Churches with a buttress up the middle and a stone bell-cote on top of it are St John the Evangelist, Wilberforce plate 196 (1856-59), St James, Pitt Town (1857-59), St John the Evangelist, Hartley (1858-59) and St Mark, Picton (1850-57: nave extended 1872 and transept added 1886 by Blacket). St Peter's Church of England, Watson's Bay (consecrated 1864) has a plate 197 shorter buttress and a spherical triangle over it in the gable, and the bell-cote is at the east end of the nave. St John, Raymond Terrace (consecrated 1862: chancel demolished 1974) has no central buttress at the west end, and it too has a spherical triangle in the gable.

Despite their conformity to a type none of these little churches are actually replicas of one another. Christ Church, Kiama (1856-59: much altered), and St James's, Pitt Town, both have paired lancets to the nave, but the former has no buttresses and is built of rubble rather than ashlar; Hartley has broken string courses around the church; and so on. When these churches have only a three bay nave, like Greendale or Wollombi

(1846-49; extended by Blacket 1862-64) their chancel is about a third the size of the church, but from the mid 1850s the nave tends to increase in size. This lengthening begins at Kiama, which has a large single bay chancel and a nave of five bays, and ends with a church like St Mary Waverley (begun 1863) which has a seven bay nave of paired lancets with buttresses between, and only a small two-bay chancel, all under the same interminable roof. Waverley is simply the rural Blacket church grown into a symmetrical bore - although this is partly the fault of Blacket's sons, who added another bay for length and an organ chamber for symmetry.

Unlike most Early Victorian architects in England, Blacket did not deliberately avoid symmetry as we noted at St Philip's Church Hill. St Michael's Wollongong (1858-59) is another oversized rural church to Blacket's E.E. formula, and it is entirely symmetrical with twin porches and a transept. The transept forms the only external division between nave and chancel, for both roof and fenestration patterns are continuous. This continuous roof-line was introduced into Blacket's churches after 1858, and seems to be a pale reflection of a High Victorian simplified church form. The oddest instance of Blacket's

Plate 198

attachment to symmetry is the reduction of the roof-line at both ends of Goulburn Cathedral. But Blacket always liked balanced designs.

Even when Blacket's later lancet churches were on a small scale they still lacked both the Early Victorian charm of his first efforts and the High Victorian power of his English contemporaries. St Thomas's, Rozelle (1874) seems to be attempting 'muscular Christianity' rather than Puginian planning and detailing, but Blacket was much too meticulous and fond of small details to be successful in this harsher style. Rozelle's severe unbroken roof-line, the simple stone quoins to the windows, and the heavy central west buttress, hardly marry well with the normal Blacket formula of buttresses between all the windows and doubled at the corners, continuous string courses, plenty of mouldings to the lancets, and a little bell-cote.

By the 1870s Blacket was suffering badly from having been too long away from the mainstream, although it seems that his strength was always in his handling of detail and not in planning. The more complex compositions of High Victorian churches were entirely outside his range. He was much more suited to the Early Victorian style which

required mediaeval authority for everything. His little churches of the 1850s seem simple and repetitive when judged en masse, but when one looks at the Early English churches of his imitators, like William Weaver at Castle Hill in 1857 (nave only), and the partnership of William Weaver and William Kemp at St Mark's, Figtree (1857), and St John the Baptist, Mudgee (1858-60), one can really appreciate Blacket's care in proportions and detailing. Weaver and Kemp are sprawling and bleak.

plate 199

Canon Alberto Diaz Soares also added to the volume of Early English church building from the late 1850s to the 1870s, without adding much to its progress. Soares was by no means a follower of Blacket and his churches in southern N.S.W. are generally a stark adaptation of the Victorian Early English formula, abandoning fripperies like an archeological approach.

Despite his Portugese name Soares was an English engineer, who originally came to Australia with his brother, Gualter, in 1852, with a wild-cat scheme to connect Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide with a central town to be called Alberto Town.⁴⁷ He was ordained deacon in Australia in 1856, and from his subsequent incumbency at Queanbeyan

freely distributed plans for church buildings throughout the diocese. His major churches were Christ Church, Queanbeyan (1857-60), and St Paul's, Cooma (1865-69). He also designed small, mainly lancet, churches at Murringo (c.1886 - with round-headed lancets like Queanbeyan), Wentworth, Bungendore (ded. 1864), Boloco, Burra, Tumbarumba, Christ Church West Goulburn, and the chancel, nave extensions, and roof of St John's Canberra (1872-74).

Christ Church, Queanbeyan, was the first of Soares's churches. It is built of coursed rubble and its round-headed lancets are set in unmoulded Portland cement. The wide east window, like that at Bungendore, contains thin Perp. tracery. Unlike most of Soares's other churches, Queanbeyan also has a central west tower of three stages and a broach spire, plus a transept of the same height as the nave.

plate 200

St Paul's Anglican Church at Cooma is slightly more archeological than Queanbeyan, for its windows have pointed heads, and there are some simple mouldings and hood-moulds at the east end.

A photograph of the interior of Cooma in 1925 shows lots of rather Arts-and-Crafts Perp. furnishings. These seem too delicate for Soares's heavy hand, and are perhaps by Harry D. Kent who completed the

plate 201

tower to his own design in 1891.

At St John's, Canberra, in 1872 Soares designed a
roof of indefinable structure with obtrusive
transverse and longitudinal braces, curved and
then set with oversized cusps. The effect seems
an ideal personal symbol of Christ's Crown of
Thorns. Heavy cusps had previously appeared in
O.H. Lewis's Woolloomooloo roof, and even earlier
at St John's Camden, but never in such an
expressionist way as this.

Plate 202

Soares's buildings are amateur in not quite fitting
into a period type. An interest in Perp. elegance
or a stark lancet style with Stick Style roofs was
normal enough, but to combine them seems
ignorantly, rather than consciously, perverse. In
a controversy over the employment of Soares at
Cooma, the Rev. Thomas Druitt claimed that his
friend was a professional architect⁴⁸ - a claim
that his buildings barely justify.

Still, some of Sydney's professional men were no
better. For instance, Alfred Cook, who worked
all his life in the Colonial Architect's office,
produced a worse lancet effort for St James's
Church of England, Smithfield (designed 1851:
begun 1857), although a rather better one for

St Paul's Church of England, Wahroonga (1879-80).⁴⁹

A local Maitland architect, William White, designed and built St Paul's Church of England, West Maitland plate 203 (1856-58), which can stand as the paradigm Anglican country church of the end of the 1850s, despite being bigger and rather better than many of its contemporaries. It has a large low cruciform shape, long unmoulded lancets and stepped buttresses. White also designed the Presbyterian Church at Maitland East of 1858. It is also typical in illustrating that denomination's lack of development in country areas from the Church Act type. Both buildings lacked any of the inventiveness of White's English architect namesake.

A church which successfully embodied the character of its surroundings because of its use of local materials was Holy Trinity, Merriwa (1850: demolished). It was designed by an indisputable amateur, the Rev. R.G. Boodle, who had come to Australia with the first Bishop of Newcastle in 1848. Boodle tells us his design was meant to be 'as much like Early English as I could in wood', but its archeological intentions were less obvious than its vernacular realities. On October 17, 1850, Boodle said,

I laid the first iron-bark sleeper of Holy Trinity Church ...

Little by little subscriptions trickled in. We got in the windows, and then, with what benches and boards we could procure, began at once using it for Divine Service in very primitive form. Soon, as there was a prospect of raising a little more, some open seats of red cedar were ordered down the Country, and the Holy Table ...

When our seats came up, we were still for some time longer without flooring, and sometimes, as I stood at the altar, I sank into the sand up to my ankles ...

Wishing to have something permanent among so much wood, we had the floor paved with stone, with steps up to the altar; and my good friend Mr Marlay presented a harmonium to the church which he played himself.

At length, when in 1855 all was as far prepared as our small means would allow, ⁵⁰the Bishop crowned the work by consecration.

The mixture of Boodle's ecclesiastical planning and Merriwa's bush carpentry was visually successful. It was constructed of split timber set vertically between plates, with a shingle roof. Despite these materials Boodle's associational intentions appear clearly in its final cruciform plan, west porch and north vestry. Each gable was surmounted by an overhanging roof decorated with shallow cusped barge boards. Those trappings of Gothic which were inappropriate to rude construction Boodle wisely abandoned, and his tall narrow windows, 'correctly' grouped, were protected from the sun by the wooden swinging shutters common to bush dwellings.

plate 204

There must have been many churches at the time which combined English associations with rough local materials, but Merriwa was a developed example. The standard small country church was a plain box whether in wood, brick, stone, or occasionally pisé. In the early 1860s Hinton Presbyterian Church was still adding an Anglo-Saxon tower after the model of Sompting in Sussex to remind its Romantic parishioners of the homeland. But such associative ambitions were becoming less common. By the 1870s normal parish ambition was to have a modern church in the Australian Gothic style, and, except on a Cathedral level, English models were rarely mentioned.

plate 205

Chapter 8 : ROUND ARCHES

Not every Victorian church in Australia was attempting to be Early English in style, although most early variants from this norm in N.S.W. were due to Blacket. Blacket had the proper Victorian sense of stylistic appropriateness: his large parish churches and cathedrals were generally 'Middle Pointed'; his normal parish churches Early English; and primitive rural parishes were offered a Norman style. Blacket was particularly interested in Norman. The sketch books that he brought with him to Australia were full of Norman detailing drawn in a picturesque (unmeasured) style,¹ and the first lecture Blacket gave, in 1843, was on 'Norman architecture'.² In 1849 Blacket gave a further two lectures to the Sydney Mechanics' Institute at the School of Arts on the Round Towers of Ireland - a subject he must have read up in a recently acquired book³ - but he is not known to have lectured on Gothic or modern architecture.

However the distinction of building the first Romanesque Revival church in Australia does not belong to Blacket - nor even to Martens and Hume's North Sydney intentions of 1843. A very competent precedent had already appeared in Tasmania, designed and built by the convict architect, James Blackburn.⁴

St Mark's, Pontville (designed 1839), is a charming and sophisticated church to find in Australia, although one realizes why Blackburn came to Australia for forgery when his church is compared with a print from the Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal of 1838 (p. 314). This shows Benjamin Ferrey's design for a chapel near Cardiff and is virtually identical to Blackburn's design for Pontville, except that Ferrey deliberately chose different sized towers to give his west front an Early Victorian asymmetry while Blackburn just duplicated Ferrey's simpler tower. Ferrey's facade incorporated an original adaptation of the Night Stairs at Canterbury Cathedral⁵ to give a decorative and functional access to upper galleries, but Blackburn's imitation is just an ornamental pattern on a tiny church. Although it sounds chronologically peculiar, Pontville is a pretty Regency adaptation of a novel Victorian design.

plate 206

plate 207

Blackburn designed three other Romanesque Revival churches in 1839, for Glenorchy, Evandale and Sorell (Presbyterian). In 1842-45 he built a semi-Lombardic style of church for the New Town Congregationalists. None of them were as novel or attractive as Pontville, but all used the same sort of motifs. Glenorchy had different sized towers on each side of the west front, so symmetry

was not always observed, His most unusual composition was for New Town, where the Italianate gabled nave and separately gabled small south aisle were linked by a four-stage campanile. This probably also imitated an English 'Lombardic-Norman' example, although no exact model has yet been found. But one is convinced Blackburn must have had some model when his Romanesque churches are compared with his Church Act Gothic ones.

plate 208
plate 209

Even if Blackburn was not outstandingly original, one only has to be reminded of Hume and Martens' North Sydney church to appreciate his ability to adapt current fashions to local needs. Pontville remained the most harmonious Neo-Norman design in Australia, despite the fact that later architects had bigger, better, and more detailed overseas examples to copy if they chose. On the whole the opportunity was ignored. The colonies were strongly urged to build Norman churches by both Oxford and Cambridge in the early 1840s, but the style never became really popular in Australia. It can never have seemed relevant to local needs, when it was justified by the Ecclesiologist for use in New Zealand because,

as the work will be chiefly done by native artists, it seems natural to teach them first that style which first prevailed in our own country; while its rudeness and massiveness, and the grotesque character

of its sculpture, will probably render it easier to be understood and appreciated by them.

Romanesque was thus labelled as only suitable for the most primitive rural environment, and this reputation stuck. Bishop Selwyn never built the adaptation of Than in Normandy that he had obtained from the ecclesiologists before he sailed to New Zealand,⁷ because he found wooden churches better suited native abilities and local conditions. In Australia stone was abundant and earthquakes absent, but patrons who appreciated the rude, massive and grotesque were very rare. However Broughton seems to have tried a couple of rural experiments that were at least rude and massive.

The best early Norman Revival building extant in N.S.W. is the little stone church of St Jude at Dural, reputedly built 1846-c.1848.⁸ It was a minimal stone church with 2 ft thick sandstone walls, and consisted of a simple U shaped body and a north-east vestry. (A stuccoed south porch protecting the original moulded doorway is a later addition, and the internal plastering has been removed.) Both the form and the sophisticated primitivism of Dural are a surprise for the date. A severe unbuttressed church with a continuous roofline and apsidal end would normally belong with High Victorian Gothic of the late 1850s onwards

plate 210

in England; it does not relate to anything the ecclesiologists were likely to be sending to Australia in the 1840s. The small chancel is only marked by the higher sill level of the minute unmoulded 'Saxon' windows whose heads are cut from a single stone, and the only addition to this basic box is a vestry. Both sound more like Broughton than the Cambridge Camden Society.

Broughton is also supposed to have erected a twin to Dural at nearby Castle Hill ('St Simon's in Tuckwell's Lane'), subsequently demolished.⁹ The origins of both churches are a mystery. One can only record the happy fact of St Jude's continuing existence, and hope time will confirm its date of erection and clarify its sources. It seems to belong with N.S.W.'s experimental period of church building in the second half of the 1840s (like Carcoar, Berrima, and Rossmore), but is unique in its form. Its conscious primitivism is uncharacteristic of both ecclesiologists and Blacket.

The reason Blacket managed to erect a few churches in the Norman style was partly because his version of Norman was never rude, massive or grotesque. His designs were very simple but no more 'rude' than his Early English designs. Mostly they were

the same as his E.E. designs, but with round-headed windows instead of pointed ones, and pilasters and corbel tables instead of buttresses and string courses. The simplest ones dispensed with pilasters and corbel tables.

All Saints, Sutton Forest (opened 1861),¹⁰ represents this simple type. It is of the standard Blacket formula of nave and lower square chancel, south porch and north vestry, triple (round-headed) lancets at the east end, two lancets at the west, and single ones along the sides. It also has a rudimentary bell-cote on the west gable - here a simple open arch. The only thing that makes the building Norman is the round-headed windows and primitive form. Blacket offered a very similar design to the parishioners of Watson's Bay in 1864, along with a more French Romanesque one with a lower polygonal apse, to be built in brick with stone dressings.¹¹ Both were rejected in favour of a standard Early English design.

plate 211

Blacket designed another round-headed formula church for the remote parish of Jambaroo in 1864. There the Rev. J.C. Corlette and his sculptor and builder John Simmons - who had served his apprenticeship working on Barry and Pugin's Houses of Parliament - actually wanted something

plate 212

massive and grotesque. They were very disappointed with Blacket's design and substantially altered and elaborated it.¹² The south porch was made into a tower, for Blacket's bell-cote was considered an eyesore. Instead of plain brick moulded arches the entrance doorway was carved in stone with lively dog-tooth and dog-heads, and Simmons also carved a chancel arch and a more elaborate wooden roof, none of which was archeologically correct. It was all a bit heavy for Blacket's round-arched style but much more interesting. But the local tower and buttresses were merely ignorant, and subsequent alterations to the building have been disastrous - particularly the cement render over the local red bricks.

plate 213

These early formula churches do not give us much confidence in Blacket's Norman abilities. Like his Early English churches, the prototype church of the 1840s is actually more interesting and 'correct'. All Saints', Bathurst (1845-48), was much closer to the red brick and stone trim Neo-Norman church which had had a short period of popularity in England around 1848, although it was more ecclesiastical than most of these 'Commissioners' Norman' designs. For instance, the Norman examples in both G.E. Hamilton's and Charles Anderson's books have small chancels,

plate 214

large low windows, and incorrect buttresses, pinnacles and window spacing.¹³ Blacket's design on the other hand, had all the features that the Cambridge Camden Society was stipulating for a church in 1841: high walls, smaller windows with their sills raised up very high from the ground, a good sized chancel, and competent detailing.¹⁴ It seems quite likely that it actually derived from a print or scheme they had sent out to the colony. It is even possible that Bathurst was a very simplified version of their Than design. If Blacket had removed the Than crossing tower he would arrive at his six bay nave; and by eliminating the aisles the proposed continuous arcade of the clerestory would only appear on the west front.¹⁵ Then in 1852 he extended his north porch into a Romanesque tower with a pyramidal roof.

plate 215

Although Blacket's Norman detailing was never as archeological as his Gothic, Bathurst Church was a very satisfactory little building. Than may also have provided the inspiration for his contemporary church plan which did keep the crossing tower - St Paul's, Carcoar - although this could also have derived from an English Norman church form as suggested in chapter 5.

Albury Church of 1857 was a transition between

Blacket's Bathurst Church and his 1860s Norman style.¹⁶ It was built in granite instead of brick, and the tower was in a more normal northern position flush with the west end. Only the nave and part of the tower eventuated, and this has been demolished. It still had the high proportions and little high windows of the Bathurst design.

Blacket successfully converted his early Norman style into something much more High Victorian when Horbury Hunt was in his office and helping with some of his designs. In 1868 Hunt helped Blacket design and build his two best Romanesque churches - St John's, the Glebe (1868-70), and St Silas's, Waterloo (1868: transept and chancel 1875). These were far more continental in style than Blacket's earlier churches, and had competent High Victorian detailing. There was textured stone, a Lombardic tower, and Viollet-le-Duc detailing at the Glebe; brickwork like George Edmund Street's illustrations in Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes on Tours in the North of Italy (London, John Murray 1855), and some simple polychrome diaper work at Waterloo.¹⁷

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plate 218

Blacket repeated the thin north-west bell-tower of Waterloo on St Stephen's, Kurrajong of 1868-69, where he set it sideways; on the brick extensions

to his earlier school in Adolphus Street, Balmain (now St Mary's Parish Hall); and on extensions to St Barnabas's, Broadway of 1872. The last were feeble imitations of the Waterloo original, and prove how much Hunt had helped in the Waterloo Church design.

plate 219

The best of Blacket's later Norman churches designed without Hunt reverted to English Norman detailing and a crossing tower. St Jude's, Bowral (consecrated 1874) was a unique experiment, and Blacket was not sure how the parish would like it.

It is so very much unlike the regular conventional form of a church that it is sure to attract attention,

- he wrote to his daughter.¹⁸ Bowral had a wide Latin cross plan with short broad transepts and a low crossing tower with continuous arcading. The 1840s Norman detailing suited the plain brick mass, and the church had a very Early Christian look, in the style of Thomas Hope's Historical Essay on Architecture (London, John Murray, 1835).

Bowral Church was never popular with the parish, and was demolished in 1887. The demolition was thoroughly approved by Sydney's Bishop Barry, who said that,

he liked to see churches simple and rude when the houses round them were simple and rude also; but he did not like to see

the Church buildings rude when the houses round them showed increasing signs of improvement.

If Charles Barry's son and biographer thought that Blacket's most experimental Romanesque design was rude, it is not surprising that the parish did too. Barry's opinion of the undistinguished local Gothic replacement by the Bowral architect, T.W. Parrott, is not recorded. Its only distinction was its iron columns, which were especially designed by the architect - a feature unlikely to commend itself to the bishop, one feels.

Blacket's last efforts in the Norman style like South Creek School (1876), and St James's, Croydon (1882) by Blacket and Sons, are dull repetitions of the 1860s formula, typical of the tired designs issuing from the office in these last years.²⁰ However considering local opposition to being thought simple and rude, Blacket managed to erect quite a few Norman churches in his lifetime. Except for Waterloo and Glebe, all were for remote or poor parishes. Australians never wanted simple, primitive, original churches. When they were given one like Bowral they hated it.

One or two other architects in N.S.W. showed a little interest in the Romanesque style in its Early Victorian Norman form. Freeland even states:

In Sydney William Weaver and his pupil and, later, partner William Kemp had used it (Romanesque) almost as an 'office style' since 1850

- but this is extremely misleading. Weaver only commenced private practice in 1856; the partnership lasted from 1857-61; and Weaver left Australia forever in 1864.²² In the five years of the practice the firm did not design a single Romanesque Revival building, but Weaver had had one commission when he was on his own in 1856, and Kemp designed several stylistically mixed 'Round-arched' - or Rundbogenstil - buildings after the partnership was dissolved. The 1856 commission was probably Kemp's work too, but he was unable to put his name to it while still Foreman of Works in the Colonial Architect's department.

Weaver had resigned as Colonial Architect 'under Governor's displeasure' in 1856. He probably got the commission for the new Moore Theological College, Liverpool, partly through his uncle the Rev. G.E. Turner who gave him the commission for the Early English church at Hunter's Hill at the same time, and partly through the influence of Charles Kemp, one of the trustees of Moore's estate, who also happened to be William Kemp's elder brother.

The firm of Weaver and Kemp came into existence seven months later. As the Theological College took from 1857 until 1866 to build it outlasted both the partnership and Weaver's residence in N.S.W. If the firm did have the reputation for specialising in the Romanesque style it must have been on the strength of this one commission. Otherwise they stuck to the normal Early Victorian formula of Gothic for churches and Classical for public buildings.²³

Kemp's early churches were usually inept imitations of his former master, Blacket: hence the Broughton Memorial Chapel at Moore College, Liverpool (1857: demolished²⁴), resembled a Blacket Norman church. However Blacket never designed a central bell-cote on twin supports going down the facade with a circular window between them and a single buttress coming up from below - a rather uncomfortable combination. Weaver and Kemp also contrasted the stone trim and brick body of the chapel more aggressively than Blacket ever did - judging by a crude illustration of the building in 1865.²⁵ This is especially evident in the heavy corner buttresses and the thick misplaced corbelled string course at the level of the window sills.

The architect and trustees presumably chose the

quadrangle plan for the College because of the precedent set by Blacket's St Paul's Anglican College of the University of Sydney (begun 1855), or by T.H. Wyatt and Henry Cole's St Aiden's Theological College at Claughton near Birkenhead, Cheshire (1854-56). The latter was specifically compared with the plan of Moore College in the Church of England Chronicle of February 2, 1857, but it was in the Tudor style and Blacket's College was Early English. Neither had anything in common stylistically with this Norman country cousin.

The choice of style seems to have derived from local rather than English sources. It was possibly influenced by Blacket's Bathurst Church, where the Sydney Morning Herald had noted how appropriate Norman was when stone is scarce and bricks predominate.²⁶ But the major stylistic source was surely closer home at nearby Parramatta, where in 1852 it had been decided to rebuild St John's Church in the Norman style to conform with the style of Mrs Macquarie's towers. These were to be made slightly more correct and retained, while the rest of the building was demolished.

This deliberate choice of Norman at St John's to

be 'strictly in keeping with the original design of the building'²⁷ was due to the incumbent, the Rev. H.H. Bobart, rather than to the architect subsequently employed, James Houison. At a later meeting,

some objections were made to the proposed Saxon windows at the east end and one or two gentlemen were desirous of substituting a Gothic window of considerable dimensions in their place ... The Rev. Chairman (Bobart) defended the plan, and showed the inconsistency of mixing up the Gothic and Saxon styles in the same building.²⁸

It was the same argument for stylistic homogeneity as had been used at St Patrick's Church Hill a few years earlier: an appeal to contemporary antiquarianism, rather than to mediaeval precedent or to English dictates about the functional suitability of Romanesque in the colonies.

The completion of Parramatta Church was conceived as a deliberate exercise in archeological Norman, but an exercise by an old-fashioned amateur antiquarian who used the term 'Saxon' to embrace anything with round-arches from the ninth century onwards. Bobart was taking the pattern for the windows from 'some views of the east end and transept of Winchester Cathedral', while the doors were to be 'similar, though on a smaller scale, to the north entrance of Peterborough Cathedral'.²⁹ Such detailing was quite clearly

selected in the same spirit as Martens's borrowings for North Sydney in 1843, and the result, as drawn up by James Houison in 1854, hardly more archeologically accurate.³⁰ Houison had the Early Victorian respect for open roofing (a rudimentary hammer-beam), use of natural exposed stonework inside and out, and a separately-roofed chancel - all standard in the colony by 1852.

plate 220

Bobart died in 1854 before the roof was on, and the evangelical churchmen of the parish - notably the churchwarden, Mr Woolls - insisted that the building be fitted with pews with doors, velvet draperies around the pulpit, a reading desk outside the chancel, and a simple 'communion table'.³¹ The interior was finally 'corrected' by Blackett in 1883, who also added a transept and new chancel in a similar Norman style.

Houison provided plans free of charge throughout the building programme - which continued until 1858 - acted as builder, and also lent the church money at 6% to pay for his services.³² His basic ignorance of Norman architecture is made clear in his elevation drawing of the east end of St John's, which shows definite pilasters and pediment. These have been crossed out in pencil (presumably by Bobart) and were corrected in building. The north

plate 221

porch was also drawn with a pediment, but the detailing - thanks to Bobart's antiquarianism - was rather more elaborate than Blacket's 1840s Norman. There was some zig-zag around the windows and doors and some scalloped capitals in the nave. These were novel in the colony, but an inadequate reflection of Winchester and Peterborough.

The best bit of antiquarian detailing on the church was separately added to Houison's design to use up 'the ladies' money' after Bobart had talked them out of a large Gothic east window. The west door was a copy of the famous west door of Iffley Church near Oxford, and cost £400. Its archeological fidelity can be largely attributed to its cost, but it was possibly also due to the fact that it was drawn up by William Kemp and not by Houison.³³ We know very little about Kemp's activities at this period in his life after he had left Blacket - where he had been indentured in 1849 - and before joining Weaver in the Colonial Architect's office. He was for a time a partner in his brother's brewery at Windsor, so was in the area.³⁴ However as he was associated with the Norman improvements and extension of Parramatta, this explains his use of the style for his Moore College commission.³⁵

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plate 223

Moore College and the rebuilding of Parramatta were

the only Norman ecclesiastical buildings that I know of in the 1850s and early 1860s apart from Blacket's efforts, and both were crude and old-fashioned. (John Frederick Hilly offered a design for a church 'in the Saxon style' for St Michael's, Flinders Street, Sydney, in 1854, but this was rejected by the trustees in favour of a Geometric Gothic church by Blacket.)

In 1866 a 'Mr Kemp' (probably William) designed a Lombardic Romanesque facade as a re-modelling of the Classical front of P.R. Donaldson's United Presbyterian Church in Phillip Street, Sydney. It was a plain continental Romanesque front, close to the simplest examples in Thomas Hope's Historical Essay on Architecture - the third edition of 1840 which Kemp could have found in the Australian Subscription Library in Sydney.³⁶ The fashion for this Italianate style for nonconformists as an alternative to Gothic did not last long, and in 1873-75 William Munro managed to turn Kemp's facade into a round-headed Gothic one, by adding a tower and needle spire 140 ft high, a narthex, and some battlements and pinnacles. This palimpsest was finally demolished in 1935.

plate 224

plate 225

By the 1870s simple round-arched archeological formulae were exhausted. In 1874-75 Blacket was

commissioned to enlarge and improve his Bathurst church to make it more suitable to be the cathedral of a new diocese. By then nobody wanted to actually copy a good twelfth-century cathedral, of which England had an abundance. The days of archeological Norman were over: a 'free eclectic' Norman was now far more fashionable.

Blacket heightened the nave and the tower of his Bathurst church, added a south aisle and north gabled extensions, and provided plenty of naturalistic carving on capitals and corbels. He decorated the building internally and externally with zig-zag and dog-tooth, copy-book Norman doorways, pinnacles, and a notched timber roof. The result was what Basil Clarke calls 'a rather good specimen' of the Rundbogenstil.³⁷ It would have been unrecognisable to any twelfth century mason, but a nineteenth century English non-conformist would probably have felt quite at home in it. The sum of its parts was still not equal to the simple unity of the original building.

plate 226

plate 227

The most opulent and successful example of the Rundbogenstil was erected in Sydney at the same time as Blacket was improving Bathurst. It was Thomas Rowe's major ecclesiastical commission, and was for the new Jewish Synagogue in Elizabeth

Street. When the Jewish community gave Rowe the commission in 1873 they knew exactly what they wanted. Rowe was to model his synagogue on the New Central Synagogue in Great Portland Street, London (consecrated 1870) by N.S. Joseph, combined with details from the Liverpool Synagogue by W. and G. Audsley - then in progress of erection in the same sort of 'Byzantine' style.

Synagogues had tended to go 'Rundbogenstil' during the Victorian era, and Rowe's mixture of round arches, domes, and Moorish lobes was already established in England, America, and Europe, - although the amount of 'round-arched Gothic' Rowe added to his building was perhaps his own. The style was sometimes described as 'Byzantine' (Sydney), and sometimes 'Moorish' or 'Moresque' (Cologne Glockingasse of 1861, and London), or 'Byzantine with Saracenic details' (Liverpool), but the ingredients were very similar.³⁸

The interior of the Central Synagogue in Great Portland Street, London (destroyed 1941) had been illustrated in the Illustrated London News in 1870 when the building was opened.³⁹ This was the engraving Rowe was given as a model, along with exterior and interior views of the Synagogue, Princess Road, Toxteth, Liverpool

plate 228
plate 229

(opened 1874, but illustrated in the Building News in 1872.)⁴⁰ Rowe's combination of the two designs hardly resulted in a faithful copy of either, or even in an amalgam of them both. His final building was much more original than the obligatory use of these two prototypes would suggest. Rowe was normally a Gothic architect and he adapted the style he knew. The Sydney Jews may not have wanted Gothic deviationism, but that was mostly what they got.

plate 230

The exterior of the Sydney Synagogue was a very free version of the centrepiece only of the Liverpool one. Rowe's design became far more Romanesque than Liverpool was, dropping the Moorish lobes of the central doorway, and turning the doorway itself into open loggia under twin arcades set behind heavy decorative cast iron gates. The thin Italianate pinnacled towers of the Audsley design were made much wider and heavier, encompassing rows of paired round-headed lancets with barley-sugar twisted columns between each pair. The Liverpool pinnacles were expanded into stylistically unclassifiable domes decorated with a row of tiny pierced gables over a Romanesque arcade and with a prickly Gothic pinnacle on top. The central rose window over the main entrance became distinctly Gothic when set in a gigantic

plate 231

pointed arch like Blacket's All Saints', Woollahra, but heavily decorated with what looks like Victorian lace inspired by the decoration of the London Synagogue's arcading.

The interior of Sydney's Great Synagogue is a lavish mixture of London, Liverpool, Gothic detailing, and Thomas Rowe. Like London it has Moorish lobes over the eastern apse, and the unused lobes from the front of Liverpool turn up attached to the otherwise totally non-Spanish arcades of the gallery. These are then decorated with more of the lace-maker's art inspired by London. The rest of the interior is mostly a round-arched version of Gothic through the centuries, although the proportions and gallery arrangement roughly follow London. Rowe's interior became more and more Gothic as it rose upwards, terminating in a row of large clerestory windows spotted with ball-flower under and over the arches, and a flat Gothic lierne vault painted a rich blue and spattered with stars.

plate 232

The effect is more lavish and exuberant than any other church in Sydney, and one can only feel grateful that Rowe had one opportunity to really let himself go, and that the building still exists unchanged in the Sydney jungle of high-rise office blocks.

In 1888 Sydney was presented with another Rowe church whose interior vaguely resembled the Great Synagogue gone classical and more restrained. This was the Wesleyan Church in York Street, by the firm of Rowe and Green. The interior had cast-iron Corinthian columns of immense size supporting two rows of galleries with ornamental iron-work fronts, all painted white and gold. The roof was coffered in plaster, but the Roman severity was somewhat marred by the Venetian Gothic clerestory and the six rose windows that were included in the design.⁴¹

plate 233

The church was included within a complex of warehouses and offices which contained all aids of modern technology: like a lift, fireproof staircases and ceilings, and an obsessive use of ventilators - three of the bays in the ceiling of the church contained 'several of Boyle's automatic air-pump ventilators, of large size and working power'.⁴² Rowe's training as a builder seems to have served him well, for his buildings seem to have been solidly built and technologically up-to-date; but his eclectic 'Gothic Rundbogenstil' and his Builder's Gothic peculiarities are now more striking than his mechanical competence.

Rowe's ornamental and planning repertoire was

really quite conventional when one analyses the range of motifs employed. Combinations such as round arches, squashed lierne vaults, ball-flower string courses, and pointed hood-moulds with Moorish cusping, can be read as an inventive builder's eclectic amalgam of an old bag of tricks. He does not seem to have been an architect who worried too much about current architectural theory, and his enthusiasm for keeping up-to-date was more technological than aesthetic. The 'Byzantine' interior of his synagogue did not contain a single eastern motif (with the possible exception of the cusps and the domed apsidal east end). When he finally re-visited England in 1884 he spent most of his time inspecting Chatham, Woolwich, Enfield, and Aldershot, for the benefit of his Engineer Corps (of which he was Lieut. Colonel). Anything architectural on the tour was not reflected in his subsequent buildings. He remained basically a conservative architect and a passionate defender of 'God's material', sandstone, when Sydney was beginning to turn to an enthusiasm for brick in 1883.⁴³ As we shall see in the next chapter his normal ecclesiastical style was basically an eccentric High Victorian.

The absolute antithesis to Rowe's Rundbogenstil can be seen in the round arched forms used by the

very professional English migrant architect John Sulman, who had come to Australia 37 years after Rowe, with an A.R.I.B.A. and over 70 English churches (especially for the Congregationalists) to his name.⁴⁴ Sulman erected a Presbyterian church at

plate 234

Manly in 1889 in a Richardsonian style, when Sydney was just becoming interested in 'Yankee Romanesque'⁴⁵. He also began an Italianate

plate 235

Presbyterian church at Woollahra in the same year.

Sulman thought that small windows and a low-pitched ceiled roof were most suitable for the Australian climate, because both were visually and acoustically superior to churches with large traceried windows (and blinds) and high-pitched open roofs.⁴⁶ The style these functional forms were dressed in was less important: it could also be Renaissance (Randwick Presbyterian Church - also begun in 1889), or Early English (Christ Church of England, Springwood, 1888-89).

Sulman's progressive ecclesiastical style forms a nice contrast not only with Rowe's old-fashioned exuberant eclecticism, but with Arthur Blackett's earlier attempt at a fashionable brick Romanesque church. St Saviour's Church of England, Redfern, of 1883-84 was presumably meant as a High Victorian

'Early Christian' brick church, but - like his Annandale Gothic church - it appears to be another competent anachronism. This one is externally a reworking of his father's Norman style combined with a Thomas Hope sort of Italianate detailing and loggia. Its simple form and mixed archeological detailing are stylistically generations away from Sulman's brick Italianate style at Woollahra with its Late Victorian unbroken apsidal body, and carefully composed and varied tower forms. Arthur Blacket's motifs are somewhat closer to those on Manly Church, but where Sulman's building is an original mixture of American Romanesque and English Arts and Crafts detailing and planning, Arthur Blacket has gone no farther than sticking a pattern-book detail on to a simple shape.

plate 236

However the interior of St Saviour's was completely different, and displays the influence Horbury Hunt had on Arthur Blacket (see chapter 11). It is austere Late Victorian, with low narrow passage aisles with brick transverse arches and a high wooden barrel vaulted roof. The wide arcades with moulded brick heads are set behind uninterrupted brick vaulting shafts. These are the only relief from the mass of wall, for even the moulded bricks of the chancel arch are continuous with the wall surface. Such a powerful interior is a great surprise in this architect's work, although it is still

plate 237

another 'round-arched Gothic' design. It owes nothing but the arch form to the style of its exterior.

... ..

Looking back over this compilation of various round-arched styles in N.S.W. we can see that the form was never very popular, although there were a few examples every decade. Mrs Macquarie's Parramatta towers completely lacked a round arch until 'corrected' in the 1850s, but were at least an example of Georgian Romanesque Revival, and the tower of the first St Phillip's was an attempt at a Saxon' form. But we have to go to Tasmania and to 1839 to find Regency Romanesque. Martens and Hume's North Sydney church was in a Church Act Norman style, and Blackett introduced an Early Victorian Norman style into the country at Bathurst in 1845. Dural and Castle Hill seem to have been a freakish High Victorian, simple enough to have been a happy accident.

The nave and chancel of Parramatta Church, Moore Theological College at Liverpool, and the Anglican church at Albury - all of the 1850s - were still Early Victorian archeological Norman of varying competence. They were followed in the first half

of the 1860s by Blacket's Norman country churches, which attempted nothing new. St Thomas's Church of England, O'Connell (1865-66), and St John the Evangelist's, Peel (1865-66) are brick Norman churches in a similar style, but more sophisticated than Blacket's rural examples. They may be early works by Edward Gell (see chapter 9), but no documentary evidence has been found to support this general belief.

plate 238

Then in 1866 Kemp designed a new Lombardic facade for the United Presbyterian Church in Sydney. Although about thirty years behind English churches of this type, it was still the first in the colony and not very sure of itself. Its Lombardic features were well mixed with Classical details - like the entrance loggia. Still, the date appears quite early when compared with Arthur Blacket's Redfern facade of 1883; although Blacket's building was closer to Italian Gothic in proportions and detailing and had a progressive interior.

Two years after Kemp, Edmund Blacket and Horbury Hunt produced a proper High Victorian 'Lombardic' style for the Glebe church. Their Waterloo church of 1868 introduced High Victorian brickwork to the Sydney architectural scene. In the early 1870s

Blacket tried a High Victorian planning experiment at Bowral - disguised in his usual Norman vocabulary - which was too plain to be popular. He overcompensated for this by decorating Bathurst to death. Blacket's Rundbogenstil still looked positively restrained and scholarly when compared with Thomas Rowe's contemporary Sydney Synagogue.

Rowe also designed various parish churches for the Wesleyans and Presbyterians in the 1870s of 'adapted Norman'⁴⁷ form, but these were only standard church types which happened to have round-headed windows. Goulburn Methodist Church (1870-71), of plate 239 brick with stone trim, was a multiple side gabled church of a type that was popular with Wesleyans in England as well as Australia. Its wide west front adorned with two pentagonal flanking porches linked to a central tower to form a narthex, was an unusual variant of a standard Wesleyan Gothic form.

Paddington Methodist Church of 1877 was a plain box with a more standard Wesleyan narthex, made up of two projecting gabled boxes and a central low entrance porch. His Presbyterian church at Hill End plate 240 (1871-72)⁴⁸ was basically an Australian Early English type, with a sharp spire over the west gable and an equally sharp pointed arch over the west door. Round arches were just another motif in Rowe's eclectic 'Gothic' repertoire.

The other architect who ought to be mentioned in this 'round arched Gothic' context is John Horbury Hunt, whose first independent church design was proclaimed to be in the 'Norman' style. Despite its round-headed windows, Kangaroo Valley church relates far more closely to the High Victorian Anglo-French style, and will be discussed in that context in chapter 10.

Late Victorian round-arched styles did not start to appear in N.S.W. until 1889, when John Sulman introduced two different forms, and other Sydney architects were also becoming interested in both American and English brick Romanesque styles.

Harry D. Thompson and George Sydney Jones's

plate 241

polychrome brick Congregational Church at Strathfield (1889),⁴⁹ was still English High Victorian in style, but a competent example of the type.

The survey of a particular form throughout the century is necessarily a pale and limited echo of England, but it gives a useful summary of local stylistic developments and reflects general trends in Australian architecture. High Victorian Gothic will be examined in greater detail in the following chapters.

Chapter 9 : RUSKINIAN AND ROGUE GOTHIC

The perfect rural parish church of the 1860s in N.S.W. was generally considered to have been that of St Alban's Church of England, Muswellbrook, designed in England by George Gilbert Scott, and erected 1864-69 under the superintendence of the young North American architect, John Horbury Hunt, then working in Blacket's office. Scott provided over 100 sheets of working drawings for Muswellbrook, and although Hunt wrote caustic comments on these because of their lack of dimensions and clarity,¹ it is clear that every structural detail of the building was Scott's own. Hunt had the pleasure of building the church properly, making contact with one of his most important subsequent clients - the wealthy family of the incumbent, Canon William White - , and of designing the painted decorative interior.

St Alban's, Muswellbrook, was in an Early English style with fashionable High Victorian plate tracery throughout. It was still based on the English mediaeval parish church, with similar associational intentions to Blacket's Early English churches of the 1850s and 1860s, but expressed in more severe and irregular forms than standard Early Victorian churches. In fact the contrast with Blacket's

plate 242

formula E.E. church could not be greater, considering that both architects were imitating the same sort of mediaeval English building. Simple stepped buttresses exist only on the corners of Scott's church, and not between every window; the fenestration pattern of nave and (lower) chancel is different; the tower is attached to the north side of the chancel and ends in a simple broach spire - without pinnacles on the top of the tower or gabled lucarnes in the spire. There is a south aisle (but no balancing north one), and the roof is a combined collar and scissor truss, rather than a hammer or tie beam.

Like Blacket, Scott observed Pugin's dictum that 'all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction'², and decoration is confined to variations in the plate tracery (e.g., the north nave windows have a trefoil, sexfoil, quatrefoil and cinquefoil in the heads reading from west to east), external blank arcading on the chancel, and varied window forms throughout the church. plate 243

The windows were filled before the church was opened with a pre-determined programme of stained glass illustrating the life of Christ, all but one made by Horwood of Frome.³ The glass is bright and detailed in form, somewhat comparable to O'Connor's

work. No reason was publicly stated for choosing a Devon firm to execute such a remote job, nor do I know who commissioned them. Horwood glass is not normally associated with Scott's churches. He generally used Clayton and Bell.

The interior of Muswellbrook is paved with Minton tiles which become more elaborate as they progress towards the sanctuary, and the roof of both nave and chancel was stencilled from the first. The latter was Hunt's own addition⁴, and was proclaimed 'the most successful instance of roof painting we have in the colony'.⁵ The nave roof was painted with stylised flowers and the main beams had both painted and incised formal floral decoration. The present beams of the chancel roof are painted red with dark blue chamfers and yellow undersides, while the principal truss is orange with dark blue chamfers, red chamfer stops, and blue formal floral decoration. The side boarding is blue with yellow stylised lilies, and this seems to be Hunt's original design.

plate 244

The effect of all this roof, glass and floor colour is surprisingly modest, for the interior walls and aisle are simple stone masses of the purest archeological Early English Gothic. Scott exactly gaged colonial desires and provided a church

plate 245

without any of the aggressive qualities of his muscular Christian contemporaries, or any of the French detailing of some of his own contemporary churches. Apart from the tower which seems rather pedestrian, Muswellbrook was a rather good example of Scott's work on a modest scale, and an appropriate piece de resistance of the rural archeological Gothic style.

It is worth noting that Blacket's next design after building Muswellbrook was for St Stephen's, Newtown, which has its tower in the same position as Scott's, although the style of Newtown was still old-fashioned Middle Pointed. Blacket also possibly picked up from Scott the use of window colonnettes which he used at Waterloo and Glebe - designed while Muswellbrook was building - and later at St Nicholas's, North Goulburn (1879-80, plate 246 nave only built), a rock-faced Early English church with High Victorian features.⁶

The Australian architect who observed Ruskin's most approved style of early English Decorated (with perhaps the introduction of French elements)⁷ for most of his life was the English Catholic architect, William Wilkinson Wardell.⁸ Wardell was commissioned to design St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, in 1865 - a year after Scott's Muswellbrook.

The commission was a most splendid opportunity, for Wardell was given a free hand. Polding wrote to him on October 10, 1865:

And now for the design itself of our new Cathedral. I have little to say beyond this, that I go to the architect of St John's College of the University of Sydney to ask him for something that shall again be an honour to himself and to Catholics of the Diocese. I leave all to you and to your own inspiration in the matter. I will not even say that your conception shall be restricted to the Gothic style of any particular period. Any plan, any style, anything that is beautiful and grand, to the extent of our power.

Hence the choice of Geometric Anglo-French Gothic was Wardell's own, and eminently characteristic.

Wardell's first commission when he arrived in Melbourne from London in 1858 had been for St Patrick's Cathedral, and it was also Geometric Anglo-French in style. St Patrick's Melbourne, had a French cruciform plan with apsidal east end and radiating chapels on the model of Amiens, and an English west elevation and tower after the style of Lichfield. St Mary's, Sydney, reversed this combination and had an English plan like Lincoln, and a French internal elevation modelled on Chartres. The external elevation of the twin-towered liturgical west front (actual south) and the side elevations with their gabled clerestories and flying buttresses were reminiscent of Notre

plate 247

plate 248

plate 249

Dame, Paris. Wardell avoided combining an English square-ended chancel with flying buttresses, so gave St Mary's an English triple-gabled east end, partially masking the flying buttresses behind compositionally unfortunate baby aisle gables.

plate 250

The interior elevation of St Mary's was ultimately more English than French too, for the roof of nave and transept was a double hammer-beam and only the aisles were stone vaulted. The chancel roof was also English: 'groined in wood as at the Cathedral of York, in England', said the Daily Telegraph.¹⁰

plate 251

The major variation on mediaeval (and especially French) Gothic in the design of St Mary's was the mass of wall rather than window of the structure, apparently a deliberate decision justified by the myth of Sydney's powerful sunshine. Wardell compressed the size of all his window openings so that there was no attempt to suggest walls of glass, and indeed rather negated the need for the rows of heavy flying buttresses with undernourished springers he provided. The deep buttress piers were probably intended as much for shade as for strength, but they are a perverted rather than an innovatory form. Shrunken windows and minute blank arcading also make the west front a very heavy Victorian version of the lacy delicacy of Notre Dame.

plate 252

The decision to have so much more wall than glass would certainly have been approved by Polding, but was not initiated by him. All Wardell's churches were exaggeratedly English in this respect, including his early churches in England, such as Our Lady Star of the Sea, Croomshill, Greenwich (begun 1849), which was a pure English Decorated design. Wardell's Australian designs were not notably emended in this respect for Antipodean light. His exceptionally heavy treatment of French Gothic detailing makes St Mary's less successful than St Patrick's in Melbourne, for Melbourne is mainly English in elevation and so avoids the clash of French features in too, too solid walls. plate 253

Victorian Sydney's fear of light is well illustrated in the correspondence between Hardmans and John Donovan, Treasurer of the St Mary's Building Committee, over the stained glass. The strong light is mentioned as a potential pitfall from the first request for sketches in January 1881. When the first window - a liturgical north chancel window depicting the Annunciation - was installed in 1882 Donovan wrote:

Mr Wardell, after seeing the window which has been fixed in place, has asked me to request you to adopt a deeper tint in the glass of the windows in the future, because of the strong glare of the sun on our windows (our Cathedral is built North-South).

The next window, too, was not deep enough, and local opinion thought that the glass should have been thicker rather than so very blue. Subsequent letters continued to criticise the light tone of the glass, especially the blues, although the Visitation and Resurrection windows installed later in 1882 were 'a great improvement'. Hardmans should finally have been using pot glass of mediaeval thickness and saturnine gloom, for the windows from 1886 onwards - beginning with the Descent of the Holy Ghost window - were finally thought to have attained suitable depth and richness. The firm continued to provide windows for the Cathedral until 1935.¹²

The furnishings of St Mary's, from the High Altar of 1881 to the brass lamps, were mainly designed by Wardell and made locally.¹³ Exceptionally, the altars of St Peter and St Joseph on either side of the Lady Chapel, were designed in 1898 by J.F. Bentley, the architect of Westminster Cathedral. (Westminster's archbishop, Herbert Vaughan, was the brother of Sydney's former archbishop, Robert Vaughan.) The altars were executed in Carrara marble by Wardell's favourite English carvers, Farmer and Brindley, in an ornate Geometric Gothic.¹⁴ Wardell approved of local sculptors for the fittings of his cathedral, but requested that all the

plate 254

exterior sculpture of the building itself should
be

executed in Caen stone by the best ecclesiastical carvers in England, say either Messrs. Farmer and Brindley, or Messrs. Bolton and Sons ... and delivered f.o.b. in Sydney. I advise you to entrust them to either of these and to no-one (at present) in the Colonies.

Farmer and Brindley also did Wardell's altars in St Patrick's, Melbourne.

The bells of St Mary's were, as usual, made by Mears of Whitechapel (then Mears and Stainvour), although ordered in 1881 by Archbishop Vaughan instead of Polding. After Vaughan - the last of the Benedictine archbishops of Sydney - the habit of ordering everything from England slowly died. Vaughan's successor, Cardinal Moran, ordered the Stations of the Cross from L. Chanet in Paris in 1885, and the exceptionally ornate altar of the Irish Saints was designed and made in Rome in 1908 by Pio Leonori of the building firm of Aristide and Pio Leonori. Wardell would not have approved of this, for he thought that Italians got the character of Gothic wrong. But Wardell had died in 1899 before the Cathedral was anywhere near finished.

Wardell's first Catholic design for N.S.W. was for St John's College at the University of

Sydney: a commission which resulted from Archdeacon McEnroe suggesting to Wardell in Melbourne in 1857 that he should write to Sydney offering his services. Munro had already produced a plan made under the direction of Archbishop Polding, but Polding was happy to relinquish this because of Wardell's English reputation.¹⁶ After an argument with the College over his fees Wardell resigned from the job in 1860, and Blacket was appointed to execute Wardell's design. This is Blacket's only known work for the Catholics, and for the most part he simply followed Wardell. Only the entrance lodge (designed 1861: built 1862) was his.

St John's College has an unorthodox plan which avoids the cloistered quadrangles of Oxford or Cambridge. Instead Wardell chose a cruciform plan with a long dormitory wing added at the base. This dormitory wing was finally built in stages from 1918 onwards, and is mostly in modern minimal Gothic with a cramped four-storey elevation where Wardell had three. The present tower of St John's is also a shortened and simplified version of Wardell's.

plate 255

The general style of St John's was early fourteenth century Decorated Gothic, but with eclectic additions. The low dark entrance hall opens into

plate 256

a large light stair-well containing a staircase of Baroque form (but Gothic in style). This leads up into a central space over the vestibule, and this central space - or antechamber to the chapel - is the pivotal point on the first floor, from which one was intended to see a four-way Latin cross vista. The short head of the cross is Wardell's small Lady Chapel in the tower (now a private memorial chapel), divided from the ante-room by an open central door. The west arm of the cross contains the traditional mediaeval dining hall, but with kitchens, etc., below, so that its screen could be seen from the central space. (It was never built like this.) The eastern arm of the cross is the chapel, partly enclosed by a tripartite stone screen filled with ornamental ironwork. The long shaft of the cross, containing an enfilade of library, reading room, and college rooms beyond, is separated from the ante-room by a stone screen with a central door and a pair of 2-light windows. This Baroque vista planning would seem to have been semi-symbolic: the cross plan being backed up by trinitarian symbols - chapel, hall and library wing openings all being grouped in threes.

plate 257

plate 258

plate 259

Wardell had designed similar compositions for monastic and school complexes in England, although none were as grand as St John's, whose scale and

plate 260

compositional unity is particularly impressive when compared with Blacket's contemporary St Paul's College for the Sydney University Anglicans. Wardell's convent at Richmond Hill, Leeds, of 1857,¹⁷ is an Early English simplified version of the St John's elevation including the two-storeyed bay window motif. His convent, orphanage, and surrounding estate plan for Norwood Park, Croydon, Surrey (1855-57) is even closer to St John's in plan¹⁸: i.e., it is an I plan plus a nodal vestibule/tower and elongated base. It also contains an imperial stair-case. There is also a later design in the Wardell Plans for a female orphanage for Emerald Hill, Victoria, which has a similar plan and chapel.

St John's Chapel is a simple Decorated Gothic room of five bays, the two bays at the east end for the chancel being only distinguished internally by a raised floor. It has a large five-light east window and a wooden waggon roof. Both chancel and dining room were meant to be plastered and decorated with Puginian stencilling and patterning¹⁹: the latter was omitted in execution by Blacket, and the Chapel walls were scraped back to the stone in the 1960s. Most of the chapel furnishings were designed by Blacket, although the mosaic floor was by Melocco Brothers and is more recent. plate 261

The external appearance of St John's Chapel suggests a two-storeyed French chapel. Associations with Ste Chapelle must have been deliberate, since the basement storey and southern cloister always only contained lecture rooms. Their external unity with the chapel was meant as a visual effect only, but one that Wardell insisted on maintaining despite an early request from the College that the Chapel should be on the ground floor.²⁰ This two-storeyed chapel form had also appeared in Wardell's English work at St Mary's Training School, Hammersmith, for the Catholic Poor School Committee of 1855.²¹ Wardell had assembled his lifetime repertoire of forms and motifs before he migrated.

St Mary's Cathedral and St John's College are the only ecclesiastical designs Wardell is known to have done for N.S.W., apart from minor commissions for alterations and additions, and school and presbytery buildings, done when he was living in Sydney between 1878 and 1899.²² His reputation as a designer of good archeological thirteenth and fourteenth century parish churches was entirely earned in Victoria, where he built about 17 of them. When he later moved to Sydney he was almost exclusively involved in the Cathedral. Sydney Catholics missed the chance to employ him on parish churches, and these were designed by lesser men.

If Vaughan failed to make the most of the best architect he was offered, he was repeating a previously missed opportunity by Polding. Edward Gell arrived in the colony in 1858 under the patronage of Ullathorne, who had reputedly promised him the supervision of the Therry Cathedral extensions.²³ Of course, Polding had already given the job to Munro and work had been going on in a desultory way for eight years. So while Munro continued in the post of Diocesan Architect, Gell - at Polding's invitation - immediately settled in Bathurst, where he supervised the erection of Hansom's Bathurst Cathedral. Sydney's loss was Bathurst's gain, but Bathurst could not offer the opportunities for a good architect that there would have been in Sydney.

Edward Gell was born in Scarborough, Yorkshire, in 1820, and was another follower of Pugin who acquired the label 'Pupil of Pugin' in Australia.²⁴ In England he sketched mediaeval buildings in the approved Victorian fashion, and his sketch book of 1846 is still extant.²⁵ He is also believed to have designed some churches before migrating, although his only known English work was the 1849 interior decoration of an unpretentious Catholic Chapel - St Mary's Wycliffe, North Yorkshire.²⁶ This decoration included painting the interior of

the church (including the roof), and designing and executing the carved stone altar which has a large, very Puginian, stone reredos, with angels under canopied niches. He also painted, and probably designed, a good oak statue of the Virgin and Child. The last two are all that now remains of his work, for the interior of the chapel was destroyed by a storm in 1936.

Wycliffe Chapel was probably typical of the work that Gell was doing in England: decorating and possibly designing 'neat' stone chapels in Yorkshire 'without much pretension to architectural display'.²⁷ It was the sort of job that would have put him in contact with the Catholic architectural scene: e.g. Scholes lent a picture for Wailes to copy for the stained glass window formerly at the east end of Wycliffe. It probably also led to an acquaintance with Pugin. Gell had the added advantage of being related to Archbishop Ullathorne, for his sister married Ullathorne's brother, James.

Once established in Bathurst, Gell built up an extensive local ecclesiastical practice, working for both Catholics and Anglicans in the area, as well as designing and building many 'villa residences' in the 1870s.²⁸ His churches can be divided into two types - stone rubble rural ones

and more sophisticated brick efforts for growing towns. Both were Early English in style, but the former was deliberately more simple and rustic than the latter, and when Gell was given the commission for a large town church he invariably chose brick.

Gell's stone rural churches are exceptionally attractive little buildings; they normally have a carefully contrasted ashlar trim to the stone rubble flush with the stone work, high pitched roofs of a much greater roof to wall ratio than Blacket's usual churches, and an open wooden bell-cote topped with a thin metal covered fleche.

The first of this type, St John's Church of England, George's Plains (1867-68), is characteristic, except that it is built of coursed stone of multiple hues. This provided the desired external polychrome effect. It is of the same scale, size, and material, as Blacket's Early English churches, and offers a contrast between an Early and High Victorian attitude to such buildings. Gell never attempted archeological Gothic mouldings and multiple buttresses on his stone churches. Even his central buttress up the west front at George's Plains is unassuming, without the ashlar buttress caps that Blacket would have indulged in. The side lancets

plate 262

and triangle in the gable are set flush in the stone without hood-moulds, in the approved High Victorian 'vigorous' manner. The bell-cote is placed asymmetrically on a plain square block of masonry, and the 1860s French influence on English church architecture can be seen in the continuous roof-line with its iron ridge, the apsidal chancel (broken by a gabled east window with archaic wooden Y tracery), and a little fleche for a bell-cote. The interior has a reredos of encaustic tiles painted by Lyon and Cottier of Sydney - the best glass-makers and decorators in the colony. Gell was always keen on decorative colour in his church interiors, and Lyon and Cottier and Hardmans both received a lot of work from him.

The Church of the Immaculate Conception at Carcoar plate 263
(formerly St Mary's, Kings Plains) of 1867-70 is another Gell church of the same type. Here the brown stone fabric is contrasted with flush pink stone surrounds and tracery, and the tiny triangle in the west gable at George's Plains has become a rose window with simple plate tracery. The porch is now on the north instead of the south and is of stone instead of timber. The southern bell-cote/fleche sits on an extended buttress in a more original and mannered way. The east end of Carcoar

was never completed, for Gell planned in 1873 to add a chancel, sacristy, and nun's chapel for the sisters from the adjacent polychrome brick convent he was then building. His original 1867 plan had provided for chancel and transepts. Neither eventuated, although the walls at the east end of Carcoar still show the arches Gell had provided for these additions. The interior is decorated with stencilled motifs and patterns, an elaborate reredos, and a complete set of Hardman glass of 1869.

St Patrick's Catholic Church, Rockley (1869-71), plate 264
has a more English plan than George's Plains, although the blocked arch at the east end suggests that an apsidal termination was intended. The side windows and the triple lancet west window are set in contrasting white stone to the multiple brown tones of the fabric, and the bell-cote is on top of the west gable. Rockley has dormers in the nave roof - a motif used again in Gell's brick town church at Orange.

Both Orange and Rockley had complete sets of stained glass windows ordered by Gell from Hardmans in 1871. All the windows were single lancets and their programme was simple. All the side windows represented the name saints of the donor: the Rev.

David D'Arcy gave King David playing the harp, Ann Evans gave St Anne, Julia Doulman gave St Juliana, and the memorial window to Jane Mc Phee was left to Hardmans' discretion. The central east lancet was a memorial to Gell's first patron, Bishop Matthew Quinn, first Bishop of Bathurst, and contained the figure of Christ, while the flanking windows contained St Joseph and the Virgin. Gell offered Hardmans no advice about colour or composition, and appears to have been an undemanding client.²⁹

In 1870-71 Gell built Holy Trinity Church of England, East Guyong, a blue stone rubble church with light sandstone trim. It has a diamond-shaped window containing four small quatrefoils in the west gable and an unusually harsh north porch breaking the roof-line and protruding only the thickness of the wall. This effect of clashing junctions of wall is also characteristically High Victorian - Butterfield began it with his porch at All Saints', Margaret Street, London (1849-59).

St Brigid's Catholic Church, Dubbo (c.1871-1874), is of the same type as Carcoar, and originally was left in the same unfinished state. Its transepts and chancel were added later (the chancel by Gell in 1881, and the transepts by William Watson in 1906). The glass was again by Hardmans, who supplied

the nave glass in 1878 and the chancel in 1882. St Andrew's Church of England, Hill End (1872)³⁰, Molong Catholic Church of 1874 (now a schoolroom); and the tiny Presbyterian Church of St David at Moorilda of c.1875 - which never received its intended north west belfry, porch or vestry - are other variants on Gell's rustic rural theme.³¹

St Mary's Catholic Church, Mudgee (1873-76: tower 1911) was exceptional, for it was a large scale church by Gell in stone instead of brick. Gell was required to incorporate the stone sanctuary and sacristy of the original church into his enlarged nave. His nave rebuilding seems to have generally followed the style of the 1857 church (by Hansom?). The resulting exterior was an uninventive Early English building of nave and abutting aisles decorated with a little plate tracery. Its appearance is not enhanced by the ignorant stone tower with its long thin Commissioners' Gothic pinnacles by Mr Watson.

However the interior of Mudgee is the best High Victorian painted interior in N.S.W. It was done by Lyon and Cottier as part of Gell's re-building programme, although further work was done by them to the sanctuary in 1903. Saints and prophets adorn the aisle walls, and the ceiling is stencilled

with medallions of the Evangelists and their symbols. Lyon and Cottier also did most of the glass, including the east window of 1876, and Hardmans provided some additional glass in 1894.

Gell's brick churches are of the same basic form and style as his stone churches, but tend to be larger in scale, with a tower instead of a bell-cote. They are also more urban in appearance, but the hand-made red bricks still look softer and prettier than English High Victorian brick and their scale is never aggressively dominant in an English way. Sometimes the intended tower was never built (Peel Catholic Church of 1859-60), only partly completed (Blayney Catholic Church of 1877-81), or reduced in size (Lithgow Catholic Church of 1879-80). These are the feeblest of all Gell's buildings.

Where Gell was able to realize his intentions the result was still cruder than his stone churches, but sometimes more original. St Peter's Church of England, Rockley (nave 1867: chancel and belfry 1872), was originally only an Australian Victorian nave of coupled lancets with buttresses between each bay and a north porch. It was the most conservative of all Gell's churches, mostly because he was obliged to imitate a simple English Chapel

of Ease at Rockley, Wiltshire.³² But in 1872 Gell added the chancel and vestry, and extended the porch into a tower. These were quite different.

plate 265

First of all Gell introduced some polychrome brickwork into his tower. There was black brick chequer patterning in the space between door and bell-stage, and coloured bricks in his arches. Both tower and pentagonal chancel terminated in gables, and the paired lancets were now gathered under a moulded brick arch and united by a brick oculus. A thin metal needle spire rose behind the four brick gables of the tower. Where the original church was just another local rendering of associational Gothic, the final building was more inventive.

St Joseph's Catholic Cathedral, Orange (1870-71: chancel and transepts 1897), was more polychromatic than Rockley, with coloured bricks to the heads of all the arches and much diaper patterning in the tower. Orange is aggressively over-furnished with buttresses (four on the front, one between every window to the nave, and big angle buttresses to the tower). The combination of notched and chamfered tower, the multiple surface planes, and the complication of motifs, makes Gell eligible for inclusion among Goodhart-Rendel's High

plate 266

plate 267

Victorian 'Rogues'.³³ His particular form of
rogueishness belongs with what E.W. Godwin called
'the notch and chamfer' school of Gothicists³⁴ -
like S.S. Teulon.

The interior of Orange is a disappointment, with
its plain plastered walls, and pastel tinted
spindly roof rafters. The Hardman glass, the row
of pierced wooden quatrefoils at the level of the
wall plate, and the 'Stick Style' of the scissor
vault, are simply the bare bones which Gell would
have intended to ornament with a riot of painted
ornament and permanent polychrome. If this was
ever done it is now hidden under coats of insipid
coloured paint.

plate 268

The exterior of Orange and the interior of Mudgee
Catholic Churches are enough to show that Gell
was the most interesting of the Catholic architects
working in N.S.W. in the 1870s, and it is a pity
that Bathurst diocese only offered limited
opportunities for experiment. He was at least
fortunate in his main patron, Bishop Quinn of
Bathurst.

In 1881 Gell virtually gave up architecture in
favour of managing the Lithgow Colliery and
Potteries. He designed many buildings for his

Lithgow Company, including the interesting Pottery buildings and kilns,³⁵ but otherwise generally abandoned the profession.

The only other prolific Catholic architect in N.S.W. outside Sydney was the Irish architect/priest Father Michael McAlroy, whose career in the Goulburn diocese from 1857 to 1880 was exactly contemporary with Gell's in Bathurst. But McAlroy was a believer in quantity rather than quality, and very architecturally conservative. John O'Sullivan - Therry's great advocate in the Goulburn area - wrote to Sydney in 1865:

Father McAlroy is so energetic about building that any place where he is stationed has as much as it can do to keep him in funds³⁶

- and it is true that 'he lit the Sanctuary Lamps from the Abercrombie to the Victorian Border'.³⁷ He built churches at Laggan, Grabben Gullen, Tumut (foundation stone 1858), Breadalbane, Gunning (1859), Tarauga (now the school hall), Jugiong (f.s. 1858), Binalong (1859: demolished), Gundagai (1858: demolished), Wagga Wagga (f.s. 1858: now a Christian Brothers school), Albury (opened 1879), Howlong, Wymah, and Corowa (demolished). He enlarged and completed Boorowa and Yass. He also built convents and clergy houses in Goulburn and Albury; but all were at best simple Early English structures. His best church was St Patrick's Albury, now, I believe,

demolished.

The Irish takeover of the Australian Church was not aesthetically fortunate. The Benedictines had been architecturally educated; Hibernian taste favoured the elaborate and conservative. The Cathedral of Sts Peter and Paul in Goulburn (begun 1871) by the Diocesan Architect Andrea Stombucco from Florence and his friend Charles Spadacini is typical. Despite their Italian origins the Cathedral was still English in style. A simple archeological Gothic was adhered to in a building programme which ranged from 1871 (the nave) to 1890 - when the completed building with transepts, English square-ended chancel, and north-east tower, was dedicated. plate 269

The late Decorated-moving-into-Perp. style of Goulburn probably reflected the English Late Victorian return to this National style in the 1870s - a movement led by George Frederick Bodley, who designed one of his first churches in this style for Hobart Anglican Cathedral in 1866.³⁸ If so, the diminutive fleche at the crossing and the Early English west tower of Goulburn were stylistically incorrect as well as aesthetically unfortunate. plate 270

Catholic churches emanating from the Sydney Diocesan Architects Joseph Sheerin and John F. Hennessy were a little better. Sheerin and Hennessy dominated the Sydney Catholic architectural scene in the 1880s and 1890s and explain why Wardell did not get more Sydney work. Their major commission was for St Patrick's Seminary and Archbishop's residence at Manly (1885), an enormous stone Gothic complex set on a hill over the town and still dominating it. The seminary is impressive in outline, although of a standard Victorian E plan with central tower. This heavy tower flanked by open symmetrical arcades over two storeys is a strong form, but dull in detail, with simple splayed lancets, parapets, and open arcading of the simplest sort. St Joseph's College, Hunter's Hill (begun 1883) has a similar symmetrical E plan, but is of institutional plainness. Their monastery of the Sacred Heart, Kensington, of the 1890s is in an eclectic Gothic of embarrassing stylistic comprehensiveness, again somewhat redeemed by its strong symmetrical outline, with their standard central tower and functional open arcading.³⁹

Sheerin and Hennessy's major church building was the Catholic Cathedral at Armidale, a large local dark brick mass with yellow glazed brick trim. The Cathedral is in Geometric Gothic, with a pinnacled

plate 271

north west (actual south east) tower with a needle spire set beyond the aisle. The window tracery is quite archeologically elaborate stonework and the plan is standard. The design does not really succeed, not because it was old-fashioned archeological Gothic, but because this has been confused with a more High Victorian vocabulary. The basic plan and detailing clashes with the coarse 'streaky bacon' material, and with the nonconformist toughness of added motifs like the severe relief of glazed yellow brick banding across the main west gable.

Sheerin and Hennessy's earlier brick church of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Avoca Street, Randwick plate 272 (1888), had the same sort of problem in reconciling two different modes. The back and sides of Randwick are in the Anglo-French style (the architects said that the design was after the style of French provincial churches⁴⁰), with flush lancet windows, a high east end, and stone banding. But the details of the facade and the south west tower are too fussily archeological to suit the intentions of the rest.

Although the aim of exactly copying English mediaeval churches was no longer general in the colony after 1870, the latest (or latest but one) English

fashion was still echoed in N.S.W. Sheerin and Hennessy's 'French provincial' was an echo of an English fashion rather than a direct European importation - as was Blacket and Hunt's Lombardic style at the Glebe. The particular colonial problem was an inability to fully comprehend a style when away from its leaders and exemplars. Too often in colonial conditions the early inheritance of past fashions prevented the competent realization of the new. 'Eclecticism' was also a dangerous yardstick when it lacked any theoretical foundations for selectivity.

Thomas Rowe belonged to the first generation of High Victorian Australian architects but faced the same sort of problems. He was a more considerable architect than Sheerin and Hennessy were, although apparently almost entirely self taught. From unpretentious origins as the son of a Cornish builder in Penzance who brought him to Australia in 1848, Rowe had become by 1880 the President of the N.S.W. Institute of Architects, a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and a very wealthy man. His practice in Sydney was enormous. In a biographical note in 1888 he was cited as designer of twelve buildings in Pitt Street alone, including two buildings of five storeys and one of six, and the Royal Arcade.⁴¹

Rowe also designed an occasional church for the Catholics, like St Joseph's, Newtown (1866-69),⁴² a High Victorian rusticated stone church with plate tracery and vertical joints to its window heads, broad proportions, and short transepts. It has an elaborate wooden roof, with multiple wooden beams at the crossing springing from squat little columns on corbels carved with naturalistic foliage. The simple coloured and patterned glass quarries, installed before the building was open in 1869, had been made locally in John Faulkener's kilns.⁴³ Otherwise Newtown's interior is disappointingly plain. The lower parts of the walls and the columns were cement rendered from the first in imitation of ashlar, while the upper walls were plastered - presumably to receive decorations which never eventuated.

For the most part Rowe specialised in churches for the Wesleyans and Presbyterians. He started with small lancet mission halls or chapels for the Wesleyans at Woolloomooloo (1858), Kiama (1860), and Penrith (1860); then progressed via his Geometric Gothic Redfern Church to elaborate plate traceried churches like Goulburn (1870-71), Woolloomooloo (begun 1871), and Paddington (1877). plate 273 His normal Methodist type church was like Paddington - with two identical gabled boxes at the west front

linked by a low porch to form a nathex. This was set in front of a high gabled rectangle with a very large west window above the porch, and the side windows were also set high. The plan was standard for both England and Australia. The large high windows (often set under their own gables) had been adopted to suit the importance of the gallery, and the twin porches were to segregate the sexes within it.

Rowe's first great success with the Wesleyans was opened at Chippendale (Redfern) in 1867, and proclaimed 'the chef d'oeuvre of the Methodist architecture in the Colony'⁴⁴. Chippendale Wesleyan church (later the Liberal Catholic Church of St Alban, and now demolished) was built of dark stone with contrasting white stone tracery, window surrounds, quoins and bands. Its two-tier elevation had lancets on the lower stage and two-light Geometric Gothic gallery windows above, set under their own gables. Each side gable was isolated, and more like an extended dormer than the normal English form.⁴⁵ But the most unusual feature of the church was that the normal west front arrangement was set half-way along the side, although it conformed to the standard twin stair-case and low entrance arrangement and had a big five-light window in the gable above it.

plate 274

Stone bandings and trim on a red brick or dark stone church were subsequently quite popular with the Wesleyans and other nonconformists. The mixture reflected the prevailing English fashion for structural polychrome, while at the same time it was hardly more revolutionary than the red brick and white trimmed buildings these denominations had been erecting since first arriving in the colony.

The standard Presbyterian church Rowe designed for N.S.W. followed the Early English style. It normally included an asymmetrical tower and large east and west windows - like the brick church at Annandale (1863-65), and the stone ones at Kiama (begun 1859), Bathurst (1871-72), Ashfield (1868), and the Glebe (1879-81: rebuilt in Bridge Street, the Glebe in 1927).⁴⁶ The last is an elaborate example of the type, with a completely stone covered steeple. Hill End, with its round-arched windows and little bell-cote represents the other end of the scale.

Rowe's churches were

of Gothic character, and much merit, in a style individual to himself

- Barnet commented.⁴⁷ From about 1870 they almost always had the same sort of decoration. Rowe was

known for the distinctive ornamentation which he had introduced into the colony. His plate tracery became increasingly like fretwork over the years, until a church like Bathurst Presbyterian had a west rose window spattered with 25 tiny circles, and both the round-headed windows and the gables of Paddington Methodist Church were decorated with tiny foliated holes. The Congregational Church at Parramatta (1871) was also 'fretted, pierced and carved'⁴⁸. Glebe Presbyterian Church was another good example of the species.

plate 275

Holy Trinity Anglican Cathedral at Orange which Rowe designed in 1879 is much plainer externally. Its very square English plan, exceptionally tall transepts, and traditional central west tower are built with brick detailing of the most severe English High Victorian type. (The unfortunate buttresses are a later addition.) The windows have the plainest possible plate tracery and brick stone sills and have a cream moulded brick hood-mould - the cream colour providing the only contrast to the unrelieved brown brick surfaces of the fabric.

plate 276

But Rowe was unable to restrain himself from fretting something in the church, and the roof is an unrestrained example of his signature theme;

plate 277

the arched braces being linked to the tie beams with infills of fretwork. This becomes nicely complicated at the crossing, again having something of the exuberance of Edward Buckton Lamb - at Addiscombe, Croydon, of 1868, for instance. Most of the corbels in the Cathedral have remained uncut, but in the sanctuary there are pairs of stunted columns standing on unsupported square bases, suggesting that Rowe would have made this a much more odd building had he been given the money. They are clearly a development on his Newtown columns, now become even more quirky, and again like Lamb's.

Rowe was more conservative than Lamb in his exterior design, for confetti effects in plate tracery are less inventive than astonishing stone corbelling. Rowe's proportions also tend to be high and more conventional than Lamb's low rusticated proto-Arts and Crafts churches.⁴⁸ Both design transepts as high as the nave furnished with elaborate wooden crossings.

Rowe does not quite fit into any High Victorian category; his broad uninterrupted planes of brick or stone pierced with flush plate tracery suggest the 'vigorous' school of English architects, but he normally keeps a standard English Victorian

plan, and his confetti effects are a personal exaggeration of the plate tracery of the Anglo-French school. His odd little floating columns and complicated wooden roofs are very like the 'Rogue' architects - particularly E.B. Lamb.

Rowe's stylistic mixtures were often novel and quite successful, as we have seen in the previous chapter. The Sydney Synagogue was definitely more Rogue Gothic than Anglo-French or Continental in style - despite its 'Byzantine' label and round arches.

The fashionable Venetian Gothic style of the 1850s in England, which owed much of its popularity to Ruskin's Stones of Venice (London, Vol. I, 1851: Vols. II and III, 1853), was not introduced into N.S.W. until 1867. But this introduction was a unique and effective design for an unusual ecclesiastical purpose.⁵⁰ Because the burial ground near St Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney had become impossibly full, the city cemetery was transferred to the outer suburb of Haslam's Creek (Rookwood). James Barnet, as Colonial Architect, was required to provide two mortuary stations for the special train plate 278 that was to take funeral processions from the south of Sydney to the cemetery. His Sydney Mortuary Terminal still exists in situ, although disused and neglected, but the Receiving House at Rookwood

was transferred to Ainslie, a suburb of Canberra, and rebuilt as a church in 1958-59. The train line is now the nave; the west arch supported by the Angels of Death and of the Resurrection is now the chancel arch; and the east end is blocked by a large window filled with a five-light World War I memorial window by the firm of Charles Eamer Kempe - transferred from St Clement, Newhall, Sheffield, in 1963. The side chapel window is an earlier Kempe window dating from c.1890, which came from Bagendon church, Gloucestershire, in 1962.⁵¹ plate 279

The Sydney terminal is particularly Ruskinian, with its ticket office of the same form as Deane and Woodward's laboratory building at the Oxford University Museum (illustrated Building News, Vol. V. (1859), p. 819) - both odd daughters of the Glastonbury kitchens. The two stations have rows of stumpy columns on high bases, and use naturalistic carving. Where ballflower would normally appear in the mouldings the sculptors, Thomas Duckett and Henry Apperly,⁵² put in persimmon and pomegranate, and the consciously symbolic programme included naturalistic oak leaves, acorn, apple, lily, pear and sycamore. Nor is naturalism confined to botany: the gargoyle near the south porch of the Rookwood terminal is a plate 280

fantastical combination of accurately observed portions of a sheep, bird and lion.

Barnet's surprising foray into Venetian Gothic which was never repeated in his vast repertoire of work, was probably inspired by the design which won the International Competition for the Parliament Houses and Government Offices in Sydney, held in 1860-61.

plate 282

William Henry Lynn of Belfast's 'half-severe and half-sportive Secular Gothic'⁵³ complex was very Ruskinian, with Venetian Gothic detailing. Barnet costed the design at £642,205.0.0, and it was, naturally, never even begun.⁵⁴

However Barnet's squat columns and square abaci are more like Street's church columns (c.f. St Philip and St James's, Oxford, 1859 ; or St James the Less, Westminster of 1859), than Lynn's thin loggias, and the exhibition of Lynn's winning plans in Sydney does not seem to have affected any architects but Barnet and Rowe.⁵⁵ Secular buildings continued to be Classical and ecclesiastical buildings standard Gothic (mainly lancet). Only secular buildings with an ecclesiastical flavour like Universities, Colleges, Parliament Houses, and museums - or associational buildings like banks - seem to have been considered appropriate for a Venetian Gothic

plate 283

style. Adelaide got a University Building, Melbourne got a bank, and Sydney got two ecclesiastical railway stations on a special departure line.

Rookwood Cemetery contains funerary monuments of architectural interest, although the sculpture is not as splendid as that at Kew in Victoria. The Cemetery was divided into separate denominational areas, each responsible for its own landscaping and upkeep. The managing trustee of the Church of England section was Simeon Henry Pearce of Randwick, who landscaped this section himself. Pearce had previously landscaped another notable cemetery at St Jude's, Randwick, and paid for the church there. It was built in 1861-65, on the model of Randwick in Gloucestershire.⁵⁶

The most striking monument in the Rookwood Cemetery is the Fraser Mausoleum in the Presbyterian section. plate 284
It was designed by Maurice B. Adams - later Norman Shaw's assistant at Bedford Park - and built by Wardell. It is a large domed Gothic structure with good gargoyles and corbelling, and odd pinnacles. Wardell designed the Perpendicular Gothic vault for James Watson M.L.C. in the Church of England section in 1888, which cost £2,000.⁵⁷ Thomas Rowe contributed a Jewish Mortuary House in a simple

Gothic style which had an enormous shingled roof with three side gables containing fretwork trefoils. A design for a mausoleum for the Wigram Allen family by Philip Webb also exists in the family papers,⁵⁸ but I do not know if this was ever built. Blacket apparently designed the Cemetery Rest House,⁵⁹ which is still extant; but the 12 ft high iron brazier and domed pagoda built for the Chinese ('Celestials') by an unknown architect has been demolished.

A final oddity in this round up of later Victorian ecclesiastical work in the colony is the Catholic Church of Our Lady of Dolours at Villa Maria Marist Brothers Monastery at Hunter's Hill, Sydney. The church was attached to Weaver and Kemp's 1857 monastic buildings in 1867-71, and was designed in France. It is an eclectic Gothic building with a semi-baroque bell-cote on top of its west gable. The chancel ends in a polygonal apse with curved external ribs running from the ridge to each of the corners.

plate 285

The interior of Villa Maria has an elaborate wood and plaster vault, with an extremely mannered arcade. Above the level of the capitals the church has clearly defined nave and narrow aisles, but most of the arcade columns have been removed thus

plate 286

changing the capitals into pendant bosses hanging like stalactites above a wide unaisled hall. The marble statues standing under high cusped pinnacles on the west front, and on a strange curved stone pediment at the east end, were all imported from France, as were the stained glass windows, and altar of 1890.⁶⁰ It is altogether a bizarre contrast to the rest of Sydney's English Victorian architecture.

On the whole the colony continued to emulate England, a good step behind in quality and progressiveness. No important architect has yet emerged, and the best ecclesiastical designs continued to come into Australia from England. This chapter has mainly concentrated on stone church buildings. The next chapter looks at the development of Anglican brick architecture, and finally reveals an 'Architect Extraordinary'.

Chapter 10 : HIGH VICTORIAN ANGLICAN GOTHIC

The two earliest High Victorian church designs in Australia were both for colonies other than N.S.W., and neither was built according to its original design. William Butterfield sent an important early design to Adelaide in 1847 for a brick cathedral, bishop's palace, and collegiate complex. It was, said the *Ecclesiologist*, 'an extremely plain design' with 'a very peculiar character'¹, but on the whole very successful. This was partly because of its imposing height in proportion to its size, and partly because of its unusual outline of barely projecting transepts and low and broad crossing tower topped with a pyramid roof. The detailing was the plainest possible, specifically designed to be built in brick, but - the *Ecclesiologist* concluded - 'it has just that individuality which we admire in our ancient churches.'

Plain brick was too mean for even a colonial bishopric in 1847 - before Butterfield had yet made that material ecclesiastically respectable by building All Saints Margaret Street, London (1849-59) - and so Butterfield was obliged to re-design the cathedral for stone. His 1868 design was still too unusual, and the final building (begun 1869)

had its towers altered and heightened and its polychrome banding removed. These, and other more minor modifications were by E.J. Woods of the Adelaide firm of Wright, Woods and Hamilton, who built the cathedral.²

The second attempt to introduce a more original sort of Gothic into Australia was a design by the young George Edmund Street for St John's Church of England, Hobart, of 1851. The Reverend Frederic Cox, whom we have already encountered adapting Carpenter's Cookham Dean design for Prosser's Plains, asked the Ecclesiological Society in 1850 for a design for his new suburban parish in Hobart. The Society gave the job to Street, who had taken over from Butterfield as their unofficial honorary architect. Street provided a design without charge. His stone church was without structural colouration, but it had certain novel features - mostly deriving from France, - like the apsidal chancel, metal cresting along the roof, large clerestory windows, and a broad crossing tower. It also had a central buttress breaking into the large west window - a feature deriving from Butterfield's Stoke Newington Church, and ultimately from the mediaeval example of Dorchester. Street exhibited his design at the Royal Academy in 1851.³

In 1851 a French plan was an unwelcome novelty, but as the site was 'a nearly right-angled triangle' the Ecclesiologist approved the apsidal end as a suitable termination for this particular problem.⁴ Butterfield's Margaret Street and Stoke Newington churches had also prepared them for originality, so, although they warned Street of the danger of falling into the pit of picturesqueness for its own sake, they generally approved his design. But Cox's new parish was very poor, and the rector found it impossible to build Street's church: he had asked for a little bell-cote and been given 'an enormous oblong tower' over the choir.⁵ The modified version finally erected was very ordinary.⁶

So, although Butterfield and Street's designs were important to their personal architectural development they had no real influence on church design in Australia. Burge's design for Brisbane Cathedral of 1859, published in the Ecclesiologist in 1861 and in the Building News in 1860⁷ was never begun, and was similarly barren of Antipodean progeny, with one partial exception - a North American architect who read the building magazines. Burge's cathedral was, said the Ecclesiologist,

plate 287

semi-speluncar in its character, while the architect has carried it out in that solid and massive early French which is his style of predilection.⁸

The stone walls were 4 ft thick 'on account of the hot climate'.

The first polychrome church built on Australian soil appears to have been a small brick Anglican parish church in the remote town of Young (originally Burrangong) in N.S.W. St John the Evangelist, Young (1865: demolished 1913), was designed by a 'Mr Eddis, architect of London', according to the Sydney Church Chronicle.⁹ This must refer to Robert William Edis (later Sir Robert), who was often misspelt this way.¹⁰

Young Church is only known to me from a full description in the Church Chronicle. Because of its remote location it also had little effect on colonial church architecture, although it apparently made a great impression on Bishop Mesac Thomas of Goulburn. It was built by the incumbent, the Rev. W.H. Pownall, and the fittings as well as the design were purchased in London by the major benefactor, Mrs Wilkie.¹¹ A grant towards its cost was obtained from the Colonial and Continental Church Society in London, who were closely associated with both the incumbent and the bishop. (Thomas had been their secretary for many years before being elevated to his See.) Thomas thought that the style of the church was reminiscent of the

Society's church at Hamburg - although this may not have been a deliberate association.¹²

St John's, Young, was in a simple lancet style and had an English square-ended chancel which was lower and narrower than the nave. It also had a conventional porch and vestry, and a west bell-cote on the gable, so was a standard Early Victorian plan. What was new was the material of the church, for it was built of red bricks with courses of black bricks around the walls. The chancel arch and the window and door surrounds were also of coloured brickwork. The church had a High Victorian roof of very steep pitch crowned with metal ridge capping and decorative iron crosses.

This use of polychrome brick was quite standard for an English design of the period - even slightly old-fashioned - although the first in Australia. The interior was also a normal High Victorian one, but particularly attractive and unusual in the Australian bush. The walls were plastered and painted in imitation of stone up to sill level where there was brick banding, and the upper parts were decoratively painted. The chancel was ornamented with encaustic tiles 'coloured in various designs', and the roof seems to have been a simple scissor truss. The windows were filled

with diamond paned ground glass, with fleurs de lys and narrow stained glass borders in the east and west lancets.

Subsequent polychrome churches in Australia were more pretentious. In Melbourne, Joseph Reed, of the firm of Reed and Barnes, designed St Jude's, Carlton in 1866, a dark brick church in a Transitional Gothic style, with plate tracery. The window frames are of contrasting light brick, and there is much diamond brick patterning below sill level. It also has odd diamond patterned pilasters above the rudimentary buttresses, and triangular quoins of pale brick on the corners of nave and chancel.¹³ The roof was originally patterned with diamonds of contrasting slate, and the composition was to culminate in a gabled and much patterned tower of pale brick - a reversal of colour and trim to the dark brick body. But the tower was never built.

plate 288

The interior of Carlton Church was probably also lavishly patterned in brick, although it has now all been painted a dull pastel green. Such a riot of brick patterning was more typical of English Low Church or nonconformist architecture by the mid 1860s, and Carlton is a good example

of the reason why polychrome had been abandoned by progressive Anglican architects by then.¹⁴ Reed's Independent Church in Collins Street, Melbourne (1868) was a more successful design despite even more outrageous external polychromy, for the Lombardic style of the building was more appropriate for this sort of treatment than the English style of St Jude's.

plate 289

While Joseph Reed had had a trip to England and Europe to inspire his polychrome efforts, Blacket in N.S.W. only had the inspiration of his assistant, John Horbury Hunt, and the black and white examples of the building magazines. The combination produced Blacket's modest polychrome effort at St Silas Waterloo - designed in 1867, a year after Carlton. This was the first use of polychrome brickwork on a Sydney church (it is now covered with paint), and was modest enough: more reminiscent of the diamond patterning on Pugin's Bilton Grange of 1841-46, than wholeheartedly Italianate.¹⁵ Its subsequent popularity in Sydney was slight.

plate 290

The Anglicans indulged in a stronger use of brick polychrome at All Saints, Petersham in 1868. The building was designed by Benjamin Joseph Hackhouse,¹⁶ who produced even more fancy cream brick patterning

plate 291

on All Saints Rectory, Darlinghurst, in 1872. This commitment to brick was not typical of the architect, and represented only a short phase of his career.

Backhouse had begun as a mason in Geelong, Victoria, on his arrival in Australia from Ipswich, Suffolk, in 1853, aged 24. From this he developed an architectural practice in Geelong and Ballarat which lasted from 1856-60, in partnership with a Mr Reynolds. The firm designed Christ Church of England, Lydiard Street, Ballarat (1854-57)¹⁷; the first stone Wesleyan church in Ballarat (1858); and the Free Church of England, Geelong (completed 1859), a bluestone building with side gables.¹⁸

In 1860 Backhouse re-visited England for a year, where he presumably became aware of current High Victorian fashions. On his return to Australia in 1861 he settled in Brisbane, where he designed the successor to Pugin's St Stephen's - fortunately on an adjacent site. His cathedral is a rock-faced stone building with twin turrets to the west front and a large 7-light bar traceried window. It was intended to have a Latin cross plan, but only his nave with low aisles and large clerestory was built. plate 293

Brisbane was a typical but uninspired church of

the day, and so were Backhouse's Anglican churches in N.S.W. at Lavender Bay and Forbes. Christ Church, Lavender Bay, North Sydney (begun 1869), had an apsidal east end, although labelled 'Early English' in style.¹⁹ This meant that it has large lancet windows. Its other features are a south east tower and spire, and a high continuous roof with dormers. Backhouse won the commission for the church in a competition. The simple Sydney sandstone of Lavender Bay was clearly Backhouse's preferred material, and most of his churches are of rough stone without contrasting banding.

St John's Church of England, Forbes, was another plate 294
Early English stone church with large plain lancets. It is distinguished by its side gablets. Side gablets had been inspired by German Gothic churches, and were popularised in England by Arthur Blomfield (especially St Paul's Haggerston, London of 1860). Their subsequent popularity among nonconformists led to Blomfield, Scott, and Teulon abandoning them by the late 1860s. They were especially popular with the Wesleyans in Australia, but rare on Anglican churches.²⁰

Backhouse's polychrome brick church at Petersham had the triple gabled form of Carpenter's St Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, London (begun 1849),

or Blacket's St Paul's, Cleveland Street, Redfern.

However it was in the normal Australian lancet style instead of Middle Pointed, with flush windows and minimal mouldings. This formula was popular with Sydney Anglicans in the mid 1860s:

J.F. Hilly's St Luke, Sussex Street, Sydney plate 295

(1865-66: demolished), and O.H. Lewis's St Peter's, Woolloomooloo (begun 1866), were stone buildings of this triple-gabled lancet type. All three churches had tall thin clustered columns in the arcade;

Petersham's are of cast iron and have coarse iron plate 296

still leaf capitals, while Woolloomooloo's are wooden with continuous moulded capitals.

Petersham Church has a very thin collar-beam roof in Godwin's 'notch and chamfer' style, and plate 297

Woolloomooloo has a hammer-beam, derived from

Camden Church, which is spike and chamfer. Tall thin clustered columns of iron or wood, stick-like chamfered roofs, and flush lancet Gothic windows

were characteristic of N.S.W. churches in the late 1860s and 1870s. We have already encountered a restrained brick polychrome one by Rowe at Orange,

and more exuberant examples by Gell at Orange and Rockley. One of the first interiors in this style

was Weaver and Kemp's rebuilding of the nave of

Balmain Anglican church in 1859. plate 298

A restrained form of external polychromy continued in N.S.W. throughout the 1870s, although it never became really popular. In 1872 an article in the Australian Churchman signed 'W.E.K.' (presumably William Edmund Kemp) explained this colonial coolness to a fashionable English style. Kemp was to become a leading protagonist of brick architecture in the 1880s (of the secular red brick and terra-cotta Waterhouse type), but was still advocating Sydney sandstone in the early 1870s.

I cannot imagine a case in or about Sydney, in which a church should be built of brick rather than stone; on the score of cost it is only in the smallest class of buildings, where very thin walls are sufficient, and by sacrificing all ornament, that any appreciable saving can be made. The idea that a cheap style of ornamental effect can be produced by the use of coloured bricks, is, in the present state of brickmaking among us, a mere delusion. There are very few bricks made here at present, with any decided contrasts of colour, and the best red bricks we have are so evidently only of that colour because improperly burnt, that in almost all cases we see architects who attempt this kind of decoration are driven to the use of artificial colour to heighten contrast; - of course the advocates of this kind of work will refer us to English brickwork, both ancient and modern, and I am free to acknowledge that works of great beauty have been produced, but such people seem to forget that in England good bricks can be had of a pure white or absolute black, and of various shades of yellow, red, grey and purple. When we have such bricks as those, and when we can get moulded bricks such as form all the decorative features of many an old Suffolk mansion, then we shall find, as I said above, that it will be no cheaper than stonework.

Although aware of current English fashions, local

conditions were sometimes against their successful emulation. Reed was clearly more fortunate in Melbourne, where brickwork developed more rapidly in the absence of a local sandstone, and an aesthetic distaste for 'Melbourne bluestone' (basalt).²²

A major advocate of brick churches in N.S.W. was the Bishop of Armidale and Grafton from 1869 to 1893, for his diocese was poor in sandstone. However Bishop James Francis Turner was no friend to Sydney's polychrome brick efforts. His architectural taste was far more educated than all his fellow bishops and most Australian architects.

Turner had spent four years training as an architect in London in the offices of George Basevi and Philip Hardwick, before taking orders at Durham University.²³ (This must have been from 1844-48 when Turner was only aged 15 to 19.) While at Durham, and later as priest at North Tedworth, Wiltshire (1858-69), he had designed at least two churches - St Maurice, Ellingham, Northumberland (begun 1862), and St John the Evangelist, Greenside, Ryton Woodside, Durham (1853-4: enlarged F.E. Dotchin 1907).²⁴

The Church Builder was scandalised that an 'amateur'

should have designed Ellingham church and ignored its architecture. However it was later reproduced in a book on Northumberland churches in 1870, and its original appearance described.²⁵ It was a competent, although rather conservative, early Geometric cruciform church with a crossing tower. Characteristic features later advocated by Turner in Australia were already evident: the Puginian use of 'natural' materials instead of 'cement and shams', buttresses used only when necessary and not between every window, high sills to the windows, rough jambs to windows and doors instead of plaster-like regular ones, and the windows themselves 'brought well up into the gable itself'²⁶ and without keystones to their pointed arches. The decoration of the interior became more elaborate as it approached the chancel; the roof was open; there was an elaborate chancel arch, and a three-light window at the east end.

plate 299

Turner was in general disgusted with the churches he saw in Australia after his arrival in 1869, and was particularly repelled by the use of cement and shams, which, he stated in 1888, was sixty years out of date in terms of Church Architecture at home. He liked churches to have simple exteriors, and despised the fancy gabled and boxed nonconformist styles which were all external show and 'bare, cold,

and almost, sometimes quite, repulsive inside'.²⁷

A worse debasement of taste was the style of the Sydney Board Schools (i.e. by William Kemp) - 'tricked up with compo., battlements over porches, which will certainly never be beseiged, and would not stand a light poke if they were attacked'.²⁸

His *bête noir* was Sydney Town Hall - 'a most perfect example of ignorance and bad taste'.²⁹

He was just as outspoken about churches of his own denomination. He thought the aisles in St Andrew's Cathedral made seeing and hearing impossible, and far preferred Street's solution of passage aisles when the church was large and wide. He also criticised Blacket's detailing: Goulburn Cathedral's east window was nearly twice as long as it was wide - an unknown fourteenth century ratio. St Stephen's Newtown had a niche in the gable,

over which should be written 'This shelter to be left unfurnished', for it will not see any statue.³⁰

(Newtown was notoriously evangelical.) Blacket's churches commonly had keystones to the windows, and 'if there is one thing distinctive of mediaeval architecture, it is that its pointed arches have no key stones'. Blacket, at St Andrew's Cathedral (and elsewhere), neglected

the practice of making arch-mouldings oversail on the capitals from which they spring, the effect of which neglect is to give the top

member of the capital a most unpleasant
prominency.³¹

The fillets on his window mullions at West Maitland were 'just twice the size that they ought to be'³²; the poppy-heads of the benches in Sydney Cathedral ('intended, I presume, for a copy of an example given in Parker's Glossary Text p. 366'), were set too high, had incorrect detailing, and were over-large. They should, Turner thought, be cut down.

The finials in the chancel of St Mary's, Waverley, were 'like nothing so much as the head of a goose, right and left'. All Saints, Woollahra, had unfortunate thin buttresses with pediments at eye level. Its interior had too many steps up to the chancel, effectively burying the congregation - who were in any case seated too close to the east end - in a well-hole. And Blackett shared in the general local architectural faults Turner cited: designing lancet windows and external stone crosses too large, and framing the windows with mechanically regular surrounds.³³

Brick churches fared no better. Backhouse's All Saints' Petersham had ridiculously over-sized lancet windows, Turner stated, and proved his assertion by reference to his sketch-book of measured drawings of English mediaeval lancets. The size of

Petersham's cast iron crosses vulgarised the design, and the heads of its window arches were designed for keystones, so that the V shape at the top had to be filled up with brick bats and cement. 'What would a Scott or a Burges say to such a piece of construction?' he rhetorically demanded.³⁴ The 'quasi-early-English' clustered columns at All Saints had foliage capitals which were simply a caricature of the real thing: moulded capitals were much safer if cast iron must be used.

Turner's most candid outburst was reserved for a brick church in his own diocese, St John's Tamworth plate 300 (opened 1881), whose architect is not known. The Macleay Chronicle reported:

The new Church, although a comfortable and commodious building, is by no means a thing of beauty in an architectural point of view; and, as the Bishop is a bit of an architect himself, he is not at all satisfied with the structure and expressed his dissatisfaction rather strongly. Among other unpalatable things, he said that the new building might make a very good produce store, and that, although people could worship God in a barn, if they were under the necessity of doing so, that was no reason for making a place of worship like a barn. The text too from which he preached seemed to reflect upon the people and their church, as the words were, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer,³⁶ but ye have made it a den of thieves'.

Turner later noted that the cast iron nave pillars at Tamworth were,

of shape as if they were intended to be used for a verandah, and possibly they were so

intended, and therefore have an extension at the top very like the renewed tail of a mutilated worm, and this wonderful fabric receives bytter and slaver from Sydney weeklies.³⁷

Its buttresses were 'dying of consumption - 9 inches wide and about the same projection, whilst there is no wall at all inside to push against the poor pitiable creatures'. Still, those on the Roman Catholic church at Tamworth were even more ridiculous, for there even the porch was adorned with large 'dropsical diagonal buttresses' to keep up 'a little tiny rafter roof'.³⁸

Local architects working in brick should learn from Street's Brick and Marble Architecture in Italy, he remarked. Even by 1888 the only Sydney architects who knew anything about ornamental brickwork were 'a Mr Kent' (i.e. Harry C. Kent, a passionate advocate of moulded surfaces in both brick and stone³⁹), and John Horbury Hunt - his favourite architect.

Horbury Hunt and Turner were temperamentally well matched. Both cared passionately about architecture, and neither believed in mincing their words when discussing the shortcomings of the local architectural scene. Horbury Hunt's stormy career has been fully documented in J.M. Freeland's Architect Extraordinary:

the Life and Work of John Horbury Hunt: 1838-1904

(Cassell Australia, 1970), and some of his buildings analysed in detail. However his relationships with his contemporaries and with his principal patron are less fully treated, and Freeland makes no attempt to see Hunt as more than a sui generis in the Sydney scene. Hunt's proclaimed uniqueness is less convincing when one considers him in relation to his English and American contemporaries - a comparison that Hunt's work can stand, and which he himself would surely have felt appropriate.

Although a Canadian by birth and a Yorkshireman by descent, Hunt received his architectural training in Boston: at first with Charles Sleeper, and then with Edward Clarke Cabot, of Cabot and Gilman, Boston's leading architectural firm in the late 1850s and early 1860s. In 1890 Hunt was elected President of the New South Wales Institute of Architects, at the same time that his old master Cabot was President of the Boston Society of Architects - a co-incidence Hunt was proud to publicly note.⁴⁰ Despite this training and his lifelong affection for Cabot, Hunt thought of himself as a 'Britisher', and his ecclesiastical architectural ideas were obtained more from England than from America, although his domestic buildings relate to the North American 'Shingled Style'.⁴¹

Hunt was an architectural bibliomaniac; his collection of over 4,000 books on architecture and the arts was largely obtained through his London booksellers, Batsford and Sotheran. Hunt's fine library was gradually dispersed at the end of his life when he was destitute (from 1902 until after his death in 1904), and no catalogue of the collection is known. However, from a single book of cuttings he compiled on furniture designs, now in the Public Library of N.S.W., it is certain that he received all the leading architectural periodicals: the scrapbook contains cuttings from the American Architect and Building News, the Architect, Architecture and Building, the British Architect, the Builder, the Building and Engineering Times, the Building News, the Building World, the Journal of Decorative Art, the Furniture Gazette, and the publications of the Architectural Illustration Society.⁴²

Hunt's architectural style exactly co-incided with Turner's requirements. It was a fortunate coincidence that Turner should have arrived in Australia in the same year that Hunt set up practice on his own (1869).

Hunt had already affected Blacket's office with his High Victorian ideas, as we have seen. Before he

began to work for Turner he designed two churches on his own which illustrate how committed he already was to the English High Victorian style. The first was a competition design for the Anglican Cathedral at Newcastle (1868), and the second was a little church in Kangaroo Valley for the Osborne family. Both were completely English High Victorian designs of the Early French 'muscular Gothic' sort, although the former was never built to this design, and the latter was required to be in the 'Norman' style.

The Newcastle Cathedral competition was won by Robert Speechly of the Melbourne firm of Terry and Speechly, for the judges decided that Hunt's design 'was too extensive for their means'.⁴³ Presumably because of Speechly's geographical remoteness, Hunt was nevertheless appointed architect to the cathedral. The Australian Churchman from December 1869 to January 1870 carried an advertisement from Hunt 'to the Lord Bishops, Clergy and Churchwardens of the Anglican Church', touting for business and stating that 'the new Cathedral Church at Newcastle - (designed by Mr. Speechly) has been placed in my hands to carry out'. By 1871 all preparations for the cathedral had come to a standstill and Hunt was writing that, when the cathedral was again proceeded with, it would be on

some modification of his own plans.⁴⁴ In the event, Newcastle Cathedral was finally built to a new Hunt design of about 1881 which will be discussed later.

Hunt's original design was published, and so plate 301
preserved for us.⁴⁵ The plan of twin towered west front with linking narthex, short broad transepts, apsidal east end with ambulatory, an encircling cloister, and attached octagonal chapter house, as well as the three tiered elevation with a large clerestory containing plate tracery, was a collection of English High Victorian Anglo-French motifs, plus special 'semi-speluncar' details suitable for a semi-tropical climate. Hunt acknowledged when his plan was published that the design was an amalgam of details from A.J.B. Beresford Hope's book, The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century (London, John Murray, 1861), and this source is very obvious.

The stone cloister running around the entire church was a 'Byzantine' notion, first incorporated into English Gothic Revival architecture by R.C. Carpenter plate 302
in his design for Colombo Cathedral of 1847. This had never been built, and Carpenter's design was not published until it appeared in Beresford Hope's book. However English architects had earlier adopted its features as the proper ecclesiological solution when designing a Gothic church for a hot

climate. Double walls of some sort, or else extremely thick ones, stone vaulted aisles and - when possible - nave, and small window openings identify an ecclesiologist's 'speluncar' church. Street enclosed the nave of his Memorial Church at Constantinople with cloisters, and Joseph Clarke surrounded the north, south and west sides of his thick double walls for Point de Galle, Ceylon, with an Early French 'verandah'.⁴⁶

plate 303

Bodley's Mission Church for Delhi of 1861 had a rather narrow aisle around the whole church. This was completely isolated from the interior except at the west, which formed a narthex. The Ecclesiologist thought this was the 'best design for a tropical church which has come under our notice'.⁴⁷ Bodley's design also had an apsidal chancel.

Burges's design for Brisbane Cathedral as represented in the Building News also had a chevet with ambulatory⁴⁸ - although the Ecclesiologist pointed out that this was a misreading of Burges's drawings which had 4 ft thick stone walls with triforium passage cut into them 'as almost to give the effect of a procession path.'⁴⁹ The engraving, rather than the reality, would no doubt have influenced Hunt, who added all these speluncar styles together and had both ambulatory and

cloisters in his plan. He also had a small 'space for monuments' between his chevet columns and inner cloister wall. It would be difficult to have conceived a more speluncar wall arrangement— particularly for the very moderate Newcastle climate.

Hunt took the idea of the octagonal chapter house from R.H. Carpenter and William Slater's Inverness Cathedral plan⁵⁰, and was able to place it at the east end because of his encircling cloisters.

Carpenter and Slater's subsequent Grafton Cathedral design - discussed in the Builder of April 24, 1869 (p. 320) but not illustrated - had its octagonal chapter house situated beyond the east end. From the dating both were clearly independent developments from the same source. So Colombo, Inverness, Brisbane, and Street's Constantinople design, had all provided something for Newcastle.

Hunt's extremely narrow aisles probably derived from an architect outside the ecclesiological circle - James Brooks - whose contemporary church designs were published in the building magazines.⁵¹ The Building News thought Hunt's 5 ft passage aisles were far too narrow, and could profitably have been dispensed with altogether - particularly if Hunt added a vaulted roof on the model of

Gerona or Albi. As it was, Hunt was only proposing to vault his aisles and cloisters in stone - a semi-speluncar solution. The Building News also commented that Hunt's detailing, which mainly consisted of patterns of lancets, large clerestory windows, and pinnacled buttresses imitating Street - needed to be improved.⁵²

Like his American contemporary, Henry Hobson Richardson, Hunt seems to have been most influenced by Burges and Street at this stage of his career, and his next church design confirmed this.

Despite the 'Norman' style of the building, the Anglican Church of the Good Shepherd, Kangaroo Valley (1870-72), ended up being a round-headed version of the Anglo-French High Victorian style.

plate 304

Large expanses of sheer unbuttressed brick wall were pierced with simple unmoulded lancets, and even the over-hanging eaves and projecting gables had been anticipated by Street in his 1851 Hobart design.

The wide abutting narthex was of the same type as Street's porch at Howsham, Yorkshire (1859-60), or Pearson's at Appleton-le-Moors, Yorkshire (1863-65), although in wood rather than stone. In this it particularly resembled Burges's Lowfield Heath church in Surrey of 1867, which had a brick and

plate 305

open wood porch. However I have not been able to discover how the knowledge of Lowfield Heath could have been transmitted to Australia: the church does not seem to have been illustrated in the building magazines. Still this narthex form with rose window over was a very popular contemporary theme, and its adaptation to wood and brick was a local necessity. plate 306

Hunt's irregular window patterning was also a High Victorian device, which had grown out of a new sort of interest in functional variety. Whereas the Early Victorians led by Pugin had believed in picturesque groupings of separately-roofed parts, the High Victorian style was characterised by solid unbroken forms, and detailing placed rationally rather than in a balanced way. Hunt's lancets in the north and south walls of Kangaroo Valley nave are all of the same size and shape but were differently grouped, while those in the chancel are smaller, higher, and externally linked with blank arcading. plate 307

The chancel of Kangaroo Valley was not separately roofed, but the division between nave and chancel is externally marked by a shingled bell-cote with a sharp pyramidal spire, and by the transept-like vestry and organ chamber on north and south.

Internally the continuous rhythm of the scissor-truss roof is interrupted at the division by a pierced wooden infill between two of the trusses, whose semi-hammer-beam bases sit on a pair of square brick piers. This combination replaces the chancel arch. It has a precedent in Pearson's far more lavish chancel separation at Scarborough, Yorkshire (1857-59), which adopts the same scheme.

plate 308

Kangaroo Valley was a smaller and simpler church than even Street's most modest efforts for Sir Tatton Sykes in Yorkshire, and its brick and wood combination - including simple pierced barge boarding - was as Australian as English. Still its architectural character is as fully High Victorian as Hunt's more ambitious cathedral design.

A comparable church to Kangaroo Valley which was basically a Late Victorian version of 'Street gone native' is the later St Barnabas's Chapel, Norfolk Island (1875-80), by the eminent English architect (Sir) Thomas G. ('Anglo') Jackson. St Barnabas's was built as a memorial to the martyred Bishop John Coleridge Patteson, whose fate had so captured the English public that there was plenty of money to spend on it. Its fittings, like the finely carved pews and altar

plate 309

with mother of pearl inlay, the Devonshire marble font and beautifully patterned floor (from Patteson's own county), and the good Morris windows designed by Burne-Jones, were far more lavish than Hunt could dream of having even for his cathedrals. Top English designers and craftsmen and dedicated Melanesian mission workers were also superior to the bush carpenters of Australia.

plate 311

Jackson stated that his 'old friend and colleague Robert Cordrington' (the head of the Melanesian Mission who had got Jackson the commission) 'says that it has no rival in that hemisphere',⁵³ and one would certainly not want to propose Kangaroo Valley for the role. Jackson's multi-coloured stone building was more graceful than Hunt's churches ever were, and much more sophisticated and assured.⁵⁴ Where Hunt's roof is severely triangular and his walls unrelievedly plain, Jackson's roof curves gently to its wide overhanging eaves, and the buttresses tucked under them provide a subtle patterning of light and shade. Jackson's little cusped lancets with massive stone reveals, internally framed by colonnettes and set behind a floor to ceiling decorative screen, are more sumptuous and appealing than Hunt's brick slits. This internal wooden screen was not simply aesthetic, but was tied to the roof to help hold

plate 310

plate 312

it on in case of hurricanes, and the low heavy walls had (rather unnecessarily) taken earthquakes into account.⁵⁵

Both churches still employed the same architectural language and faced the same sort of problems of colonial adaptation. Jackson's building is certainly more lavish, beautiful and fluent than Hunt's:⁵⁶ and Late, rather than High, Victorian for these very attributes. Hunt's simple forms and sheer planes of meticulous brickwork exhibit an architectural personality that was attempting to reconcile English ecclesiastical forms with Australian conditions - on quite a different level to the Rev. Boodle at Merriwa in the 1850s.

Hunt's first design, for Newcastle Cathedral, had merely accepted the ecclesiological solution for semi-tropical colonial conditions. It was lavishly planned and detailed, difficult to build, and unnecessarily defensive against the heat. Like its English progenitors, it had no hope of ever being erected. Hunt's subsequent churches were more aware of local realities, and deserve a separate chapter.

Chapter 11 : HORBURY HUNT

Even before Horbury Hunt had begun work on Kangaroo Valley Church, Turner asked him for sketches for two cathedrals for his twin diocese. Grafton showed no interest in its prospective building, so the project was temporarily abandoned while Hunt concentrated on Armidale. The Cathedral for Armidale was to be only parish church size, for the diocese was not wealthy enough to have any of Sydney's ambition to reflect English mediaeval glories. In any case Turner thought 'a neat snug church' better adapted to colonial conditions¹ than the large archeological Gothic cathedral designed by Carpenter and Slater that his predecessor, Bishop Sawyer, had proposed erecting. Turner later stated:

I have not asked our Architect to reproduce in any way the kind of building that we call a Cathedral in England ... He has studied carefully to give the Church a certain stateliness of character, and therein has succeeded admirably. There is nothing in it fairly chargeable with extravagance, but it is real, honest and true, and shows what may be done with a material ²too little regarded, viz. common brick.

In this case it seems to have been Turner who suggested the use of brick to Hunt, although his idea was to have it stone banded. Writing to Hunt in 1869 Turner stated:

The material may be either red brick, with a very limited use of stone brought up in

courses at intervals with a band here and there of three courses or say four of brickwork or varied otherwise with a course of freestone.

He also suggested the style, and made it clear that he would not be a passive client:

In style we must I fear adopt the early English ... You will not object I presume to my revising your sketches. I was brought up to your profession in England in two of the first offices in London.

Hunt prepared two designs which were exhibited to the Church Committee in June 1871, and one of them was accepted, but as the cost was too high, Turner proposed a joint revision to bring it within the £4,000 limit. This first design by Hunt is said to have been in stone and in the manner of Denman Church (see below), with overhanging gables, a heavy combination hammer and scissor beam roof, and more complex belfry with broken outline.⁴ It clearly derived far more from Burges or Street than the final design. The plans of this revised design 'prepared by Hunt and the Bishop conjointly' were accepted in the same year and sent out for tender.⁵ All the furnishings of the Cathedral were to be Turner's sole responsibility.

The joint design was originally much more powerful **plate 313** than the present building, as well as a great contrast to the description of Hunt's first sketch. Financial limitations led to 'temporarily'

abandoning the massive crossing tower, the chancel aisle, and two bays of the chancel. These are still awaiting completion, while the chapter house was not built until 1910 and the tower not until 1938. By then the local clay for the original 'Armidale blue' bricks had been exhausted, and the replacement was a much deader tone and texture. Because of an unstable ironstone belt of land, the tower was built a few yards to the left of Hunt's site, but otherwise no attempt was made to change the 1871 design.

St Peter's Cathedral, Armidale, is the most 'rogueish' of all Hunt's buildings, both ecclesiastical, public and domestic. It is hard to believe that its perversities were only due to Turner, but it was a great change from Hunt's previous (and subsequent) Anglo-French style. Although the massive central tower suggests the slightly later tower of H.H. Richardson's Holy Trinity Church, Boston, the rest of Armidale appears very English, and heavy central towers were a common enough feature of High Victorian church designs for this to have come from there too. Motifs like the perverse butress leg cocked over the porch door, the scissor truss roof cutting right across the rose window in the west gable and into the apex of the chancel arch, and the multiple

plate 314

variations of colour and patterning in the brickwork are very reminiscent of the work of William White - particularly his church of St Saviour, Aberdeen Park, Islington (1859), illustrated in the Builder in 1867.⁶

plate 315

White's Aberdeen Park church also has a chancel aisle and a heavy crossing tower, while George Truefitt's Catholic Apostolic Church, Islington - illustrated in the Builder in 1858⁷ - has flying buttresses over the west porch and another sitting in front of a side door in a comparable, although more severe, manner to Armidale's. Yet despite a similar passion for coloured and moulded bricks and for surprises in detailing, Armidale was very different from churches by William White and the English polychrome school. The latter are high, narrow, rich, and self-consciously archeological, while Hunt is exactly the reverse. His flush lancets and large expanses of plain wall are as simple as James Brooks's, but again not at all similar in effect. Compared with Brooks, Hunt's clusters of lancets are dainty, and at the end of every expanse of plain wall there is an eruption of moulded or contrasting brick.

Perhaps the oddest effect of the church comes from its broad and low proportions. The nave is

very wide and without aisles, although the transept is disguised by arcading to appear part of an aisle, and makes the building seem even broader. Then behind the wide chancel arch - which seems to have exploded into the roof - is a very wide (and if built as designed, exceptionally long) straight chancel. A straggling long and broad straight-ended church is English rather than French. Above these low walls broods a heavy roof whose members are as tightly spaced as those in a mediaeval Norwegian church. This ties Armidale even more to the ground, and gives the impression of being a roof from some other building that has been dropped on to this one and does not fit very well.

Other motifs surprise one with their originality (or strained whimsicality - depending on one's point of view). Hunt complicated the flat planar surfaces and simple unbroken lines of his own approved English Victorian church type, for the exterior walls are interrupted with plenty of buttresses, string courses, and rows of moulded brickwork. The west front is a clever essay in multiple surface planes; with three planes to the west window, and an ambiguous arcading on each side of the west door where the recessed niches are partially contradicted by being cut with a continuous string course. There are aggressively

obvious New England granite keystones to the heads of the arches on the west front (the side windows have normal High Victorian vertical jointing), as if to show that this architect can afford to break rules that other men have yet to master.

Turner's furnishings for the cathedral were mostly designed by him and made in England. They included stained glass windows by Lavers, Barraud and Westlake (the east window designed by Turner dates from 1891, and the nave windows from after 1874 to the early 1880s⁸), the pews, and the carpet of floor tiles - made by Godwin of Lugwardine, Herefordshire, who specialised in copies of mediaeval tiles. Turner's design for laying the tiles is still extant at the cathedral. He also designed the pulpit and lectern, and the low communion rails - by Hart, Son, Peard and Company, London⁹ - set above a granite base.

It seems fair to conclude that the Cathedral was the joint production of both men, although Hunt alone was cited as architect at the opening of the cathedral in 1875.¹⁰ The interest in brick colour and patterning and the eccentricity of Armidale would seem to have been initially contributed by Turner, although Hunt no doubt made

more of these than the Bishop would ever have done on his own.

Hunt's next five church commissions after Armidale were not from Turner, and he reverted to stone archeological Gothic of a straight Anglo-French High Victorian sort. The first of these commissions came from Canon White, incumbent of Scott's Muswellbrook Church which Hunt had built. White asked Hunt to build a church at nearby Denman in 1871. St Paul's Murrurundi (1871-75), and St James's Jerry's Plains (1874-79) were for the Newcastle diocese, and St Andrew's Nowra (1873-75) was for the Presbyterians. St James's Morpeth (1875), was also in Newcastle diocese, but this was only the replacement of the nave between Mr Close's Church Act tower and Blacket's Early Victorian chancel, and Hunt had no choice but stone archeological Gothic. He provided a stick-
like hammer-beam roof, presumably on the model of March, Cambridgeshire,¹¹ over normal E.E. walls. plate 317

St Matthias's, Denman (1872-75) was a pleasant
stone version of Hunt's lancet style. It has large
expanses of unbuttressed wall (the only buttresses
form a strong decorative feature at the west end),
simple unmoulded window openings, and plate tracery.
The east end was intended to have an apse, although plate 318

it was never built, and the original shingled roof has now been replaced with tiles, thereby removing the cresting that Hunt used to distinguish nave and chancel. The internal roof is a heavier version of Kangaroo Valley, including the pierced infill between nave and chancel, and the church also has the same sort of external overhanging eaves.

plate 319

Denman's window patterning was also varied like Kangaroo Valley's. Its only rogueish motifs are the way an external truss cuts across the front of the west gable and bell-cote, and external scissor trusses support the overhanging roof of the porch and east end.

plate 320

Nowra, Murrurundi, and Jerry's Plains are also lancet Gothic with a slight French influence, although ranging from dull to exhuberant. Murrurundi is an uninventive associational Gothic building, with buttresses, hood-moulds, string courses, and a stunted tower (modified from Hunt's design by F.C. Castleden in 1913); while Jerry's Plains is chunky, rough, and broad, with irregular window patterns, a chancel arch that bursts outside the church to form a buttress and bell-cote¹², and a characteristically complicated thin wooden roof combining a scissor truss with collar, arched braces, and a hammer beam. Jerry's Plains also has a good

plate 321

plate 322

Street-like interior, with trumpet corbels to the chancel arch, and a low stone screen. Its beautiful internal stonework is also characteristically High Victorian, and the church was a worthy climax in a material Hunt was to abandon for his next ten years of church building.

From 1874 until 1884 all Hunt's churches were in brick, and these included the design of two more cathedrals - Grafton and Newcastle - as well as nine parish churches and a pro-cathedral.¹³ The brick parish churches continue and expand Hunt's personal High Victorian style with varying success. They were always in a lancet Gothic style, with continuous roof-line over nave and chancel marked externally by a buttress, bell-cote or change in fenestration, and they all have complicated wooden roofs. The interiors are mostly furnished with low chancel screens, and a chancel arch or some more subtle distinction between the deep chancel area and the nave. Hunt never believed in painted and plastered interiors and intended them to be of patterned brick too, although several have now been altered. His stained glass was normally by Lyon and Cottier. The best of these parish churches are St Augustine's at Inverell (1877-78) for Turner; St John's at Branxton (1878-81) for Newcastle diocese; and the Osborne Memorial Chapel of St Luke at Dapto, near Wollongong (1880-82), for the Osborne family.

Inverell Church was the most impressive of the group plate 324
of simple brick churches that Hunt built for Turner, belonging to the same type as Barraba, Bundarra, and Ollera. It has a long five bay nave and a large chancel. (The west porch is an addition of the 1930s.) The chancel roof is a simple scissor truss, but the nave has a combined hammer-beam and decorative scissor truss, and there are six sets of beams to each bay to provide Hunt's favourite tight rhythm.

The window pattern of Inverell is exceptionally complicated, although created entirely with lancets, except for the east and west ends which have, respectively, seven lancets with rose, and a three-light window with plate tracery. The chancel has six small high lancets set in groups of four and two on the north side, and a single larger lancet on the south; while the lancet pattern of the north side of the nave reads - porch, 3,2,2,2 - and on the south - 4,2 singles, 3, 2 singles, vestry. So Hunt has made no attempt here to match north and south sides of the church even when varying each bay, as he usually did on his earlier churches. Bishop Turner thought the custom of matching north and south windows a silly one, and stated that he would like to see more light on the south side of the church and less on the sunny north.¹⁴ Hunt certainly did not always follow this recommendation, but where he did provide extra lancets they were always on the south.

Although fully furnished with Lyon and Cottier glass there is not much other decoration in Inverell, and the brick interior and simple fittings designed by Hunt are really rather stark, The parishioners and the press apparently did not like Inverell at all, but Hunt had one faithful admirer who anonymously came to his defence. The voice is unmistakeable:

It may take time to persuade those who look at show as most important, that solid unconcealed brickwork is infinitely preferable, especially in GOD's house to lying cement or even to a consumptive spire-ling, but magna est veritas and pivalebit and Mr J. Horbury Hunt of 91 Pitt-street, Sydney, the Architect of the Church may feel sure, that the knowledge of Church Architecture which makes its mark even in Nonconformist places of worship at home and which has there for nearly thirty years been preaching truth in art, will one day be felt by all in Inverell, N.S.W.

Turner had to write a good deal in defence of Hunt's work, for it was never very popular in N.S.W.

St John's Branxton (1871-84) is a more elaborate Hunt brick church, and one of the few that were ever completely realized. Its additional features were an apsidal east end, and a High Victorian diagonal tower on the north side of the west end. It has since been rendered and lined out internally, gained a porch on the south and west, and had its roof and spire shingles replaced with heavy red tiles and aluminium sheeting. Nevertheless it still gives a fair external impression of a Hunt church, and the internal roof - which is a heavy closely-spaced

plate 325

plate 326

arched brace and collar-beam combination - is very powerful. The window patterns have Hunt's usual irregularity, and, like Inverell, the north and south fenestration does not match. There is also one more lancet on the south than on the north. The continuous curve of the chancel is interrupted by an east gabled extension, containing the only windows at that end of the building apart from a small north lancet beside the vestry. Hunt liked his chancels to be rather dark and primarily lit from the east.

Hunt's equivalent in size and style to Edward Gell's Catholic Cathedral at Orange was the Osborne Memorial Chapel at Dapto (designed 1879: built 1880-82).

plate 327

Dapto was Hunt's largest and most elaborate parish church, and it aroused very violent responses. The incumbent, the Rev. J. Stack, decided to supervise the erection of the building himself, and when the church was formally opened burst out in public with a speech attacking architects:

he did not know why such a race was sent upon earth at all, except it was for this - that men who had anything to do with them should have their patience severely tried.

Hunt pasted the report of this speech into his cutting book with the note: 'the words of a fool - who had as much to do with the work as a child.'¹⁶

Local people did not like the church much from an architectural point of view either. The local

newspaper reporter found the unrelieved use of brick 'stiff and cheerless', and thought the 'subdued if not inadequate light' afforded by the narrow lancets gave almost a 'cavern coldness'.

In regard to strength, the building possesses almost that of a fortress; and the seats, especially, are perhaps the best in the district in every respect

- he complimented, in a most equivocal way.¹⁷ But the single narrow door to the church could only have been a mistake, he ventured - although the building was certainly a credit to the Osborne family.

Bishop Turner was obliged to point out that all the defects the Illawarra Mercury reporter had noted were exactly what people of taste considered strengths, and these very points showed 'the architect's better knowledge of the true principles and practice of architecture'. The Osborne Memorial Church, he stated, was 'one of the best churches, if not the best church (architecturally speaking) in the diocese of Sydney.'¹⁸ Still, the fact remains, that neither muscular Christianity nor brick rogueishness in architecture was ever thought pretty or loveable.

Dapto Church has all Hunt's characteristic features: a tightly spaced scissor-truss roof cut with a collar like Armidale, irregular patterns of lancets, moulded brick string courses running under and over windows right round the church, and a continuous roofline -

the nave and chancel being defined externally by different fenestration and buttress patterns.

It is a square-ended church with plate tracery in the east window, and some terra-cotta tiles at the level of the string course. The west tower is of more severely sliced form than Gell's notched, chamfered, and polychromed one at Orange. Hunt's is still in the Anglo-French High Victorian style: for instance, the top of the tower and the pyramidal spire is very similar in form to Street's at Fimber in Yorkshire (1871). Below the bell stage the west buttresses extend out from the north and south walls of the tower to embrace three stages of multiple planes of brickwork. There is a little polychromy in the bell-stage but, as usual, Hunt obtained his major effects with ornamental brickwork.

The interior of Dapto is dominated by the roof which plate 328 - like Armidale - cuts into the apex of the east window arch. The base of the tower serves as a baptistery as it sometimes did in a Pearson or Street church, and there is a low chancel arch - like a Street one in brick. But, although Hunt had absorbed many of his motifs from the English school, the way he combines them in unrelieved brick is very much his own. Even the floor was paved with bricks. The effect is very striking to a generation who grew up with Brutalism, but hard to reconcile with Victorian taste.

Dapto was the peak, and almost the conclusion, of Hunt's High Victorian brick style. He was subsequently only to design St Peter's Hamilton (1884-85) and the two Newcastle cathedrals in brick, and they were different. Hamilton was given a very wide pointed wooden-paned window in the vestry, a broad aisled interior, and a smooth cylindrical brick belfry emerging through the roof at the junction of nave and chancel. The whole is an attempt by Hunt to introduce 'Queen Anne' motifs into his church architecture. Hamilton still has Hunt's normal lancets in the nave, so his Queen Anne is well mixed with Early English. This sort of mixture of Georgian vernacular and Gothic details in England is associated with Philip Webb, but Hunt only shares the theory with Webb and not the results. plate 329

The stylistic mixture was even more pronounced at Newcastle Pro-Cathedral (1883-84). Its 'ponderous, barn-like appearance'¹⁹ was so detested that the architect was dismissed before the interior was completed. This was decorated by a local German immigrant architect, Frederick B. Menkens,²⁰ who added plenty of paint and gilding and archeological Gothic furnishings. These additions were considered to have added 'some evidence of refinement and ecclesiastical taste' to Hunt's barn, and it was concluded that 'the interior compensates in a great plate 330

plate 331

measure for the outside'.²¹ The general public had still not accepted Hunt's High Victorian style; they were certainly not ready for adaptations from a vernacular Queen Anne.

The mixture still looks the antithesis of the Picturesque. Hunt's Early English style of groups of lancets, single stepped brick buttresses, string courses and simple plate tracery are combined with Late Victorian details like shingled clerestory walls, wooden mullioned and transomed domestic windows in clerestory and porch, a 'Stick Style' interior arcade, and a low pitched roof to nave and abutting aisles. (The roof is now iron, and the original western bell-cote has been removed.) Hunt's American 'Queen Anne' domestic buildings were far less stark; two subsequent weatherboard churches - which were also more American looking - had more charm.

After these last two brick church buildings Hunt abandoned the material for ecclesiastical purposes. His church designs from 1885 were in the more fashionable Arts and Crafts materials of rock-faced stone (All Saints, Hunters Hill) or weatherboard. The latter include St Edmund's Catholic Church - now St Mary's Star of the Sea - Bodalla (1886-87); St Augustine's Church of England, Neutral Bay (1887: demolished); St Andrew's Church of England, Tingha

(1889); and St Cyprian's Church of England, Narrabri (plans 1883: erected 1892-93).

All Saints Hunters Hill (chancel and four bays of nave 1884-88: narthex and extra bay to nave 1938: tower and spire never built) is really another Hunt stone Early English church, although heavier and more formal than his earlier ones. The nave windows have identical groups of three lancets gathered under a simple oculus and pointed head, while east and west windows enlarge this theme with cusped plate tracery. The entrance and all the window surrounds are of smooth ashlar set flush in the rock-faced stone body, and there is a tiled overhanging gabled roof. Hunt was so adamant about the roof that he secretly defied the building committee, who had specified lead.²² It seems a less successful church than his more modest efforts at Bodalla and Narrabri; still too much an unresolved conflict between his early style and a desire to look rural but elegant in a Late Victorian manner.

The first and best of Hunt's weatherboard church designs was for Narrabri, and it seems that Turner had a hand in Hunt's successful switch to wood. On August 2, 1882 Turner gave local churchmen at Narrabri a lecture,

upon the general style of church architecture in this colony and at home, and illustrated his

remarks upon the blackboard ...

With regard to the church to be built there, the Bishop said that a really good, plain church, to accommodate 200 persons, could be built for £1,500, and that Mr. Horbury Hunt was the man to do it well - so that it would be at the same time a monument of durability, and something to please the eye.²³

Hunt's design of 1883²⁴ - for a combination of weatherboard and shingles was satisfactory in both respects. Its shingled gables referred back to the Queen Anne domestic buildings Hunt had been building ever since his own home, Cranbrook Cottage at Rose Bay, of c.1873-1875,²⁵ but had not previously been thought appropriate for churches.

Hunt's knowledge and appreciation of wood derived from America, and was learned there before he migrated, although variations and innovations must have been absorbed later through the building journals. Hunt believed in keeping up to date, and was the first architect to introduce this 'Shingle Style' into Australian architecture. It became very popular in N.S.W. for domestic buildings in the 1890s and after, but was never very important for churches.

At Narrabri the weather-boards are used in two directions, so that vertical boarding forms a sort of rusticated basement level below the windows. These are set in a continuous rectangular body which is diagonally boarded. Most of them have small-paned lancet windows with wooden Y tracery, but the west

plate 333

window tracery is a deliberate conceit of putting lancets on lancets to give a Perpendicular Gothic effect. Such tracery seems to be a deliberate echo of Australia's 'vernacular' church style of the 1830s - a sophisticated parody of Church Act Gothic. The sunflower pattern in the shingles of the porch plate 334 was a very up to date Arts and Crafts motif, and the traditional materials of weatherboard and roof shingles could hardly have been used in a less bucolic manner.

Bodalla Church is far simpler than Narrabri, and Hunt plate 335 did not attempt any elaborations of style or material. The whole church was simply hung with shingles (the roof shingles are now replaced with galvanised iron), and the cusping of the barge boarding is of the common Australian Stick School type. The windows are all square-headed diamond panes, the west window being stepped at the centre to suggest a Tudor shape - like that on Mary's Cathedral School of 1845. According to Freeland, family tradition states that Mrs Mort, the benefactor of the church, insisted that the 'form' of Bodalla should be based on Bruges Cathedral.²⁶ The mind boggles at the thought of Hunt attempting to justify his design in such terms. Perhaps Mrs Mort had some convent chapel in Bruges in mind: patrons were really not as silly as all that.

Neutral Bay Church was virtually a duplicate to

Bodalla according to Freeland.²⁷ Such stylistic primitivism coupled with an asymmetrical roofline and sharp conical bell-cote is actually very sophisticated for cheap wooden churches, and it is amusing to note that Hunt incorporates references to an Australian 'vernacular' style in these wooden buildings. The 1880s were notable for the beginnings of nationalism in the arts - especially in painting (e.g. Tom Roberts and the Heidelberg School). Hunt must have wanted to contribute his mite to the movement.

Hunt's two cathedral buildings, which we have not yet considered were the antithesis of these wooden churches. Both were designed in Hunt's brick period, although Grafton was not completed until 1937 (minus tower and chapter house), and Newcastle is still in a very incomplete state, having deviated from Hunt's design after his dismissal in 1895. (The foundation stone for the 1890 extension to the cathedral bore the cynical statement: 'the architect, Mr. Horbury Hunt, would be very pleased in being instrumental in raising this building'.²⁸)

Christ Church Cathedral, Grafton (1874-84), is a rather disappointing Hunt exterior, except for its impressive giant niche at the west end. The unvarying triple lancets in clerestory and aisles and the multiple buttresses, seem rather monotonous. Still,

the clerestory buttresses slide along the aisle roof to link up with those on the aisle, and the external appearance of the windows must have been very much more interesting when all the aisle ones were filled with double wooden louvres. The inside louvre must have given a double plane effect like the series in the present west gable, while the outside ones would have added a very functional variety to the basic brick walls.

A long anonymous review of the church, which was clearly by Turner, appeared in the Australian Churchman of July 1884, and was duly pasted by Hunt into his cutting book, with occasional red underlinings. It especially drew attention to the louvred aisle windows:

That is a totally new feature in these colonies, and deserves special notice as indicating on the part of the architect of the church, and the building committee, a sense of the easy application of the principles of Medieval Architecture to the necessities of any climate, and to make use of such a necessity to be a salient feature in the fabric.²⁹

Hunt underlined the entire passage; but the idea was not quite as original as Turner thought. An English architect, Frederick Rogers, had previously designed the church of St John the Baptist, Yengarie, Maryport, Queensland, with external and internal wooden louvres to its nave lancets, and his design was illustrated in the Building News in 1873.³⁰ This is very likely to have been Hunt's source for Grafton. Rogers's church was more progressive than Hunt's in other ways too. It had far more exaggerated overhanging eaves than Hunt ever used,

plate 338

and they form a sort of verandah around the church. Its planning was more experimental, and so were its materials of concrete with stone dressings. Grafton was still High, rather than Late, Victorian, and Hunt never attempted any sort of 'quaint' style like the English Arts and Crafts architects.

In his review of Grafton Cathedral Turner went on to state:

The fabric must not be, and would not be, criticised unfavourably by competent critics, if it be borne in mind that ... real church architects do not study to make great show outside, but considering the object of a House of God in its highest relations, ³ to make the effect of the interior the best.

And the interior of Grafton is certainly austerely plate 339
splendid. The High Victorian brick piers dividing the nave from the narrow passage aisles continue the length of the church on the north side and divide the chancel from a side chapel (originally the organ chamber). Combined with the triple clerestory they give a strong eastward rhythm to the great areas of sheer wall. The patterned brick chancel arch is a similarly masterly contrast to the plain wall, and Hunt's nave roof sits over the church like a praying mantis, extending its legs down the walls. Turner also pointed out the advantages of the passage aisles, high silled windows, and the symbolism of a three or five light window at the east end of a church (Grafton had five lancets). This east window, like many of Hunt's churches, had glass by Lyons, Wells and Cottier. This one is a

late example of the firm's work, dating from after 1893, and reputedly is a replica of that for the window of Hunt's church at Hunters Hill.

Newcastle Cathedral was re-designed about 1881, although the first stage of building did not begin until 1885. Hunt's new design was very different from his elaborate Early French effort. The plan became plate 340 wider, larger, and more English looking, with a straight-ended chancel - although the nave walls were still supported with a line of large flying buttresses, and the piers were square brick Anglo-French ones. The great crossing tower of the cathedral still remains to be built, as do the upper stages of the transepts.

Hunt apparently took the advice of the Building News to look to Gerona and Albi, and to modify the details of the original building. He intended to vault the nave in a white New Zealand stone barrel vault³² - presumably on the model of Albi - but this was never carried out. Only the aisles are vaulted in stone according to his plans. The exterior of the plate 341 Cathedral is - as Basil Clarke pointed out - extremely impressive³³; its enormous size and magnificent position give it a very fortified appearance, which - despite the flying buttresses-is also reminiscent of Albi.

Hunt did not dispense with the passage aisles of his first design, but he widened them to 7 ft - the size the Building News had recommended as minimal, on the precedent of Brook's St Columba's, Kingsland Road, London.³⁴ The twin west towers of the original design were abandoned for turrets, and the enclosing cloisters and eastern chapter house were removed. There is still a continuous ambulatory around the building. plate 342

The contrasting dark brick exterior and pale interior of Newcastle, the vaulted aisles and ambulatory, and the semi-fortified appearance of the whole remind one of J.L. Pearson's St Augustine's Kilburn (1870-80). But the major and obvious influence in the revised interior elevation was Edmund E. Scott's St Bartholomew's, Brighton, - a print of which Hunt could have seen in the Builder in 1875.³⁵ Hunt's square piers and his original flat brick vaulting shafts (since replaced with slim moulded stone ones) were particularly like Barry's. plate 344

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plate 343

The east end of Newcastle was modified in execution by the local architect F.G. Castleden, so Hunt may still have intended an apsidal east end. The rest of the church also was considerably modified too, and the unfinished appearance of the exterior makes it hard to judge. The only elevation drawing I know of, - presumably by Castleden - shows a fussy crossing tower (which must also have been modified from Hunt's plate 345

original), and one bay incorrectly missing from the nave.³⁶

Most of the glass in the cathedral is by the firm of C.E. Kempe: some marked solely with Kempe's wheat-sheaf, and some with the additional tower of his later partner, W.E. Tower. A circular window in the north transept is a copy of a Burne-Jones window for Easthampstead Church, Berkshire (1876), executed by Watts in 1906.³⁷ (There is a Burne-Jones window, executed by Morris and Company, in Hunt's Hunters Hill church.)

Hunt's last ecclesiastical commission was the Chapel for the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Rose Bay in Sydney (designed 1896: built 1897-1900). It has a simple Early English ashlar exterior matching Hunt's earlier convent buildings, but the interior is particularly impressive because of the uninterrupted stone vaulted roof. The unbroken pointed barrel vault with moulded stone vaulting arches dying into the severe stone walls was claimed to be the first vaulted stone roof in a New South Wales church.³⁸ plate 346

Hunt's characteristic marble chancel screen (now removed) linked two large punched sculpture canopies and thus defined the chancel area. Only these and the carved marble reredos were by Hunt. The rest of the furnishings came from suppressed French convents

in Paris and Angouleme after 1905. The east window was by Hardmans.³⁹

Hunt was by far the most interesting church architect to have appeared on the Australian scene in the nineteenth century. It is difficult to know how much influence Turner had on his architectural style, although clear that whatever he may have assimilated from Turner he soon made his own. The High Victorian architecture of England was by far the greatest influence on him.

Turner did design a few churches on his own in Australia, but these were only tiny cheap buildings for parishes that had no way of affording an architect, and were clearly provided only 'for fear of finding something worse'. Two churches of 1891 were attributed to the Bishop by the Anglican Australian Guardian: Boggabri ('with some little alteration in the details'), and Moree (of wood).⁴⁰ Turner also designed Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill, in the diocese of Sydney, built 1885-86.⁴¹ The date of the first two explains why Turner ignored his own advice about always employing a professional architect regardless of the amount of architectural expertise one may have.⁴² By 1891 N.S.W. was feeling the effects of the depression, and very little church building of any kind could be attempted. Presumably the design for Sydney was provided earlier because of the lamentable architectural taste

of that diocese.

Dulwich Hill is the only one of the little Turner churches I know, for it still exists as the parish hall opposite Burcham Clamp's 1915 brick and stone Perpendicular Edwardian replacement. It was a plain brick building 70 ft by 27 ft with apsidal sanctuary and a three bay nave of twin lancet windows. (Two bays were added to the west end in 1900.) The interior was rendered in imitation of stone up to sill level and then left plain (now painted), and the windows originally had internal hood-moulds. A continuous hood links the chancel lancets, dying into the springers of a collar beam roof. All the lancets are very small and set very high in the prescribed Tudor manner.

Dulwich Hill was a suitable Turner church in fact as well as theory, but only of the most rudimentary sort. As Turner's major known work on Australian soil it offers little scope to judge his architectural expertise. It certainly lacks both the inventiveness and craftsman's approach to his materials that Hunt's work always showed, but it would certainly not have been built by Turner and the design may well have been modified in execution.

Hunt's architectural style had a good deal of influence on church building in the Newcastle and New England districts, but his followers - even including the best

of them, F.G. Castleden of Newcastle - were an undistinguished lot, and just served up Hunt and water until well into the twentieth century, although Castleden's later partner, Frederick B. Menkens, learned from Hunt too, and served it up with good German spirit of a Queen Anne vintage. Hunt had some influence in the Sydney scene and echoes of his brick style can be seen in the work of Arthur Blackett, Harry C. Kent, George Sydney Jones, and John Barlow. But generally architects were more arrogant there, and continued to provide showy nonconformist Gothic effects, over-large lancet Gothic boxes with thin wooden roofs and arcades, or a little rudimentary Queen Anne brick, until the end of the 1880s. By the time Hunt died in 1904 he was destitute and almost forgotten.

So, although this thesis ends at 1888, it nevertheless concludes at the end of Australia's High Victorian style. Sulman was just coming on to the scene with his Late Victorian churches, and a few Late Victorian designs have been mentioned. The only significant ones came from England (Bodley, Jackson, and Rogers). Alexander Jolly was to provide a good example of an Arts and Crafts ecclesiastical style in N.S.W. at St Bartholomew's, Alstonville, but this dates from 1912, and the best examples of this fashion surprisingly turn up in Queensland. A thesis that traces stylistic development must end rather arbitrarily if it is to stop anywhere before the present day. Hunt's career at least provides a climax.

CONCLUSION

Australia's earliest churches were naturally very simple, but provided a greater variety than was ever seen again once standard period styles emerged in the country. Some attempt to reproduce a normal rural Georgian church can be discovered in the colony's first two permanent churches at Sydney and Parramatta, and this attained competent expression in the work of Francis Greenway. Otherwise individual designs ranged from the Rev. Johnson's 'temporary place of worship', to Governor King's 'Saxon' additions at St Phillip's, Mrs Macquarie's Reculver towers, the Scottish T-plan harled church of Newcastle, and the Gothick follies of Father Therry. Such variety was the result of amateur taste determining design without any commonly accepted pattern church for this sort of situation. Odd engravings, like one from the Gentleman's Magazine, and memories of home seem to have been all that these arbiters of colonial ecclesiastical taste had to guide them.

With the passing of Governor Bourke's Church Act in 1836, church building became more standardised in scale and appearance. 'Architects' had to be employed to provide plans, specifications, and estimates, in order to qualify for government

grants. As these professionals were generally drawn from immigrant tradesmen, their ecclesiastical designs were old-fashioned and rudimentary. England did still not provide much in the way of pattern books for simple churches, and the sort of designs that did exist (like Pocock's, Hamilton's and Anderson's) were not much better than local expertise. Any variations or improvements on the norm were mainly due to the clergy, who were more responsible for the existence and appearance of a church than the local architect was. However they needed to have English contacts and a fair architectural knowledge to escape the artisan box.

The emergence of standard denominational types during this second phase was largely a reflection of the tastes and expertise of Broughton, Polding, and Dr Lang. The stylistic language of these three denominations was generally the same form of Pidgin Gothic, although the accent varied from rural English to Rickmanesque or Scottish vernacular. The nonconformist minority spoke Pig Latin or Greek, and the Jews tried Egyptian.

Early Victorian associational Gothic was only established in the colony in the second half of the 1840s when the combination of the building magazines, English involvement in design (Pugin and various

English church building societies), a competent local architect (Blackett), and plenty of Gothic pattern books, led to the emulation of mediaeval style parish churches. The conviction of English superiority in all things was expressed in an enthusiasm for English imported iron churches, for individual designs by English architects (not often realized), English model plans, and in general local imitation. The mediaeval Gothic fashion affected everyone except the Baptists and some Congregationalists, and lasted well into the 1860s. With an occasional exception, it was dead by the early 1870s.

The building magazines had been a major factor in introducing the Early Victorian church, but they were even more responsible for its death. A desire to build in 'Modern Gothic' led to standard church forms which owed only their stylistic labels to the English mediaeval tradition. Most rural 'Early English' boxes continued to be modifications of a type that had existed in the colony since the 1830s, but town churches followed contemporary English types for that denomination, whether Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, or Congregational.

Novel motifs like structural polychrome,

'Rundbogenstil', Italianate or French detailing, were introduced when that fashion had reached its English peak. They were usually not adopted wholeheartedly, but only used as a decorative overlay on a basic local form. The best of the later Victorian Architects was John Horbury Hunt, who modified the English High Victorian Gothic style to suit local formulae and abilities, while thoroughly understanding its real nature as well as its external features. With the help of his bishop, he also designed a splendid High Victorian Gothic cathedral at Armidale.

The thesis has dealt with the interrelationship of patrons, English sources, and architects, throughout the century. At first patrons dominated the ecclesiastical scene; then from c.1840 to c.1870 English patterns were top of the trilogy.

Architects only emerged as the determinants of church design from the end of the 1860s. Greenway may be allowed as an early exception, but Blacket was the pattern churchman par excellence, and becomes less interesting from the mid 1860s when he was no longer trying to reproduce some exact English ideal. Hunt was the best of the later independent architects, but his contemporaries were just as assertive of their own individuality. Hilly, Houson, Munro and Kemp differ from Blacket

in the 1850s and 1860s because they fall short of the same goal: but Wardell, Gell, Rowe, and the later Blacket, all have their own distinct ecclesiastical styles.

The artistic aims of architects altered as the aesthetic criteria for a church changed. Georgian critical standards were basically functional and mathematical. A successful local church naturally looked like an English one because its proportions, detailing and fittings drew on common period standards and met the same needs. Greenway was exceptional only because he was so much better at realizing these standards than his predecessors and followers. It was really amateurs like Mrs Macquarie or Father Therry who were the Georgian rogues, for their aesthetic aims were not those of a professional Georgian architect but simply personal whims.

Subsequent 'Church Act' churches of c.1836-46 only attempted to look English in their detailing. Pinnacles, buttresses and pointed windows, were reminders of England, but the 1830s lost the rational basis for form that the Georgians had had. This was far more true of Australia than England, for English Commissioners' Gothic churches had to be large, cheap and urban. Australian churches

still wanted to emulate England but had a society that was sparse, rural, and self-reliant to a greater degree. It simply was not possible or desirable to impose the English type on Australian communities. So Anglican churches generally retained Georgian proportions; Presbyterians adopted the galleried ideal of the Scottish rural church; and the Catholics apparently made their churches high and narrow because of Polding's personal associations with Downside Abbey, or because he provided English plans of the Downside type. A style that was determined by amateurs who wanted their churches to look English without fulfilling the same requirements understandably did not result in anything more than naive local variants of a utilitarian English type.

The Early Victorian archeological Gothic style at least re-introduced a new set of standards, by importing contemporary versions of the mediaeval parish church. The aim of emulating a perfect type resulted in clear aesthetic goals, whether Catholic Puginian, Anglican ecclesiological, or Wesleyan Model Plan.

However, no society was going to be happy with imitation forever. Once English mediaeval parish church forms had been realized, later Victorians

abandoned them for more original expression. And once we reach the goal of personal originality as the basis for aesthetic standards we are really in the modern world, where aesthetic excellence depends on individual genius rather than in the fulfillment of common aesthetic standards. In fact, like most modern architects, the average nineteenth century church designer expressed his personality in a collection of mannerisms rather than a consistent aesthetic creed.

Rowe's confetti holes, complicated roofs, and sheer walls, were as symptomatic of the Victorian need for an easy artistic identity as Sidney Cooper's annual cattle show at the Royal Academy, Marcus Stone's dumb dollies, or John Brett's meticulous naturalism. English architects played the same sort of self-defining stylistic games too. Bodley was most exceptional in changing his coat half way through his career, although Scott temporarily turned his for Lord Palmerston. In Sydney Rowe attempted to disguise his Gothic repertoire in a Jewish Rundbogenstil Synagogue, but lacked Bodley's conviction and Scott's versatility. Australian church architecture had to remain provincial while its standards were those of a country 12,000 miles away, and it was harder to alter or develop when so entirely cut off from

the artistic centre of the architectural world.

Sulman in 1887 was the first architect to attempt to resolve this colonial predicament, and from the end of the century various attempts were made to design for local conditions. To some extent Hunt was a pioneer in this direction, but his respect for England was always greater than his understanding of local needs. And the lack of any local traditions meant a continual dependence on overseas sources, even when an architect's eyes were no longer exclusively trained on the mother country. While architecture was based on historicism artistic independence was a meaningless Australian goal. Hence this thesis claims to be no more than an analysis of a particular building type in a special sort of provincial setting.